

## Contents of Volume 4

*Preface* XVII

### 1917

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE CONGRESS OF THE FINNISH SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY, HELSINGFORS, *November 14, 1917* 1

REPLY TO UKRAINIAN COMRADES IN THE REAR AND AT THE FRONT 8

THE UKRAINIAN RADA. *Speech Delivered in the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, December 14, 1917* 16

WHAT IS THE UKRAINIAN RADA? 20

THE INDEPENDENCE OF FINLAND. *Speech Delivered in the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, December 22, 1917 (Newspaper Report)* 23

“TURKISH ARMENIA” 26

### 1918

SPEECH AT THE MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE R.S.D.L.P.(B.) ON THE QUESTION OF PEACE WITH THE GERMANS, *January 11, 1918 (Summary Record in the Minutes)* 28

THE KIEV BOURGEOIS RADA 29

SPEECHES DELIVERED AT THE THIRD ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF WORKERS', SOLDIERS' AND PEASANTS' DEPUTIES, *January 10-18, 1918* 31

- 1. Report on the National Question, *January 15 (Newspaper report)* 31
- 2. Draft Resolution on the Federal Institutions of the Russian Republic 33
- 3. Reply to the Discussion on the Report on the National Question, *January 15 (Newspaper Report)* 34

TELEPHONE MESSAGE TO THE PETROGRAD COMMITTEE, R.S.D.L.P.(B.), *February 21, 1918* 39

TELEGRAM TO THE PEOPLE'S SECRETARIAT, UKRAINIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC, *February 21, 1918* 40

NOTE SENT BY DIRECT WIRE TO THE PEOPLE'S SECRETARIAT, UKRAINIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC, *February 24, 1918* 42

THE UKRAINIAN KNOT 46

A TATAR-BASHKIR SOVIET REPUBLIC 50

TRANSCAUCASIAN COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES UNDER A SOCIALIST MASK 52

ORGANIZATION OF A RUSSIAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC. *Pravda Interview* 68

- Bourgeois-Democratic Federations 68
- How the Russian Federation Now in Process of Formation Differs From Them 69
- Structural Principles of the Russian Federation 70
- Composition of the Russian Federal Republic 71
- Rights of Federating Regions. Rights of National Minorities 72
- Structure of the Central Authority 72
- The Executive Organ of Power 73
- Transitional Function of Federalism 74
- Shaping the Political Structure of the Russian Federation. Federalism in Russia—a Transitional Step to Socialist Unitarism 75

ONE IMMEDIATE TASK 76

GENERAL PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST FEDERATIVE SOVIET REPUBLIC. *Draft Approved by the Commission Appointed by the All-Russian C.E.C. for Drafting the Constitution of the Soviet Republic* 81

TELEGRAM TO THE FIFTH CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF THE TURKESTAN REGION, *April 22, 1918* 83

THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE UKRAINE. *Izvestia Interview* 84

- Conclusion of an Armistice 84
- Subsequent Negotiations 84
- Effect of the Coup d'État in the Ukraine 85
- Causes of the Coup d'État 86

SPEECHES DELIVERED AT A CONFERENCE ON THE CONVENING OF A CONSTITUENT CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF THE TATAR-BASHKIR SOVIET REPUBLIC, *May 10-16, 1918* 87

- 1. Speech at the Opening of the Conference, *May 10* 87
- 2. Speech at the Closing of the Conference, *May 16* 93

ANOTHER LIE 95

THE SITUATION IN THE CAUCASUS 96

- I. Transcaucasia 96
- II. The North Caucasus 98

CONCERNING THE SITUATION IN THE CAUCASUS *From the People's Commissariat for the Affairs of Nationalities* 102

THE DON AND THE NORTH CAUCASUS (*Machinations and the Facts*) 105

TELEGRAM TO V. I. LENIN, *June 7, 1918* 118

LETTER TO V. I. LENIN, *July 7, 1918* 120

LETTER TO V. I. LENIN, *July 10, 1918* 122

LETTER TO V. I. LENIN, *August 4, 1918* 124

LETTER TO V. I. LENIN, *August 31, 1918* 129

TELEGRAM TO SVERDLOV, CHAIRMAN OF THE ALLRUSSIAN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, *August 31, 1918* 130

TELEGRAM TO THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS, *September 6, 1918* 131

TELEGRAM TO VOROSHILOV, COMMANDER OF THE FRONT, TSARITSYN, *September 19, 1918* 132

THE SOUTHERN FRONT. *Izvestia Interview* 133

THE LOGIC OF FACTS (*In Reference to the "Theses" of the Central Committee of the Mensheviks*) 136

- I. The October Revolution 136
- II. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat 139
- III. Petty-Bourgeois Muddle 142
- IV. What Next? 145

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A PLENARY MEETING OF THE MOSCOW SOVIET OF WORKERS', SOLDIERS' AND PEASANTS' DEPUTIES ON THE SITUATION ON THE SOUTHERN FRONT, *October 29, 1918 (Newspaper Report)* 149

THE SOUTH OF RUSSIA. *Pravda Interview* 151

- Importance of the Southern Front 151
- Tsaritsyn the Main Target 152
- Wherein Lies the Strength of Our Army? 153

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION (*October 24 and 25, 1917, in Petrograd*) 155

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION 158

- I. The February Revolution and the National Question 158
- II. The October Revolution and the National Question 161
- III. The World-Wide Significance of the October Revolution 167

PARTITION WALL 171

DON'T FORGET THE EAST 174

THE UKRAINE IS LIBERATING ITSELF 177

LIGHT FROM THE EAST 181

THINGS ARE MOVING 187

**1919**

LETTER TO V. I. LENIN FROM THE EASTERN FRONT, *January 5, 1919* 190

REPORT TO V. I. LENIN 194

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A JOINT MEETING OF PARTY AND SOVIET ORGANIZATIONS IN VYATKA, *January 19, 1919 (Record in the Minutes)* 200

REPORT TO COMRADE LENIN BY THE COMMISSION OF THE PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE COUNCIL OF DEFENCE ON THE REASONS FOR THE FALL OF PERM IN DECEMBER 1918 202

- General Picture of the Disaster 202
- The Third Army and the Reserves 209
- Conclusions 214
- Control System of the Army and Instructions of the Centre 215
- Conclusions 218
- Insecurity of the Rear and Work of the Party and Soviet Institutions 219
- Conclusions 223
- Supply and Evacuation Agencies 224
- Conclusions 227
- Total Losses of Materiel and Men 229
- Measures Taken to Strengthen the Front 230

THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION 233

TO THE SOVIETS AND THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS OF TURKESTAN 238

TWO CAMPS 240

OUR TASKS IN THE EAST 245

TWO YEARS 249

IMPERIALISM'S RESERVES 254

EXCERPT FROM A SPEECH ON THE MILITARY QUESTION DELIVERED AT THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P.(B.), *March 21, 1919* 258

THE RE-ORGANIZATION OF STATE CONTROL. *Report Delivered at a Meeting of the All-*

*Russian Central Executive Committee, April 9, 1919 (Newspaper Report) 260*

THE SHOOTING OF THE TWENTY-SIX BAKU COMRADES BY AGENTS OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM 261

TELEGRAM TO THE INSPECTOR-EXTRAORDINARY OF STATE CONTROL, SHCHIGRY, *May 7, 1919 266*

NOTE TO V. I. LENIN FROM PETROGRAD BY DIRECT WIRE, *May 25, 1919 268*

TELEGRAM TO V. I. LENIN, *June 16, 1919 271*

NOTE TO V. I. LENIN FROM PETROGRAD BY DIRECT WIRE, *June 18, 1919 272*

THE PETROGRAD FRONT. *Pravda Interview 275*

- 1. The Approaches to Petrograd 275
- 2. The Enemy's Forces 276
- 3. The Enemy's Calculations 277
- 4. The Situation at the Front 278
- 5. The Navy 279
- 6. Summing up 280

LETTER TO V. I. LENIN ABOUT THE SITUATION ON THE WESTERN FRONT, *August 11, 1919 282*

LETTER TO V. I. LENIN FROM THE SOUTHERN FRONT, *October 15, 1919 285*

TELEGRAM TO V. I. LENIN, *October 25, 1919 289*

SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE SECOND ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PEOPLES OF THE EAST, *November 22, 1919 290*

GREETINGS TO PETROGRAD FROM THE SOUTHERN FRONT 293

THE MILITARY SITUATION IN THE SOUTH 294

- I. Abortive Plans of the Entente 294
- II. Causes of the Defeat of the Counter-revolution 296
- III. Present Situation on the Southern Front 301

## **1920**

ORDER OF THE DAY TO THE UKRAINIAN LABOUR ARMY, *March 7, 1920 304*

SPEECHES AT THE FOURTH CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY (BOLSHEVIKS) OF THE UKRAINE, *March 17-23, 1920 306*

- 1. Speech at the Opening of the Conference, *March 17 306*
- 2. Report on Economic Policy, *March 19 307*
- 3. Reply to the Discussion on the Report on Economic Policy, *March 20 314*
- 4. Speech at the Closing of the Conference, *March 23 315*

LENIN AS THE ORGANIZER AND LEADER OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY 317

- I. Lenin as the Organizer of the Russian Communist Party 318
- II. Lenin as the Leader of the Russian Communist Party 322

SPEECH DELIVERED AT A MEETING CALLED BY THE MOSCOW COMMITTEE, R.C.P.(B.) ON THE OCCASION OF V. I. LENIN'S FIFTIETH BIRTHDAY, *April 23, 1920 328*

THE ENTENTE'S NEW CAMPAIGN AGAINST RUSSIA 331

- I. The General Situation 332
- II. Rear. Striking Area 335

- III. Prospects 339

THE SITUATION ON THE SOUTH-WESTERN FRONT. *Ukrainian ROSTA Interview* 341

- The Break-Through 341
- Results of the Break-Through 342
- Fate of the Polish Third Army 343
- Situation at the Front 344
- Conclusions 344
- The Crimean Front 345

TELEGRAM TO V. I. LENIN, *June 25, 1920* 347

THE SITUATION ON THE POLISH FRONT. *Pravda Interview* 348

- 1. May-June 348
- 2. The Zhitomir Break-Through 349
- 3. Results of the Break-Through 350
- 4. The Danger From the South 351
- 5. Remember Wrangel 352

HOW THE RED ARMY IS GREETED. *Statement to Krasnoarmeyets* 354

TO ALL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS. *Draft Letter of the C.C., R.C.P.(B.)* 356

CREATION OF FIGHTING RESERVES OF THE REPUBLIC 358

- 1. Memorandum to the Political Bureau, C.C., R.C.P.(B.), *August 25, 1920* 358
- 2. Statement to the Political Bureau, C.C., R.C.P.(B.), *August 30, 1920* 360

THE POLICY OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT ON THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN RUSSIA 363

SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE FIRST ALLRUSSIAN CONFERENCE OF RESPONSIBLE PERSONNEL OF THE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' INSPECTION, *October 15, 1920* 377

AUTHOR'S PREFACE. *To a Collection of Articles on the National Question, Published in 1920* 383

THE POLITICAL SITUATION OF THE REPUBLIC. *Report Delivered at a Regional Conference of Communist Organizations of the Don and the Caucasus, held in Vladikavkaz, October 27, 1920* 387

THREE YEARS OF PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP *Report Delivered at a Celebration Meeting of the Baku Soviet, November 6, 1920* 395

- The First Period 396
- The Second Period 398
- The Third Period 400
- Prospects 402

CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES OF DAGHESTAN, *November 13, 1920* 407

- 1. Declaration on Soviet Autonomy for Daghestan 407
- 2. Concluding Remarks 411

CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLES OF THE TEREK REGION, *November 17, 1920* 412

- 1. Report on Soviet Autonomy for the Terek Region 412
- 2. Concluding Remarks 417

THE SITUATION IN THE CAUCASUS. *Pravda Interview* 421

LONG LIVE SOVIET ARMENIA! 426

*Notes* 429

*Biographical Chronicle (1917-1920)* 455