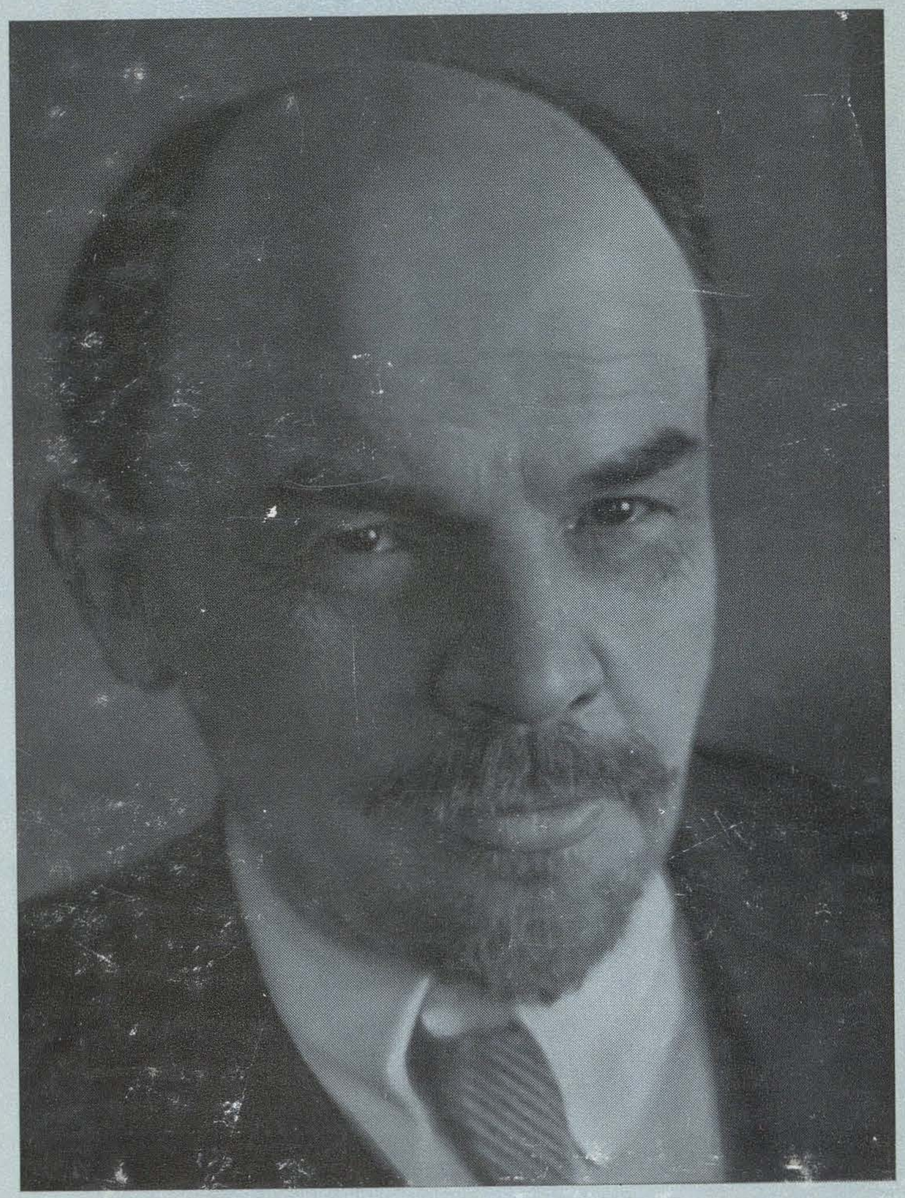
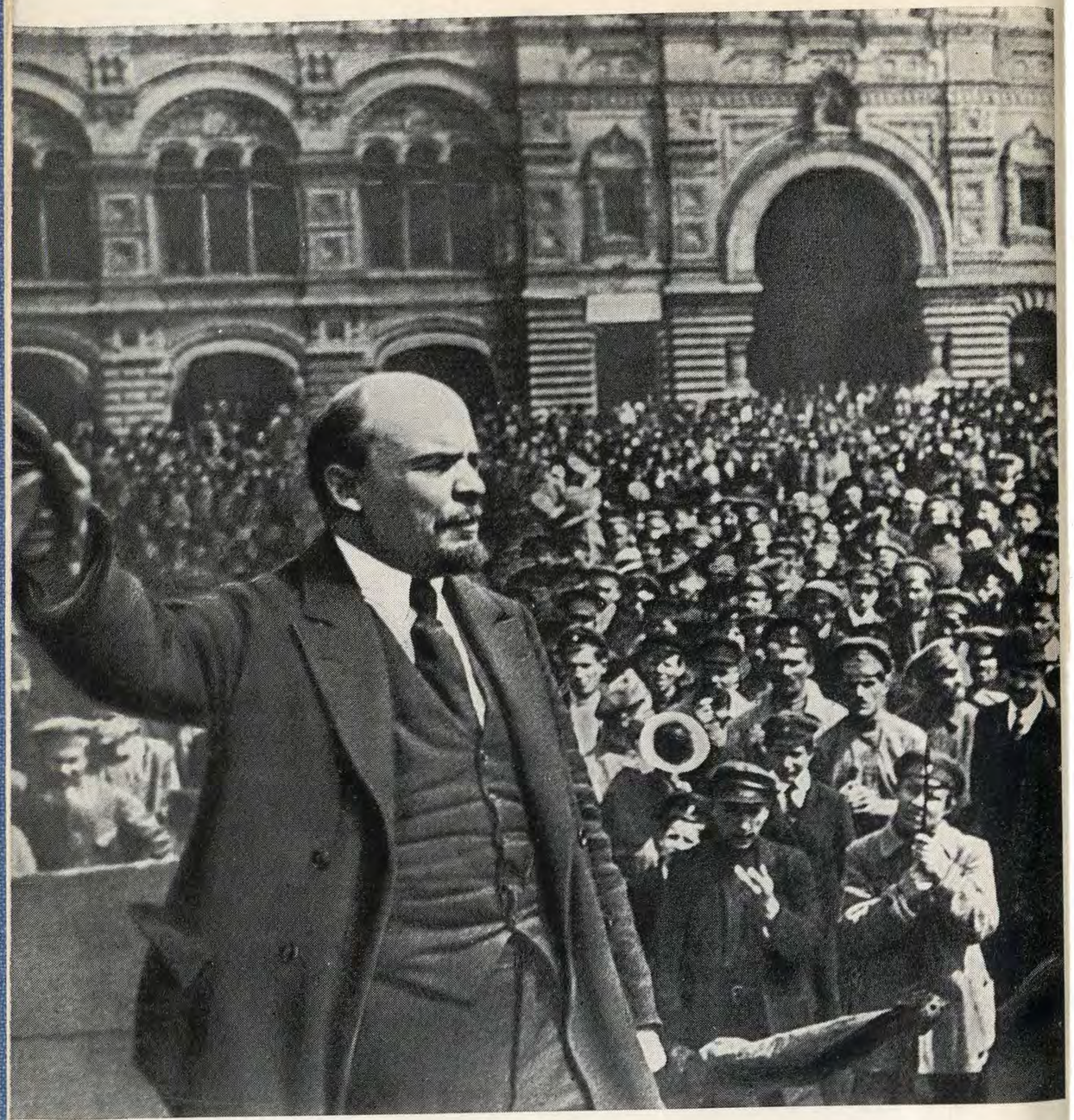
LENIN ON YOUTH





Lenin addresses the Vsevobuch troops
on the Red Square, May 25, 1919

Workers of All Countries, Unite!

V. I. LENIN
ON
YOUTH

Progress Publishers
Moscow 1967

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

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Corrections have been made in accordance with the Fifth Russian edition of the *Collected Works*.

В. И. ЛЕНИН

О МОЛОДЕЖИ

На анелийском языке

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PARTICIPATION OF YOUNG WORKERS AND PEASANTS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AND REVOLUTIONARY TRAINING OF YOUTH

PARTICIPATION OF YOUTH IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION. EDUCATION OF THE NEW MAN

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

Lenin always paid great attention to the young generation of workers, peasants and intellectuals and laid emphasis on involving the largest possible number of them in the revolutionary movement, the struggle to build a new socialist society. Back in 1895, when he drew up the programme of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party while in prison, he put forward the demand for universal suffrage for citizens at the age of 21 and over and for prohibition of employment for children under 15. While living in emigration on the eve of the first Russian revolution, Lenin closely followed the development of the students' movement in tsarist Russia and in the pages of *Iskra* he stressed its importance for the general struggle of the Russian people against tsarism and called on the students to work out Marxist world outlook and actively assist the Social-Democrats in their illegal work. In August 1903, at the Second Congress of the Party, Lenin moved a resolution on the Social-Democrats' attitude towards students and made a speech on this question. At the height of the first Russian revolution he wrote an article on the tasks before the revolutionary youth and in his letters to A. A. Bogdanov and S. I. Gusev he spoke of the need to recruit the youth "more widely and boldly, more boldly and widely, and again more widely and again more boldly, without fearing them".

Lenin did not confine himself to the youth movement in Russia only. As leader of the international proletariat, Lenin helped the young Social-Democrats of Switzerland,

Sweden and other countries to arrive at a scientific world outlook and correct revolutionary tactics in the struggle against capitalism, passing on to them the experience of the Russian working class and its Party.

After tsarism was overthrown in Russia, Lenin geared the entire work of the Party towards the preparation and implementation of the socialist revolution. He set the task of the revolutionary education of the masses and stressed the need to involve young people in political life and train them not only through words but also deeds. After the triumph of the October Socialist Revolution, besides accomplishing a vast amount of work in guiding the young socialist state and the Bolshevik Party, Lenin also turned to the problems of the younger generation. The problems connected with the new school system and its politechnisation, the education of a man free from the survivals of proprietary ideology, and an ideologically integrated, cultured builder of socialist society occupy an important place in Lenin's works of the period and in his speeches addressed to the youth.

Lenin devoted much attention to the Young Communist League. His talks with youth delegations and messages to the Russian Young Communist League are imbued with warm feelings and concern for the young generation. Lenin's speech at the Third Congress of the Russian Young Communist League became a programme of the Komsomol's work for many years ahead.

"We want to transform Russia," Lenin said at the congress, "from a poverty-stricken and wretched country into one that is wealthy. The Young Communist League must combine its education, learning and training with the labour of the workers and peasants so as not to confine itself to schools or to reading communist books and pamphlets. Only by working side by side with the workers and peasants can one become a genuine Communist." These words sound still more convincing in our time, when Soviet youth together with the whole Soviet people are building communist society under the leadership of the Communist Party. Leninist principles for the education of youth have been further developed in the documents of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Programme of the C.P.S.U. adopted by the congress set

the task of educating a new man who would harmoniously combine spiritual wealth, moral purity and physical perfection.

The present collection includes Lenin's articles, speeches and letters on the youth, as well as those of his works which deal with problems facing the young generation.

The various items in this collection are as a rule published in full, excerpts being used only when Lenin's statements on youth form part of his larger works.

Lenin's works are distributed under the following headings: "The Condition of Children and Young People under Capitalism", "The Revolutionary Movement Among the Student Youth in Tsarist Russia", "Participation of Young Workers and Peasants in the Revolutionary Struggle and Revolutionary Training of Youth" and "Participation of Youth in Socialist Construction. Education of the New Man".

The documents within the sections are arranged chronologically, according to the date when Lenin wrote a particular work or delivered a speech or to the date of publication when the former date has not been established.

The collection is supplied with notes and a name index.

THE CONDITION OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE UNDER CAPITALISM

WHAT ARE OUR MINISTERS THINKING ABOUT?

Minister of Internal Affairs Durnovo wrote a letter to Procurator-General of the Holy Synod[1] Pobedonostsev. The letter, numbered 2603, was written on March 18, 1895, and bears the inscription "strictly confidential". The minister, therefore, wanted the letter to remain a strict secret. But there proved to be people who do not share the minister's views that Russian citizens should not know the government's intentions, with the result that a handwritten copy of this letter is now circulating everywhere.

What did Mr. Durnovo write to Mr. Pobedonostsev about?

He wrote to him about the Sunday schools.[2] The letter reads: "Information secured during recent years goes to show that, following the example of the sixties,[3] politically unreliable individuals and also a section of the student youth of a certain trend, are endeavouring to enter the Sunday schools as teachers, lecturers, librarians, etc. This concerted attempt, which cannot be inspired by a desire to earn money since the duties in such schools are undertaken gratis, proves that the activity above indicated, on the part of anti-government elements, constitutes a legal means of struggle against the system of state and public order existing in Russia."

That is how the minister argues. Among educated people there are those who want to share their knowledge with the workers, who want their knowledge to be of benefit not to themselves alone, but to the people—and

the minister immediately decides that there are "anti-government elements" here, i.e., that it is conspirators of some kind who are inciting people to enter the Sunday schools. Could not the desire to teach others really arise in the minds of some educated people without incitement? But the minister is disturbed because the Sunday school-teachers get no salaries. He is accustomed to the spies and officials in his service only working for their salaries, working for whoever pays them best, whereas all of a sudden people work, render services, teach, and all ... gratis. Suspicious! thinks the minister, and sends spies to explore the matter. The letter goes on to say: "It is established from the following information" (received from spies, whose existence is justified by the receipt of salaries) "that not only do persons of a dangerous trend find their way into the teachers' ranks, but often the schools themselves are under the unofficial direction of a whole group of unreliable persons, who have no connection at all with the official personnel, who deliver lectures in the evenings and give lessons to the pupils on the invitation of the men and women teachers they themselves have installed there.... The fact that outside people are allowed to give lectures offers full scope for the infiltration of persons from frankly revolutionary circles as lecturers."

So then, if "outside people", who have not been endorsed and examined by priests and spies, want to give lessons to workers—that is downright revolution! The minister regards the workers as gunpowder, and knowledge and education as a spark; the minister is convinced that if the spark falls into the gunpowder, the explosion will be directed first and foremost against the government.

We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of noting that in this rare instance we totally and unconditionally agree with the views of His Excellency.

Further in his letter the minister cites "proofs" of the correctness of his "information". Fine proofs they are!

Firstly, "a letter of a Sunday school-teacher whose name has still not been ascertained". The letter was confiscated during a search. It refers to a programme of history lectures, to the idea of the enslaving and emancipation of the social estates, and reference is made to the revolt of Razin and of Pugachov.

Evidently these latter names scared the good minister so much that he very likely had a nightmare of peasants armed with pitchforks.

The second proof:

"The Ministry of Internal Affairs is in possession of a programme, privately received, for public lectures in a Moscow Sunday school on the following points: 'The origin of society. Primitive society. The development of social organisation. The state and what it is needed for. Order. Liberty. Justice. Forms of political structure. Absolute and constitutional monarchy. Labour—the basis of the general welfare. Usefulness and wealth. Production, exchange and capital. How wealth is distributed. The pursuit of private interest. Property and the need for it. Emancipation of the peasants together with the land. Rent, profit, wages. What do wages and their various forms depend on? Thrift.'

"The lectures in this programme, which is undoubtedly unfit for an elementary school, give the lecturer every opportunity gradually to acquaint his pupils with the theories of Karl Marx, Engels, etc., while the person present on behalf of the diocesan authorities will hardly be in a position to detect the elements of Social-Democratic propaganda in the lectures."

The minister is evidently very much afraid of the "theories of Marx and Engels", if he notices "elements" of them even in the sort of programme where not a trace of them is to be seen. What did the minister find "unfit" in it? Very likely the problem of the forms of political structure and the constitution.

Just take any geography textbook, Mr. Minister, and you will find those problems dealt with there! May adult workers not know the things that children are taught?

But the minister places no reliance on persons from the Diocesan Department: "They will very likely fail to understand what is said."

The letter ends with an enumeration of the "unreliable" teachers at the parish Sunday school of the Moscow mill of the Prokhorov Textile Company, the Sunday school in the town of Yelets and the proposed school in Tiflis. Mr. Durnovo advises Mr. Pobedonostsev to undertake "a detailed check of the individuals permitted to take classes

in the schools". Now, when you read the list of teachers, your hair stands on end: all you get is ex-student, again an ex-student, and still again an ex-student of Courses for Ladies. The minister would like the tutors to be ex-drill sergeants.

It is with particular horror that the minister says that the school in Yelets "is situated beyond the river Sosna, where the population is mainly the common" (o horror!) "and working people, and where the railway workshops are".

The schools must be kept as far away as possible from the "common and working people".

Workers! You see how mortally terrified are our ministers at the working people acquiring knowledge! Show everybody, then, that no power will succeed in depriving the workers of class-consciousness! Without knowledge the workers are defenceless, with knowledge they are a force!

Written in November-December, not later than 8(20), 1895 for *Rabocheye Dyelo*

First published January 27, 1924 in *Petrogradskaya Pravda* No. 22

Collected Works, Vol. 2

FROM *MARXISM AND REVISIONISM*

There is a well-known saying that if geometrical axioms affected human interests attempts would certainly be made to refute them. Theories of natural history which conflicted with the old prejudices of theology provoked, and still provoke, the most rabid opposition. No wonder, therefore, that the Marxian doctrine, which directly serves to enlighten and organise the advanced class in modern society, indicates the tasks facing this class and demonstrates the inevitable replacement (by virtue of economic development) of the present system by a new order—no wonder that this doctrine has had to fight for every step forward in the course of its life.

Needless to say, this applies to bourgeois science and philosophy, officially taught by official professors in order to befuddle the rising generation of the propertied classes and to "coach" it against internal and foreign enemies. This science will not even hear of Marxism, declaring that it has been refuted and annihilated. Marx is attacked with equal zest by young scholars who are making a career by refuting socialism, and by decrepit elders who are preserving the tradition of all kinds of outworn "systems". The progress of Marxism, the fact that its ideas are spreading and taking firm hold among the working class, inevitably increase the frequency and intensity of these bourgeois attacks on Marxism, which become stronger, more hardened and more vigorous every time it is "annihilated" by official science.

Written in the latter half of March, not later than April 3(16), 1908

Published between September 25 and October 2 (October 8 and 15), 1908 in the collection *Karl Marx (1818-1883)*. St. Petersburg Kedrov Publishers
Signed: *Vl. Ilyin*

Collected Works, Vol. 15

THE QUESTION OF MINISTRY OF EDUCATION POLICY[4]

(SUPPLEMENT TO THE DISCUSSION ON PUBLIC EDUCATION)

Our Ministry of Public (forgive the expression) "Education" boasts inordinately of the particularly rapid growth of its expenditure. In the explanatory note to the 1913 budget by the Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance we find a summary of the estimates of the Ministry of Public (so-called) Education for the post-revolutionary years.[5] These estimates have increased from 46,000,000 rubles in 1907 to 137,000,000 in 1913. A tremendous growth—almost trebled in something like six years!

But our official praise-mongers who laud the police "law and order" or *disorder* in Russia ought not to have forgotten that ridiculously small figures always do grow with "*tremendous*" rapidity when increases in them are given as percentages. If you give five kopeks to a beggar who owns only three his "property" will immediately show a "tremendous" growth—it will be 167 per cent greater!

Would it not have been more fitting for the Ministry, if it did not aim at *befogging* the minds of the people and *concealing* the beggarly position of public education in Russia, to cite *other data*? Would it not have been more fitting to cite figures that do not compare today's five kopeks with yesterday's three, but compare what we have with what *is essential to* a civilised state? He who does not wish to deceive either himself or the people should admit that the Ministry was *in duty bound* to produce these figures, and that by not producing *such* figures the Ministry was not doing its duty. Instead of *making clear* to

the people, and the people's representatives, what the needs of the state are, the Ministry *conceals* these needs and engages in a foolish governmental game of figures, a governmental rehash of old figures that explain nothing.

I do not have at my disposal, of course, even a hundredth part of the means and sources for studying public education that are available to the Ministry. But I have made an attempt to obtain at least *a little* source material. And I assert boldly that I can cite *indisputable* official figures that really *do make clear* the situation in our official public "miseducation".

I take the official government *Russian Yearbook* for 1910, published by the Ministry of the Interior (St. Petersburg, 1911).

On page 211, I read that the *total* number attending schools in the Russian Empire, lumping together primary, secondary and higher schools and educational establishments of all kinds, was 6,200,172 in 1904 and 7,095,351 in 1908. An obvious increase. The year *1905*, the year of the great awakening of the masses of the people in Russia, the year of the great struggle of the people for freedom under the leadership of the proletariat, was a year that *forced* even our hidebound Ministry to make a move.

But just look at the *poverty* we are doomed to, thanks to the retention of officialdom, thanks to the almighty power of the feudal landowners, *even* under conditions of the most rapid "departmental" progress.

The same *Russian Yearbook* relates in the same place that there were 46.7 people attending school to every 1,000 inhabitants in 1908 (in 1904 the figure was 44.3 to every 1,000 inhabitants).

What do we learn from these figures from a Ministry of the Interior publication that the Ministry of Public Education did not feel inclined to report to the Duma[6]? What does that proportion mean—*less than 50 pupils* per 1,000 inhabitants?

It tells us, you gentlemen who uphold our hidebound public miseducation, of the *unbelievable* backwardness and barbarity of Russia thanks to the omnipotence of the feudal landowners in our state. The number of children and adolescents of school age in Russia amounts to over 20 per cent of the population, that is, to more than *one-fifth. Even*

Messrs. Kasso and Kokovtsov could without difficulty have learned these figures from their departmental clerks.

And so, we have 22 per cent of the population of school age and 4.7 per cent attending school, which is only a *little more than one-fifth*! This means that about *four-fifths* of the children and adolescents of Russia are *deprived* of public education!

There is no other country so barbarous and in which the masses of the people are *robbed* to such an extent of education, light and knowledge—no other such country has remained in Europe; Russia is the exception. This reversion of the masses of the people, especially the peasantry, to savagery, is not fortuitous, it is *inevitable* under the yoke of the landowners, who have seized tens and more tens of millions of dessiatines of land, who have seized state power both in the Duma and in the Council of State,[7] and not only in these institutions, which are relatively *low-ranking* institutions....

Four-fifths of the rising generation are doomed to illiteracy by the feudal state system of Russia. This stultifying of the people by the feudal authorities has its correlative in the country's illiteracy. The same government *Russian Yearbook* estimates (on page 88) that only 21 per cent of the population of Russia are literate, and even if children of *pre*-school age (i.e., children under nine) are deducted from the total population, the number will still be only 27 per cent.

In civilised countries there are no illiterates at all (as in Sweden or Denmark), or a mere one or two per cent (as in Switzerland or Germany). Even backward Austria-Hungary has provided her Slav population with conditions *incomparably* more civilised than feudal Russia has: in Austria there are 39 per cent of illiterates and in Hungary 50 per cent. It would be as well for our chauvinists, Rights, nationalists and Octobrists[8] *to think about* these figures, if they have not set themselves the "statesmanlike" aim of forgetting how to think, and of teaching the same to the people. But even if they have forgotten, the people of Russia *are learning* more and more to think, and to think, furthermore, about which class it is that by its dominance in the state condemns the Russian peasants to material and spiritual poverty.

America is *not* among the advanced countries as far as the number of literates is concerned. There are about 11 per cent illiterates and among the Negroes the figure is as high as 44 per cent. But the American Negroes are *more than twice* as well off in respect of public education as the Russian peasantry. The American Negroes, no matter how much they may be, to the shame of the American Republic, oppressed, are better off than the Russian peasants—and they are better off because exactly half a century ago the people routed the American slave-owners, crushed that serpent and completely swept away slavery and the slave-owning state system, and the political privileges of the slave-owners in America.

The Kassos, Kokovtsovs and Maklakovs will teach the Russian people to copy the American example.

In 1908 there were *17,000,000* attending school in America, that is, *192 per 1,000 inhabitants—more than four times* the number in Russia. Forty-three years ago, in 1870, when America had only just *begun* to build her free way of life after *purging* the country of the diehards of slavery —forty-three years ago there were in America 6,871,522 people attending school, i.e., more than in Russia in 1904 and *almost* as many as in 1908. But even as far back as 1870 there were 178 (*one hundred and seventy-eight*) people enrolled in schools to every 1,000 inhabitants, little short of four times the number enrolled in Russia *today*.

And there, gentlemen, you have further proof that Russia *still* has to win for herself in persistent revolutionary struggle by the people *that freedom* the Americans won for themselves half a century ago.

The estimate for the Russian Ministry of Public Miseducation is fixed at 136,700,000 rubles for 1913. This amounts to only 80 kopeks per head of the population (170,000,000 in 1913). Even if we accept the "sum-total of state expenditure on education" that the Minister of Finance gives us on page 109 of his explanatory text to the budget, that is, 204,900,000 rubles, we still have only 1 ruble 20 kopeks per head. In Belgium, Britain and Germany the amount expended on education is two to three rubles and even three rubles fifty kopeks per head of the population. In 1910, America expended 426,000,000 dollars, i.e., 852,000,000 rubles or 9 rubles 24 kopeks per head

of the population, on public education. Forty-three years ago, in 1870, the American Republic was spending 126,000,000 rubles a year on education, i.e., *3 rubles 30 kopeks* per head.

The official pens of government officials and the officials themselves will object and tell us that Russia is poor, that she has no money. That is true, Russia is not only poor, she is a beggar when it comes to public education. To make up for it, Russia is very "rich" when it comes to expenditure on the feudal state, ruled by landowners, or expenditure on the police, the army, on rents and on salaries of ten thousand rubles for landowners who have reached "high" government posts, expenditure on risky adventures and plunder, yesterday in Korea or on the River Yalu, today in Mongolia or in Turkish Armenia. Russia will always remain poor and beggarly in respect of expenditure on public education *until* the public educates itself sufficiently to cast off the yoke of feudal landowners.

Russia is poor when it comes to the salaries of school-teachers. They are paid a miserable pittance. School-teachers starve and freeze in unheated huts that are scarcely fit for human habitation. School-teachers live together with the cattle that the peasants take into their huts in winter. School-teachers are persecuted by every police sergeant, by every village adherent of the Black Hundreds,[9] by volunteer spies[10] or detectives, to say nothing of the hole-picking and persecution by higher officials. Russia is too poor to pay a decent salary to honest workers in the field of public education, but Russia is rich enough to waste millions and tens of millions on aristocratic parasites, on military adventures and on hand-outs to owners of sugar refineries, oil kings and so on.

There is one other figure, the last one taken from American life, gentlemen, that will show the peoples oppressed by the Russian landowners and *their* government, *how* the people live who have been able to achieve freedom through a revolutionary struggle. In 1870, in America there were 200,515 school-teachers with a total salary of 37,800,000 dollars, i.e., an average of 189 dollars or *377 rubles* per teacher per annum. And that was *forty years* ago! In America today there are *523,210* school-

teachers and their total salaries come to 253,900,000 dollars, i.e., 483 dollars or *966 rubles* per teacher per annum. And in Russia, even at the present level of the productive forces, it would be quite possible at this very moment to guarantee a no less satisfactory salary to an army of school-teachers who are helping to lift the people out of their ignorance, darkness and oppression, if ... if the whole state system of Russia, from top to bottom, were reorganised on lines as democratic as the American system.

Either poverty and barbarism arising out of the full power of the feudal landowners, arising out of the law and order or disorder of the June Third law,[11] or freedom and civilisation arising out of *the ability and determination* to win freedom—such is *the object-lesson* Russian citizens are taught by the estimates put forward by the Ministry of Public Education.

So far I have touched upon the purely material, or even financial, aspect of the matter. Incomparably more melancholy or, rather, more disgusting, is the picture of spiritual bondage, humiliation, suppression and lack of rights of the teachers and those they teach in Russia. The whole activity of the Ministry of Public Education in this field is pure mockery of the rights of citizens, mockery of the people. Police surveillance, police violence, police *interference* with the education of the people in general and of workers in particular, police *destruction* of whatever the people themselves do for their own enlightenment—this is what the *entire* activity of the Ministry amounts to, the Ministry whose estimate will be approved by the landowning gentry, from Rights to Octobrists inclusive.

And in order to *prove* the correctness of my words, gentlemen of the Fourth Duma, I will call a witness that *even* you, the landowners, cannot object to. My witness is the Octobrist Mr. *Klyuzhev*, member of the Third and Fourth Dumas, member of the supervisory council of the Second and Third Women's Gymnasia in Samara, member of the school committee of the Samara City Council, member of the auditing board of the Samara Gubernia Zemstvo,[12] former inspector of public schools. I have given you a list of the offices and titles (using the official reference book of the Third Duma) of this Octobrist *to prove* to you that

the government *itself*, the landowners *themselves* in our landowners' Zemstvo, have given Mr. Klyuzhev most important posts in the "work" (the work of spies and butchers) of our ministry of public stultification.

Mr. Klyuzhev, if anybody, has, of course, made his entire career as a law-abiding, God-fearing civil servant. And, of course, Mr. Klyuzhev, if anybody, has by his faithful service in the district earned the confidence of the nobility and the landowners.

And now here are some passages from a speech by this most thoroughly reliable (from the feudal point of view) witness; the speech was made in the *Third* Duma in respect of the estimate submitted by the Ministry of Public Education.

The Samara Zemstvo, Mr. Klyuzhev told the Third Duma, *unanimously* adopted the proposal of Mr. Klyuzhev to make application for the conversion of some village two-year schools into four-year schools. The regional supervisor, so the law-abiding and God-fearing Mr. Klyuzhev reports, *refused* this. Why? The official explanation was: "*in view of the insignificant number of children of school age*".

And so Mr. Klyuzhev made the following comparison: *we* (he says of landowner-oppressed Russia) have *not a single* four-year school for the 6,000 inhabitants of the Samara villages. In the town of Serdobol (Finland) with *2,800* inhabitants there are *four* secondary (and higher than secondary) schools.

This comparison was made by the Octobrist, the most worthy Peredonov* . . . excuse the slip, the most worthy Mr. Klyuzhev in the Third Duma. Ponder over that comparison, Messrs. Duma representatives, if not of the people, then at least of the landowners. Who made application to open schools? Could it be the Lefts? The muzhiks? The workers? God forbid! It was the Samara Zemstvo that made the application *unanimously*, that is, it was the Samara *landowners*, the most ardent Black-Hundred adherents among them. And the government, through its supervisor, refused the request on the excuse that there was an "*insignificant*" number of children of

* Peredonov—a type of teacher-spy and dull lout from Sologub's novel *The Petty Imp.*

school age! Was I not in every way right when I said that the government *hinders* public education in Russia, that the government is the biggest enemy of public education in Russia?

The culture, civilisation, freedom, literacy, educated women and so on that we see in Finland derive *exclusively* from *there not being* in Finland such "social evil" as the Russian Government. Now you want to foist this evil on Finland and make her, too, an enslaved country. You will not succeed in that, gentlemen! By your attempts to impose political slavery on Finland you will only accelerate the awakening of the peoples of Russia from political slavery!

I will quote another passage from the Octobrist witness, Mr. Klyuzhev. "How are teachers recruited?" Mr. Klyuzhev asked in his speech and himself provided the following answer:

> "One prominent Samara man, by the name of Popov, bequeathed the necessary sum to endow a Teachers' Seminary for Women." And who do you think was appointed head of the Seminary? This is what the executor of the late Popov writes: "*The widow of a General of the Guards* was appointed head of the Seminary and she herself admitted that this was the first time in her life she had heard of the existence of an educational establishment called a Teachers' Seminary for Women!"

Don't imagine that I took this from a collection of Demyan Bedny's fables, from the sort of fable for which the magazine *Prosveshcheniye* was fined and its editor imprisoned.[13] Nothing of the sort. This fact was taken from the speech of the Octobrist Klyuzhev, who fears (as a God-fearing and police-fearing man) even *to ponder* the significance of this fact. For this fact, once again, shows beyond all doubt that there is no more vicious, no more implacable enemy of the education of the people in Russia than the Russian Government. And gentlemen who bequeath money for public education should realise that they are throwing it away, worse than throwing it away. They desire to bequeath their money to provide education for the people, but *actually* it turns out that they are giving it to *Generals of the Guards* and their *widows*. If such philanthropists do not wish to throw their money away

they must understand that they should bequeath it to the Social-Democrats, who *alone* are able to use that money to provide the people with *real* education that is really independent of "Generals of the Guards"—and of timorous and law-abiding Klyuzhevs.

Still another passage from the speech of the same Mr. Klyuzhev.

"It was in vain that we of the Third Duma desired free access to higher educational establishments for seminar pupils. The Ministry did not deem it possible to accede to our wishes." "Incidentally the government bars the way to higher education, not to seminar pupils alone, but to the children of the peasant and urban petty-bourgeois social estates in general. This is no elegant phrase but the truth," exclaimed the Octobrist official of the Ministry of Public Education. "Out of the 119,000 Gymnasium students only 18,000 are peasants. Peasants constitute only 15 per cent of those studying in all the establishments of the Ministry of Public Education. In the Theological Seminaries only 1,300 of the 20,500 pupils are peasants. Peasants are not admitted at all to the Cadet Corps and similar institutions." (These passages from Klyuzhev's speech were, incidentally, cited in an article by K. Dobroserdov in *Nevskaya Zvezda* No. 6, for 1912, dated May 22, 1912.)

That is how Mr. Klyuzhev spoke in the Third Duma. The depositions of that witness will not be refuted by those who rule the roost in the Fourth Duma. The witness, *against* his own will and *despite* his wishes, fully corroborates the *revolutionary* appraisal of the present situation in Russia in general, and of public education in particular. And what, indeed, does a government deserve that, in the words of a prominent government official and member of the ruling party of Octobrists, *bars the way* to education for the peasants and urban petty bourgeois?

Imagine, gentlemen, what such a government deserves from the point of view of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the peasants!

And do not forget that in Russia the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie constitute 88 per cent of the population, that is, a little less than *nine-tenths* of the people. The nobility constitute only *one and a half per cent*. And so the government is taking money from nine-tenths of the people for schools and educational establishments of all kinds *and using that money* to teach the nobility,

barring the way to the peasant and urban petty bourgeois! Is it not clear what this government of the nobility deserves? This government that oppresses nine-tenths of the population in order to preserve the privileges of *one-hundredth* of the population—what does it deserve?

And now, finally, for the last quotation from my witness, the Octobrist official of the Ministry of Public Education, and member of the Third (and Fourth) Dumas, Mr. Klyuzhev:

"In the five years from 1906 to 1910," said Mr. Klyuzhev, "in the Kazan area, the following have been removed from their posts: 21 head masters of secondary and primary schools, 32 inspectors of public schools and *1,054* urban school-teachers; *870* people of these categories have been transferred. Imagine it," exclaimed Mr. Klyuzhev, "how can our school-teacher sleep peacefully? He may go to bed in Astrakhan and not be sure that he will not be in Vyatka the next day. Try to understand the psychology of the pedagogue who is driven about like a hunted rabbit!"

This is not the exclamation of some "Left" school-teacher, but of an Octobrist. These figures were cited by a diligent civil servant. He is *your* witness, gentlemen of the Right, nationalists and Octobrists! This witness of "yours" is compelled to admit the most scandalous, most shameless and most disgusting arbitrariness on the part of the government in its attitude to teachers! This witness of *yours*, gentlemen who rule the roost in the Fourth Duma and the Council of State, has been forced to admit the fact that teachers in Russia are "*driven*" like rabbits by the Russian Government!

On the basis provided by this fact, one of thousands and thousands of similar facts in Russian life, we ask the Russian people and all the peoples of Russia: do we need a government to protect the privileges of the nobility and to "*drive*" the people's teachers "like rabbits"? Does not this government deserve to be *driven out* by the people?

Yes, the Russian people's teachers are driven like rabbits. Yes, the government bars the way to education to nine-tenths of the population of Russia. Yes, our Ministry of Public Education is a ministry of police espionage, a ministry that derides youth, and jeers at the people's

thirst for knowledge. But far from all the Russian peasants, not to mention the Russian workers, resemble *rabbits*, honourable members of the Fourth Duma. The working class were able to prove this in 1905, and they will be able to prove again, and to prove more impressively, and much more seriously, that they are capable of a revolutionary struggle for real freedom and for *real public* education and not that of Kasso or of the nobility.

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THE WORKING CLASS AND NEOMALTHUSIANISM

At the Pirogov Doctors' Congress[14] much interest was aroused and a long debate was held on the question of abortions. The report was made by Lichkus, who quoted figures on the exceedingly widespread practice of destroying the foetus in present-day so-called civilised states.

In New York, 80,000 abortions were performed in one year and there are 36,000 every month in France. In St. Petersburg the percentage of abortions has more than doubled in five years.

The Pirogov Doctors' Congress adopted a resolution saying that there should never be any criminal prosecution of a mother for performing an artificial abortion and that doctors should only be prosecuted if the operation is performed for "purposes of gain".

In the discussion the majority agreed that abortions should not be punishable, and the question of the so-called neomalthusianism[15] (the use of contraceptives) was naturally touched upon, as was also the social side of the matter. Mr. Vigdorchik, for instance, said, according to the report in *Russkoye Slovo*,[16] that "contraceptive measures should be welcomed" and Mr. Astrakhan exclaimed, amidst thunderous applause:

> "We have to convince mothers to bear children so that they can be maimed in educational establishments, so that lots can be drawn for them, so that they can be driven to suicide!"

If the report is true that this declamation of Mr. Astrakhan's was greeted with thunderous applause, it is a fact that does not surprise me. The audience was made up of

bourgeois, middle and petty bourgeois, who have the psychology of the philistine. What can you expect from them but the most banal liberalism?

From the point of view of the working class, however, it would hardly be possible to find a more apposite expression of the completely reactionary nature and the ugliness of "social neomalthusianism" than Mr. Astrakhan's phrase cited above.

"Bear children so that they can be maimed".... For that alone? Why not that they should *fight* better, more unitedly, consciously and resolutely than we are fighting against the present-day conditions of life that are maiming and ruining our generation?

This is the radical difference that distinguishes the psychology of the peasant, handicraftsman, intellectual, the petty bourgeois in general, from that of the proletarian. The petty bourgeois sees and feels that he is heading for ruin, that life is becoming more difficult, that the struggle for existence is ever more ruthless, and that his position and that of his family are becoming more and more hopeless. It is an indisputable fact, and the petty bourgeois protests against it.

But *how* does he protest?

He protests as the representative of a class that is hopelessly perishing, that despairs of its future, that is depressed and cowardly. There is nothing to be done... if only there were fewer children to suffer our torments and hard toil, our poverty and our humiliation—such is the cry of the petty bourgeois.

The class-conscious worker is far from holding this point of view. He will not allow his consciousness to be dulled by such cries no matter how sincere and heartfelt they may be. Yes, we workers and the mass of small proprietors lead a life that is filled with unbearable oppression and suffering. Things are harder for our generation than they were for our fathers. But in one respect we are luckier than our fathers. *We have begun to learn and are rapidly learning to fight*—and to fight not as individuals, as the best of our fathers fought, not for the slogans of bourgeois speechifiers that are alien to us in spirit, but for our slogans, the slogans of our class. We are fighting better than our fathers did. Our children will fight better than we do, and *they will be victorious*.

The working class is not perishing, it is growing, becoming stronger, maturing, consolidating itself, educating itself and becoming steeled in battle. We are pessimists as far as serfdom, capitalism and petty production are concerned, but we are ardent optimists in what concerns the working-class movement and its aims. We are already laying the foundation of a new edifice and our children will complete its construction.

That is the reason—the only reason—why we are unconditionally the enemies of neomalthusianism, suited only to unfeeling and egotistic petty-bourgeois couples, who whisper in scared voices: "God grant we manage somehow by ourselves. So much the better if we have no children."

It goes without saying that this does not by any means prevent us from demanding the unconditional annulment of all laws against abortions or against the distribution of medical literature on contraceptive measures, etc. Such laws are nothing but the hypocrisy of the ruling classes. These laws do not heal the ulcers of capitalism, they merely turn them into malignant ulcers that are especially painful for the oppressed masses. Freedom for medical propaganda and the protection of the elementary democratic rights of citizens, men and women, are one thing. The social theory of neomalthusianism is quite another. Class-conscious workers will always conduct the most ruthless struggle against attempts to impose that reactionary and cowardly theory on the most progressive and strongest class in modern society, the class that is the best prepared for great changes.

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Signed: *V. I.*

CHILD LABOUR IN PEASANT FARMING

In making a proper appraisal of the conditions in which capitalism places small agricultural production the most important things to study are the conditions of the worker, his earnings, the amount of labour he expends, his conditions of life; then the way the livestock is kept and tended, and, finally, the methods of cultivating and fertilising the soil, the waste of its fertility, etc.

It is not difficult to understand that if these questions are ignored (as they often are in bourgeois political economy) a totally distorted picture of peasant farming is obtained, for the *real* "viability" of the latter depends precisely on the conditions of the worker, on the condition of his livestock, and on the way he tends his land. To assume without proof that in this respect small production is in the same position as large-scale production is merely begging the question. It means at once adopting the bourgeois point of view.

The bourgeoisie wants to prove that the peasant is a sound and viable "proprietor", and not the slave of capital, crushed in the same way as the wage-worker, but more tied up, more entangled than the latter. If one seriously and conscientiously wants the *data* required to solve this controversial problem, he must look for the regular and objective indicators of the *conditions of life and labour* in small and large-scale production.

One of these indicators, and a particularly important one, is the extent to which *child* labour is employed. The more child labour is exploited the worse, undoubtedly, is the position of the worker, and the harder his life.

The Austrian and German agricultural censuses give the number of children and adolescents employed in agriculture in relation to the total number of persons employed in agriculture. The Austrian census gives separate figures for all workers, male and female, *under* 16 years of age. Of these, there were 1,200,000 out of a total of 9,000,000, i.e., 13 per cent. The German census gives figures only for those *of 14 years of age and under*; of these there were six hundred thousand (601,637) out of fifteen million (15,169,549), or 3.9 per cent.

Clearly, the Austrian and German figures are not comparable. Nevertheless, the *relative numbers* of proletarian, peasant and capitalist farms they reveal are quite comparable.

By proletarian farms we mean the tiny plots of land (up to two hectares or almost two dessiatines per farm) which provide the wage-worker with supplementary earnings. By peasant farms we mean those from 2 to 20 hectares; in these, family labour predominates over wage-labour. Finally, there are the capitalist farms; these are big farms, in which wage-labour predominates over family labour.

The following are the figures on child labour in the three types of farms.

Type of farm	Group according to size of farm	Children employed (% of total number of workers)	
		Austria (under 16)	Germany (under 14)
Proletarian	Less than half a hectare	8.8	2.2
	1/2 to 2 hectares	12.2	3.9
Peasant	2 " 5 "	15.3	4.6
	5 " 10 "	15.6	4.8
	10 " 20 "	12.8	4.5
Capitalist	20 " 100 "	11.1	3.4
	100 hectares and over	4.2	3.6
	Total	13.0	3.9

We see from the above that in both countries the exploitation of child labour is *greatest* in peasant farms in general, and among the *middle peasant* farms (5 to 10 hectares, i.e., 4.5 to 9 dessiatines) in particular.

Thus, not only is small production worse-off than large-scale production, we also see that the peasant farms, in particular, are worse-off than the capitalist farms and even than the proletarian farms.

How is this to be explained?

On the proletarian farm, farming is conducted on such an insignificant plot of land that, strictly speaking, it cannot seriously be called a "farm". Here farming is a *secondary* occupation; the principal occupation is wage-labour in agriculture and in industry. In general, the influence of industry raises the standard of life of the worker, and in particular, it reduces the exploitation of child labour. For example, the German census shows the number of persons under the age of 14 employed in industry to be only 0.3 per cent of the total (i.e., one-tenth of that in agriculture) and those under 16 years of age only 8 per cent.

In peasant farming, however, the influence of industry is felt least of all, while the competition of capitalist agriculture is felt most of all. The peasant is unable to keep going without almost working himself to death and compelling his children to work as hard. Want compels the peasant to make up for his lack of capital and technical equipment with his own muscles. The fact that the peasant's children work hardest also indicates that the peasant's cattle work hard and are fed worse: the necessity of exerting the utmost effort and of "economising" in everything inevitably affects every side of the farm.

German statistics show that among wage-workers the largest percentage of children (3.7 or nearly 4 per cent) is to be found in the big capitalist farms (of 100 dessiatines and over). But among family workers, the largest percentage of children is to be found among the peasants—about five per cent (4.9 per cent to 5.2 per cent). As many as 9 per cent of *temporary* wage-workers employed in big capitalist enterprises are children; but among the peasants as many as 16.5 to 24.4 per cent of the temporary *family* workers are children!

In the busy season the peasant suffers from a shortage of workers; he can hire workers only to a small extent; he is compelled to employ the labour of his own children to the greatest extent. The result is that in German agriculture, in general, the percentage of children among family workers is *nearly half as big again* as that among wage-workers—children among family workers—4.4 per cent; among wage-workers—3 per cent.

The peasant has to work *harder* than the wage-worker. This fact, confirmed by thousands of independent observations, is now fully proved by statistics for whole countries. Capitalism condemns the peasant to extreme degradation and ruin. There is no other salvation for him than through joining the class struggle of the wage-workers. But before the peasant can arrive at this conclusion he will have to experience many years of being disillusioned by deceptive bourgeois slogans.

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Signed: *V. I.*

FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS AGAINST PROSTITUTION

The *fifth* international congress for the suppression of the white slave traffic recently ended in London.

Duchesses, countesses, bishops, priests, rabbis, police officials and all sorts of bourgeois philanthropists were well to the fore! How many festive luncheons and magnificent official receptions were given! And how many solemn speeches on the harm and infamy of prostitution!

What means of struggle were proposed by the elegant bourgeois delegates to the congress? Mainly two methods—religion and police. They are, it appears, the valid and reliable methods of combating prostitution. One English delegate boasted, according to the London correspondent of the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*,[17] that he had introduced a bill into parliament providing for *corporal punishment* for pimps. See the sort he is, this modern "civilised" hero of the struggle against prostitution!

One lady from Canada waxed enthusiastic over the police and the supervision of "fallen" women by policewomen, but as far as raising wages was concerned, she said that women workers did not deserve better pay.

One German pastor reviled present-day materialism, which, he said, is taking hold among the people and promoting the spread of free love.

When the Austrian delegate Gärtner tried to raise the question of the social causes of prostitution, of the need and poverty experienced by working-class families, of the exploitation of child labour, of unbearable housing conditions, etc., he was forced to silence by hostile shouts!

But the things that were said about highly-placed personages—among groups of delegates—were instructive and sublime. When, for example, the German Empress visits a maternity hospital in Berlin, *rings are placed on the fingers* of mothers of "illegitimate" children in order that this august individual may not be shocked by the sight of unmarried mothers!

We may judge from this the disgusting bourgeois hypocrisy that reigns at these aristocratic-bourgeois congresses. Acrobats in the field of philanthropy and police defenders of this system which makes mockery of poverty and need gather "to struggle against prostitution", which is supported precisely by the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie....

Rabochaya Pravda No. 1,
July 13, 1913
Signed: *W.*

Collected Works, Vol. 19

WHAT CAN BE DONE FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION

There are quite a number of rotten prejudices current in the Western countries of which Holy Mother Russia is free. They assume there, for instance, that huge public libraries containing hundreds of thousands and millions of volumes, should certainly not be reserved only for the handful of scholars or would-be scholars that uses them. Over there they have set themselves the strange, incomprehensible and barbaric aim of making these gigantic, boundless libraries available, not to a guild of scholars, professors and other such specialists, but to the masses, to the crowd, to the mob!

What a desecration of the libraries! What an absence of the "law and order" we are so justly proud of. Instead of *regulations,* discussed and elaborated by a dozen committees of civil servants inventing hundreds of formalities and obstacles to the use of books, they see to it that even *children* can make use of the rich collections; that readers can read publicly-owned books at home; they regard as the pride and glory of a public library, not the number of rarities it contains, the number of sixteenth-century editions or tenth-century manuscripts, but *the extent* to which books are distributed *among the people*, the number of new readers enrolled, the speed with which the demand for any book is met, the number of books issued to be read at home, the number of children attracted to reading and to the use of the library.... These queer prejudices are widespread in the Western states, and we must be glad that those who keep watch and ward over us protect us with

care and circumspection from the influence of these prejudices, protect our rich public libraries from the mob, from the *hoi polloi*!

I have before me the report of the New York Public Library for 1911.

That year the Public Library in New York was moved from two old buildings to new premises erected by the city. The total number of books is now about two million. It so happened that the first book asked for when the reading-room opened its doors was in Russian. It was a work by N. Grot, *The Moral Ideals of Our Times*. The request for the book was handed in at eight minutes past nine in the morning. The book was delivered to the reader at nine fifteen.

In the course of the year the library was visited by 1,658,376 people. There were 246,950 readers using the reading-room and they took out 911,891 books.

This, however, is only a small part of the *book circulation* effected by the library. Only a few people can visit the library. The rational organisation of educational work is measured by the number of books issued to be read at home, by the conveniences available to *the majority of the population.*

In three boroughs of New York—Manhatten, Bronx and Richmond—the New York Public Library has *forty-two* branches and will soon have a forty-third (the total population of the three boroughs is almost *three* million). The aim that is constantly pursued is to have a branch of the Public Library within *three-quarters of a verst*, i.e., within ten minutes' walk of the house of every inhabitant, the branch library being *the centre* of all kinds of institutions and establishments for public education.

Almost *eight million* (7,914,882 volumes) were issued to readers at home, 400,000 more than in 1910. To each hundred members of the population of all ages and both sexes, 267 books were issued for reading at home in the course of the year.

Each of the forty-two branch libraries not only provides for the use of reference books in the building and the issue of books to be read at home, it is also a place for evening lectures, for public meetings and for rational entertainment.

The New York Public Library contains about 15,000 books in oriental languages, about 20,000 in Yiddish and about 16,000 in the Slav languages. In the main reading-room there are about 20,000 books standing on *open* shelves for general use.

The New York Public Library has opened a special, central, reading-room for children, and similar institutions are gradually being opened at all branches. The librarians do everything for the children's convenience and answer their questions. The number of books children took out to read at home was 2,859,888, slightly under three million (more than a third of the total). The number of children visiting the reading-room was 1,120,915.

As far as losses are concerned—the New York Public Library assesses the number of books lost at 70-80-90 per 100,000 issued to be read at home.

Such is the way things are done in New York. And in Russia?

Rabochaya Pravda No. 5,
July 18, 1913
Signed: *W.*

Collected Works, Vol. 19

THE NATIONALISATION OF JEWISH SCHOOLS

The politics of the government are soaked in the spirit of nationalism. Attempts are made to confer every kind of privilege upon the "ruling", i.e., the Great-Russian nation, even though the Great Russians[18] represent a *minority* of the population of Russia, to be exact, only 43 per cent.

Attempts are made to cut down still further the rights of all the other nations inhabiting Russia, to segregate one from the other and stir up enmity among them.

The extreme expression of present-day nationalism is the scheme for the nationalisation of Jewish schools. The scheme emanated from the educational officer of Odessa district, and has been sympathetically considered by the Ministry of Public "Education". What does this nationalisation mean?

It means segregating the Jews into *special* Jewish schools (secondary schools). The doors of all other educational establishments—both private and state—are to be completely closed to the Jews. This "brilliant" plan is rounded off by the proposal to limit the number of pupils in the Jewish secondary schools to the notorious "quota"[19]!

In all European countries such measures and laws against the Jews existed only in the dark centuries of the Middle Ages, with their Inquisition, the burning of heretics and similar delights. In Europe the Jews have long since been granted complete equality and are fusing more and more with the nations in whose midst they live.

The most harmful feature in our political life generally, and in the above scheme particularly, apart from the

oppression and persecution of the Jews, is the striving to fan the flames of nationalism, to segregate the nationalities in the state one from another, to increase their estrangement, to separate their schools.

The interests of the working class—as well as the interests of political liberty generally—require, on the contrary, the fullest equality of all the nationalities in the state without exception, and the elimination of every kind of barrier between the nations, the bringing together of children of all nations in the same schools, etc. Only by casting off every savage and foolish national prejudice, only by uniting the workers of all nations into one association, can the working class become a force, offer resistance to capitalism, and achieve a serious improvement in its living conditions.

Look at the capitalists! They try to inflame national strife among the "common people", while they themselves manage their business affairs remarkably well—Russians, Ukrainians, Poles, Jews, and Germans together in one and the same corporation. Against the workers the capitalists of all nations and religions are united, but they strive to divide and weaken the workers by national strife!

This most harmful scheme for the nationalisation of the Jewish schools shows, incidentally, how mistaken is the plan for so-called "cultural-national autonomy", i.e., the idea of taking education out of the hands of the state and handing it over to each nation separately. It is not this we should strive for, but for the unity of the workers of all nations in the struggle against *all* nationalism, in the struggle for a truly democratic *common* school and for political liberty generally. The example of the advanced countries of the world—say, Switzerland in Western Europe or Finland in Eastern Europe—shows us that only consistently-democratic state institutions ensure the most peaceable and human (not bestial) coexistence of various nationalities, *without* the artificial and harmful separation of education according to nationalities.

Severnaya Pravda No. 14,
August 18, 1913
Signed: *V. I.*

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THE NATIONALITY OF PUPILS IN RUSSIAN SCHOOLS

To obtain a more precise idea of the plan for "cultural-national autonomy", which boils down to segregating the schools according to nationality, it is useful to take the concrete data which show the nationality of the pupils attending Russian schools. For the St. Petersburg educational area such data are provided by the returns of the school census taken on January 18, 1911.

The following are the data on the distribution of pupils attending elementary schools under the Ministry of Public Education according to the *native languages* of the pupils. The data cover the whole of the St. Petersburg educational area, but *in brackets* we give the *figures for* the city of St. Petersburg. Under the term "Russian language" the officials constantly lump together Great Russian, Byelorussian and Ukrainian ("Little Russian", according to official terminology). Total pupils—265,660 (48,076).

Russian—232,618 (44,223); Polish—1,737 (780); Czech—3 (2); Lithuanian—84 (35); Lettish—1,371 (113); Zhmud—1 (0); French—14 (13); Italian—4 (4); Rumanian—2 (2); German—2,408 (845); Swedish—228 (217); Norwegian—31 (0); Danish—1 (1); Dutch—1 (0); English—8 (7); Armenian—3 (3); Gipsy—4 (0); Jewish—1,196 (396); Georgian—2 (1); Ossetian—1 (0); Finnish—10,750 (874); Karelian—3,998 (2); Chud—247 (0); Estonian—4,723 (536); Lapp—9 (0); Zyryan—6,008 (0); Samoyed—5 (0); Tatar—63 (13); Persian—1 (1); Chinese—1 (1); not ascertained—138 (7).

These are comparatively accurate figures. They show that the national composition of the population is extremely mixed, although they apply to one of the basically

Great-Russian districts of Russia. The extremely mixed national composition of the population of the large city of St. Petersburg is at once evident. This is no accident, but results from a *law* of capitalism that operates in all countries and in all parts of the world. Large cities, factory, metallurgical, railway and commercial and industrial centres generally, are certain, more than any other, to have very mixed populations, and it is precisely these centres that grow faster than all others and constantly attract larger and larger numbers of the inhabitants of the backward rural areas.

Now try to apply to these real-life data the lifeless utopia of the nationalist philistines called "cultural-national autonomy" or (in the language of the Bundists[20]) "taking out of the jurisdiction of the state" questions of national culture, i.e., primarily educational affairs.

Educational affairs "shall be taken out of the jurisdiction of the state" and transferred to 23 (in St. Petersburg) "national associations" each developing "its own" "national culture"!

It would be ridiculous to waste words to prove the absurdity and reactionary nature of a "national programme" of this sort.

It is as clear as daylight that the advocacy of such a plan means, *in fact,* pursuing or supporting the ideas of bourgeois nationalism, chauvinism and clericalism. The interests of democracy in general, and the interests of the working class in particular, demand the very opposite. We must strive to secure the *mixing* of the children of *all* nationalities in *uniform* schools in each locality; the workers of all nationalities must *jointly* pursue the proletarian educational policy which Samoilov, the deputy of the Vladimir workers, so ably formulated on behalf of the Russian Social-Democratic workers' group in the State Duma. We must most emphatically oppose segregating the schools according to nationality, no matter what form it may take.

It is not our business to segregate the nations in matters of education in any way; on the contrary, we must strive to create the fundamental democratic conditions for the peaceful coexistence of the nations on the basis of equal rights. We must not champion "national culture", but expose the clerical and bourgeois character of this slogan in the name of the international culture of the world working-class movement.

But we may be asked whether it is possible to safeguard the interests of the *one* Georgian child among the 48,076 schoolchildren in St. Petersburg on the basis of equal rights. And we should reply that it is impossible to establish a special Georgian school in St. Petersburg on the basis of Georgian "national culture", and that to advocate such a plan means sowing *pernicious* ideas among the masses of the people.

But we shall not be defending anything harmful, or be striving after anything that is impossible, if we demand for this child free government premises for lectures on the Georgian language, Georgian history, etc., the provision of Georgian books from the Central Library for this child, a state contribution towards the fees of the Georgian teacher, and so forth. Under real democracy, when bureaucracy and "Peredonovism"[21] are completely eliminated from the schools, the people can quite easily achieve this. But this real democracy can be achieved *only* when the workers of *all* nationalities are united.

To preach the establishment of special national schools for every "national culture" is reactionary. But under real democracy it is quite possible to ensure instruction in the native language, in native history, and so forth, *without* splitting up the schools according to nationality. And complete local self-government will make it impossible for anything to be forced upon the people, as for example, upon the 713 Karelian children in Kem Uyezd (where there are only 514 Russian children) or upon the 681 Zyryan children in Pechora Uyezd (153 Russian), or upon the 267 Lettish children in Novgorod Uyezd (over 7,000 Russian), and so on and so forth.

Advocacy of impracticable cultural-national autonomy is an absurdity, which now already is only disuniting the workers ideologically. To advocate the amalgamation of the workers of all nationalities means facilitating the success of proletarian class solidarity, which will guarantee equal rights for, and maximum peaceful coexistence of, all nationalities.

Proletarskaya Pravda No. 7, December 14, 1913

Collected Works, Vol. 19

OUR SCHOOLS

The all-Russia school census of January 18, 1911, though its data are compiled very badly goes some way to lift the curtain of official secrecy.

Data are so far available only for the St. Petersburg Educational Area, separately for the towns and country areas. Here is the picture of our *parish schools* presented by these data.

The census registered 329 town one-class schools, 139 private III grade schools and 177 one-class parish schools. The average wages of schoolteachers (their number is very small) was 924 rubles a year for town schools, 629 rubles for private schools and *302 rubles* for parish schools.

Impoverished, starving teachers—this is what our parish schools stand for.

What is the percentage of teachers with higher and secondary general secular education? It is 76 per cent for town schools, 67 per cent for private schools and only 18 per cent for parish schools!

Uneducated teachers (we shall not mention divinity teachers for the time being)—this is what our parish schools stand for.

There are 3,545 Zemstvo one-class schools and 2,506 one-class parish schools. Teachers' wages in the former amount to 374 rubles a year and to *301 rubles* in the latter.

In the former the percentage of educated teachers (those engaged in teaching in general) is 20 per cent and in the *latter* 2.5 per cent (again not counting divinity teachers).

These data show the extremely wretched state of parish schools.

The census also produced data on the available average per pupil of floor space in square and cubic arshins* respectively, in other words data on the cramped condition of schools.

In Zemstvo schools the average floor space was 2.6 square arshins and average space 10.1 cubic arshins and in parish schools 2.4 square arshins and 9.6 cubic arshins respectively.

The floor space should be six times the window surface, but in actual fact it is nine times the window surface. In other words, our schools are not only cramped, but *poorly lit*.

These data, of course, are sparse in the extreme. The Ministry did all it could to *prevent* collection of detailed, precise and complete data on the wretched condition of our schools.

But the wretched, impoverished condition of parish schools is revealed even in these incomplete, officially screened and poorly processed data.

One of the pressing tasks before the representatives of cultural-educational and industrial workers' organisations at the coming All-Russia Congress on Education is to raise and comprehensively discuss the condition of our schools and school-teachers.

Proletarskaya Pravda No. 10,
December 18, 1913

Collected Works, Fifth
Russian edition, Vol. 24

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* *Arshin*—a Russian measure equal to 0.711 metre.—*Ed.*

INSERTION FOR N. K. KRUPSKAYA'S ARTICLE *THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION POLICY*

In civilised countries illiteracy is practically non-existent. Efforts are being made to provide everyone with school education. The establishment of libraries is being encouraged in every way. And our Ministry of "Education" (pardon the expression) makes most desperate efforts and resorts to most despicable police measures in order to *hamper* the people's education and *prevent* people from studying! Our Ministry *made short work of* school libraries! No civilised country of the world can boast special regulations directed *against* libraries or such a vile institution as the *state censor*. And in our country, apart from general persecutions of the press and savage measures *against* libraries in general, regulations are published against public libraries that are a hundred times more restrictive! This is a disgraceful policy to foster the people's *ignorance*, a disgraceful policy of the landowners wishing to see their country turn brutish. Some rich people, like Pavlenkov, for example, donated money for public libraries. Now the government of savage landowners has made short work of libraries. Is it not time for those who want to *promote* education in Russia to understand that money should be donated not for libraries under the jurisdiction of the Ministry and thus subject to destruction, but for the struggle for political freedom, without which Russia finds herself in the stifling clutches of savagery.

Written in January 1914

Collected Works, Fifth Russian edition, Vol. 24

FROM *KARL MARX*

(A BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH WITH AN EXPOSITION OF MARXISM)

. . . Marx deduces the inevitability of the transformation of capitalist society into socialist society wholly and exclusively from the economic law of the development of contemporary society. The socialisation of labour, which is advancing ever more rapidly in thousands of forms and has manifested itself very strikingly, during the half-century since the death of Marx, in the growth of large-scale production, capitalist cartels, syndicates and trusts, as well as in the gigantic increase in the dimensions and power of finance capital, provides the principal material foundation for the inevitable advent of socialism. The intellectual and moral motive force and the physical executor of this transformation is the proletariat, which has been trained by capitalism itself. The proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie, which finds expression in a variety of forms ever richer in content, inevitably becomes a political struggle directed towards the conquest of political power by the proletariat ("the dictatorship of the proletariat"). The socialisation of production cannot but lead to the means of production becoming the property of society, to the "expropriation of the expropriators". A tremendous rise in labour productivity, a shorter working day, and the replacement of the remnants, the ruins, of small-scale, primitive and disunited production by collective and improved labour—such are the direct consequences of this transformation. Capitalism breaks for all time the ties between agriculture and industry, but at the same time, through its highest development, it prepares new elements of those ties, a union between industry and agriculture based on the conscious application of science

and the concentration of collective labour, and on a redistribution of the human population (thus putting an end both to rural backwardness, isolation and barbarism, and to the unnatural concentration of vast masses of people in big cities). A new form of family, new conditions in the status of women and in the upbringing of the younger generation are prepared by the highest forms of present-day capitalism: the labour of women and children and the break-up of the patriarchal family by capitalism inevitably assume the most terrible, disastrous, and repulsive forms in modern society. Nevertheless, "modern industry, by assigning as it does, an important part in the socially organised process of production, outside the domestic sphere, to women, to young persons, and to children of both sexes, creates a new economic foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relations between the sexes. It is, of course, just as absurd to hold the Teutonic-Christian form of the family to be absolute and final as it would be to apply that character to the ancient Roman, the ancient Greek, or the Eastern forms which, moreover, taken together form a series in historic development. Moreover, it is obvious that the fact of the collective working group being composed of individuals of both sexes and all ages, must necessarily, under suitable conditions, become a source of humane development; although in its spontaneously developed, brutal, capitalistic form, where the labourer exists for the process of production, and not the process of production for the labourer, that fact is a pestiferous source of corruption and slavery" (*Capital*, Vol. I, end of Chap. 13). The factory system contains "the germ of the education of the future, an education that will, in the case of every child over a given age, combine productive labour with instruction and gymnastics, not only as one of the methods of adding to the efficiency of social production, but as the only method of producing fully developed human beings" (*ibid.*).

Written in July-November 1914 — *Collected Works*, Vol. 21
Published in an abridged form in 1915 in Granat Encyclopaedic Dictionary, Seventh edition, Vol. 28
Signed: *V. Ilyin*

FROM *THE "DISARMAMENT" SLOGAN*

The bourgeoisie makes it its business to promote trusts, drive women and children into the factories, subject them to corruption and suffering, condemn them to extreme poverty. We do not "demand" such development, we do not "support" it. We fight it. But *how* do we fight? We explain that trusts and the employment of women in industry are progressive. We do not want a return to the handicraft system, pre-monopoly capitalism, domestic drudgery for women. Forward through the trusts, etc., and beyond them to socialism!

That argument takes account of *objective* development and, with the necessary changes, applies also to the present militarisation of the population. Today the imperialist bourgeoisie militarises the youth as well as the adults; tomorrow it may begin militarising the women. Our attitude should be: All the better! Full speed ahead! For the faster we move, the nearer shall we be to the armed uprising against capitalism. How can Social-Democrats give way to fear of the militarisation of the youth, etc., if they have not forgotten the example of the Paris Commune?[22] This is not a "lifeless theory" or a dream. It is a fact. And it would be a sorry state of affairs indeed if, all the economic and political facts notwithstanding, Social-Democrats began to doubt that the imperialist era and imperialist wars must inevitably bring about a repetition of such facts.

A certain bourgeois observer of the Paris Commune, writing to an English newspaper in May 1871, said: "If the French nation consisted entirely of women, what a terrible

nation it would be!" Women and teen-age children fought in the Paris Commune side by side with the men. It will be no different in the coming battles for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian women will not look on passively as poorly armed or unarmed workers are shot down by the well-armed forces of the bourgeoisie. They will take to arms, as they did in 1871, and from the cowed nations of today—or more correctly, from the present-day labour movement, disorganised more by the opportunists than by the governments—there will undoubtedly arise, sooner or later, but with absolute certainty, an international league of the "terrible nations" of the revolutionary proletariat.

The whole of social life is now being militarised. Imperialism is a fierce struggle of the Great Powers for the division and redivision of the world. It is therefore bound to lead to further militarisation in all countries, even in neutral and small ones. How will proletarian women oppose this? Only by cursing all war and everything military, only by demanding disarmament? The women of an oppressed and really revolutionary class will never accept that shameful role. They will say to their sons:

"You will soon be grown up. You will be given a gun. Take it and learn the military art properly. The proletarians need this knowledge not to shoot your brothers, the workers of other countries, as is being done in the present war, and as the traitors to socialism are telling you to do. They need it to fight the bourgeoisie of their own country, to put an end to exploitation, poverty and war, and not by pious wishes, but by defeating and disarming the *bourgeoisie*."

Written in October 1916

Collected Works, Vol. 23

Published in December 1916
in *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*
No. 2
Signed: *N. Lenin*

FROM THE PAMPHLET *MATERIALS RELATING TO THE REVISION OF THE PARTY PROGRAMME**

The constitution of the Russian democratic republic must ensure:

1. The sovereignty of the people; supreme power in the state must be vested entirely in the people's representatives, who shall be elected by the people and be subject to recall at any time, and who shall constitute a single popular assembly, a single chamber.

1. The sovereignty of the people, i.e., the concentration of supreme state power entirely in the hands of a legislative assembly, consisting of the representatives of the people and constituting a single chamber.

2. Universal, equal, and direct suffrage for all citizens, men and women, who have reached the age of twenty, in the elections to the legislative assembly and to the various bodies of local self-government; secret ballot; the right of every voter to be elected to any representative institution; biennial parliaments; salaries to be paid to the people's representatives; **proportional representation at all elections; all delegates and elected officials, without exception, to be subject**

* To make it easier and more convenient for the reader to compare the old and new texts of the programme, both texts are printed together in the following manner:

Those parts of the old programme which remain unchanged in the new one are given in ordinary type.

Those parts of the old programme which are to be completely deleted from the new one are given in italics.

Those parts of the new programme which were not in the old programme are given in bold type.

to recall at any time upon the decision of a majority of their electors.

3. Local self-government on a broad scale; regional self-government in localities where the composition of the population and living and social conditions are of a specific nature; **the abolition of all state-appointed local and regional authorities.**

4. Inviolability of person and domicile.

5. Unrestricted freedom of conscience, speech, the press, assembly, strikes, and association.

6. Freedom of movement and occupation.

7. Abolition of the social estates; equal rights for all citizens irrespective of sex, creed, race, or nationality.

8. The right of the population to receive instruction in their native tongue in schools to be established for the purpose at the expense of the state and local organs of self-government; the right of every citizen to use his native language at meetings; the native language to be used *on a level with the official language* in all local public and state institutions; **the obligatory official language to be abolished.**

9. The right of self-determination for all member nations of the state.

9. The right of all member nations of the state to freely secede and form independent states. The republic of the Russian nation must attract other nations or nationalities not by force, but exclusively by voluntary agreement on the question of forming a common state. The unity and fraternal alliance of the workers of all countries are incompatible with the use of force, direct or indirect, against other nationalities.

10. The right of all persons to sue any official in the regular way before a jury.

11. Election of judges by the people.

11. Judges and other officials, both civil and military, to be elected by the people with the right to recall any of them at any time by decision of a majority of their electors.

12. Replacement of the standing army by the universally armed people.

12. The police and standing army to be replaced by the universally armed people; workers and other employees to receive regular wages from the capitalists for the time devoted to public service in the people's militia.

13. Separation of the church from the state, and schools from the church; **schools to be absolutely secular.**

14. Free and compulsory general and vocational education for all children of both sexes up to the age of sixteen; poor children to be provided with food, clothing, and school supplies at the expense of the state.

14. Free and compulsory general and polytechnical education (familiarising the student with the theoretical and practical aspects of the most important fields of production) for all children of both sexes up to the age of sixteen; training of children to be closely integrated with socially productive work.

15. All students to be provided with food, clothing, and school supplies at the cost of the state.

16. Public education to be administered by democratically elected organs of local self-government; the central government not to be allowed to interfere with the arrangement of the school curriculum, or with the selection of the teaching staffs; teachers to be elected directly by the population with the right of the latter to remove undesirable teachers.

As a basic condition for the democratisation of our country's national economy, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party demands the abolition of all indirect taxes and the establishment of a progressive tax on incomes and inheritances.

The high level of development of capitalism already achieved in banking and in the trustified branches of industry, on the one hand, and the economic disruption caused by the imperialist war, everywhere evoking a demand for state and public control of the production and distribution of all staple products, on the other, induce the Party to demand the nationalisation of the banks, syndicates (trusts), etc.

To safeguard the working class from physical and moral deterioration, and develop its ability to carry on the struggle for emancipation, the Party demands:

1. An eight-hour working day for all wage-workers.

1. An eight-hour working day for all wage-workers, including a break of not less than one hour for meals where work is continuous. In dangerous and unhealthy industries the working day to be reduced to from four to six hours.

2. A statutory weekly uninterrupted rest period of not less than forty-two hours for all wage-workers of both sexes in all branches of the national economy.

3. Complete prohibition of overtime work.

4. Prohibition of night-work (from 9 p.m. to 6 a.m.) in all branches of the national economy except in cases where it is absolutely necessary for technical reasons endorsed by the labour organisations.

4. Prohibition of night-work (from 8 p. m. to 6 a. m.) in all branches of the national economy except in cases where it is absolutely necessary for technical reasons endorsed by the labour organisations—provided, however, that night-work does not exceed four hours.

5. Prohibition of the employment of children of school age (under 16) and restriction of the working day of adolescents (from 16 to 18) to six hours.

5. Prohibition of the employment of children of *school* age (under 16), restriction of the working day of adolescents (from 16 to 20) to four hours, and prohibition of the employment of adolescents on night-work in unhealthy industries and mines.

6. Prohibition of female labour in all branches of industry injurious to women's health; women to be released from work for four weeks before and six weeks after child-birth without loss of pay.

6. Prohibition of female labour in all branches of industry injurious to women's health; prohibition of night-work for women; women to be released from work eight weeks before and eight weeks after child-birth without loss of pay and with free medical and medicinal aid.

7. Establishment of nurseries for infants and young children at all factories and other enterprises where women are employed; nursing mothers to be allowed recesses of at least half-hour duration at intervals of not more than three hours.

7. Establishment of nurseries for infants and young children and rooms for nursing mothers at all factories and other enterprises where women are employed; nursing mothers to be allowed recesses of at least half-hour duration at intervals of not more than three hours; such mothers to receive nursing benefit and their working day to be reduced to six hours.

8. State insurance for workers covering old age and total or partial disablement out of a special fund formed by a special tax on the capitalists.

8. Full social insurance of workers:

a) for all forms of wage-labour;

b) for all forms of disablement, namely, sickness, injury, infirmity, old age, occupational disease, child-birth, widowhood, orphanhood, and also unemployment, etc.;

c) all insurance institutions to be administered entirely by the insured themselves;

d) the cost of insurance to be borne by the capitalists;

e) free medical and medicinal aid under the control of self-governing sick benefit societies, the management bodies of which are to be elected by the workers.

9. Payment of wages in kind to be prohibited; regular weekly pay-days to be fixed in all labour contracts without exception and wages to be paid in cash and during working hours.

10. Prohibition of deductions by employers from wages on any pretext or for any purpose whatsoever (fines, spoilage, etc.).

11. Appointment of an adequate number of factory inspectors in all branches of the national economy; factory inspection to be extended to all enterprises employing hired labour, including government enterprises (domestic service also to be liable to inspection); women inspectors to be appointed in industries where female labour is employed; representatives elected by the workers and paid by the state to supervise the enforcement of the factory laws, the fixing of rates and the passing or rejection of raw materials and finished products.

9. The establishment of a labour inspectorate elected by the workers' organisations and covering all enterprises employing hired labour, as well as domestic servants; women inspectors to be appointed in enterprises where female labour is employed.

12. Local self-governing bodies, assisted by representatives elected by the workers, to inspect sanitary conditions at dwellings assigned to workers by employers, as well as the internal regulations in force in such dwellings and the renting conditions, in order to protect wage-workers against

interference by employers in their life and activities as private citizens.

13. The establishment of properly organised sanitary control over all enterprises employing hired labour, the whole system of medical aid and sanitary inspection to be entirely independent of the employers; free medical aid to the workers at the expense of the employers, with full pay during sickness.

14. Employers violating the labour protection laws to be liable to criminal prosecution.

10. Sanitary laws to be enacted for improving hygienic conditions and protecting the life and health of workers in all enterprises where hired labour is employed; questions of hygiene to be handled by the sanitary inspectorate elected by the workers' organisations.

11. Housing laws to be enacted and a housing inspectorate elected by the workers' organisations to be instituted for the purpose of sanitary inspection of dwelling houses. However, only by abolishing private property in land and building cheap and hygienic dwellings can the housing problem be solved.

12. Industrial courts to be established in all branches of the national economy.

15. Industrial courts to be established in all branches of the national economy, composed of equal numbers of representatives from the workers' and employers' organisations.

16. Employment bureaux (labour exchanges) to be established by the organs of local self-government in all industries for the hire of local and non-local workers; representatives of the workers and employers to participate in their administration.

13. Labour exchanges to be established for the proper organisation of work-finding facilities. These labour exchanges must be proletarian class organisations (organised on a non-parity basis), and must be closely associated with the trade unions and other working-class organisations and financed by the communal self-government bodies....

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THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT AMONG THE STUDENT YOUTH IN TSARIST RUSSIA

THE DRAFTING OF 183 STUDENTS INTO THE ARMY*

The newspapers of January 11 published the official announcement of the Ministry of Education on the drafting into the army of 183 students of Kiev University as a punishment for "riotous assembly". The Provisional Regulations of July 29, 1899[23]—this menace to the student world and to society—are being put into execution less than eighteen months after their promulgation, and the government seems to hasten to justify itself for applying a measure of unexampled severity by publishing a ponderous indictment in which the misdeeds of the students are painted in the blackest possible colours.

Each misdeed is more ghastly than the preceding one! In the summer a general students' congress was convened in Odessa to discuss a plan to organise all Russian students for the purpose of giving expression to protests against various aspects of academic, public, and political life. As a punishment for these criminal political designs all the student delegates were arrested and deprived of their documents. But the unrest does not subside—it grows and persists in breaking out in *many* higher educational institutions. The students desire to discuss and conduct their common affairs freely and independently. Their authorities—with the soulless formalism for which Russian officials have always been noted—retaliate with petty vexations, rouse the discontent of the students to the highest pitch, and automatically stimulate the thoughts of the youths

* We were going to press when the official announcement was published.

who have not yet become submerged in the morass of bourgeois stagnation to protest against the whole system of police and official tyranny.

The Kiev students demand the dismissal of a professor who took the place of a colleague that had left. The administration resists, provokes students to "assemblies and demonstrations" and—yields. The students call a meeting to discuss what could make possible so horrendous a case—two "white linings" (according to reports) raped a young girl. The administration sentences the "ringleaders" to solitary confinement in the students' detention cell. These refuse to submit. They are expelled. A crowd of students demonstratively accompany the expelled students to the railway station. A new meeting is called; the students remain until evening and refuse to disperse so long as the rector does not show up. The Vice-Governor and Chief of Gendarmerie arrive on the scene at the head of a detachment of troops, who surround the University and occupy the main hall. The rector is called. The students demand—a constitution, perhaps? No. They demand that the punishment of solitary confinement should not be carried out and that the expelled students should be reinstated. The participants at the meeting have their names taken and are allowed to go home.

Ponder over this astonishing lack of proportion between the modesty and innocuousness of the demands put forward by the students and the panicky dismay of the government, which behaves as if the axe were already being laid to the props of its power. Nothing gives our "omnipotent" government away so much as this display of consternation. By this it proves more convincingly than does any "criminal manifesto" to all who have eyes to see and ears to hear that it realises the complete instability of its position, and that it relies only on the bayonet and the knout to save it from the indignation of the people. Decades of experience have taught the government that it is surrounded by inflammable material and that a mere spark, a mere protest against the students' detention cell, may start a conflagration. This being the case, it is clear that the punishment had to be an exemplary one: Draft hundreds of students into the army! "Put the drill sergeant in place of Voltaire!"[24]—the formula has not become

obsolete; on the contrary, the twentieth century is destined to see its real application.

This new punitive measure, new in its attempt to revive that which has long gone out of fashion, provokes many thoughts and comparisons. Some three generations ago, in the reign of Nicholas I, drafting into the army was a natural punishment entirely in keeping with the whole system of Russian serf-owning society. Young nobles were sent to the army and compelled to serve as private soldiers, losing the privileges of their estate until they earned officer's rank. Peasants were also drafted into the army, and it meant a long term of penal servitude, where "Green Street"[25] with its inhuman torment awaited them. It is now more than a quarter of a century since "universal" military service was introduced, which at the time was acclaimed as a great democratic reform. Real universal military service that is not merely on paper is undoubtedly a democratic reform; by abolishing the social-estate system it would make all citizens equal. But if such were the case, could drafting into the army be employed as a punishment? When the government converts military service into a form of punishment, does it not thereby prove that we are much nearer to the old recruiting system than to *universal* military service? The Provisional Regulations of 1899 tear off the pharisaical mask and expose the real Asiatic nature even of those of our institutions which most resemble European institutions. In reality, we have not and never had universal military service, because the privileges enjoyed by birth and wealth create innumerable exceptions. In reality, we have not and never had anything resembling equality of citizens in military service. On the contrary, the barracks are completely saturated with the spirit of most revolting absence of rights. The soldier from the working class or the peasantry is completely defenceless; his human dignity is trodden underfoot, he is robbed, he is beaten, beaten, and again beaten—such is his constant fare. Those with influential connections and money enjoy privileges and exemptions. It is not surprising, therefore, that drafting into this school of tyranny and violence can be a punishment, even a very severe punishment, amounting almost to deprivation of rights. The government thinks it will teach the "rebels" discipline in this school. But is it not

mistaken in its calculations? Will not this school of Russian military service become the military school of the revolution? Not all the students, of course, possess the stamina to go through the whole course of training in this school. Some will break down under the heavy burden, fall in combat with the military authorities; others—the feeble and flabby—will be cowed into submission by the barracks. But there will be those whom it will harden, whose outlook will be broadened, who will be compelled to ponder and profoundly sense their aspirations towards liberty. They will experience the whole weight of tyranny and oppression on their own backs when their human dignity will be at the mercy of a drill sergeant who very frequently takes deliberate delight in tormenting the "educated". They will see with their own eyes what the position of the common people is, their hearts will be rent by the scenes of tyranny and violence they will be compelled to witness every day, and they will understand that the injustices and petty tyrannies from which the students suffer are mere drops in the ocean of oppression the people are forced to suffer. Those who will understand this will, on leaving military service, take a Hannibal's vow[26] to fight with the vanguard of the people for the emancipation of the entire people from despotism.

The humiliating character of this new punishment is no less outrageous than its cruelty. In declaring the students who protested against lawlessness to be mere rowdies—even as it declared the exiled striking workers to be persons of depraved demeanour—the government has thrown down a challenge to all who still possess a sense of decency. Read the government communication. It bristles with such words as disorder, brawling, outrage, shamelessness, licence. On the one hand, it speaks of criminal political aims and the desire for political protest; and on the other, it slanders the students as mere rowdies who must be disciplined. This is a slap in the face of Russian public opinion, whose sympathy for the students is very well known to the government. The only appropriate reply the students can make is to carry out the threat of the Kiev students, to organise a determined general student strike in all higher educational institutions in support of the demand for the repeal of the Provisional Regulations of July 29, 1899

But it is not the students alone who must reply to the government. Through the government's own conduct the incident has become something much greater than a mere student affair. The government turns to public opinion as though to boast of the severity of the punishment it inflicts, as though to mock at all aspirations towards liberty. All conscious elements among all strata of the people must take up this challenge, if they do not desire to fall to the level of dumb slaves bearing their insults in silence. At the head of these conscious elements stand the advanced workers and the Social-Democratic organisations inseparably linked with them. The working class constantly suffers immeasurably greater injuries and insults from the police lawlessness with which the students have now come into such sharp conflict. The working class has already begun the struggle for its emancipation. It must remember that this great struggle imposes great obligations upon it, that it cannot emancipate itself without emancipating the whole people from despotism, that it is its duty first and foremost to respond to every political protest and render every support to that protest. The best representatives of our educated classes have proved—and sealed the proof with the blood of thousands of revolutionaries tortured to death by the government—their ability and readiness to shake from their feet the dust of bourgeois society and join the ranks of the socialists. The worker who can look on indifferently while the government sends troops against the student youth is unworthy of the name of socialist. The students came to the assistance of the workers—the workers must come to the aid of the students. The government wishes to deceive the people when it declares that an attempt at political protest is mere brawling. The workers must publicly declare and explain to the broad masses that this is a lie; that the real hotbed of violence, outrage, and licence is the autocratic Russian Government, the tyranny of the police and the officials.

The manner in which this protest is to be organised must be decided by the local Social-Democratic organisations and workers' groups. The most practical forms of protest are the distribution, scattering, and posting up of leaflets, and the organisation of meetings to which as far as possible all classes of society should be invited. It would

be desirable, however, where strong and well-established organisations exist, to attempt a broader and more open protest by means of a public demonstration. The demonstration organised last December 1, outside the premises of the newspaper *Yuzhny Krai* in Kharkov, may serve as a good example of such a protest. The jubilee of that filthy sheet, which baits everything that aspires to light and freedom and glorifies every bestiality of our government, was being celebrated at the time. The large crowd assembled in front of *Yuzhny Krai,* solemnly tore up copies of the paper, tied them to the tails of horses, wrapped them round dogs, threw stones and stink-bombs containing sulphuretted hydrogen at the windows, and shouted: "Down with the corrupt press!" Such celebrations are well deserved, not only by the corrupt newspapers, but by all our government offices. If they but rarely celebrate anniversaries of official benevolence, they constantly deserve the celebration of the people's retribution. Every manifestation of governmental tyranny and violence is a legitimate motive for such a demonstration. The people must not let the government's announcement of its punishment of the students go unanswered!

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Collected Works, Vol. 4

DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE BEGUN

A fortnight ago we observed the twenty-fifth anniversary of the first social-revolutionary demonstration in Russia, which took place on December 6, 1876, on Kazan Square in St. Petersburg,[27] and we pointed to the enormous upswing in the number and magnitude of the demonstrations at the beginning of the current year. We urged that the demonstrators should advance a political slogan more clearly defined than "Land and Freedom" (1876),[28] and a more far-reaching demand than "Repeal the Provisional Regulations" (1901).[29] Such a slogan must be: *political freedom*; and the demand to be put forward by the entire people has to be *the demand for the convocation of the people's representatives.*

We see now that demonstrations are being revived on the most varied grounds in Nizhni-Novgorod, in Moscow, and in Kharkov. Public unrest is growing everywhere, and more and more imperative becomes the necessity to unify it into one single current directed *against the autocracy*, which everywhere sows tyranny, oppression, and violence. On November 7, a small but successful demonstration was held in Nizhni-Novgorod, which arose out of a farewell gathering in honour of Maxim Gorky. An author of European fame, whose only weapon was free speech (as a speaker at the Nizhni-Novgorod demonstration aptly put it), was being banished by the autocratic government from his home town without trial or investigation. The bashi-bazouks accuse him of exercising a harmful influence on us, said the speaker in the name of all Russians in whom

but a spark of striving towards light and liberty is alive, but we declare that his influence has been a good one. The myrmidons of the tsar perpetrate their outrages in secret, and we will expose their outrages publicly and openly. In Russia, workers are assaulted for demanding their right to a better life; students are assaulted for protesting against tyranny. Every honest and bold utterance is suppressed! The demonstration, in which workers took part, was concluded by a student reciting: "Tyranny shall fall, and the people shall rise—mighty, free, and strong!"

In Moscow, hundreds of students waited at the station to greet Gorky. Meanwhile, the police, scared out of their wits, *arrested* him on the train *en route* and (despite the special permission previously granted him) prohibited his entering Moscow, forcing him to change directly from the Nizhni-Novgorod to the Kursk line. The demonstration against Gorky's banishment failed; but on the eighteenth of November, without any preparation, a small demonstration of students and "strangers" (as our Ministers put it) took place in front of the Governor General's house against the prohibition of a social evening arranged for the previous day to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the death of N. A. Dobrolyubov. The representative of the autocracy in Moscow was howled down by people who, in unison with all educated and thinking people in Russia, held dear the memory of a writer who had passionately hated tyranny and passionately looked forward to a people's uprising against the "Turks at home", i.e., against the autocratic government. The Executive Committee of the Moscow Students' Organisations rightly pointed out in its bulletin of November 23 that the unprepared demonstration served as a striking indication of the prevailing discontent and protest.

In Kharkov, a demonstration called in connection with student affairs developed into a regular street battle, in which the students were not the only participants. Last year's experience taught the students a lesson. They realised that only the support of the people, especially of the workers, could guarantee them success, and that in order to obtain that support, they must not restrict themselves to struggling merely for academic (student) freedom, but for *the freedom of the entire people*, for *political freedom*.

The Kharkov Joint Council of Students' Organisations definitely expressed this idea in its October manifesto and, judging from their leaflets and manifestos, the students of St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Riga, and Odessa are beginning to understand the "senselessness of the dream" of academic freedom amidst the gloom of enslavement enshrouding the people. The infamous speech delivered by General Vannovsky in Moscow, in which he denied the "rumours" that he had at one time promised something, the unparalleled insolence of the St. Petersburg detective (who seized a student in the Institute of Electrical Engineering in order to take from him a letter he had received by messenger), the savage assault upon Yaroslavl students by the police in the streets and in the police-station—these and a thousand other facts sound their cry for struggle, struggle, struggle against the whole of the autocratic system. Patience became exhausted in the case of the Kharkov veterinaries. The first-year students submitted a petition for the dismissal of Professor Lagermark, on account of his bureaucratic attitude towards their studies and his intolerable rudeness in which he went so far as to fling copies of the syllabus in the faces of the students! Without investigating the case, the government responded by expelling the entire first-year student body from the Institute, and in addition slandered the students by declaring in its report that they demanded the right to appoint the professors. This roused the entire Kharkov student body to action, and it was resolved to organise a strike and a demonstration. Between November 28 and December 2, Kharkov was for the second time in the same year transformed into a field of battle between the "Turks at home" and the people, which protested against autocratic tyranny. On the one side, shouts of, "Down with the autocracy!", "Long live liberty!"—on the other, sabres, knouts, and horses trampling upon the people. The police and Cossacks,[30] mercilessly assaulting all and sundry, irrespective of age and sex, gained a victory over an unarmed crowd and are now triumphant. . . .

Shall we allow them to triumph?

Workers! You know only too well the evil force that is tormenting the Russian people. This evil force binds you hand and foot in your everyday struggles against the

employers for a better life and for human dignity. This evil force snatches hundreds and thousands of your best comrades from your midst, flings them into jail, sends them into banishment, and, as if in mockery, declares them to be "persons of evil conduct". This evil force on May 7 fired on the workers of the Obukhov Works[31] in St. Petersburg, when they rose up with the cry, "We want liberty!" —and then staged a farce of a trial, in order to send to penal servitude those heroes who escaped the bullets. This evil force is assaulting students today, and tomorrow it will fling itself with greater ferocity upon you. Lose no time! Remember that you must support every protest and every struggle against the bashi-bazouks of the autocratic government! Exert every effort to come to an agreement with the demonstrating students, organise circles for the rapid transmission of information and for the distribution of leaflets, explain to all that you are struggling for the freedom of the entire people.

When the flames of popular indignation and open struggle flare up, first in one place and then in another, it is more than ever necessary to direct upon them a powerful current of fresh air, to fan them into a great conflagration!

Iskra No. 13,
December 20, 1901

Collected Works, Vol. 5

SIGNS OF BANKRUPTCY

Only a year has elapsed since Bogolepov was struck by Karpovich's bullet, which cleared the way for a "new course" in the government's policy towards the universities. During this year we have observed successively an unusual surge of social indignation, an unusually gentle note in speeches by our rulers, a regretfully all-too-usual infatuation of society with these new speeches, an infatuation which has extended to a certain section of the students as well, and, lastly, following on the fulfilment of Vannovsky's florid promises, a new outburst of students' protests. To those who last spring expected a "new era" and seriously believed that the tsarist drill sergeant would fulfil but a modicum of the hopes harboured by students and society—in short, to the Russian liberals, it should now be clear how mistaken they were in once again giving credence to the government, how little justification there was for halting the movement for reform which in the spring had begun to assume impressive forms, and for allowing themselves to be lulled by the sweet strains coming from the government sirens. After the promise to reinstate at the universities all last year's victims had been broken, after a series of new reactionary measures had flung a challenge to all those who demanded a real reform of the educational system, after a series of fresh and violent reprisals against demonstrators who demanded that the fraudulent bankrupt should make good his promises—after all this the government of "cordial concern" has published "provisional regulations", for student organisations

as means of "pacification", and . . . instead of "pacification" is confronted with a general conflagration of "disorders" again involving all educational institutions.

We, revolutionaries, have never for a moment believed that Vannovsky's promised reforms were meant in earnest. We kept on telling the liberals that the circulars of this "cordial" general and the rescripts of Nicholas Obmanov[32] were just another manifestation of the liberal policy the autocracy has become so adept in during forty years of struggle against the "internal enemy", i.e., against all progressive elements in Russia. We warned the liberals against the "pipe dreams" they began to indulge in following the government's very first steps in the spirit of the "new course". We exposed the deliberate falsity of the government's promises, and warned society: "If your opponent has been stunned by the first serious assault, keep on showering fresh blows at him, redoubling their strength and frequency. . . ." That travesty of the right to organise which the "provisional regulations" are now offering the students was predicted by the revolutionaries from the very beginning of the talk about this new gift from the government. We knew what could and should have been expected of the autocracy and its miserable attempt at reform. We knew that Vannovsky would "pacify" nobody and nothing, that he would not fulfil any progressive hopes, and that the "disorders" would inevitably recur in one form or another.

A year has passed, but society is still marking time. The higher educational institutions that are supposed to exist in any well-ordered state have again stopped functioning. Tens of thousands of young people have again had the tenor of their life upset, and society is again faced with the old question: "What next?"

A considerable majority of the students have refused to recognise the "provisional regulations" and the organisations allowed by them. With greater determination than they usually show, the professors are expressing obvious dissatisfaction with this gift of the government. And, indeed, one does not have to be a revolutionary, one does not have to be a radical, to recognise that this so-called "reform" not only fails to give the students anything re-

sembling freedom, but is also worthless as a means of bringing any tranquility into university life. Is it not immediately obvious that these "provisional regulations" create in advance a series of causes for conflict between the students and the authorities? Is it not obvious that the introduction of these regulations threatens to turn any students' meeting, *lawfully* called for the most peaceful purpose, into a starting-point for fresh "disorders"? Can it be doubted, for example, that by presiding at such meetings the inspectors, who exercise police functions, will constantly annoy some, evoke protest in others, and intimidate and gag yet others? And is it not clear that Russian students will not allow the character of the discussions at such meetings to be forcibly determined at the "discretion" of the authorities?

Yet the "right" of assembly and organisation granted by the government in the absurd form established by the "provisional regulations" is the *maximum* that the autocracy can give the students, if it is to remain an autocracy. Any further step in this direction would amount to a suicidal disturbance of the equilibrium on which the government's relations with its "subjects" rest. Reconciling themselves to this maximum that the government can offer, or intensifying the *political*, *revolutionary* character of their protest—such is the dilemma the students are facing. The majority are adopting the latter alternative. More clearly than ever before, a revolutionary note rings in the students' appeals and resolutions. The policy of alternating brutal repression with Judas kisses is doing its work and revolutionising the mass of students.

Yes, in one way or another, the students have settled the question confronting them and have declared that they are again prepared to take up the weapon they laid aside (under the influence of the lullabies). But what does society, which seems to have dozed off to these treacherous lullabies, intend to do? Why does it persist in maintaining silence and in "sympathising on the quiet"? Why is nothing heard of *society*'s protests, *its* active support for the renewed unrest? Is it really prepared to wait "calmly" for the inevitable tragic events by which every student movement has been attended hitherto? Does it really intend to

confine itself to the wretched role of teller of the number of victims in the struggle and passive observer of its shocking scenes? Why do we not hear the voice of the "fathers", when the "children" have unequivocally declared their intention to offer up new sacrifices on the altar of Russian freedom? Why does our society not support the students at least in the way the workers have already supported them? After all, the higher educational institutions are attended not by the proletarians' sons and brothers, and yet the workers in Kiev, Kharkov, and Ekaterinoslav have already openly declared their sympathy with the protesters, despite a number of "precautionary measures" taken by the police authorities and despite their threats to use armed force against demonstrators. Is it possible that this manifestation of the revolutionary idealism of the Russian proletariat will not influence the behaviour of society, which is vitally and directly interested in the fate of the students, and will not urge it to energetic protest?

The student "disorders" this year are beginning under fairly favourable portents. They are assured the sympathy of the "crowd", "the street". It would be a criminal mistake on the part of liberal society not to make every effort to completely demoralise the government by giving *timely* support to the students, and to wrest real concessions from it.

The immediate future will show how far our liberal society is capable of such a role. The outcome of the present student movement largely depends on the answer to this question. But whatever that outcome may be, one thing is certain: the recurrence of general student disorders after so brief a lull is a sign of the political bankruptcy of the present system. For three years the universities have been unable to settle down to normal life, studies are conducted by fits and starts, one of the cogs of the state machine is ceasing to function and, after turning uselessly for a time, is again coming to a standstill for a long while. There can be no doubt that under the present political regime there is no radical cure for this disease. The late Bogolepov sought to save the fatherland by a "heroic" method borrowed from the outmoded medicine prescribed by Nicholas I. We know what that led to. It is obvious that there can be no further progress in *this* direction. The policy of flirting with the students has now suffered a fiasco. But there is no other way besides violence and flirtation, and each new manifestation of this unquestionable bankruptcy of the existing regime will undermine its foundations more and more, depriving the government of all prestige in the eyes of the indifferent philistines, and increasing the number of people who realise the need to struggle against it.

Yes, the bankruptcy of the autocracy is beyond doubt, and it is hurrying to announce the fact to the world at large. Is it not a declaration of bankruptcy that "a state of emergency" has been proclaimed in a good third of the Empire, and local authorities in all parts of Russia have come out simultaneously with "compulsory decrees" forbidding, under pain of severe penalties, acts that Russian laws do not allow as it is? By their very nature, all emergency regulations, which suspend the operation of ordinary laws, are meant to operate for only a limited time and in a limited area. The assumption is that extraordinary circumstances demand the temporary application of emergency measures in definite localities for the purpose of restoring the equilibrium necessary for the unimpeded operation of ordinary laws. That is the argument used by representatives of the existing regime. Twenty odd years have elapsed since the introduction of the emergency law. Twenty years of its operation in the principal centres of the Empire have not brought about the "pacification" of the country, or restored public order. After this powerful remedy has been in use for twenty years, it appears that the disease of "unreliability", which it was devised to combat, has become so widespread and struck such deep roots as to make it necessary to extend it to all towns and factory centres of any importance! Is this not bankruptcy, openly declared by the bankrupt himself? Confirmed adherents of the present order (undoubtedly such do exist) must be horrified by the fact that the population is gradually becoming inured to this potent medicine, and is ceasing to react to fresh injections of it.

The bankruptcy of the government's *economic* policy is also coming to light, this time against its will. The autocracy's repacious methods of running the economy have

rested on the monstrous exploitation of the peasantry. These methods have taken for granted, as an inevitable consequence, recurrent famines among the peasants in one locality or another. At such times the predatory state has attempted to parade before the population in the noble role of considerate provider for the very people it has robbed. Beginning with 1891, famines have taken an enormous toll of victims, and from 1897 they have followed one another almost without interruption. In 1892 Tolstoi bitterly derided the fact that "the parasite is preparing to feed the plant upon whose juices it thrives".[33] It was, indeed, an absurd idea. Times have changed, and with famine having turned into a normal state of affairs in the countryside, our parasite is not so much taken up with the utopian idea of feeding the plundered peasantry, as with declaring that very same idea an offence against the state. The aim has been achieved—the huge famine of today is taking place in an atmosphere of dead silence that is unusual even in our country. The groans of the starving peasants are not heard; there is no attempt on the part of the public to take the initiative in combating the famine; the newspapers say nothing about the situation in the villages. An enviable silence, but do not Messrs. the Sipyagins feel that this quiet is highly reminiscent of the calm before a storm?

The state system, which for ages has rested on the passive support of millions of peasants, has reduced the latter to a state in which year in year out they are unable to provide food for themselves. This *social* bankruptcy of the monarchy of Messrs. the Obmanovs is no less instructive than its *political* bankruptcy.

When will the affairs of our fraudulent bankrupt be wound up? Will he manage to carry on much longer, living from day to day, and patching up the holes in his political and financial budget with skin taken from the living body of the national organism? The greater or lesser period of grace that history will allow our bankrupt will depend on many factors; but one of the most important will be the degree of revolutionary activity displayed by those who have become aware of the existing regime's complete bankruptcy. Its decay is in an advanced stage, and is far ahead of the *political mobilisation* of the social

elements destined to be its grave-diggers. This political mobilisation will be carried out most effectively by revolutionary Social-Democracy, which alone will be capable of dealing a mortal blow at the autocracy. The new clash between the students and the government enables and obliges us all to accelerate this mobilisation of all social forces hostile to the autocracy. Months of hostilities in political life are accounted by history as the equivalent of years. The times we live in are indeed times of hostilities.

Iskra No. 17,
February 15, 1902

Collected Works, Vol. 6

TO SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS[34]

Welcoming whole-heartedly the energetic initiative of the students, we on our part give them the following comradely advice. Try to concentrate your efforts on self-education as the main purpose of your organisation, in order to develop into convinced, steadfast, and consistent Social-Democrats. Draw the strictest possible line of demarcation between this extremely important and essential preparatory work and direct practical activity. On joining (and *before* joining) the ranks of the army in the field try to establish closest (and most secret) contacts with the local or all-Russian Social-Democratic organisations, so as not to be alone when you begin your work, so as to be able to continue what has already been done before, rather than begin all over again, to take your place at once in the ranks, to advance the movement and raise it to a higher stage.

Iskra No. 29,
December 1, 1902

Collected Works, Vol. 6

FROM *ON THE SUBJECT OF REPORTS BY COMMITTEES AND GROUPS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. TO THE GENERAL PARTY CONGRESS*

One of the members of the Organising Committee[35] has asked me to send a list of questions to which it would be desirable to have replies given in the reports of the committees and groups of our Party at its Second Congress.[36] I enclose herewith an approximate list of such questions....

IV. CHARACTER, CONTENT, AND SCOPE OF LOCAL WORK

16. Propaganda. Composition (of the circles) of propagandists? Their number, method of action? Do they include workers? Do students predominate? Do more experienced comrades examine and direct their activities?...

VII. CONTACTS AND ACTIVITY AMONG SECTIONS OF THE POPULATION OUTSIDE THE WORKING CLASS

28. Students. Is influence sporadic and personal, or organised? Have many Social-Democrats come from the midst of the students? Are there any contacts with students' circles, fraternities, union councils? How are these contacts maintained? Lectures? Distribution of literature? Prevalent mood among students and the history of changes in various moods.

Attitude towards student disturbances?

Students' participation in demonstrations? Attempts to reach preliminary agreement in this respect?

Students as propagandists, their training for this work?

29. Secondary schools, Gymnasia, theological seminaries, etc., commercial and business schools? Nature of contacts with pupils? Attitude towards new phase of upsurge in movement among them? Attempts to organise circles and study courses? Have recruits to the Social-Democratic movement been made (and how often) among recent Gymnasium graduates (or pupils)? Circles, lectures? Distribution of literature?...

VIII. STATE OF THE NON-SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTIONARY AND OPPOSITION TRENDS AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS THEM

32. Liberal trends. Liberal-Narodnik.[37] Among the public? Among the students? *Osvobozhdeniye*,[38] its circulation (among students? among workers?) and its influence? Are there any *Osvobozhdeniye* circles? Their attitude towards the Social-Democrats?

Interest in *Osvobozhdeniye* among Social-Democratic circles and attitude towards this publication. Is it utilised for propaganda and agitation?

General meetings with debates?

33. Socialist-Revolutionaries.[39] Detailed account of their appearance in the given locality? When? From the narodovoltsy? Their change into the Socialist-Revolutionaries? Influence of "Economism"[40]? Character and composition of their contacts and circles? Veterans? Students? Workers? The struggle against the Social-Democrats, its course, and how conducted?

United groups of Social-Democrats and Socialist-Revolutionaries. Their detailed history, data on their work, *leaflets,* resolutions of groups, and so on.

Special features of weakness or strength of the Socialist-Revolutionaries? Inclination towards terrorism? Among students? Among workers?...

Written in December 1902-January 1903

Collected Works, Vol. 6

First published in 1924
in *The Proletarian Revolution*
No. 1

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE STUDENT YOUTH

STUDENT YOUTH

The Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party welcomes the growing revolutionary initiative among the student youth and calls upon all organisations of the Party to give them every possible assistance in their efforts to organise. It recommends that all organisations, student groups and study circles should, firstly, make it the prime object of their activities to imbue their members with an integral and consistent revolutionary world outlook and give them a thorough acquaintance with Marxism, on the one hand, and with Russian Narodism and West-European opportunism, on the other, these being the principal currents among the conflicting advanced trends of today; secondly, that they should beware of those false friends of the youth who divert them from a thorough revolutionary training through recourse to empty revolutionary or idealistic phrase-mongering and philistine complaints about the harm and uselessness of sharp polemics between the revolutionary and the opposition movements, for as a matter of fact these false friends are only spreading an unprincipled and unserious attitude towards revolutionary work; thirdly, that they should endeavour, when undertaking practical activities, to establish prior contact with the Social-Democratic organisations, so as to have the benefit of their advice and, as far as possible, to avoid serious mistakes at the very outset of their work.

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Collected Works, Vol. 6

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SPEECH AT THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE R.S.D.L.P. ON THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE STUDENT YOUTH AUGUST 10(23)

It is not only by reactionaries that the expression "false friends" is used; we know from the example of the liberals and Socialist-Revolutionaries that such "false friends" do exist. It is these false friends that are trying to persuade the youth that they have no need to distinguish between different trends. We, on the contrary, consider it the main task to develop an integral revolutionary world outlook, and the practical task for the future is to get the youth, when they are organising themselves, to apply to our committees.

Collected Works, Vol. 6

THE TASKS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH[41]

FIRST LETTER

The editorial statement of the newspaper *Student*,[42] which, if we are not mistaken, was first published in No. 4(28) of *Osvobozhdeniye*, and which was also received by *Iskra*,[43] is indicative in our opinion of a considerable advance in the editors' views since the appearance of the first issue of *Student*. Mr. Struve was not mistaken when he hastened to express his disagreement with the views set forth in the statement: those views do indeed differ radically from the trend of opportunism so consistently and zealously maintained by the bourgeois-liberal organ. By recognising that "revolutionary sentiment *alone* cannot bring about ideological unity among the students", that "this requires a socialist ideal based upon one or another socialist world outlook" and, moreover, "a definite and integral" outlook, the editors of *Student* have broken in principle with ideological indifference and theoretical opportunism, and have put the question of the way to revolutionise the students on a proper footing.

True, from the current standpoint of vulgar "revolutionism", the achievement of ideological unity among the students does not require an integral world outlook, but rather precludes it, involving a "tolerant" attitude towards the various kinds of revolutionary ideas and abstention from positive commitment to some one definite set of ideas; in short, in the opinion of these political wiseacres, ideological unity presupposes a certain lack of ideological principles (more or less skilfully disguised, of course, by

hackneyed formulas about breadth of views, the importance of unity at all costs and immediately, and so on and so forth). A rather plausible and, at first glance, convincing argument always produced in support of this line of reasoning is to point to the generally known and incontrovertible fact that among the students there are, and are bound to be, groups differing greatly in their political and social views, and to declare that the demand for an integral and definite world outlook would therefore inevitably repel some of these groups and, consequently, hinder unity, produce dissension instead of concerted action, and hence weaken the power of the common political onslaught, and so on and so forth, without end.

Let us examine this plausible argument. Let us take, for example, the division of students into groups given in No. 1 of *Student*. In this first issue the editors did not yet advance the demand for a definite and integral world outlook, and it would therefore be difficult to suspect them of a leaning towards Social-Democratic "narrowness". The editorial in the first issue of *Student* distinguishes four major groups among the present-day students: 1) the indifferent crowd—"persons completely indifferent to the student movement"; 2) the "academics"—those who favour student movements of an exclusively academic type; 3) "opponents of student movements in general—nationalists, anti-Semites, etc."; and 4) the "politically-minded"—those who believe in fighting for the overthrow of tsarist despotism. "This group, in turn, consists of two antithetical elements—those belonging to the purely bourgeois political opposition with a revolutionary tendency, and those who belong to the newly emerged [only newly emerged?—*N. Lenin*] socialistically-minded revolutionary intellectual proletariat." Seeing that the latter subgroup is divided in its turn, as we all know, into Socialist-Revolutionary students and Social-Democratic students, we find that there are among the present-day students *six* political groups: reactionaries, indifferents, academics, liberals, Socialist-Revolutionaries and Social-Democrats.

The question arises: is this perhaps an accidental grouping, a temporary alignment of views? That question has only to be raised for anyone at all acquainted with the matter to answer it in the negative. And, indeed, there could

not be any other grouping among our students, because they are the most responsive section of the intelligentsia, and the intelligentsia are so called just because they most consciously, most resolutely and most accurately reflect and express the development of class interests and political groupings in society as a whole. The students would not be what they are if their political grouping did not correspond to the political grouping of society as a whole—"correspond" not in the sense of the student groups and the social groups being absolutely proportionate in strength and numbers, but in the sense of the necessary and inevitable existence among the students of the same groups as in society. And Russian society as a whole, with its (relatively) embryonic development of class antagonisms, its political virginity, and the crushed and downtrodden condition of the vast, overwhelming majority of the population under the rule of police despotism, is characterised by precisely these six groups, namely: reactionaries, indifferents, *uplifters*, liberals, Socialist-Revolutionaries and Social-Democrats. For "academics" I have here substituted "uplifters", i.e., believers in law-abiding progress without a political struggle, progress under the autocracy. Such uplifters are to be found in all sections of Russian society, and everywhere, like the student "academics", they confine themselves to the narrow range of professional interests, the improvement of their particular branches of the national economy or of state and local administration; everywhere they fearfully shun "politics", making no distinction (as the academics make none) between the "politically-minded" of different trends, and implying by the term politics everything that concerns ... the form of government. The uplifters have always constituted, and still constitute, the broad foundation of our liberalism: in "peaceful" times (i.e., translated into "Russian", in times of political reaction) the concepts uplifter and liberal become practically synonymous; and even in times of war, times of rising public feeling, times of mounting onslaught on the autocracy, the distinction between them often remains vague. The Russian liberal, even when he comes out in a free foreign publication with a direct and open protest against the autocracy, never ceases to feel that he is an uplifter first and foremost, and every now and again he will

start talking like a slave, or, if you prefer, like a law-abiding, loyal and dutiful subject—vide *Osvobozhdeniye*.

The absence of a definite and clearly discernible borderline between uplifters and liberals is a general characteristic of the whole political grouping in Russian society. We might be told that the above division into six groups is incorrect because it does not correspond to the class division of Russian society. But such an objection would be unfounded. The class division is, of course, the ultimate basis of the political grouping; *in the final analysis*, of course, it always determines that grouping. But this ultimate basis becomes revealed only in the process of historical development and as the consciousness of the participants in and makers of that process grows. This "final analysis" is arrived at only by political struggle, sometimes a long, stubborn struggle lasting years and decades, at times breaking out stormily in the form of political crises, at others dying down and, as it were, coming temporarily to a standstill. Not for nothing is it that in Germany, for example, where the political struggle assumes particularly acute forms and where the progressive class—the proletariat—is particularly class-conscious, there still exist such parties (and powerful parties at that) as the Centre, whose denominational banner serves to conceal its heterogeneous (but on the whole decidedly anti-proletarian) class nature. The less reason is there to be surprised that the class origin of the present-day political groups in Russia is strongly overshadowed by the politically disfranchised condition of the people as a whole, by the domination over them of a remarkably well-organised, ideologically united and traditionally exclusive bureaucracy. What is surprising, rather, is that Russia's development along European capitalist lines should already, despite her Asiatic political system, have made so strong a mark on the political grouping of society.

In our country too, the industrial proletariat, the progressive class of every capitalist country, has already entered on the path of a mass, organised movement led by Social-Democracy, under the banner of a programme which has long since become the programme of the class-conscious proletariat of the whole world. The category of people who are indifferent to politics is of course incomparably larger in Russia than in any European country, but even in Rus-

sia one can no longer speak of the primitive and primeval virginity of this category: the indifference of the non-class-conscious workers—and partly of the peasants too—is giving place more and more often to outbursts of political unrest and active protest, which clearly demonstrate that *this* indifference has nothing in common with the indifference of the well-fed bourgeois and petty bourgeois. This latter class, which is particularly numerous in Russia owing to her still relatively small degree of capitalist development, is already unquestionably beginning, on the one hand, to produce some conscious and consistent reactionaries; but on the other hand, and immeasurably more often, it is still little to be distinguished from the mass of ignorant and downtrodden "toiling folk" and draws its ideologues from among the large group of *raznochintsy*[44] intellectuals, with their absolutely unsettled world outlook and unconscious jumble of democratic and primitive-socialist ideas. It is just this ideology that is characteristic of the old Russian intelligentsia, both of the Right wing of its liberal-Narodnik section and of the most Leftward wing: the "Socialist-Revolutionaries".

I said the "old" Russian intelligentsia. For a *new* intelligentsia, whose liberalism has almost entirely sloughed off primitive Narodism and vague socialism (not without the help of Russian Marxism, of course), is already making its appearance in our country. The formation of a real bourgeois-liberal intelligentsia is proceeding in Russia with giant strides, especially owing to the participation in this process of people so nimble and responsive to every opportunist vogue as Messrs. Struve, Berdyaev, Bulgakov & Co. As regards, lastly, those liberal and reactionary elements of Russian society who do not belong to the intelligentsia, their connection with the class interests of one or another group of our bourgeoisie or landowners is clear enough to anyone at all acquainted, say, with the activities of our Zemstvos, Dumas, stock-exchange committees, fair committees, etc.

And so, we have arrived at the indubitable conclusion that the political grouping of our students is not accidental, but is bound to be such as we have depicted above, in

concurrence with the first issue of *Student*. Having established that fact, we can easily cope with the controversial question of what, actually, should be understood by "achieving ideological unity among the students", "revolutionising" the students, and so on. It even seems very strange at first glance that so simple a question should have proved controversial. If the political grouping of the students corresponds to the political grouping of society, does it not follow of itself that "achieving ideological unity" among the students can mean only one of two things: either winning over the largest possible number of students to a quite definite set of social and political ideas, or establishing the closest possible bond between the students of a definite political group and the members of that group outside the student body. Is it not self-evident that one can speak of revolutionising the students only having in mind a perfectly definite content and character of this revolutionising process? To the Social-Democrat, for example, it means, firstly, spreading Social-Democratic ideas among the students and combating ideas which, though called "Socialist-Revolutionary", have nothing in common with revolutionary socialism; and, secondly, endeavouring to broaden every democratic student movement, the academic kind included, and make it more conscious and determined.

How so clear and simple a question was confused and rendered controversial is a very interesting and very characteristic story. A controversy arose between *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya*[45] (Nos. 13 and 17) and *Iskra* (Nos. 31 and 35) over the "Open Letter" of the Kiev Joint Council of United Fraternities and Student Organisations (printed in *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* No. 13 and in *Student* No. 1). The Kiev Joint Council characterised as "narrow" the decision of the Second All-Russia Student Congress of 1902 that student organisations should maintain relations with the committees of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party; and the quite obvious fact that a certain section of the students in certain localities sympathise with the "Socialist-Revolutionary Party" was nicely covered up by the very "impartial" and very unsound argument that "the students as such cannot associate themselves in their entirety with either the Socialist-Revolutionary Party or the Social-Democratic Party". *Iskra* pointed to the unsoundness of this

argument, but *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya,* of course, flew to arms in its defence, calling the *Iskra*-ists "fanatics for divisions and splits" and accusing them of "tactlessness" and lack of political maturity.

After what has been said above, the absurdity of such an argument is only too apparent. The question at issue is the particular political role the students should play. And, don't you see, you must first shut your eyes to the fact that the students are not cut off from the rest of society and therefore always and inevitably reflect the political grouping of society as a whole, and then, with eyes thus shut, proceed to chatter about the students as such, or the students in general. The conclusion arrived at is ... the harmfulness of divisions and splits resulting from association with a particular political party. It is clear as daylight that in order to carry this curious argument to its conclusion, the arguer had to leap from the political plane to the occupational or educational plane. And it is just such a flying leap that *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* makes in the article "The Students and Revolution" (No. 17), talking, firstly, about general student interests and the general student struggle and, secondly, about the educational aims of the students, the task of training themselves for future social activity and developing into conscious political fighters. Both these points are very just—but they have nothing to do with the case and only confuse the issue. The question under discussion is *political* activity, which by its very nature is connected inseparably with the struggle of parties and inevitably involves the *choice* of one definite party. How, then, can one evade this choice on the grounds that *all* political activity requires very serious scientific training, the "development" of firm convictions, or that *no* political work can be confined to circles of politically-minded people of a particular trend, but must be directed to ever broader sections of the population, must link up with the occupational interests of every section, must unite the occupational movement with the political movement and raise the former to the level of the latter? Why, the very fact that people have to resort to such devices in order to defend their position shows how sadly they themselves are wanting both in definite scientific convictions and in a firm political line! From whatever side you approach the

matter, you find fresh confirmation of the old truth which the Social-Democrats have long propounded in condemning the efforts of the Socialist-Revolutionaries to balance themselves—as regards both scientific theory and practical politics—between Marxism, West-European "critical" opportunism and Russian petty-bourgeois Narodism.*

Indeed, imagine a state of things where political relations are at all developed and see how our "controversial question" looks in practice. Suppose there is a clerical party, a liberal party and a Social-Democratic party. In certain localities they function among certain sections of the students, let us say, and, perhaps, of the working class. They try to win over as many as possible of the influential representatives of both. Is it conceivable that they would object to these representatives choosing one definite party on the grounds that there are certain general educational and occupational interests common to all the students and to the entire working class? That would be like disputing the fact that parties must contend on the grounds that the art of printing is useful to all parties without distinction. There is no party in the civilised countries that does not realise the tremendous value of the widest and most firmly established educational and trade unions; but each seeks to have its own influence predominate in them. Who does not know that talk about this or that institution being non-partisan is generally nothing but the humbug of the ruling classes, who want to gloss over the fact that existing institutions are already imbued, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, with a very definite political spirit? Yet what our Socialist-Revolutionaries do is, in effect, to sing dithyrambs to "non-partisanship". Take, for example, the following moving tirade in *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* (No. 17): "What short-sighted tactics it is when a revolutionary organisation is determined to regard every other independent, non-subordinate organisation as a *competitor* that must be destroyed and into whose ranks division, disunity, and disorganisation must at all costs be introduced!" This was said in reference to the 1896[46] appeal of the Moscow Social-

* It need hardly be said that the thesis that the programme and tactics of the Socialist-Revolutionaries are inconsistent and inherently contradictory requires special detailed elucidation. We hope to go into this in detail in a subsequent letter.

Democratic organisation, which reproached the students for having in recent years withdrawn into the narrow confines of their university interests, and which *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* admonished, saying that the existence of student organisations never prevented those who had "crystallised as revolutionaries" from devoting their energies to the workers' cause.

Just see how much confusion there is here. Competition is possible (and inevitable) only between a political organisation and another political organisation, a political tendency and another political tendency. There can be no competition between a mutual aid society and a revolutionary circle; and when *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* ascribes to the latter the determination to destroy the former, it is talking sheer nonsense. But if in this same mutual aid society there develops a certain political tendency—not to aid revolutionaries, for instance, or to exclude illegal books from the library—then every honest "politically-minded" person is *in duty bound* to compete with it and combat it outright. If there are people who confine the circles to narrow university interests (and there undoubtedly are such people, and in 1896 there were far more!), then a *struggle* between them and the advocates of broadening, not narrowing, the interests is similarly imperative and obligatory. And, mind you, in the open letter of the Kiev Council, which evoked the controversy between *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* and *Iskra*, the question was of a choice not between student organisations *and* revolutionary organisations, but between revolutionary organisations of different trends. Consequently, it is people already "crystallised as revolutionaries" that have begun to *choose*, while our "Socialist-Revolutionaries" are dragging them *back*, on the pretext that competition between a revolutionary organisation and a purely student organisation is short-sighted.... That is really too senseless, gentlemen!

The *revolutionary* section of the students began to choose between two revolutionary parties, and are treated to this lecture: "It was not by imposing a definite [indefiniteness is preferable, of course...] party label [a label to some, a banner to others], it was not by violating the intellectual conscience of their fellow-students [the entire bourgeois press of all countries always attributes the growth of

Social-Democracy to ringleaders and trouble-makers violating the conscience of their peaceable fellows. . .] that this influence was achieved", i.e., the influence of the socialist section of the students over the rest. Assuredly, every honest-minded student will know what to think of this charge against the socialists of "imposing" labels and "violating consciences". And these spineless, flabby and unprincipled utterances are made in Russia, where ideas of party organisation, of party consistency and honour, of the party banner are still so immeasurably weak!

Our "Socialist-Revolutionaries" hold up as an example to the revolutionary students the earlier student congresses, which proclaimed their "solidarity with the general political movement, leaving quite aside the factional dissensions in the revolutionary camp". What is this "general political" movement? The socialist movement plus the liberal movement. Leaving that distinction aside means siding with the movement immediately nearest, that is, the liberal movement. And it is the "Socialist-Revolutionaries" who urge doing that! People who call themselves a *separate* party urge dissociation from party struggle! Does not this show that that party cannot convey its political wares under its own colours and is obliged to resort to contraband? Is it not clear that that party lacks any definite programmatic basis *of its own*? That we shall soon see.

The errors in the Socialist-Revolutionaries' arguments about the students and revolution cannot be attributed merely to the lack of logic that we have tried to demonstrate above. In a certain sense it is the other way round: the illogicality of their arguments follows from their basic error. As a "party" they from the first adopted so inherently contradictory, so slippery a stand that people who were quite honest and quite capable of political thinking could not maintain it without constantly wobbling and falling. It should always be remembered that the Social-Democrats do not ascribe the harm done by the "Socialist-Revolutionaries" to the socialist cause to various mistakes on the part of individual writers or leaders. On the contrary, they regard all these mistakes as the inevitable consequence of a false programme and political position. In

a matter like the student question this falsity is particularly apparent and the contradiction between a *bourgeois-democratic* viewpoint and a tinselled covering of revolutionary socialism becomes manifest. Indeed, examine the train of thought in *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya*'s programmatic article "The Students and Revolution". The author's main emphasis is on the "unselfishness and purity of aims", the "force of idealistic motives" of the "youth". It is here that he seeks the explanation of their "innovatory" political strivings, and not in the actual conditions of social life in Russia, which, on the one hand, produce an irreconcilable antagonism between the autocracy and very broad and very heterogeneous sections of the population and, on the other, render (soon we shall have to be saying: rendered) extremely difficult any manifestation of political discontent except through the universities.

The author then turns his guns on the attempts of the Social-Democrats to react consciously to the existence of different political groups among the students, to bring about closer unity of like political groups and to separate the politically unlike. It is not that he criticises as incorrect any of these attempts in particular—it would be absurd to maintain that all of them were always wholly successful. No, he is a stranger to the very idea that differing class interests are bound to be reflected in the political grouping too, that the students cannot be an exception to society as a whole, however unselfish, pure, idealistic, etc., they may be, and that the task of the socialist is not to gloss over this difference but, on the contrary, to explain it as widely as possible and to embody it in a political organisation. The author views things from the idealist standpoint of a bourgeois democrat, not the materialist standpoint of a Social-Democrat.

He is therefore not ashamed to issue and reiterate the appeal to the revolutionary students to adhere to the "general political movement". The main thing for him is precisely the general political, i.e., the general democratic, movement, which must be united. This unity must not be impaired by the "purely revolutionary circles", which must align themselves "parallel to the general student organisation". From the standpoint of the interests of this broad and united democratic movement, it would be criminal,

of course, to "impose" party labels and to violate the intellectual conscience of your fellows. This was just the view of the bourgeois democrats in 1848,[47] when attempts to point to the conflicting class interests of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat evoked "general" condemnation of the "fanatics for divisions and splits". And this too is the view of the latest variety of bourgeois democrats—the opportunists and revisionists, who yearn for a great united democratic party proceeding peaceably by way of reforms, the way of class collaboration. They have always been, and must necessarily be, opponents of "factional" dissensions and supporters of the "general political" movement.

As you see, the arguments of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, which from the standpoint of a socialist are illogical and contradictory to the point of absurdity, become quite understandable and consistent when viewed from the standpoint of the bourgeois democrat. That is because the Socialist-Revolutionary Party is, actually, nothing but a *subdivision* of the bourgeois democrats, a subdivision which in its composition is primarily intellectual, in its standpoint is primarily petty-bourgeois, and in its theoretical ideas eclectically combines latter-day opportunism with old-time Narodism.

The best refutation of the bourgeois democrat's phrases about unity is the course of political development and of the political struggle itself. And in Russia the growth of the actual movement has already led to *this* kind of refutation. I am referring to the emergence of the "academics" as a separate group among the students. As long as there was no real struggle, the academics did not stand out from the "general student" mass, and the "unity" of the whole "thinking section" of the students appeared inviolable. But as soon as it came to *action*, the divergence of unlike elements became inevitable.*

The progress of the political movement and of the direct onslaught on the autocracy was immediately marked by

* If certain reports are to be credited, a further divergence of the unlike elements among the students is becoming increasingly marked, namely, dissociation of the socialists from political *revolutionaries* who refuse to hear of socialism. It is said that this latter trend is very pronounced among the students exiled to Siberia. We shall see if these reports are confirmed.

greater definiteness of political grouping—despite all the empty talk about uniting anybody and everybody. That the separation of the academics and the politically-minded is a big step forward, hardly anyone, surely, will doubt. But does this separation mean that the Social-Democratic students will "break" with the academics? *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* thinks that it does (see No. 17, p. 3).

But it thinks so only because of the confusion of ideas which we have brought out above. A complete demarcation of political trends in no wise signifies a "break-up" of the occupational and educational unions. A Social-Democrat who sets out to work among the students will *unfailingly* endeavour to penetrate, either himself or through his agents, into the largest possible number of the broadest possible "purely student" and educational circles; he will try to broaden the outlook of those who demand only academic freedom, and to propagate precisely the Social-Democratic programme among those who are still looking for a programme.

To sum up. A certain section of the students want to acquire a definite and integral socialist world outlook. The ultimate aim of this preparatory work can only be—for students who want to take practical part in the revolutionary movement—the conscious and irrevocable choice of one of the two trends that have now taken shape among the revolutionaries. Whoever protests against such a choice on the plea of effecting ideological unity among the students, of revolutionising them in general, and so forth, is obscuring socialist consciousness and is in actual fact preaching absence of ideological principles. The political grouping of the students cannot but reflect the political grouping of society as a whole, and it is the duty of every socialist to strive for the most conscious and consistent demarcation of politically unlike groups. The Socialist-Revolutionary Party's appeal to the students to "proclaim their solidarity with the general political movement and leave quite aside the factional dissensions in the revolutionary camp" is, essentially, an appeal to go *back*, from the socialist to the bourgeois-democratic standpoint. This is not surprising, for the "Socialist-Revolutionary Party" is only a subdivision of the bourgeois democrats in Russia. When the Social-Democratic student breaks with the rev-

olutionaries and politically-minded people of all other trends, this by no means implies the break-up of the general student and educational organisations. On the contrary, only on the basis of a perfectly definite programme can and should one work among the widest student circles to broaden their academic outlook and to propagate scientific socialism, i.e., Marxism.

P.S. In subsequent letters I should like to discuss with the readers of *Student* the importance of Marxism in moulding an integral world outlook, the differences between the principles and tactics of the Social-Democratic Party and the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, the problems of student organisation, and the relation of the students to the working class generally.

Published in September 1903
in *Student* No. 2-3
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Collected Works, Vol. 7

REVOLUTIONARY RIGA'S ULTIMATUM

The German newspapers, which usually devote much attention to events in the Baltic provinces, have reported the following instructive fact. Things are happening at the Riga Polytechnic, as they are at all other higher educational institutions: student assemblies have turned into political meetings. The students are organising into a combatant force of the revolution. The liberal bigwigs are turning up their noses and muttering under their breath about the weakness of the government. But in Livonia, things have gone so hard with the landed gentry that they have energetically set about organising armed protection for their estates, without relying on the government, which cannot do anything with the peasants, or the workers, or the students. The Baltic barons are organising civil war in earnest: they are hiring whole squads, arming them with good magazine rifles, and posting them about their extensive estates. And now it turns out that part of the members of the German student corporations in the Baltic provinces have joined such squads! Naturally, the Lettish and Russian students have not only proclaimed a boycott against these Black Hundreds in student uniform, but have even appointed a special commission to investigate the participation of students in the landlord Black-Hundred bands. Two members of this commission were sent into the countryside to gather information from the peasants. Both were arrested by the government and sent to prison in Riga.

The Lettish and Russian students then rose. They called a huge meeting which passed a vigorous resolution. The

head of the Polytechnic, who had been invited to attend, was called upon to take immediate measures to secure the release of the arrested. The resolution ended with a direct ultimatum; if within three days the arrested persons were not released at the time fixed, the students, with the aid of the Riga workers, would use every means in their power to effect that release.

The Governor was away from Riga at the time, for he had gone to St. Petersburg to obtain the powers of Governor General. The acting Governor funked, and diplomatically wriggled out of the situation. He summoned (so the *Vossische Zeitung*[48] of October 20, N.S., reports) the head of the Polytechnic and the two arrested students, and asked the latter whether they were aware that their actions were unlawful. They, of course, replied that they saw nothing unlawful in them. The acting Governor, a Riga newspaper is said to have stated, then urged them to refrain from such unlawful acts, and—set both free.

"In the eyes of the students," the correspondent, who feels for the Baltic barons, gloomily adds, "and in the eyes of the masses who stand behind them, the government has bowed to the ultimatum. And even a non-partisan must have gained the same impression."

Proletary No. 23,
October 31 (18), 1905

Collected Works, Vol. 9

THE AGGRAVATION OF THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA

It is under this headline that the Berlin liberal *Vossische Zeitung* has published the following interesting dispatch:

"It is with irresistible force that events are developing in the empire of the tsars. To every impartial observer it must be obvious that neither the government nor any of the opposition or revolutionary parties is in control of the situation. The late Prince Trubetskoi and other professors of the higher educational institutions made vain attempts to dissuade the Russian students from the dangerous path, which they had taken when they decided to convert the universities into places of political mass meetings. The students paid enthusiastic homage to the memory of Trubetskoi, marched in masses in the funeral procession, and turned the obsequies into an imposing political demonstration, but they did not follow his advice to keep outsiders out of the University. At the University of St. Petersburg, the Mining Academy and the Polytechnic mammoth meetings are being held, at which the students are often in the minority, and which last from early morning till late at night. Impassioned and fiery orations are delivered and revolutionary songs are sung. Moreover, the liberals are roundly berated at these meetings, especially for their half-heartedness, which, it is claimed, is no accidental attribute of Russian liberalism, but a quality that has been conditioned by eternal historical laws.

"There is something profoundly tragic in these reproaches, which, despite the historical references adduced to substantiate them, are in fact absolutely unhistorical, if only because the liberals in Russia have never had the slightest opportunity of displaying any half-heartedness that could in any way prejudice the cause of emancipation which is so important for all parties. It is not their deeds, but rather their sufferings that handicap the liberals in their life course. The government is just as *helpless* [italics in the original] in the face of these events as it is in the face of the labour troubles and the general unrest. It is possible, of course, that it is planning a new blood-bath, and is only waiting for the moment when the movement becomes ripe for a Cossack attack. But even if that should be the case, none of the powers that be is certain that it will not lead to a still more violent outbreak of disaffection. Not even General Trepov has faith in his own cause. He does not conceal from his friends

that he considers himself a doomed man, and that he expects no favourable results whatever from his administration. 'I am merely fulfilling my duty, and shall fulfil it to the end,' he says.

"The tsar's throne must be in a sad way indeed if the head of the police arrives at such conclusions. And indeed it cannot but be recognised that, despite all of Trepov's efforts, despite the feverish activity of endless commissions and conferences, the tension has not only failed to relax since last year, but has even become much more accentuated. Wherever one looks, the position everywhere has become worse and more threatening, everywhere the situation has become noticeably aggravated."

There is a great deal of truth in this appraisal, but at the same time a great deal of liberal stupidity. "The liberals could not display a half-heartedness prejudicial to the cause." Is that so? Why is it then that these poor liberals *could* nevertheless come forward more openly and freely than the other parties? No! The students are guided by a sound revolutionary instinct, enhanced by their contact with the proletariat, when they zealously disassociate themselves from the Constitutional-Democrats, and discredit these Constitutional-Democrats in the eyes of the people. The morrow will bring us great and epoch-making battles for liberty. It is possible that the champions of liberty will yet suffer more than one defeat. But defeats will only serve to stir up the workers and peasants ever more profoundly, will only render the crisis more acute, and will only make more formidable the inevitable ultimate victory of the cause of liberty. For our part, we shall bend every effort to prevent the bourgeois leeches of monarchist landlord liberalism from attaching themselves to this victory, and to prevent the gentlemen of the big bourgeoisie from deriving the main benefit from this victory, as has happened more than once in Europe. We shall bend all our efforts to bring this victory of the workers and peasants to its consummation, to bring about the utter destruction of all the loathsome institutions of autocracy, monarchy, bureaucracy, militarism and serf-ownership. Only such a victory will put a real weapon into the hands of the proletariat—and then we shall set Europe ablaze, so as to make of the Russian democratic revolution the prologue to a European socialist revolution.

Proletary No. 23,
October 31 (18), 1905

Collected Works, Vol. 9

THE STUDENT MOVEMENT AND THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION[49]

A students' strike has been called at St. Petersburg University. A number of other higher educational establishments have joined in. The movement has already spread to Moscow and Kharkov. Judging from all the reports in the foreign and Russian newspapers and in private letters from Russia, we are faced with a fairly broad *academic* movement.

Back to the old days! Back to pre-revolutionary Russia! That is what these events signify above all. As before, official reaction is tightening the screw in the universities. The eternal struggle in autocratic Russia against the student organisations has taken the form of a crusade by the Black-Hundred Minister Schwartz—acting in full agreement with "Premier" Stolypin—against the autonomy which was promised the students in the autumn of 1905 (what did not the autocracy, faced with the onset of the revolutionary working class, "promise" Russian citizens at that time!); against an autonomy which the students enjoyed so long as the autocracy had "other things to think of than students", and which the autocracy, if it was to remain such, could not but begin to take away.

As before, the liberal press laments and groans, this time together with some Octobrists—the professors lament and snivel too, imploring the government not to take the road of reaction and to make use of an excellent opportunity "to ensure peace and order with the help of reforms" in "a country exhausted by convulsions"—imploring the students not to resort to unlawful courses which can only play

into the hands of reaction, etc., etc., etc. How ancient and antiquated, how hackneyed are all these tunes, and how vividly they resurrect before our eyes what took place twenty years ago or so, at the end of the eighties of last century! The similarity between that time and this is all the more striking when we take the present moment by itself, apart from the three years of revolution we have gone through. For the Duma (at first sight) with only the tiniest difference expresses that same pre-revolutionary relation of forces—the supremacy of the wild landlord, who prefers using Court connections and the influence of his friend the official to any kind of representation; the support of that same official by the merchants (the Octobrists) who do not dare to differ from their benevolent patrons; the "opposition" of the bourgeois intellectuals who are concerned most of all to prove their loyalty, and who describe appeals to those in power as the political activity of liberalism. And the workers' deputies in the Duma recall feebly, far too feebly, the part which the proletariat was recently playing by its open mass struggle.

It may be asked, can we in such conditions attribute any importance to the old forms of primitive academic struggle of the students? If the liberals have sunk to the level of the "politics" of the eighties (one can of course only in irony speak of politics in this connection), will it not be a debasement of the aims of Social-Democracy if it decides that it is necessary to support the academic struggle in some way or other?

Here and there, apparently, Social-Democratic students are putting this question. At any rate, our editorial board has received a letter from a group of Social-Democratic students which says, among other things:

> "On September 13 a meeting of the students of St. Petersburg University resolved to call upon students for an all-Russian student strike, the reason given for this appeal being the aggressive tactics pursued by Schwartz. The platform of the strike is an academic one, and the meeting even welcomes the 'first steps' of the Moscow and St. Petersburg Professorial Councils in the struggle for autonomy. We are puzzled by the academic platform put forward at the St. Petersburg meeting, and consider it objectionable in present conditions, because it cannot unite the students for an active struggle on a broad front. We envisage student action only as one co-ordinated with general political action, and in no case apart from it. The elements capable of uniting the students are lacking. In view of this we are against academic action."

The mistake which the authors of the letter are making is of much greater political importance than may appear at first sight, because their argument, strictly speaking, touches upon a theme which is incomparably more broad and important than the question of taking part in this particular strike.

> "We envisage student action only as one co-ordinated with general political action. In view of this we are against academic action."

Such an argument is radically wrong. The revolutionary slogan—to work towards co-ordinated political action of the students and the proletariat, etc.—here ceases to be a live guidance for many-sided militant agitation on a broadening basis and becomes a lifeless dogma, mechanically applied to different stages of different forms of the movement. It is not sufficient merely to proclaim political co-ordinated action, repeating the "last word" in lessons of the revolution. One must *be able* to agitate for political action, *making use* of all possibilities, all conditions and, first and foremost, all mass conflicts between advanced elements, whatever they are, and the autocracy. It is not of course a question of us dividing every student movement beforehand into compulsory "stages", and making sure that each stage is properly gone through, out of fear of switching over to "untimely" political actions, etc. Such a view would be the most harmful pedantry, and would lead only to an opportunist policy. But just as harmful is the opposite mistake, when people refuse to reckon with the actual situation that has arisen and the actual conditions of the particular mass movement, because of a slogan misinterpreted as unchangeable. Such an application of a slogan inevitably degenerates into revolutionary phrase-mongering.

Conditions are possible when an academic movement lowers the level of a political movement, or divides it, or distracts from it—and in that case Social-Democratic students' groups would of course be bound to concentrate their agitation against such a movement. But anyone can see that the objective political conditions at the present time are different. The academic movement is expressing

the *beginning* of a movement among the new "generation" of students, who have more or less become accustomed to a narrow measure of autonomy; and this movement is beginning when other forms of mass struggle are lacking at the present time, when a lull has set in, and the broad mass of the people, still silently, concentratedly and slowly are continuing to *digest* the experience of the three years of revolution.

In such conditions Social-Democrats would make a big mistake if they declared "against academic action". No, the groups of students belonging to our Party must use every effort to support, utilise and extend the movement. Like every other support of primitive forms of movement by Social-Democracy, the present support, too, should consist most of all in ideological and organisational influence on wider sections who have been roused by the conflict, and to whom this form of conflict, as a general rule, is their *first* experience of political conflicts. The student youth who have entered the universities during the last two years have lived a life almost completely detached from politics, and have been educated in a spirit of narrow academic autonomism, educated not only by the professors of the Establishment and the government press but also by the liberal professors and the whole Cadet Party.[50] For this youth a strike on a large scale (if that youth is able to organise a large-scale strike: we must do everything to help it in this undertaking, but of course it is not for us socialists to guarantee the success of any bourgeois movement) is the beginning of a political conflict, whether those engaged in the fight realise it or not. Our job is to explain to the mass of "academic" protesters the objective meaning of the conflict, to try and make it *consciously* political, to multiply tenfold the agitation carried on by the Social-Democratic groups of students, and *to direct all* this activity in such a way that revolutionary conclusions will be drawn from the history of the last three years, that the inevitability of a new revolutionary struggle is understood, and that our old—and still quite timely—slogans calling for the overthrow of the autocracy and the convocation of a constituent assembly should once again become a subject of discussion and the touchstone of political concentration for fresh generations of democrats.

Social-Democratic students have no right to shirk such work under any conditions. And however difficult this work may be at the present time, whatever reverses particular agitators may experience in this or that university, students' association, meeting, etc., we shall say: knock, and it will be opened unto you! The work of political agitation is never wasted. Its success is measured not only by whether we have succeeded here and now in winning a majority, or obtaining consent for co-ordinated political action. It is possible that we shall not achieve this all at once. But that is why we are an organised proletarian party—not to lose heart over temporary failures, but stubbornly, unswervingly and consistently to carry on *our work*, even in the most difficult conditions.

The appeal we print below from the St. Petersburg Joint Student Council shows that even the most active elements of the students obstinately cling to pure academic aims, and still sing the Cadet-Octobrist tune. And this at a time when the Cadet-Octobrist press is behaving in the most disgusting fashion towards the strike, trying to prove at the very height of the struggle that it is harmful, criminal, etc. We cannot but welcome the rejoinder which the St. Petersburg Committee of our Party found it necessary to give the Joint Council (see "From the Party"[51]).

Evidently the whips of Schwartz are not enough as yet to change the present-day students from "academics" into "politicians"; they need the scorpions of more and more Black-Hundred sergeant-majors to give a full revolutionary training to new cadres. These cadres, trained by all Stolypin's policy, trained by every step of the counter-revolution, require the constant attention of ourselves, the Social-Democrats, who clearly see the objective inevitability of further bourgeois-democratic conflicts on a national scale with the autocracy, which has joined forces with the Black-Hundred Octobrist Duma.

Yes, on a national scale, for the Black Hundred counter-revolution, which is turning Russia backward, is not only tempering new fighters in the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat, but will inevitably arouse a new movement of the non-proletarian, i.e., bourgeois democrats (thereby implying, of course, not that *all the opposition* will take part

in the struggle, but that there will be a wide participation of truly democratic elements of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, i.e., those capable of struggle). The beginning of a mass student struggle in the Russia of 1908 is a political symptom, a symptom of the whole present situation brought about by the counter-revolution. Thousands and millions of threads tie the student youth with the middle and lower bourgeoisie, the petty officials, certain groups of the peasantry, the clergy, etc. If in the spring of 1908 attempts were being made to resurrect the "*Osvobozhdeniye League*",[52] slightly to the left of the old Cadet semi-landlord union represented by Pyotr Struve; if in the autumn the mass of youth which is closest of all to the democratic bourgeoisie in Russia is beginning to be disturbed; if the hireling hacks, with malice tenfold, have started howling once more against revolution in the schools; if base liberal professors and Cadet leaders are groaning and wailing at the untimely, dangerous, disastrous strikes which displease those dear Octobrists, which are capable of "repelling" the Octobrists who hold power —that means new powder has begun to accumulate in the powder-flask, it means that *not only* among students is the reaction against reaction beginning!

And however weak and embryonic this beginning may be, the party of the working class must make use of it and will do so. We were able to work years and decades before the revolution, carrying our revolutionary slogans first into the study circles, then among the masses of the workers, then on to the streets, then on to the barricades. We must be capable, *now too*, of organising first and foremost that which constitutes the task of the hour, and without which all talk about co-ordinated political action will be empty words, namely, the task of building a strong proletarian organisation, everywhere carrying on *political agitation* among the masses for its revolutionary watchwords. It is this task of organisation in their own student midst, this agitation based on the concrete movement, that our university groups, too, should tackle.

The proletariat will not be behindhand. It often yields the palm to the bourgeois democrats in speeches at banquets, in legal unions, within the walls of universities, from the rostrum of representative institutions. It never yields the palm, and will not do so, in the serious and great revolutionary struggle of the masses. All the conditions for bringing this struggle to a head are not ripening as quickly and easily as some of us would hope—but those conditions are ripening and gathering head unswervingly. And the little beginning of little academic conflicts is a great beginning, for after it—if not today then tomorrow, if not tomorrow then the day after—will follow big continuations.

Proletary No. 36,
October 3 (16), 1908

Collected Works, Vol. 15

PARTY ALLEGIANCE OF DEMOCRATIC STUDENTS

A few days ago we mentioned in *Pravda*[53] (see No.) an article by M.,* a student, containing very valuable information on the "mood of the students". Concerning party allegiance of students, the author says:

"To be sure, Left organisations embrace only a comparatively small section of students. And this is how it should be under present-day conditions and, generally speaking, the strength of organisations is determined not by the number of members, but by their influence on the masses. It is difficult to forecast future developments, but it should be pointed out that Left organisations are now marching in step with the mass of students." (*Zaprosi Zhizni*[54] No. 47).

The author is perfectly correct in saying that *in* Russia, *particularly* under present political conditions, "the strength of organisations is determined *not* by the number of members, *but* by their influence on the masses". This does not apply to Europe or to Russia in the autumn of 1905. But it is correct for Russia today, so much so that I venture the following seemingly paradoxical statement: the number of members of an organisation should not rise above a certain minimum *for* its influence on the masses to be broad *and stable*!

Now what is the party allegiance of the "Left" organisations of students? The student M. writes:

"It should be noted in particular that there is hardly any enmity among Left organisations. It was particularly acute some three years ago, during the lull of inactivity. There were cases of elections to refectory and other commissions being held according to party lists. Now this enmity has almost completely disappeared, partly because everybody clearly realises the need for joining forces for common action and partly because the old party positions have been shaken and the new ones have not yet been consolidated."

* The article in question has not been found.—*Ed.*

There can be no doubt that in this respect too the attitude of the students reflects a phenomenon typical of the whole of Russia. Everywhere, among all democrats, including the workers, "the old party positions have been shaken and the new ones have not yet been consolidated". What is liquidationism[55]? It is either a cowardly concession to the spirit of the times, when the old party positions have been "shaken", or a malignant exploitation by the liberals of the fact that they have been "shaken".

It is the task of *all* democrats to fight with might and main against this "shaking" and achieve a precise, clear, definite and thoughtful "consolidation" of the "new positions". It would be a most serious mistake to confuse disputes and discussions on party (and inner-party) platforms with "enmity".

"Joining forces for common action", those of Marxists and Narodniks among others, for example, is absolutely essential. But this does not rule out party allegiance. On the contrary, it *requires* it. It is possible to join forces only when everybody is *really* convinced that such action is necessary. This is clear as clear can be. Russian democrats suffered from the fact that they tried to "join forces" for *democratic* action with *non*-democrats, with liberals!

Just try and "join the forces" of, say, supporters of political strikes and their opponents: obviously, this would only *prejudice* the "action". No, you should first effect a clear, definite, precise and thoughtful differentiation of "positions", platforms and programmes and only then proceed to *unite* forces whose convictions and social character are compatible, unite them *only* for action in which it is possible to expect unanimity. Then and only then can something worth while come of it.

Written between November 24 and 29 (December 7 and 12), 1912

First published in *Kommunist* No. 6, 1954 Signed: *V. I.*

Collected Works, Fifth Russian edition, Vol. 22

PARTICIPATION OF YOUNG WORKERS AND PEASANTS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AND REVOLUTIONARY TRAINING OF YOUTH

FROM *AN URGENT QUESTION*

Against us, against the tiny groups of socialists hidden in the expanses of the Russian "underground", there stands the huge machine of a most powerful modern state that is exerting all its forces to crush socialism and democracy. We are convinced that we shall, in the end, smash that police state, because all the sound and developing sections of our society are in favour of democracy and socialism; but, in order to conduct a systematic struggle against the government, we must raise revolutionary organisation, discipline, and the technique of underground work to the highest degree of perfection. It is essential for individual Party members or separate groups of members to specialise in the different aspects of Party work—some in the duplication of literature, others in its transport across the frontier, a third category in its distribution inside Russia, a fourth in its distribution in the cities, a fifth in the arrangement of secret meeting places, a sixth in the collection of funds, a seventh in the delivery of correspondence and all information about the movement, an eighth in maintaining relations, etc., etc. We know that this sort of specialisation requires much greater self-restraint, much greater ability to concentrate on modest, unseen, everyday work, much greater real heroism than the usual work in study circles.

The Russian socialists and the Russian working class, however, have shown their heroic qualities and, in general, it would be a sin to complain of a shortage of people. There is to be observed among the working youth an im-

passioned, uncontrollable enthusiasm for the ideas of democracy and socialism, and helpers for the workers still continue to arrive from among the intellectuals, despite the fact that the prisons and places of exile are overcrowded. If the idea of the necessity for a stricter organisation is made widely known among all these recruits to the revolutionary cause, the plan for the organisation of a regularly published and delivered Party newspaper will cease to be a dream.

Written not earlier than October of 1899

Collected Works, Vol. 4

First published in 1925 in *Lenin Miscellany III*

A LETTER TO A. A. BOGDANOV AND S. I. GUSEV

February 11, 1905

To Rakhmetov and to Khariton

I wired my consent to your changes yesterday, although I emphatically do not agree with what I could gather from your letter. But I am so sick of this procrastination, and your questions seemed such a mockery, that I just gave it up, thinking, if only they did something! If only they gave notice of the congress,[56] *any kind of notice*, so long as they *gave* it, instead of just talking about it. You will be surprised at my use of the word mockery. But just stop and think: two months ago I sent my draft to *all* members of the Bureau. Not one of them is interested in it or finds it necessary to discuss it. And now—by wire.... A nice business: we talk of organisation, of centralism, while actually there is such disunity, such amateurism among even the closest comrades in the centre, that one feels like chucking it all in disgust. Just look at the Bundists: they do not prate about centralism, but *every one* of them writes to the centre weekly and contact is thus *actually* maintained. You only have to pick up their *Posledniye Izvestia*[57] to see this contact. We, however, here are issuing the sixth number of *Vperyod*,[58] yet one of our editors (Rakhmetov) has not written a single line, either about or for *Vperyod*. Our people "talk" of extensive literary connections in St. Petersburg and in Moscow, and of the majority's young forces, while we here, *two months* after the issuance of the call for collaboration (the an-

nouncement of *Vperyod* and a letter in connection with it), have seen or heard nothing from them. The Russian committees (Caucasus, Nizhni-Novgorod, not to speak of the Volga region or the South) consider the Bureau a "myth", and with perfect justification. We did "hear" from strangers about some sort of alliance between the St. Petersburg Committee of the Majority and a group of Mensheviks,[59] but from our own people not a word. We refuse to believe that Bolsheviks could have taken such an imbecilic, suicidal step. We did "hear" from strangers about a conference of Social-Democrats and the formation of a "bloc", but from our own people *not a word*, although there are rumours that this is a *fait accompli*. Evidently, the members of the Majority are anxious to be imposed upon again.

Our only strength lies in utter frankness, in solidarity, and in determined assault. But people, it seems, have gone soft now that we have a "revolution"! At a time when organisation is needed a hundred times more than ever before they sell out to the disrupters. It is evident from the proposed changes in the draft of the declaration and congress call (set forth in the letter so vaguely as to be almost unintelligible) that "loyalty" has been put on a pedestal. Papasha actually uses that word, adding that if the centres are not mentioned, no one will come to the congress! Well, gentlemen, I can wager that if *this* is the way you are going to act, you will never have a congress and never escape from under the thumb of the Bonapartists of the Central Organ and the Central Committee. To call a congress *against* the central bodies, in which lack of confidence has been expressed, to call this congress in the name of a *revolutionary* bureau (which, if we are to pay slavish obeisance to the loyal Party Rules, is non-existent and fictitious), and to recognise the *unqualified* right of the nine Bonapartists, the League[60] (ha! ha!), and the Bonapartist creatures (the freshly hatched committees) to attend that congress, means to make ourselves ridiculous and to lose all right to respect. The centres may and should be invited, but to accord them voting status is, I repeat, madness. The centres, of course, will not come to *our* congress anyway; but why give them another chance to spit in our faces? Why this hypocrisy, this game of hide-and-seek? It is a positive shame! We bring *the split* into the open, we call the *Vperyod*-ists to a congress, we want to organise a *Vperyod*-ist party, and we break immediately *any and all* connections with the disorganisers—and yet we are having loyalty dinned into our ears, we are asked to act as though a joint congress of *Iskra*[61] and *Vperyod* were possible. What a farce! The very first day, the very first hour of the congress (if it does take place) will beyond doubt ring down the curtain on this farce; but until the congress meets such deceit can do us untold harm.

Really, I sometimes think that nine-tenths of the Bolsheviks are actually formalists. Either we shall rally all who are out to fight into a really iron-strong organisation and with this small but strong party quash that sprawling monster, the new-*Iskra* motley elements, or we shall prove by our conduct that we deserve to go under for being contemptible formalists. How is it that people do not understand that *prior to* the Bureau and *prior to* "*Vperyod*" we did all we could to save loyalty, to save unity, to save the formal, i.e., higher methods of settling the conflict!? But now, *after* the Bureau, *after* "*Vperyod*", the split is a fact. And when the split had become a fact it became evident that *materially we were very much weaker*. We have yet to convert our moral strength into material strength. The Mensheviks have more money, more literature, more transportation facilities, more agents, more "names", and a larger staff of contributors. It would be unpardonable childishness not to see that. And if we do not wish to present to the world the repulsive spectacle of a dried-up and anaemic old maid, proud of her barren moral purity, then we must understand that we need war and a battle organisation. Only after a long battle, and only with the aid of an excellent organisation can we turn our moral strength into material strength.

We need funds. The plan to hold the congress *in London* is sublimely ridiculous, for it would cost twice as much. We cannot suspend publication of *Vperyod*, which is what a long absence would mean. The congress must be a simple affair, brief, and small in attendance. This is a congress for the organisation of the battle. Clearly, you are cherishing illusions in this respect.

We need people to work on *Vperyod*. There are not enough of us. If we do not get two or three extra people

from Russia as permanent contributors, there is no sense in continuing to prate about a struggle against *Iskra*. Pamphlets and leaflets are needed, and needed desperately.

We need young forces. I am for shooting on the spot anyone who presumes to say that there are no people to be had. The people in Russia are legion; all we have to do is to recruit young people more widely and boldly, more boldly and widely, and again more widely and again more boldly, *without fearing them*. This is a time of war. The youth—the students, and still more so the young workers—will decide the issue of the whole struggle. Get rid of all the old habits of immobility, of respect for rank, and so on. Form *hundreds* of circles of *Vperyod*-ists from among the youth and encourage them to work at full blast. Enlarge the committee *threefold* by accepting young people into it, set up half a dozen or a dozen subcommittees, "co-opt" any and every honest and energetic person. Allow every subcommittee to write and publish leaflets without any red tape (there is no harm if they do make a mistake; we on *Vperyod* will "gently" correct them). We must, with desperate speed, unite all people with revolutionary initiative and set them to work. Do not fear their lack of training, do not tremble at their inexperience and lack of development. In the first place, if you fail to organise them and spur them on to action, they will follow the Mensheviks and the Gapons, and this very inexperience of theirs will cause five times more harm. In the second place, events themselves will teach them *in our spirit*. Events are already teaching everyone precisely in the *Vperyod* spirit.

Only you must be sure to organise, organise, and organise *hundreds* of circles, completely pushing into the background the customary, well-meant committee (hierarchic) stupidities. This is a time of war. Either you create *new*, young, fresh, energetic battle organisations everywhere for revolutionary Social-Democratic work of all varieties among all strata, or you will go under, wearing the aureole of "committee" bureaucrats.

I shall write of this in *Vperyod* and speak of it at the congress. I am writing to you in one more *endeavour* to evoke an exchange of ideas, to call upon you *to bring* a dozen *young*, *fresh* workers' (and other) circles *into direct contact* with the editorial board, although ... although between ourselves be it said, I do not cherish the slightest hope that these daring ideas will be fulfilled, unless, perhaps, two months from now you will ask me to wire whether I agree to such-and-such changes in the "plan".... I reply in advance that I agree to everything. Good-bye until the congress.

Lenin

P.S. You must make it your aim to revolutionise the delivery of *Vperyod* into Russia. Carry on widespread propaganda for subscriptions from St. Petersburg. Let students and especially *workers* subscribe for scores and hundreds of copies to be sent to their own addresses. It is absurd to have fears on this score in times like these. The police can never intercept all the copies. Half the number of a third will arrive, and that amounts to very much. Suggest this idea to *any* youth circle, and it will find hundreds of ways of its own to make connections abroad. Distribute addresses more widely, as widely as possible, for the transmission of letters to *Vperyod*.

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No. 4 (39)

Collected Works, Vol. 8

TO S. I. GUSEV

TO KHARITON

February 15, 1905

Dear friend,

Many thanks for the letters. Be sure to keep this up, but bear in mind this: 1) never restrict yourself to making a precis of letters or reports handed over to you but be sure to send them on (apart from your own letters) *in full*; 2) be sure to put us in *direct* touch with new forces, with the youth, with newly-formed circles. Don't forget that the strength of a revolutionary organisation lies in the number of its connections. We should measure the efficiency and results of our friends' work by the number of *new* Russian connections passed on to us. So far *not one* of the St. Petersburgers (shame on them) has given us a *single* new Russian connection (neither Serafima, nor Sysoika, nor Zemlyachka, nor Nik. Iv.). It's a scandal, our undoing, our ruin! Take a lesson from the Mensheviks, for Christ's sake. Issue No. 85 of *Iskra* is chockful of correspondence. You have been reading *Vperyod* to the youth, haven't you? Then why don't you put us in touch with one of them? Remember, in the event of your being arrested we shall be in low water unless you have obtained for us a *dozen* or so new, young, loyal friends of *Vperyod*, who are able to work, able to keep in contact, and able to carry on correspondence even without you. Remember that! A professional revolutionary must build up dozens of new connections in each locality, put all the work into their hands while he is with

them, teach them and bring them up to the mark not by lecturing them but by work. Then he should go to another place and after a month or two return to check up on the young people who have replaced him. I assure you that there is a sort of idiotic, philistine, Oblomov-like[62] fear of the youth among us. I implore you: fight this fear with all your might.

Yours,
Lenin

Sent from Geneva
to St. Petersburg

First published in 1925

Collected Works, Vol. 34

FROM *NEW TASKS AND NEW FORCES*

A revolutionary epoch is to the Social-Democrats what war-time is to an army. We must broaden the cadres of our army, we must advance them from peace strength to war strength, we must mobilise the reservists, recall the furloughed, and form new auxiliary corps, units, and services. We must not forget that in war we necessarily and inevitably have to put up with less trained replacements, very often to replace officers with rank-and-file soldiers, and to speed up and simplify the promotion of soldiers to officers' rank.

To drop metaphor, we must considerably increase the membership of all Party and Party-connected organisations in order to be able to keep up to some extent with the stream of popular revolutionary energy which has been a hundredfold strengthened. This, it goes without saying, does not mean that consistent training and systematic instruction in the Marxist truths are to be left in the shade. We must, however, remember that at the present time far greater significance in the matter of training and education attaches to the military operations, which *teach* the untrained precisely and entirely in *our* sense. We must remember that our "doctrinaire" faithfulness to Marxism is now being reinforced by the march of revolutionary events, which is everywhere furnishing *object-lessons to the masses* and that all these lessons confirm precisely our dogma. Hence, we do not speak about abandoning the dogma, or relaxing our distrustful and suspicious attitude towards the woolly intellectuals and the arid-minded revolutionaries. Quite the contrary. We speak about new methods of teaching dogma, which it would be unpardonable for a Social-

Democrat to forget. We speak of the importance for our day of using the object-lessons of the great revolutionary events in order to convey—not to study circles, as in the past, but to the masses—our old, "dogmatic" lessons that, for example, it is necessary in practice to combine terror with the uprising of the masses, or that behind the liberalism of the educated Russian society one must be able to discern the class interests of our bourgeoisie (cf. our polemics with the Socialist-Revolutionaries on this question in *Vperyod*, No. 3).

Thus, it is not a question of relaxing our Social-Democratic exactingness and our orthodox intransigence, but of strengthening both in *new* ways, by new methods of training. In war-time, recruits should get their training lessons directly from military operations. So tackle the new methods of training more boldly, comrades! Forward, and organise more and more squads, send them into battle, recruit more young workers, extend the normal framework of all Party organisations, from committees to factory groups, craft unions, and student circles! Remember that every moment of delay in this task will play into the hands of the enemies of Social-Democracy; for the new streams are seeking an immediate outlet, and if they do not find a Social-Democratic channel they will rush into a non-Social-Democratic channel. Remember that every practical step in the revolutionary movement will decidedly, inevitably give the young recruits a lesson in Social-Democratic science; for this science is based on an objectively correct estimation of the forces and tendencies of the various classes, while the revolution itself is nothing but the break-up of old superstructures and the independent action of the various classes, each striving to erect the new superstructure in its own way. But do not debase our revolutionary science to the level of mere book dogma, do not vulgarise it with wretched phrases about tactics-as-process and organisation-as-process, with phrases that seek to justify confusion, vacillation, and lack of initiative. Give more scope to all the diverse kinds of enterprise on the part of the most varied groups and circles, bearing in mind that, apart from our counsel and regardless of it, the relentless exigencies of the march of revolutionary events will keep them upon the correct course. It is an old maxim that in

politics one often has to learn from the enemy. And at revolutionary moments the enemy always forces correct conclusions upon us in a particularly instructive and speedy manner.

To sum up, we must reckon with the growing movement, which has increased a hundredfold, with the new tempo of the work, with the freer atmosphere and the wider field of activity. The work must be given an entirely different scope. Methods of training should be refocussed from peaceful instruction to military operations. Young fighters should be recruited more boldly, widely, and rapidly into the ranks *of all and every kind* of our organisations. *Hundreds* of new organisations should be set up for the purpose without a moment's delay. Yes, hundreds; this is no hyperbole, and let no one tell me that it is "too late" now to tackle such a broad organisational job. No, it is never too late to organise. We must use the freedom we are getting by law and the freedom we are taking despite the law to strengthen and multiply the number of Party organisations of all varieties. Whatever the course or the outcome of the revolution may be, however early it may be checked by one or other circumstance, all its real gains will be rendered secure and reliable only insofar as the proletariat is organised.

The slogan "Organise!" which the adherents of the majority wanted to issue, fully formulated, at the Second Congress must now be put into effect immediately. If we fail to show bold initiative in setting up new organisations, we shall have to give up as groundless all pretensions to the role of vanguard. If we stop helplessly at the achieved boundaries, forms, and confines of the committees, groups, meetings, and circles, we shall merely prove our own incapacity. Thousands of circles are now springing up everywhere without our aid, without any definite programme or aim, simply under the impact of events. The Social-Democrats must make it their task to establish and strengthen direct contacts with the greatest possible number of these circles, to assist them, to give them the benefit of their own knowledge and experience, to stimulate them with their own revolutionary initiative. Let all such circles, except those that are avowedly non-Social-Democratic, either directly join the Party or *align themselves with the Party*. In the latter event we must not demand that they accept our programme or that they necessarily enter into organisational relations with us. Their mood of protest and their sympathy for the cause of international revolutionary Social-Democracy in themselves suffice, provided the Social-Democrats work effectively among them, for these circles of *sympathisers* under the impact of events to be transformed at first into democratic assistants and then into convinced members of the Social-Democratic working-class party.

There are masses of people, and we are short of people; this contradictory formula has long expressed the contradictions between the organisational life and the organisational needs of the Social-Democratic Party. Today this contradiction is more salient than ever before; we often hear from all sides passionate appeals for new forces, complaints about the shortage of forces in the organisations, while at the same time we have everywhere countless offers of service, a growth of young forces, especially among the working class. The practical organiser who complains of a shortage of people under such circumstances becomes the victim of the illusion from which Madame Roland suffered, when she wrote in 1793, at the peak of the Great French Revolution, that France had no men, that there were only dwarfs. People who talk in this manner do not see the wood for the trees; they admit that they are blinded by events, that it is not they, the revolutionaries, who control events in mind and deed, but events that control them and have overwhelmed them. Such organisers *had better retire* and leave the field clear for younger forces who often make up with verve what they lack in experience.

There is no dearth of people; never has revolutionary Russia had such a multitude of people as now. Never has a revolutionary class been so well off for temporary allies, conscious friends, and unconscious supporters as the Russian proletariat is today. There are masses of people; all we need do is get rid of tail-ist ideas and precepts, give full scope to initiative and enterprise, to "plans" and "undertakings", and thus show ourselves to be worthy representatives of the great revolutionary class. Then the proletariat of Russia will carry through *the whole great Russian revolution* as heroically as it has begun it.

Vperyod No. 9,
March 8 (February 23), 1905

Collected Works, Vol. 8

TO THE COMBAT COMMITTEE OF THE ST. PETERSBURG COMMITTEE

October 16, 1905

Dear Comrades,

Many thanks for sending 1) the report of the Combat Committee and 2) a memorandum on the organisation of preparations for insurrection +3) a scheme of the organisation. After reading these documents, I think it my duty to write directly to the Combat Committee for a comradely exchange of opinions. I need hardly say that I do not undertake to judge of the practical side of the matter; there can be no doubt that everything possible is being done under the difficult conditions in Russia. However, judging by the documents, the whole thing threatens to degenerate into office routine. All these schemes, all these plans of organisation of the Combat Committee create the impression of red tape—forgive me my frankness, but I hope that you will not suspect me of fault-finding. Schemes, and disputes and discussions about the functions of the Combat Committee and its rights, are of the least value in a matter like this. What is needed is furious energy, and again energy. It horrifies me—I give you my word—it horrifies me to find that there has been talk about bombs for *over six months*, yet not one has been made! And it is the most learned of people who are doing the talking.... Go to the youth, gentlemen! That is the only remedy! Otherwise—I give you my word for it—you will be too late (everything tells me that), and will be left with "learned" memoranda, plans, charts, schemes, and magnificent recipes, but without an

organisation, without a living cause. Go to the youth. Form fighting squads *at once* everywhere, among the students, and *especially among the workers*, etc., etc. Let groups be at once organised of three, ten, thirty, etc., persons. Let them arm themselves at once as best they can, be it with a revolver, a knife, a rag soaked in kerosene for starting fires, etc. Let these detachments at once select leaders, and as far as possible *contact* the Combat Committee of the St. Petersburg Committee. Do not demand any formalities, and, for heaven's sake, forget all these schemes, and send all "functions, rights, and privileges" to the devil. Do not make membership in the R.S.D.L.P. an absolute condition—that would be an absurd demand for an armed uprising. Do not refuse to contact any group, even if it consists of only three persons; make it the one sole condition that it should be reliable as far as police spying is concerned and prepared to fight the tsar's troops. Let the groups join the R.S.D.L.P. or *associate* themselves with the R.S.D.L.P. if they want to; that would be splendid. But I would consider it quite wrong to *insist* on it.

The role of the Combat Committee of the St. Petersburg Committee should be to *help* these contingents of the revolutionary army, to serve as a "bureau" for contact purposes, etc. Any contingent will willingly accept your *services*, but if in *such a matter* you begin with schemes and with talk about the "rights" of the Combat Committee, you will ruin the whole cause; I assure you, you will ruin it irreparably.

You must proceed to propaganda on a wide scale. Let five or ten people make the round of *hundreds* of workers' and students' study circles in a week, penetrate wherever they can, and everywhere propose a clear, brief, direct, and simple plan: organise combat groups immediately, arm yourselves as best you can, and work with all your might; we will help you in every way we can, but *do not wait for our help*; act for yourselves.

The principal thing in a matter like this is the initiative of the mass of small groups. They will do everything. Without them your entire Combat Committee is nothing. I am prepared to gauge the efficiency of the Combat Committee's work by the number of such combat groups it is in contact with. If in a month or two the Combat Commit-

tee does not have a minimum of 200 or 300 groups in St. Petersburg, then it is a dead Combat Committee. It will have to be buried. If it cannot muster a hundred or two of groups in seething times like these, then it is indeed remote from real life.

The propagandists must supply each group with brief and simple recipes for making bombs, give them an elementary explanation of the type of the work, and then leave it all to them. Squads must *at once* begin military training by launching operations immediately, at once. Some may at once undertake to kill a spy or blow up a police station, others to raid a bank to confiscate funds for the insurrection, others again may drill or prepare plans of localities, etc. But the essential thing is to begin at once to learn from actual practice: have no fear of these trial attacks. They may, of course, degenerate into extremes, but that is an evil of the morrow, whereas the evil today is our inertness, our doctrinaire spirit, our learned immobility, and our senile fear of initiative. Let every group learn, if it is only by beating up policemen: a score or so victims will be more than compensated for by the fact that this will train hundreds of experienced fighters, who tomorrow will be leading hundreds of thousands.

I send you warm greetings, comrades, and wish you success. I have no desire to impose my views on you, but I consider it my duty to tender my word of *advice*.

Yours,
Lenin

First published in 1926
in *Lenin Miscellany V*

Collected Works, Vol. 9

THE LESSONS OF THE MOSCOW EVENTS

The rising tide of revolutionary enthusiasm among the Moscow proletariat, so vividly expressed in the political strike and in the street fighting,[63] has not yet subsided. The strike continues. It has to some extent spread to St. Petersburg, where the compositors are striking in sympathy with their Moscow comrades. It is still uncertain whether the present movement will subside and await the next rise of the tide, or whether it will be of a sustained character. But certain results of the Moscow events, and very instructive ones at that, are already apparent, and it would be worth while to dwell on them.

On the whole, the movement in Moscow did not attain the pitch of a decisive battle between the revolutionary workers and the tsarist forces. It consisted only of small skirmishes at the outposts, part perhaps of a military demonstration in the civil war, but it was not one of those battles that determine the outcome of a war. Of the two suppositions we advanced a week ago, it is apparently the first that is being justified, namely, that what we are witnessing is not the beginning of the decisive onslaught, but only a rehearsal. This rehearsal has nevertheless fully revealed all the characters in the historical drama, thus spotlighting the probable—and in part even inevitable—development of the drama itself.

The Moscow events were inaugurated by incidents which at first glance appear to have been of a purely academic character. The government conferred partial "autonomy", or alleged autonomy, on the universities. The professorate

were granted self-government, and the students were granted the right of assembly. Thus a small breach was forced in the general system of autocratic-feudal oppression. New revolutionary currents immediately swept into this breach with unexpected force. A miserable concession, a paltry reform, granted with the object of blunting the edge of the political antagonisms and of "reconciling" robbers and robbed, actually served to stimulate the struggle tremendously, and increase the number of its participants. Workers flocked to the students' gatherings, which began to develop into popular revolutionary meetings, where the proletariat, the foremost class in the struggle for liberty, predominated. The government was outraged. The "respectable" liberals, who had received professorial self-government began to scurry back and forth between the revolutionary students and the government of police rule and the knout. The liberals made use of liberty in order to betray liberty, restrain the students from extending and intensifying the struggle, and appeal for "order"—this in the face of the bashi-bazouks and Black Hundreds, the Trepovs and the Romanovs! The liberals made use of self-government so as to do the work of the butchers of the people, and to close the University, that holy sanctuary of "science" permitted by the knout-wielders, which the students defiled by allowing the "rabble" to enter it for discussion of questions "unauthorised" by the autocratic gang. The self-governing liberals betrayed the people and liberty, because they feared carnage in the University. They were punished in exemplary fashion for their contemptible cowardice. By closing the revolutionary University they opened the way to revolution in the streets. Wretched pedants that they are, they were ready to jubilate in concert with rascals like Glazov over the fact that they had managed to extinguish the conflagration in the school. But as a matter of fact they only started a conflagration in a huge industrial city. These manikins on stilts forbade the workers to go to the students, but they only drove the students to the revolutionary workers. They appraised all political matters from the standpoint of their own chicken coop, which reeks of age-old hidebound officialism. They implored the students to spare this chicken coop. The first fresh breeze—the manifestation of the free and youthful revolutionary elements—was enough

for the chicken coop to be forgotten, for the breeze freshened and grew into a blast against the tsarist autocracy, the prime source of all officialism and all the humiliations heaped upon the Russian people. And even now, when the first danger has passed and the storm has clearly subsided, the lackeys of the autocracy still quake at the mere recollection of the chasm that yawned before them during the days of bloodshed in Moscow. "It is not yet a conflagration, but that it is arson is already beyond question," mutters Mr. Menshikov in the servile *Novoye Vremya*[64] (of September 30). "It is not yet a revolution ... but it is already the prologue to a revolution." " 'It is on the move,' I [Mr. Menshikov] argued in April. And what frightful strides 'it' has since made!... The popular element has been stirred to its very depths...."

Yes, the Trepovs and the Romanovs, together with the treacherous liberal bourgeoisie, have got themselves into a predicament. Open the university—and you provide a platform for popular revolutionary meetings, and render invaluable service to the Social-Democrats. Close the university down—and you open the way for a street struggle. And so our knights of the knout dash to and fro, gnashing their teeth. They reopen Moscow University, pretending that they want to allow the students to maintain order themselves during street processions; they turn a blind eye to revolutionary self-government of the students, who are dividing into Social-Democrats, Socialist-Revolutionaries, etc., thus bringing about proper political representation in the student "parliament" (and, we are confident, will not confine themselves to revolutionary self-government, but will immediately and in dead earnest set about organising and equipping contingents of a revolutionary army). Together with Trepov, the liberal professors are dashing to and fro, hastening one day to persuade the students to be more moderate and the next day to persuade the knout-wielders to be more lenient. The scurryings of both of these give us the greatest satisfaction; they show that a fine revolutionary breeze must be blowing if the political commanders and the political turncoats are staggering about on the upper deck in such a lively manner.

But besides legitimate pride and legitimate satisfaction, true revolutionists must derive something else from the

Moscow events—an understanding of the social forces operating in the Russian revolution and just how they operate, and a clearer idea of the forms they take when they operate. Call to mind the political sequence of the Moscow events, and you will see a remarkably typical picture of the whole revolution, one that is characteristic of the class relationships. Here is the sequence: a small breach is forced in the old order; the government tries to mend the breach with petty concessions, illusory "reforms", etc.; instead of calming down, the struggle becomes even more acute and widespread; the liberal bourgeoisie wavers and dashes from one thing to another, urging the revolutionists to desist from revolution, and the police to desist from reaction; headed by the proletariat, the revolutionary people arrive on the scene, and the open struggle gives rise to a new political situation; the conflict shifts to the newly won battlefield—a more elevated and broader field—a new breach is made in the enemy strongholds, and in that way the movement proceeds to an ever higher plane. A general retreat on the part of the government is taking place before our eyes, as *Moskovskiye Vedomosti*[65] aptly remarked recently. A certain liberal newspaper rather cleverly added: a retreat under cover of rearguard action.[66] On October 3 (16) the St. Petersburg correspondent of the liberal Berlin *Vossische Zeitung* wired to his paper about his interview with Trepov's *chef de cabinet*. As the police underling told the correspondent: "You cannot expect the government to follow a consistent plan of action, since every day brings with it events that could not have been foreseen. The government is obliged to manoeuvre. Force cannot crush the present movement which may last for two months or two years."

Indeed the government's tactics have now become quite clear. They indubitably lie in manoeuvring and retreating under cover of rearguard action. Such tactics are quite correct from the standpoint of the autocracy's interests. It would be a grievous error and a fatal illusion for revolutionists to forget that the government can still continue to retreat for a very long time to come, without losing what is most essential. The example of the abortive, unfinished semi-revolution in Germany, in 1848—an example to which we shall return in the next issue of *Proletary*,[67] and which

we shall never tire of recalling—shows that even if it retreats so far as to convoke a (*nominally*) constituent assembly, the government will still retain sufficient strength to defeat the revolution in the final and decisive battle. That is why, in studying the Moscow events, the most recent in a long series of conflicts in our civil war, we must soberly consider the developments, prepare with the maximum of energy and persistence for a long and desperate war, and be on our guard against such allies that are already turncoat allies. When absolutely nothing decisive has as yet been won, when the enemy still has an enormous area for further advantageous and safe retreats, when battles are becoming ever more serious—confidence in such allies, attempts to conclude agreements with them or simply to support them on certain conditions may prove not only stupid but even treacherous to the proletariat.

Indeed, was the liberal professors' behaviour before and during the Moscow events fortuitous? Was it an exception, or is it the rule for the entire Constitutional-Democratic Party? Does this behaviour express the individual peculiarities of a given group of the liberal bourgeoisie, or does it express the fundamental interests of this entire class in general? Among socialists there can be no two opinions on these questions, but not all socialists know how to consistently pursue genuinely socialist tactics.

For a clearer understanding of the gist of the matter, let us take the liberals' own exposition of their tactics. They avoid coming out against the Social-Democrats or even speaking directly about them in the columns of the Russian press. But here is an interesting report in the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung*, which undoubtedly is more outspoken in its expression of the liberals' views:

> "Extremely stormy student disturbances have reoccurred both in St. Petersburg and in Moscow since the very beginning of the academic year, although autonomy has been granted—belatedly, it is true—to the universities and other higher educational institutions. Moreover, in Moscow these disturbances are accompanied by a widespread workers' movement. These disturbances indicate that a new phase has begun in the Russian revolutionary movement. The course of the student meetings and their resolutions show that the students have adopted the watchword of the Social-Democratic leaders to convert the universities into popular meeting places, and thus spread revolution among wide sections of the population. The Moscow students

have already shown how this is being put into effect: they invited to the University premises such large numbers of workers and other persons who have no connection with the University that the students themselves were in a minority. It stands to reason that such a state of affairs cannot go on for long under the existing conditions. The government will close the universities rather than tolerate such meetings. This is so obvious that at first glance it appears inconceivable that the Social-Democratic leaders could have issued such a watchword. They knew perfectly well what this would lead to, but what they wanted was for the government to close the universities. For what purpose? Simply because they intend to hinder the *liberal* movement by all available means. They admit that they are not strong enough to effect any major political action with their own forces; therefore the liberals and radicals must not do anything either, for that would allegedly only harm the socialist proletariat. The latter must win its rights for itself. The Russian Social-Democratic Party may take great pride in these 'inflexible' (*unbeugsame*) tactics, but they must appear very short-sighted to any unprejudiced observer; they will scarcely lead Russian Social-Democracy to victories. It is quite incomprehensible what it will gain by the closing of the universities, which is inevitable if the present tactics continue. On the other hand, it is of the utmost importance to all progressive parties that there should be no interruption in the work of the universities and higher schools. The protracted strikes of students and professors have already caused great damage to Russian culture. It is imperative that academic work be resumed. Autonomy has enabled the professors to conduct their classes freely. That is why the professors of all universities and higher schools are agreed that it is necessary to start tuition once more and in energetic fashion. They are exerting all their influence to persuade the students to abandon their efforts to give effect to the Social-Democratic watchword."

Thus, the struggle between bourgeois liberalism (the Constitutional-Democrats) and the Social-Democrats has taken definite shape. Do not hinder the liberal movement! Such is the slogan so splendidly expressed in the article quoted above. What does this liberal movement amount to? It is *a retrograde movement*, for the professors use and desire to use the freedom of the universities not for revolutionary propaganda, but for *counter-revolutionary* propaganda; not to fan the conflagration, but to extinguish it; not to extend the field of battle, but to draw the masses away from decisive struggle and induce them to collaborate peacefully with the Trepovs. With the struggle becoming more acute, the "liberal" movement (as we have seen in practice) has become marked by desertion from revolution to reaction. Of course, the liberals are, in a way, useful to us, since they introduce vacillation into the ranks of the Trepovs and other lackeys of Romanov. This good, however, will be outweighed by the harm they cause by bringing vacillation into our ranks, unless we make a clean break with the Constitutional-Democrats, and brand every hesitant step they take. Their knowledge, or, more frequently, their sense of their dominant position in the existing economic system has led the liberals to aspire to dominate the revolution as well. They say that each step aimed at continuing, extending and intensifying the revolution and taking it farther than the most ordinary patchwork is a "*hindrance*" to the liberal movement. Fearful for the fate of the so-called freedom of the universities granted by Trepov, they are today fighting against revolutionary freedom. Fearful for the legal "freedom of assembly" which the government will grant tomorrow in a police-distorted form, they will hold us back from using these assemblies for genuinely proletarian aims. Fearful for the fate of the State Duma, they already displayed wise moderation at the September Congress, and continue to display it now by combating the idea of a boycott; why, they say, you must not hinder us from getting things done in the State Duma!

It must be confessed that, to the shame of Social-Democracy, there have been opportunists in its ranks who fell for this bait by reason of their doctrinaire and lifeless distortion of Marxism! They argue that the revolution is a bourgeois one and therefore ... therefore we must retrace our steps in the measure the bourgeoisie succeeds in obtaining concessions from tsarism. To this day the new-Iskrists have not seen the real significance of the State Duma, because they are themselves drawing back and therefore naturally do not notice the Constitutional-Democrats' regression. That the Iskrists have already retraced their steps since the promulgation of the State Duma Act is an indisputable fact. Prior to the State Duma Act they never thought of placing the question of an agreement with the Constitutional-Democrats on the order of the day. After the State Duma Act they (Parvus, Cherevanin and Martov) raised this question, and not merely as a matter of theory, but in an immediately practical form. Prior to the State Duma Act they presented quite stringent conditions to the democrats (right up to co-operation in arming the people,

etc.). After the State Duma Act they immediately reduced the conditions, confining themselves to a promise to convert the Black Hundred or the liberal Duma into a revolutionary one. Prior to the State Duma Act the reply their official resolution gave to the question as to who should convoke the popular constituent assembly was: either a provisional revolutionary government or a representative institution. After the State Duma Act they deleted the provisional revolutionary government, and they now say: either "democratic" (like the Constitutional-Democrats?) "organisations of the people" (?!), or ... or the State Duma. We thus see in fact *how* the new-Iskrists are guided by their magnificent principle: the revolution is a bourgeois revolution—therefore, comrades, watch out lest the bourgeoisie recoil!

The Moscow events, which for the first time since the State Duma Act have shown the *real* nature of the Constitutional-Democrats' tactics at grave political junctures, have also shown that Social-Democracy's opportunist appendage, which we have described, is inevitably being transformed into a mere appendage to the bourgeoisie. We have just said: a Black Hundred or a liberal State Duma. To an *Iskra* supporter these words would appear monstrous, for he considers distinction between a Black-Hundred State Duma and a liberal State Duma highly important. But these self-same Moscow events have disclosed the fallaciousness of this "parliamentary" idea, which had been so inappropriately advanced in a pre-parliamentary period. The Moscow events have shown that the liberal turncoat has actually played the part of a Trepov. The closing of the University, which would have been decreed by Trepov yesterday, has been carried out today by Messrs. Manuilov and Trubetskoi. Is it not clear that the "Duma" liberals will also scurry back and forth between Trepov and Romanov, on the one hand, and the revolutionary people on the other? Is it not clear that the slightest support for liberal turncoats is something befitting only political simpletons?

Under a parliamentary system it is often necessary to support a more liberal party against a less liberal one. But during a revolutionary struggle for a parliamentary system it is treachery to support liberal turncoats who are "reconciling" Trepov with the revolution.

The events in Moscow have revealed in practice the alignment of social forces that *Proletary* has spoken of so many times: the socialist proletariat and the vanguard of revolutionary bourgeois democracy *have waged a struggle*, while the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie *has conducted negotiations*. Therefore, fellow-workers, study the lessons of the Moscow events, and do so most attentively. For it is in this way, and inevitably so, that matters will take their course throughout the whole of the Russian revolution. We must rally more solidly than ever in a genuinely socialist party, which shall consciously express the interests of the working class, and not drift along in the wake of the masses. In the struggle we must place reliance only on revolutionary democrats, permit agreements with them alone, and carry out these agreements only on the field of battle against the Trepovs and Romanov. We must bend every effort to rouse, in addition to the students, who are the vanguard of revolutionary democracy, also those broad masses of the people whose movement is not only democratic in a general way (today every turncoat calls himself a democrat), but a genuinely revolutionary movement—namely, the masses of the peasantry. We must remember that the liberals and Constitutional-Democrats, who are bringing vacillation into the ranks of supporters of the autocracy, will inevitably strive in every way to bring vacillation into our ranks as well. Only an open revolutionary struggle which consigns all liberal chicken coops and all liberal Dumas to the rubbish heap will be of serious and decisive consequence. Therefore, prepare for ever new battles, without losing a single moment! Arm as best you can; immediately form squads of fighters who will be prepared to battle with devoted energy against the accursed autocracy; remember that tomorrow or the following day events will certainly call you to rise in revolt, and the question now is only whether you will be able to take prepared and united action, or whether you will be caught off your guard and disunited!

The events in Moscow have once again and for the hundredth time confuted the sceptics. They have shown that we are still inclined to underestimate the revolutionary activity of the masses. They will bring round many of those who have already begun to waver, who have begun

to lose faith in the idea of an uprising after the conclusion of peace and the granting of a Duma. No, it is precisely now that the uprising is gaining ground and increasing in intensity with unparalleled rapidity. Let us all be at our posts when the imminent explosion comes, one in comparison with which both January 9[68] and the memorable Odessa days[69] will seem mere child's play.

Proletary No. 22,
October 24 (11), 1905

Collected Works, Vol. 9

THE YOUTH ABROAD AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The letter from an out-of-the-way place, calling upon all to return to Russia from abroad (*Proletary* No. 19) has evoked a reply from Comrade "Revolutionary", writing to *Proletary* from Berne.[70] Comrade "Revolutionary" insists on importance of theory in the movement, the need to study seriously, and the like. We of course fully agree with him in the matter, and that was just the sense of our reservation regarding the above-mentioned letter. Comrade "Revolutionary" advises the Party to organise at some place, for example in Geneva, something in the nature of a university, for the youth to be able to engage in serious studies. There have been many such plans, but their implementation meets with too many practical difficulties.

Proletary No. 22,
October 24 (11), 1905

Collected Works, Vol. 9

FROM PREFACE TO THE RUSSIAN TRANSLATION OF K. KAUTSKY'S PAMPHLET *THE DRIVING FORCES AND PROSPECTS OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION*

In conclusion just a few words about "authorities". Marxists cannot adopt the usual standpoint of the intellectual radical, with his pseudo-revolutionary abstraction: "no authorities".

No. The working class, which all over the world is waging a hard and persistent struggle for complete emancipation, needs authorities, but, of course, only in a way that young workers need the experience of veteran *fighters* against oppression and exploitation, of those who have organised many strikes, have taken part in a number of revolutions, who are wise in revolutionary traditions, and have a broad political outlook. The proletarians of every country need the authority of the world-wide struggle of the proletariat. We need the authority of the theoreticians of international Social-Democracy to enable us properly to understand the programme and tactics of our Party. But, of course, this authority has nothing in common with the official authorities in bourgeois science and police politics. It is the authority of the experience gained in the more diversified struggle waged in the ranks of the same world socialist army. And important though this authority is in widening the horizon of the fighters, it would be impermissible in the workers' party to claim that the practical and concrete questions of its immediate policy can be solved by those standing a long way off. The collective spirit of the progressive class-conscious workers immediately engaged in the struggle in each country will always remain the highest authority on all such questions.

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FROM *THE CRISIS OF MENSHEVISM*

III

The contrast which Larin draws between an apparatus-party and a vanguard-party, or, in other words, between a party of fighters against the police and a party of class-conscious political fighters, seems profound and permeated with the "pure proletarian" spirit. In actual fact, however, it is the very same intellectualist opportunism as the analogous contrast drawn in 1899-1901 by the supporters of *Rabochaya Mysl* and the Akimovites.[71]

On the one hand, when there are objective conditions for a direct revolutionary onslaught by the masses, the Party's *supreme* political task is "to serve the spontaneous movement". To contrast *such* revolutionary work with "politics" is to reduce politics to chicanery. It means exalting political action in the Duma above the political action of the masses in October and December; in other words, it means abandoning the proletarian revolutionary standpoint for that of intellectualist opportunism.

Every form of struggle requires a corresponding technique and a corresponding apparatus. When objective conditions make the parliamentary struggle the principal form of struggle, the features of the apparatus for parliamentary struggle inevitably become more marked in the Party. When, on the other hand, objective conditions give rise to a struggle of the masses in the form of mass political strikes and uprisings, the party of the proletariat *must* have an "apparatus" to "serve" *these* forms of struggle, and, of course, this must be a special "apparatus", not resembling

the parliamentary one. An organised party of the proletariat which admitted that the conditions existed for popular uprisings and yet failed to set up the necessary apparatus would be a party of intellectualist chatterboxes; the workers would abandon it and go over to anarchism, bourgeois revolutionism, etc.

On the other hand, the composition of the politically guiding vanguard of every class, the proletariat included, also depends both on the position of this class and on the principal form of its struggle. Larin complains, for example, that young workers predominate in our Party, that we have few married workers, and that they leave the Party. This complaint of a Russian opportunist reminds me of a passage in one of Engels's works (I think it is in *The Housing Question*, *Zur Wohnungsfrage*). Retorting to some fatuous bourgeois professor, a German Cadet, Engels wrote: is it not natural that youth should predominate in our Party, the revolutionary party? We are the party of the future, and the future belongs to the youth. We are a party of innovators, and it is always the youth that most eagerly follows the innovators. We are a party that is waging a self-sacrificing struggle against the old rottenness, and youth is always the first to undertake a self-sacrificing struggle.

No, let us leave it to the Cadets to collect the "tired" old men of thirty, revolutionaries who have "grown wise", and renegades from Social-Democracy. We shall always be a party of the youth of the advanced class!

Larin himself blurts out a frank admission why he regrets the loss of the married men who are tired of the struggle. If we were to collect a good number of these tired men into the Party, that would make it "somewhat sluggish, putting a brake on political adventures" (p. 18).

Now, that's better, good Larin! Why dissemble and deceive yourself. What you want is not a vanguard-party, but a *rearguard-party*, so that it will be rather more sluggish. You should have said so frankly.

"... Putting a brake on political adventures...." Revolutions have been defeated in Europe too; there were the June days of 1848 and the May days of 1871; but there has never been a Social-Democrat or a Communist who thought it proper to declare the action of the masses in a revolution

to be an "adventure". This became possible when among revolutionary Marxists there were enrolled (not for long, we hope) spineless, craven Russian philistines, called the "intelligentsia", if you please, who have no confidence in themselves and become despondent at every turn of events towards reaction.

"...Putting a brake on adventures!" If that is so, then the first *adventurer* is Larin himself; for he calls "minor struggles" the course *most advantageous* to the revolution; he is trying to *make the masses believe* that the tide of *revolution is rising*, that in two or three years the army will be filled with discontented peasants, and that the "old regime will collapse" at "the first serious test"!

But Larin is an adventurer in another, much worse and pettier sense. He advocates a labour congress[72] and a "non-party party" (his expression!). Instead of the Social-Democratic Party he wants an "All-Russia Labour Party"—"labour", because it must include the petty-bourgeois revolutionaries, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Polish Socialist Party, the Byelorussian Hromada,[73] etc.

Larin is an admirer of Axelrod. But he has done him a disservice. He has so exalted Axelrod's "youthful energy", his "true party courage" in fighting for a labour congress, he has embraced him so fervently, that ... he has smothered him in his embraces! Axelrod's nebulous "idea" of a labour congress has been killed by a naïve and truthful, practical party worker who has gone and blurted out everything that should have been concealed for successful advocacy of a labour congress. A labour congress means "taking down the signboard" (p. 20 in Larin's pamphlet, for whom Social-Democracy is a mere signboard); it means *merging with the Socialist-Revolutionaries* and the trade unions.

Quite right, Comrade Larin! Thank you at least for speaking the truth! The labour congress really does mean all that. It would lead to that even against the wish of its conveners. And it is just for that reason that a labour congress now would be a petty opportunist adventure. Petty—for there is no broad idea underlying it, nothing but the weariness of intellectuals who are tired of the persistent struggle for Marxism. Opportunist—for the same reason, and also because thousands of petty bourgeois of

far from settled opinions would be admitted into the labour party. An adventure—for under present conditions such an attempt will bring about, not peace or constructive work, or collaboration between the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Social-Democrats—to whom Larin kindly assigns the role of "propagandist societies within a broad party" (p. 40)—but only endless aggravation of strife, dissension, splits, ideological confusion, and actual disorganisation.

It is one thing to predict that the Socialist-Revolutionary "Centre" *must* come over to the Social-Democrats when the Popular Socialists and Maximalists[74] drop out; it is a different thing to climb after an apple which is only in process of ripening, but is not yet ripe. You will either break your neck, my dear sir, or upset your stomach with sour fruit.

Larin bases his arguments on "Belgium", as did, in 1899, R. M. (the editor of *Rabochaya Mysl*) and Mr. Prokopovich (when he was going through the "spontaneous outbursts" of a Social-Democrat and had not yet "grown wise" sufficiently to become a "systematically acting" Cadet). Larin's booklet has a neat appendix in the shape of a neat translation of the Rules of the Belgian Labour Party! But our good Larin forgot to "translate" to Russia the industrial conditions and history of Belgium. *After* a series of bourgeois revolutions, *after* decades of struggle against Proudhon's petty-bourgeois quasi-socialism, and *with* the enormous development of industrial capitalism, possibly the highest in the world, the labour congress and the labour party in Belgium marked a transition from non-proletarian socialism to proletarian socialism. In Russia, at the height of a bourgeois revolution, which is *inevitably* breeding petty-bourgeois ideas and petty-bourgeois ideologists, and with growing "Trudovik" trends[75] among closely related sections of the peasantry and the proletariat, with a *Social-Democratic* Labour Party that has a history of nearly one decade, a labour congress is a badly conceived invention, and fusion with the Socialist-Revolutionaries (who knows, there may be 30,000 of them, or perhaps 60,000, says Larin artlessly) is an intellectual's whimsy.

Yes, history can be ironic! For years the Mensheviks have been trumpeting about the close connection between the Bolsheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries. And now

the Bolsheviks reject a labour congress *precisely because* it would obscure the difference in the points of view of the proletarians and the small proprietors (see the resolution of the St. Petersburg Committee[76] in *Proletary* No. 3). And the *Mensheviks* stand for *merging with the Socialist-Revolutionaries* in connection with the advocacy of a labour congress. This is unique!

"I do not want to dissolve the party in the class," pleads Larin. "I only want to unite the vanguard, 900,000 out of nine million" (p. 17 and p. 49).

Let us take the official factory returns for 1903. The total number of factory workers was 1,640,406. Of these, 797,997 were in factories employing over 500 workers each, and 1,261,363 in factories employing over 100 workers each. The number of workers in the largest factories (800,000) is only a little smaller than the figure Larin gives for the workers' party united with the Socialist-Revolutionaries!

Thus, although we already have from 150,000 to 170,000 members in our Social-Democratic Party, and notwithstanding the 800,000 workers employed in large factories, the workers of big mining enterprises (not included in this total) and the multitude of purely proletarian elements employed in trade, agriculture, transport, etc., Larin has no hope that we in Russia can soon win for Social-Democracy 900,000 *proletarians* as Party members?? Monstrous, but true.

But Larin's lack of faith is only another example of the intellectual's timid thinking.

We are quite sure that this object can be attained. As a counterblast to the adventure of a "labour congress" and a "non-party party" we put forward the slogan: for a fivefold and tenfold *increase* of our *Social-Democratic Party*, only let it consist mainly and *almost exclusively* of purely proletarian elements, and let it be achieved solely under the banner of revolutionary Marxism.*

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* It would be unwise to take the trade unions into the Party, as Larin proposes. This would only restrict the working-class movement and narrow its base. We shall always be able to unite a far greater number of workers for the struggle against the employers than for support of Social-Democratic policy. Therefore (in spite of Larin's *wrong* assertion that the Bolsheviks have declared against non-party trade unions), we stand for non-party trade unions, as the author of the "Jacobin"[77] (Jacobin—in the opinion of the opportunists) pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?* advocated *as far back as 1902*.

Now, after a year of the great revolution, when all sorts of parties are growing by leaps and bounds, the proletariat is becoming an independent party more rapidly than ever. The Duma elections will assist this process (if we do not enter into opportunist blocs with the Cadets, of course). The treachery of the bourgeoisie in general, and of the petty bourgeoisie in particular (the *Popular Socialists*), will strengthen the revolutionary Social-Democratic Party.

We shall reach Larin's "ideal" (900,000 Party members), and even exceed it, by hard work on the present lines, and not by adventures. It is certainly necessary now to enlarge the Party with the aid of *proletarian* elements. It is abnormal that we should have only 6,000 Party members in St. Petersburg (in St. Petersburg Gubernia there are 81,000 workers in factories employing 500 workers and over; in all, 150,000 workers); that in the Central Industrial Region we should have only 20,000 Party members (377,000 workers in factories employing 500 and over; in all, 562,000 workers). We must *learn* to recruit* five times and ten times as many workers for the Party in such centres. In this respect Larin is certainly quite right. But we must not fall a prey to intellectualist cowardice or intellectualist hysteria. We shall achieve our aim by following our own *Social-Democratic* path, without plunging into adventures.

Proletary No. 9,
December 7, 1906

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* We say "learn to recruit", for the number of Social-Democratic workers in such centres is undoubtedly many times the number of Party members. We suffer from routine, we must fight against it. We must learn to form, where necessary, *lose Organisationen*—looser, broader and more accessible *proletarian* organisations. Our slogan is: *for a larger Social-Democratic Labour* Party, against a non-party labour congress and a non-party party?

ANTI-MILITARIST PROPAGANDA AND THE YOUNG SOCIALIST WORKERS' LEAGUES

As everybody knows, the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart[78] discussed the question of militarism and the relevant question of anti-militarist propaganda. The resolution adopted on this question says, among other things, that the congress considers it the duty of the working classes "to imbue the young people of the working classes with the socialist spirit of universal brotherhood and with class consciousness". The Congress regards this as a guarantee that the army will cease to be a blind tool in the hands of the ruling classes which they wield at will and which they may send against the people any moment.

It is difficult and sometimes next to impossible to conduct propaganda among serving soldiers. Life in barracks, strict surveillance and rare leaves of absence greatly impede contacts with the outside world; military discipline and stultifying drilling intimidate the soldiers; the military authorities are going out of their way to drum all living thoughts and human sentiments out of the "inarticulate herd" and imbue them with blind obedience and senseless and savage wrath for the enemies at home and abroad.... It is far more difficult to get across to the lonesome, ignorant and intimidated soldier who is cut off from his normal environment and whose head has been crammed with the wildest notions about everything around him, than to young men of conscript age, who live with their families and among their comrades and have common interests

with them. Anti-militarist propaganda among young workers is everywhere yielding excellent results. And this is of vast importance. A worker who joins the army as a conscious Social-Democrat is a poor support for the powers that be.

There are young socialist workers' leagues in all European countries. In some countries, such as Belgium, Austria and Sweden, these leagues are large organisations doing important party work. Of course, the main aim of the leagues is self-education and the acquisition of a clear integrated socialist world outlook. But the youth leagues are also conducting practical work. They fight for better conditions for apprentices and try to protect them from unbridled exploitation by the employers. They put still more time and effort into anti-militarist propaganda.

To this end they try to establish close contacts with young soldiers. This is done in the following way. As long as the young worker has not been called up, he is a member of the league and pays his dues. When he becomes a soldier, the league keeps constantly in touch with him and regularly sends him small amounts of money (the "soldier's sou" they are called in France) which, although small, are very important to him. For his part he undertakes to keep the league regularly informed of all that is going on in the army barracks and to write about his impressions. Thus, even when on regular service, the soldier does not lose contact with the organisation to which he belonged.

The soldier is always sent to serve as far as possible from his home. This is done to ensure that he has no interests in common with the local population and feels a stranger among them. Then it is easier to make him obey orders and shoot at a crowd. The young workers' leagues endeavour to do away with this estrangement of the soldier from the population. The leagues are connected with one another. When he comes to a new town, the soldier, a former member of a youth league at home, is received as a welcome guest by the local league, he is introduced to local affairs and assisted in every way. He ceases to be a stranger, a newcomer. He knows that he can expect help and support if he gets into some trouble. This knowledge gives him courage, he feels bolder in the barracks and stands up for his rights and human dignity with greater boldness.

Close contacts with young soldiers give the youth leagues an opportunity to conduct extensive anti-militarist propaganda among the soldiers. This is done mainly through anti-militarist literature published and circulated in large numbers by the leagues, especially in France and Belgium, and also in Switzerland, Sweden and other countries. These publications are most varied in content and include picture postcards on anti-militarist subjects, collections of soldiers' anti-militarist ditties (some of them are very popular among the soldiers), "a soldier's catechism" (100,000 copies of it were circulated in France), pamphlets, appeals and leaflets of all descriptions and weekly, fortnightly and monthly newspapers and magazines for soldiers, some of them illustrated. *Barracks*, *Recruit*, *Young Soldier*, *Pioupiou* (pet name for a young recruit) and *Forward* are circulated far and wide. For instance, the Belgian *Recruit* and *Barracks* have a circulation of 60,000 copies each. A large number of magazines are published at the time conscripts are called up for service. Special issues of soldiers' newspapers are sent out to all conscripts. Anti-militarist literature is delivered to the army barracks and distributed among the soldiers in the streets, they find it at cafés, public bars, in short, wherever they go.

New recruits come in for particular attention. They are given a regular send-off. At conscription times processions are organised in towns. In Austria for instance conscripts in mourning march through the town to the strains of a funeral dirge behind a cart decked out in red. Everywhere red-coloured posters are stuck on walls with the words "You will not shoot at people!" printed in large letters. Evening parties are organised in honour of the conscripts at which fervent anti-militarist speeches are made. In a word, everything is done to arouse the political consciousness of the conscript and to immunise him against the pernicious influence of the ideas and sentiments which will be thrust on him in one way or another in the army.

The work of the socialist youth is not wasted. In Belgium, there are some fifteen soldiers' unions, most of which ally themselves with the Social-Democratic Workers' Party and are closely connected with one another. There are regiments in which up to two-thirds of the soldiers are organised in unions. In France anti-militarist moods have assumed mass proportions. During the strikes in Dunkirk, Le Creusot, Longwy and Montceau-les-Mines the troops sent to deal with the strikers declared solidarity with them....

The numbers of Social-Democratic soldiers in the army are growing with every day. The army is becoming ever more unreliable. When the bourgeoisie are confronted with the organised working class, which side will the army take? With the energy and fervour characteristic of the youth, the young socialist workers are working to ensure that it is on the side of the people.

Vperyod No. 16,
October 8, 1907

Collected Works, Fifth
Russian edition, Vol. 16

FROM *THE BEGINNING OF DEMONSTRATIONS*

And now, after three years of the most wanton riot of counter-revolution, we see that the *mass of the people*, those most oppressed, downtrodden, benighted, intimidated by persecutions in every form, are beginning to raise their heads again, to reawaken and resume the struggle. Three years of executions, persecutions and savage reprisals have destroyed tens of thousands of the "enemies" of the autocracy, hundreds of thousands have been imprisoned or exiled, many hundreds of thousands more have been intimidated. But millions and tens of millions of people are no longer what they were before the revolution. *Never* yet in the history of Russia have these millions experienced such instructive and vivid lessons, such open class struggle. That a new and profound underlying ferment has set in among these millions and tens of millions is evident from this summer's strikes and the recent demonstrations.

Workers' strikes in Russia both during the period of the preparation of the revolution and during the revolution itself were the most widely used means of struggle of the proletariat, of this advanced class, which is the only consistently revolutionary class in modern society. Economic and political strikes, now alternating, now inseparably interwoven, united the mass of the workers against the capitalist class and the autocratic government, threw the whole of society into a ferment, and roused the peasantry for the struggle.

When a continuous wave of mass strikes began in 1895 this was the beginning of the phase of preparation for the people's revolution. When in January 1905 the number of strikers in this one month exceeded 400,000, this was the beginning of the actual revolution. In all the three years of the revolution the number of strikers, though gradually declining (almost 3,000,000 in 1905, 1,000,000 in 1906, and

three-fourths of a million in 1907), was higher than had ever been known in any other country.

When the number of strikers dropped abruptly (176,000) in 1908 and was followed by an even more marked decline in 1909 (64,000) this spelt the end of the first revolution or, rather, the first phase of the revolution.

And now, since the summer of this year, the tide is beginning to rise again. The number of participants in economic strikes is *increasing* and increasing very rapidly. The phase of the *total* domination of the Black-Hundred reaction has come to an end. The phase of a new upsurge is beginning. The proletariat, which *retreated*—although with considerable interruptions between 1905 and 1909, is regaining its strength and is beginning to take the *offensive*. The revival in certain branches of industry leads at once to a revival of the proletarian struggle.

The proletariat has begun. Others, the bourgeois, democratic classes and sections of the population are continuing. The death of Muromtsev, Chairman of the First Duma, a moderate liberal, a foreigner to democracy, evokes the first timid beginning of demonstrations. The death of Lev Tolstoi gives rise—for the first time after a long interval—to *street demonstrations* with the participation mainly of students but partly also of workers. The fact that quite a number of factories and plants stopped work on the day of Tolstoi's funeral marks the beginning, though a very modest one, of demonstrative strikes.

Very recently, the atrocities of the tsarist gaolers, who in Vologda and Zerentui tortured many of our imprisoned comrades who are being persecuted for their heroic struggle during the revolution, have deepened the ferment among the students. Assemblies and mass meetings are being held all over Russia, the police are raiding the universities, beating the students, arresting them, prosecuting newspapers for publishing the slightest particle of truth about the disorders, but only aggravating the unrest by all these actions.

The proletariat has begun. The democratic youth are continuing. The Russian people are awakening to new struggle, advancing towards a new revolution.

Rabochaya Gazeta No. 2,
December 18 (31), 1910

Collected Works, Vol. 16

IVAN VASILYEVICH BABUSHKIN

(AN OBITUARY)

We are living in accursed conditions when it is possible for such things as the following to happen: a prominent Party worker, the pride of the Party, a comrade who unselfishly devoted his life to the cause of the working class, disappears without a trace. Even his nearest relatives, like his wife or his mother, his most intimate comrades do not know for years what has become of him: whether he is pining somewhere in penal servitude, whether he has perished in some prison or has died the death of a hero in battle with the enemy. Such was the case with Ivan Vasilyevich, who was shot by Rennenkampf. We learned about his death only quite recently.

The name of Ivan Vasilyevich is near and dear not only to Social-Democrats. All who knew him loved and respected him for his energy, his avoidance of phrase-mongering, his profound and staunch revolutionary spirit and fervent devotion to the cause. A St. Petersburg worker, in 1895 with a group of other class-conscious workers, he was very active in the district beyond the Nevskaya Zastava among the workers of the Semyannikov and Alexandrov factories and the Glass Works, forming circles, organising libraries and studying very hard himself all the time.

All his thoughts were fixed on one thing—how to widen the scope of the work. He took an active part in drawing up the *first agitational leaflet* put out in St. Petersburg in the autumn of 1894, a leaflet addressed to the Semyannikov

workers, and he distributed it himself. When the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class[79] was formed in St. Petersburg, Ivan Vasilyevich became one of its most active members and worked in it until he was arrested. The idea of starting a political newspaper abroad to promote the unification and consolidation of the Social-Democratic Party was discussed with him by his old comrades who had worked with him in St. Petersburg, the founders of *Iskra*, and received his warmest support. While Ivan Vasilyevich was at liberty *Iskra* never went short of genuine workers' correspondence. Look through the first twenty issues of *Iskra*, all these letters from Shuya, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Orekhovo-Zuyevo and other places in Central Russia: they nearly all passed through the hands of Ivan Vasilyevich, who made every effort to establish the closest contact between *Iskra* and the workers. Ivan Vasilyevich was *Iskra*'s most assiduous correspondent and its ardent supporter. From the central region Babushkin made his way to the south, where he was arrested in Ekaterinoslav and imprisoned in Alexandrovsk. From Alexandrovsk he escaped with another comrade by sawing through the window-bars of his cell. Without knowing a single foreign language he made his way to London, where the *Iskra* editorial office was at the time. A lot of things were talked over there, a lot of questions were discussed with him. But Ivan Vasilyevich did not get the chance to attend the Second Party Congress ... imprisonment and exile put him out of active service for a long time. The revolutionary wave that arose brought new functionaries, new Party leaders to the fore, but Babushkin at this time was living in the Far North, in Verkhoyansk, cut off from Party life. But the time was not wasted for him, he studied, he equipped himself for the struggle, he was active among the workers who were his comrades in exile, trying to make them class-conscious Social-Democrats and Bolsheviks. In 1905 came the amnesty and Babushkin set out for Russia. But Siberia too was seething with struggle and people like Babushkin were needed there. He joined the Irkutsk Committee and plunged headlong into the work. He had to speak at meetings, carry on Social-Democratic agitation and organise an uprising. While Babushkin and five other

comrades—whose names we have not learned—were taking a large consignment of arms to Chita in a separate railway car the train was held up by one of Rennenkampf's punitive expeditions and all six, without the slightest pretence of a trial, were lined up on the edge of a common grave hastily dug on the spot and shot. They died like heroes. The story of their death was told by soldiers who saw it and railwaymen who were in the same train. Babushkin fell a victim to the bestial savagery of the tsarist myrmidon but, in dying, he knew that the cause to which he had devoted his life would not die, that it would be continued by tens, hundreds of thousands, millions of other hands, that other working-class comrades would die for the same cause, that they would fight until they were victorious....

* * *

Some people have concocted and are spreading a fairy-tale to the effect that the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party is a party of "intellectuals", that the workers are isolated from it, that the workers in Russia are Social-Democrats without a Social-Democratic party, that this was the case particularly before the revolution and, to a considerable extent, during the revolution. The liberals are spreading this lie out of hatred for the revolutionary mass struggle which the R.S.D.L.P. led in 1905, and some socialists have been repeating this lying theory either out of ignorance or irresponsibility. The life history of Ivan Vasilyevich Babushkin, the ten years' Social-Democratic activity of this *Iskrist-worker*, is a striking refutation of this liberal lie. I. V. Babushkin is one of those working-class militants who *10 years* before the revolution began to create the *workers'* Social-Democratic Party. Had it not been for the tireless, heroically persistent work of *such* militants among the proletarian masses the R.S.D.L.P. could not have existed ten months let alone ten years. Thanks only to the activities of *such* militants, thanks only to their support, the R.S.D.L.P. developed by 1905 into a Party which *became inseparably fused* with the proletariat in the great days of October and December, which maintained this connection in the person of the *workers' deputies* not only

in the Second, but even in the Third, Black-Hundred Duma.

The liberals (Cadets) want to make a national hero out of the late S. A. Muromtsev who was the Chairman of the First Duma. We, the Social-Democrats, must not let the opportunity slip of expressing our contempt and hatred of the tsarist government, which persecuted even such moderate and inoffensive officials as Muromtsev. Muromtsev was only a liberal official. He was not even a democrat. He was afraid of the revolutionary struggle of the masses. He expected the liberation of Russia to come not from this struggle, but from the good will of the tsarist autocracy, from an *agreement* with this malicious and ruthless enemy of the Russian people. It is ridiculous to regard such people as national heroes of the Russian revolution.

But there are such national heroes. They are people like Babushkin. They are people who, not for a year or two but for a whole decade before the revolution, whole-heartedly devoted themselves to the struggle for the emancipation of the working class. They are people who did not dissipate their energies on the futile terrorist acts of individuals, but who worked persistently and unswervingly among the proletarian masses, helping to develop *their* consciousness, *their* organisation and *their* revolutionary initiative. They are people who stood at the head of the armed mass struggle against the tsarist autocracy when the crisis began, when the revolution broke out and when millions and millions were stirred into action. Everything won from the tsarist autocracy was won *exclusively* by the struggle of the masses led by such people as Babushkin.

Without such men the Russian people would remain for ever a people of slaves and serfs. With such men the Russian people will win complete emancipation from all exploitation.

The fifth anniversary of the December uprising of 1905 has already passed. Let us honour this anniversary by remembering the militant workers who fell in the fight against the enemy. We request our worker comrades to collect and send us reminiscences of the struggle of that period and additional information about Babushkin and

also about other Social-Democratic workers who fell in the uprising of 1905. We intend to publish a pamphlet on the lives of such workers. Such a pamphlet will be the best answer to all sceptics and disparagers of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party. Such a pamphlet will be excellent reading matter for young workers, who will learn from it how every class-conscious worker should live and act.

Rabochaya Gazeta No. 2,
December 18 (31), 1910

Collected Works, Vol. 16

TO I. F. ARMAND

Dear Friend,

I very much advise you to write the plan of the pamphlet in as much detail[80] as possible. Otherwise too much is unclear.

One opinion I must express here and now:

I advise you to throw out altogether § 3—the "demand (women's) for freedom of love".

That is not really a proletarian but a bourgeois demand.

After all, what do you understand by that phrase? What *can* be understood by it?

1. Freedom *from* material (financial) calculations in affairs of love?
2. The same, *from* material worries?
3. From religious prejudices?
4. From prohibitions by Papa, etc.?
5. From the prejudices of "society"?
6. From the narrow circumstances of one's environment (peasant or petty-bourgeois or bourgeois intellectual)?
7. From the fetters of the law, the courts and the police?
8. From the serious element in love?
9. From child-birth?
10. Freedom of adultery? etc.

I have enumerated many shades (not all, of course). You have in mind, of course, not Nos. 8-10, but either Nos. 1-7 or something *similar* to Nos. 1-7.

But then for Nos. 1-7 you must choose a different wording, because freedom of love does not express this idea exactly.

And the public, the readers of the pamphlet, will *inevitably* understand by "freedom of love", in general, something like Nos. 8-10, even *without your wishing it.*

Just because in modern society the most talkative, noisy and "top-prominent" classes understand by "freedom of love" Nos. 8-10, just for that very reason this is not a proletarian but a bourgeois demand.

For the proletariat Nos. 1-2 are the most important, and then Nos. 1-7, and those, in fact, are not "freedom of love".

The thing is not what you *subjectively* "mean" by this. The thing is the *objective logic* of class relations in affairs of love.

Friendly shake hands!*

W.I.

Written on January 17, 1915
Sent from Berne

Collected Works, Vol. 35

First published in 1939
in the magazine *Bolshevik* No. 13

* These words, like "Dear Friend" at the beginning, were written by Lenin in English.—*Ed.*

TO I. F. ARMAND

Dear Friend,

I apologise for my delay in replying: I wanted to do it yesterday, but was prevented, and I had no time to sit down and write.

As regards your plan for the pamphlet, my opinion was that "the demand for freedom of love" was unclear and—independently of your will and your wish (I emphasised this when I said that what mattered was the objective, class relations, and not your subjective wishes)—would, in present social conditions, turn out to be a bourgeois, not a proletarian demand.

You do not agree.

Very well. Let us look at the thing again.

In order to make the unclear clear, I enumerated approximately ten *possible* (and, in conditions of class discord, inevitable) different interpretations, and in doing so remarked that interpretations 1-7, in my opinion, would be typical or characteristic of proletarian women, and 8-10, of bourgeois women.

If you are to refute this, you have to show (1) that these interpretations are wrong (and then replace them by others, or indicate which are wrong), or (2) incomplete (then you should add those which are missing), or (3) are not divided into proletarian and bourgeois in that way.

You don't do either one, or the other, or the third.

You don't touch on points 1-7 at all. Does this mean that you admit them to be true (on the whole)? (What you write about the prostitution of proletarian women and their dependence: "impossibility of saying no" fully comes under points 1-7. No difference at all can be detected between us here.)

Nor do you deny that this is a *proletarian* interpretation.

There remain points 8-10.

These you "don't quite understand" and "object" to: "I don't understand how it is *possible*" (that is what you have written!) "to *identify*" (!!??) "freedom of love with" point 10....

So it appears that *I* am "identifying", while you have undertaken to refute and demolish *me*?

How so?

Bourgeois women understand by freedom of love points 8-10—that is my thesis.

Do you deny this? Will you say what *bourgeois* ladies understand by freedom of love?

You don't say that. Do not literature and life really *prove* that that is just how bourgeois women understand it? They prove it completely! You tacitly admit this.

And if that is so, the point is their class position, and it is hardly possible and almost naïve to "refute" *them*.

What you must do is *separate* from them clearly, *contrast* with them, the proletarian point of view. One must take into account the objective fact that otherwise *they* will snatch the appropriate passages from your pamphlet, interpret them in their own way, make your pamphlet into water pouring on their mill, distort your ideas in the workers' eyes, "*confuse*" the workers (sowing in their minds the fear that *you* may be bringing them *alien* ideas). And in their hands are a host of newspapers, etc.

While you, completely forgetting the objective and class point of view, go over to the "offensive" against *me*, as though I am "identifying" freedom of love with points 8-10.... Marvellous, really marvellous....

"Even a fleeting passion and intimacy" are "more poetic and cleaner" than "kisses without love" (of a vulgar and shallow) married couple. That is what you write. And that is what you intend to write in your pamphlet. Very good.

Is the contrast logical? Kisses without love between a vulgar couple are *dirty*. I agree. To them one should contrast ... what?... One would think: kisses *with* love? While you contrast them with "fleeting" (why fleeting?) "passion" (why not love?)—so, logically, it turns out that kisses without love (fleeting) are contrasted with kisses without love by married people.... Strange. For a popular pamphlet, would it not be better to contrast philistine-intellectual-peasant (I think they're in my point *6* or point 5) vulgar and dirty marriage without love to proletarian civil marriage with love (adding, *if you absolutely insist*, that fleeting intimacy and passion, too, may be dirty and may be clean). What you have arrived at is, not the contrast of class *types*, but something like an "incident", which, of course, is possible. But is it a question of particular incidents? If you take the theme of an incident, an individual case of dirty kisses in marriage and pure ones in a fleeting intimacy, that is a theme to be worked out in a novel (because there the whole *essence* is in the *individual* circumstances, the analysis of the *characters* and psychology of *particular* types). But in a pamphlet?

You understood my idea very well about the unsuitable quotation from Key, when you said it is "stupid" to appear in the role of "professors of love". Quite so. Well, and what about the role of professors of fleeting, etc.?

Really, I don't want to engage in polemics at all. I would willingly throw aside this letter and postpone matters until we can talk about it. But I want the pamphlet to be a good one, so that *no* one *could* tear out of it phrases which would cause you unpleasantness (sometimes *one single* phrase is enough to be the spoonful of tar in a barrel of honey...), *could mis*interpret you. I am sure that here, too, you wrote "without wishing it", and the only reason why I am sending you this letter is that you may examine the plan in greater detail as a result of the letters than you would after a talk—and the plan, you know, is a very important thing.

Have you not some French socialist friend? Translate my points 1-10 to her (as though it were from English), together with your remarks about "fleeting", etc., and watch her, listen to her as attentively as possible: a little experiment as to what *outside* people will say, what their impressions will be, what they will expect of the pamphlet?

I shake you by the hand, and wish you fewer headaches and to get better soon.

V. U.

Written January 24, 1915
Sent from Berne

First published in 1939
in *Bolshevik* No. 13

Collected Works, Vol. 35

THE YOUTH INTERNATIONAL

(A REVIEW)

A German-language publication bearing the above title has been appearing in Switzerland since September 1, 1915. It carries the subtitle: "Militant and Propaganda Organ of the International League of Socialist Youth Organisations." Altogether six issues have appeared so far. The magazine merits our attention and should be strongly recommended to all Party members in a position to contact foreign Social-Democratic parties and youth organisations.

Most of the official European Social-Democratic parties are advocating the foulest and vilest social-chauvinism and opportunism. This applies to the German and French parties, the Fabian Society[81] and the Labour Party[82] in England, the Swedish, Dutch (Troelstra's party), Danish, Austrian parties, etc. In the Swiss Party, notwithstanding the withdrawal (to the great benefit of the labour movement) of the extreme opportunists, now organised in the *non*-party "Grütli-Verein",[83] there still remain within the Social-Democratic Party numerous opportunist, social-chauvinist and Kautskyite leaders who exercise *tremendous* influence on its affairs.

With this state of affairs in Europe, there falls on the League of Socialist Youth Organisations the tremendous, grateful but difficult task of fighting *for* revolutionary internationalism, *for* true socialism and against the prevailing opportunism which has deserted to the side of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The *Youth International* has published a number of good articles in defence of revolutionary internationalism, and the magazine as a whole is permeated with a fine spirit of intense hatred for the betrayers of socialism, the "defenders of the fatherland" in the present war, and with an earnest desire to wipe out the corroding influence of chauvinism and opportunism in the international labour movement.

Of course, the youth organ *still* lacks theoretical clarity and consistency. Perhaps it may never acquire them, precisely because it is the organ of seething, turbulent, inquiring youth. However, our attitude towards the lack of theoretical clarity on the part of *such* people must be entirely different from what our attitude is and should be towards the theoretical muddle in the heads, and the lack of revolutionary consistency in the hearts, of our "O.C.-ists", "Socialist-Revolutionaries", Tolstoyans, anarchists, the European Kautskyites ("Centre"), etc. Adults who lay claim to lead and teach the proletariat, but actually mislead it, are one thing: against such people a *ruthless* struggle must be waged. Organisations of *youth*, however, which openly declare that they are still learning, that their main task is to train party workers for the socialist parties, are quite another thing. Such people must be given every assistance. We must be patient with their faults and strive to correct them gradually, mainly by *persuasion*, and not by fighting them. The middle-aged and the aged often *do not know how* to approach the youth, for the youth must of necessity advance to socialism *in a different way, by other paths, in other forms, in other circumstances* than their fathers. Incidentally, that is why we must decidedly *favour organisational independence* of the Youth League, *not only* because the opportunists fear such independence, but because of the very nature of the case. For unless they have complete independence, the youth *will be unable* either to train good socialists from their midst or prepare themselves to lead socialism *forward*.

We stand for the complete independence of the Youth Leagues, but also for complete freedom of comradely criticism of their errors! We must not flatter the youth.

Of the errors to be noted in this excellent magazine, reference must first of all be made to the following three:

1) The incorrect position on the question of disarmament (or "disarming"), which we criticised in a preceding

article.* There is reason to believe that this error arises entirely out of the laudable desire to emphasise the need to strive for the "complete destruction of militarism" (which is perfectly correct); but the role of civil wars in the socialist revolution is forgotten.

2) On the question of the differences between socialists and anarchists in their attitude towards the state, Comrade Nota-Bene in his article (issue No. 6) falls into a very serious error (as he also does on several other questions, for instance, our *reasons* for combating the "defence of the fatherland" slogan). The author wishes to present "a clear picture of the state in general" (together with that of the imperialist predatory state). He quotes several statements by Marx and Engels, and arrives at the following two conclusions, among others:

a) "... It is absolutely wrong to seek the difference between socialists and anarchists in the fact that the former are in favour of the state while the latter are against it. The real difference is that revolutionary Social-Democracy desires to organise social production on new lines, as centralised, i.e., technically the most progressive, method of production, whereas decentralised, anarchist production would mean retrogression to obsolete techniques, to the old form of enterprise." This is wrong. The author raises the question of the difference in the socialists' and anarchists' attitude *towards the state*. However, he answers *not* this question, but *another*, namely, the difference in their attitude towards the economic foundation of future society. That, of course, is an important and necessary question. But that is no reason to ignore the *main* point of difference between socialists and anarchists in their attitude towards the state. Socialists are in favour of utilising the present state and its institutions in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class, maintaining also that the state should be used for a specific form of transition from capitalism to socialism. This transitional form is the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is *also* a state.

The anarchists want to "abolish" the state, "blow it up" (*sprengen*) as Comrade Nota-Bene expresses it in one place, erroneously ascribing this view to the socialists. The socialists—unfortunately the author quoted Engels's relevant words rather incompletely—hold that the state will "wither away", will gradually "fall asleep" *after* the bourgeoisie has been expropriated.

b) "Social-Democracy, which is, or at least should be, the educator of the masses, must now more than ever emphasise its hostility to the state in principle.... The present war has shown how deeply the state idea has penetrated the souls of workers," writes Comrade Nota-Bene. In order to "emphasise" our "hostility" to the state "in principle" we must indeed understand it "clearly", and it is this clarity that our author lacks. His remark about the "state idea" is entirely muddled. It is un-Marxist and unsocialist. The point is not that the "state idea" has clashed with the repudiation of the state, but that opportunist policy (i.e., the opportunist, reformist, bourgeois attitude towards the state) has clashed with revolutionary Social-Democratic policy (i.e., the revolutionary Social-Democratic attitude towards the bourgeois state and towards utilising it against the bourgeoisie to overthrow the bourgeoisie). These are entirely different things. We hope to return to this very important subject in a separate article.[84]

3) The "declaration of principles of the International League of Socialist Youth Organisations", published in issue No. 6 as the "Secretariat's draft", contains not a few inaccuracies, and does not contain the *main* thing: a clear comparison of the *three* fundamental trends (social-chauvinism, "Centre" and Left) now contending against each other in the socialist movement of all countries.

We repeat, these errors must be refuted and explained. At the same time we must make every effort to find points of contact and closer relations with youth organisations and help them in every way, but we must find the *proper* manner of approach to them.

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Signed: *N. Lenin*

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* The reference is to V. I. Lenin's article "On 'Disarmament' Slogan".—*Ed.*

LECTURE ON THE 1905 REVOLUTION[85]

My young friends and comrades,

Today is the twelfth anniversary of "Bloody Sunday",[86] which is rightly regarded as the beginning of the Russian revolution.

Thousands of workers—not Social-Democrats, but loyal God-fearing subjects—led by the priest Gapon, streamed from all parts of the capital to its centre, to the square in front of the Winter Palace, to submit a petition to the tsar. The workers carried icons. In a letter to the tsar, their then leader, Gapon, had guaranteed his personal safety and asked him to appear before the people.

Troops were called out. Uhlans and Cossacks attacked the crowd with drawn swords. They fired on the unarmed workers, who on their bended knees implored the Cossacks to allow them to go to the tsar. Over one thousand were killed and over two thousand wounded on that day, according to police reports. The indignation of the workers was indescribable.

Such is the general picture of January 22, 1905—"Bloody Sunday".

That you may understand more clearly the historic significance of this event, I shall quote a few passages from the workers' petition. It begins with the following words:

"We workers, inhabitants of St. Petersburg, have come to Thee. We are unfortunate, reviled slaves, weighed down by despotism and tyranny. Our patience exhausted, we ceased work and begged our masters to give us only that without which life is a torment. But this was refused; to

the employers everything seemed unlawful. We are here, many thousands of us. Like the whole of the Russian people, we have no human rights whatever. Owing to the deeds of Thy officials we have become slaves."

The petition contains the following demands: amnesty, civil liberties, fair wages, gradual transfer of the land to the people, convocation of a constituent assembly on the basis of universal and equal suffrage. It ends with the following words:

"Sire, do not refuse aid to Thy people! Demolish the wall that separates Thee from Thy people. Order and promise that our requests will be granted, and Thou wilt make Russia happy; if not, we are ready to die on this very spot. We have only two roads: freedom and happiness, or the grave."

Reading it *now*, this petition of uneducated, illiterate workers, led by a patriarchal priest, creates a strange impression. Involuntarily one compares this naïve petition with the present peace resolutions of the social-pacifists, the would-be socialists who in reality are bourgeois phrasemongers. The unenlightened workers of pre-revolutionary Russia did not know that the tsar was the head of the *ruling class*, the class, namely, of big landowners, already bound by a thousand ties with the big bourgeoisie and prepared to defend their monopoly, privileges and profits by every means of violence. The social-pacifists of today, who pretend to be "highly educated" people—no joking—do not realise that it is just as foolish to expect a "democratic" peace from bourgeois governments that are waging an imperialist predatory war, as it was to believe that peaceful petitions would induce the bloody tsar to grant democratic reforms.

Nevertheless, there is a great difference between the two—the present-day social-pacifists are, to a large extent, hypocrites, who strive by gentle admonitions to divert the people from the revolutionary struggle, whereas the uneducated workers in pre-revolutionary Russia proved by their deeds that they were straightforward people awakened to political consciousness for the first time.

It is in this awakening of tremendous masses of the people to political consciousness and revolutionary struggle that the historic significance of January 22, 1905 lies.

"There is not yet a revolutionary people in Russia," wrote Mr. Pyotr Struve, then leader of the Russian liberals and publisher abroad of an illegal, uncensored organ, *two days* before "Bloody Sunday". The idea that an illiterate peasant country could produce a revolutionary people seemed utterly absurd to this "highly educated", supercilious and extremely stupid leader of the bourgeois reformists. So deep was the conviction of the reformists of those days—as of the reformists of today—that a real revolution was impossible!

Prior to January 22 (or January 9, old style), 1905, the revolutionary party of Russia consisted of a small group of people, and the reformists of those days (exactly like the reformists of today) derisively called us a "sect". Several hundred revolutionary organisers, several thousand members of local organisations, half a dozen revolutionary papers appearing not more frequently than once a month, published mainly abroad and smuggled into Russia with incredible difficulty and at the cost of many sacrifices—such were the revolutionary parties in Russia, and the revolutionary Social-Democracy in particular, prior to January 22, 1905. This circumstance gave the narrow-minded and overbearing reformists formal justification for their claim that there was not yet a revolutionary people in Russia.

Within a few months, however, the picture changed completely. The hundreds of revolutionary Social-Democrats "suddenly" grew into thousands; the thousands became the leaders of between two and three million proletarians. The proletarian struggle produced widespread ferment, often revolutionary movements among the peasant masses, fifty to a hundred million strong; the peasant movement had its reverberations in the army and led to soldiers' revolts, to armed clashes between one section of the army and another. In this manner a colossal country, with a population of 130,000,000, went into the revolution; in this way, dormant Russia was transformed into a Russia of a revolutionary proletariat and a revolutionary people.

It is necessary to study this transformation, understand why it was possible, its methods and ways, so to speak.

The principal factor in this transformation was the *mass strike*. The peculiarity of the Russian revolution is that it

was a *bourgeois-democratic* revolution in its social content, but a *proletarian* revolution in its methods of struggle. It was a bourgeois-democratic revolution since its immediate aim, which it could achieve directly and with its own forces, was a democratic republic, the eight-hour day and confiscation of the immense estates of the nobility—all the measures the French bourgeois revolution in 1792-93 had almost completely achieved.

At the same time, the Russian revolution was also a proletarian revolution, not only in the sense that the proletariat was the leading force, the vanguard of the movement, but also in the sense that a specifically proletarian weapon of struggle—the strike—was the principal means of bringing the masses into motion and the most characteristic phenomenon in the wave-like rise of decisive events.

The Russian revolution was the *first*, though certainly not the last, great revolution in history in which the mass political strike played an extraordinarily important part. It may even be said that the events of the Russian revolution and the sequence of its political forms cannot be understood without a study of the *strike statistics* to disclose the *basis* of these events and this sequence of forms.

I know perfectly well that dry statistics are hardly suitable in a lecture and are likely to bore the hearer. Nevertheless, I cannot refrain from quoting a few figures, in order that you may be able to appreciate the real objective basis of the whole movement. The average annual number of strikers in Russia during the ten years preceding the revolution was 43,000, which means 430,000 for the decade. In January 1905, the first month of the revolution, the number of strikers was 440,000. In other words, there were *more* strikers *in one month* than in the whole of the preceding decade!

In no capitalist country in the world, not even in the most advanced countries like England, the United States of America, or Germany, has there been anything to match the tremendous Russian strike movement of 1905. The total number of strikers was 2,800,000, more than two times the number of factory workers in the country! This, of course, does not prove that the urban factory workers of Russia were more educated, or stronger, or more adapted

to the struggle than their brothers in Western Europe. The very opposite is true.

But it does show how great the dormant energy of the proletariat can be. It shows that in a revolutionary epoch—I say this without the slightest exaggeration, on the basis of the most accurate data of Russian history—the proletariat *can* generate fighting energy *a hundred times greater* than in ordinary, peaceful times. It shows that up to 1905 mankind did not yet know what a great, what a tremendous exertion of effort the proletariat is, and will be, capable of in a fight for really great aims, and one waged in a really revolutionary manner!

The history of the Russian revolution shows that it was the vanguard, the finest elements of the wage-workers, that fought with the greatest tenacity and the greatest devotion. The larger the mills and factories involved, the more stubborn were the strikes, and the more often did they recur during the year. The bigger the city, the more important was the part the proletariat played in the struggle. Three big cities, St. Petersburg, Riga and Warsaw, which have the largest and most class-conscious working-class element, show an immeasurably greater number of strikers, in relation to all workers, than any other city, and, of course, much greater than the rural districts.

In Russia—as probably in other capitalist countries—the metalworkers represent the vanguard of the proletariat. In this connection we note the following instructive fact: taking all industries, the number of persons involved in strikes in 1905 was 160 per hundred workers employed, but in the *metal industry* the number was 320 per hundred! It is estimated that in consequence of the 1905 strikes every Russian factory worker lost an average of ten rubles in wages—approximately 26 francs at the pre-war rate of exchange—sacrificing this money, as it were, for the sake of the struggle. But if we take the metalworkers, we find that the loss in wages was *three times as great*! The finest elements of the working class marched in the forefront, giving leadership to the hesitant, rousing the dormant and encouraging the weak.

A distinctive feature was the manner in which economic strikes were interwoven with political strikes during the revolution. There can be no doubt that only this very

close link-up of the two forms of strike gave the movement its great power. The broad masses of the exploited could not have been drawn into the revolutionary movement had they not been given daily examples of how the wage-workers in the various industries were forcing the capitalists to grant immediate, direct improvements in their conditions. This struggle imbued the masses of the Russian people with a new spirit. Only then did the old self-ridden, sluggish, patriarchal, pious and obedient Russia cast out the old Adam; only then did the Russian people obtain a really democratic and really revolutionary education.

When the bourgeois gentry and their uncritical echoers, the social-reformists, talk priggishly about the "education" of the masses, they usually mean something schoolmasterly, pedantic, something that demoralises the masses and instils in them bourgeois prejudices.

The real education of the masses can never be separated from their independent political, and especially revolutionary, struggle. Only struggle educates the exploited class. Only struggle discloses to it the magnitude of its own power, widens its horizon, enhances its abilities, clarifies its mind, forges its will. That is why even reactionaries had to admit that the year 1905, the year of struggle, the "mad year", definitely buried patriarchal Russia.

Let us examine more closely the relation, in the 1905 strike struggles, between the metalworkers and the textile workers. The metalworkers are the best paid, the most class-conscious and best educated proletarians. The textile workers, who in 1905 were two and a half times more numerous than the metalworkers, are the most backward and the worst paid body of workers in Russia, and in very many cases have not yet definitely severed connections with their peasant kinsmen in the village. This brings us to a very important circumstance.

Throughout the whole of 1905, the metalworkers' strikes show a preponderance of political over economic strikes, though this preponderance was far greater toward the end of the year than at the beginning. Among the textile workers, on the other hand, we observe an overwhelming preponderance of economic strikes at the beginning of 1905, and it is only at the end of the year that we get a

preponderance of political strikes. From this it follows quite obviously that the economic struggle, the struggle for immediate and direct improvement of conditions, is alone capable of rousing the most backward strata of the exploited masses, gives them a real education and transforms them—during a revolutionary period—into an army of political fighters within the space of a few months.

Of course, for this to happen, it was necessary for the vanguard of the workers not to regard the class struggle as a struggle in the interests of a thin upper stratum—a conception the reformists all too often try to instil—but for the proletariat to come forward as the real vanguard of the majority of the exploited and draw that majority into the struggle, as was the case in Russia in 1905, and as must be, and certainly will be, the case in the impending proletarian revolution in Europe.

The beginning of 1905 brought the first great wave of strikes that swept the entire country. As early as the spring of that year we see the rise of the first big, not only economic, but also political *peasant movement* in Russia. The importance of this historical turning-point will be appreciated if it is borne in mind that the Russian peasantry was liberated from the severest form of serfdom only in 1861, that the majority of the peasants are illiterate, that they live in indescribable poverty, oppressed by the landlords, deluded by the priests and isolated from each other by vast distances and an almost complete absence of roads.

Russia witnessed the first revolutionary movement against tsarism in 1825, a movement represented almost exclusively by noblemen.[87] Thereafter and up to 1881, when Alexander II was assassinated by the terrorists, the movement was led by middle-class intellectuals. They displayed supreme self-sacrifice and astonished the whole world by the heroism of their terrorist methods of struggle. Their sacrifices were certainly not in vain. They doubtlessly contributed—directly or indirectly—to the subsequent revolutionary education of the Russian people. But they did not, and could not, achieve their immediate aim of generating a people's revolution.

That was achieved only by the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. Only the waves of mass strikes that swept over the whole country, strikes connected with the

severe lessons of the imperialist Russo-Japanese War,[88] roused the broad masses of peasants from their lethargy. The word "striker" acquired an entirely new meaning among the peasants: it signified a rebel, a revolutionary, a term previously expressed by the word "student". But the "student" belonged to the middle class, to the "learned", to the "gentry", and was therefore alien to the people. The "striker", on the other hand, was of the people; he belonged to the exploited class. Deported from St. Petersburg, he often returned to the village where he told his fellow-villagers of the conflagration which was spreading to all the cities and would destroy both the capitalists and the nobility. A new type appeared in the Russian village—the class-conscious young peasant. He associated with "strikers", he read newspapers, he told the peasants about events in the cities, explained to his fellow-villagers the meaning of political demands, and urged them to fight the landowning nobility, the priests and the government officials.

The peasants would gather in groups to discuss their conditions, and gradually they were drawn into the struggle. Large crowds attacked the big estates, set fire to the manor-houses and appropriated supplies, seized grain and other foodstuffs, killed policemen and demanded transfer to the people of the huge estates.

In the spring of 1905, the peasant movement was only just beginning, involving only a minority, approximately one-seventh, of the uyezds.

But the combination of the proletarian mass strikes in the cities with the peasant movement in the rural areas was sufficient to shake the "firmest" and last prop of tsarism. I refer to the *army*.

There began a series of *mutinies* in the navy and the army. During the revolution, every fresh wave of strikes and of the peasant movement was accompanied by mutinies in all parts of Russia. The most well-known of these is the mutiny on the Black Sea cruiser *Prince Potemkin*, which was seized by the mutineers and took part in the revolution in Odessa. After the defeat of the revolution and unsuccessful attempts to seize other ports (Feodosia in the Crimea, for instance), it surrendered to the Rumanian authorities in Constantsa.

Permit me to relate in detail one small episode of the Black Sea mutiny in order to give you a concrete picture of events at the peak of the movement.

"Gatherings of revolutionary workers and sailors were being organised more and more frequently. Since servicemen were not allowed to attend workers' meetings, large crowds of workers came to military meetings. They came in thousands. The idea of joint action found a lively response. Delegates were elected from the companies where political understanding among the men was higher.

"The military authorities thereupon decided to take action. Some of the officers tried to deliver 'patriotic' speeches at the meetings but failed dismally: the sailors, who were accustomed to debating, put their officers to shameful flight. In view of this, it was decided to prohibit meetings altogether. On the morning of November 24, 1905, a company of sailors, in full combat kit, was posted at the gates of the naval barracks. Rear-Admiral Pisarevsky gave the order in a loud voice: 'No one is to leave the barracks! Shoot anyone who disobeys!' A sailor named Petrov, of the company that had been given that order, stepped forth from the ranks, loaded his rifle in the view of all, and with one shot killed Captain Stein of the Belostok Regiment, and with another wounded Rear-Admiral Pisarevsky. 'Arrest him!' one of the officers shouted. No one budged. Petrov threw down his rifle, exclaiming: 'Why don't you move? Take me!' He was arrested. The sailors, who rushed from every side, angrily demanded his release, declaring that they vouched for him. Excitement ran high.

" 'Petrov, the shot was an accident, wasn't it?' asked one of the officers, trying to find a way out of the situation.

" 'What do you mean, an accident? I stepped forward, loaded and took aim. Is that an accident?'

" 'They demand your release....'

"And Petrov was released. The sailors, however, were not content with that; all officers on duty were arrested, disarmed, and locked up at headquarters.... Sailor delegates, about forty in number, conferred the whole night. The decision was to release the officers, but not to permit them to enter the barracks again."

This small incident clearly shows you how events developed in most of the mutinies. The revolutionary ferment among the people could not but spread to the armed forces. It is indicative that the leaders of the movement came from *those elements* in the navy and the army who had been recruited mainly from among the industrial workers and of whom more technical training was required, for instance, the sappers. The broad masses, however, were still too naïve, their mood was too passive, too good-natured, too Christian. They flared up rather quickly; any instance of injustice, excessively harsh treatment by the officers, bad food, etc., could lead to revolt. But

what they lacked was persistence, a clear perception of aim, a clear understanding that only the most vigorous continuation of the armed struggle, only a victory over all the military and civil authorities, only the overthrow of the government and the seizure of power throughout the country could guarantee the success of the revolution.

The broad masses of sailors and soldiers were easily roused to revolt. But with equal light-heartedness they foolishly released arrested officers. They allowed the officers to pacify them by promises and persuasion; in this way the officers gained precious time, brought in reinforcements, broke the strength of the rebels, and then followed the most brutal suppression of the movement and the execution of its leaders.

A comparison of these 1905 mutinies with the Decembrist uprising of 1825 is particularly interesting. In 1825 the leaders of the political movement were almost exclusively officers, and officers drawn from the nobility. They had become infected, through contact, with the democratic ideas of Europe during the Napoleonic wars. The mass of the soldiers, who at that time were still serfs, remained passive.

The history of 1905 presents a totally different picture. With few exceptions, the mood of the officers was either bourgeois-liberal, reformist, or frankly counter-revolutionary. The workers and peasants in military uniform were the soul of the mutinies. The movement spread to all sections of the people, and for the first time in Russia's history involved the majority of the exploited. But what it lacked was, on the one hand, persistence and determination among the masses—they were too much afflicted with the malady of trustfulness—and, on the other, organisation of revolutionary Social-Democratic workers in military uniform—they lacked the ability to take the leadership into their own hands, march at the head of the revolutionary army and launch an offensive against the government.

I might remark, incidentally, that these two shortcomings will—more slowly, perhaps, than we would like, but surely—be eliminated not only by the general development of capitalism, but also by the present war....

At any rate, the history of the Russian revolution, like the history of the Paris Commune of 1871, teaches us the

incontrovertible lesson that militarism can never and under no circumstances be defeated and destroyed, except by a victorious struggle of one section of the national army against the other section. It is not sufficient simply to denounce, revile and "repudiate" militarism, to criticise and prove that it is harmful; it is foolish peacefully to refuse to perform military service. The task is to keep the revolutionary consciousness of the proletariat tense and train its best elements, not only in a general way, but concretely, so that when popular ferment reaches the highest pitch, they will put themselves at the head of the revolutionary army.

The day-to-day experience of any capitalist country teaches us the same lesson. Every "minor" crisis that such a country experiences discloses to us in miniature the elements, the rudiments, of the battles that will inevitably take place on a large scale during a big crisis. What else, for instance, is a strike if not a minor crisis of capitalist society? Was not the Prussian Minister for Internal Affairs, Herr von Puttkammer, right when he coined the famous phrase: "In every strike there lurks the hydra of revolution"? Does not the calling out of troops during strikes in all, even the most peaceful, the most "democratic"—save the mark—capitalist countries show *how* things will shape out in a really *big* crisis?

But to return to the history of the Russian revolution.

I have tried to show you how the workers' strikes stirred up the whole country and the broadest, most backward strata of the exploited, how the peasant movement began, and how it was accompanied by mutiny in the armed forces.

The movement reached its zenith in the autumn of 1905. On August 19 (6), the tsar issued a manifesto on the introduction of popular representation. The so-called Bulygin Duma[89] was to be created on the basis of a suffrage embracing a ridiculously small number of voters, and this peculiar "parliament" was to have no legislative powers whatever, only *advisory*, consultative powers!

The bourgeoisie, the liberals, the opportunists were ready to grasp with both hands this "gift" of the frightened tsar. Like all reformists, our reformists of 1905 could not understand that historic situations arise when reforms, and particularly promises of reforms, pursue *only* one aim: to allay the unrest of the people, force the revolutionary class to cease, or at least slacken, its struggle.

The Russian revolutionary Social-Democracy was well aware of the real nature of this grant of an illusory constitution in August 1905. That is why, without a moment's hesitation, it issued the slogans: "Down with the advisory Duma! Boycott the Duma! Down with the tsarist government! Continue the revolutionary struggle to overthrow it! Not the tsar, but a provisional revolutionary government must convene Russia's first real, popular representative assembly!"

History proved that the revolutionary Social-Democrats were right, for the *Bulygin Duma* was never convened. It was swept away by the revolutionary storm before it could be convened. And this storm forced the tsar to promulgate a new electoral law, which provided for a considerable increase in the number of voters, and to recognise the legislative character of the Duma.

October and December 1905 marked the highest point in the rising tide of the Russian revolution. All the wellsprings of the people's revolutionary strength flowed in a wider stream than ever before. The number of strikers—which in January 1905, as I have already told you, was 440,000—reached over half a million in October 1905 (in a single month!) To this number, which applies *only* to factory workers, must be added several hundred thousand railway workers, postal and telegraph employees, etc.

The general railway strike stopped all rail traffic and paralysed the power of the government in the most effective manner. The doors of the universities were flung wide open, and the lecture halls, which in peace-time were used solely to befuddle youthful minds with pedantic professorial wisdom and to turn the students into docile servants of the bourgeoisie and tsarism, now became the scene of public meetings at which thousands of workers, artisans and office workers openly and freely discussed political issues.

Freedom of the press was won. The censorship was simply ignored. No publisher dared send the obligatory censor copy to the authorities, and the authorities did not dare take any measure against this. For the first time in Russian history, revolutionary newspapers appeared freely in

St. Petersburg and other towns. In St. Petersburg alone, three Social-Democratic daily papers were published, with circulations ranging from 50,000 to 100,000.

The proletariat marched at the head of the movement. It set out to win the eight-hour day by revolutionary action. "*An Eight-Hour Day and Arms!*" was the fighting slogan of the St. Petersburg proletariat. That the fate of the revolution could, and would, be decided only by armed struggle was becoming obvious to an ever-increasing mass of workers.

In the fire of battle, a peculiar mass organisation was formed, the famous *Soviets of Workers' Deputies*, comprising delegates from all factories. In several cities these *Soviets of Workers' Deputies* began more and more to play the part of a provisional revolutionary government, the part of organs and leaders of the uprising. Attempts were made to organise Soviets of Soldiers' and Sailors' Deputies and to combine them with the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

For a time several cities in Russia became something in the nature of small local "republics". The government authorities were deposed and the Soviet of Workers' Deputies actually functioned as the new government. Unfortunately, these periods were all too brief, the "victories" were too weak, too isolated.

The peasant movement in the autumn of 1905 reached still greater dimensions. *Over one-third* of all the uyezds were affected by the so-called "peasant disorders" and regular peasant uprisings. The peasants burned down no less than two thousand estates and distributed among themselves the food stocks of which the predatory nobility had robbed the people.

Unfortunately, this work was not thorough enough! Unfortunately, the peasants destroyed only one-fifteenth of the total number of landed estates, only one-fifteenth part of what they *should have* destroyed in order to wipe the shame of large feudal landownership from the face of the Russian earth. Unfortunately, the peasants were too scattered, too isolated from each other in their actions; they were not organised enough, not aggressive enough, and therein lies one of the fundamental reasons for the defeat of the revolution.

A movement for national liberation flared up among the oppressed peoples of Russia. *Over one-half, almost three-fifths* (*to be exact, 57 per cent*) of the population of Russia is subject to national oppression; they are not even free to use their native language, they are forcibly Russified. The Moslems, for instance, who number tens of millions, were quick to organise a Moslem League—this was a time of rapid growth of all manner of organisations.

The following instance will give the audience, particularly the youth, an example of how at that time the movement for national liberation in Russia rose in conjunction with the labour movement.

In December 1905, Polish children in hundreds of schools burned all Russian books, pictures and portraits of the tsar, and attacked and drove out the Russian teachers and their Russian school-fellows, shouting: "Get out! Go back to Russia!" The Polish secondary school pupils put forward, among others, the following demands: "1) all secondary schools must be under the control of a Soviet of Workers' Deputies; 2) joint pupils' and workers' meetings to be held in school premises; 3) secondary school pupils to be allowed to wear red blouses as a token of adherence to the future proletarian republic," etc.

The higher the tide of the movement rose, the more vigorously and decisively did the reaction arm itself to fight the revolution. The Russian revolution of 1905 confirmed the truth of what Karl Kautsky wrote in 1902 in his book *Social Revolution* (he was still, incidentally, a revolutionary Marxist and not, as at present, a champion of social-patriotism and opportunism). This is what he wrote:

"... The impending revolution ... will be less like a spontaneous uprising against the government and more like a protracted *civil war*."

That is how it was, and undoubtedly that is how it will be in the coming European revolution!

Tsarism vented its hatred particularly upon the Jews. On the one hand, the Jews furnished a particularly high percentage (compared with the total Jewish population) of leaders of the revolutionary movement. And now, too, it should be noted to the credit of the Jews, they furnish a relatively high percentage of internationalists, compared with other nations. On the other hand, tsarism adroitly

exploited the basest anti-Jewish prejudices of the most ignorant strata of the population in order to organise, if not to lead directly, *pogroms*—over 4,000 were killed and more than 10,000 mutilated in 100 towns. These atrocious massacres of peaceful Jews, their wives and children roused disgust throughout the civilised world. I have in mind, of course, the disgust of the truly democratic elements of the civilised world, and these are *exclusively* the socialist workers, the proletarians.

Even in the freest, even in the republican countries of Western Europe, the bourgeoisie manages very well to combine its hypocritical phrases about "Russian atrocities" with the most shameless financial transactions, particularly with financial support of tsarism and imperialist exploitation of Russia through export of capital, etc.

The climax of the 1905 Revolution came in the December uprising in Moscow. For nine days a small number of rebels, of organised and armed workers—there were not more than *eight thousand*—fought against the tsar's government, which dared not trust the Moscow garrison. In fact, it had to keep it locked up, and was able to quell the rebellion only by bringing in the Semenovsky Regiment from St. Petersburg.

The bourgeoisie likes to describe the Moscow uprising as something artificial, and to treat it with ridicule. For instance, in German so-called "scientific" literature, Herr Professor Max Weber, in his lengthy survey of Russia's political development, refers to the Moscow uprising as a "putsch". "The Lenin group," says this "highly learned" Herr Professor, "and a section of the Socialist-Revolutionaries had long prepared for this *senseless* uprising."

To properly assess this piece of professorial wisdom of the cowardly bourgeoisie, one need only recall the strike statistics. In January 1905, only 123,000 were involved in purely political strikes, in October the figure was 330,000, and *in December the maximum was reached—370,000* taking part in purely political strikes in a single month! Let us recall, too, the progress of the revolution, the peasant and soldier uprisings, and we shall see that the bourgeois "scientific" view of the December uprising is not only absurd. It is a subterfuge resorted to by the representatives of the

cowardly bourgeoisie, which sees in the proletariat its most dangerous class enemy.

In reality, the inexorable trend of the Russian revolution was towards an armed, decisive battle between the tsarist government and the vanguard of the class-conscious proletariat.

I have already pointed out, in my previous remarks, wherein lay the weakness of the Russian revolution that led to its temporary defeat.

The suppression of the December uprising marked the beginning of the ebb of the revolution. But in this period, too, extremely interesting moments are to be observed. Suffice it to recall that twice the foremost militant elements of the working class tried to check the retreat of the revolution and to prepare a new offensive.

But my time has nearly expired, and I do not want to abuse the patience of my audience. I think, however, that I have outlined the most important aspects of the Russian revolution—its class character, its driving forces and its methods of struggle—as fully as so big a subject can be dealt with in a brief lecture.

A few brief remarks concerning the world significance of the Russian revolution.

Geographically, economically and historically, Russia belongs not only to Europe, but also to Asia. That is why the Russian revolution succeeded not only in finally awakening Europe's biggest and most backward country and in creating a revolutionary people led by a revolutionary proletariat.

It achieved more than that. The Russian revolution engendered a movement throughout the whole of Asia. The revolutions in Turkey, Persia and China prove that the mighty uprising of 1905 left a deep imprint, and that its influence, expressed in the forward movement of *hundreds and hundreds* of millions, is ineradicable.

In an indirect way, the Russian revolution influenced also the countries of the West. One must not forget that news of the tsar's constitutional manifesto, on reaching Vienna on October 30, 1905, played a decisive part in the final victory of universal suffrage in Austria.

A telegram bearing the news was placed on the speaker's rostrum at the Congress of the Austrian Social-Democratic

Party just as Comrade Ellenbogen—at that time he was not yet a social-patriot, but a comrade—was delivering his report on the political strike. The discussion was immediately adjourned. "Our place is in the streets!"—was the cry that resounded through the hall where the delegates of the Austrian Social-Democracy were assembled. And the following days witnessed the biggest street demonstrations in Vienna and barricades in Prague. The battle for universal suffrage in Austria was won.

We very often meet West-Europeans who talk of the Russian revolution as if events, the course and methods of struggle in that backward country have very little resemblance to West-European patterns, and, therefore, can hardly have any practical significance.

Nothing could be more erroneous.

The forms and occasions for the impending battles in the coming European revolution will doubtlessly differ in many respects from the forms of the Russian revolution.

Nevertheless, the Russian revolution—precisely because of its proletarian character, in that particular sense of which I have spoken—is the *prologue* to the coming European revolution. Undoubtedly, this coming revolution can only be a proletarian revolution, and in an even more profound sense of the word: a proletarian, socialist revolution also in its content. This coming revolution will show to an even greater degree, on the one hand, that only stern battles, only civil wars, can free humanity from the yoke of capital, and, on the other hand, that only class-conscious proletarians can and will give leadership to the vast majority of the exploited.

We must not be deceived by the present grave-like stillness in Europe. Europe is pregnant with revolution. The monstrous horrors of the imperialist war, the suffering caused by the high cost of living everywhere engender a revolutionary mood; and the ruling classes, the bourgeoisie, and its servitors, the governments, are more and more moving into a blind alley from where they can never extricate themselves without tremendous upheavals.

Just as in Russia in 1905, a popular uprising against the tsarist government began under the leadership of the proletariat with the aim of achieving a democratic republic, so, in Europe, the coming years, precisely because of this

predatory war, will lead to popular uprisings under the leadership of the proletariat against the power of finance capital, against the big banks, against the capitalists; and these upheavals cannot end otherwise than with the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, with the victory of socialism.

We of the older generation may not live to see the decisive battles of this coming revolution. But I can, I believe, express the confident hope that the youth which is working so splendidly in the socialist movement of Switzerland, and of the whole world, will be fortunate enough not only to fight, but also to win, in the coming proletarian revolution.

Written in German earlier than January 9 (22), 1917

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Signed: *N. Lenin*

Collected Works, Vol. 23

FROM *LETTERS FROM AFAR*[90]

THIRD LETTER

CONCERNING A PROLETARIAN MILITIA

The conclusion I drew yesterday about Chkheidze's vacillating tactics has been fully confirmed today, March 10 (23), by two documents. First—a telegraphic report from Stockholm in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*[91] containing excerpts from the manifesto of the Central Committee of our Party, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, in St. Petersburg. In this document there is not a word about either supporting the Guchkov government or overthrowing it; the workers and soldiers are called upon to organise around the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, to elect representatives to it for the fight against tsarism and for a republic, for an eight-hour day, for the confiscation of the landed estates and grain stocks, and chiefly, for an end to the predatory war. Particularly important and particularly urgent in this connection is our Central Committee's absolutely correct idea that to obtain peace relations must be established with *the proletarians of all the belligerent countries.*

To expect peace from negotiations and relations between the bourgeois governments would be self-deception and deception of the people.

The second document is a Stockholm report, also by telegraph, to another German newspaper (*Vossische Zeitung*) about a conference between the Chkheidze group in the Duma, the workers' group (? *Arbeiterfraction*) and representatives of fifteen workers' unions on March 2 (15)

and a manifesto published next day. Of the eleven points of this manifesto, the telegram reports only three; the first, the demand for a republic; the seventh, the demand for peace and immediate peace negotiations; and the third, the demand for "adequate participation in the government of representatives of the Russian working class".

If this point is correctly reported, I can understand why the bourgeoisie is praising Chkheidze. I can understand why the praise of the English Guchkovites in *The Times*[92] which I quoted elsewhere has been supplemented by the praise of the French Guchkovites in *Le Temps*.[93] This newspaper of the French millionaires and imperialists writes on March 22: "The leaders of the workers' parties, particularly M. Chkheidze, are exercising all their influence to moderate the wishes of the working classes."

Indeed, to demand workers' "participation" in the Guchkov-Milyukov government is a theoretical and political absurdity: to participate as a minority would mean serving as a pawn; to participate on an "equal footing" is impossible, because the demand to continue the war cannot be reconciled with the demand to conclude an armistice and start peace negotiations; to "participate" as a majority requires the strength to *overthrow* the Guchkov-Milyukov government. In practice, the demand for "participation" is the worst sort of Louis Blancism, i.e., oblivion of the class struggle and the actual conditions under which it is being waged, infatuation with a most hollow-sounding phrase, spreading illusions among the workers, loss, in negotiations with Milyukov or Kerensky, of *precious* time which must be used to create a *real* class and revolutionary force, a proletarian militia that will *enjoy the confidence of all* the poor strata of the population, and they constitute the vast majority, and will *help them to organise*, help *them* to fight for bread, peace, freedom.

This mistake in the manifesto issued by Chkheidze and his group (I am not speaking of the O.C., Organising Committee, *party*, because in the sources available to me there is not a word about the O.C.)—this mistake is all the more strange considering that at the March 2 (15) conference, Chkheidze's closest collaborator, Skobelev, said, according to the newspapers: "Russia is on the eve of a second, real [*wirklich*] revolution."

. Now that is the truth, from which Skobelev and Chkheidze have forgotten to draw the practical conclusions. I cannot judge from here, from my accursed afar, how near this second revolution is. Being on the spot, Skobelev can see things better. Therefore, I am not raising for myself problems, for the solution of which I have not and cannot have the necessary concrete data. I am merely emphasising the confirmation by Skobelev, an "outside witness", i.e., one who does not belong to our Party, of the *factual* conclusion I drew in my first letter, namely: that the February-March Revolution was merely the *first stage* of the revolution. Russia is passing through a peculiar historical moment of *transition* to the next stage of the revolution, or, to use Skobelev's expression, to a "second revolution".

If we want to be Marxists and learn from the experience of revolution in the whole world, we must strive to understand in what, precisely, lies the *peculiarity* of this *transitional* moment, and what tactics follow from its objective specific features.

The peculiarity of the situation lies in that the Guchkov-Milyukov government gained the first victory with extraordinary ease due to the following three major circumstances: 1) assistance from Anglo-French finance capital and its agents; 2) assistance from part of the top ranks of the army; 3) the already existing organisation of the entire Russian bourgeoisie in the shape of the rural and urban local government institutions, the State Duma, the war industries committees,[94] and so forth.

The Guchkov government is held in a vise: bound by the interests of capital, it is compelled to strive to continue the predatory, robber war, to protect the monstrous profits of capital and the landlords, to restore the monarchy. Bound by its revolutionary origin and by the need for an abrupt change from tsarism to democracy, pressed by the bread-hungry and peace-hungry masses, the government is compelled to lie, to wriggle, to play for time, to "proclaim" and promise (promises are the only things that are very cheap even at a time of madly rocketing prices) as much as possible and do as little as possible, to make concessions with one hand and to withdraw them with the other.

Under certain circumstances, the new government can at best postpone its collapse somewhat by leaning on all the organising ability of the entire Russian bourgeoisie and bourgeois intelligentsia. But even in that case it is *unable* to avoid collapse, because it is *impossible* to escape from the claws of the terrible monster of imperialist war and famine nurtured by world capitalism unless one renounces bourgeois relationships, passes to revolutionary measures, appeals to the supreme historic heroism of both the Russian and world proletariat.

Hence the conclusion: we cannot overthrow the new government at one stroke, or, if we can (in revolutionary times the limits of what is possible expand a thousandfold), we will not be able to maintain power *unless we counter* the magnificent organisation of the entire Russian bourgeoisie and the entire bourgeois intelligentsia with an equally magnificent *organisation of the proletariat*, which must lead the entire vast mass of urban and rural poor, the semi-proletariat and small proprietors.

Irrespective of whether the "second revolution" has already broken out in St. Petersburg (I have said that it would be absolutely absurd to think that it is possible from abroad to assess the actual tempo at which it is maturing), whether it has been postponed for some time, or whether it has already begun in individual areas (of which some signs are evident)—in *any* case, the slogan of the moment on the eve of the new revolution, during it, and on the morrow of it, must be *proletarian organisation*.

Comrade workers! You performed miracles of proletarian heroism yesterday in overthrowing the tsarist monarchy. In the more or less near future (perhaps even now, as these lines are being written) you will again have to perform the same miracles of heroism to overthrow the rule of the landlords and capitalists, who are waging the imperialist war. You will not achieve *durable victory* in this next "real" revolution if you do not perform *miracles of proletarian organisation*!

Organisation is the slogan of the moment. But to confine oneself to that is to say nothing, for, on the one hand, organisation is *always* needed; hence, mere reference to the necessity of "organising the masses" explains absolutely

nothing. On the other hand, he who confines himself solely to this becomes an abettor of the liberals, for the *very thing* the *liberals* want in order to strengthen their rule is that the workers *should not go beyond their ordinary* "legal" (from the standpoint of "normal" bourgeois society) organisations, i.e., that they should *only* join their party, their trade union, their co-operative society, etc., etc.

Guided by their class instinct, the workers have realised that in revolutionary times they need *not only* ordinary, but an entirely different organisation. They have rightly taken the path indicated by the experience of our 1905 Revolution and of the 1871 Paris Commune; they have set up a *Soviet of Workers' Deputies*; they have begun to develop, expand and strengthen it by drawing in *soldiers'* deputies, and, undoubtedly, deputies from rural *wage*-workers, and then (in one form or another) from the entire peasant poor.

The prime and most important task, and one that brooks no delay, is to set up organisations of this kind in all parts of Russia without exception, for all trades and strata of the proletarian and semi-proletarian population without exception, i.e., for all the working and exploited people, to use a less economically exact but more popular term. Running ahead somewhat, I shall mention that for the entire mass of the peasantry our Party (its *special* role in the new type of proletarian organisations I hope to discuss in one of my next letters) should especially recommend Soviets of wage-workers and Soviets of small tillers who do not sell grain, to be formed *separately from* the well-to-do peasants. Without this, it will be impossible either to conduct a truly proletarian policy in general,* or correctly to approach the extremely important practical question which is a matter of life and death for millions of people: the proper distribution of *grain*, increasing its production, etc.

It might be asked: What should be the function of the Soviets of Workers' Deputies? They "must be regarded as

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* In the rural districts a struggle will now develop for the small and, partly, middle peasants. The landlords, leaning on the well-to-do peasants, will try to lead them into subordination to the bourgeoisie. Leaning on the rural wage-workers and rural poor, we must lead them into the closest alliance with the urban proletariat.

organs of insurrection, of revolutionary rule", we wrote in No. 47 of the Geneva *Sotsial-Demokrat*,[95] of October 13, 1915.

This theoretical proposition, deduced from the experience of the Commune of 1871 and of the Russian revolution of 1905, must be explained and concretely developed on the basis of the practical experience of precisely the present stage of the present revolution in Russia.

We need revolutionary *government*, we need (for a certain transitional period) a *state*. This is what distinguishes us from the anarchists. The difference between the revolutionary Marxists and the anarchists is not only that the former stand for centralised, large-scale communist production, while the latter stand for disconnected small production. The difference between us precisely on the question of government, of the state, is that we are *for*, and the anarchists *against*, utilising revolutionary forms of the state in a revolutionary way for the struggle for socialism.

We need a state. But *not the kind* of state the bourgeoisie has created everywhere, from constitutional monarchies to the most democratic republics. And in this we differ from the opportunists and Kautskyites of the old, and decaying, socialist parties, who have distorted, or have forgotten, the lessons of the Paris Commune and the analysis of these lessons made by Marx and Engels.*

We need a state, but *not* the kind the bourgeoisie needs, with organs of government in the shape of a police force, an army and a bureaucracy (officialdom) separate from and opposed to the people. All bourgeois revolutions merely perfected *this* state machine, merely transferred *it* from the hands of one party to those of another.

The proletariat, on the other hand, if it wants to uphold the gains of the present revolution and proceed further, to win peace, bread and freedom, must "*smash*", to use Marx's expression, this "ready-made" state machine and substitute

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* In one of my next letters, or in a special article, I will deal in detail with this analysis, given in particular in Marx's *The Civil War in France,* in Engels's preface to the third edition of that work, in the letters: Marx's of April 12, 1871, and Engels's of March 18-28, 1875, and also with the utter distortion of Marxism by Kautsky in his controversy with Pannekoek in 1912 on the question of the so-called "destruction of the state."[96]

a new one for it by *merging* the police force, the army and the bureaucracy with *the entire armed people*. Following the path indicated by the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871 and the Russian Revolution of 1905, the proletariat must organise and arm *all* the poor, exploited sections of the population in order that they *themselves* should take the organs of state power directly into their own hands, in order that *they themselves should constitute* these organs of state power.

And the workers of Russia have already *taken* this path in the first stage of the first revolution, in February-March 1917. The whole task now is clearly to understand what this new path is, to proceed along it further, boldly, firmly and perseveringly.

The Anglo-French and Russian capitalists wanted "only" to remove, or only to "frighten", Nicholas II and to leave intact the old state machine, the police force, the army and the bureaucracy.

The workers went further and smashed it. And now, not only the Anglo-French, but also the German capitalists are *howling* with rage and horror as they see, for example, Russian soldiers shooting their officers, as in the case of Admiral Nepenin, that supporter of Guchkov and Milyukov.

I said that the workers have smashed the old state machine. It will be more correct to say: *have begun* to smash it.

Let us take a concrete example.

In St. Petersburg and in many other places the police force has been partly wiped out and partly dissolved. The Guchkov-Milyukov government *cannot* either restore the monarchy or, in general, maintain power *without restoring* the police force as a special organisation of armed men under the command of the bourgeoisie, separate from and opposed to the people. That is as clear as daylight.

On the other hand, the new government must reckon with the revolutionary people, must feed them with half-concessions and promises, must play for time. That is why it resorts to half-measures: it establishes a "people's militia" with elected officials (this sounds awfully respectable, awfully democratic, revolutionary and beautiful!)—*but ... but*, firstly, it places this militia under the control of the

rural and urban local government bodies, i.e., under the command of landlords and capitalists who have been elected in conformity with laws passed by Nicholas the Bloody and Stolypin the Hangman!! Secondly, although calling it a "people's militia" in order to throw dust in the eyes of the "people", it does *not* call upon the *entire* people to join this militia, *and does not compel* the employers and capitalists to *pay* workers and office employees their ordinary wages *for the hours and days* they spend in the *public service*, i.e., in the militia.

That's their trick. That is how the landlord and capitalist government of the Guchkovs and Milyukovs manages to have a "people's militia" on paper, while in reality, it is restoring, gradually and on the quiet, the *bourgeois*, anti-people's militia. At first it is to consist of "eight thousand students and professors" (as foreign newspapers describe the present St. Petersburg militia)—an obvious plaything!—and will gradually be built up of the old and new *police force*.

Prevent restoration of the police force! Do not let the local government bodies slip out of your hands! Set up a militia that will really embrace the entire people, be really universal, and be led by the proletariat!—such is the task of the day, such is the slogan of the moment which equally conforms with the properly understood interests of furthering the class struggle, furthering the revolutionary movement, and the democratic instinct of every worker, of every peasant, of every exploited toiler who cannot help hating the policemen, the rural police patrols, the village constables, the command of landlords and capitalists over armed men with power over the people.

What kind of police force do *they* need, the Guchkovs and Milyukovs, the landlords and capitalists? The same kind as existed under the tsarist monarchy. After the briefest revolutionary periods *all* the bourgeois and bourgeois-democratic republics in the world set up or restored *precisely such* a police force, a special organisation of armed men subordinate to the bourgeoisie in one way or another, separate from and opposed to the people.

What kind of militia do we need, the proletariat, all the toiling people? A genuine *people*'s militia, i.e., one that,

first, consists of the *entire* population, of all adult citizens of *both* sexes; and, second, one that combines the functions of a people's army with police functions, with the functions of the chief and fundamental organ of public order and public administration.

To make these propositions more comprehensible I will take a purely schematic example. Needless to say, it would be absurd to think of drawing up any kind of a "plan" for a proletarian militia: when the workers and the entire people set about it practically, on a truly mass scale, they will work it out and organise it a hundred times better than any theoretician. I am not offering a "plan", I only want to illustrate my idea.

St. Petersburg has a population of about two million. Of these, more than half are between the ages of 15 and 65. Take half—one million. Let us even subtract an entire fourth as physically unfit, etc., taking no part in public service at the present moment for justifiable reasons. There remain 750,000 who, serving in the militia, say one day in fifteen (and receiving their pay for this time from their employers), would form an army of 50,000.

That's the type of "state" we need!

That's the kind of militia that would be a "people's militia" in deed and not only in words.

That is how we must proceed in order to *prevent* the restoration either of a special police force, or of a special army separate from the people.

Such a militia, 95 hundredths of which would consist of workers and peasants, would express the *real* mind and will, the strength and power of the vast majority of the people. Such a militia would really arm, and provide military training for, the entire people, would be a safeguard, but *not* of the Guchkov or Milyukov type, against all attempts to restore reaction, against all the designs of tsarist agents. Such a militia would be the executive organ of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, it would enjoy the *boundless* respect and confidence of the people, for it itself would be an organisation of the entire people. Such a militia would transform democracy from a beautiful signboard, which covers up the enslavement and torment of the people by the capitalists, into a means of actually *training the masses* for participation in *all* affairs of state.

Such a militia would draw the young people into political life and teach them not only by words, but also by action, by *work*. Such a militia would develop those functions which, speaking in scientific language, come within the purview of the "welfare police", sanitary inspection, and so forth, and would enlist for such work all adult women. If women are not drawn into public service, into the militia, into political life, if women are not torn out of their stupefying house and kitchen environment, it will be *impossible* to guarantee real freedom, it will be *impossible* to build even democracy, let alone socialism.

Such a militia would be a proletarian militia, for the industrial and urban workers would exert a guiding influence on the masses of the poor as naturally and inevitably as they came to hold the leading place in the people's revolutionary struggle both in 1905-07 and in 1917.

Such a militia would ensure absolute order and devotedly observed comradely discipline. At the same time, in the severe crisis that all the belligerent countries are experiencing, it would make it possible to combat this crisis in a really democratic way, properly and rapidly to distribute grain and other supplies, introduce "universal labour service", which the French now call "civilian mobilisation" and the Germans "civilian service", and without which *it is impossible—it has proved to be impossible*—to heal the wounds that have been and are being inflicted by the predatory and horrible war.

Has the proletariat of Russia shed its blood only in order to receive fine promises of political democratic reforms and nothing more? Can it be that it will not demand, and secure, that *every* toiler should *forthwith* see and feel some improvement in his life? That every family should have bread? That every child should have a bottle of good milk and that not a single adult in a rich family should dare take extra milk until children are provided for? That the palaces and rich apartments abandoned by the tsar and the aristocracy should not remain vacant, but provide shelter for the homeless and the destitute? Who can carry out these measures except a people's militia, to which women must belong equally with men?

These measures do *not yet* constitute socialism. They concern the distribution of consumption, not the reorganisa-

tion of production. They would not yet constitute the "dictatorship of the proletariat", only the "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry". It is not a matter of finding a theoretical classification. We would be committing a great mistake if we attempted to force the complex, urgent, rapidly developing practical tasks of the revolution into the Procrustean bed of narrowly conceived "theory" instead of regarding theory primarily and predominantly as a *guide to action*.

Do the masses of the Russian workers possess sufficient class-consciousness, fortitude and heroism to perform "miracles of proletarian organisation" after they have performed miracles of daring, initiative and self-sacrifice in the direct revolutionary struggle? That we do not know, and it would be idle to indulge in guessing, for practice *alone* furnishes the answers to such questions.

What we do know definitely, and what we, as a party, must explain to the masses is, on the one hand, the immense power of the locomotive of history that is engendering an unprecedented crisis, starvation and incalculable hardship. That locomotive is the war, waged for predatory aims by the capitalists of *both* belligerent camps. This "locomotive" has brought a number of the richest, freest and most enlightened nations to the brink of doom. It is *forcing* the peoples to strain to the utmost all their energies, placing them in unbearable conditions, putting on the order of the day not the application of certain "theories" (an illusion against which Marx always warned socialists), but implementation of the most extreme practical measures; for *without* extreme measures, death—immediate and certain death from starvation—awaits millions of people.

That the revolutionary enthusiasm of the advanced class can do a *great deal* when the objective situation *demands* extreme measures from the entire people, needs no proof. *This* aspect is clearly seen and *felt* by everybody in Russia.

It is important to realise that in revolutionary times the objective situation changes with the same swiftness and abruptness as the current of life in general. And we must *be able to adapt* our tactics and immediate tasks to the *specific features* of every given situation. Before February 1917, the immediate task was to conduct bold revolution-

ary-internationalist propaganda, summon the masses to fight, rouse them. The February-March days required the heroism of devoted struggle to crush the immediate enemy —tsarism. Now we are in *transition* from that first stage of the revolution to the second, from "coming to grips" with tsarism to "coming to grips" with Guchkov-Milyukov landlord and capitalist imperialism. The immediate task is *organisation*, not only in the stereotyped sense of working to form stereotyped organisations, but in the sense of drawing unprecedentedly broad masses of the oppressed classes into an organisation that would take over the military, political and economic functions of the state.

The proletariat has approached, and will approach, this singular task in different ways. In some parts of Russia the February-March Revolution puts nearly complete power in its hands. In others the proletariat may, perhaps, in a "usurpatory" manner, begin to form and develop a proletarian militia. In still others, it will probably strive for immediate elections of urban and rural local government bodies on the basis of universal, etc., suffrage, in order to turn them into revolutionary centres, etc., until the growth of proletarian organisation, the coming together of the soldiers with the workers, the movement among the peasantry and the disillusionment of very many in the war-imperialist government of Guchkov and Milyukov bring near the hour when this government will be replaced by the "government" of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies.

Nor ought we to forget that close to St. Petersburg we have one of the most advanced, factually republican, countries, namely, Finland, which, from 1905 to 1917, shielded by the revolutionary battles of Russia, has in a relatively peaceful way developed democracy and has won the *majority* of the people for socialism. The Russian proletariat will guarantee the Finnish Republic complete freedom, including freedom to secede (it is doubtful now whether a single Social-Democrat will waver on this point when the Cadet Rodichev is so meanly haggling in Helsingfors for bits of privileges for the Great Russians)—and precisely in this way will win the *complete* confidence and comradely assistance of the Finnish workers for the all-Russian proletarian cause. In a difficult and big undertaking mistakes are inevitable, nor will we avoid them. The

Finnish workers are better organisers, they will help us in this sphere, they will, *in their own way*, push forward the establishment of the socialist republic.

Revolutionary victories in Russia proper—peaceful organisational successes in Finland shielded by these victories—the Russian workers' transition to revolutionary organisational tasks on a new scale—capture of power by the proletariat and poorest strata of the population—encouragement and development of the socialist revolution in the West—this is the road that will lead us to *peace* and *socialism*.

N. Lenin

Zurich, March 11 (24), 1917

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Collected Works, Vol. 23

ADVICE OF AN ONLOOKER

I am writing these lines on October 8 and have little hope that they will reach Petrograd comrades by the 9th. It is possible that they will arrive too late, since the congress of the Northern Soviets has been fixed for October 10. Nevertheless, I shall try to give my "Advice of an Onlooker" in the event that the probable action of the workers and soldiers of Petrograd and of the whole "region" will take place soon but has not yet taken place.

It is clear that all power must pass to the Soviets. It should be equally indisputable for every Bolshevik that proletarian revolutionary power (or Bolshevik power—which is now one and the same thing) is assured of the utmost sympathy and unreserved support of all the working and exploited people all over the world in general, in the belligerent countries in particular, and among the Russian peasants especially. There is no need to dwell on these all too well known and long established truths.

What must be dealt with is something that is probably not quite clear to all comrades, namely, that in practice the transfer of power to the Soviets now means armed uprising. This would seem obvious, but not everyone has or is giving thought to the point. To repudiate armed uprising now would mean to repudiate the key slogan of Bolshevism (All Power to the Soviets) and proletarian revolutionary internationalism in general.

But armed uprising is a *special* form of political struggle, one subject to special laws to which attentive thought must be given. Karl Marx expressed this truth with remarkable

clarity when he wrote that "*insurrection is an art quite as much as war*".

Of the principal rules of this art, Marx noted the following:

1) *Never play* with insurrection, but when beginning it realise firmly that you must *go all the way*.

2) Concentrate a *great superiority of forces* at the decisive point and at the decisive moment, otherwise the enemy, who has the advantage of better preparation and organisation, will destroy the insurgents.

3) Once the insurrection has begun, you must act with the greatest *determination*, and by all means, without fail, take the *offensive*. "The defensive is the death of every armed rising."

4) You must try to take the enemy by surprise and seize the moment when his forces are scattered.

5) You must strive for *daily* successes, however small (one might say hourly, if it is the case of one town), and at all costs retain "*moral superiority*".

Marx summed up the lessons of all revolutions in respect to armed uprising in the words of "Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary policy yet known: *de l'audace, de l'audace, encore de l'audace*".

Applied to Russia and to October 1917, this means: a simultaneous offensive on Petrograd, as sudden and as rapid as possible, which must without fail be carried out from within and from without, from the working-class quarters and from Finland, from Revel and from Kronstadt, an offensive of the *entire* navy, the concentration of a *gigantic superiority* of forces over the 15,000 or 20,000 (perhaps more) of our "bourgeois guard" (the officers' schools), our "Vendée troops"[97] (part of the Cossacks), etc.

Our *three* main forces—the fleet, the workers, and the army units—must be so combined as to occupy without fail and to hold *at any cost*: a) the telephone exchange; b) the telegraph office; c) the railway stations; d) and above all, the bridges.

The *most determined* elements (our "shock forces" and *young workers*, as well as the best of the sailors) must be formed into small detachments to occupy all the more important points and to *take part* everywhere in all important operations, for example:

To encircle and cut off Petrograd; to seize it by a combined attack of the sailors, the workers, and the troops—a task which requires *art and triple audacity*;

To form detachments from the best workers, armed with rifles and bombs, for the purpose of attacking and surrounding the enemy's "centres" (the officers' schools, the telegraph office, the telephone exchange, etc.). Their watchword must be: "*Better die to a man than let the enemy pass!*"

Let us hope that if action is decided on, the leaders will successfully apply the great precepts of Danton and Marx.

The success of both the Russian and the world revolution depends on two or three days' fighting.

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Signed: *An Onlooker*

PARTICIPATION OF YOUTH IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION. EDUCATION OF THE NEW MAN

SPEECHES AT A MEETING OF THE MOSCOW PARTY COMMITTEE ON ORGANISING GROUPS OF SYMPATHISERS AUGUST 16, 1918

MINUTES

1

We are experiencing a great shortage of forces, yet forces are to be had among the people, forces that can be utilised. Greater confidence must be shown in the working people and we must learn to draw forces from their midst. This can be done by enlisting sympathisers among the young people and the trade unions into the Party. Never mind if their membership dues are in arrears—there is no danger in that. There is no great danger in assigning six thousand for the front and taking on twelve thousand others in their place. We must utilise our moral influence to enlarge our Party.

All too few new people get up and speak at our meetings, yet we want new people because there would be a live note in their speeches. We should organise this in some way or other. The young people must be taken from among the workers so that there is control by the workers. The exigencies of the situation demand that large numbers of Party members be sent to the front, before the Japanese and the Americans can consolidate their position in Siberia. The old forces must be replaced by new forces, by young people.

Party members must carry on energetic agitation among the workers. Comrades who are capable of doing anything at all must not be kept in office jobs.

We must broaden our sphere of influence among the workers. The nuclei are displaying too little initiative; their activities could be very useful in influencing non-Party people on the spot. Attention should be paid to the clubs, Party workers recruited from the masses.

We must not accept people who try to join from careerist motives; people like this should be driven out of the Party.

First published
January 22, 1928
in *Pravda* No. 19

Collected Works, Vol. 28

FROM THE SPEECH AT THE FIRST ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS ON EDUCATION AUGUST 28, 1918[98]

Education is one of the component parts of the struggle we are now waging. We can counter hypocrisy and lies with the complete and honest truth. The war has shown plainly enough what the "will of the majority" means, a phrase used as a cover by the bourgeoisie. It has shown that a handful of plutocrats drag whole nations to the slaughter in their own interests. The belief that bourgeois democracy serves the interests of the majority has now been utterly discredited. Our Constitution, our Soviets, which were something new to Europe, but with which we were already acquainted from the experience of the 1905 Revolution, serve as splendid agitation and propaganda material, completely exposing the lying and hypocritical nature of bourgeois democracy. We have openly proclaimed the rule of the working and exploited people—and there lies the source of our strength and invincibility.

The same is true of education: the more cultured the bourgeois state, the more subtly it lied when declaring that schools could stand above politics and serve society as a whole.

In fact the schools were turned into nothing but an instrument of the class rule of the bourgeoisie. They were thoroughly imbued with the bourgeois caste spirit. Their purpose was to supply the capitalists with obedient lackeys and able workers. The war has shown that the marvels of modern technology are being used as a means of exterminat-

ing millions of workers and creating fabulous profits for the capitalists who are making fortunes out of the war. The war has been internally undermined, for we have exposed their lies by countering them with the truth. We say that our work in the sphere of education is part of the struggle for overthrowing the bourgeoisie. We publicly declare that education divorced from life and politics is lies and hypocrisy....

The revolutionary struggle has been the finishing school for the Russian workers and peasants. They have seen that our system alone assures their genuine rule, they have been able to convince themselves that the state is doing everything to assist the workers and the poor peasants in completely crushing the resistance of the kulaks, the landowners and the capitalists.

The working people are thirsting for knowledge because they need it to win. Nine out of ten of the working people have realised that knowledge is a weapon in their struggle for emancipation, that their failures are due to lack of education, and that now it is up to them really to give everyone access to education. Our cause is assured because the people have themselves set about building a new, socialist Russia. They are learning from their own experience, from their failures and mistakes, and they see how indispensable education is for the victorious conclusion of their struggle. In spite of the apparent collapse of many institutions and the jubilation of the intellectuals carrying out sabotage, we find that experience in the struggle has taught the people to take their fate into their own hands. All who really sympathise with the people, all the best teachers will come to our aid, and that is a sure pledge that the socialist cause will triumph. (*Ovation.*)

Short report published August 29, 1918 in *Vecherniye Izvestia Moskovskogo Soveta* No. 35

First published in full in 1919 in the book *Minutes of the First All-Russia Congress on Education*

Collected Works, Vol. 28

FROM THE DRAFT PROGRAMME OF THE R.C.P.(B.)

9

SECTION OF THE PROGRAMME DEALING WITH PUBLIC EDUCATION

In the sphere of public education, the object of the R.C.P. is to complete the work that began with the October Revolution in 1917 to convert the school from an instrument of the class rule of the bourgeoisie into an instrument for the overthrow of that rule and for the complete abolition of the division of society into classes. The schools must become an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., a vehicle not merely of the general principles of communism but also of the ideological, organisational and educational influence of the proletariat on the semi-proletarian and non-proletarian sections of the working people with the object of completely suppressing the resistance of the exploiters and of building the communist system. The immediate tasks in this field are, for the present, the following:

(1) the further development of the initiative of the workers and working peasants in the sphere of education with the all-round assistance of the Soviet government;

(2) securing complete command not only over a section, or the majority, of the school-teachers, as is the case at present, but over all school-teachers by weeding out the incorrigible bourgeois counter-revolutionary elements and securing the conscientious application of communist principles; (policy)

(3) the implementation of free, obligatory general and polytechnical education (acquaintance with all the main branches of production theoretically and in practice) for all children of both sexes up to the age of 16;

(4) the closest connection between schooling and productive social labour of the child;

(5) the provision of food, clothing, books and other teaching aids for all schoolchildren at the expense of the state;

(6) the working people must be drawn into active participation in the work of public education (the development of the public education councils, mobilisation of the educated, etc.);

or *ad* 2)

(7) to secure the closest contact between school-teachers and the agitation and propaganda machinery of the R.C.P.

Published February 26, 1919
in *Pravda* No. 44

Collected Works, Vol. 29

DRAFT SUPPLEMENT TO THE SECTION OF THE PROGRAMME ON PUBLIC EDUCATION[99]

to be added:

1) on polytechnical education for adolescents and adults { *for adults*: development of trade training with a view to a transition to polytechnical education

2) amateur activities (of children) in schools
3) crèches, etc. =
4) for section 6+trade unions
5) teaching in the native language

Written March 20, 1919

First published in 1930
in *Lenin Miscellany XIII*

Collected Works, Fifth Russian edition, Vol. 38

SPEECH AT THE FIRST ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST STUDENTS APRIL 17, 1919[100]

It gives me great pleasure to greet you. I do not know how many gubernias are represented here, or where you have come from. The important thing is that the youth, the communist youth, are organising. The important thing is that the youth are gathering together to learn to build the new type of school. Now you have a new type of school. The old, bureaucratic school, which you hated and detested, and with which you had no ties, no longer exists. We have planned our work for a very long period. The future society we are striving for, the society in which all must work, the society in which there will be no class distinctions, will take a long time to build. At present we are only laying the foundations of this future society, but you will have to build it when you grow up. At present, work as your strength permits; do not undertake tasks that are too much for you; be guided by your seniors. Once again I greet this congress and wish your labours every success.

First published in 1923
in the book V. I. Lenin
(Ulyanov) *Speeches and Articles on Youth*
Moscow-Petrograd
Molodaya Gvardiya Publishers

Collected Works, Vol. 29

SPEECH DELIVERED IN RED SQUARE MAY 1, 1919

NEWSPAPER REPORT

2

"The majority of those here present are no older than 30 to 35 years of age," said Comrade Lenin, "and they will live to see the full bloom of communism, from which we are still remote".

Pointing to the children, Comrade Lenin said that they, who were taking part in the celebration of the festival of the emancipation of labour, would fully enjoy the fruits of the labours and sacrifices of the revolutionaries.

"Our grandchildren will examine the documents and other relics of the epoch of the capitalist system with amazement. It will be difficult for them to picture to themselves how the trade in articles of primary necessity could remain in private hands, how factories could belong to individuals, how some men could exploit others, how it was possible for those who did not work to exist. Up to now the story of what our children would see in the future has sounded like a fairy-tale; but today, comrades, you clearly see that the edifice of socialist society, of which we have laid the foundations, is not a utopia. Our children will build this edifice with even greater zeal." (*Stormy applause.*)

Published in *Vecherniye Izvestia Moskovskogo Soveta*
No. 230, May 2, 1919

Collected Works, Vol. 29

ALL OUT FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST DENIKIN!

From LETTER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIKS)
TO PARTY ORGANISATIONS

CURTAILMENT OF WORK NOT FOR THE WAR

To carry out even a part of the work briefly outlined above we shall need more and more workers, drawn, moreover, from the ranks of the most reliable, devoted and energetic Communists. But where are they to come from, bearing in mind the universal complaints about the dearth of such workers and the over-fatigue they are suffering from?

There can be no doubt that these complaints are largely justified. If anyone were to gauge exactly how thin is that stratum of advanced workers and Communists who with the support and sympathy of the worker and peasant masses have administered Russia in these last twenty months, it would seem truly incredible. Yet we administered with signal success, building socialism, overcoming unparalleled difficulties, and vanquishing enemies, directly or indirectly connected with the bourgeoisie, that raised their heads everywhere. We have already vanquished all enemies except one—the Entente,[101] the all-powerful imperialist bourgeoisie of Britain, France and America. And we have broken one of the arms of this enemy too—Kolchak. We are only threatened by his other arm—Denikin.

Fresh labour-power for the administration of the state and to carry out the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat are rapidly emerging in the shape of the worker and peasant youth who are most earnestly, zealously and fervidly learning, digesting the new impressions of the new order, throwing off the husk of old, capitalist and bourgeois-democratic prejudices, and moulding themselves into even firmer Communists than the older generation.

But however rapidly this new stratum may be emerging, however rapidly it may be learning and maturing in the fire of the Civil War and the frantic resistance of the bourgeoisie, all the same it cannot, in the next few months, supply us with a *trained* staff for the administration of the state. Yet it is precisely the next few months, the summer and autumn of 1919, that count, for it is essential *to decide* the struggle against Denikin, and it must be done *immediately*.

In order to obtain a large number of well-trained workers to strengthen the war effort we must *reduce in size* a whole number of branches and institutions, not doing war work, or, rather, those not directly connected with the war, but doing Soviet work; we must *reorganise* on these lines (i.e., on the lines of reduction) all institutions and enterprises which are *not absolutely indispensable*.

Izvestia, Bulletin of
the C.C., R.C.P.(B.) No. 4
July 9, 1919

Collected Works, Vol. 29

TWO YEARS OF SOVIET RULE

FROM A SPEECH AT A JOINT SESSION OF THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, THE MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND RED ARMY DEPUTIES, THE ALL-RUSSIA CENTRAL COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS AND FACTORY COMMITTEES, ON THE OCCASION OF THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION
NOVEMBER 7, 1919

Comrades! Lately we have witnessed a particularly brilliant example of success in our work. We know how widespread subbotniks[102] have become among class-conscious workers. We know those representatives of communism who most of all have suffered the torments of famine and bitter cold, but whose contribution in the rear is no smaller than that of the Red Army at the front; we know how, at the critical moment when the enemy was advancing on Petrograd, and Denikin took Orel, when the bourgeoisie were in high spirits and resorted to their last and favourite weapon, the spreading of panic, we announced a Party Week. At that moment the worker Communists went to the industrial workers and other working people, to those who most of all had endured the burden of the imperialist war and were starving and freezing, to those on whom the bourgeois panic-mongers counted most of all, to those who bore most of the burden on their backs; it was to them that we addressed ourselves during the Party Week and said: "You are scared by the burdens of working-class rule, by the threats of the imperialists and capitalists; you see our work and our difficulties; we appeal to you, and we open wide the doors of our Party only to you, only to the representatives of the working people. At this difficult moment we count on you and call you into our ranks there

to undertake the whole burden of building the state." You know that it was a terribly difficult moment, both materially and because of the enemy's successes in foreign policy and in the military sphere. And you know what unparalleled, unexpected and unbelievable success marked the end of this Party Week in Moscow alone, where we got over 14 thousand new Party members. There you have the result of the Party Week that is totally transforming, that is remaking the working class, and by the experience of work is turning those who were the passive, inert instruments of the bourgeois government, the exploiters, and the bourgeois state into real creators of the future communist society. We know that we have a reserve of tens and hundreds of thousands of working-class and peasant youths, those who saw and know to the full the old oppression of landowner and bourgeois society, who have seen the unparalleled difficulties of our constructive work, who saw what heroes the first contingent of Party functionaries proved to be in 1917 and 1918, who have been coming to us in bigger numbers and whose devotion is the greater the severer our difficulties. These reserves give us confidence that in these two years we have achieved a firm and sound cohesion and now possess a source from which we shall for a long time be able to draw still more extensively, and so ensure that the working people themselves undertake to develop the state. In this respect we have had such experience during these two years in applying working-class administration in all spheres, that we can say boldly and without any exaggeration that now all that remains is to continue what has been begun, and things will proceed as they have done these two years, but at an ever faster pace.

Bednota No. 478
November 7, 1919
Signed: *Lenin*

Collected Works, Vol. 30

TO THE YOUNGER GENERATION[103]

Greetings to the working-class and peasant youth of Petrograd Gubernia on the occasion of their communist labour week.

Intensify your work in this field, my young comrades, so that you can apply your fresh, young forces to the building of a new and brighter life.

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

Smena No. 1
December 18, 1919

Collected Works, Vol. 30

TRIAL OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS[104]

Remarks on Draft Decree

1) The theory of (demarcation) is *unsuitable*.
2) The court and jails do *nothing but harm*.
3) *Who* is well versed in children's psychology? Judges or experts?
4) Special institutions?
5) Profiteers and the like? *Recidivism*?

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1) The People's Commissariat of Justice in co-operation with the People's Commissariat of Health, People's Commissariat of Education and the Central Statistical Board should be instructed to work out forms of report on every kind of action against juvenile delinquents and trial of their cases.

2) The People's Commissariat of Education and the People's Commissariat of Health should be instructed to intensify their efforts in setting up medical-training institutions for defective juvenile delinquents.

The People's Commissariat of Justice should be instructed to exercise a stricter control over the personnel of the commissions on juvenile delinquency and over the way they discharge their duties.

Written March 4, 1920

First published in 1933
in *Lenin Miscellany XXIV*

Collected Works, Fifth Russian edition, Vol. 40

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND RED ARMY DEPUTIES MARCH 6, 1920

Comrades, I very much regret that there is little probability of my being able to discharge the duties hinted at by the Chairman in reference to my membership of the Moscow Soviet. I am nevertheless very glad to have the opportunity of greeting the new Moscow Soviet. Permit me to say a few words about the tasks which, owing to the general situation in the country, fall particularly to the lot of the Moscow workers, and first and foremost of the Moscow Soviet.

Comrades, it seems there is every hope that we shall, in the near future, emerge completely victorious from the war which was forced upon us by the landowners and capitalists of Russia in alliance with the capitalists of the whole world. I have just received a telegram from a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Caucasian Front, the last remaining front of any importance. This telegram states that the resistance of the enemy has been broken in all directions (*applause*), so that now that we have finished with the Kolchak front and the Archangel front, the day is apparently not far off when the Denikin front, too, will be completely eliminated. But, comrades, no matter how greatly the results of the Civil War and the international situation may favour us, and even though the imperialist powers are obviously on the eve of a complete break-down, and all their attempts to unite anybody at all

for a war against us have ended in failure—no matter how favourable this situation may be, it must be said that the danger, even the foreign danger, is not yet over. Attempts are still being made, especially by imperialist France, to incite Poland to make war on Russia. You all know, of course, from the press, from the decisions of the Central Executive Committee, and from all the statements made at the Cossack congress and many other congresses, that the Soviet Republic, on its part, has done all it could to prevent this war, that we have proposed peace to the Polish nation not only officially but in the most friendly way, and have most solemnly recognised the independence of the Polish state, and have made the most positive declarations to this effect. From the military standpoint, we have done everything we could to prevent the Polish landowners and capitalists from carrying out their designs—perhaps not so much their own designs as those of imperialist France, who stands behind their back and to whom they are up to their ears in debt. We have done everything we could to prevent these capitalists and landowners from carrying out their design of inciting the Polish nation to make war on Russia. But although we have done everything we could, future action does not depend upon us. Even the Polish landowners and capitalists themselves do not know what they will do tomorrow. The internal situation in Poland is so grave that they may embark on such a dubious venture because of the obvious danger to their class position, because they feel their end approaching. Consequently, although we have won many victories, we have no guarantee at all that we are secure against foreign attack, and we must be on our guard, we must preserve, develop and strengthen our military preparedness, so as to accomplish the task that confronts the working class. If, in spite of all our efforts, the Polish imperialists, supported by France, embark on a war against Russia, if they launch their military venture, they must receive, and will receive, such a rebuff that their fragile capitalism and imperialism will fall to pieces.

We do not conceal from ourselves, especially from the Moscow and other Russian workers, that fresh effort and new and gigantic sacrifices are now demanded of us, which will be all the more severe because we are just now at the

end of a winter—February and March—that has brought a new aggravation of want, hunger and suffering owing to the ruined state of our railway system. And I must tell you that the war on the bloody front, the civil war directed against the imperialists, is to all appearances coming to an end, and that anyway the enemy can offer no serious menace to us since the attempts of the Entente to launch a general war against us have suffered decisive defeat; the war on the bloodless front, however, still continues and will continue for a long time to come. For the more we leave the military danger behind us the more we are faced with the tasks of internal development; and these have to be carried out by the working class, which has taken upon itself the mission of leading the working masses. These tasks—the restoration of a ruined country and a ruined economy, and the organisation of a socialist society—cannot be accomplished without a war on the bloodless front. That is what the advanced workers, who are now forming the new Moscow Soviet, must impress most firmly on their minds, for the Moscow workers have always been a model, and for some time to come must continue to be a model, which will be followed by the workers of other cities.

We must remember that we are grappling with the task of making a socialist revolution in a country where peasants form the greater part of the population. We have now been joined by the peasant masses of Siberia, where the peasants have surpluses of grain, where they have been corrupted by capitalism, cling to the old freedom of trade, and consider it their sacred right—in this respect they are being led astray by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries (that is their sad lot—there is nothing else for them to do)—they consider it their sacred right to practise freedom of trade in grain surpluses, believing that they can retain this right. It does not matter to them that this supposed civil equality implies the exploitation of the hungry by the well-fed; for peasants who have grain surpluses and refuse to let the starving have them are putting into effect the principles of capitalist relations. They are people who, after having been exploited for hundreds of years, have now become their own masters for the first time, and are in a position, owing to their grain surpluses, to enslave the

workers, who, as a result of the collapse of industry, are unable to give any equivalent in return for the grain. For this reason our attitude towards these petty-bourgeois property-owners, towards the small profiteers, who number millions and who think that because they possess surpluses of grain the farther we go the more they will make, and that the worse the famine the more profitable it will be for those who have grain—our attitude towards them must be one of war. This we say bluntly, and this is the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which openly declares to the worker and peasant masses: "The working peasant is our ally, our friend and brother; but when the peasant acts as a property-owner holding a surplus of grain not required by his household, and acts towards us as a property-owner, as a well-fed man towards a hungry man, such a peasant is our enemy, and we will fight him with the utmost determination, the utmost ruthlessness." Victory over the small property-owners, over the small profiteers, is no easy matter. They cannot be eliminated in one year, many years will be required; it will take organised resistance, stubborn and steadfast work, step by step over a long period of time—it will take an incessant day-to-day struggle, which it is particularly difficult to wage and in which the profiteering peasant is very often victorious over the worker. But we will fight on the bloodless front so that the hungry may secure from the well-fed the surpluses they possess, despite all obstacles and despite the desire of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks to introduce freedom of trade and leave these surpluses in the possession of the well-fed.

We have done a great deal of work during the past two years. We have enlisted the peasant and worker masses in this work, and have everywhere been able to secure what we needed. At a time when the whiteguard officers, the former tsarist officers, were fighting us on the side of our enemies, we enlisted tens and hundreds of these experts in our work, which helped to remake them. They helped us do our work, in conjunction with our commissars. They themselves learned from us how the work should be done, and in return gave us the benefit of their technical knowledge. And it was only with their help that the Red Army was able to win the victories it did. We must now

divert all this work into another channel. It must be work of a peaceful character; we must devote everything to the work on the labour front. We must direct our former property-owners, who were our enemies. We must mobilise all who are capable of working and compel them to work with us. We must at all costs wipe from the face of the earth the last traces of the policy of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries—the policy which talks of personal freedom, etc.—because it would doom us to starvation. This attitude must be adopted in all our work. The advanced section of the proletariat is assuming the leadership of the rest of the population, and it says: "We must get you to understand our ideas fully and to put them into effect, just as we got you to come over more and more to our side."

The first task that confronts us here is to clean up Moscow, to put an end to the filth and state of neglect into which it has sunk. We must do this so as to set an example to the whole country, where this filth, which brings with it epidemics and disease, is becoming more and more prevalent. We must set this example here, in Moscow, an example such as Moscow has set many times before.

We must bear in mind that we are faced with the task of restoring the transport system. In the spring we must introduce control by the worker masses. We must effect it in respect of those market gardeners in the vicinity of Moscow who are taking advantage of the fact that there are starving fellow-beings around them to pocket millions. The fact that any rich market gardener can squeeze untold profits out of his poor neighbours is an atrocious injustice, which we cannot tolerate.

What must we do? Specialists must give us the benefit of their knowledge so that we may carry our ideas into effect. The class which has just elected the new Moscow Soviet must tackle this work, and carry it out more practically and in greater detail than hitherto.

We know that the proletariat is not very large numerically; but we also know that the Petrograd workers, who were in the front ranks of the Red Army, gave us their best forces whenever we needed them, gave them for the fight against the enemy in greater numbers than we thought possible. We have said that Petrograd, Moscow and Ivanovo-Voznesensk have given us a vast number of

people. But that is not enough; they must give us all we need. We have to utilise all the bourgeois specialists who accumulated knowledge in the past and who must pay with this knowledge now. It is with the help of these people that we must do our work; it is with their help that we must conquer all we need—conquer, and create our own militant contingents of workers who will learn from them and direct them, and who will always turn to the broad masses of the workers to explain this experience. That is what the Moscow Soviet, as one of the most important and one of the biggest of the proletarian Soviets, must accomplish at all costs. The fifteen hundred members of the Moscow Soviet, plus the alternate members, constitute an apparatus through which you can draw upon the masses and constantly enlist them, inexperienced though they are, in the work of administering the state.

The worker and peasant masses who have to build up our entire state must start by organising state control. You will obtain this apparatus from among the worker and peasant masses, from among the young workers and peasants who have been fired as never before with the independent desire, the readiness and determination to set about the work of administering the state themselves. We have learned from the experiences of the war and shall promote thousands of people who have passed through the school of the Soviets and are capable of governing the state. You must recruit the most diffident and undeveloped, the most timid of the workers for the workers' inspection and promote them. Let them progress in this work. When they have seen how the workers' inspection participates in state affairs, let them gradually proceed from the simple duties they are able to carry out—at first only as onlookers—to more important functions of state. You will secure a flow of assistants from the widest sources who will take upon themselves the burden of government, who will come to lend a hand and to work. We need tens of thousands of new advanced workers. Turn for support to the non-party workers and peasants, turn to them, for our Party must remain a narrow party, surrounded as it is by enemies on all sides. At a time when hostile elements are trying by every method of warfare, deceit and provocation to cling to us and to

take advantage of the fact that membership of a government party offers certain privileges, we must act in contact with the non-party people. The laws on the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection grant the right to enlist non-party workers and peasants and their conferences in the work of government. This apparatus is one of the means whereby we can increase the number of workers and peasants who will help us to achieve victory on the internal front in a few years. For a long time this victory will not be as simply, decisively and clearly apparent as the victory on the war front. This victory demands vigilance and effort, and you can ensure it by carrying out the job of development of Moscow and its environs and helping in the general work of restoring the transport system, of restoring that general economic organisation which will help us to get rid of the direct and indirect influence of the profiteers and to vanquish the old traditions of capitalism. We should not grudge a few years for this. Even if we had these conditions, such social reforms as these would be without parallel, and here to set ourselves tasks designed only for a short period of time would be a great mistake.

Allow me to conclude by expressing the hope and assurance that the new Moscow Soviet, bearing in mind all the experience gained by its predecessor in the course of the Civil War, will draw new forces from among the youth and will tackle the affairs of economic development with all the energy, firmness and persistence with which we tackled military affairs, and so gain victories which, if not as brilliant, will be more solid and substantial.

Brief newspaper report
published March 7, 1920
in *Izvestia VTsIK* No. 52

Collected Works, Vol. 29

First published in full in 1921
in *Verbatim Reports of the Plenary Sessions of the Moscow Soviet of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies*, Moscow

THE TASKS OF THE YOUTH LEAGUES

(SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE THIRD ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE)
OCTOBER 2, 1920[105]

(*The congress greets Lenin with a tremendous ovation.*)
Comrades, today I would like to talk on the fundamental tasks of the Young Communist League and, in this connection, on what the youth organisations in a socialist republic should be like in general.

It is all the more necessary to dwell on this question because in a certain sense it may be said that it is the youth that will be faced with the actual task of creating a communist society. For it is clear that the generation of working people brought up in capitalist society can, at best, accomplish the task of destroying the foundations of the old, the capitalist way of life, which was built on exploitation. At best it will be able to accomplish the tasks of creating a social system that will help the proletariat and the working classes retain power and lay a firm foundation, which can be built on only by a generation that is starting to work under the new conditions, in a situation in which relations based on the exploitation of man by man no longer exist.

And so, in dealing from this angle with the tasks confronting the youth, I must say that the tasks of the youth in general, and of the Young Communist Leagues and all other organisations in particular, might be summed up in a single word: learn.

Of course, this is only a "single word". It does not reply to the principal and most essential questions: what

to learn, and how to learn? And the whole point here is that, with the transformation of the old, capitalist society, the upbringing, training and education of the new generations that will create the communist society cannot be conducted on the old lines. The teaching, training and education of the youth must proceed from the material that has been left to us by the old society. We can build communism only on the basis of the totality of knowledge, organisations and institutions, only by using the stock of human forces and means that have been left to us by the old society. Only by radically remoulding the teaching, organisation and training of the youth shall we be able to ensure that the efforts of the younger generation will result in the creation of a society that will be unlike the old society, i.e., in the creation of a communist society. That is why we must deal in detail with the question of what we should teach the youth and how the youth should learn if it really wants to justify the name of communist youth, and how it should be trained so as to be able to complete and consummate what we have started.

I must say that the first and most natural reply would seem to be that the Youth League, and the youth in general, who want to advance to communism, should learn communism.

But this reply—"learn communism"—is too general. What do we need in order to learn communism? What must be singled out from the sum of general knowledge so as to acquire a knowledge of communism? Here a number of dangers arise, which very often manifest themselves whenever the task of learning communism is presented incorrectly, or when it is interpreted in too one-sided a manner.

Naturally, the first thought that enters one's mind is that learning communism means assimilating the sum of knowledge that is contained in communist manuals, pamphlets and books. But such a definition of the study of communism would be too crude and inadequate. If the study of communism consisted solely in assimilating what is contained in communist books and pamphlets, we might all too easily obtain communist text-jugglers or braggarts, and this would very often do us harm, because such

people, after learning by rote what is set forth in communist books and pamphlets, would prove incapable of combining the various branches of knowledge, and would be unable to act in the way communism really demands.

One of the greatest evils and misfortunes left to us by the old, capitalist society is the complete rift between books and practical life; we have had books explaining everything in the best possible manner, yet in most cases these books contained the most pernicious and hypocritical lies, a false description of capitalist society.

That is why it would be most mistaken merely to assimilate book knowledge about communism. No longer do our speeches and articles merely reiterate what used to be said about communism, because our speeches and articles are connected with our daily work in all fields. Without work and without struggle, book knowledge of communism obtained from communist pamphlets and works is absolutely worthless, for it would continue the old separation of theory and practice, the old rift which was the most pernicious feature of the old, bourgeois society.

It would be still more dangerous to set about assimilating only communist slogans. Had we not realised this danger in time, and had we not directed all our efforts to averting this danger, the half million or million young men and women who would have called themselves Communists after studying communism in this way would only greatly prejudice the cause of communism.

The question arises: how is all this to be blended for the study of communism? What must we take from the old schools, from the old kind of science? It was the declared aim of the old type of school to produce men with an all-round education, to teach the sciences in general. We know that this was utterly false, since the whole of society was based and maintained on the division of people into classes, into exploiters and oppressed. Since they were thoroughly imbued with the class spirit, the old schools naturally gave knowledge only to the children of the bourgeoisie. Every word was falsified in the interests of the bourgeoisie. In these schools the younger generation of workers and peasants were not so much educated as drilled in the interests of that bourgeoisie. They were trained in such a

way as to be useful servants of the bourgeoisie, able to create profits for it without disturbing its peace and leisure. That is why, while rejecting the old type of schools, we have made it our task to take from it only what we require for genuine communist education.

This brings me to the reproaches and accusations which we constantly hear levelled at the old schools, and which often lead to wholly wrong conclusions. It is said that the old school was a school of purely book knowledge, of ceaseless drilling and grinding. That is true, but we must distinguish between what was bad in the old schools and what is useful to us, and we must be able to select from it what is necessary for communism.

The old schools provided purely book knowledge; they compelled their pupils to assimilate a mass of useless, superfluous and barren knowledge, which cluttered up the brain and turned the younger generation into bureaucrats regimented according to a single pattern. But it would mean falling into a grave error for you to try to draw the conclusion that one can become a Communist without assimilating the wealth of knowledge amassed by mankind. It would be mistaken to think it sufficient to learn communist slogans and the conclusions of communist science, without acquiring that sum of knowledge of which communism itself is a result. Marxism is an example which shows how communism arose out of the sum of human knowledge.

You have read and heard that communist theory—the science of communism created in the main by Marx, this doctrine of Marxism—has ceased to be the work of a single socialist of the nineteenth century, even though he was a genius, and that it has become the doctrine of millions and tens of millions of proletarians all over the world, who are applying it in their struggle against capitalism. If you were to ask why the teachings of Marx have been able to win the hearts and minds of millions and tens of millions of the most revolutionary class, you would receive only one answer: it was because Marx based his work on the firm foundation of the human knowledge acquired under capitalism. After making a study of the laws governing the development of human society, Marx realised the inevitability of capitalism developing towards communism. What is most important is that he proved this on the sole

basis of a most precise, detailed and profound study of this capitalist society, by fully assimilating all that earlier science had produced. He critically reshaped everything that had been created by human society, without ignoring a single detail. He reconsidered, subjected to criticism, and verified on the working-class movement everything that human thinking had created, and therefrom formulated conclusions which people hemmed in by bourgeois limitations or bound by bourgeois prejudices could not draw.

We must bear this in mind when, for example, we talk about proletarian culture. We shall be unable to solve this problem unless we clearly realise that only a precise knowledge and transformation of the culture created by the entire development of mankind will enable us to create a proletarian culture. The latter is not clutched out of thin air; it is not an invention of those who call themselves experts in proletarian culture. That is all nonsense. Proletarian culture must be the logical development of the store of knowledge mankind has accumulated under the yoke of capitalist, landowner and bureaucratic society. All these roads have been leading, and will continue to lead up to proletarian culture, in the same way as political economy, as reshaped by Marx, has shown us what human society must arrive at, shown us the passage to the class struggle, to the beginning of the proletarian revolution.

When we so often hear representatives of the youth, as well as certain advocates of a new system of education, attacking the old schools, claiming that they used the system of cramming, we say to them that we must take what was good in the old schools. We must not borrow the system of encumbering young people's minds with an immense amount of knowledge, nine-tenths of which was useless and one-tenth distorted. This, however, does not mean that we can restrict ourselves to communist conclusions and learn only communist slogans. You will not create communism that way. You can become a Communist only when you enrich your mind with a knowledge of all the treasures created by mankind.

We have no need of cramming, but we do need to develop and perfect the mind of every student with a knowledge of fundamental facts. Communism will become an empty word, a mere signboard, and a Communist a mere boaster,

if all the knowledge he has acquired is not digested in his mind. You should not merely assimilate this knowledge, but assimilate it critically, so as not to cram your mind with useless lumber, but enrich it with all those facts that are indispensable to the well-educated man of today. If a Communist took it into his head to boast about his communism because of the cut-and-dried conclusions he had acquired, without putting in a great deal of serious and hard work and without understanding facts he should examine critically, he would be a deplorable Communist indeed. Such superficiality would be decidedly fatal. If I know that I know little, I shall strive to learn more; but if a man says that he is a Communist and that he need not know anything thoroughly, he will never become anything like a Communist.

The old schools produced servants needed by the capitalists; the old schools turned men of science into men who had to write and say whatever pleased the capitalists. We must therefore abolish them. But does the fact that we must abolish them, destroy them, mean that we should not take from them everything mankind has accumulated that is essential to man? Does it mean that we do not have to distinguish between what was necessary to capitalism and what is necessary to communism?

We are replacing the old drill-sergeant methods practised in bourgeois society, against the will of the majority, with the class-conscious discipline of the workers and peasants, who combine hatred of the old society with a determination, ability and readiness to unite and organise their forces for this struggle so as to forge the wills of millions and hundreds of millions of people—disunited, and scattered over the territory of a huge country—into a single will, without which defeat is inevitable. Without this solidarity, without this conscious discipline of the workers and peasants, our cause is hopeless. Without this, we shall be unable to vanquish the capitalists and landowners of the whole world. We shall not even consolidate the foundation, let alone build a new, communist society on that foundation. Likewise, while condemning the old schools, while harbouring an absolutely justified and necessary hatred for the old schools, and appreciating the readiness to destroy them, we must realise that we must replace the old system

of instruction, the old cramming and the old drill, with an ability to acquire the sum total of human knowledge, and to acquire it in such a way that communism shall not be something to be learned by rote, but something that you yourselves have thought over, something that will embody conclusions inevitable from the standpoint of present-day education.

That is the way the main tasks should be presented when we speak of the aim: learn communism.

I shall take a practical example to make this clear to you, and to demonstrate the approach to the problem of how you must learn. You all know that, following the military problems, those of defending the republic, we are now confronted with economic tasks. Communist society, as we know, cannot be built unless we restore industry and agriculture, and that, not in the old way. They must be reestablished on a modern basis, in accordance with the last word in science. You know that electricity is that basis, and that only after electrification of the entire country, of all branches of industry and agriculture, only when you have achieved that aim, will you be able to build for yourselves the communist society which the older generation will not be able to build. Confronting you is the task of economically reviving the whole country, of reorganising and restoring both agriculture and industry on modern technical lines, based on modern science and technology, on electricity. You realise perfectly well that illiterate people cannot tackle electrification, and that elementary literacy is not enough either. It is insufficient to understand what electricity is; what is needed is the knowledge of how to apply it technically in industry and agriculture, and in the individual branches of industry and agriculture. This has to be learnt for oneself, and it must be taught to the entire rising generation of working people. That is the task confronting every class-conscious Communist, every young person who regards himself a Communist and who clearly understands that, by joining the Young Communist League, he has pledged himself to help the Party build communism and to help the whole younger generation create a communist society. He must realise that he can create it only on the basis of modern education, and if he does not

acquire this education communism will remain merely a pious wish.

It was the task of the older generation to overthrow the bourgeoisie. The main task then was to criticise the bourgeoisie, arouse hatred of the bourgeoisie among the masses, and foster class-consciousness and the ability to unite their forces. The new generation is confronted with a far more complex task. Your duty does not lie only in assembling your forces so as to uphold the workers' and peasants' government against an invasion instigated by the capitalists. Of course, you must do that; that is something you clearly realise, and is distinctly seen by the Communist. However, that is not enough. You have to build up a communist society. In many respects half of the work has been done. The old order has been destroyed, just as it deserved, it has been turned into a heap of ruins, just as it deserved. The ground has been cleared, and on this ground the younger communist generation must build a communist society. You are faced with the task of construction, and you can accomplish that task only by assimilating all modern knowledge, only if you are able to transform communism from cut-and-dried and memorised formulas, counsels, recipes, prescriptions and programmes into that living reality which gives unity to your immediate work, and only if you are able to make communism a guide in all your practical work.

That is the task you should pursue in educating, training and rousing the entire younger generation. You must be foremost among the millions of builders of a communist society in whose ranks every young man and young woman should be. You will not build a communist society unless you enlist the mass of young workers and peasants in the work of building communism.

This naturally brings me to the question of how we should teach communism and what the specific features of our methods should be.

I first of all shall deal here with the question of communist ethics.

You must train yourselves to be Communists. It is the task of the Youth League to organise its practical activities in such a way that, by learning, organising, uniting and fighting, its members shall train both themselves and all

those who look to it for leadership; it should train Communists. The entire purpose of training, educating and teaching the youth of today should be to imbue them with communist ethics.

But is there such a thing as communist ethics? Is there such a thing as communist morality? Of course, there is. It is often suggested that we have no ethics of our own; very often the bourgeoisie accuse us Communists of rejecting all morality. This is a method of confusing the issue, of throwing dust in the eyes of the workers and peasants.

In what sense do we reject ethics, reject morality?

In the sense given to it by the bourgeoisie, who based ethics on God's commandments. On this point we, of course, say that we do not believe in God, and that we know perfectly well that the clergy, the landowners and the bourgeoisie invoked the name of God so as to further their own interests as exploiters. Or, instead of basing ethics on the commandments of morality, on the commandments of God, they based it on idealist or semi-idealist phrases, which always amounted to something very similar to God's commandments.

We reject any morality based on extra-human and extra-class concepts. We say that this is deception, dupery, stultification of the workers and peasants in the interests of the landowners and capitalists.

We say that our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the proletariat's class struggle. Our morality stems from the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat.

The old society was based on the oppression of all the workers and peasants by the landowners and capitalists. We had to destroy all that, and overthrow them but to do that we had to create unity. That is something that God cannot create.

This unity could be provided only by the factories, only by a proletariat trained and roused from its long slumber. Only when that class was formed did a mass movement arise which has led to what we have now—the victory of the proletarian revolution in one of the weakest of countries, which for three years has been repelling the onslaught of the bourgeoisie of the whole world. We can see how the proletarian revolution is developing all over the world.

On the basis of experience, we now say that only the proletariat could have created the solid force which the disunited and scattered peasantry are following and which has withstood all onslaughts by the exploiters. Only this class can help the working masses unite, rally their ranks and conclusively defend, conclusively consolidate and conclusively build up a communist society.

That is why we say that to us there is no such thing as a morality that stands outside human society; that is a fraud. To us morality is subordinated to the interests of the proletariat's class struggle.

What does that class struggle consist in? It consists in overthrowing the tsar, overthrowing the capitalists, and abolishing the capitalist class.

What are classes in general? Classes are that which permits one section of society to appropriate the labour of another section. If one section of society appropriates all the land, we have a landowner class and a peasant class. If one section of society owns the factories, shares and capital, while another section works in these factories, we have a capitalist class and a proletarian class.

It was not difficult to drive out the tsar—that required only a few days. It was not very difficult to drive out the landowners—that was done in a few months. Nor was it very difficult to drive out the capitalists. But it is incomparably more difficult to abolish classes; we still have the division into workers and peasants. If the peasant is installed on his plot of land and appropriates his surplus grain, that is, grain that he does not need for himself or for his cattle, while the rest of the people have to go without bread, then the peasant becomes an exploiter. The more grain he clings to, the more profitable he finds it; as for the rest, let them starve: "The more they starve, the dearer I can sell this grain." All should work according to a single common plan, on common land, in common factories and in accordance with a common system. Is that easy to attain? You see that it is not as easy as driving out the tsar, the landowners and the capitalists. What is required is that the proletariat re-educate a section of the peasantry; it must win over the working peasants in order to crush the resistance of those peasants who are rich and are profiting from the poverty and want of the rest. Hence the

task of the proletarian struggle is not quite completed after we have overthrown the tsar and driven out the landowners and capitalists; to accomplish that is the task of the system we call the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The class struggle is continuing; it has merely changed its forms. It is the class struggle of the proletariat to prevent the return of the old exploiters, to unite in a single union the scattered masses of unenlightened peasants. The class struggle is continuing and it is our task to subordinate all interests to that struggle. Our communist morality is also subordinated to that task. We say: morality is what serves to destroy the old exploiting society and to unite all the working people around the proletariat, which is building up a new, a communist society.

Communist morality is that which serves this struggle and unites the working people against all exploitation, against all petty private property; for petty property puts into the hands of one person that which has been created by the labour of the whole of society. In our country the land is common property.

But suppose I take a piece of this common property and grow on it twice as much grain as I need, and profiteer on the surplus? Suppose I argue that the more starving people there are, the more they will pay? Would I then be behaving like a Communist? No, I would be behaving like an exploiter, like a proprietor. That must be combated. If that is allowed to go on, things will revert to the rule of the capitalists, to the rule of the bourgeoisie, as has more than once happened in previous revolutions. To prevent the restoration of the rule of the capitalists and the bourgeoisie, we must not allow profiteering; we must not allow individuals to enrich themselves at the expense of the rest; the working people must unite with the proletariat and form a communist society. This is the principal feature of the fundamental task of the League and the organisation of the communist youth.

The old society was based on the principle: rob or be robbed; work for others or make others work for you; be a slave-owner or a slave. Naturally, people brought up in such a society assimilate with their mother's milk, one might say, the psychology, the habit, the concept which says: you are either a slave-owner or a slave, or else, a

small owner, a petty employee, a petty official, or an intellectual—in short, a man who is concerned only with himself, and does not care a rap for anybody else.

If I work this plot of land, I do not care a rap for anybody else; if others starve, all the better, I shall get the more for my grain. If I have a job as a doctor, engineer, teacher, or clerk, I do not care a rap for anybody else. If I toady to and please the powers that be, I may be able to keep my job, and even get on in life and become a bourgeois. A Communist cannot harbour such a psychology and such sentiments. When the workers and peasants proved that they were able, by their own efforts, to defend themselves and create a new society—that was the beginning of the new and communist education, education in the struggle against the exploiters, education in alliance with the proletariat against the self-seekers and petty proprietors, against the psychology and habits which say: I seek my own profit and don't care a rap for anything else.

That is the reply to the question of how the young and rising generation should learn communism.

It can learn communism only by linking up every step in its studies, training and education with the continuous struggle the proletarians and the working people are waging against the old society of exploiters. When people tell us about morality, we say: to a Communist all morality lies in this united discipline and conscious mass struggle against the exploiters. We do not believe in an eternal morality, and we expose the falseness of all the fables about morality. Morality serves the purpose of helping human society rise to a higher level and rid itself of the exploitation of labour.

To achieve this we need that generation of young people who began to reach political maturity in the midst of a disciplined and desperate struggle against the bourgeoisie. In this struggle that generation is training genuine Communists; it must subordinate to this struggle, and link up with it, each step in its studies, education and training. The education of the communist youth must consist, not in giving them suave talks and moral precepts. This is not what education consists in. When people have seen the way in which their fathers and mothers lived under the yoke of the landowners and capitalists; when they have themselves experienced the sufferings of those who began

the struggle against the exploiters; when they have seen the sacrifices made to keep what has been won, and seen what deadly enemies the landowners and capitalists are—they are taught by these conditions to become Communists. Communist morality is based on the struggle for the consolidation and completion of communism. That is also the basis of communist training, education, and teaching. That is the reply to the question of how communism should be learnt.

We could not believe in teaching, training and education if they were restricted only to the schoolroom and divorced from the ferment of life. As long as the workers and peasants are oppressed by the landowners and capitalists, and as long as the schools are controlled by the landowners and capitalists, the young generation will remain blind and ignorant. Our schools must provide the youth with the fundamentals of knowledge, the ability to evolve communist views independently; they must make educated people of the youth. While they are attending school, they must learn to become participants in the struggle for emancipation from the exploiters. The Young Communist League will justify its name as the League of the young communist generation only when every step in its teaching, training and education is linked up with participation in the common struggle of all working people against the exploiters. You are well aware that, as long as Russia remains the only workers' republic and the old, bourgeois system exists in the rest of the world, we shall be weaker than they are, and be constantly threatened with a new attack; and that only if we learn to be solidly united shall we win in the further struggle and—having gained strength—become really invincible. Thus, to be a Communist means that you must organise and unite the entire young generation and set an example of training and discipline in this struggle. Then you will be able to start building the edifice of communist society and bring it to completion.

To make this clearer to you, I shall quote an example. We call ourselves Communists. What is a Communist? Communist is a Latin word. *Communis* is the Latin for "common". Communist society is a society in which all things—the land, the factories—are owned in common and the people work in common. That is communism.

Is it possible to work in common if each one works separately on his own plot of land? Work in common cannot be brought about all at once. That is impossible. It does not drop from the skies. It comes through toil and suffering; it is created in the course of struggle. The old books are of no use here; no one will believe them. One's own experience of life is needed. When Kolchak and Denikin were advancing from Siberia and the South, the peasants were on their side. They did not like Bolshevism because the Bolsheviks took their grain at a fixed price. But when the peasants in Siberia and the Ukraine experienced the rule of Kolchak and Denikin, they realised that they had only one alternative: either to go to the capitalists, who would at once hand them over into slavery under the landowners; or to follow the workers, who, it is true, did not promise a land flowing with milk and honey, and demanded iron discipline and firmness in an arduous struggle, but would lead them out of enslavement by the capitalists and landowners. When even the ignorant peasants saw and realised this from their own experience, they became conscious adherents of communism, who had gone through a severe school. It is such experience that must form the basis of all the activities of the Young Communist League.

I have replied to the questions of what we must learn, what we must take from the old schools and from the old science. I shall now try to answer the question of how this must be learnt. The answer is: only by inseparably linking each step in the activities of the schools, each step in training, education and teaching, with the struggle of all the working people against the exploiters.

I shall quote a few examples from the experience of the work of some of the youth organisations so as to illustrate how this training in communism should proceed. Everybody is talking about abolishing illiteracy. You know that a communist society cannot be built in an illiterate country. It is not enough for the Soviet government to issue an order, or for the Party to issue a particular slogan, or to assign a certain number of the best workers to this task. The young generation itself must take up this work. Communism means that the youth, the young men and women who belong to the Youth League, should say: this is our

job; we shall unite and go into the rural districts to abolish illiteracy, so that there shall be no illiterates among our young people. We are trying to get the rising generation to devote their activities to this work. You know that we cannot rapidly transform an ignorant and illiterate Russia into a literate country. But if the Youth League sets to work on the job, and if all young people work for the benefit of all, the League, with a membership of 400,000 young men and women, will be entitled to call itself a Young Communist League. It is also a task of the League, not only to acquire knowledge itself, but to help those young people who are unable to extricate themselves by their own efforts from the toils of illiteracy. Being a member of the Youth League means devoting one's labour and efforts to the common cause. That is what a communist education means. Only in the course of such work do young men and women become real Communists. Only if they achieve practical results in this work will they become Communists.

Take, for example, work in the suburban vegetable gardens. Is that not a real job of work? It is one of the tasks of the Young Communist League. People are starving; there is hunger in the factories. To save ourselves from starvation, vegetable gardens must be developed. But farming is being carried on in the old way. Therefore, more class-conscious elements should engage in this work, and then you will find that the number of vegetable gardens will increase, their acreage will grow, and the results will improve. The Young Communist League must take an active part in this work. Every League and League branch should regard this as its duty.

The Young Communist League must be a shock force, helping in every job and displaying initiative and enterprise. The League should be an organisation enabling any worker to see that it consists of people whose teachings he perhaps does not understand, and whose teachings he may not immediately believe, but from whose practical work and activity he can see that they are really people who are showing him the right road.

If the Young Communist League fails to organise its work in this way in all fields, it will mean that it is reverting to the old bourgeois path. We must combine our education

with the struggle of the working people against the exploiters, so as to help the former accomplish the tasks set by the teachings of communism.

The members of the League should use every spare hour to improve the vegetable gardens, or to organise the education of young people at some factory, and so on. We want to transform Russia from a poverty-stricken and wretched country into one that is wealthy. The Young Communist League must combine its education, learning and training with the labour of the workers and peasants, so as not to confine itself to schools or to reading communist books and pamphlets. Only by working side by side with the workers and peasants can one become a genuine Communist. It has to be generally realised that all members of the Youth League are literate people and at the same time are keen at their jobs. When everyone sees that we have ousted the old drill-ground methods from the old schools and have replaced them with conscious discipline, that all young men and women take part in subbotniks, and utilise every suburban farm to help the population—people will cease to regard labour in the old way.

It is the task of the Young Communist League to organise assistance everywhere, in village or city block, in such matters as—and I shall take a small example—public hygiene or the distribution of food. How was this done in the old, capitalist society? Everybody worked only for himself and nobody cared a straw for the aged and the sick, or whether housework was the concern only of the women, who, in consequence, were in a condition of oppression and servitude. Whose business is it to combat this? It is the business of the Youth Leagues, which must say: we shall change all this; we shall organise detachments of young people who will help to assure public hygiene or distribute food, who will conduct systematic house-to-house inspections, and work in an organised way for the benefit of the whole of society, distributing their forces properly and demonstrating that labour must be organised.

The generation of people who are now at the age of fifty cannot expect to see a communist society. This generation will be gone before then. But the generation of those who are now fifteen will see a communist society, and will itself build this society. This generation should

know that the entire purpose of their lives is to build a communist society. In the old society, each family worked separately and labour was not organised by anybody except the landowners and capitalists, who oppressed the masses of the people. We must organise all labour, no matter how toilsome or messy it may be, in such a way that every worker and peasant will be able to say: I am part of the great army of free labour, and shall be able to build up my life without the landowners and capitalists, able to help establish a communist system. The Young Communist League should teach all young people to engage in conscious and disciplined labour from an early age. In this way we can be confident that the problems now confronting us will be solved. We must assume that no less than ten years will be required for the electrification of the country, so that our impoverished land may profit from the latest achievements of technology. And so, the generation of those who are now fifteen years old, and will be living in a communist society in ten or twenty years' time, should tackle all its educational tasks in such a way that every day, in every village and city, the young people shall engage in the practical solution of some problem of labour in common, even though the smallest or the simplest. The success of communist construction will be assured when this is done in every village, as communist emulation develops, and the youth prove that they can unite their labour. Only by regarding your every step from the standpoint of the success of that construction, and only by asking ourselves whether we have done all we can to be united and politically-conscious working people will the Young Communist League succeed in uniting its half a million members into a single army of labour and win universal respect. (*Stormy applause.*)

Pravda Nos. 221, 222 and 223,
October 5, 6 and 7, 1920

Collected Works, Vol. 31

ON POLYTECHNICAL EDUCATION

NOTES ON THESES BY NADEZHDA KONSTANTINOVNA[106]

(Private. Rough draft. *Not to be made public.* I will think this over once again.)

That is *not* the way to write about polytechnical education: it sounds abstract, for the remote future; current, present-day, deplorable reality *is not taken into account.*

It is necessary

1) to add one or two theses about the importance of polytechnical education *in principle*

{ *according to Marx* }
{ *according to our R.C.P. programme* }

2) to say clearly that on no account can we renounce the principle and the putting into effect immediately, *so far as is possible*, of education specifically on polytechnical lines.

17th thesis *out.*

On secondary education (12-17) to say:

The Republic's extremely difficult economic situation requires at the present time, unquestionably and immediately,

the fusion* of secondary schools and technical schools,

transformation* of secondary schools into technical schools, but at the same time, *to avoid transformation into trade schools*, the following exact rules should be laid down:

1) Early specialisation to be avoided; an instruction to be worked out on this.

2) *General educational* subjects to be enlarged in *all* technical schools.

* (Correction: fuse not the whole secondary school, but from 13-14 years, as *indicated* and *decided* by *educationalists.*)

Annual programmes to be drawn up:

(If there are no such programmes yet, Lunacharsky to be hanged) } Communism; History in general; " of revolutions; " of the 1917 revolution; Geography; Literature; etc. }.

3) A *binding* task to be the *immediate* transition to *polytechnical* education or, more accurately, immediate realisation of a number of *steps to polytechnical education*, feasible at present, such as:

Jointly with Goelro

a) visit to a power station, the nearest one, and a number of lectures with experiments there; *a number of practical jobs*, any that are possible with electricity; work out at once detailed programmes (for 1 visit; for a course of 5, 10 lectures; of 1, 2 months, etc.);

b) the same to *every decently* organised *state farm*;

c) the same to *every decently* organised *works*;

Jointly with Goelro

d) mobilisation (for lectures on electricity and polytechnical education, taking charge of the practical work, excursions, etc.) of *all* engineers, agronomists, all graduates from university physics and mathematics faculties;

e) organisation of small museums on polytechnical education, mobile exhibitions on trains, steamers, etc.

This is of supreme importance. We are beggars. We need joiners, fitters *immediately. Unquestionably. All* must become joiners, fitters, etc., *but* with such-and-such an addition of general educational and polytechnical minimum knowledge.

The task of the secondary school (more accurately: of the upper classes of the secondary school, 12-17 age group) is to turn out

a *joiner*,
a *carpenter*,
a *turner*, and so forth,

who knows his job thoroughly, who is fully capable of becoming a skilled man and has been trained for this in

practice, *but with this addition, however*, that this "craftsman"

should have a *broad general education* (should have a minimum *grounding* in such-and-such sciences: which exactly to be indicated);

should be a Communist (indicate exactly *what* he should know);

should have a polytechnical outlook and the foundations (beginnings) of polytechnical education,

namely:

(aa) *fundamental* conceptions of electricity (define precisely which),

(bb) the application of electricity to the *engineering* industry,

(cc) ditto the *chemical* industry,

(dd) basic idea of the plan for electrification of the R.S.F.S.R.,

(ee) a visit to a power station, a works, a state farm *not less than 1-3 times*,

(ff) *such-and-such* foundations of agricultural science, etc. *The minimum of knowledge* to be worked out *in detail*.

(Grinko has evidently overdone it to the point of stupidity, *rejecting* polytechnical education [maybe, partly, O. Y. Schmidt too[107]]. *This to be corrected*.)

Collected Works, Vol. 36

Written in the latter half of 1920

First published in 1929 in *Na Putyakh k Novoi Shkole* No. 2

INSTRUCTIONS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO COMMUNISTS WORKING IN THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR EDUCATION

1. Unreservedly adhering to the position defined by the Programme of the R.C.P. in regard to polytechnical education (see, in particular, §§ 1 and 8 of the section dealing with education), the Party must regard the lowering of the age for general and polytechnical education from seventeen to fifteen as only a practical expedient necessitated by the country's poverty and ruin caused by the wars imposed upon us by the Entente.

Vocational training for persons of fifteen years of age and upwards "in conjunction with ... general polytechnical education" (§ 8 mentioned above) is absolutely compulsory all over the country, wherever there is the slightest opportunity to introduce it.

2. The main failing of the People's Commissariat for Education is its lack of practical efficiency, inadequate attention to the recording and verification of practical experience, lack of systematic application of its lessons, and prevalence of general arguments and abstract slogans. The People's Commissar and the Collegium must concentrate on combating these defects.

3. The enlistment of specialists, i.e., of teachers with theoretical and long practical experience, and of persons having such experience in technical (including agronomic) vocational training for work at the centre, is improperly

practice, *but with this addition, however*, that this "craftsman"

should have a *broad general education* (should have a minimum *grounding* in such-and-such sciences: which exactly to be indicated);

should be a Communist (indicate exactly *what* he should know);

should have a polytechnical outlook and the foundations (beginnings) of polytechnical education,

namely:

(aa) *fundamental* conceptions of electricity (define precisely which),

(bb) the application of electricity to the *engineering* industry,

(cc) ditto the *chemical* industry,

(dd) basic idea of the plan for electrification of the R.S.F.S.R.,

(ee) a visit to a power station, a works, a state farm *not less than 1-3 times*,

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organised in the People's Commissariat for Education in general, and in Glavprofobr,* in particular.

The registration of such workers, the study of their experience, the verification of the results of their work, and their systematic enlistment for responsible posts in local, and specially central, work must be organised immediately. Not a single serious measure should be carried out without canvassing the opinion of these specialists and obtaining their continued co-operation.

It goes without saying that the enlistment of specialists must be carried out under these two indispensable conditions: first, specialists who are not Communists must work under the control of Communists; secondly, Communists alone must determine the content of the curricula, in so far as this concerns general educational subjects, and particularly philosophy, the social sciences and communist education.

4. Curricula for the main types of educational establishments and for courses, lectures, readings, colloquia and practice periods must be drawn up and endorsed by the Collegium and the People's Commissar.

5. The Standard Labour School Department, and, in particular, Glavprofobr, must devote greater attention to the wider and more systematic enlistment of all suitable technical and agronomic forces for the promotion of technical vocational and polytechnical education and to the utilisation for that purpose of every tolerably well-organised industrial and agricultural enterprise (state farm, agricultural experimental station, well-organised farm, etc., electric power stations, etc.).

To avoid disruption of normal operations, the forms and the order in which economic enterprises and establishments are to be used for polytechnical education are to be determined by agreement with the economic agencies concerned.

6. Clear, concise and practical forms of reporting must be devised to make it possible to estimate the scale and verify the results of the work. The organisation of this work in the People's Commissariat for Education is highly unsatisfactory.

7. The distribution of newspapers, pamphlets, magazines and books to libraries and reading-rooms in schools and elsewhere is also highly unsatisfactory. The result is that newspapers and books reach only a small section of Soviet office workers and extremely few factory workers and peasants. This whole system must be reorganised from top to bottom.

Pravda No. 25,
February 5, 1921

Collected Works, Vol. 32

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* The Chief Administration for Vocational Training under the People's Commissariat for Education.—*Tr.*

FROM *THE WORK OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT FOR EDUCATION*

Pravda No. 25 of February 5 carried "*Instructions* of the Central Committee of the R.C.P. to Communists Working in the People's Commissariat for Education (in connection with the reorganisation of the Commissariat)".

Unfortunately, there are three misprints in Point 1 distorting the meaning: the text said "political" instead of "polytechnical" education.

I should like to draw our comrades' attention to these instructions and to call for an exchange of opinion on some of the more important points.

A five-day Party Conference on educational questions was held in December 1920. It was attended by 134 delegates with voice and vote, and 29 with voice. A report of its proceedings is given in a *Supplement to the Bulletin of the Eighth Congress of Soviets on the Party Conference on Education* (published by the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, January 10, 1921). The resolutions of the conference, the report of the proceedings, all the articles published in the above-mentioned *Supplement*—except for the introductory article by Comrade Lunacharsky and the article by Comrade Grinko—reveal a wrong approach to polytechnical education. They suffer from the very defect on combating which the Central Committee in its Instructions urges the People's Commissar and the Collegium to concentrate their attention, namely: too many general arguments and abstract slogans.

The question of polytechnical education has in the main been settled by our Party Programme in its paragraphs

1 and 8 of the section dealing with the people's education. It is these paragraphs that are dealt with in the Central Committee's Instructions. Paragraph 1 deals with *polytechnical education* up to the age of seventeen; and Paragraph 8 speaks of "the extensive development of vocational training for persons of the age of seventeen and upwards *in conjunction with general polytechnical education*".

Thus, the Party Programme puts the question squarely. The arguments about "*polytechnical or monotechnical* education" (the words I have put in quotes and italics, monstrously absurd though they are, are the very words that we find on page 4 of the *Supplement*) are fundamentally wrong and downright impermissible for a Communist; they betray ignorance of the Programme and an idle inclination for abstract slogans. While we are *temporarily* compelled to lower the age (for passing from general polytechnical education to polytechnical vocational training) from seventeen to fifteen, the "*Party must regard*" this lowering of the age "as only" (point 1 of the Central Committee's Instructions) a practical expedient necessitated by the "*country's poverty and ruin*".

February 7, 1921

Pravda No. 28,
February 9, 1921
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Collected Works, Vol. 32

TO N. A. SEMASHKO

October 24, 1921

Comrade Semashko,

After signing today the decision of the Narrow Council of People's Commissars on the 2,000 millions (I think that is the figure? I don't remember it exactly) for cleaning up Moscow, and after reading the "Regulations" of the People's Commissariat of Health for the week of housing sanitation (*Izvestia* of *July 12*), I have come to the conclusion that my suspicions (about the complete inadequacy of the organisation of the whole business) are increasing.

The thousand millions will be taken, stolen and pilfered but the job won't be done.

We must secure model (or at least, as a beginning, *tolerable*) cleanliness in Moscow, for one cannot even imagine a greater scandal than "Soviet" dirt in the "first" Soviet houses. What then is to be expected in houses which are *not* first?

Please send me the most brief but precise, business-like, factual report on what has been achieved by the week of sanitation, and where? Is there any gubernia where something has been done without muddle?

Further. What is being done (and what has been done?) in Moscow? Who answers for this work? Is it only "officials" with a pompous Soviet title, who don't understand a thing, who don't know the business and only sign papers? Or are there *business-like* people in charge? Who in particular?

The most important thing is to secure personal responsibility.

What has been done to secure personal responsibility?

Checking is done by whom?

By inspectors? How many are there? Who are they?

By youth detachments (Young Communist League)? Do such exist? How many? Where and how have they given examples of their work?

What other methods for *real* checking are there?

Is money being spent on buying valuable articles (carbolic? cleaning equipment? how much has been bought?) or is it being spent on maintaining new "official" loafers?

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)
Chairman, Council of People's Commissars

First published
January 22, 1927
in *Izvestia* No. 18

Collected Works, Vol. 35

INSTRUCTIONS BY THE NINTH ALL-RUSSIA CONGRESS OF SOVIETS ON QUESTIONS OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES DECEMBER 28, 1921

The Ninth All-Russia Congress of Soviets, having examined the reports of the People's Commissariats on their economic activities during the year under review, supplements and summarises the decisions of the Congress of Soviets on individual economic questions with the following guiding points, which must be strictly adhered to by all Soviet bodies at the centre and in the localities.

1. The Congress of Soviets orders that the main and immediate task of all the economic bodies must be to effect, speedily and at all costs, stable practical improvements in supplying the peasantry with large quantities of the goods that are needed to raise the level of agriculture and improve the living conditions of the working peasantry.

2. This being the main object, it must be kept in mind by all industrial administrative bodies, allowing of course no relaxation in the supply of the Red Army with everything it needs, a task which must remain primary in order to maintain the Soviet Republic's defence potential.

3. The improvement of the conditions of the workers should also depend on the achievement of this object, which means that it is the duty of all workers' organisations (primarily the trade unions) to see to it that industry is so organised as to be able speedily and fully to satisfy the requirements of the peasantry; wage increases and improvement in the conditions of industrial workers should be directly determined by the degree to which success is achieved in this field.

4. This object must also be pursued by the People's Commissariat of Finance; and the Ninth Congress of Soviets instructs it to make every effort to secure the speediest reduction of the issue of paper money, eventually put a stop to it and establish a sound currency backed by gold. The substitution of taxes for the issue of paper money must be pursued undeviatingly without any red tape.

5. The same object must be given priority by all bodies and organisations engaged in home and foreign trade, i.e., the Central Council of Co-operative Societies, the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade, etc. The Congress of Soviets will judge—and instructs the leading bodies of the Soviet government to judge—the success of these organisations only by the rapid and practical results they achieve in developing exchange between agriculture and industry. In particular, the congress instructs the various organisations to use private enterprises more widely for supplying raw materials, transporting these materials and for promoting trade in every way, while the function of state bodies is to control and direct this exchange, and sternly punish all deadening red tape and bureaucracy.

6. The Ninth Congress of Soviets calls upon all organisations and departments engaged in economic activities to devote infinitely more attention and energy than hitherto to the task of enlisting the services of all capable non-Party workers and peasants in this field of state activity.

The congress declares that in this respect we are a long way behind requirements, that not enough method and perseverance are being displayed in this matter, that it is absolutely and urgently necessary to recruit business and government officials from a wider circle than hitherto; and, in particular, that every success achieved in rebuilding industry and agriculture should be more regularly encouraged by awards of the Order of the Red Banner of Labour, as well as by cash bonuses.

The Congress of Soviets draws the attention of all economic bodies and all mass organisations of a non-governmental, class character to the fact that it is absolutely essential still more perseveringly to enlist the services of specialists in economic organisation, to employ scientists

and technicians, and men who by their practical activities have acquired experience and knowledge of trade, of organising large enterprises, of supervising business transactions, etc. The improvement of the material position of specialists and the training under their direction of a large number of workers and peasants must receive unflagging attention from the central and local government bodies of the R.S.F.S.R.

7. The Ninth Congress of Soviets calls upon the People's Commissariat of Justice to display far more energy than hitherto in two matters:

first, that the people's courts of the Republic should keep close watch over the activities of private traders and manufacturers, and, while prohibiting the slightest restriction of their activities, should sternly punish the slightest attempt on their part to evade rigid compliance with the laws of the Republic. The people's courts should encourage the masses of workers and peasants to take an independent, speedy and practical part in ensuring enforcement of the laws;

second, that the people's courts should take more vigorous action against bureaucracy, red tape and mismanagement. Trials of such cases should be held not only for the purpose of increasing responsibility for the evil which it is so difficult to combat under present circumstances, but also for the purpose of focussing the attention of the masses of workers and peasants on this extremely important matter, and of securing a practical object, viz., greater success in the economic field.

The Ninth Congress is of the opinion that the task of the People's Commissariat of Education in this new period is to train, in the shortest possible period, specialists in all fields from among the peasants and workers; and it orders that school and extra-mural education should be more closely connected with the current economic tasks of the Republic as a whole, as well as of the given region and locality. In particular, the Ninth Congress of Soviets declares that far from enough has been done to fulfil the decision of the Eighth Congress of Soviets on the popularisation of the plan for the electrification of Russia, and requires that every electric power station mobilise all competent forces and arrange regular talks, lectures and practical studies to

acquaint the workers and peasants with the importance of electricity and with the plan for electrification. In those uyezds where no power stations yet exist, at least small power stations should be built as speedily as possible and used as local centres for propaganda, education and the encouragement of every initiative in this field.

Written on December 25, 1921

Collected Works, Vol. 33

Published in *Izvestia VTsIK*
No. 295,
December 30, 1921

PREFACE TO I. I. STEPANOV'S BOOK *THE ELECTRIFICATION OF THE R.S.F.S.R. AND THE TRANSITIONAL PHASE OF WORLD ECONOMY*

I heartily recommend this book by Comrade Stepanov to all Communists.

The author has succeeded in giving a very able exposition of exceedingly difficult and important problems. He did very well in not writing a book for intellectuals (as is the practice among many of us who copy the worst manners of bourgeois writers), but for the working people, for the masses, for rank-and-file workers and peasants. To his book the author has appended a list of references for supplementary reading for the benefit of those who may find it difficult to understand some parts of it without further explanation, as well as for the benefit of those who would like to consult the principal works on this subject published in Russia and abroad. Special reference must be made to the beginning of Chapter VI, where the author splendidly outlines the significance of the new economic policy, and magnificently answers the "airy" scepticism that is displayed in some quarters about the possibility of electrification. This scepticism is usually a cloak to conceal the absence of serious thought on the subject (that is, if it is not a cloak to conceal whiteguard, Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik hostility to all Soviet construction, which, in fact, is sometimes the case).

What we lack most for genuine (and not idle-bureaucratic) popular education is precisely "school manuals" (for absolutely all schools) like this one. If all our Marxist writers sat down to write such manuals, or textbooks, on all social questions without exception, instead of wasting

their efforts on newspaper and magazine political fireworks, which everybody is sick and tired of, we should not have the present disgraceful situation where, nearly five years after the proletariat captured political power, the young people in the *proletariat*'s state schools and universities are taught (or rather, corrupted) by the old bourgeois scientists using the old bourgeois junk.

The Eighth Congress of Soviets decreed that instruction on the Plan for Electrification should be compulsory in all educational establishments in the R.S.F.S.R.[108] without exception. This decree, like many others, has remained a dead letter because of our (Bolsheviks') lack of culture. Now that Comrade Stepanov's "manual for schools" has been published we must see to it—and we shall see to it! —that every uyezd library (and later every volost library) obtains several copies of it and that every electric power station in Russia (there are over 800 of them) not only has copies of this book but that it must also arrange popular lectures on electricity, on the electrification of the R.S.F.S.R. and on engineering in general. We must see to it that every village school-teacher reads and assimilates this manual (to help him in this a circle or group of engineers and teachers of physics should be organised in every uyezd), and not only reads, understands and assimilates it himself but is able to relate what is in it in a plain and intelligible way to his pupils, and to young peasants in general.

It will require no little effort to do this. We are poor and uneducated. But that does not matter so long as our people realise that they must learn, and so long as they are willing to learn; so long as the workers and peasants clearly understand that they must now learn not to "benefit" and produce profits for the landowners and capitalists, but to improve *their own* conditions of life.

This knowledge and desire exist. And so we definitely shall start learning, and shall certainly learn something.

N. Lenin

March 18, 1922

Pravda No. 64,
March 21, 1922

Collected Works, Vol. 33

TO THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF RUSSIA[109]

Dear Friends,

I regret very much that I am unable to greet you in person. I wish your Fifth Congress every success in its work. I am convinced that the youth will make such good progress that when the next stage of the world revolution approaches they will be fully capable of coping with their tasks.

With cordial communist greetings,

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

October 11, 1922

Published in *Pravda*
No. 230,
October 12, 1922

Collected Works, Vol. 33

LETTER TO V. N. MAXIMOVSKY

October 27, 1922

Comrade Maximovsky,

You probably know of yesterday's decision of the Central Committee.[110] In this connection it will evidently be necessary also to reconsider other items of the estimates of the People's Commissariat of Education, so as to co-ordinate them as a whole, make good possible omissions, etc.

Since you are in charge of the administrative and financial activities of the Commissariat, I request you to set about revising the estimates of the Commissariat immediately and to try to cut out all that is unnecessary (part of the allocations for the Central Commission for the Improvement of the Living Conditions of Scientists under the Council of People's Commissars, colleges, many upper echelons, etc.) in order to increase allocations for schools and the elimination of illiteracy. Ring me up or drop me a few lines on this matter.

Yours,
Lenin

Collected Works, Fifth
Russian edition, Vol. 54

TO THE EDUCATIONAL WORKERS' CONGRESS[111]

Thank you for your greetings, comrades. I wish you success in grappling with the great and responsible task before you of training the rising generation for the work of building up our new society.

Lenin

Written November 26, 1922

Published in *Rabotnik Prosveshcheniya* No. 10, December 1922

Collected Works, Vol. 33

TO THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, MOSCOW[112]

December 4, 1922

Dear Comrades,

I regret that I cannot greet you in person. I send you my best wishes for success in your work. I hope that notwithstanding your lofty title you will not forget the main thing, namely, that it is necessary to promote in a practical manner the training and education of young people.

With best communist greetings,

V. Ulyanov (Lenin)

Pravda No. 275, December 5, 1922

Collected Works, Vol. 33

CONCERNING THE DECISION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE C.C., R.C.P.(B.) ON THE REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF STATE SUPPLIES[113]

Grain requirements for schools (both teachers and pupils) should be met in full and comrades Kamenev, Tsyurupa and Yakovleva should be directed to calculate the amount of grain to be set aside for the purpose, including a minimum, specifically verified amount, for office employees.

Allocations for schools are to be increased by 1,000,000 gold rubles.

Lenin

Written December 6 or 7, 1922

First published in 1959
in *Lenin Miscellany XXXVI*

Collected Works, Fifth
Russian edition, Vol. 45

PAGES FROM A DIARY

The recent publication of the report on literacy among the population of Russia, based on the census of 1920 (*Literacy in Russia*, issued by the Central Statistical Board, Public Education Section, Moscow, 1922), is a very important event.

Below I quote a table from this report on the state of literacy among the population of Russia in 1897 and 1920.

	Literates per thousand males		Literates per thousand females		Literates per thousand population	
	1897	1920	1897	1920	1897	1920
1. European Russia . .	326	422	136	255	229	330
2. North Caucasus . .	241	357	56	215	150	281
3. Siberia (Western) .	170	307	46	134	108	218
Overall average	318	409	131	244	223	319

At a time when we hold forth on proletarian culture and the relation in which it stands to bourgeois culture, facts and figures reveal that we are in a very bad way even as far as bourgeois culture is concerned. As might have been expected, it appears that we are still a very long way from attaining universal literacy, and that even compared with tsarist times (1897) our progress has been far too slow. This should serve as a stern warning and reproach to those who have been soaring in the empyreal

heights of "proletarian culture". It shows what a vast amount of urgent spade-work we still have to do to reach the standard of an ordinary West-European civilised country. It also shows what a vast amount of work we have to do today to achieve, on the basis of our proletarian gains, anything like a real cultural standard.

We must not confine ourselves to this incontrovertible but too theoretical proposition. The very next time we revise our quarterly budget we must take this matter up in a practical way as well. In the first place, of course, we shall have to cut down the expenditure of government departments other than the People's Commissariat of Education, and the sums thus released should be assigned for the latter's needs. In a year like the present, when we are relatively well supplied, we must not be chary in increasing the bread ration for school-teachers.

Generally speaking, it cannot be said that the work now being done in public education is too narrow. Quite a lot is being done to get the old teachers out of their rut, to attract them to the new problems, to rouse their interest in new methods of education, and in such problems as religion.

But we are not doing the main thing. We are not doing anything—or doing far from enough—to raise the school-teacher to the level that is absolutely essential if we want any culture at all, proletarian or even bourgeois. We must bear in mind the semi-Asiatic ignorance from which we have not yet extricated ourselves, and from which we cannot extricate ourselves without strenuous effort—although we have every opportunity to do so, because nowhere are the masses of the people so interested in real culture as they are in our country; nowhere are the problems of this culture tackled so thoroughly and consistently as they are in our country; in no other country is state power in the hands of the working class which, in its mass, is fully aware of the deficiencies, I shall not say of its culture, but of its literacy; nowhere is the working class so ready to make, and nowhere is it actually making, such sacrifices to improve its position in this respect as in our country.

Too little, far too little, is still being done by us to adjust our state budget to satisfy, as a first measure, the require-

ments of elementary public education. Even in our People's Commissariat of Education we all too often find disgracefully inflated staffs in some state publishing establishment, which is contrary to the concept that the state's first concern should not be publishing houses but that there should be people to read, that the number of people able to read is greater, so that book publishing should have a wider political field in future Russia. Owing to the old (and bad) habit, we are still devoting much more time and effort to technical questions, such as the question of book publishing, than to the general political question of literacy among the people.

If we take the Central Vocational Education Board, we are sure that there, too, we shall find far too much that is superfluous and inflated by departmental interests, much that is ill-adjusted to the requirements of broad public education. Far from everything that we find in the Central Vocational Education Board can be justified by the legitimate desire first of all to improve and give a practical slant to the education of our young factory workers. If we examine the staff of the Central Vocational Education Board carefully we shall find very much that is inflated and is in that respect fictitious and should be done away with. There is still very much in the proletarian and peasant state that can and must be economised for the purpose of promoting literacy among the people; this can be done by closing institutions which are playthings of a semi-aristocratic type, or institutions we can still do without and will be able to do without, and shall have to do without, for a long time to come, considering the state of literacy among the people as revealed by the statistics.

Our school-teacher should be raised to a standard he has never achieved, and cannot achieve, in bourgeois society. This is a truism and requires no proof. We must strive for this state of affairs by working steadily, methodically and persistently to raise the teacher to a higher cultural level, to train him thoroughly for his really high calling and—mainly, mainly and mainly—to improve his position materially.

We must systematically step up our efforts to organise the school-teachers so as to transform them from the bulwark of the bourgeois system that they still are in all

capitalist countries without exception, into the bulwark of the Soviet system, in order, through their agency, to divert the peasantry from alliance with the bourgeoisie and to bring them into alliance with the proletariat.

I want briefly to emphasise the special importance in this respect of regular visits to the villages; such visits, it is true, are already being practised and should be regularly promoted. We should not stint money—which we all too often waste on the machinery of state that is almost entirely a product of the past historical epoch—on measures like these visits to the villages.

For the speech I was to have delivered at the Congress of Soviets in December 1922 I collected data on the patronage undertaken by urban workers over villagers. Part of these data was obtained for me by Comrade Khodorovsky, and since I have been unable to deal with this problem and give it publicity through the congress, I submit the matter to the comrades for discussion now.

Here we have a fundamental political question—the relations between town and country—which is of decisive importance for the whole of our revolution. While the bourgeois state methodically concentrates all its efforts on doping the urban workers, adapting all the literature published at state expense and at the expense of the tsarist and bourgeois parties for this purpose, we can and must utilise our political power to make the urban worker an effective vehicle of communist ideas among the rural proletariat.

I said "communist", but I hasten to make a reservation for fear of causing a misunderstanding, or of being taken too literary. Under no circumstances must this be understood to mean that we should immediately propagate purely and strictly communist ideas in the countryside. As long as our countryside lacks the material basis for communism, it will be, I should say, harmful, in fact, I should say, fatal, for communism to do so.

That is a fact. We must start by establishing contacts between town and country without the preconceived aim of implanting communism in the rural districts. It is an aim which cannot be achieved at the present time. It is inopportune, and to set an aim like that at the present time would be harmful, instead of useful, to the cause.

But it is our duty to establish contacts between the

urban workers and the rural working people, to establish between them a form of comradeship which can easily be created. This is one of the fundamental tasks of the working class which holds power. To achieve this we must form a number of associations (Party, trade union and private) of factory workers, which would devote themselves regularly to assisting the villages in their cultural development.

Is it possible to "attach" all the urban groups to all the village groups, so that every working-class group may take advantage regularly of every opportunity, of every occasion to serve the cultural needs of the village group it is "attached" to? Or will it be possible to find other forms of contact? I here confine myself solely to formulating the question in order to draw the comrades' attention to it, to point out the available experience of Western Siberia (to which Comrade Khodorovsky drew my attention) and to present this gigantic, historic cultural task in all its magnitude.

We are doing almost nothing for the rural districts outside our official budget or outside official channels. True, in our country the nature of the cultural relations between town and village is automatically and inevitably changing. Under capitalism the town introduced political, economic, moral, physical, etc., corruption into the countryside. In our case, towns are automatically beginning to introduce the very opposite of this into the countryside. But, I repeat, all this is going on automatically, spontaneously, and can be improved (and later increased a hundredfold) by doing it consciously, methodically and systematically.

We shall begin to advance (and shall then surely advance a hundred times more quickly) only after we have studied the question, after we have formed all sorts of workers' organisations—doing everything to prevent them from becoming bureaucratic—to take up the matter, discuss it and get things done.

January 2, 1923

Pravda No. 2,
January 4, 1923
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Collected Works, Vol. 33

NOTES

[1] *The Holy Synod*—the highest administrative body of the Russian orthodox church. It also supervised the ecclesiastical educational establishments, the divinity teaching in schools, etc. It was headed by a civic Procurator-General. p. 15

[2] *Sunday schools*—schools for adults in pre-revolutionary Russia which worked on Sundays and which aimed to educate the illiterate and semi-literate adult people. Their organisers and teachers came from among progressive intellectuals who did this work free of charge. Revolutionary Social-Democrats used these schools for the political education of the workers. p. 15

[3] Lenin refers to representatives of the revolutionary democratic movement in Russia in the 1860s. p. 15

[4] Lenin prepared this draft speech for a Bolshevik deputy to the Duma; the speech was delivered on June 4 (17), 1913 by A. E. Badayev during the debate on the Budget Committee's report on estimates of the Ministry of Education for 1913. The greater part of Lenin's draft was read almost word for word by Badayev, but he did not finish the speech. When he read the sentence "Does not this government deserve to be driven out by the people?" he was deprived of the right to speak. p. 20

[5] This refers to the period after the first Russian revolution of 1905-07. p. 20

[6] *The State Duma*—a representative assembly which the tsar was compelled to convene under the pressure of the revolutionary events of 1905. Formally it was a legislative body but in fact did not have any real power. Elections to the Duma were indirect, unequal and not universal. The electoral rights of the working classes and the non-Russian nationalities were heavily restricted, and the majority of the workers and peasants had no rights at all.

Under the electoral law of December 11 (24), 1905, one landowner's vote was equal to three votes of the urban bourgeoisie, fifteen votes of the peasants and forty-five votes of the workers. The First Duma (April-July 1906) and the Second Duma (February-June 1907) were dissolved by the tsarist government. After the coup d'état of June 3, 1907, the government promulgated a new electoral law, which further restricted the electoral rights of the workers, peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie and

ensured the complete domination of the reactionary bloc of landowners and big capitalists in the Third (1907-12) and Fourth (1912-17) Dumas. p. 21

[7] *The Council of State*—one of the supreme state organs in tsarist Russia. It was set up in 1810 and was vested with legislative and consultative powers. Its members were appointed and approved by the tsar. This reactionary state organ vetoed even moderate laws passed by the Duma. p. 22

[8] *Nationalists* were members of the party of feudal landowners which championed the traditions of serfdom and the persecution of the non-Russians in its programme.

Octobrists—members of the party Union of October 17 which was formed after the promulgation by the tsar of the manifesto of October 17, 1905. It was a reactionary party defending the interests of the big bourgeoisie and landowners engaged in capitalist farming. The Octobrists fully supported the home and foreign policy of the tsarist government. p. 22

[9] *The Black Hundreds*—monarchist gangs raised by the tsarist police to fight the revolutionary movement. The Black Hundreds murdered revolutionaries, harassed progressive intellectuals and organised anti-Jewish pogroms. p. 24

[10] Lenin refers to agents of the *Okhranka* (Department for the Maintenance of Public Security and Order) which was instituted in 1881 at the Police Department as an instrument of political surveillance and fighting the revolutionary movement. p. 24

[11] On June 3 (16), 1907, the tsar issued a manifesto which dissolved the Second Duma and introduced changes in the electoral law. The new law provided for an increased representation of landowners and commercial and industrial bourgeoisie and drastically cut down the meagre representation of peasants and workers. The June 3 coup marked the onset of reaction. p. 25

[12] *Gubernia*—an administrative and territorial unit in tsarist Russia which was divided into uyezds and volosts.

Zemstvo—a local self-government body, dominated by the nobility, set up in the central gubernias of Russia in 1864. Their competence was restricted to purely local economic affairs (the building of hospitals and roads, statistics, insurance, etc.). Their activities were supervised by the governors and the Minister of Internal Affairs who vetoed all decisions that were not to the liking of the government. p. 25

[13] *Prosveshcheniye* (*Education*)—a monthly legal theoretical magazine published by the Bolsheviks in St. Petersburg from December 1911 to June 1914. Lenin directed the journal first from Paris and later from Cracow and Poronin, edited the articles and corresponded with the editors. Several of Lenin's articles were published in the journal.

The issue No. 2, February 1913, carried Demyan Bedny's fable *A Candle* for which the magazine was confiscated and its editor arrested.

The magazine was closed down by the tsarist government on the eve of the First World War. Its publication was resumed in the autumn of 1917 but only one (double) issue appeared. p. 27

[14] This refers to the XIIth Pirogov Doctors' Congress which met in St. Petersburg between May 29 (June 11), and June 5 (18), 1913. Some 1,500 delegates attended. p. 31

[15] *Neomalthusianism*—a variety of the reactionary man-hating doctrine of the English bourgeois economist and clergyman R. Malthus (1766-1834), who championed capitalism and attributed all its social evils to natural causes thereby diverting the masses from the struggle against the capitalist system. Malthus maintained that it was not capitalism and exploitation that caused the impoverishment of the masses but the growth of the population which exceeded the growth of the production of the means of subsistence. According to Malthus, it was possible to remove all social evils only by checking the growth of population, by refraining from marriage and practising birth control.

In Russia the ideas of Malthusianism were spread by P. Struve, M. Tugan-Baranovsky, S. Bulgakov and others who ascribed the poverty and ruin of the peasants to overpopulation.

Malthusianism with its justification of wars and epidemics as a means of reducing the number of the population is a stock-in-trade of the modern ideologists of imperialism which serves to justify the reactionary policy of colonialism and wars. p. 31

[16] *Russkoye Slovo* (Russian Word)—a bourgeois newspaper published in Moscow between 1895 and 1917. p. 31

[17] *Leipziger Volkszeitung* (Leipzig People's Paper)—a German Social-Democratic daily newspaper published from 1894 to 1933. p. 38

[18] *Great Russians*—the official designation of the Russians in tsarist Russia in opposition to the Ukrainians who were scornfully referred to as Small Russians. p. 43

[19] This refers to the enrolment quota, introduced by the tsarist government in 1887, which was specifically designed to restrict the number of Jews in secondary and higher schools. The Jewish working masses suffered most from this restriction, being practically denied education. p. 43

[20] *Bundists*—members of the Bund or the General Jewish Workers' Union of Lithuania, Poland and Russia. It was formed in 1897 and united mainly semi-proletarian elements of the Jewish artisans in the Western regions of Russia. The Bund was the vehicle of nationalism and separatism in the working-class movement in Russia. In contrast to the Bolsheviks' programme demand of the right of nations to self-determination it put forward the demand of cultural-national autonomy. p. 46

[21] See footnote on p. 26 of the present edition. p. 47

[22] *The Paris Commune*—a revolutionary workers' government set up by the proletarian revolution in Paris, the world's first government of proletarian dictatorship. It was in power for 72 days, from March 18 to May 28, 1871. p. 53

[23] Lenin refers to the Provisional Regulations on the Military Service of the Students of Higher Educational Establishments Who Are Expelled from the Said Establishments for Rioting which were introduced on July 29 (August 10), 1899.

The term of service lasted from one to three years.

The students of all higher educational establishments in Russia demanded the repeal of the regulations. p. 63

[24] These words belong to Colonel Skalozub, a character in Griboyedov's play *Wit Works Woe*. p. 64

[25] Lenin refers to the corporal punishment in the army of feudal Russia. The victim, his hands tied to a rifle, "ran the gauntlet" passing between rows of soldiers who struck him with sticks or green rods (spitzruten in German). The punishment was widely used especially under Nicholas I (1825-55). p. 65

[26] Allusion to the vow of the Carthaginian general, Hannibal, who swore to continue his fight against Rome until his dying day. p. 66

[27] The demonstration on December 6 (18), 1876, was organised by the workers and students in protest against the arbitrariness of the tsarist government. G. V. Plekhanov, who took part in the demonstration, delivered a fiery revolutionary speech. The demonstration was dispersed and many of its participants were arrested and sentenced to exile and penal servitude. p. 69

[28] The slogan "Land and Freedom" was advanced by the illegal organisation of the same name, which was founded by the Russian revolutionary Narodniks in 1876.

The members of the organisation regarded the peasants as the main revolutionary force and tried to organise their revolt against tsarism. They conducted revolutionary propaganda in Tambov, Voronezh and other gubernias of Russia. They were in contact with some workers' circles but did not and could not head the working-class movement, since they denied that the working class could play a leading role. They also failed to appreciate the importance of political struggle.

In 1879, as a result of the failure of socialist agitation among the peasants and the mounting reprisals of the government, a group of its members came out in favour of terrorism as the main weapon in the struggle against tsarism. At its congress in Voronezh held in the same year the organisation split into Narodnaya Volya (The People's Will) and Chyorny Peredel (General Redistribution). p. 69

[29] The reference is to the "Provisional Regulations Concerning Students' Organisations at the Higher Educational Establishments under the Jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education" which were approved by the Minister of Education Vannovsky on December 22, 1901 (January 4, 1902). The students protested against the regulations which put them under constant administrative control and

refused to comply with them. The regulations aroused discontent even among liberal professors, since they charged them with the function of police surveillance over the students. p. 69

30 Cossacks made up special regiments in Russia which enjoyed certain privileges and were used in the struggle against revolutionary movement. p. 71

31 The reference is to the heroic fight of the workers of the Obukhov factory in St. Petersburg against the police and troops on May 7, 1901. It was sparked off by a protest strike against the discharge of 26 participants in the May Day rally. The strikers demanded the introduction of an eight-hour working day, and a holiday on May 1, the reinstatement of the discharged workers, higher wages, etc. The police and the troops sent to disperse the workers were hailed with stones. The resistance of the workers was broken only after reinforcements came in. Many workers were killed and wounded, 800 workers were arrested and 29 of them were sentenced to penal servitude. In reply to this massacre strikes of protest were called at a number of factories in St. Petersburg.

The Obukhov defence was an important milestone in the history of the working-class movement in Russia. p. 72

32 *Nicholas Obmanov*—a character in Amfiteatrov's feuilleton *The Obmanovs* published in the newspaper *Rossiya* on January 13 (26), 1902. The article was a veiled satire of the last Romanovs—Nicholas I, Alexander II, Alexander III and his wife Maria Fyodorovna, and the reigning tsar Nicholas II. The article led to the closure of the newspaper and the author's exile in Minusinsk in Siberia. The illegal editions and manuscripts of the article were widely circulated in Russia. p. 74

33 Lenin quotes Lev Tolstoi's article "Concerning Starvation". p. 78

34 The note is an editorial afterword to the proclamation "To Secondary School Students" which was issued by a South-Russian Secondary School Students' Group. The afterword was written by Lenin on a copy of the proclamation which had been sent to the *Iskra* editorial board. Besides the afterword Lenin also wrote the introductory words to the title "the following proclamation recently published in the South is addressed". In this form the proclamation was published in *Iskra* No. 29, December 1, 1902.

The South-Russian Secondary School Students' Group was formed in May 1902 in Rostov-on-Don. In August 1902 the group held its first congress, which adopted the above proclamation. The proclamation defined the tasks of the group as consisting in revolutionary and cultural work among students and the distribution of illegal literature. The Central Committee of the group called on all students to support the undertakings of the group, so that on leaving schools they could rally behind "the proudly flying Red banners of Russian Social-Democracy". The group was directed by the Don Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. It received and distributed Social-Democratic literature, including the newspapers *Iskra* and *Zarya*, and the works of Marx, Engels, Plekhanov and others. In the period between October 1902 and June 1903 the Central Committee published and circulated some 4,000 copies of leaflets. The group maintained permanent links with pupils in eleven towns of Southern Russia. In 1904 the Central Committee dissolved the group and announced the affiliation of all its branches to the R.S.D.L.P. p. 80

35 The reference is to the Organising Committee for the Convening of the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. which was set up at a conference in Pskov between November 2 and 3 (15 and 16), 1902. p. 81

36 The Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. first met in Brussels and then in London from July 17 to August 10, 1903. p. 81

37 *Narodism*—a petty-bourgeois trend in the Russian revolutionary movement in the 1860s and 1870s. The Narodniks aimed at abolishing the autocracy and transferring the landed estates to the peasants. They denied the inevitability of capitalist development in Russia and therefore regarded the peasantry as the main revolutionary force and not the proletariat. They saw in the village commune an embryo of socialism. They went to the villages, to the "people" in order to rally support for the struggle against tsarism, but did not meet with any response.

In the 1880s and 1890s the Narodniks pursued a policy of reconciliation with tsarism, championed the interests of the wealthy peasants and vehemently opposed Marxism. p. 82

38 *Osvobozhdeniye* (Emancipation)—a fortnightly journal published abroad from June 18 (July 1), 1902 to October 5 (18), 1905, under the editorship of P. B. Struve. It spoke for the Russian liberal bourgeoisie and consistently spread the ideas of moderately monarchist liberalism. In 1903 the *Osvobozhdeniye* League was formed around the journal, finally taking shape in January 1904. The League existed until October 1905, when it came to form the nucleus of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, the main party of the Russian bourgeoisie. p. 82

39 *Socialist-Revolutionaries*—members of the petty-bourgeois party in Russia, which came into being at the end of 1901 and the beginning of 1902 as a result of a merger of various Narodnik groups and circles. The Socialist-Revolutionaries failed to appreciate the class distinctions between the proletariat and the petty proprietors, glossed over the class differentiation and contradictions among the peasantry and denied the leading role of the proletariat in the revolution.

The Bolshevik Party exposed the attempts of the Socialist-Revolutionaries to pose as socialists, consistently fought to wrest the peasants from under their influence and laid bare the harm caused to the working-class movement by their tactics of individual terror. But at the same time the Bolsheviks concluded temporary agreements with them under certain conditions for the common struggle against tsarism.

After the February 1917 bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia the Socialist-Revolutionaries together with the Mensheviks

and Cadets were the main bulwark of the bourgeois Provisional Government and their leaders Kerensky, Avksentyev and Chernov were its members. The Socialist-Revolutionary Party did not support the peasants' demand for the abolition of landed estates and defended their preservation. The Socialist-Revolutionary ministers of the Provisional Government sent punitive squads against the peasants seizing landed estates.

At the end of November 1917 the Left wing of the party formed an independent party. With a view to maintaining their influence over the peasant masses, the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries formally recognised Soviet power and entered into an agreement with the Bolsheviks. But shortly afterwards they came out openly against Soviet power. p. 82

[40] *Economism*—an opportunist trend in the Russian Social-Democratic movement at the turn of the century, a variety of international opportunism. The Economists saw the tasks of the working class as confined to the economic struggle for higher wages, better working conditions, etc., maintaining that the political struggle was the concern of the liberal bourgeoisie and denying the leading role of the workers' party. The Economists made a fetish of the spontaneity of the working-class movement, belittled the importance of revolutionary theory, denied the need for the Marxist Party to introduce socialist ideology into the working-class movement and thereby paved the way for opportunist bourgeois ideology. The Economists favoured the disunity and primitivism in the Social-Democratic movement and opposed the creation of a centralised party of the working class. p. 82

[41] Lenin wrote this article on the request of the editorial board of the newspaper *Student*. It was published in issue No. 2-3 of the newspaper in September 1903 in the column "Free Forum". The article has a subtitle "First Letter". But Lenin evidently failed to write other letters.

The article was published as a reprint from the newspaper *Student* and as a mimeograph edition (without the postscript) under the title "To the Students. The Tasks of the Revolutionary Youth (Social-Democracy and the Intelligentsia)". The students of Moscow University put out a lithographed edition of the article. The pamphlet was widely circulated in Russia. According to the incomplete data of the Police Department for 1904-05, copies of the pamphlet were found during arrests and house searches in Ekaterinoslav, Nizhni-Novgorod, Kazan, Odessa, Smolensk and in Minsk Gubernia. p. 85

[42] *Student*—a newspaper published by revolutionary students. Altogether two issues appeared, No. 1 and No. 2-3. The publication was started in Russia, but all the copies of the first issue were confiscated at the printing shop. It was reprinted in April 1903 in Geneva and the next double issue was printed in Zurich.

The editorial statement referred to by Lenin, said: "While not siding with one or other Russian opposition party, the editorial board finds it expedient to devote its pages to a calm discussion of the theoretical and practical problems of the revolutionary struggle by representatives of even the most extreme trends in Russian revolutionary thought with an eye to elaborating among students a definite, integral, political and socialist world outlook as an essential powerful factor of their ideological unification." p. 85

[43] *Iskra*—the first all-Russia illegal Marxist newspaper, founded by Lenin in 1900. It played a decisive role in establishing a revolutionary Marxist Party of the working class in Russia.

The first issue dated December 1900 appeared in Leipzig, the subsequent numbers were published in Munich, London (from July 1902) and Geneva (from the spring of 1903).

Iskra devoted special attention to the questions of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and all working people in Russia against tsarism, as well as to major international developments, mainly the questions of the international working-class movement. Lenin was in fact editor and leader of the newspaper, wrote articles on the fundamental problems of party organisation and the class struggle of the proletariat in Russia.

Iskra became the rallying centre of party forces, the centre for mustering and training of the party cadres.

On Lenin's initiative and with his direct participation the *Iskra* editorial board worked out a draft programme of the Party and prepared the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. In a special decision the congress noted the outstanding role of *Iskra* in building up the Party and declared it as the central organ of the R.S.D.L.P.

Shortly after the Second Congress the Mensheviks, supported by Plekhanov, assumed control of the newspaper and beginning with issue No. 52 it ceased to be the organ of revolutionary Marxism. The Mensheviks turned it into an instrument of the struggle against Marxism and the Party and into a mouthpiece of opportunism. Publication was ceased in October 1905. p. 85

[44] *Raznochintsy* (i.e., "men of different estates")—educated representatives of non-aristocratic Russian society, who came from families of the clergy, civil servants, middle bourgeoisie, merchants and peasants. p. 89

[45] *Revolutsionnaya Rossiya* (Revolutionary Russia)—an illegal Socialist-Revolutionary newspaper, published in Russia from the end of 1900 by the League of Socialist-Revolutionaries. From January 1902 until December 1905 it appeared in Geneva as the official organ of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party. p. 90

[46] The reference is to the appeal of the first Marxist organisation in Moscow, the Workers' Union, which it addressed to students on November 3 (15), 1896. p. 92

[47] The reference is to the revolution in France and Germany in 1848. p. 96

[48] *Vossische Zeitung*—a German moderately liberal newspaper published in Berlin from 1704 to 1934. p. 100

[49] Lenin wrote this article in reply to a letter from one of the leaders of the student movement in 1908. The student movement was directed against the reactionary policy pursued by the Minister of Education Schwartz who set out to crush university autonomy and annul all the liberties won by the students in 1905.

The movement was led by the joint students' councils in which Social-Democrat students played an important role. But quite often the councils ignored the mood of the students and tried to clamp down on their demands. Thus, the general student meeting at the St. Petersburg University on September 13, 1908, passed a resolution which urged the students to protest against the government policy in regard to the higher school and proposed to call an all-Russia strike (extracts from the resolution and Lenin's article were published in the same issue of *Proletary*). However the St. Petersburg Joint Council quashed the resolution and instead addressed an appeal "To Society and Students" in which it spoke only of the need to defend "education and culture".

In Moscow a group of Social-Democrat students took up a misguided stand against the strike, insisting that it should have a pronounced political character. Lenin devoted a large part of his article to a criticism of this wrong stand. p. 103

[50] *The Constitutional-Democratic Party*—the leading party of the liberal monarchist bourgeoisie in Russia. It was founded in October 1905 and included representatives of the bourgeoisie, landowners and bourgeois intellectuals. To deceive the masses it called itself "a party of the people's freedom", but actually its demands did not go beyond those of a constitutional monarchy. In fact it wanted to share power with the tsar and feudal landowners. During the February 1917 bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia the party tried to save the monarchy. Occupying key posts in the Provisional Government, the Cadets pursued an anti-popular counter-revolutionary policy. After the October Socialist Revolution the Cadets bitterly opposed Soviet power and took part in all armed counter-revolutionary actions and campaigns of the interventionists. After the defeat of the interventionists and white-guards they went into emigration and continued their anti-Soviet counter-revolutionary activity. p. 106

[51] The reference is to the decision of the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. published in "From the Party" column of *Proletary* No. 36 on October 3 (16), 1908. The Committee called on Social-Democrat student groups publicly to dissociate themselves from the appeal of the Joint Students' Council and bring the student movement in line with the tasks of Social-Democracy in the nation-wide struggle against tsarism. p. 107

[52] See Note 38. p. 108

[53] *Pravda* (The Truth)—a daily legal Bolshevik newspaper published in St. Petersburg from April 22 (May 5), 1912. It was published with money collected by workers. Its circulation reached 40,000 and sometimes as much as 60,000.

The newspaper was under Lenin's ideological guidance. He wrote articles for it almost every day and gave advice to the editorial board. A large section of the Party's organisational work was conducted in the *Pravda* offices. Here meetings were held with representatives of local Party cells and material was collected about Party activities at factories. From here the directives of the St. Petersburg Committee and the Central Committee of the Party were issued.

Pravda was constantly persecuted by the police. It was closed down by the tsarist government eight times but it continued to appear under different titles. In those difficult conditions, in the course of just over two years, the Bolsheviks put out 636 issues of *Pravda*. On July 8 (21), 1914, the newspaper was closed down. Publication was resumed only after the February 1917 bourgeois-democratic revolution. p. 110

[54] *Zaprosi Zhizni* (The Requirements of Life)—a weekly journal, published in 1909-12 in St. Petersburg. Among its contributors were Cadets, Popular Socialists and Menshevik liquidators. p. 110

[55] *Liquidationism*—the extreme Right, opportunist Menshevik trend which came to ascendancy in the R.S.D.L.P. in the period of reaction which set in after the defeat of the revolution of 1905-07. The liquidationists insisted on abolishing the illegal revolutionary party of the proletariat and replacing it with an opportunist party functioning legally under tsarism. Lenin and the Bolsheviks under his leadership never ceased to expose their betrayal of the revolution. The Prague Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. held in January 1912 expelled the liquidators from the Party. p. 111

[56] This refers to the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. which met in London from April 12 to 27 (April 25-May 10), 1905. p. 117

[57] *Posledniye Izvestia* (The Latest News)—a bulletin of the Bund's *Foreign Committee* published in London and Geneva in 1901-06, expressing bourgeois-nationalist views. p. 117

[58] *Vperyod* (Forward)—an illegal weekly Bolshevik newspaper published in Geneva from December 22, 1904 (January 4, 1905) to May 5 (18), 1905. Eighteen issues appeared altogether. Lenin was the organiser, inspirer and direct leader of the newspaper.

Vperyod published more than sixty articles and other items by Lenin. p. 117

[59] *Mensheviks*—representatives of the petty-bourgeois opportunist trend in Russian Social-Democracy, vehicles of the bourgeois influence among the workers. They were called Mensheviks after the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. held in August 1903, following the elections of the Party's central organs, when they found themselves in a minority (*menshinstvo* in Russian) and the revolutionary Social-Democrats with Lenin at their head gained a majority (*bolshinstvo* in Russian). At the time of the revolution of 1905-07 the Mensheviks opposed the proletariat's hegemony in the revolution and the alliance of the working class and peasantry. They championed co-operation with the liberal bourgeoisie and its hegemony in the revolution.

During the reaction which set in after the defeat of the revo-

lution in 1907-10, they preached liquidationism, aiming at abolishing the illegal revolutionary party of the proletariat.

After the February 1917 bourgeois-democratic revolution which led to the establishment of dual power in Russia—the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie through the bourgeois Provisional Government and the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry through the Soviets—the Mensheviks together with the Socialist-Revolutionaries entered the Provisional Government where they supported its imperialist policy and fought against the mounting tide of proletarian revolution. In the Soviets they also supported the Provisional Government and tried to divert the masses from the revolutionary movement.

After the October Socialist Revolution the Menshevik party became openly counter-revolutionary. It organised conspiracies and revolts to overthrow Soviet power. p. 118

[60] The reference is to the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democracy Abroad, which was founded on Lenin's initiative in October 1901. The League set itself the task of spreading the ideas of revolutionary Social-Democracy and promoting the establishment of a militant Social-Democratic organisation. Its Rules proclaimed it a foreign branch of the *Iskra* organisation. It recruited supporters for *Iskra* among Russian Social-Democrats abroad, supported the newspaper financially, organised its transportation into Russia and published popular Marxist literature. The Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. endorsed the League as the sole organisation of the Party abroad, enjoying the rights of a Party committee under the existing rules and placed it under the guidance and control of the R.S.D.L.P. Central Committee.

After the Second Congress the Mensheviks gained the upper hand in the League and began their fight against Lenin and the Bolsheviks. At the second congress of the League held in October 1903 the Mensheviks put through new rules that conflicted with the Rules of the Party adopted at its Second Congress. From then on the League became the Menshevik stronghold which was in existence until 1905. p. 118

[61] The reference is to the Menshevik *Iskra* (see Note 43). p. 119

[62] *Oblomov*—a character in the novel of the same title by the Russian author I. A. Goncharov. The name of Oblomov became a synonym of indolence and inertness. p. 123

[63] The reference is to the political strike in Moscow which began on September 19 (October 2), 1905. The printers were the first to go on strike and they were joined by other trades. Huge meetings and demonstrations were held and armed clashes took place between the strikers and the police and troops. Students also joined in the strike.

The Moscow Committee of the Bolsheviks which led the strike called on the workers to fight against tsarism and to start an armed uprising.

The political strike in Moscow marked the beginning of a new upsurge of the revolutionary movement in Russia. p. 131

[64] *Novoye Vremya* (New Times)—a daily newspaper published in St. Petersburg between 1868 and 1917 under a variety of publishers, more than once changing its political orientation. It was at first moderately liberal, but, from 1876 onwards, after A. S. Suvorin became its editor, it became the mouthpiece of the reactionary aristocracy and bureaucratic circles. From 1905 it was an organ of the Black Hundreds. Lenin called it a specimen of venal press. p. 133

[65] *Moskovskiye Vedomosti* (Moscow Recorder)—a newspaper published from 1756, at first as a small newssheet, by Moscow University. In 1863 it passed into the hands of M. N. Katkov and became a monarchist and nationalist organ speaking for the most reactionary landowners and clergy. From 1905 it was one of the main organs of the Black Hundreds. It appeared until the October Socialist Revolution. p. 134

[66] This refers to an item published in the newspaper *Rus* No. 218 of September 13 (26), 1905, under the title "In the Press and in Society". p. 134

[67] *Proletary*—an illegal Bolshevik newspaper, published from August 21 (September 3), 1906 to November 28 (December 11), 1909, under the editorship of Lenin. Altogether 50 issues appeared.

The newspaper was actually the central organ of the Bolsheviks, the main editorial work being done by Lenin. Most of the numbers carried several of Lenin's articles. All in all, over 100 articles and other items by Lenin on the major questions of the revolutionary working-class movement were published in it. In the years of reaction which set in after the defeat of the revolution of 1905-07, *Proletary* played a prominent part in preserving and strengthening the Bolshevik organisations. p. 134

[68] On January 9, 1905, more than 140,000 workers of St. Petersburg carrying gonfalons and icons, marched to the Winter Palace to present a petition to the tsar. The march was organised by the priest Gapon in connection with the strike of the St. Petersburg workers, which had begun at the Putilov Works on January 3 (16), 1905 and turned into a general strike by January 7 (20). The Bolsheviks warned that the tsar would organise a massacre of the workers and their warnings came true. On the order from the tsar the troops met the unarmed workers, their wives and children with bullets, sabres and cossack whips. More than 1,000 were killed and almost 5,000 wounded. January 9, which became known as the Bloody Sunday, marked the beginning of the revolution of 1905. p. 140

[69] The reference is to the mutiny on the battleship *Potemkin* which began on June 14 (27), 1905. The crew brought the warship into Odessa, where a general strike was in progress, but the favourable opportunities for joint action by the Odessa workers and the sailors were missed. The Bolshevik organisation in Odessa was weakened by numerous arrests and it lacked unity. The Mensheviks opposed the idea of an armed uprising and persuaded the workers and sailors not to take the offensive. The tsarist government directed

the entire Black Sea Fleet to put down the mutiny, but the sailors refused to open fire on the battleship in revolt and the commanders had to take the squadron back. After eleven days of roaming the sea the crew of the *Potemkin* ran short of coal and food supplies and had to sail to Rumania and surrender to the Rumanian authorities. Most of the sailors stayed abroad and those who came back were arrested and put on trial.

Though the revolt ended in failure, the fact that the crew of one of the biggest warships joined the revolution signified a big advance in the struggle against tsarism. Lenin wrote that the uprising was "an attempt to form the nucleus of a revolutionary army" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 8, p. 562). p. 140

[70] No. 19 of *Proletary* of October 3 (September 20), 1905, carried "An Open Letter to Comrades Abroad" from the Social-Democrats of Kazan, Simbirsk and Nizhni-Novgorod gubernias. The letter described the difficult conditions of the underground work in Russia and the shortage of Party forces and called on young men and women to stay and work in Russia. The letter was published with the following editorial note: "We publish this letter of the 'comrades from the backwoods' in order to give expression to their feelings on and views of the Party work in the columns of the central organ. Though we do not share the authors' strongly worded opinion that foreign 'schooling' is useless, we still believe that it is essential to keep reminding our comrades abroad and the Party as a whole of the Russian backwoods." It had never been found out to whom the pseudonym "Revolutionary" belonged. p. 141

[71] This refers to a group of Economists who published the newspaper *Rabochaya Mysl* (Workers' Thought). The newspaper appeared from October 1897 to December 1902 and was edited by Takhtaryov and others.

Akimovites—the supporters of V. P. Akimov (Makhnovets), a representative of Economism and extreme opportunist. p. 144

[72] The opportunist idea of summoning a "labour congress" and establishing a "broad workers' party" was put forward by Axelrod at the time of the first Russian revolution and supported by other prominent Mensheviks. It was suggested to call a "labour congress" of representatives from various workers' organisations to found a legal workers' party which was supposed to include the Social-Democrats, Socialist-Revolutionaries and anarchists. This would mean abolishing the R.S.D.L.P. and replacing it by a non-party organisation. The Bolsheviks firmly repudiated the idea of "a broad workers' party". p. 146

[73] *The Polish Socialist Party*—a reformist nationalist party founded in 1892.

The Byelorussian Socialist Hromada—a nationalist organisation formed in 1902 and originally called "The Byelorussian Revolutionary Hromada". It championed the interests of the Byelorussian bourgeoisie, landowners and kulaks, renounced the revolutionary class struggle and attempted to isolate the Byelorussian people from the revolutionary working class of Russia, but did not succeed. Its national programme included the demand for "cultural-national autonomy". p. 146

[74] *Popular Socialists*—members of the petty-bourgeois party which split from the Right wing of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party in 1906. They came out in favour of partial nationalisation of the land which was to be bought from the landowners and distributed among the peasants according to the so-called labour quota; they advocated forming a bloc with the Cadets. After the bourgeois-democratic revolution of February 1917 they merged with the Trudoviks and actively supported the policy of the bourgeois Provisional Government in which they held several posts. After the October Socialist Revolution they took part in counter-revolutionary plots and armed attacks against Soviet power. The party ceased to exist during the foreign military intervention and civil war.

Maximalists—members of a petty-bourgeois semi-anarchist terroristic group which split from the Socialist-Revolutionary party in 1904. They ignored the bourgeois-democratic stage of the revolution, opposed the use of parliamentary forms of struggle and believed that capitalism could be overthrown by means of individual terror and expropriations. After the October Socialist Revolution the party split, some of its members resorted to open struggle against Soviet power and others recognised the programme of the Bolsheviks and joined the R.C.P.(B.) in April 1920. p. 147

[75] *Trudoviks*—a group of petty-bourgeois democrats, formed in April 1906 to include the peasant deputies to the First Duma.

The Trudoviks demanded the abolition of all social-estate and national restrictions, democratisation of the Zemstvos and municipal self-government, universal suffrage in the elections to the Duma. Their agrarian programme was based on the Narodnik principle of equalitarian land tenure and provided for the establishment of a national land fund. The private landowners were to be compensated for the confiscated land.

In the Duma the Trudoviks vacillated between the Social-Democrats and the Cadets, which was due to the class nature of petty peasant proprietors. But since they did represent the peasant masses, the Bolsheviks pursued the tactics of co-operation with them in the Duma on some questions for the common struggle against tsarism and the Cadets. In 1917 the Trudovik group actively supported the bourgeois Provisional Government. After the October Socialist Revolution they sided with the bourgeois counter-revolutionaries. p. 147

[76] Lenin refers to the resolution on a "labour congress" passed early in September 1906 by a meeting of workers from different districts of St. Petersburg which was called by the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. The second clause of the resolution pointed out that agitation in favour of the "labour congress" fosters both the interests of the petty-bourgeois sections who gloss over the difference between the proletariat and petty producers (the Trudovik group, Labour Popular Socialist Party, Socialist-Revolutionaries, etc.) and those of the avowed enemies of the proletariat" (*Proletary* No. 3, September 8, 1906). p. 148

[77] *Jacobins*—a political grouping of the French bourgeoisie at the time of the French bourgeois revolution in the late 18th century. They represented the Left wing of the French bourgeoisie and resolutely and consistently championed the need of abolishing absolutism and feudalism. p. 149

[78] The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart (the Seventh Congress of the Second International) was held between August 18 and 24, 1907. p. 150

[79] The League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class was founded by Lenin in the autumn of 1895. It united about twenty Marxist circles in St. Petersburg and was headed by the Central Group.

Five members of the group with Lenin at their head were the main leaders. The League was divided into district groups and advanced class-conscious workers such as Ivan Babushkin, Vasily Shelgunov and others maintained contacts between the groups and factories.

Lenin said that the League was the beginning of a revolutionary party that was based on the working class movement and that led the class struggle of the proletariat. p. 157

[80] Lenin refers to a pamphlet for women workers which Inessa Armand intended to write, but she never wrote it. p. 161

[81] Reference is to the Fabian Society, an extremely opportunist organisation founded by a group of bourgeois intellectuals in Britain in 1884. The Fabians diverted the workers from the class struggle and preached peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism by means of reforms. p. 166

[82] *The Labour Party* was founded in 1900 as a federation of trade unions and socialist organisations and groups for the purpose of getting workers' representatives into Parliament (Labour Representation Committee). In 1906 the Committee was called the Labour Party. The Labour Party is an opportunist organisation in its ideology and tactics. From the time of its formation its leaders have pursued the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie. During the World War I the Labour leaders took a social-chauvinist stand. They have been in office several times and invariably pursued an anti-popular home and foreign policy. p. 166

[83] *Grütli-Verein*—the Swiss bourgeois reformist organisation founded in 1838 as an educational association of artisans. p. 166

[84] At the end of 1916 and the beginning of 1917 Lenin studied the material on the state. Simultaneously he drew up the plan for an article on the attitude of Marxism towards the state. He intended to publish it in the fourth issue of *Sbornik Sotsial-Demokrata*, but the latter was not published due to lack of money. The article was not written. p. 169

[85] Lenin delivered the report in German on January 9 (22), 1917, at the Zurich People's House at a meeting of young Swiss workers. p. 170

[86] See Note 68. p. 170

[87] This refers to the armed uprising on December 14, 1825, organised by the Russian revolutionaries from among the nobility who fought against serfdom and the autocracy. p. 176

[88] The Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 ended in the defeat of tsarism. On August 23 (September 5), 1905, a peace treaty was signed in Portsmouth (U.S.A.) between Russia and Japan. The tsarist government surrendered its lease of Port Arthur and Dalny, ceded to Japan the South Manchurian railway and the southern part of Sakhalin. Japan's sphere of predominant influence in Korea was recognised. Furthermore, Russia was to grant Japan fishing concessions off the Russian coast in the sea of Japan and Okhotsk and the Behring sea. Signing the peace treaty the tsarist government hoped to free its hands for the struggle against the growing revolution in the country. p. 177

[89] On August 6 (19), 1905, the tsar's manifesto was published along with the law constituting the State Duma and regulations concerning the elections to the Duma. The Bulygin Duma derived its name from the Minister of the Interior A. G. Bulygin whom the tsar had instructed to draw up its draft. Under the draft the Duma did not have the right to pass any laws and could only participate in the discussion of certain questions as an advisory body to the tsar. The Bolsheviks called on the workers and peasants to actively boycott the Duma and carried out their agitation campaign under the slogans of an armed uprising, a revolutionary army and a provisional revolutionary government. The Bolsheviks used the boycott of the Bulygin Duma as a means of mobilising all revolutionary forces, holding a series of mass political strikes and preparing an armed uprising. Elections to the Duma did not take place and the government did not succeed in convening it. p. 180

[90] Lenin wrote the five "Letters from Afar" in Switzerland at the end of March and the beginning of April 1917 for the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda* the publication of which was resumed in Petrograd after the revolution in February 1917.

The first letter appeared in *Pravda* Nos. 14 and 15 on March 21 and 22, 1917, with big cuts and amendments. The other four letters were published in 1924. p. 188

[91] *Frankfurter Zeitung*—a German bourgeois newspaper, published in Frankfurt-am-Main from 1856 to 1943. p. 188

[92] *The Times*—a leading conservative newspaper of the English bourgeoisie published in London since 1785. p. 189

[93] *Le Temps*—a daily conservative newspaper published in Paris from 1861 to 1942. It expressed the interests of the French ruling circles and was actually the official organ of the French foreign ministry. p. 189

[94] *War Industries Committees* were set up in Russia in May 1915 by the big imperialist bourgeoisie for assisting the tsarist government in conducting the war. In an effort to bring the workers under

their influence and spread defencist moods among them the bourgeoisie decided to organise "workers' groups" in the committees and thus demonstrate that "class peace" has been established between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The Bolsheviks successfully boycotted the committees and in this they were supported by majority of the workers. p. 190

95 *Sotsial-Demokrat*—an illegal newspaper, central organ of the R.S.D.L.P., published from February 1908 to January 1917. The first issue prepared for print by the Bolsheviks and partially printed at a private printing shop in Vilno was confiscated by the secret police. Another attempt was soon made to start the publication of the newspaper in St. Petersburg and again the bulk of the copies fell into the hands of the police. Subsequently its publication was transferred abroad.

In keeping with the decision adopted by the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. elected at the Fifth (London) Congress the editorial board was made up of representatives of the Bolsheviks, Mensheviks and Polish Social-Democrats. The actual organiser of the newspaper was Lenin, whose articles occupied the central place in its columns. More than 80 of Lenin's articles and other items were published in the newspaper. The circulation of *Sotsial-Demokrat* in Russia and the reprinting of its most important articles in local Bolshevik newspapers promoted the political education and internationalist training of the Russian proletariat and helped to prepare the masses for the revolution.

Commenting on the role of *Sotsial-Demokrat* during the First World War, Lenin wrote afterwards that "no class-conscious worker who wishes to *understand* the development of the ideas of the international socialist revolution and its first victory on October 25, 1917, can manage without an acquaintance with these articles" (*Collected Works*, Vol. 27, p. 221). p. 193

96 See *The State and Revolution* by Lenin. p. 193

97 *Vendée*—a department in Western France, the scene of a counter-revolutionary revolt of the backward peasant section of the population directed against the republic at the time of the French bourgeois revolution of the late 18th century. The revolt was led by Catholic clergymen, nobility and royalist émigrés and was supported by Britain.

Vendée became a synonym of reactionary conspiracies and of hotbeds of counter-revolution. p. 202

98 The congress met in Moscow from August 26 until September 4, 1918. Its delegates represented departments of public education, teachers and educational and cultural workers. Lenin was elected honorary chairman and invited to attend the congress. Lenin addressed the congress on the third day of the proceedings. p. 209

99 These amendments proposed by Lenin were incorporated into the final version of the programme of the R.C.P.(B.) which was adopted by the Eighth Congress of the Party on March 22, 1919. p. 213

100 The congress was held in Moscow between April 15 and 21, 1919. The 200 delegates represented 8,000 members of the Communist

Students' Union. The congress decided to affiliate to the Young Communist League. In accordance with the regulations endorsed by the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) on May 11, 1919, the entire work among young workers, peasants and students was made the responsibility of the Russian Young Communist League. p. 214

101 *The Entente*—the bloc of imperialist powers (Great Britain, France and Russia) which took its final shape in 1907 and was directed against the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy), derived its name from the Anglo-French agreement of 1904 (Entente Cordiale). During the First World War the Entente was joined by the United States, Japan and other countries. After the Great October Socialist Revolution the main parties to the Entente Great Britain, France, the United States and Japan were the instigators, organisers and direct participants in the armed intervention against Soviet Russia. p. 216

102 *Subbotniks*—"This is the name given to the several hours' unpaid voluntary work done by city workers over and above the usual working day and devoted to some public need" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 202). The first communist subbotnik was organised by the workers of the Moscow-Kazan railway on May 10, 1919. p. 218

103 This letter of greetings was addressed to the youth of the Petrograd gubernia in connection with the Youth Week organised by the Petrograd Komsomol organisation. p. 220

104 The draft decree on proceedings against juvenile delinquents submitted by the People's Commissariat of Education was discussed at a sitting of the Council of People's Commissars and adopted with Lenin's amendments on March 4, 1920. p. 221

105 The congress met in Moscow between October 2 and 10, 1920, and was attended by 600 delegates. Lenin addressed the congress on the first day of the proceedings on the evening of October 2. p. 229

106 Lenin wrote his notes in connection with Krupskaya's theses "On Polytechnical Education" which she had drawn up for a report to the Party conference on education which was called by the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) immediately after the Eighth Congress of Soviets on December 31, 1920. The main task of the conference was to prepare the material on "the organisation of education in the Republic" for the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.). Lenin closely followed the work of the conference. Krupskaya was to deliver the report on polytechnical education but because of her ill health the report was called off. p. 246

107 G. F. Grinko, People's Commissar for Education in the Ukraine, advanced his own scheme of public education. He formulated two main points of the scheme as follows: 1) for children up to 15 "a unified system of social education is to be set up, with all its organisational forms (kindergartens, boarding houses, seven-year schools, etc.) built up *on the labour principle*" and 2) for children

of 15 years and older "a special training is to be initiated in a particular branch of production or organisational work (industrial, agricultural, industrial-economic, etc.)".

This scheme ran counter to the programme of the R.C.P.(B.) in the sphere of education: "1. The implementation of free, obligatory general and polytechnical education (acquaintance with all the main branches of production theoretically and in practice) for all children of both sexes up to the age of 17.... 8. Broad development of vocational training for persons at the age of 17 and older in connnection with polytechnical knowledge."

O. Y. Schmidt, who was Deputy Chairman of the Chief Department for Vocational Training, also spoke in favour of vocational and technical training of pupils "at an earlier age, that is, at 15 years and later". He argued that "the interests of production, the interests of economic construction imperatively demand a reduction of general educational schooling, which is purely scholastic, and the introduction of concrete, specific education at the earliest possible age". He tried to perpetuate as a principle the temporary measure called forth by the difficulties of the time and campaigned in the press not for a polytechnical, but monotechnical education, that is, training in a particular tradc. p. 248

108 Lenin refers to the resolution on electrification adopted by the Eighth All-Russia Congress of Soviets which met between December 22 and 29, 1920. p. 261

109 The Fifth Congress of the Young Communist League of Russia met in Moscow between October 11 and 17, 1922. p. 262

110 Lenin refers to the decision of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) of October 26, 1922, which cut down state subsidies to the Proletkult and academic theatres. p. 263

111 The congress met in Moscow between November 21 and 26, 1922. The congress elected Lenin its honorary chairman and sent a message of greetings to him. Lenin's letter was read at a session of the congress held on the morning of November 26, 1922. p. 264

112 The congress met in Moscow between December 4 and 16, 1922. It was attended by 121 delegates from 38 youth organisations in different countries. Lenin's letter of greetings was read on the opening day of the congress. The congress sent a reply to Lenin. p. 265

113 Lenin's proposal was incorporated in the decision of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) adopted on the report of the Commission of State Supplies on December 7, 1922. The Council of People's Commissars was instructed to allocate to the Commissariat of Education 2,000,000 gold rubles from the funds economised through the ship repair programme. p. 266

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After the October Socialist Revolution he occupied a number of responsible posts; repeatedly opposed the Party's Leninist policy and led the Right opposition in the Party from 1928. In 1929 he was discharged from the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and in 1937 he was expelled from the Party for his anti-Party activity—168, 169

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