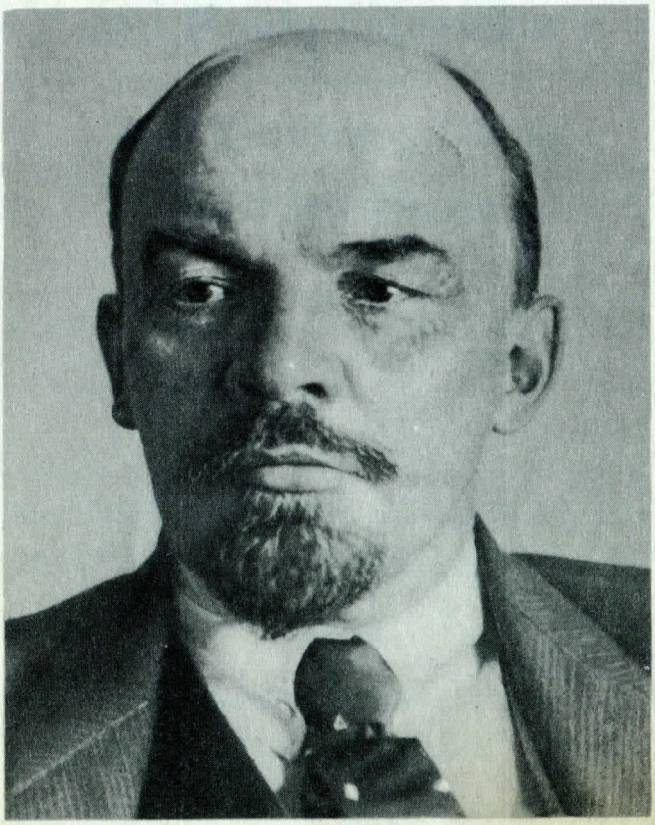
Lenin

WHERE TO BEGIN?
PARTY ORGANISATION AND PARTY LITERATURE
THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS PRESS



COMMUNIST PARTY
OF BRITAIN
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Workers of All Countries, Unite!

V. I. Lenin

Where To Begin?

Party Organisation and Party Literature

The Working Class and Its Press

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WHERE TO BEGIN?

In recent years the question of "what is to be done" has confronted Russian Social-Democrats with particular insistence. It is not a question of what path we must choose (as was the case in the late eighties and early nineties), but of what practical steps we must take upon the known path and how they shall be taken. It is a question of a system and plan of practical work. And it must be admitted that we have not yet solved this question of the character and the methods of struggle, fundamental for a party of practical activity, that it still gives rise to serious differences of opinion which reveal a deplorable ideological instability and vacillation. On the one hand, the "Economist" trend, far from being dead, is endeavouring to clip and narrow the work of political organisation and agitation. On the other, unprincipled eclecticism is again rearing its head, aping every new "trend", and is incapable of distinguishing immediate demands from the main tasks and permanent needs of the movement as a whole. This trend, as we know, has ensconced itself in *Rabocheye Dyelo*.[1] This journal's latest statement of "programme", a bombastic article under the bombastic title "A Historic Turn" (*"Listok" Rabochego Dyela* No. 6), bears out with special emphasis the characterisation we have given. Only yesterday there was a flirtation with "Economism", a fury over the resolute condemnation of *Rabochaya Mysl*,[2] and Plekhanov's presentation of the question of the struggle against autocracy was being toned down. But today Liebknecht's words are being quoted: "If the circumstances change within twenty-four hours, then tactics must be changed within twenty-four hours." There is talk of

a "strong fighting organisation" for direct attack, for storming the autocracy; of "broad revolutionary political agitation among the masses" (how energetic we are now—both revolutionary and political!); of "ceaseless calls for street protests"; of "street demonstrations of a pronounced (*sic!*) political character"; and so on and so forth.

We might perhaps declare ourselves happy at *Rabocheye Dyelo*'s quick grasp of the programme we put forward in the first issue of *Iskra*,[3] calling for the formation of a strong well-organised party, whose aim is not only to win isolated concessions but to storm the fortress of the autocracy itself; but the lack of any set point of view in these individuals can only dampen our happiness.

Rabocheye Dyelo, of course, mentions Liebknecht's name in vain. The tactics of agitation in relation to some special question or the tactics with regard to some detail of party organisation may be changed in twenty-four hours; but only people devoid of all principle are capable of changing, in twenty-four hours, or, for that matter, in twenty-four months, their view on the necessity—in general, constantly, and absolutely—of an organisation of struggle and of political agitation among the masses. It is ridiculous to plead different circumstances and a change of periods: the building of a fighting organisation and the conduct of political agitation are essential under any "drab, peaceful" circumstances, in any period, no matter how marked by a "declining revolutionary spirit"; moreover, it is precisely in such periods and under such circumstances that work of this kind is particularly necessary, since it is too late to form the organisation in times of explosion and outbursts; the party must be in a state of readiness to launch activity at a moment's notice. "Change the tactics within twenty-four hours!" But in order to change tactics it is first necessary to have tactics; without a strong organisation skilled in waging political struggle under all circumstances and at all times, there can be no question of that systematic plan of action, illumined by firm principles and steadfastly carried out, which alone is worthy of the name of tactics. Let us, indeed, consider the matter; we are now being told that the "historic moment" has presented our Party with a "completely new" question—the question of terror. Yesterday the "completely new" question

was political organisation and agitation; today it is terror. Is it not strange to hear people who have so grossly forgotten their principles holding forth on a radical change in tactics?

Fortunately, *Rabocheye Dyelo* is in error. The question of terror is not a new question at all; it will suffice to recall briefly the established views of Russian Social-Democracy on the subject.

In principle we have never rejected, and cannot reject, terror. Terror is one of the forms of military action that may be perfectly suitable and even essential at a definite juncture in the battle, given a definite state of the troops and the existence of definite conditions. But the important point is that terror, at the present time, is by no means suggested as an operation for the army in the field, an operation closely connected with and integrated into the entire system of struggle, but as an independent form of occasional attack unrelated to any army. Without a central body and with the weakness of local revolutionary organisations, this, in fact, is all that terror can be. We, therefore, declare emphatically that under the present conditions such a means of struggle is inopportune and unsuitable; that it diverts the most active fighters from their real task, the task which is most important from the standpoint of the interests of the movement as a whole; and that it disorganises the forces, not of the government, but of the revolution. We need but recall the recent events. With our own eyes we saw that the mass of workers and "common people" of the towns pressed forward in struggle, while the revolutionaries lacked a staff of leaders and organisers. Under such conditions, is there not the danger that, as the most energetic revolutionaries go over to terror, the fighting contingents, in whom alone it is possible to place serious reliance, will be weakened? Is there not the danger of rupturing the contact between the revolutionary organisations and the disunited masses of the discontented, the protesting, and the disposed to struggle, who are weak precisely because they are disunited? Yet it is this contact that is the sole guarantee of our success. Far be it from us to deny the significance of heroic individual blows, but it is our duty to sound a vigorous warning against becoming infatuated with terror, against taking it to be the

chief and basic means of struggle, as so many people strongly incline to do at present. Terror can never be a regular military operation; at best it can only serve as one of the methods employed in a decisive assault. But can we *issue the call* for such a decisive assault at the present moment? *Rabocheye Dyelo* apparently thinks we can. At any rate, it exclaims: "Form assault columns!" But this, again, is more zeal than reason. The main body of our military forces consists of volunteers and insurgents. We possess only a few small units of regular troops, and these are not even mobilised; they are not connected with one another, nor have they been trained to form columns of any sort, let alone assault columns. In view of all this, it must be clear to anyone who is capable of appreciating the general conditions of our struggle and who is mindful of them at every "turn" in the historical course of events that at the present moment our slogan cannot be "To the assault", but has to be "Lay siege to the enemy fortress". In other words, the immediate task of our Party is not to summon all available forces for the attack right now, but to call for the formation of a revolutionary organisation capable of uniting all forces and guiding the movement in actual practice and not in name alone, that is, an organisation ready at any time to support every protest and every outbreak and use it to build up and consolidate the fighting forces suitable for the decisive struggle.

The lesson of the February and March events[4] has been so impressive that no disagreement in principle with this conclusion is now likely to be encountered. What we need at the present moment, however, is not a solution of the problem in principle but a practical solution. We should not only be clear on the nature of the organisation that is needed and its precise purpose, but we must elaborate a definite *plan* for an organisation, so that its formation may be undertaken from all aspects. In view of the pressing importance of the question, we, on our part, take the liberty of submitting to the comrades a skeleton plan to be developed in greater detail in a pamphlet now in preparation for print.

In our opinion, the starting-point of our activities, the first step towards creating the desired organisation, or, let us say, the main thread which, if followed, would enable

us steadily to develop, deepen, and extend that organisation, should be the founding of an all-Russia political newspaper. A newspaper is what we most of all need; without it we cannot conduct that systematic, all-round propaganda and agitation, consistent in principle, which is the chief and permanent task of Social-Democracy in general and, in particular, the pressing task of the moment, when interest in politics and in questions of socialism has been aroused among the broadest strata of the population. Never has the need been felt so acutely as today for reinforcing dispersed agitation in the form of individual action, local leaflets, pamphlets, etc., by means of generalised and systematic agitation that can only be conducted with the aid of the periodical press. It may be said without exaggeration that the frequency and regularity with which a newspaper is printed (and distributed) can serve as a precise criterion of how well this cardinal and most essential sector of our militant activities is built up. Furthermore, our newspaper must be all-Russia. If we fail, and as long as we fail, to combine our efforts to influence the people and the government by means of the printed word, it will be utopian to think of combining other means, more complex, more difficult, but also more decisive, for exerting influence. Our movement suffers in the first place, ideologically, as well as in practical and organisational respects, from its state of fragmentation, from the almost complete immersion of the overwhelming majority of Social-Democrats in local work, which narrows their outlook, the scope of their activities, and their skill in the maintenance of secrecy and their preparedness. It is precisely in this state of fragmentation that one must look for the deepest roots of the instability and the waverings noted above. The *first* step towards eliminating this shortcoming, towards transforming divers local movements into a single, all-Russia movement, must be the founding of an all-Russia newspaper. Lastly, what we need is definitely a *political* newspaper. Without a political organ, a political movement deserving that name is inconceivable in the Europe of today. Without such a newspaper we cannot possibly fulfil our task—that of concentrating all the elements of political discontent and protest, of vitalising thereby the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. We have taken the first step, we have aroused

in the working class a passion for "economic", factory exposures; we must now take the next step, that of arousing in every section of the population that is at all politically conscious a passion for *political* exposure. We must not be discouraged by the fact that the voice of political exposure is today so feeble, timid, and infrequent. This is not because of a wholesale submission to police despotism, but because those who are able and ready to make exposures have no tribune from which to speak, no eager and encouraging audience, they do not see anywhere among the people that force to which it would be worth while directing their complaint against the "omnipotent" Russian Government. But today all this is rapidly changing. There is such a force–it is the revolutionary proletariat, which has demonstrated its readiness, not only to listen to and support the summons to political struggle, but boldly to engage in battle. We are now in a position to provide a tribune for the nation-wide exposure of the tsarist government, and it is our duty to do this. That tribune must be a Social-Democratic newspaper. The Russian working class, as distinct from the other classes and strata of Russian society, displays a constant interest in political knowledge and manifests a constant and extensive demand (not only in periods of intensive unrest) for illegal literature. When such a mass demand is evident, when the training of experienced revolutionary leaders has already begun, and when the concentration of the working class makes it virtual master in the working-class districts of the big cities and in the factory settlements and communities, it is quite feasible for the proletariat to found a political newspaper. Through the proletariat the newspaper will reach the urban petty bourgeoisie, the rural handicraftsmen, and the peasants, thereby becoming a real people's political newspaper.

The role of a newspaper, however, is not limited solely to the dissemination of ideas, to political education, and to the enlistment of political allies. A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organiser. In this last respect it may be likened to the scaffolding round a building under construction, which marks the contours of the structure and facilitates communication between the builders, enabling them to distribute the work and to view the common results achieved by their organised labour. With the aid of the newspaper, and through it, a permanent organisation will naturally take shape that will engage, not only in local activities, but in regular general work, and will train its members to follow political events carefully, appraise their significance and their effect on the various strata of the population, and develop effective means for the revolutionary party to influence those events. The mere technical task of regularly supplying the newspaper with copy and of promoting regular distribution will necessitate a network of local agents of the united party, who will maintain constant contact with one another, know the general state of affairs, get accustomed to performing regularly their detailed functions in the all-Russia work, and test their strength in the organisation of various revolutionary actions. This network of agents* will form the skeleton of precisely the kind of organisation we need–one that is sufficiently large to embrace the whole country; sufficiently broad and many-sided to effect a strict and detailed division of labour; sufficiently well tempered to be able to conduct steadily *its own* work under any circumstances, at all "sudden turns", and in face of all contingencies; sufficiently flexible to be able, on the one hand, to avoid an open battle against an overwhelming enemy, when the enemy has concentrated all his forces at one spot, and yet, on the other, to take advantage of his unwieldiness and to attack him when and where he least expects it. Today we are faced with the relatively easy task of supporting student demonstrations in the streets of big cities; tomorrow we may, perhaps, have the more difficult task of supporting, for example, the unemployed movement in some particular area, and the day after we may have to be at our posts in order to play a revolutionary part in a peasant uprising. Today we must take advantage of the tense political situation arising out of the

* It will be understood, of course, that these agents could work successfully only in the closest contact with the local committees (groups, study circles) of our Party. In general, the entire plan we project can, of course, be implemented only with the most active support of the committees which have on repeated occasions attempted to unite the Party and which, we are sure, will achieve this unification –if not today, then tomorrow, if not in one way, then in another.

government's campaign against the Zemstvo; tomorrow we may have to support popular indignation against some tsarist bashi-bazouk on the rampage and help, by means of boycott, indictment demonstrations, etc., to make things so hot for him as to force him into open retreat. Such a degree of combat readiness can be developed only through the constant activity of regular troops. If we join forces to produce a common newspaper, this work will train and bring into the foreground, not only the most skilful propagandists, but the most capable organisers, the most talented political party leaders capable, at the right moment, of releasing the slogan for the decisive struggle and of taking the lead in that struggle.

In conclusion, a few words to avoid possible misunderstanding. We have spoken continuously of systematic, planned preparation, yet it is by no means our intention to imply that the autocracy can be overthrown only by a regular siege or by organised assault. Such a view would be absurd and doctrinaire. On the contrary, it is quite possible, and historically much more probable, that the autocracy will collapse under the impact of one of the spontaneous outbursts or unforeseen political complications which constantly threaten it from all sides. But no political party that wishes to avoid adventurous gambles can base its activities on the anticipation of such outbursts and complications. We must go our own way, and we must steadfastly carry on our regular work, and the less our reliance on the unexpected, the less the chance of our being caught unawares by any "historic turns".

Written in May 1901
Published in *Iskra*
No. 4, May 1901

Vol. 5

PARTY ORGANISATION AND PARTY LITERATURE

The new conditions for Social-Democratic work in Russia which have arisen since the October revolution have brought the question of party literature to the fore. The distinction between the illegal and the legal press, that melancholy heritage of the epoch of feudal, autocratic Russia, is beginning to disappear. It is not yet dead, by a long way. The hypocritical government of our Prime Minister is still running amuck, so much so that *Izvestia Soveta Rabochikh Deputatov*[5] is printed "illegally"; but apart from bringing disgrace on the government, apart from striking further moral blows at it, nothing comes of the stupid attempts to "prohibit" that which the government is powerless to thwart.

So long as there was a distinction between the illegal and the legal press, the question of the party and non-party press was decided extremely simply and in an extremely false and abnormal way. The entire illegal press was a party press, being published by organisations and run by groups which in one way or another were linked with groups of practical party workers. The entire legal press was non-party–since parties were banned–but it "gravitated" towards one party or another. Unnatural alliances, strange "bed-fellows" and false cover-devices were inevitable. The forced reserve of those who wished to express party views merged with the immature thinking or mental cowardice of those who had not risen to these views and who were not, in effect, party people.

An accursed period of Aesopian language, literary bondage, slavish speech, and ideological serfdom! The proletar-

iat has put an end to this foul atmosphere which stifled everything living and fresh in Russia. But so far the proletariat has won only half freedom for Russia.

The revolution is not yet completed. While tsarism is *no longer* strong enough to defeat the revolution, the revolution is *not yet* strong enough to defeat tsarism. And we are living in times when everywhere and in everything there operates this unnatural combination of open, forthright, direct and consistent party spirit with an underground, covert, "diplomatic" and dodgy "legality". This unnatural combination makes itself felt even in our newspaper: for all Mr. Guchkov's witticisms about Social-Democratic tyranny forbidding the publication of moderate liberal-bourgeois newspapers, the fact remains that *Proletary*,[6] the Central Organ of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, still remains outside the locked doors of *autocratic*, police-ridden Russia.

Be that as it may, the half-way revolution compels all of us to set to work at once organising the whole thing on new lines. Today literature, even that published "legally", can be nine-tenths party literature. It must become party literature. In contradistinction to bourgeois customs, to the profit-making, commercialised bourgeois press, to bourgeois literary careerism and individualism, "aristocratic anarchism" and drive for profit, the socialist proletariat must put forward the principle of *party literature*, must develop this principle and put it into practice as fully and completely as possible.

What is this principle of party literature? It is not simply that, for the socialist proletariat, literature cannot be a means of enriching individuals or groups: it cannot, in fact, be an individual undertaking, independent of the common cause of the proletariat. Down with non-partisan writers! Down with literary supermen! Literature must become *part* of the common cause of the proletariat, "a cog and a screw" of one single great Social-Democratic mechanism set in motion by the entire politically conscious vanguard of the entire working class. Literature must become a component of organised, planned and integrated Social-Democratic Party work.

"All comparisons are lame," says a German proverb. So is my comparison of literature with a cog, of a living movement with a mechanism. And I daresay there will even be

hysterical intellectuals to raise a howl about such a comparison, which degrades, deadens, "bureaucratises" the free battle of ideas, freedom of criticism, freedom of literary creation, etc., etc. Such outcries, in point of fact, would be nothing more than an expression of bourgeois-intellectual individualism. There is no question that literature is least of all subject to mechanical adjustment or levelling, to the rule of the majority over the minority. There is no question, either, that in this field greater scope must undoubtedly be allowed for personal initiative, individual inclination, thought and fantasy, form and content. All this is undeniable; but all this simply shows that the literary side of the proletarian party cause cannot be mechanically identified with its other sides. This, however, does not in the least refute the proposition, alien and strange to the bourgeoisie and bourgeois democracy, that literature must by all means and necessarily become an element of Social-Democratic Party work, inseparably bound up with the other elements. Newspapers must become the organs of the various party organisations, and their writers must by all means become members of these organisations. Publishing and distributing centres, bookshops and reading-rooms, libraries and similar establishments—must all be under party control. The organised socialist proletariat must keep an eye on all this work, supervise it in its entirety, and, from beginning to end, without any exception, infuse into it the life-stream of the living proletarian cause, thereby cutting the ground from under the old, semi-Oblomov,[7] semi-shopkeeper Russian principle: the writer does the writing, the reader does the reading.[8]

We are not suggesting, of course, that this transformation of literary work, which has been defiled by the Asiatic censorship and the European bourgeoisie, can be accomplished all at once. Far be it from us to advocate any kind of standardised system, or a solution by means of a few decrees. Cut-and-dried schemes are least of all applicable here. What is needed is that the whole of our Party, and the entire politically conscious Social-Democratic proletariat throughout Russia, should become aware of this new problem, specify it clearly and everywhere set about solving it. Emerging from the captivity of the feudal censorship, we have no desire to become, and shall not become, prisoners of bour-

geois-shopkeeper literary relations. We want to establish, and we shall establish, a free press, free not simply from the police, but also from capital, from careerism, and what is more, free from bourgeois-anarchist individualism.

These last words may sound paradoxical, or an affront to the reader. What! some intellectual, an ardent champion of liberty, may shout. What, you want to impose collective control on such a delicate, individual matter as literary work! You want workmen to decide questions of science, philosophy, or aesthetics by a majority of votes! You deny the absolute freedom of absolutely individual ideological work!

Calm yourselves, gentlemen! First of all, we are discussing party literature and its subordination to party control. Everyone is free to write and say whatever he likes, without any restrictions. But every voluntary association (including a party) is also free to expel members who use the name of the party to advocate anti-party views. Freedom of speech and the press must be complete. But then freedom of association must be complete too. I am bound to accord you, in the name of free speech, the full right to shout, lie and write to your heart's content. But you are bound to grant me, in the name of freedom of association, the right to enter into, or withdraw from, association with people advocating this or that view. The party is a voluntary association, which would inevitably break up, first ideologically and then physically, if it did not cleanse itself of people advocating anti-party views. And to define the border-line between party and anti-party there is the party programme, the party's resolutions on tactics and its rules and, lastly, the entire experience of international Social-Democracy, the voluntary international associations of the proletariat, which has constantly brought into its parties individual elements and trends not fully consistent, not completely Marxist and not altogether correct and which, on the other hand, has constantly conducted periodical "cleansings" of its ranks. So it will be with us too, supporters of bourgeois "freedom of criticism", *within* the Party. We are now becoming a mass party all at once, changing abruptly to an open organisation, and it is inevitable that we shall be joined by many who are inconsistent (from the Marxist standpoint), perhaps we shall be joined even by some Christian elements, and even by

some mystics. We have sound stomachs and we are rock-like Marxists. We shall digest those inconsistent elements. Freedom of thought and freedom of criticism within the Party will never make us forget about the freedom of organising people into those voluntary associations known as parties.

Secondly, we must say to you bourgeois individualists that your talk about absolute freedom is sheer hypocrisy. There can be no real and effective "freedom" in a society based on the power of money, in a society in which the masses of working people live in poverty and the handful of rich live like parasites. Are you free in relation to your bourgeois publisher, Mr. Writer, in relation to your bourgeois public, which demands that you provide it with pornography in frames* and paintings, and prostitution as a "supplement" to "sacred" scenic art? This absolute freedom is a bourgeois or an anarchist phrase (since, as a world outlook, anarchism is bourgeois philosophy turned inside out). One cannot live in society and be free from society. The freedom of the bourgeois writer, artist or actress is simply masked (or hypocritically masked) dependence on the money-bag, on corruption, on prostitution.

And we socialists expose this hypocrisy and rip off the false labels, not in order to arrive at a non-class literature and art (that will be possible only in a socialist extra-class society), but to contrast this hypocritically free literature, which is in reality linked to the bourgeoisie, with a really free one that will be *openly* linked to the proletariat.

It will be a free literature, because the idea of socialism and sympathy with the working people, and not greed or careerism, will bring ever new forces to its ranks. It will be a free literature, because it will serve, not some satiated heroine, not the bored "upper ten thousand" suffering from fatty degeneration but the millions and tens of millions of working people—the flower of the country, its strength and its future. It will be a free literature, enriching the last word in the revolutionary thought of mankind with the experience and living work of the socialist proletariat, bringing about

* There must be a misprint in the source, which says ***ramkakh*** (frames), while the context suggests ***romanakh*** (novels).—***Ed.***

permanent interaction between the experience of the past (scientific socialism, the completion of the development of socialism from its primitive, utopian forms) and the experience of the present (the present struggle of the worker comrades).

To work, then, comrades! We are faced with a new and difficult task. But it is a noble and grateful one—to organise a broad, multiform and varied literature inseparably linked with the Social-Democratic working-class movement. All Social-Democratic literature must become Party literature. Every newspaper, journal, publishing house, etc., must immediately set about reorganising its work, leading up to a situation in which it will, in one form or another, be integrated into one Party organisation or another. Only then will "Social-Democratic" literature really become worthy of that name, only then will it be able to fulfil its duty and, even within the framework of bourgeois society, break out of bourgeois slavery and merge with the movement of the really advanced and thoroughly revolutionary class.

Novaya Zhizn No. 12,
November 13, 1905
Signed: *N. Lenin*

Vol. 10

THE WORKERS AND "PRAVDA"[9]

Pravda has already summed up some of the results of its six months' work.

These results showed first of all and above all that *only* through the efforts of the workers themselves, *only* through the tremendous upsurge of their enthusiasm, their resolve and stubbornness in the struggle, and *only* after the April-May movement, was it possible for the St. Petersburg workers' newspaper, *Pravda*, to appear.

In its summing up, *Pravda* confined itself for a start to the data on group donations made by workers to their daily newspaper. These data reveal to us only a *small part* of the workers' support; they do not tell us about the much more valuable and difficult direct support—moral support, support through personal participation, support for the policy of the newspaper, support through contributing materials, discussing and circulating the paper, etc.

Number of contributions to *Pravda* made by groups of workers

January 1912	14
February "	18
March "	76
April "	227
May "	135
June "	34
July "	26
August (up to 19th) 1912	21
Total	551

But even the limited data at the disposal of *Pravda* showed that a very impressive number of workers' groups had *directly* linked themselves with it. Let us cast a general glance at the results.

Altogether *five hundred and fifty-one* groups of workers supported *Pravda* by their donations.

It would be interesting to sum up the results of a whole number of other collections and donations by workers. We have constantly seen in *Pravda* reports on contributions in support of various strikes. We have also seen reports on collections for the victims of repressions, for the Lena goldfields[10] victims, for individual *Pravda* editors, collections for the election campaign, for relief of the famine-stricken, and so on and so forth.

The varied nature of these collections makes it much more difficult to assess the results here, and we are not yet in a position to say whether a statistical summary can give a satisfactory picture of the matter. But it is obvious in any case that these varied collections take up a very substantial part of the *workers' life.*

As they look through the reports on workers' collections *in connection* with letters from factory and office workers in all parts of Russia, *Pravda* readers, most of whom are dispersed and separated from one another by the severe external conditions of Russian life, gain *some* idea how the proletarians of various trades and various localities are fighting, how they are awakening to the defence of working-class democracy.

The chronicle of workers' life is only just *beginning* to develop into a permanent feature of *Pravda.* There can be no doubt that subsequently, in addition to letters about abuses in factories, about the awakening of a new section of the proletariat, about collections for one or another field of the workers' cause, the workers' newspaper will receive reports about the views and sentiments of the workers, election campaigns, the election of workers' delegates, what the workers read, the questions of particular interest to them, and so on.

The workers' newspaper is a workers' forum. Before the whole of Russia the workers should raise here, one after another, the various questions of workers' life in general and of working-class democracy in particular. The workers of

St. Petersburg have made a beginning. It is to their energy that the proletariat of Russia owes the workers' first daily newspaper after the grim years of social stagnation. Let us, then, carry their cause forward, unitedly supporting and developing the workers' paper of the capital, the harbinger of the spring to come, when the whole of Russia will be covered by a network of workers' organisations with workers' newspapers.

We, the workers, *have yet* to build *this* Russia, and we *shall build* it.

Pravda No. 103, August 29, 1912 **Vol. 18**
Signed: *St.*

FROM THE HISTORY OF THE WORKERS' PRESS IN RUSSIA

The history of the workers' press in Russia is indissolubly linked up with the history of the democratic and socialist movement. Hence, only by knowing the chief stages of the movement for emancipation is it possible to understand why the preparation and rise of the workers' press proceeded in a certain way, and in no other.

The emancipation movement in Russia has passed through three main stages, corresponding to the three main classes of Russian society, which have left their impress on the movement: (1) the period of the nobility, roughly from 1825 to 1861; (2) the *raznochintsi* or bourgeois-democratic period, approximately from 1861 to 1895; and (3) the proletarian period, from 1895 to the present time.

The most outstanding figures of the nobility period were the Decembrists and Herzen. At that time, under the serf-owning system, there could be no question of differentiating a working *class* from among the general mass of serfs, the disfranchised "lower orders", "the ruck". In those days the illegal general democratic press, headed by Herzen's *Kolokol*,[11] was the forerunner of the workers' (proletarian-democratic or Social-Democratic) press.

Just as the Decembrists roused Herzen, so Herzen and his *Kolokol* helped to rouse the *raznochintsi*–the educated representatives of the liberal and democratic bourgeoisie who belonged, not to the nobility but to the civil servants, urban

petty-bourgeois, merchant and peasant classes. It was V. G. Belinsky who, even before the abolition of serfdom, was a forerunner of the *raznochintsi* who were to completely oust the nobility from our emancipation movement. The famous Letter to Gogol,[12] which summed up Belinsky's literary activities, was one of the finest productions of the illegal democratic press, which has to this day lost none of its great and vital significance.

With the fall of the serf-owning system, the *raznochintsi* emerged as the chief actor from among the masses in the movement for emancipation in general, and in the democratic illegal press in particular. Narodism, which corresponded to the *raznochintsi* point of view, became the dominant trend. As a social trend, it never succeeded in dissociating itself from liberalism on the right and from anarchism on the left. But Chernyshevsky, who, after Herzen, developed the Narodnik views, made a great stride forward as compared with Herzen. Chernyshevsky was a far more consistent and militant democrat, his writings breathing the spirit of the class struggle. He resolutely pursued the line of exposing the treachery of liberalism, a line which to this day is hateful to the Cadets and liquidators. He was a remarkably profound critic of capitalism despite his utopian socialism.

The sixties and seventies saw quite a number of illegal publications, militant-democratic and utopian-socialist in content, which had started to circulate among the "masses". Very prominent among the personalities of that epoch were the workers Pyotr Alexeyev, Stepan Khalturin, and others. The proletarian-democratic current, however, was unable to free itself from the main stream of Narodism; this became possible only after Russian Marxism took ideological shape (the Emancipation of Labour group, 1883[13]), and a steady workers' movement, linked with Social-Democracy, began (the St. Petersburg strikes of 1895-96).

But before passing to this period, from which the appearance of the workers' press in Russia really dates, we shall quote figures which strikingly illustrate the *class* differences between the movements of the three periods referred to. These figures show the classification of persons charged with state (political) crimes according to social estate or calling (class). For every 100 such persons there were:

	Nobles	Urban petty bourgeois and peasants	Peasants	Workers	Intellectuals
In 1827-46	76	23	?	?	?
„ 1884-90	30.6	46.6	7.1	15.1	73.2
„ 1901-03	10.7	80.9	9.0	46.1	36.7
„ 1905-08	9.1	87.7	24.2	47.4	28.4

In the nobility or feudal period (1827-46), the nobles, who were an insignificant minority of the population, accounted for the vast majority of the "politicals" (76%). In the Narodnik, *raznochintsi* period (1884-90; unfortunately, figures for the sixties and seventies are not available), the nobles dropped to second place, but still provided quite a high percentage (30.6%). Intellectuals accounted for the overwhelming majority (73.2%) of participants in the democratic movement.

In the 1901-03 period, which happened to be the period of the first political Marxist newspaper, the *old Iskra*, workers (46.1%) *predominated* over intellectuals (36.7%) and the movement became wholly democratised (10.7% nobles and 80.9% "non-privileged" people).

Running ahead, we see that in the period of the first mass movement (1905-08) the *only* change was that the intellectuals (28.4% as against 36.7%) were displaced by peasants (24.2% as against 9.0%).

Social-Democracy in Russia was founded by the Emancipation of Labour group, which was formed abroad in 1883. The writings of this group, which were printed abroad and uncensored, were the first systematically to expound and draw all the practical conclusions from the ideas of Marxism, which, as the experience of the entire world has shown, alone express the true essence of the working-class movement and its aims. For the twelve years between 1883 and 1895, practically the only attempt to establish a Social-Democratic workers' press in Russia was the publication in St. Petersburg in 1885 of the Social-Democratic newspaper *Rabochy*; it was of course illegal, but only two issues appeared. Owing to the absence of a mass working-class movement, there was no scope for the wide development of a workers' press.

The inception of a mass working-class movement, with the participation of Social-Democrats, dates from 1895-96, the time of the famous St. Petersburg strikes. It was then that a workers' press, in the real sense of the term, appeared in Russia. The chief publications in those days were illegal leaflets, most of them hectographed and devoted to "economic" (as well as non-economic) agitation, that is, to the needs and demands of the workers in different factories and industries. Obviously, this literature could not have existed without the advanced workers' most active participation in the task of compiling and circulating it. Among St. Petersburg workers active at the time mention should be made of Vasily Andreyevich Shelgunov, who later became blind and was unable to carry on with his former vigour, and Ivan Vasilyevich Babushkin, an ardent Iskrist (1900-03) and Bolshevik (1903-05), who was shot for taking part in an uprising in Siberia late in 1905 or early in 1906.

Leaflets were published by Social-Democratic groups, circles and organisations, most of which, after the end of 1895, became known as "Leagues of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class". The "Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party" was founded in 1898 at a congress of representatives of local Social-Democratic organisations.

After the leaflets, illegal working-class newspapers began to appear; for example, in 1897 *St. Petersburg Rabochy Listok*[14] appeared in St. Petersburg, followed by *Rabochaya Mysl*, which was shortly afterwards transferred abroad. Since then, almost right up to the revolution, local Social-Democratic newspapers came out illegally; true, they were regularly suppressed, but reappeared again and again all over Russia.

All in all, the workers' leaflets and Social-Democratic newspapers of the time—i.e., twenty years ago—were the direct forerunners of the present-day working-class press: the same factory "exposures", the same reports on the "economic" struggle, the same treatment of the tasks of the working-class movement from the standpoint of Marxist principles and consistent democracy, and finally, *the same two main trends*—the Marxist and the opportunist—in the working-class press.

It is a remarkable fact, one that has not been duly appreciated to this day, that as soon as the *mass* working-class movement arose in Russia (1895-96), there at once appeared the division into Marxist and opportunist trends—a division which has changed in form and features, etc., but which has remained essentially the same from 1894 to 1914. Apparently, this particular kind of division and inner struggle among Social-Democrats has deep social and class roots.

The *Rabochaya Mysl*, mentioned above, represented the *opportunist* trend of the day, known as Economism. This trend became apparent in the disputes among the local leaders of the working-class movement as early as 1894-95. And abroad, where the awakening of the Russian workers led to an efflorescence of Social-Democratic literature as early as 1896, the appearance and rallying of the Economists ended in a split in the spring of 1900 (that is, prior to the appearance of *Iskra*, the first issue of which came off the press at the very end of 1900).

The history of the working-class press during the twenty years 1894-1914 is the history of the two trends in Russian Marxism and Russian (or rather all-Russia) Social-Democracy. To *understand* the history of the working-class press in Russia, one must know, not only and not so much the names of the various organs of the press—names which convey nothing to the present-day reader and simply confuse him—as the *content*, nature and ideological line of the different sections of Social-Democracy.

The chief organs of the Economists were *Rabochaya Mysl* (1897-1900) and *Rabocheye Dyelo* (1898-1901). *Rabocheye Dyelo* was edited by B. Krichevsky, who later went over to the syndicalists, A. Martynov, a prominent Menshevik and now a liquidator, and Akimov, now an "independent Social-Democrat" who in all essentials agrees with the liquidators.

At first only Plekhanov and the whole Emancipation of Labour group (the journal *Rabotnik*, etc.) fought the Economists, and then *Iskra* joined the fight (from 1900 to August 1903, up to the time of the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.). What, exactly, was the essence of Economism?

In word, the Economists were all for a mass type of working-class movement and independent action by the workers, emphasising the paramount significance of "economic" agi-

tation and urging moderation or gradualness in passing over to political agitation. As the reader sees, these are exactly the same catchwords that the liquidators flaunt today. In practice, however, the Economists pursued a liberal-labour policy, the gist of which was tersely expressed by S. N. Prokopovich, one of the Economist leaders at that time, in the words: "economic struggle is for the workers, political struggle is for the liberals". The Economists, who made the most noise about the workers' independent activity and the mass movement, were in practice an opportunist and petty-bourgeois intellectual wing of the working-class movement.

The overwhelming majority of the class-conscious workers, who in 1901-03 accounted for 46 out of every 100 persons charged with state crimes, as against 37 for the intelligentsia, sided with the *old Iskra*, against the opportunists. *Iskra*'s three years of activity (1901-03) saw the elaboration of the Social-Democratic Party's Programme, its main tactics, and the forms in which the workers' economic and political struggle could be combined on the basis of consistent Marxism. During the pre-revolutionary years, the growth of the workers' press around *Iskra* and under its ideological leadership assumed enormous proportions. The number of illegal leaflets and unlicensed printing-presses was exceedingly great, and increased rapidly all over Russia.

Iskra's complete victory over Economism, the victory of consistent proletarian tactics over opportunist-intellectualist tactics in 1903, still further stimulated the influx of "fellow-travellers" into the ranks of Social-Democracy; and opportunism revived *on the soil of Iskrism*, as part of it, in the form of "Menshevism".

Menshevism took shape at the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (August 1903), originating from the *minority* of the Iskrists (hence the name Menshevism*) *and from all the opportunist opponents of Iskra.* The Mensheviks reverted to Economism in a slightly renovated form, of course; headed by A. Martynov, all the Economists who had remained in the movement flocked to the ranks of the Mensheviks.

The *new Iskra*, which from November 1903 appeared under a new editorial board, became the chief organ of Menshe-

* The Russian word Menshevism is derived from *menshinstvo*, the English for which is minority.—*Ed.*

vism. "Between the old *Iskra* and the new lies a gulf," Trotsky, then an ardent Menshevik, frankly declared. *Vperyod*[15] and *Proletary* (1905) were the chief Bolshevik newspapers, which upheld the tactics of consistent Marxism and remained faithful to the old *Iskra*.

From the point of view of real contact with the masses and as an expression of the tactics of the proletarian masses, 1905-07, the years of revolution, were a test of the two main trends in Social-Democracy and in the working-class press—the Menshevik and Bolshevik trends. A legal Social-Democratic press could not have appeared all at once in the autumn of 1905 had the way not been paved by the activities of the advanced workers, who were closely connected with the masses. The fact that the legal Social-Democratic press of 1905, 1906 and 1907 was a press of *two* trends, of two groups, can only be accounted for by the different lines in the working-class movement at the time—the petty-bourgeois and the proletarian.

The workers' legal press appeared in all three periods of the upswing and of relative "freedom", namely, in the autumn of 1905 (the Bolsheviks' *Novaya Zhizn*,[16] and the Mensheviks' *Nachalo*[17]—we name only the chief of the many publications); in the spring of 1906 (*Volna, Ekho*,[18] etc., issued by the Bolsheviks, *Narodnaya Duma*[19] and others, issued by the Mensheviks); and in the spring of 1907.

The essence of the Menshevik tactics of the time was recently expressed by L. Martov in these words: "The Mensheviks saw no other way by which the proletariat could take a useful part in that crisis except by assisting the bourgeois liberal democrats in their attempts to eject the reactionary section of the propertied classes from political power—but, while rendering this assistance, the proletariat was to maintain its complete political independence" (*Among Books* by Rubakin, Vol. II, p. 772). In practice, these tactics of "assisting" the liberals amounted to making the workers *dependent* on them; in practice they were liberal-labour tactics. The Bolsheviks' tactics, on the contrary, ensured the independence of the proletariat in the bourgeois crisis, by fighting to bring that crisis to a head, by exposing the treachery of liberalism, by enlightening and rallying the petty bourgeoisie (especially in the countryside) to counteract that treachery.

It is a fact—and the Mensheviks themselves, including the present-day liquidators, Koltsov, Levitsky, and others, have repeatedly admitted it—that in those years (1905-07) the masses of the workers followed the lead of the Bolsheviks. Bolshevism expressed the proletarian essence of the movement, Menshevism was its opportunist, petty-bourgeois intellectual wing.

We cannot here give a more detailed characterisation of the content and significance of the tactics of the two trends in the workers' press. We can do no more than accurately establish the main facts and define the main lines of historical development.

The working-class press in Russia has almost a century of history behind it; first, the pre-history, i.e., the history, *not* of the labour, *not* of the proletarian, but of the "general democratic", i.e., bourgeois-democratic movement for emancipation, followed by its own twenty-year history of the proletarian movement, proletarian democracy or Social-Democracy.

Nowhere in the world has the proletarian movement come into being, nor could it have come into being, "all at once", in a pure class form, ready-made, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter. Only through long struggle and hard work on the part of the most advanced workers, of all class-conscious workers, was it possible to build up and strengthen the class movement of the proletariat, ridding it of all petty-bourgeois admixtures, restrictions, narrowness and distortions. The working class lives side by side with the petty bourgeoisie, which, as it becomes ruined, provides increasing numbers of new recruits to the ranks of the proletariat. And Russia is the most petty-bourgeois, the most philistine of capitalist countries, which only now is passing through the period of bourgeois revolutions which Britain, for example, passed through in the seventeenth century, and France in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The class-conscious workers, who are now tackling a job that is near and dear to them, that of running the working-class press, putting it on a sound basis and strengthening and developing it, will not forget the twenty-year history of Marxism and the Social-Democratic press in Russia.

A disservice is being done to the workers' movement by those of its weak-nerved friends among the intelligentsia who fight shy of the internal struggle among the Social-Democrats, and who fill the air with cries and calls to have nothing to do with it. They are well-meaning but futile people, and their outcries are futile.

Only by studying the history of Marxism's struggle against opportunism, only by making a thorough and detailed study of the manner in which independent proletarian democracy emerged from the petty-bourgeois hodge-podge can the advanced workers decisively strengthen their own class-consciousness and their workers' press.

Rabochy No. 1,
April 22, 1914

Vol. 20

OUR TASKS[20]

We have briefly reviewed the history of the workers' press in Russia and the appearance of *Pravda.* We have endeavoured to show how the century-old history of the democratic movements in Russia culminated in the formation of an independent democratic workers' movement under the ideological banner of Marxism;—how the twenty-year history of Marxism and the workers' movement in Russia, as a result of the long struggle waged by the working-class vanguard against the petty-bourgeois, opportunist trends, culminated in the overwhelming majority of the politically conscious workers rallying around *Pravda,* which came into being on the famous spring-tide of the working-class movement in 1912.

We have seen how the paper during the two years of its existence rallied ideologically and, to a certain degree, organisationally, the politically conscious Pravdist workers, thanks to whose efforts a consistently Marxist working-class press was founded and maintained, strengthened and developed. Rigidly upholding their being the successors of the organised Marxists of the previous generation, without violating a single one of their decisions, erecting the new on the old foundations, and marching forward steadily and unswervingly towards the certain and exactly defined goal of consistent Marxism, the Pravdist workers set about solving an extremely difficult historical task.

Swarms of enemies and innumerable difficulties, both external and internal, rose in the path of the working-class movement during the period 1908-11. In not a single country in the world had the working-class movement emerged ever

before from *similar* crises preserving intact its heritage, its organisation, loyalty to old decisions, to its programme and tactics.

But the Russian movement–to be more precise the movement of the working class of all Russia–*succeeded* in emerging with honour from an incredibly difficult crisis, remaining true to the past, preserving its organisational heritage, and at the same time mastering *new* forms of preparing its forces, *new* methods of enlightening and rallying the younger generation of the proletariat for solving by the old methods the old but as yet unsolved historic tasks.

And of all the classes in Russian society only the working class succeeded in doing this, not, of course, because it was on a higher level than the workers of other countries; in fact, compared with them, it lagged greatly in organisation and political consciousness. It succeeded because it *relied* simultaneously on the *experience* of the workers of the whole world, on their theoretical experience, the degree of class-consciousness attained by them, and on their science–experience summed up by *Marxism*–and on the practical experience of the proletarians of the neighbouring countries with their splendid workers' press and mass organisation.

The Pravdist workers, who at a time of exceedingly great difficulties upheld *their own* line against persecution from without and against despondency, lack of faith, faint-heartedness and treachery within, can now say firmly and with full conviction: we know that we are on the right road, but we are taking only the first steps on this road, the main difficulties are ahead, we still have much to do in order to reach full stature, in order to awaken the millions of backward, slumbering, downtrodden proletarians to conscious life.

Let the petty-bourgeois "fellow-travellers" of the proletariat, slavishly following the liberals, sneer at the "underground", at the "advertised underground press"; let them be beguiled by June 3 "legality". We know how precarious this "legality" is. We shall not forget what history has taught us about the significance of the illegal press.

Going ahead with our Pravdist work we shall advance the purely newspaper work hand in hand *with all* sides of the working-class cause.

The circulation of *Put Pravdy* must be three, four or five times what it is at present. It is necessary to have a general trade union supplement to be edited by representatives of all the unions and groups. It is necessary to have regional (Moscow, Urals, Caucasian, Baltic and Ukrainian) editions of the paper. It is necessary to strengthen, despite the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists of any nation–the unity of the workers of *all* the nationalities in Russia, and for this purpose, incidentally, we must begin publishing supplements to our paper devoted to the workers' movement among the different nationalities in Russia.

It is necessary to give more, much more space to the foreign department of *Put Pravdy* and to the column treating *the organisational*, ideological and political life of the active workers.

It is necessary to start an inexpensive *Evening Pravda*; in its present form *Put Pravdy* is essential for the politically-conscious workers and it must be enlarged, but it is too expensive, too difficult and too big for the man in the street, for the mass worker, for those not yet drawn into the movement of the millions.... The advanced workers will never forget them, because they know that the narrow closed-shop approach, the emergence of a labour aristocracy and its segregation from the masses, signifies stupefying and degrading the proletarians, turning them into wretched philistines and miserable serfs, signifies loss of all hope of their emancipation.

It is necessary to start an inexpensive *Evening Pravda* which, with a circulation of 200,000 or 300,000, would reach the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses, enlighten them on the international working-class movement, give them faith in their strength, make them think in terms of organisation and help them to full class-consciousness.

It is necessary to do much more than is being done at present to organise the readers of *Put Pravdy* according to factory, mill, district, etc., for more active participation in supplying materials for publication, in running the paper and securing a bigger circulation. It is necessary to have the workers participate regularly in editing the paper.

It is necessary ... how many things are necessary! We cannot enumerate all the things that are necessary, we would

become a laughing-stock (and worse) if we were to enumerate all, or even the main, spheres of our work!

We know that we are on the right road. We know that we are marching in step with the advanced workers in all countries. We know that this sphere of our work is but a tiny particle of the whole, that we are still only at the beginning of the glorious road to emancipation. But we also know that there is no force in the world that can detain us on this road.

Rabochy No. 1,
April 22, 1914

Vol. 36

THE WORKING CLASS AND ITS PRESS

There is nothing more important to class-conscious workers than to have an *understanding of the significance* of their movement and a *thorough knowledge* of it. The only source of strength of the working-class movement–and an invincible one at that–is the *class-consciousness* of the workers and the broad scope of their struggle, that is, the participation in it of the *masses* of the wage-workers.

The St. Petersburg Marxist press, which has been in existence for years, publishes exclusive, excellent, indispensable and easily verifiable material on the scope of the working-class movement and the various trends predominating in it. Only those who wish to conceal the truth can ignore this material, as the liberals and liquidators do.

Complete figures concerning the collections made for the Pravdist (Marxist) and liquidationist newspapers in St. Petersburg for the period between January 1 and May 13, 1914, have been compiled by Comrade V.A.T.[21] We publish his table below in full, and shall quote round figures in the body of this article as occasion arises, so as not to burden the reader with statistics.

The following is Comrade V.A.T.'s table (see pp. 36-37).

First of all we shall deal with the figures showing the *number* of workers' groups. These figures cover the whole period of existence of the Pravdist and liquidationist newspapers. Number of *workers'* groups:

	Supporting the Pravdist newspapers	Supporting the liquidationist newspapers
For 1912	620	89
For 1913	2,181	661
1914, from Jan. 1 to May 13	2,873	671
Total . .	5,674	1,421

Collections for Marxist (Pravdist) and liquidationist newspapers in St. Petersburg from January 1 to May 13, 1914

Collections made by	St. Petersburg				Moscow				Provinces				Total			
	Pravdist		Liquidationist		Pravdist		Liquidationist		Pravdist		Liquidationist		Pravdist		Liquidationist	
	Number of collections	Sums collected (rubles)	Number of collections	Sums collected (rubles)	Number of collections	Sums collected (rubles)	Number of collections	Sums collected (rubles)	Number of collections	Sums collected (rubles)	Number of collections	Sums collected (rubles)	Number of collections	Sums collected (rubles)	Number of collections	Sums collected (rubles)
Workers' groups . . .	*2,024*	*13,943.24*	*308*	*2,231.98*	*130*	*865.00*	*25*	*263.52*	*719*	*4,125.86*	*338*	*2,800.62*	*2,873*	*18,934.10*	*671*	*5,296.12*
Total from non-workers including: . .	*325*	*1,256.92*	*165*	*1,799.40*	*46*	*260.51*	*24*	*1,137.30*	*332*	*1,082.79*	*230*	*2,113.90*	*713*	*2,650.01*	*453*	*6,759.77*
Student and youth groups	26	369.49	19	292.13	8	119.30	3	21.00	20	162.13	23	317.09	54	650.92	45	630.22
Groups of "adherents", "friends", etc.	8	164.00	14	429.25	6	42.10	5	892.00	28	252.72	35	1,129.35	42	458.82	54	2,450.60
Other groups .	2	8.00	6	72.60	1	2.00	—	—	30	115.29	24	113.52	33	125.29	30	186.12
Individuals . .	281	650.96	120	966.72	29	63.61	14	197.80	221	332.05	132	443.80	531	1,046.62	266	1,608.32
Unspecified . .	8	64.47	6	38.70	2	33.50	2	26.50	33	220.60	16	110.14	43	318.57	24	175.34
From abroad . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	49.79	34	1,709.17
Total	*2,349*	*15,200.16*	*473*	*4,031.38*	*176*	*1,125.51*	*49*	*1,400.82*	*1,051*	*5,208.65*	*568*	*4,914.52*	*3,586*	*21,584.11*	*1,124*	*12,055.89*

The total number of groups is 7,095. Of course, there are groups which made several collections, but separate data for these are not available.

We see that *only* one-fifth of the total number of workers' groups are in sympathy with the liquidators. In two-and-a-half years, Pravdism, Pravdist decisions and Pravdist tactics have *united* four-fifths of Russia's class-conscious workers.

This fact of workers' unity can well bear comparison with the phrases about "unity" uttered by the various grouplets of intellectuals, the Vperyodists, Plekhanovites, Trotskyites, etc., etc.

Let us compare the figures for 1913 and 1914 (those for 1912 are not comparable, because *Pravda* appeared in April, and *Luch*[22] five months later). We shall find that the number

of Pravdist groups has grown by 692, *i.e., 31.7 per cent,* whereas the liquidationist groups have gone up by 10, *i.e., 1.5 per cent.* Hence, the workers' readiness to support the Pravdist newspapers has grown *20 times as fast* as their readiness to support the liquidationist newspapers.

Let us see how the workers in various parts of Russia are divided according to trend:

	Per cent of total workers' groups	
	Pravdist	Liquidationist
St. Petersburg	86	14
Moscow	83	17
Provinces	68	32

The inference is clear: the more politically developed the masses of the workers are, and the higher their level of class-consciousness and political activity, *the higher* is the number of Pravdists among them. In St. Petersburg the liquidators have been almost completely dislodged (fourteen out of a hundred); they still have a precarious hold in the provinces (32 out of 100), where the masses are politically less educated.

It is highly instructive to note that figures from an entirely different source, namely, those giving the number of workers' delegates elected during the Insurance Board elections, tally to a remarkable degree with those of the workers' groups. During the election of the Metropolitan Insurance Board, 37 Pravdist and 7 liquidationist delegates were elected, i.e., 84 per cent and 16 per cent respectively. Of the total number of delegates elected, the Pravdists constituted 70 per cent (37 out of 53), and at the election of the *All-Russia* Insurance Board they obtained 47 out of 57, i.e., 82 per cent. The liquidators, non-party people and Narodniks form a small minority of workers, who still remain under bourgeois influence.

To proceed. The following are interesting figures on the average amounts collected by workers' groups:

	Average amounts collected by workers' groups	
	Pravdist (rubles)	Liquidationist (rubles)
St. Petersburg	6.88	7.24
Moscow	6.65	10.54
Provinces	5.74	8.28
Whole of Russia	6.58	7.89

The Pravdist groups show a natural, understandable and, so to speak, normal tendency: the average contribution from the average workers' group rises with the increase in the average earnings of the working masses.

In the case of the liquidators, we see, apart from the spurt in the Moscow groups (of which there are only 25 in all!), that the average contributions from the provincial groups are *higher* than those from the St. Petersburg groups! How are we to explain this old phenomenon?

Only a more detailed analysis of the figures could provide a satisfactory reply to this question, but that would be a laborious task. Our conjecture is that the liquidators unite the minority of the higher-paid workers in certain sections of industry. It has been observed all over the world that such workers cling to liberal and opportunist ideas. In St. Petersburg, the longest to put up with the liquidators were the printing workers, and it was only during the last elections in their Union, on April 27, 1914, that the Pravdists won half the seats on the Executive and a majority of the seats for alternate members. In all countries the printers are most inclined towards opportunism, and some grades among them are highly paid workers.

If our conclusion about the minority of the workers, the labour aristocracy, being in sympathy with the liquidators is merely conjectural, there can be no doubt whatever where *individuals* are concerned. Of the contributions made by non-workers, *more than half* came from individuals (531 out of 713 in our case, 266 out of 453 in the case of the liquidators). The average contribution from this source in our case is R.1.97 whereas among the liquidators it is *R.6.05*!

In the first case, the contributions obviously came from lower-paid office workers, civil servants, etc., and from the

petty-bourgeois elements of a semi-proletarian character. In the case of the liquidators, however, we see that they have rich friends among the bourgeoisie.

These rich friends from among the bourgeoisie take still more definite shape as "groups of adherents, friends, etc." These groups collected R.458.82 for us, i.e., two per cent of the total sum collected, the average donation per group being R.10.92, which is only half as much again as the average donation of workers' groups. For the liquidators, however, these groups collected R.2,450.60, i.e., *over* 20 per cent of the total sum collected, the average donation per group being *R.45.39*, i.e., *six times* the average collected by workers' groups!

To this we add the collections made abroad, where bourgeois students are the main contributors. We received *R.49.79* from this source, i.e., less than one-fourth of one per cent; the liquidators received R.1,709.17, i.e., *14 per cent.*

If we add up individuals, "adherents and friends", and collections made abroad, the total amount collected from these sources will be as follows:

Pravdists–R.1,555.23, i.e., *7 per cent* of the total collections.

Liquidators–R.5,768.09, i.e., *48 per cent* of the total collections.

From this source we received less than one-tenth of what we received from the workers' groups (R.18,934). This source gave the liquidators *more* than they received from the workers' groups (R.5,296)!

The inference is clear: the liquidationist newspaper is *not* a workers' but a *bourgeois* newspaper. It is run mainly on funds contributed by *rich friends from among the bourgeoisie.*

As a matter of fact, the liquidators are far more dependent upon the bourgeoisie than our figures show. The Pravdist newspapers have *frequently* published their financial reports for public information. These reports have shown that our newspaper, by adding collections to its income, is paying its way. With a circulation of 40,000 (the average for May 1914), this is understandable, in spite of confiscations and a dearth of advertisements. The liquidators, however, published their report *only once* (*Luch* No. 101), showing a

deficit of 4,000 rubles. After this, they adopted the usual bourgeois custom of not publishing reports. With a circulation of 15,000, their newspaper cannot avoid a deficit, and evidently this is covered again and again by their rich friends from among the bourgeoisie.

Liberal-labour politicians like to drop hints about an "*open* workers' party", but they do not like to *reveal* to genuine workers their actual dependence upon the bourgeoisie! It is left for us, "underground" workers, to teach the liquidator-liberals the benefit of open reports....

The overall ratio of worker and non-worker collections is as follows:

Collected by	Out of every ruble collected for	
	Pravdist newspapers	Liquidationist newspapers
Workers	87 kopeks	44 kopeks
Non-workers	13 "	56 "
Total	1.00 ruble	1.00 ruble

The Pravdists get one-seventh of their aid collections from the bourgeoisie and, as we have seen, from its most democratic and least wealthy sections. The liquidationist undertaking is *largely* a bourgeois undertaking, which is supported only by a minoriy of the workers.

The figures concerning the sources of funds also reveal to us the class status of the readers and buyers of the newspapers.

Voluntary contributions are made only by regular readers, who most intelligently sympathise with the trend of the given newspaper. In its turn, the trend of the given newspaper willy-nilly "adapts itself" to the more "influential" section of its reading public.

The deductions that follow from our figures are, first, theoretical, i.e., such as will help the working class to understand the conditions of its movement, and secondly, practical deductions, which will give us direct guidance in our activities.

It is sometimes said that there is not one working-class press in Russia, but two. Even Plekhanov repeated this statement not long ago. But that is not true. Those who say this

betray sheer ignorance, if not a secret desire to help the liquidators spread bourgeois influence among the workers. Long ago and repeatedly (for example, in 1908 and 1910), the Party decisions clearly, definitely, and directly pointed to the bourgeois nature of liquidationism. Articles in the Marxist press have explained this truth hundreds of times.

The experience of a daily newspaper, which openly appeals to the masses, was bound to *disclose* the real *class* character of the liquidationist *trend.* And that is what it did. The liquidationist newspaper has indeed proved to be a bourgeois undertaking, which is supported by a minority of the workers.

Moreover, let us not forget that almost up to the spring of 1914 the liquidationist newspaper was the mouthpiece of the August bloc.[23] It was only lately that the Letts withdrew from it, and Trotsky, Em-El, An, Buryanov and Yegorov[24] have left, or are leaving, the liquidators. The break-up of the bloc is continuing. The near future is bound to reveal still more clearly the bourgeois character of the liquidationist *trend* and the sterility of the intellectualist *grouplets,* such as the Vperyodists, Plekhanovites, Trotskyites, etc.

The practical deductions may be summed up in the following points:

1) 5,674 workers' groups united by the Pravdists in less than two-and-a-half years is a fairly large number, considering the harsh conditions obtaining in Russia. But this is only a beginning. We need, not thousands, but tens of thousands of workers' groups. We must intensify our activities tenfold. Ten rubles collected in kopeks from hundreds of workers are more important and valuable, both from the ideological and organisational point of view, than a hundred rubles from rich friends among the bourgeoisie. Even from the financial aspect, experience goes to prove that it is possible to run a well-established workers' newspaper with the aid of workers' kopeks, but impossible to do so with the aid of bourgeois rubles. The liquidationist undertaking is a bubble, which is bound to burst.

2) We lag behind in the provinces, where 32 per cent of the workers' groups support the liquidators! Every class-conscious worker must exert every effort to put an end to this lamentable and disgraceful state of affairs. We must bring all our weight to bear in the provinces.

3) The rural workers are apparently still almost untouched by the movement. Difficult as work in this field may be, we must press forward with it in the most vigorous manner.

4) Like a mother who carefully tends a sick child and gives it better nourishment, the class-conscious workers must take more care of the districts and factories where the workers are sick with liquidationism. This malady, which emanates from the bourgeoisie, is inevitable in a young working-class movement, but with proper care and persistent treatment, it will pass without any serious after-effects. To provide the sick workers with more plentiful nourishment in the shape of Marxist literature, to explain more carefully and in more popular form the history and tactics of the Party and the meaning of the Party decisions on the bourgeois nature of liquidationism, to explain at greater length the urgent necessity of proletarian unity, i.e., the submission of the minority of the workers to the majority, the submission of the one-fifth to the four-fifths of the class-conscious workers of Russia—such are some of the most important tasks confronting us.

Trudovaya Pravda Nos. 14 and 15,
June 13 and 14, 1914
Symposium *Marxism and Liquidationism,*
Part II. Priboi Publishers,
St. Petersburg, 1914
Signed: *V. Ilyin*

Vol. 20

THE CHARACTER OF OUR NEWSPAPERS

Far too much space is being allotted to political agitation on outdated themes–to political ballyhoo–and far too little to the building of the new life, to the facts about it.

Why, instead of turning out 200-400 lines, don't we write twenty or even ten lines on such simple, generally known, clear topics with which the people are already fairly well acquainted, like the foul treachery of the Mensheviks–the lackeys of the bourgeoisie–the Anglo-Japanese invasion to restore the sacred rights of capital, the American multimillionaires baring their fangs against Germany, etc., etc.? We must write about these things and note every new fact in this sphere, but we need not write long articles and repeat old arguments; what is needed is to convey in just a few lines, "in telegraphic style", the latest manifestation of the old, known and already evaluated politics.

The bourgeois press in the "good old bourgeois times" never mentioned the "holy of holies"–the conditions in privately-owned factories, in the private enterprises. This custom fitted in with the interests of the bourgeoisie. We must radically break with it. We have *not* broken with it. So far our type of newspaper has *not* changed as it should in a society in transition from capitalism to socialism.

Less politics. Politics has been "elucidated" fully and reduced to a struggle between the two camps: the insurrectionary proletariat and the handful of capitalist slave-owners (with the whole gang, right down to the Mensheviks and others). We may, and, I repeat, we must, speak very briefly about these politics.

More economics. But not in the sense of "general" discussions, learned reviews, intellectual plans and similar piffle, for, I regret to say, they are all too often just piffle and nothing more. By economics we mean the gathering, *careful checking* and study of the facts of the actual organisation of the new life. Have *real* successes been achieved by big factories, agricultural communes, the Poor Peasants' Committees, and local Economic Councils in building up the new economy? What, precisely, are these successes? Have they been verified? Are they not fables, boasting, intellectual promises ("things are moving", "the plan has been drawn up", "we are getting under way", "we now vouch for", "there is undoubted improvement", and other charlatan phrases of which "we" are such masters)? How have the successes been achieved? What must be done to extend them?

Where is the black list with the names of the lagging factories which since nationalisation have remained models of disorder, disintegration, dirt, hooliganism and parasitism? Nowhere to be found. But there *are* such factories. We shall not be able to do our duty unless we wage *war* against these "guardians of capitalist traditions". We shall be jellyfish, not Communists, as long as we tolerate such factories. We have not learned to wage the class struggle in the newspapers as skilfully as the bourgeoisie did. Remember the skill with which it *hounded its* class enemies in the press, ridiculed them, disgraced them, and tried to sweep them away. And we? Doesn't the class struggle in the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism take the form of safeguarding the interests of the working *class* against the few, the groups and sections of workers who stubbornly cling to capitalist traditions and continue to regard the Soviet state in the old way: work as little and as badly as they can and grab as much money as possible from the state. Aren't there many such scoundrels, even among the compositors in Soviet printing works, among the Sormovo and Putilov workers, etc.? How many of them have we found, how many have we exposed and how many have we pilloried?

The press is silent. And if it mentions the subject at all it does so in a stereotyped, official way, not in the manner of a *revolutionary* press, not as an organ of the *dictatorship* of a class demonstrating that the resistance of the capitalists

and of the parasites–the custodians of capitalist traditions–will be crushed with an iron hand.

The same with the war. Do we harass cowardly or inefficient officers? Have we denounced the really bad regiments to the whole of Russia? Have we "caught" enough of the bad types who should be removed from the army with the greatest publicity for unsuitability, carelessness, procrastination, etc.? We are not yet waging an effective, ruthless and truly revolutionary *war* against the *specific* wrongdoers. We do very little to *educate the people* by living, concrete examples and models taken from all spheres of life, although that is the chief task of the press during the transition from capitalism to communism. We give little attention to that aspect of *everyday* life inside the factories, in the villages and in the regiments where, more than anywhere else, the new is being built, where attention, publicity, public criticism, condemnation of what is bad and appeals to learn from the good are needed most.

Less political ballyhoo. Fewer highbrow discussions. Closer to life. More attention to the way in which the workers and peasants are *actually* building the *new* in their everyday work, and more *verification* so as to ascertain the extent to which the new is *communistic.*

Pravda No. 202,
September 20, 1918
Signed: *N. Lenin*

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NOTES

1 *Rabocheye Dyelo*–Economist journal published at irregular intervals by the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad; it appeared in Geneva from April 1899 until February 1902 under the editorship of B. N. Krichevsky, A. S. Martynov and V. P. Ivanshin. Altogether 12 issues–nine books–appeared.

For a criticism of the views of the *Rabocheye Dyelo* supporters see Lenin's *What Is to Be Done?*

p. 5

2 *Rabochaya Mysl*–Economist newspaper; published from October 1897 until December 1902. Sixteen issues appeared: the first two issues were published in St. Petersburg, the issues from 3-11 were published in Berlin, the issues 12-15 in Warsaw; the last issue, No. 16, was also published abroad. It was edited by K. M. Takhtarev and others.

In a number of works, and especially in articles in *Iskra* and in his *What Is to Be Done?*, Lenin criticised the views of *Rabochaya Mysl* as the Russian equivalent of international opportunism.

p. 5

3 *Iskra*–the first all-Russia illegal Marxist newspaper, founded by Lenin in 1900.

In view of the impossibility of producing a revolutionary newspaper in Russia owing to the police persecution, Lenin, while still in exile in Siberia, worked out all the details of a plan for publishing it abroad. In January 1900, when his term of exile ended, Lenin immediately set to work to realise his plan.

The first number of Lenin's *Iskra* came off the press on December 11 (24), 1900 in Leipzig, successive issues were printed in Munich, from April 1902 in London, and, beginning with the spring of 1903, in Geneva.

The editorial board of *Iskra* was made up of V. I. Lenin, G. V. Plekhanov, Y. O. Martov, P. B. Axelrod, A. N. Potresov and V. I. Zasulich. N. K. Krupskaya became secretary of the editorial board in the spring of 1901. Lenin was, in fact, chief editor and leader of *Iskra*. His *Iskra* articles dealt with all the fundamental

questions of building the party and the class struggle of the proletariat of Russia as well as with the main events in international life.

Groups and committees of the R.S.D.L.P. of the Leninist Iskraist trend were formed in a number of cities in Russia (St. Petersburg, Moscow and others).

Iskra organisations were founded and worked under the direct leadership of the professional revolutionaries trained by Lenin (N. E. Bauman, I. V. Babushkin, S. I. Gusev, M. I. Kalinin and others).

On Lenin's initiative and with his direct participation the *Iskra* editorial board drafted the Party programme (published in issue No. 21), and prepared the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., which was held in July-August 1903.

By that time the majority of the Social-Democratic organisations in Russia had associated themselves with *Iskra*, approved its tactics, programme and organisational plan and recognised it as their leading organ. In a special resolution the Congress recorded the exceptional role played by *Iskra* in the struggle for the party and adopted it as the Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P.

The Second Congress appointed an editorial board consisting of Lenin, Plekhanov and Martov. Martov, flouting the Congress decision, refused to function on the editorial board and issues 46-51 of *Iskra* appeared under the editorship of Lenin and Plekhanov. Subsequently, Plekhanov switched to Menshevism and insisted that all the former Menshevik editors, who had been rejected by the Congress, be brought on to the editorial board. Lenin could not agree to this and on October 19 (November 1), 1903 he resigned from the editorial board in order to strengthen his position in the Central Committee of the Party–from whence he could strike at the Menshevik opportunists. No. 52 of *Iskra* was edited by Plekhanov alone. On November 13 (26), 1903 Plekhanov, flouting the will of the Congress, co-opted the former Menshevik editors to the editorial board.

Beginning with issue No. 52, *Iskra* was taken over by the Mensheviks and, to distinguish it from the *old* Leninist *Iskra*, it was called *new Iskra*. p. 6

4 This refers to the student discontent and workers' actions–meetings, demonstrations and strikes–in February-March 1901 in many towns in Russia–St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Kharkov, Yaroslavl, Tomsk, Warsaw, Belostok and others. p. 8

5 *Izvestia Soveta Rabochikh Deputatov*–official organ of St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies; began publication on October 17 (30), 1905 and continued until December 14 (27), 1905; it appeared in bulletin form and supplied news about the work of the Soviet. The bulletin, which did not have a full-time editorial staff, was printed secretly by the workers in the printing establishments of different bourgeois newspapers. Ten numbers appeared–the eleventh was confiscated by the police while still on the press. p. 13

6 *Proletary*–illegal Bolshevik weekly, Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P.; it was established by a decision of the Third Congress of the Party. Lenin was appointed chief editor by a Plenum of the Central Committee on April 27 (May 10), 1905. *Proletary* was published in Geneva from May 14 (27) until November 12 (25), 1905. there were 26 issues. V. V. Vorovsky, A. V. Lunacharsky and M. S. Olminsky worked continuously on the editorial staff. *Proletary* continued the work of Lenin's old *Iskra* and steadfastly carried on the tradition of the Bolshevik newspaper *Vperyod*. Lenin wrote over 50 articles and shorter notices for *Proletary*. These articles were reprinted in the local Bolshevik press and as separate leaflets.

Proletary ceased publication shortly after Lenin's departure for Russia in November 1905. The last two issues (25 and 26) were produced under the editorship of V. V. Vorovsky. p. 14

7 *Oblomov*–Russian landowner, chief character in the novel of the same name by I. A. Goncharov. Oblomov was the personification of routine, stagnation and inertia. p. 15

8 An expression taken from "Pyostriye Pisma" by M. Y. Saltykov-Shchedrin. p. 15

9 *Pravda*–legal daily newspaper of the Bolsheviks; published in St. Petersburg; it was started in April 1912 on the initiative of the St. Petersburg workers.

Pravda was a mass workers' paper, financed by contributions from the workers themselves. It had a wide network of worker correspondents and worker contributors. In the space of one year it published over 11,000 items supplied by its worker correspondents. *Pravda* had an average daily circulation of 40,000 and there were months when its daily circulation rose to 60,000.

Pravda was subjected to continuous police persecution. It was suppressed 8 times by the tsarist government, but it always reappeared under another name: *Rabochaya Pravda, Severnaya Pravda, Pravda Truda, Za Pravdu, Proletarskaya Pravda, Put Pravdy, Rabochy* and *Trudovaya Pravda*. Despite these obstacles, 636 issues of the newspaper were published in the course of little more than two years. On July 8 (21), 1914 it was closed down.

Publication of *Pravda* was renewed only after the February 1917 Revolution. Beginning with March 5 (18), 1917 *Pravda* appeared as the organ of the Central Committee and St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. In July-October, persecuted by the Provisional Government, *Pravda* was forced to change its title several times and appeared as *Listok Pravdy, Proletary, Rabochy* and *Rabochy Put*. On October 27 (November 9), 1917, following the victory of the October Socialist Revolution, it began to appear again under its old title–*Pravda*. p. 19

10 This refers to collections in aid of the families of the workers shot by tsarist troops in the Lena goldfields massacre and in aid of the workers arrested in connection with the shootings. p. 20

[11] *Kolokol*—political journal appearing under the motto "Vivos voco!" It was published by A. I. Herzen and N. P. Ogarev in the Free Russian Press, founded by Herzen, in London from 1857 until April 1865, and in Geneva from 1865 until December 1868. It began to appear in the French language, with a supplement in Russian, in 1868.

For an appraisal of *Kolokol* by Lenin see his article "In Memory of Herzen". (See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 18, pp. 25-31.) p. 22

[12] The *Letter to Gogol* was written by V. G. Belinsky in July 1847 and was first published by A. I. Herzen in *Polyarnaya Zvezda* in 1855 (see V. G. Belinsky, *Selected Philosophical Works*, Moscow, 1948, pp. 503-12). p. 23

[13] The *Emancipation of Labour group*—the first Russian Marxist group—was founded by G. V. Plekhanov in Geneva in 1883; it existed until the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (1903).

The Emancipation of Labour group did a great deal for the dissemination of Marxism in Russia; Lenin pointed out that it "only laid the theoretical foundations for the Social-Democratic movement and took the first step towards the working-class movement". They translated into Russian works by the founders of Marxism—the *Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels, *Wage-Labour and Capital* by Marx, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific* by Engels, and others. G. V. Plekhanov and his Emancipation of Labour group delivered the decisive blow to Narodism. But at the same time the Emancipation of Labour group committed serious mistakes, which were the germ of the future Menshevik views of Plekhanov and other members of the group. p. 23

[14] *St. Petersburg Rabochy Listok*—illegal newspaper, organ of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. Two numbers appeared: No. 1 in February (dated January) 1897, mimeographed in Russia in 300-400 copies, and No. 2 in September 1897 in Geneva. p. 25

[15] *Vperyod*—illegal Bolshevik newspaper; published in Geneva from December 22, 1904 (January 4, 1903) until May 5 (18), 1905; eighteen issues were printed. Lenin was organiser, ideological inspirer and leader of the newspaper. V. V. Vorovsky, M. S. Olminsky and A. V. Lunacharsky were also on the editorial staff.

The outstanding role played by *Vperyod* in the struggle against the Mensheviks, in upholding the Party principles, and in posing and solving the tactical questions advanced by the revolutionary movement was noted in a special resolution adopted at the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.; the resolution also expressed gratitude to the editorial board. p. 28

[16] *Novaya Zhizn*—the first legal Bolshevik newspaper; it was published daily in St. Petersburg from October 27 (November 9) until December 3 (16), 1905. At the beginning of November, when Lenin arrived in St. Petersburg from emigration, the paper began to appear under his direct leadership. *Novaya Zhizn* was, in fact, the Central Organ of the R.S.D.L.P. Among those who worked on it were V. V. Vorovsky, M. S. Olminsky and A. V. Lunacharsky. Maxim Gorky took an active part in producing *Novaya Zhizn* and also gave it considerable financial aid.

Lenin's first article in *Novaya Zhizn*, "On the Reorganisation of the Party", appeared in issue No. 9, dated November 10, 1905. Another ten or more articles by Lenin were published in subsequent issues. *Novaya Zhizn* had a circulation of about 80,000. It was subjected to continual harrying. Fifteen of the twenty-seven issues were confiscated and destroyed. After the publication of No. 27, dated December 2 (15), *Novaya Zhizn* was suppressed. The last, 28th number, was printed illegally. p. 28

[17] *Nachalo*—legal daily newspaper of the Mensheviks; it appeared in St. Petersburg in November-December 1905. p. 28

[18] *Volna*—legal daily newspaper of the Bolsheviks; it began publication in St. Petersburg on April 26 (May 9) and continued until May 24 (June 6), 1906; a total of 25 issues appeared. Beginning with No. 9 of May 5 (18), 1906 (after the Fourth Congress and with the arrival of Lenin from Stockholm), the paper was, in fact, edited by Lenin. Over 20 of his articles were printed in it. V. V. Vorovsky and M. S. Olminsky worked on the editorial staff. *Volna* was subjected to much police persecution; when suppressed by the tsarist government it was succeeded by the legal Bolshevik newspaper *Vperyod*.

Ekho—legal Bolshevik daily published in St. Petersburg from June 22 (July 5) until July 7 (20), 1906 in succession to *Vperyod*, which had been suppressed by the government. Fourteen numbers appeared; *Ekho* was in fact edited by Lenin. An article from his pen appeared in each number. He took a direct part in the work of the column headed "Among the Newspapers and Journals".

Nearly all the numbers of *Ekho* were subjected to police harrying. It was suppressed on the eve of the dispersal of the First Duma. p. 28

[19] *Narodnaya Duma*—Menshevik daily which appeared in St. Petersburg in March-April 1907. p. 28

[20] The article "Our Tasks" was written in April 1914 and published as the concluding article in No. 1 of the newspaper *Rabochy*, which in connection with the second anniversary of *Pravda* was wholly devoted to the history of the workers' press in Russia. In content, this article is closely linked with Lenin's "From the History of the

Workers' Press in Russia", also written for the same issue of *Rabochy*. p. 31

[21] V.A.T.–initials of V. A. Tikhomirnov who worked on *Pravda*. p. 35

[22] *Luch*–legal daily newspaper of the Menshevik liquidators; began publication in St. Petersburg in September 1912 and continued until July 1913; its place was then taken by *Zhivaya Zhizn* which, in turn, was succeeded by *Novaya Rabochaya Gazeta*. p. 37

[23] The August anti-Party bloc was formed in 1912 by Trotsky, together with all the groups and trends hostile to Leninism–from the liquidators and Trotskyites to the Otzovists and God-builders. Consisting of motley anti-Party elements the bloc quickly disintegrated under the blows of the Bolsheviks who fought for the illegal party. p. 42

[24] *Em-El*–Menshevik M. Y. Lukomskỹ; *An*–pen name of N. N. Jordania, leader of the Caucasian Mensheviks; *Buryanov*–member of the Fourth Duma and Menshevik Duma group; *Yegorov*–deputy to the Third Duma, contributed to the liquidationist *Luch* in 1913. p. 42

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В. И. ЛЕНИН

С ЧЕГО НАЧАТЬ?

ПАРТИЙНАЯ ОРГАНИЗАЦИЯ И ПАРТИЙНАЯ ЛИТЕРАТУРА

РАБОЧИЙ КЛАСС И РАБОЧАЯ ПЕЧАТЬ

На английском языке