
NOTES

- ¹ *Credo* (symbol of faith, world outlook)—title of a document published in 1899 and expounding the main propositions of Economism, an opportunist trend which arose at the end of the last century among a section of the Russian Social-Democrats. The Economists claimed that the political struggle against tsarism should be waged mainly by the liberal bourgeoisie and that the workers should confine themselves to economic struggle for better working conditions, higher wages, etc. The Economists opposed the establishment of an independent working-class political party and denied the importance of revolutionary theory for the labour movement. In his book *What Is To Be Done?*, published in 1902, and in other works Lenin proved that the Economists' views were totally untenable and harmful. p. 5
- ² *Narodnaya Volya* (People's Will)—a secret revolutionary organisation founded in 1879. Its members resorted to individual terroristic methods in their struggle against tsarism, made attempts on the life of a number of tsarist officials and on March 1, 1881 assassinated Tsar Alexander II. They were wrong in thinking that a small group of revolutionaries could seize power and destroy the autocracy, without relying on the mass revolutionary movement. In the late 1880s the organisation ceased to exist. p. 6
- ³ *Bernsteinism*—an opportunist trend in the German and international socialist movement, initiated by Bernstein, a German Social-Democrat, whose main demand was revision and annulment of the basic principles of revolutionary Marxism on the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was essentially a demand that Social-Democrats should renounce the struggle for socialism and only strive for some reforms within the framework of capitalist society. p. 6
- ⁴ Lenin quotes the principal proposition of the General Rules of the International Working Men's Association, written by Karl Marx. (See Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 386.) p. 7

- ⁵ *Socialist-Revolutionaries* (S.R.s)—members of a petty-bourgeois democratic party that came into being in Russia at the end of 1901 and the beginning of 1902. In their fight against the autocracy, they used individual terrorist tactics, which did a great deal of harm to the revolutionary movement and hindered the organisation of the masses for a revolutionary struggle. When the 1905-07 revolution was defeated, the majority of the S.R.s. went over to the bourgeois liberals. After the February 1917 bourgeois-democratic revolution, the S.R. leaders entered the bourgeois Provisional Government, pursued a policy of suppressing the peasant movement and wholly supported the bourgeoisie and landowners in their fight against the working class, which was then preparing for a socialist revolution. After the victory of the October Socialist Revolution the S.R.s. took part in the armed struggle waged by the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and landowners against the Soviet people. p. 11
- ⁶ *Rabocheye Dyelo*-ists—Economists.
Rabocheye Dyelo—magazine published by the Economists.
New-Iskrists—Mensheviks.
Iskra (Spark)—first all-Russia Marxist revolutionary newspaper, founded by Lenin in 1900. In 1903, at the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., the Party split into the revolutionary (Bolshevik) and the opportunist (Menshevik) trends, and *Iskra* fell into the hands of the Mensheviks. It was then called *Novaya Iskra* (New *Iskra*), in contrast to the Leninist old *Iskra*. p. 14
- ⁷ The reference is to Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* p. 16
- ⁸ *The December uprising*—a Moscow workers' armed uprising against the autocracy in December 1905. For nine days, the workers, headed by the Moscow Social-Democrats—Bolsheviks—heroically fought at the barricades against tsarist troops. The government managed to suppress the uprising only when fresh troops arrived from St. Petersburg; the uprising was ruthlessly crushed: workers' districts were drowned in blood and thousands of workers in the city and its suburbs were killed. p. 28
- ⁹ *Fighting squads*—workers' armed detachments formed to fight tsarism in the big cities and industrial centres of Russia in the 1905 revolution. They participated in the December armed uprising in Moscow and other cities.
Moscow Joint Council of Volunteer Fighting Squads consisted of representatives of the volunteer squads formed by Social-Democrats, Socialist-Revolutionaries and members of other parties. p. 28
- ¹⁰ In October 1905 the Russian revolutionary proletariat staged a nation-wide political strike. All mills, factories and railways came to a standstill. The general strike testified to the great strength of the working class. On October 17, the tsar was forced to issue

a Manifesto promising a constitution and freedom of speech, assembly and the press. The tsar's promises turned out to be a fraud and were never fulfilled. p. 29

¹¹ See K. Marx, *Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*. (Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, p. 139.) p. 29

¹² Soldiers of the Semyonovsky Guards Regiment were sent from St. Petersburg to Moscow in December 1905, to suppress the workers' uprising. p. 29

¹³ Lenin refers to F. Engels's Introduction to K. Marx's *Class Struggles in France, 1848 to 1850*. When it was being prepared for publication in 1895, the German Social-Democrats distorted it and then interpreted it as renunciation of armed uprising and fighting at barricades. The full text of the Introduction, according to Engels's manuscript, was first published in the U.S.S.R. (See Marx and Engels, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, Moscow, 1962, pp. 118-38.) p. 34

¹⁴ In December 1905, some Lettish towns were seized by armed detachments of insurgent workers, farm hands and peasants, and the result was a guerrilla war against tsarist troops. It was suppressed by a tsarist punitive expedition in January 1906. p. 35

¹⁵ The reference is to the mutinies at the Sveaborg and Kronstadt fortresses in July 1906. p. 35

¹⁶ The reference is to the elections to the State Duma.

The State Duma—representative assembly the tsarist government forced to convene as a result of the 1905 revolution, nominally a legislative body, but without effective power. The elections to the Duma were neither direct, equal, nor universal. The working people's electoral rights, like those of the non-Russian nationalities inhabiting the country, were considerably restricted. Most of the workers and peasants were not entitled to vote at all. According to the electoral law of December 11 (24), 1905, one landowner vote was equal to three bourgeois votes, 15 peasant votes, and 45 workers' votes.

The First Duma (April-July 1906) and the Second Duma (February-June 1907) were dissolved by the tsarist government. After the June 3, 1907 coup the government passed a new electoral law which further curtailed the electoral rights of workers, peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie and gave the reactionary bloc of landowners and big capitalists in the Third (1907-12) and the Fourth (1912-17) Dumas full sway. p. 37

¹⁷ *The Black Hundreds*—monarchist gangs organised by the tsarist police to fight the revolutionary movement. They assassinated revolutionaries, attacked progressive intellectuals and organised Jewish pogroms. p. 37

¹⁸ *Cadets*—members of the Constitutional-Democratic Party of the Russian liberal bourgeoisie, set up in 1905. The Cadets wanted a constitutional monarchy in Russia. During the first Russian revolution of 1905-07, the Cadets called themselves “the people’s freedom party”, but actually betrayed the people’s interests by secretly negotiating with the tsarist government to strangle the revolution. The Cadets strove for power, and on the main points of home and foreign policy they supported tsarism.

During the imperialist war of 1914-17, the Cadet leaders, Milyukov among them, were the chief ideologists of the expansionist policy of the Russian imperialist bourgeoisie. After the February 1917 revolution, the Cadets entered the bourgeois Provisional Government and fought the workers’ and peasants’ revolutionary movement; they stood up for large landed estates. They tried to force the people to continue the imperialist war. After the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, the Cadets took part in the armed counter-revolutionary action against Soviet Russia. p. 38

¹⁹ *Peaceful Renovators*—members of the Party of Peaceful Renovation, a counter-revolutionary party of the bourgeoisie and landowners, set up in 1906. p. 38

²⁰ *Trudoviks, the Trudovik group*—a group in the State Duma, consisting mainly of peasants and other petty-bourgeois democrats. They demanded that all the land belonging to the landowners, state, monasteries and the tsar’s family should be transferred to the peasants, the estates and national inequality be abolished, and universal suffrage granted. The Trudoviks, however, often went back on the principles of consistent democratism and supported the leaders of the liberal bourgeoisie.

Popular Socialists—a party set up by the Right-wing Socialist-Revolutionaries in 1906, and expounding the views close to the Cadets.

Socialist-Revolutionaries—see Note 5. p. 40

²¹ Lenin is referring to the draft which the Cadets submitted to the Duma and which said that part of the land belonging to the landowners should be forcibly and for a “fair” price alienated in favour of the peasants; this “fair” redemption actually meant that the peasants would have to pay the landowners much more for the land than its worth.

A reform carried out in 1861 abolished serfdom in Russia. Simultaneously, the best lands were cut off from the peasants’ plots and transferred to the landowners. For the allotments they received the peasants had to make payments to the landowners well in excess of the actual worth. p. 41

²² *The Party of Peaceful Plunder*—Lenin is referring to the Party of Peaceful Renovation (see Note 19). This is a pun on the words “obnovleniye” (renovation) and “ogrableniye” (plunder). p. 41

²³ A reference to *liquidationism*—an opportunist trend widespread among Menshevik Social-Democrats after the defeat of the 1905-07 revolution.

The liquidators demanded the liquidation of the working-class underground revolutionary party and called upon the workers to cease revolutionary struggle against tsarism. They intended to convene a non-party "workers' congress" and to organise an opportunist "broad workers' party" renouncing revolutionary slogans and engaging only in legal activity permitted by the tsarist government. Lenin and other Bolsheviks persistently exposed the liquidators, who betrayed the cause of the revolution. The liquidators lost ground among the masses. The Prague Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. in January 1912 expelled the liquidators from the Party.

p. 44

²⁴ That is after the 1905-07 revolution.

p. 46

²⁵ On November 9 (22), 1906, Stolypin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, promulgated a land decree permitting the peasants to leave the communes and set up separate farms. The Stolypin land reform, completely impoverishing the village poor and benefitting the kulaks, was aimed at making the latter the bulwark of tsarism in the countryside.

p. 46

²⁶ That is prior to the all-Russia political strike in October 1905.

p. 48

²⁷ *Octobrists* or the *Union of October 17th*—a monarchist party of big capitalists founded in November 1905. The party's name expressed solidarity with the tsar's Manifesto of October 17, 1905, which promised constitutional liberties for Russia. The party pursued anti-popular activity and upheld the selfish interests of the big bourgeoisie and the landowners, who ran their farms on capitalist lines. The Octobrists gave full support to the tsar's reactionary home and foreign policies. After the victory of the October Socialist Revolution the Octobrists, together with the Cadets, and with the help of foreign imperialists, organised armed struggle against the Soviet people.

p. 49

²⁸ *Otzovists*, *otzovism*—an opportunist trend which spread within a small group of Bolsheviks after the defeat of the 1905-07 revolution. The otzovists demanded the recall of the Social-Democratic deputies from the Duma and cessation of work in legal organisations. In 1908, they formed a special group and started a campaign against Lenin. The otzovists insistently refused to work in the Duma, the trade unions, co-operative societies and other mass legal and semi-legal organisations. They strove to limit themselves to illegal work. Under the cover of "revolutionary" phrases, the otzovists hindered the Party's contacts with broad sections of the workers, alienated the Party from the masses, thereby weakening it. Lenin sharply criticised them and called them a "new type of liquidators", "inside out Mensheviks".

p. 53

- ²⁹ *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata* (Voice of a Social-Democrat)—newspaper of the Menshevik liquidators. p. 55
- ³⁰ *The Zemstvo campaign* took place from August 1904 to January 1905. At congresses, meetings, and banquets, Zemstvo officials delivered speeches and adopted resolutions with moderate constitutional demands.
On January 9, 1905, the St. Petersburg workers, accompanied by their wives and children, went to the Winter Palace to submit a petition to the tsar. The petition described the intolerable condition of the workers and their complete lack of rights. The tsar ordered his troops to open fire on the peaceful demonstration of unarmed workers. Workers all over Russia countered this brutal shooting-down with mass political strikes and demonstrations under the slogan, "Down with the autocracy!" The January 9 events sparked off the 1905-07 revolution. p. 55
- ³¹ That is for the period of the 1905-07 revolution. p. 62
- ³² *Exceptional Anti-Socialist Law* was introduced in Germany by the Bismarck Government in 1878, prohibiting the Social-Democratic Party, all mass workers' organisations and the workers' press. The best representatives of the German Social-Democrats rallied round August Bebel and Wilhelm Liebknecht and began intensive work underground. The Party's influence among the working masses grew. At the 1890 elections to the Reichstag, the Social-Democrats polled almost one and a half million votes. That same year, the government was compelled to repeal the Anti-Socialist Law. p. 65
- ³³ Writing articles for legal publications, i.e., those that were subject to the tsarist censorship, Lenin had to resort to "Aesopean language". Here, speaking about "parties devoid of proper organisation", Lenin had in mind petty-bourgeois parties which opposed party allegiance and had no clear-cut political platform. p. 70
- ³⁴ *Letts*—Social-Democrats of the Lettish territory, who adhered to liquidationism.
The Bund—the abbreviation for the General Jewish Workers' Union of Lithuania, Poland and Russia. It was organised in 1897 and united mainly Jewish artisans in the western regions of Russia. The Bund pursued an opportunist, Menshevik policy; after the defeat of the 1905-07 revolution it joined the liquidators. p. 75
- ³⁵ *Zhivoye Dyelo* (Living Cause)—a liquidators' newspaper published in St. Petersburg in 1912.
Initiating groups of Social-Democratic activists of the open workers' movement were set up by the liquidators in certain towns, in opposition to the illegal party organisations. The liquidators regarded them as cells of a new broad legal party which would adapt itself to the Stolypin regime. These groups were few, consisted of

intellectuals, and had no contacts with the working class. They opposed the strike struggle and revolutionary demonstrations by the workers, and campaigned against the Bolsheviks during elections to the Fourth Duma. p. 75

- ³⁶ *Organising Committee* was founded in January 1912 at the meeting of liquidators, representatives of the Bund, the Caucasian regional committee and the Social-Democracy of the Lettish territory, to convene a liquidators' conference. p. 75
- ³⁷ *Anti-liquidators*—revolutionary Social-Democrats, Bolsheviks, headed by Lenin.
Vperyod (Forward)—the name of the otzovists' group. p. 76
- ³⁸ The reference is to the Menshevik liquidators' newspaper *Pravda* published by Trotsky in Vienna from 1908 to 1912. p. 76
- ³⁹ The legal Bolshevik daily, *Pravda*, first appeared in St. Petersburg on April 22 (May 5), 1912. p. 76
- ⁴⁰ *Nasha Zarya* (Our Dawn)—a liquidators' magazine. p. 77
- ⁴¹ A reference to Socialist-Revolutionaries. p. 78
- ⁴² In April 1917, the Cadet Shingaryov, a Minister of the bourgeois Provisional Government, sent a telegram to the localities prohibiting peasants "to settle the land question independently" and proposing that it be settled by "voluntary agreement" between the landowners and the peasants. Shingaryov's policy was designed to promote the landowners' interests and to prevent the transfer of landowners' lands to the people. p. 79
- ⁴³ *The Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany* was founded in April 1917 by the German Centrists (see Note 50), who withdrew from the Social-Democratic Party. In 1920, the Independents split up and a considerable number of them joined the Communist Party of Germany. The Right-wing elements of the Independent Party rejoined the Social-Democratic Party in 1922. p. 83
- ⁴⁴ The reference is to the Bolshevik boycott of the so-called Bulygin Duma. In August 1905 in keeping with the draft drawn up by the commission headed by Bulygin, Minister of the Interior, the tsar announced the convocation of a consultative State Duma (without legislative powers). The Bolsheviks countered with an active boycott of the Duma—they called upon the workers to stay away from the elections and to fight the autocracy. The Bulygin Duma was never convened—it was smashed by the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants even before it assembled. p. 84

⁴⁵ On December 30, 1918, the First Congress of the Communist Party of Germany discussed the question of whether to take part in the elections to the National Assembly. Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg favoured participation and insisted on the need to use the parliamentary rostrum in popularising revolutionary slogans among the masses. The majority of the Congress, however, refused to participate in the elections to the National Assembly and adopted a resolution to that effect. p. 87

⁴⁶ In the period between the February 1917 revolution and 1919, Party membership changed as follows: by the Seventh All-Russia Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. (Bolsheviks) in April 1917, the Party had 80,000 members; by the Sixth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.(B.), in July-August 1917, their number was 240,000; by the Seventh Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) in March 1918—at least 270,000, and by the Eighth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) in March 1919—313,766 Party members. p. 91

⁴⁷ *Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.)*—a U.S. workers' organisation founded in 1905. Anarcho-syndicalist views, boiling down to the rejection of political struggle, were widespread among its leaders and members.

In 1914-18, the I.W.W. actively opposed the imperialist war and was subjected to brutal repressions. At that time, its membership was over 100,000. Pointing to the fact that it was a "profoundly proletarian mass movement", Lenin criticised the erroneous political line of the Left sectarian I.W.W. leaders, who refused to work among the masses in the reactionary trade unions, and opposed participation in bourgeois parliaments.

Later, the really revolutionary elements withdrew from the I.W.W., leaving it as a small sectarian organisation without influence among the workers' masses. p. 99

⁴⁸ On the Bolshevik use of boycott in 1905, see Note 44.

The Bolsheviks also used boycott tactics over the First Duma, convened in April 1906. Subsequently, Lenin admitted that the State Duma in 1906 should not have been boycotted, because the situation differed from that in 1905 and the revolution was at its ebb. "The Bolshevik boycott of 'parliament' in 1905," wrote Lenin, "enriched the revolutionary proletariat with highly valuable political experience and showed that, when legal and illegal, parliamentary and non-parliamentary forms of struggle are combined, it is sometimes useful and even essential to reject parliamentary forms. It would, however, be highly erroneous to apply this experience blindly, imitatively and uncritically to *other* conditions and *other* situations. The Bolshevik boycott of the Duma in 1906 was a mistake, even if a minor and easily remediable one." The boycott of the Duma in 1907, 1908 and subsequent years suggested by the boycottists and the otzovists (see Note 28) and rejected by the Bolsheviks would have been "a

most serious error and difficult to remedy", Lenin pointed out.
p. 107

- ⁴⁹ On October 26 (November 8), 1917, the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets adopted the Decree on Land. In Russia, it annulled landed estates and transferred the land to the peasants. The Decree on Land included the Peasant Mandate on Land drawn up on the basis of 242 local mandates and the Socialist-Revolutionary slogan for "equalitarian land tenure". Explaining why the Bolsheviks had opposed it earlier, and later accepted it, Lenin said, "As a democratic government, we cannot ignore the decision of the masses of the people, even though we may disagree with it. In the flames of experience, applying the decree in practice, and carrying it out locally, the peasants will come to realise for themselves where the truth lies."
p. 108
- ⁵⁰ *Centre, Centrism*—an opportunist trend in the international working-class movement. In the parties of the Second International, the Centrists occupied an intermediate position between the overt opportunists and the Left revolutionary wing, hence their name. One of their theoreticians was Karl Kautsky. Supporting the Right-wing Social-Democrats on all the principal questions, the Centrists covered it up with Left-wing talk. In 1919-21, with a revolutionary upsurge in Western Europe, the Centrists of a number of countries split away from the Social-Democrats and formed independent parties. Trying to retain their influence among the revolutionarily-minded workers, they expressed their readiness to join the Third, Communist International, founded in March 1919. When the revolutionary movement in Germany, Italy and other countries was defeated, capitalism was temporarily stabilised, the Centrist parties once again joined the Social-Democratic parties.
p. 117
- ⁵¹ The charges levelled by the *Turin section* against the leadership of the Italian Socialist Party were that, in the conditions of the revolutionary upsurge of 1919-20, when an opportunity arose for the proletariat to seize political power, it did not take a correct view of the events, did not advance a single slogan suitable for the revolutionary masses and did not drive out reformists from its midst. The Turin section made a number of practical proposals: to expel the opportunists from the party ranks, to form Communist groups at all factories, in trade unions, co-operatives and barracks and to set up factory committees to establish control over production in industry and agriculture. The Turin section demanded that the masses should immediately be prepared to establish Soviets
p. 127
- ⁵² *Shop Stewards' Committees*—elective workers' organisations in many trades in Britain during the First World War. After the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and during the foreign military intervention against Soviet Russia, the Shop Stewards'

- Committees actively opposed intervention. A number of activists of the Shop Stewards' Committees were foundation members of the Communist Party of Great Britain. p. 127
- ⁵³ *The Basle Manifesto* was adopted at the extraordinary congress of the Second International, convened in November 1912, in protest to the Balkan War, which had broken out, and the world imperialist war then in preparation. p. 140
- ⁵⁴ In September 1920, the Conference of the Communist Party of Austria repealed the previous decision to boycott elections to parliament. The party took part in the elections under the slogan of revolutionary unity of the working class. p. 141
- ⁵⁵ *The German Communist Workers' Party*—a Leftist group which split away from the Communist Party of Germany in 1919, and in 1920 founded an independent organisation, the Communist Workers' Party of Germany. It took a semi-anarchist stand, had no influence among the working class, and became a sect hostile to the Communists. p. 145
- ⁵⁶ The reference is to the Open Letter of the Central Committee of the United Communist Party of Germany calling upon all trade unions and workers' organisations of Germany to form a united front and jointly fight against the intensified advance of capitalists on the working class. The Open Letter was published in the newspaper *Die Rote Fahne* on January 8, 1921. p. 146
- ⁵⁷ *The March action*—the workers' armed uprising in Central Germany in March 1921. It was not supported by the workers of other industrial districts and, despite the heroic struggle of the workers, was soon suppressed. p. 149
- ⁵⁸ *The Two-and-a-Half International*—the name of the international association founded in Vienna in 1921 at the conference of Centrist parties and groups, which under the pressure of the revolutionary workers' masses left the Second International for a time. In 1923, the Two-and-a-Half International again merged with the Second International. p. 150