

## Volume Eight – January-July 1905

Preface 15

### 1905

The Autocracy and the Proletariat 17

Good Demonstrations of Proletarians and Poor Arguments of Certain Intellectuals 29

Time to Call a Halt! 35

Conferences of the Committees 40

The new Russian Loan 41

To A. A. Bogdanov 43

The Fall of Port Arthur 47

Fine Words Butter no Parsnips 56

A Letter to the Zurich Group of Bolsheviks 63

A Letter to Y. D. Stasova and to the Other Comrades in Prison in Moscow 66

Revolution in Russia 71

Working-class and Bourgeois Democracy 72

From Narodism to Marxism. Article One 83

The St. Petersburg Strike 90

Our Tartuffes 94

The Beginning of the Revolution in Russia 97

Revolutionary Days 101

- 1. What is Happening in Russia? 103
- 2. Father Gapon 105
- 3. The Plan of the St. Petersburg Battle 107
- 4. Supplement to the Article 'The Plan of the Petersburg Battle' 110
- 5. 'Our Father the Tsar' and the Barricades 111
- 6. The First Steps 114
- 7. The Eve of Bloody Sunday 118
- 8. The Number of Killed or Wounded 121
- 9. The Battles on the Barricades 122

The Tsarist Peace 124

A Brief Outline of the Split in the R.S.D.L.P. 125

The Letter to Greulich 126

Trepov in the Saddle 132

St. Petersburg after January 9	136
The First lessons	138
A Letter to A. A. Bogdanov and S. I. Gusev	143
Two Tactics	148
A Militant Agreement for the Uprising	158
Should we Organise the Revolution?	167
The Convening of the Third Party Congress. From the Editors	177
From the New-Iskra Camp	181
A Letter to the Organisations in Russia	182
General Plan of the Third Congress Decisions	184
Draft Resolutions for the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.	191
• 1. Resolution on the Disruptive Behaviour of the Mensheviks, or New-Iskrists	193
• 2. Resolution on Plekhanov's Conduct During the Party Crisis	194
• 3. Resolution on the Theoretical Position of the New-Iskrists	195
• 4. Resolution on the Relations Between Workers and Intellectuals in the Social-Democratic Party	196
Modification of the Clause in the Rules Concerning the Centres	197
Questionnaire. For the Third Congress of the Party	200
Preface to the Pamphlet Memorandum of Police Department Superintendent Lopukhin	202
Plan of a Lecture on the Commune	206
New Tasks and New Forces	211
Osvobozhdeniye-ists and New-Iskrists, Monarchists and Girondists	221
Evasions Without End	223
Whom are they Trying to Fool?	225
The Proletariat and the Bourgeois Democrats	228
The Proletariat and the Peasantry	231
Street Fighting (The Advice of a General of the Commune)	237
The First Step	239
On the History of the Party Programme	245
On Our Agrarian Programme (A Letter to the Third Congress)	246
What the Bonapartists are up to	252
A Revolution of the 1789 or the 1848 Type?	257

To the Party 260

The Second Step 262

European Capital and the Autocracy 267

Social-democracy and the Provisional Revolutionary Government 275

- I. 277
- II. 281
- III. 286
- IV. 288

The Revolutionary-democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Peasantry

Graft: a Franco-Russian Custom 304

The Guilty Blaming the Innocent 306

The Agrarian Programme of the Liberals 315

Marx on the American 'General Redistribution' 323

The Council is Caught out 330

Open Letter to Comrade Plekhanov, Chairman of the Council of the R.S.D.L.P. 335

Concerning the Third Congress 344

Plan for a May Day Leaflet 346

The First of May 348

The Constitutional Market-place 352

Fortnightly Reports of the Party Organisations 357

The Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., April 12 (25)-April 27 (May 10), 1905 359

- 1. Speech on the Validity of the Congress, April 13 (26) 363
- 2. Speech on the Qualifiedness of the Kazan and Kuban Committees April 14 (27) 365
- 3. Draft Resolution on the Attitude of the R.S.D.L.P. Towards the Armed Uprising 368
- 4. Draft Resolution on the Armed Uprising 369
- 5. Speech on the Question of the Armed Uprising, April 15 (28) 370
- 6. Speech on the Question of the Armed Uprising, April 16 (29) 371
- 7. Resolution on the Armed Uprising 373
- 8. Speech on the Attitude Towards the Government's Tactics on the Eve of the Revolution, April 18 (May 1) 375
- 9. Addendum to the Resolution on the Attitude Towards the Government's Policy on the Eve and at the Moment of the Revolution 376
- 10. Draft Resolution on the Question of Open Political Action by the R.S.D.L.P. 377
- 11. Draft Resolution on the Participation of the Social-democrats in a Provisional Revolutionary Government 379
- 12. Addendum to the Resolution on the Participation of the Social-democrats in a Provisional Revolutionary Government 381

- 13 Report on the Question of the Participation of the Social-democrats in a Provisional Revolutionary Government. April 18 (May 1) 382
- 14. Draft Resolution on the Provisional Revolutionary Government 396
- 15. Speech on the Amendments to the Resolution on the Provisional Revolutionary Government, April 19 (May 2) 398
- 16. Report on the Resolution on the Support of the Peasant Movement. April 19 (May 11) 400
- 17. Draft Resolution on the Support of the Peasant Movement 405
- 18. Speech on the Question of the Relations Between Workers and Intellectuals Within the Social-democratic Organisations. April 20 (May 3) 407
- 19. Draft Resolution on the Relations between Workers and Intellectuals within the Social-democratic Organisations 409
- 20. A remark during the Discussion of the Resolution on the Relations between Workers and Intellectuals within the Social-democratic Organisations, April 22 (May 6) 411
- 21. Speech on the Procedure of the Discussion of the Resolutions on the Relations between Workers and Intellectuals within the Social-democratic Organisations. April 22 (May 6) 412
- 22. Speech during the Discussion of the Party Rules, April 21 (May 4) 413
- 23. Speech on the Wording of Clause 9 of the Party Rules, April 21 (May 4) 415
- 24. Speech on an Agreement with the Socialist-revolutionaries, April 23 (May 6) 416
- 25. Speech on the Report on the Work of the Central Committee, April 25 (May 8) 422
- 26. Resolution on the Publication of the Congress Proceedings 423
- 27. Draft Resolution on the Events in the Caucasus 424

Political Sophisms 425

Report on the Third Congress of the Russian Social-democratic Labour Party 433

How the Congress was Constituted 440

The Third Congress 442

Victorious Revolution 450

On Confounding Politics with Pedagogics 452

A Letter to the International Socialist Bureau 456

The Advice of the Conservative Bourgeoisie 457

On the Provisional Revolutionary Government 461

Article One. Plekhanov's Reference to History 463

Article Two. Only From Below, or From Above as Well as From Below? 474

Debacle 482

Revolutionary Struggle and Liberal Brokerage 486

To the Jewish Workers 495

A New Revolutionary Workers' Association 499

The Democratic Tasks of the Revolutionary Proletariat 511

The First Steps of Bourgeois Betrayal 519

'Revolutionaries' in Kid gloves 526

Open Letter to the Editorial Board of the Leipziger Volkszeitung 531

Sketch of a Provisional Revolutionary Government 534

The Struggle of the Proletariat and the Servility of the Bourgeoisie 537

A Third Step Back 544

To the International Socialist Bureau 555

Three Constitutions or Three Systems of Government 557

The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government 560

The Russian Tsar Seeks the Protection of the Turkish Sultan Against his People 569

The Bourgeoisie Bargains with the Autocracy, the Autocracy Bargains with the Bourgeoisie 574

Notes 577

The Life and Work of V. I. Lenin, Outstanding Dates. 599