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# Vladimir Ilyich Lenin

Pages  
from His Life

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# Vladimir Ilyich • Lenin

**Pages  
from His Life**

THE FIRST RUSSIAN  
REVOLUTION  
1905-1907

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Translated from the Russian by Boris Lunkov

*The second issue of the series Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. Pages from His Life covers a stretch of time which, though of short duration, is of great importance for comprehending the personality of Lenin, party leader and man, during some of the most politically intensive and most dramatic periods of Russian history.*

*The years of the first Russian revolution—1905-1907—were those of open confrontation between the people and the ruling elite, years of the heroic storming of what seemed to be an impregnable citadel, the autocratic power of the tsar. It was also a time of vigorous political activity by the different parties which appeared in Russia in 1905-1906.*

*“The barometer indicates a storm!” Lenin wrote at the close of 1905. It wasn't without reason that he often compared revolution to a storm. A social revolution is indeed like a powerful storm carrying away with it the unbearably stuffy atmosphere in which everything suffocates and letting in a stream of bracing fresh air; during a storm the dark, overcast sky is rent by violent discharges of lightning, and the roaring wind bends trees or even uproots them. Every social storm, i.e., revolution, is a test of strength for the socio-economic and political system of the society in question.*

*In the extreme situations of a revolution the world outlook, morals and the willpower and intellect of its participants are exposed. This not only puts to the test an individual but also trains and moulds with incredible speed the entire army, from the private to the general. Such situations also inevitably spotlight political leaders capable of guiding the masses and devising the right strategy and tactics for the struggle.*

*In this sense the first Russian revolution was a crucial test for Lenin, which he passed with honours. After the revolutionary battles of 1905-1907 he became known to broad sections of workers and of the democratic Russian intelligentsia (and also to the opposite camp, including the secret political branch of the Police Department) as a recognised leader of the Bolsheviks, a strategist and tactician of the proletariat's revolutionary activity, a far-sighted politician and passed master of all the intricacies of the electoral and parliamentary struggle.*

*The material of this issue, describing Lenin's varied and eventful political life in revolution-ridden Russia and in exile, includes, in keeping with the dynamics of the 1905-1907 events, three chronologically and factually distinct periods: January to August 1905, September to December 1905, and 1906-1907.*

\* \* \*

*At the beginning of the 20th century the Russian Empire faced an economic, social and political crisis, a condition when the profound contradictions that had arisen in society over the decades made their rectification by peaceful means impossible. Dissatisfaction and fermentation were rife in all of Russia's social classes and sections, except for a very thin upper crust composed of the tsar's immediate retinue, top officials and landowners.*

*The economic activity of the Russian bourgeoisie wholly depended on the tsar, on landowners who did all they could to prevent the capitalisation of the countryside, and on the top bureaucratic officialdom which consisted almost exclusively of members of the nobility. The enterprising Russian bourgeoisie was virtually barred from politics and had to be content with the role of a shop assistant running errands for his master.*

*The proletariat lived and worked in deplorable conditions. The working day was 10 to 12 hours long; the meagre wages were further reduced by systematic fines which sometimes amounted to one-third of the earnings; there were no trade unions to protect the rights of workers, and industrial safety rules were likewise nonexistent. All this made the proletariat the worst socially protected and destitute class of Russian society, but, by the very same conditions, also the most revolutionary.*

*The dominant class in the countryside was the landowners who had been little affected by the 1861 reform which abolished serfdom. In the course of the peasants' "emancipation" landowners not only kept the best lands but also forced peasants to pay enormous sums for the "boon" they were granted. Most of the peasants were unable to run their own farms because of the shortage of land which had to be leased from landowners, and the redemption payments which often greatly exceeded peasants' incomes. Bondage virtually remained intact in Russian villages.*

*It is quite clear that the conditions, and primarily the economic conditions, of the working class and the peasantry were beyond comparison with that of the capitalists. This was naturally reflected in the demands of each of these groups. The oppositional sentiments (and the consequent actions) of the bourgeoisie did not stretch beyond a certain liberalisation of the existing regime; hence their revolutionary intentions were inconsistent and unreliable. In the development of Russian society it was only the working class of Russia (allied with the peasantry) that was capable of manifesting the consistently revolutionary and democratic tendencies necessary to rid themselves of the absolutism, the stifling grasp of the system of ruthless class oppression and of all-pervading bureaucracy on the economic and political life of the country. It was the only class capable of winning civil liberties.*

*The first Russian revolution began with an action of the proletariat of Petersburg. The event that detonated a nationwide explosion was the shooting at a peaceful demonstration of 140,000 workers on January 9, 1905, which then went down in Russian history as "Bloody Sunday". The approximate number of people killed or wounded on that day was 4,600. On that winter morning factory hands (as they were called by the official press) set out in a procession towards the Winter Palace to seek the truth and the protection of "our Father the Tsar" faith in whom was still very strong. The procession was led by the priest Georgi Gapon, the head of the Assembly of Russian Factory Workers of Petersburg, who had great influence with the proletarian mass and whose real objective, as it became known later (as well as the fact that he was an agent of the secret police), was to limit the action to purely economic demands, in fact not demands but requests and pleadings, and thus "to let off steam" from the overheated boiler of grievances and indignation. Blinded by the conviction that everything*

would be changed by the monarch's good will, workers of Petersburg, dressed in their Sunday best, many of them accompanied by their wives and children, carried a petition to the tsar, telling him of their misery and sufferings, of the impossibility of their continuing to live in such a way.

Revolutionary Social-Democrats realised that freedom could not be bought at the price of a petition and that hopes of monarchic mercy merely blurred people's vision and bred empty delusions. Despite their efforts, however, they could not prevent the doomed march towards the Winter Palace. Then the Bolsheviks joined the ranks of the workers' procession in order to share with the marchers the bitterness and sorrow of the losses, the pain of crushed hopes and, at the same time, to prevent the belief in the possible liberation from the fetters of the autocratic system from being completely destroyed.

Lenin learned of the January 9 events on the following day in Geneva. He was violently shaken. He wrote several articles for the newspaper *Vperyod*, predicting the further course of events in the country, the inevitable expansion and intensification of the revolutionary storm. These articles not only revealed the emotional strain of a revolutionary but provided, above all, a profoundly realistic analysis of the disposition of the class forces and their potential possibilities in the constantly changing circumstances of the irreconcilable confrontation of society's lower and upper strata. Lenin's forecasts as a rule came true. It was already on January 10 that a political strike began in Moscow at the call of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP) Committee and lasted for 11 days. A powerful wave of indignation rolled from Russia's capital to other industrial centres of the country. The workers of Tula, Sormovo, Yaroslavl and the Urals went on strike and were joined by the proletariat of the Ukraine, Transcaucasia, the Baltic region, and Poland. The political strike assumed a truly wide-ranging scope.

Mass peasant unrest also occurred, especially in the European part of the Russian Empire.

The energy of protest that had been building up for decades became increasingly threatening for the outdated regime. But revolution is not a riot. Its aims can be attained only through the purposeful search for radical ways of transformation. Revolution educates, trains and organises people for successful struggle. Therefore, it leaves no place for half-tones but draws a distinct dividing line between its proponents and adversaries and

defines political guidelines of any movement, any party, and, consequently, their influence on the masses. One of the main distinctive features of the 1905-1907 revolution was the growth of the influence of the revolutionary wing of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party on the working people of Russia (including even some of its outskirts) who were ready for a decisive struggle against the autocracy. "The hundreds of revolutionary Social-Democrats," Lenin wrote many years later, recalling the events of the first assault against tsarism, "suddenly grew into thousands; the thousands became the leaders of between two and three million proletarians." It is indeed on record that the RSDLP numbered 8,400 members at the beginning of the first Russian revolution and 46,000 at the end of it.

The sharp politicalisation of the masses and their fundamental role in the ideological positions and practical actions of the RSDLP made it necessary to elaborate without delay the Party's tactical line, to set forth slogans providing the working people with clear-cut guidelines and to help them define their primary and secondary tasks. It is no exaggeration to say that Lenin played an exceptional, colossal role in this matter, as the reader can judge for himself from the material of Issue One of this concise version of the biographical chronicle of Lenin's life and activity\*.

Regrettably, the work of the RSDLP's revolutionary wing was complicated by the Party's split engineered by the Mensheviks at its Second Congress held in 1903. The Bolsheviks proposed to urgently convene a party congress in order to overcome this dissent which they saw as an obstacle to the cohesion of the revolutionary forces of the Russian proletariat. But the Mensheviks refused to take part in the preparation and conduct of the Third RSDLP Congress. That purely Bolshevik forum aimed the Party at supporting in every way the growing revolutionary movement in Russia and adopted several appropriate resolutions and decisions (which are mentioned in Issue One of this series). The Biographical Chronicle gives an accurate account of Lenin's work at the congress where he amply equipped the Party in the organisational, tactical and political respects for work in the very midst of the revolutionary

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\* The reader can learn more about the character of the multi-volume work *Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. A Biographical Chronicle* in Issue One of the series of four booklets prepared by Novosti Publishers, which covers the period from 1870 to 1905.

*masses at the new stage of their struggle against the autocracy. No less important for rallying the consistently revolutionary forces in the Party was Lenin's book Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution with its thorough analysis of the tactical and theoretical precepts and practical actions of the two divisions of the Party.*

*Events in Russia were taking place in keeping with Lenin's predictions. The number of revolutionary actions grew in the spring and summer of 1905. The most significant of these events were the weavers' strike in Ivanovo-Voznesensk and the mutiny on the battleship Potemkin. The Ivanovo-Voznesensk strike ended in a truly historic success—the organisation of Russia's first body of workers' self-government, the Soviet (council) of Workers' Deputies. This was the forerunner of revolutionary government which was established as a form of state authority 12 years later, when the socialist revolution triumphed in Russia. No less significant was the mutiny of the crew of the battleship Potemkin. This was the first time in the history of tsarism that the overthrow of the autocracy was demanded by sailors, a part of the armed forces which had always been the most staunch supporter of tsarism. The former workers and peasants clad in black pea-jackets resolutely took the side of their brothers in class who had risen to fight against the monarchy, for democratic freedoms, for the just settlement of the workers' and agrarian questions. The suppression of the mutinous Potemkin's crew could change nothing; it could not cancel the essential meaning of the event—the shaking of the armed pillar of the autocracy.*

*October 1905 brought another upsurge of the revolution when separate actions of the proletariat culminated in an all-Russia political strike of the workers at hundreds of factories and plants in 120 towns. The strikers, who numbered not less than two million, were joined by the democratic sections of the Russian intelligentsia—students, low- and middle-rank employees of government offices, of publishing enterprises, etc.*

*The government, scared by the immediate prospect of the collapse of the tsarist throne, agreed to make concessions. On October 17, 1905, the Tsar issued a manifesto promising certain civil liberties and a form of parliament with very limited powers. It was a political manoeuvre, an attempt to divert the masses from the more important matters and thus to divide the single revolutionary current and to exert psychological pressure on the credulous and therefore often unstable liberal intelligentsia.*

*This objective was achieved to some extent. The bourgeoisie was naturally delighted with the manifesto which satisfied its main demands. It was given a legal basis for forming its own, bourgeois parties, such as the "Constitutional Democrats" (Cadets) and the "Octobrists"; the latter adopted their name in order to stress their full support of the Tsar's manifesto. This marked the factual alliance of the bourgeois leaders with the government. The Mensheviks also received the manifesto with delight since they regarded it as the autocracy's capitulation and consequently the end of the revolution. It was the Bolsheviks alone who took the document quite justly for what it really was—a tactical trick of the Tsar—and who urged the proletariat to greater cohesion and preparedness to take resolute and, if necessary, extreme measures for attaining the revolution's immediate aims.*

*Since certain political freedoms had been won the Bolsheviks had a chance to conduct open, legal activity; to miss such an opportunity would have been sheer folly.*

*Lenin arrives in Petersburg in November 1905. He proposes to the Bolsheviks a plan, drawn up by the central organs of the Bolshevik Party, of radical changes in the entire party work primarily aimed at forming around the secret core of the Party legal and semi-legal party organs and affiliated public organisations. The RSDLP also faced the urgent task of recruiting new members, particularly from among the workers. It was also necessary, in the opinion of Lenin and most of the party leadership, to unite the two divisions of the Party. So Lenin launched large-scale and intensive preparations for the Fourth (Unity) RSDLP Congress. The demand of the time was that the Social-Democratic forces should be concentrated to the maximum, since the developments in the country were gathering momentum and approaching a critical point. The workers of the biggest industrial centres of Russia were preparing for a decisive assault against the class enemy, and the barometer indicated a storm.*

*On December 7 a political city-wide strike in Moscow developed into an armed uprising. For nine days the heroic proletariat of Moscow fought against the superior forces of counterrevolution reinforced by troops brought to the "second capital" from other places. But the uprising lacked proper concentration and unity although it was supported in various parts of the country, from Chita and Khabarovsk in the East to Riga, Revel and Lvov in the West, and from its southern to its*

northern areas. The disunited actions of the proletariat, including the December uprising in Moscow, being deprived of guidance from Petersburg, the centre of the revolution, were ruthlessly suppressed.

The revolution was slowly retreating, fighting against the superior forces of the enemy. The number of its fighters dropped from more than two million in 1906 to less than 700,000 in 1907. The autocracy had stood its ground.

It was essential not to panic in the face of this recession of the revolutionary wave; it was necessary for the Party, in the interests of the unity of the working-class movement, to preserve its influence on the workers, both those who followed the Bolsheviks and those who supported the Mensheviks. On the other hand, the RSDLP could not tolerate the strengthening of the influence of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties on the working people in town and country; this could endanger the alliance of the working class and the peasantry which had just begun to take shape. The Fourth (Unity) RSDLP Congress was held in April 1906. But the unity of the Social-Democrats was purely formal since the Mensheviks continued to pursue their policy of curtailing the revolution and of joining ranks with the liberal-bourgeois parties. There were in fact, as there had been before, two independent parties functioning within the RSDLP.

The main thrust of the Bolsheviks' struggle for maintaining an independent working-class movement in the country shifted to a political confrontation with the Cadets and Octobrists who had launched a vehement campaign for election to the State Duma (parliament). The pages of the Biographical Chronicle dealing with this period reveal the variety and flexibility of Lenin's tactics in regard to the Duma, the conditioning of Lenin's specific slogans by the actuality of the political forces at every given moment of the confrontation. Lenin's abilities as a strategist, tactician and politician were manifested as never before during this "Duma period" of his activity in Petersburg.

Meanwhile the tsarist government was increasingly regaining control of the country and assuming the offensive. It all finally resulted in the dissolution of the State Duma (the so-called coup d'état of June 3) and the arrest of the Social-Democratic group in the Duma. Punitive expeditions summarily shot thousands of workers and peasants. The prisons and places of exile were crowded to overflowing.

It stands to reason that Lenin's prolonged stay in Petersburg, the centre of the Russian revolutionary movement, his

*articles in the party press, contributions to the newspaper Novaya Zhizn and the Vperyod publishing house could not fail to attract the attention of the omnipotent secret police. To avoid arrest Lenin was constantly forced to use different passports and different places of abode. But the claws of relentless pursuit were closing around him so that arrest seemed unavoidable. Lenin was forced to leave Russia; thus began his second, the longest and most difficult period of his exile.*

**January-August 1905:**

**THE RUNNING START**

1905

*After January 6 (19)\*.*

Lenin receives a letter about events in Petersburg, about the procession which was to march to the Winter Palace, and another letter, about the mood of Petersburg workers, the explanation given by the Social-Democrats at workers' meetings of the futility of carrying a petition to the Tsar, and the intention of the Social-Democrats to march together with the crowd to the Winter Palace in order to turn the workers' procession into a large-scale demonstration.

### **Nadezhda Krupskaya\*\*:**

*The news of the events of January 9 reached Geneva next morning. Vladimir Ilyich and I were going to the library when we met the Lunacharskys\*\*\* who were on their way to see us. I remember the figure of Lunacharsky's wife Anna who was too excited to speak. Instinct drew us, together with all the other Bolsheviks who had heard the news, to the emigres' café. We sought each other's company. But hardly a word was spoken—we were all too excited. The realisation came over everyone in a wave that the revolution had begun, that the shackles of faith in the Tsar had been torn apart, and the hour was near when "tyranny shall fall, and the people shall rise up, great, powerful and free..."\*\*\*\**

*We lived at one with all the Russian political émigrés in Geneva—hanging on the news from one issue of the local newspaper to the next.*

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\* Here two dates are given because until 1917 Russia lived by the Julian calendar (Old Style) which was 13 days behind the Gregorian, now generally accepted, European calendar (New Style). All dates given below, with rare exceptions, are Old Style.—*Ed.*

\*\* *N. K. Krupskaya* (1869-1939) was Lenin's wife and close associate. She is well known for her works on pedagogy and the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia. Krupskaya is also one of the most authoritative Lenin's biographers.—*Ed.*

\*\*\* *A. V. Lunacharsky* (1875-1933) participated in the revolutionary movement from 1895, contributed to the Bolshevik newspapers *Vperyod* and *Proletary*, and took part in the October armed uprising (1917) in Petrograd (as Petersburg was renamed after August 1914). He was a brilliant literary and art critic and political writer. Lunacharsky was the first Soviet People's Commissar (minister) for public education.—*Ed.*

\*\*\*\* Lines from a revolutionary song.—*Ed.*

*All Ilyich's thoughts were centred on Russia.*

*After January 10.*

Lenin receives a letter from Petersburg about the plan of action of the Social-Democrats on January 9 and the Bolsheviks' proposal to the Mensheviks to join ranks for the duration of the imminent revolutionary events. The letter also described in detail the bloody events of January 9.

Lenin makes certain editorial corrections and paginates a letter to the editorial board of the newspaper *Vperyod* describing the massacre near the Alexandrovsky Garden on January 9.

*Between January 10 and 18.*

Lenin writes a series of articles (including *What Is Happening in Russia?*, *Our Father the Tsar and the Barricades*, *The First Steps*, *The Number of Killed or Wounded*, *The Eve of Bloody Sunday*, and *The Battles on the Barricades*) about the January 9 events in Petersburg under the general title *Revolutionary Days*.

*January 12.*

Lenin writes the article *The Beginning of the Revolution in Russia*.

*After January 15.*

Lenin copies out data from an article printed in *The Times* about the development of the movement after January 9 and the mood of the troops.

*January 16.*

Lenin receives a letter from Petersburg dated January 10, 1905, about the events in the city on the day after January 9

and examines a table on the correspondence with Russia, drawn up by N. K. Krupskaya who kept a record of that correspondence.

*After January 16.*

Lenin receives a letter from Paris addressed to the editorial board of the newspaper *Vperyod* about a money order sent by a group of French Socialists in aid of the survivors and relatives of the victims of the January 9 shooting.

*Before January 18.*

Lenin prepares for the press the *Letters of Petersburg Social-Democrats*; he writes the heading and edits the text. The *Letters* were published in the section *Revolutionary Days* in issue No. 4 of the newspaper *Vperyod* on January 18, 1905.

Lenin edits the article by M. S. Olminsky\* *The Echo of the Petersburg Events Abroad* and adds to it information about a strikers' movement in Brest, rallies of sympathy and protest in Swiss towns and the speech made in sympathy with the Russian freedom fighters by the socialist deputy Mirabelli in the Italian parliament. The article was published in No. 4 of the *Vperyod* newspaper.

*Between January 18 and 25.*

Lenin writes the article *An Address to Officers* relating the appeal endorsed by the Free Economic Society at its meeting of protest against the brutality of the police and the troops on January 9. The article was printed in No. 5 of the *Vperyod* newspaper.

*After January 20.*

Lenin receives a letter from Petersburg about the shortage of qualified personnel and literature due to the colossal development of the Social-Democratic movement and the

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\* *M. S. Olminsky* (1863-1933) took part in the revolutionary movement from 1883 and became a Social-Democrat in 1898. He was a critic, political writer and literary historian and contributed to all Bolshevik publications. Olminsky took part in the October 1917 armed uprising in Moscow and was the first director of the Institute of Party History.—*Ed.*

scope of party work, and about the necessity of convening the Third Congress of the Party.

*Before January 25.*

Lenin writes a letter to the Bolshevik V. V. Filatov, a military engineer by profession, asking him to write a popular booklet on military tactics, fortification and the barricade tactics of street fighting.

Lenin edits the article *The First Rumbles of Thunder* by M. S. Olminsky which reviewed the response to the January 9 events in Petersburg, adds to it information from telegrams printed in foreign newspapers about the number of strikers in Moscow and brief reports about strikes in Vilno\*, Gomel, Briansk, Kiev, Yekaterino.lav\*\*, Tiflis\*\*\* and Narva. The article is published in No. 5 of the newspaper *Vperyod*.

Lenin writes the article *Warsaw* about the development of the general strike and the revolutionary actions in that city on the basis of telegrams printed in foreign newspapers, including correspondents' reports from the *Vossische Zeitung*; he writes an extensive review for the newspaper *Vperyod* on the development of the general strike and the revolutionary actions in the Baltic region, also drawing on telegrams from various foreign newspapers; ponders on the subject for a leading article in *Vperyod*; and writes notes and theses on the subject of the mobilisation of the proletariat's army, which he develops in his article *New Tasks and New Forces*.

*Late January—early February.*

Lenin receives a letter from Nizhni Novgorod about the state of affairs in the city's party organisation where there was a shortage of qualified personnel and literature in the local committees and the relations between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks had become aggravated. The letter contains the plan for establishing a new party organisation around the newspaper *Vperyod*.

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\* Now Vilnius.—*Ed.*

\*\* Now Dnepropetrovsk.—*Ed.*

\*\*\* Now Tbilisi.—*Ed.*

Lenin receives a collective letter from the workers of the stone quarries in Odessa stating their resolution to fight to the end, to a total victory. N. K. Krupskaya recalled that he had reread the letter many times as he paced the room immersed in thought.

### **Nadezhda Krupskaya:**

*From the very first days of the revolution Ilyich had seen the whole thing in clear perspective. He understood that the movement would now grow like an avalanche, that the revolutionary people would not stop half-way, and that the workers would throw themselves into the fight against the autocracy. Whether they would win or lose, the outcome of that fight would show...*

*Ilyich always had a remarkable flair for deeply sensing the mood of the working class at a given moment.*

*Ilyich knew that the workers were already determined to fight to the bitter end. And he was with them. He knew that there could be no stopping half-way, that this would so demoralise the working class, so weaken the impetus of their struggle and do such tremendous damage to the cause, that it was not to be considered under any circumstances.*

*This is what some people failed to understand, people who had attacked Lenin for his "downright views" and who had had nothing better to say after the defeat than that "they should not have taken to arms". If one was to remain true to one's class, it was impossible not to take to arms, it was impossible for the vanguard to leave its fighting class in the lurch.*

*And Ilyich was constantly calling upon the working-class vanguard—the Party—to fight, to organise, to work for the arming of the masses. He wrote of this in the Vperyod, and in his letters to Russia.*

*"January 9, 1905, revealed all the gigantic reserves of revolutionary proletarian energy and at the same time the utter inadequacy of the Social-Democratic organisation," Vladimir Ilyich wrote at the beginning of February in his article Should We Organise the Revolution?*

*End of January—February—beginning of March.*

Lenin's article *The Beginning of the Revolution in Russia* is published in leaflet form by the Nikolayev, Saratov and Odessa committees of the RSDLP.

From January till spring Lenin works as editor on duty of

the editorial board of the newspaper *Vperyod* on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

Lenin and other Bolsheviks often gather at the Café Landolt to discuss the revolutionary events in Russia.

### **Nadezhda Krupskaya:**

*The Bolshevik centre in Geneva stood on the corner of the famous Rue de Carouge—a street inhabited by Russian political emigres—and the Arve river embankment. The Vperyod editorial and dispatch office, the Bolsheviks' cafe, and the apartments of the Bonch-Bruyeviches\* and the Lyadovs (Mandelstams)\*\* were in the same building. Olminsky was a regular visitor at the Bonch-Bruyeviches'.*

*Bogdanov\*\*\*, who returned from Russia, had made arrangements for Lunacharsky to come to Geneva to join the editorial staff of Vperyod. Lunacharsky proved to be a brilliant speaker, and did much towards strengthening Bolshevik positions.*

*Lunacharsky, Vorovsky\*\*\*\* and Olminsky—the Vperyod had fine reinforcements there. Vladimir Bonch-Bruyevich, who was the business manager, went about beaming, full of grandiose projects, forever busy with the printing plant.*

*The Bolsheviks gathered almost every evening at the Café Landolt,*

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\* *V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich* (1873-1955) participated in the revolutionary movement from 1895 and was the organiser of and contributor to several Bolshevik newspapers and publishing houses. In 1917-1920 he worked as administrative manager of the first Soviet government. Bonch-Bruyevich is the author of works on the history of the revolutionary and religious-public movements in Russia.

\*\* *M. N. Lyadov (Mandelstam)* (1872-1947) participated in the revolutionary movement from 1893 and was one of the organisers of the Workers' Union in Moscow. He took part in the 1905-1907 revolution in Moscow. After the October 1917 revolution he concentrated on scientific and educational work. Lyadov is the author of the first works on the history of the Party (1906).—*Ed.*

\*\*\* *A. A. Bogdanov* (1873-1928), a physician, philosopher and economist, participated in the revolutionary movement from 1896. His main written work is *A Universal Organisational Science* (1913-1917). After the October 1917 revolution he returned to medical practice and was the founder and first director of the Institute of Blood Transfusion. Bogdanov died as a result of an experiment he performed on himself.

\*\*\*\* *V. V. Vorovsky* (1871-1923), a professional revolutionary and political writer, one of the first Marxist literary critics and first Soviet diplomats. He contributed to the Bolshevik newspapers *Vperyod*, *Proletary* and *Pravda* (until October 1917). From November 1917 he was the Soviet ambassador in Scandinavian countries and from 1921 in Italy. Vorovsky was killed by a monarchic emigre in Lausanne.—*Ed.*

and sat there for hours over a glass of beer, discussing events in Russia and making plans.

Many had left for Russia and many more were preparing to leave.

There was agitation in Russia for a Third Congress. Many changes had taken place there, and the new questions that had come up in the course of the daily struggle made a congress absolutely essential. Most of the committees were in favour of a congress.

### *Before February 1.*

Lenin is working on the article *The First Lessons*, drafting various plans and writing theses and the beginning of the article which analysed the working-class movement in Russia over a 20-year period (1885-1905).

He receives a leaflet issued by Petersburg workers under the title *Citizens!* which was printed in a legal printing shop on January 10, 1905, edits it and includes it in his article *Two Tactics*.

### *February 2.*

Lenin receives a letter from Kiev about the growing dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in the Party and the mistrust of the Menshevik Central Committee, about the great popularity of Lenin's articles and of the newspaper *Vperyod* and the necessity of organising a centre of the majority. Part of the letter was published.

### **Lidia Fotieva\*:**

*The Bolsheviks' positions in Russia steadily grew stronger after the Bolshevik newspaper Vperyod had begun to be published and distributed. It explained and clarified to the local committees the ideological differences between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, which the*

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\* L. A. Fotieva (1881-1975) participated in the revolutionary movement from 1901. In 1904-1905 she helped N. K. Krupskaya conduct correspondence with party organisations in Russia. She took part in the 1905-1907 revolution and the October 1917 revolution. From 1918 Fotieva was a secretary of the Council of People's Commissars and Lenin's confidential secretary.—Ed.

*Mensheviks attempted to gloss over through disorganisation and the misinformation of Russian committees. The Mensheviks were losing their positions step by step.*

*Before February 4.*

Lenin meets and talks with the priest Georgi Gapon, the initiator of the procession of Petersburg workers towards the Winter Palace on January 9.

He receives from Gapon *An Open Letter to the Socialist Parties of Russia* calling for an immediate agreement among them and for starting an armed uprising against tsarism, and writes a list of various parties and groups with which militant agreements for an uprising might be possible.

*February 4.*

Lenin writes an editorial entitled *A Militant Agreement for the Uprising* for the newspaper *Vperyod*.

### **Nadezhda Krupskaya:**

*Presently Gapon arrived in Geneva. He was taken up first by the SRs\*, who tried to make out that Gapon was their man, and that the whole labour movement in Petersburg was their handiwork, too. They advertised Gapon and made a terrible fuss of him. Gapon was in the limelight at that time and the London Times paid him fabulous sums for every line he wrote.*

*Some time after Gapon's arrival in Geneva a Socialist Revolutionary lady called one evening and told Vladimir Ilyich that Gapon wished to see him. A rendezvous was arranged on "neutral" ground in a café.*

*Gapon was a living part of the growing revolution in Russia, a man closely bound up with the working-class masses who implicitly believed in him. Ilyich was excited at the prospect of meeting that man.*

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\* The SRs (*Socialist Revolutionaries*) was a petty-bourgeois party in Russia which had been underground until 1917. Its main social support came from the richer sections of the peasantry, and its main tactic of struggle was individual terror. It gradually evolved from an "ultrarevolutionary" position to an alliance with the capitalist and landowner opposition to the revolutionary forces.—Ed.

*One comrade was recently shocked to learn that Vladimir Ilyich had had anything to do with Gapon.*

*Of course, one could simply have dismissed Gapon by deciding beforehand that nothing good could ever be expected of a priest. That is what Plekhanov\* did. He gave Gapon a very cool reception. But Lenin's strength lay in the fact that to him the revolution was a living thing, like a face that one could study in all its varied features, because he knew and understood what the masses wanted. And a knowledge of the masses can only be obtained by contact with them. Ilyich was curious to know what influence Gapon could have had upon the masses.*

*Vladimir Ilyich related his impressions of Gapon after returning from the meeting. Gapon was still red-hot from the breath of the revolution. Speaking about the Petersburg workers, he stormed against the Tsar and his myrmidons. Naive though his indignation was in many ways, it was none the less honest. It was in keeping with the mood of the working-class masses. "He has to learn, though," Vladimir Ilyich said. "I told him: 'Don't you listen to flattery, my dear man. If you don't study, that is where you'll be'—and pointed under the table."*

*On February 8 Vladimir Ilyich wrote in No. 7 of the Vperyod: "Let us hope that G. Gapon, who has had such acute personal experience of the changeover in the views of a previously politically unconscious people to revolutionary ideas, will succeed in achieving that clarity of revolutionary outlook which is essential for a political leader."*

### *Between February 10 and 24.*

Lenin receives a letter from Kharkov about the formation of an independent Bolshevik group in that city and about its links with workers, craftsmen and students.

### *Before February 13.*

Lenin draws up a plan for an editorial note to the *Notification of the Convening of the Third Party Congress*, on

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\* G. V. Plekhanov (1856-1918) was an outstanding figure in the Russian and international Social-Democratic movement and a prominent Marxist philosopher. He participated in the Russian revolutionary movement from 1875. He emigrated in 1880 and formed in Geneva the first Russian Marxist organisation, the Emancipation of Labour group (1883). He was one of the founders of the RSDLP. After the Party's Second Congress Plekhanov became the leader of Menshevism.—Ed.

the basis of which he writes an article in the form of a note to the text, *The Convening of the Third Party Congress*, and sends it to the printing-shop of the newspaper *Vperyod*, requesting the printers to do it up quickly and send back the proofs on the same day.

*February 14.*

Lenin writes a letter to Ramsay MacDonald, secretary of the English Labour Representative Committee, acknowledging receipt of his letter and stating his consent to the Committee's conditions concerning the distribution of the 80 pounds sterling collected by British workers among the families of those who were shot on January 9.

*Before February 15.*

While preparing No. 8 of the newspaper *Vperyod* Lenin runs through a summary of resolutions of local committees in favour of the Third Party Congress and writes: "To be set up in brevier in the section *From the Party*" and adds: "We are told that a similar resolution has been adopted by the Petersburg committee."

*Between February 15 and March 5.*

Lenin copies out extracts from the newspaper *Moskovskiye Vedomosti* (Moscow Gazette) concerning the defeat of the Russian army in the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905) and the internal situation in Russia.

*Before February 23.*

Lenin receives a leaflet about the attitude to the Liberals issued in Russia by the Bureau of Committees of the Majority and prepares it for publishing in the newspaper *Vperyod*. The leaflet was published in No. 10 of the newspaper under the heading *The Attitude of the Russian Social-Democratic Party Toward the Liberals*.

In his letter to the Bureau of Committees of the Majority Lenin proposes measures to be taken for sending delegates to the congress not only from Bolshevik but also Menshevik committees and from a group of writers.

*February 23.*

No. 9 of the newspaper *Vperyod* is issued with the editorial, *New Tasks and New Forces*, written by Lenin, in which he formulates for the first time the strategic aim of the Bolsheviks in a bourgeois-democratic revolution—the establishment of a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.

*Before February 24.*

Lenin draws up a synopsis of his report *The Tasks of the Third RSDLP Congress*.

*February 28.*

Lenin writes a letter to the Petersburg RSDLP Committee about the receipt by the *Vperyod* editorial board of sums of money from the English Labour Representative Committee to aid the widows and orphans of workers killed on January 9. Lenin sends the money to Petersburg and asks all workers' organisations of the Party to be informed about the donation so that they could help distribute the money. He also suggests that workers themselves inform their British comrades about the receipt of the money.

*End of February—before March 5.*

While preparing a report about the Paris Commune Lenin studies the book by Gabriel Hanotaux, *Histoire de la France contemporaine. 1871-1900. T. I. Le gouvernement de M. Thiers. 1903*, copies out excerpts about Thiers in 1870-1871, and writes a *Plan of Reading about the Commune*.

Lenin makes the note *Letter of 36* on the correspondence

sent from Petersburg to the newspaper *Vperyod* about the students' movement and arrests of students and writers.

*Before March 2.*

Lenin edits A. Lunacharsky's article *The Bankruptcy of the Police Regime* and the report *Among Peasants (A Letter from a Social-Democrat)* published in the newspaper *Vperyod*.

*March 3.*

In his letter to Petersburg Lenin writes about the postponement of a conference of Russian socialist organisations and insists that A. A. Bogdanov should travel from Russia to Switzerland to settle questions concerning the Bolsheviks' participation in the conference.

He reads a letter from the Mensheviks refusing to take part in the conference.

*After March 3.*

On Lenin's instruction N. K. Krupskaya writes a letter to Bolsheviks in Yekaterinoslav, informing them of the state of affairs in connection with the preparation for the Third RSDLP Congress, advising them to establish contacts with workers and, if a Bolshevik group is formed in the city, to send a delegate from it, preferably a worker, to the congress, and acknowledging receipt of letters from them.

*After March 5.*

Lenin copies out extracts from the newspaper *Frankfurter Zeitung* about the liberal movement in Russia and about the works of General A. Lippe concerning a militia-style army system.

*March 5 (18)\*.*

Lenin reads a report about the Paris Commune at a meeting of the colony of Russian political émigrés in Geneva.

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\* Two dates are given here since the anniversary of the Paris Commune was marked in Europe and the United States on March 18 (New Style).—Ed.

*After March 8.*

Lenin receives a letter from Bonch-Bruyevich in Tula who writes that the local committee is in favour of convening the Third RSDLP Congress; also about the high appraisal by the committee members and workers of the newspaper *Vperyod* and the considerable stocks of arms available in Tula. He requests that a material fund be raised for organising the work of local professional revolutionaries.

Another letter addressed to Lenin comes from Tiflis with information on the situation in the Caucasian Union of the RSDLP and the availability in Georgia of the newspaper *Vperyod* and other Bolshevik literature. The letter also carries the proposal to have a series of Lenin's articles published in the Georgian language under the general title *Revolutionary Days*.

*Before March 9.*

Lenin receives a letter from Odessa which says that the Mensheviks have secured a majority in Yekaterinoslav and that the establishment of an independent Bolshevik group is as yet impossible for lack of organisers since most Bolsheviks have been arrested.

*March 9.*

At Lenin's request Krupskaya writes a letter to Kharkov describing the situation in connection with the preparation of the Third RSDLP Congress and listing committees which have voted in favour of the congress.

*Before March 10.*

Lenin thoroughly studies the question of the preparation of an armed uprising; he ponders on the statements made by Marx and Engels about revolution and insurrection, reads works of military specialists, and considers various aspects of the technique and organisation of an armed uprising.

Lenin writes a concise biography of General Cluseret of

the Paris Commune and edits the Russian translation of the chapter *Street Fighting* from his book *Memoires du général Cluseret*. He also writes a preface to the chapter on behalf of the *Vperyod* editorial board. The preface, biography and the article edited by Lenin were published in No. 11 of the *Vperyod* under the heading *On Street Fighting (The Advice of a General of the Commune)*.

### **Nadezhda Krupskaya:**

*Ilyich had not only reread and very carefully studied and thought over all that Marx and Engels had written about revolution and insurrection, but had read many books dealing with the art of warfare, made a thorough study of the technique and organisation of armed insurrection.*

*The librarian at the Société de Lecture was a witness to how a Russian revolutionary in cheap trousers with the bottoms turned up against the mud in Swiss style (he was forgetting to turn them down) would come very early every morning, take the book on barricade fighting or the technique of attack left over from the day before, sit down with it at his customary place by the window, pat the sparse hair on his bald head with a habitual gesture, and become deeply absorbed in reading. Sometimes he would get up to take down a big dictionary to look up some unfamiliar term, then pace up and down a bit, and resume his seat at the desk, where he would start writing swiftly in small script on quarter sheets of paper with an air of deep absorption.*

*A Fighting Committee was set up in Russia (in Petersburg), but it worked too slowly. Ilyich wrote to Petersburg: "In an affair of this kind the last things we need are schemes, and discussions and talk about the functions of the Fighting Committee and its rights. What we need is tremendous energy. Otherwise, take my word, you will be late (I can see this plainly), and will find yourselves with 'learned' transactions, plans, drawings, schemes and excellent recipes, but without an organisation, without anything to do... For God's sake, never mind all the formalities and schemes, send all those 'functions, rights and privileges' to the devil."*

*The Bolsheviks, in fact, did a great deal in the way of preparing the armed uprising. They often displayed wonderful heroism, and risked their lives every minute. Preparation of the armed uprising—such was the slogan of the Bolsheviks.*

March 10.

No. 11 of the newspaper *Vperyod* carries Lenin's articles *The Proletariat and the Peasantry* (editorial) and *The First Step*. Printed in the same issue is Lenin's short article *On the History of the Party Programme* in the form of a footnote to V.V. Vorovsky's article *The Fruits of Demagoguery*.

At Lenin's instruction Krupskaya writes a letter to the Kostroma RSDLP organisation with information on the state of affairs in connection with the preparation of the Third RSDLP Congress. She lists committees which have voted in favour of the congress and asks that this information be passed on to comrades in Ivanovo-Voznesensk\* and Yaroslavl. Krupskaya also writes that many letters have started to come from workers and asks the workers of the Northern region also to write to the *Vperyod* editorial office.

March 12.

Lenin joins the Organising Committee for Convening the Third RSDLP Congress, set up by the Bureau of Committees of the Majority and the Central Committee.

He writes a letter to the Odessa Committee concerning the nomination of delegates to the Third Party Congress. He stresses the absolute necessity of including workers in the committee, asks for the *Vperyod* editorial board to be directly connected with workers and proposes to broaden the network of worker correspondents of the newspaper.

March 16.

Lenin's article *On Our Agrarian Programme (A Letter to the Third Congress)* is published in No. 12 of the newspaper *Vperyod*.

March 20.

Lenin is elected a delegate to the Third RSDLP Congress from the Odessa party organisation.

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\* Now Ivanovo. —Ed.

March 20, 21.

Lenin is present at a conference of Russian socialist organisations which G.A. Gapon convened in Geneva. When he realises that the conference is "a plaything in the hands of Socialist Revolutionaries" and that workers' parties have not been invited to it Lenin leaves the conference.

*End of March.*

Lenin meets Vasilyev-Yuzhin\* and asks him about the state of Party affairs in Petersburg and the Caucasus.

### **Mikhail Vasilyev-Yuzhin:**

*I had no trouble with the Swiss customs and the frontier guards. They did not ask for my passport and were not interested in my name and nationality. Their only question was whether I carried many cigarettes or much tobacco, evidently for purely fiscal purposes.*

*So I am in Geneva, the same Geneva where the first group of the Russian labour party (the Emancipation of Labour group) was organised, where the foundations of the Russian Marxist school were laid; I am in Geneva where lives caustically witty and profoundly educated Plekhanov who has done much so that I and many other comrades could become Marxists, as well as a person not very familiar but strangely fascinating, powerfully attractive by his energy, revolutionary ardour, his great intellect and limitless faith in the working-class—Lenin.*

*It was not late so I started together with my modest luggage for the famous Rue de Carouge in and about which most of the Russian political émigrés lived. The very first Russian I met told me how to find the Bolshevik café and library with a reading room, something like a Bolshevik club. There I was very cordially welcomed and, as I recall, became acquainted on the very first day with Comrade Olminsky whose pamphlets signed by his pen name "Galyorka" I knew well and valued*

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\* M.I. Vasilyev-Yuzhin (1876-1937) participated in the revolutionary movement from 1898. He became a Bolshevik after the Second RSDLP Congress and contributed to the newspapers *Vpervod* and *Proletary*. He was one of the organisers and leaders of the December 1905 armed uprising in Moscow, and in October 1917 he was the chairman of the Saratov Party committee. After the October Revolution Vasilyev-Yuzhin worked at the People's Commissariat of Justice.—Ed.

highly; I also met Comrade Bonch-Bruyevich and his very nice wife and later Lunacharsky, Vorovsky and other comrades. They helped me to find cheap and comfortable accommodation.

On the next day I went to see Vladimir Ilyich. As was probably the case with most comrades who knew Ilyich only from his literary works, polemic and his speeches at the Second Party Congress\*, I had imagined him to be quite different from what he was in reality. I thought him to be a tall, dark-haired man with lively eyes which must be black, and a powerful body. The power and passion which filled like electricity every line and word he wrote were inevitably materialised in the image of the equally powerful and fiery figure of their author. To my surprise I met a sturdy man of medium height with reddish hair, a face of the Mongolian type and with a good-natured and slightly mocking smile on his lips and in his cunningly screwed-up light-brown eyes. One's attention was at once captured by these intelligent, lively and piercing eyes and the characteristically large head with an enormous forehead.

At first he asked me in general about Petersburg, then inquired about the situation in the Caucasus. Vladimir Ilyich listened to a speaker with great attention and asked questions from time to time in order to learn something that was of particular interest to him. He sought to get clear and precise answers, with figures, if possible. Our talk was quite long. I think it was on this, very first, occasion that I became acquainted with Nadezhda Konstantinovna whose kindly appearance and considerate and cordial manner immediately won the hearts of those who met her.

"Well then," Lenin said as we parted, "you should deliver a report at the *émigrés'* colonies, first here and then in other Swiss towns. We may be able to arrange a trip to Paris for you. Besides, you should write for the *Vperyod*. You can choose your own subject at present, but it would be good to conduct a periodical review of the strike and revolutionary movements in Russia. The Russian legal press now provides much material about this movement."

### *March—beginning of April.*

Just before the Party's Third Congress Lenin calls almost every day at the printing shop of the newspaper *Vperyod*. He speaks before a Bolshevik meeting in Geneva about the preparation for and the agenda of the Third RSDLP Congress.

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\* The Second RSDLP Congress was held in July-August 1903.—Ed.

*March—April.*

Lenin writes the article *A Revolution of the 1789 Or the 1848 Type?*\*

*April 5 and 11.*

Lenin participates in the meetings in Geneva of the Organising Committee for Convening the Third Congress of the Party.

*April 10.*

Lenin writes on behalf of the RSDLP Central Committee *The Open Letter to Comrade Plekhanov, Chairman of the Council of the RSDLP*, informing him that 21 party organisations have voted in favour of convening the congress and have sent their delegates to it.

A worker from Nikolayev writes that a workers' meeting unanimously voted for Lenin's formulation of Clause 1 of the Party Rules\*\*.

*Before April 12.*

Lenin reads a resolution of the First District of the Riga RSDLP Committee, deletes the list of signatures and writes instead "30 signatures follow". The committee members ask in their resolution that the Third Party Congress restore the Party's unity and adopt Lenin's formulation of Clause 1 of the Party Rules.

Lenin attends a meeting where A. V. Lunacharsky reads a paper on the subject of uprising.

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\* The proletariat played a very important role in the European revolutions of 1848, as was not the case in the Great French Revolution of 1789-1794. *Ed.*

\*\* The formulation read: "Membership of the Party is open to anyone who accepts its Programme and supports the Party both materially and by his her personal participation in one of the party organisations" (the emphasis is ours.—*Ed.*). The Mensheviks considered the first two conditions sufficient for party membership. *Ed.*

He talks with delegates to the Third RSDLP Congress about the congress's future work, acquaints himself with party work in Russia, and holds meetings to discuss the main items of the congress agenda.

Lenin leaves Geneva for London to attend the Third RSDLP Congress.

In London he meets M. G. Tskhakaya\* and discusses with him the situation in the Caucasus. On Lenin's proposal the Organising Committee requests that Tskhakaya, as the eldest delegate, open the congress.

### **Mikha Tskhakaya:**

*I met Ilyich personally for the first time during the Third RSDLP Congress (April-May 1905). Before the congress opened Lenin spoke to me about the prospects of our work and asked me not to refuse if the Organising Committee asked me to open the congress. The congress presidium was formed with Ilyich as chairman. He also delivered the main political report at the congress.*

*I heard him there for the first time. He began his report very simply. Wrathfully exposing the opportunist theses propounded in the articles of the Menshevik Iskra\*\*, he opposed these Menshevik ideas with firm revolutionary Marxist provisions. He illustrated his thoughts abundantly with facts taken from the history of the international working-class movement and particularly from the current struggle of the workers of Russia in the early months of the revolutionary 1905. Toward the end of his speech all the delegates were listening with bated breath, carried away by the iron logic of the theoretician, tribune and organiser of the revolution.*

*When Ilyich had finished, there was round upon round of thunderous applause.*

*April 12-27.*

Lenin directs the work of the Third RSDLP Congress, chairs its sittings, speaks more than a hundred times in his

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\* M. G. Tskhakaya (1865-1950) participated in the revolutionary movement from 1895, was a member of the RSDLP from 1898 and one of the leaders of the Caucasian party organisation. He took an active part in the 1905-1907 revolution in Transcaucasia and did party work in Georgia and Azerbaijan after the October 1917 revolution.—Ed.

\*\* Beginning with No. 52 the newspaper *Iskra* was edited and published exclusively by the Mensheviks.—Ed.

capacity as chairman, keeps a detailed chairman's diary of the congress sittings; as a member of the resolutions committee he drafts resolutions on the main questions, reads reports and makes speeches on several items of the congress agenda.

In between the sittings of the Third Party Congress Lenin and other delegates go to see the sights of London.

### **Nadezhda Krupskaya:**

*Everything at the congress pointed to the fact that the working-class movement in Russia was in full swing. Resolutions were passed on various questions, such as the armed uprising, a provisional revolutionary government, the attitude toward the government's tactics on the eve of the uprising, the question of open action by the RSDLP, the attitude toward the peasant movement, the attitude toward the Liberals and the Social-Democratic organisations of the non-Russian nationalities, propaganda and agitation, and so on.*

*April 14.*

The first sittings of the congress are devoted to its formal constitution and legitimacy. During the fifth sitting Lenin as chairman solemnly announces the Third RSDLP Congress finally constituted: the delegates meet this with applause.

Lenin as chairman gives the floor to the first speaker, Voinov (A. V. Lunacharsky) on the question of an armed uprising and the RSDLP's attitude to it.

*April 15.*

On Lenin's instruction V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich meets A. M. Gorky for negotiations on the organisation of a publishing house abroad.

At the sixth sitting of the congress Lenin as chairman proposes to begin the discussion of the question of an armed uprising and makes a report on this matter.

*April 16.*

Lenin proposes in his capacity as chairman that the congress proceeds to discuss the second item of its agenda—the attitude to government policy on the eve and during the uprising; he also informs the delegates that the commission for the consideration and drafting of resolutions proposes to have two speakers and correspondingly suggests the division of the question into two parts: the attitude to government policy, first, on the eve of the uprising and, second, during the uprising. The proposal is accepted.

*April 18.*

During the 11th sitting of the congress Lenin makes a report on the participation of the Social-Democrats in a provisional revolutionary government and submits a draft resolution on a provisional revolutionary government.

*April 19.*

Lenin writes a draft resolution on the question of open political action of the RSDLP. The congress discusses the draft resolution and adopts it unanimously with minor amendments. Lenin takes part in the discussion of the draft resolution.

Lenin announces as chairman that the congress will pass on to the discussion of item three of the agenda—the attitude to the peasant movement.

He makes a report about the resolution concerning the support of the peasant movement.

*April 20.*

Lenin announces as chairman of the congress that it will pass on to the discussion of item four of the agenda, the relations between workers and intellectuals in party organisations and gives the floor to A. A. Bogdanov to deliver a report.

Lenin sends a note to the congress presidium pointing out

that he considers the discussion of a resolution on the attitude of workers to intellectuals a timely initiative, writes a synopsis of a speech on the question of the relations between workers and intellectuals in Social-Democratic organisations and makes a speech in which he explains that the election of workers to party committees is not only a pedagogical but also a political task.

*April 21.*

The 16th sitting of the congress discusses the draft Party Rules. The congress unanimously adopts Lenin's wording of Clause 1 of the Rules.

*April 22.*

Lenin takes part in roll-call voting on the adoption of a resolution concerning the relations between workers and intellectuals in Social-Democratic organisations.

Lenin's proposals on the question of relations between workers and intellectuals in Social-Democratic organisations are reflected in the resolution on propaganda and agitation.

*April 25.*

Lenin takes part in the election by secret ballot of the Party Central Committee and is elected a member of that Committee.

*Before April 26.*

Despite the enormous work involved in conducting the congress Lenin also does his duties as editor of the newspaper *Vperyod*; he manages to persue material for the newspaper in between congress sittings and puts down his remarks in a letter to M. S. Olminsky.

*April 27.*

Lenin closes the Party Congress at one p.m.

Lenin conducts the first meeting of the Central Committee elected by the Third Party Congress.

The Central Committee appoints him executive editor of the Party's central organ, the newspaper *Proletary*, and the Central Committee's representative abroad.

*After April 27.*

Lenin and other delegates to the Third Congress visit Karl Marx's grave at Highgate Cemetery in London.

Before his departure from London, Lenin visits the British Museum and the Zoological Gardens together with M. G. Tskhakaya, N. K. Krupskaya and R. S. Zemliachka\*.

On his way from London to Geneva Lenin makes a stop in Paris and goes, together with M. G. Tskhakaya, N. K. Krupskaya and R. S. Zemliachka, to the Wall of the Communards at the Père-Lachaise Cemetery; they also visit the Eiffel Tower and the Louvre.

### **Mikha Tskhakaya:**

*During the post-congress days I was fortunate to get to know Ilyich better and to feel his delicacy and warm consideration for the people around him. I will never forget how Lenin took us to see the Zoo and the British Museum before we left London. He did the same in Paris where he showed me the Eiffel Tower, the world-famous art museum, the Louvre, and the Wall of the Communards at the Père-Lachaise Cemetery. He himself had seen all this several times and went there specially to show me.*

*We also visited the grave of Karl Marx in London. The caretaker of Highgate Cemetery stood at its gate in a top hat. The cemetery was a vast park with narrow alleys and a great many expensive and elaborate monuments, including the sculpture of a pet dog of some lord or lady. But we could not find the grave of the great 19th-century thinker, the founder of scientific communism and organiser of the First International, without the help of masons working at the cemetery. When they learned that we were Russians they promptly guessed that it was Karl Marx's grave we were looking for, and showed it to us. We stood around the grave for a long time, then sat down, reluctant to go...*

\* R. S. Zemliachka (1876-1947) participated in the revolutionary movement from 1896 and was a member of the Bolshevik Party from 1903. She took part in the 1905-1907 revolution and the October 1917 Revolution. In the '20s and '30s she was engaged in party work.—Ed.

*May 7.*

Lenin attends a meeting of the editorial board of the newspaper *Proletary*, the central organ of the Party where the plan of the editorial board's work is discussed. Subjects for articles are discussed and distributed among authors. Lenin chooses the subject *The Agrarian Programme of Socialist Revolutionaries*.

Lenin signs the decisions of the RSDLP Central Committee on G. V. Plekhanov's appointment as editor-in-chief of the Party's scientific organ and as the RSDLP's representative at the International Socialist Bureau. The Central Committee authorises Lenin to put these decisions into effect on the condition that Plekhanov recognises the legitimacy of the Third Party Congress and its decisions.

*May 14.*

The first issue of the Bolshevik newspaper *Proletary* is published, which carries the *Notification About the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Party* (the editorial), the article *The Third Congress*, the note *How the Congress Was Constituted*, all written by Lenin, and the main resolutions of the Third RSDLP Congress.

*Between May 14 and the beginning of November.*

On Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays Lenin works as editor-on-duty at the editorial office of the newspaper *Proletary*.

*First half of May.*

Lenin makes two reports about the Third RSDLP Congress. The first, closed instructive report is read before a restricted audience of members of the Bolshevik colony and party functionaries from local organisations; the second, open report is attended by Mensheviks. During the debate after the

second report Lenin writes down the speech of his opponent, L. Martov\*.

*Before May 17.*

Lenin leaves Geneva for Paris.

*May 17.*

In Paris Lenin reads a paper on the Third Congress and its decisions.

*May 17-19.*

During his stay in Paris Lenin goes to the theatres Grand Opéra and Folies Bergères.

### **Lidia Fotieva:**

*The hall was hired and Vladimir Ilyich delivered his report. I don't know what other business besides the report on the Third Congress brought Lenin to Paris where he stayed at least three days this time. He spent two free evenings going to theatres. On the first evening he was advised by Comrade Filatov who knew Paris well to hear some opera at the Grand Opéra. Next evening Vladimir Ilyich went to Folies Bergères where short sketches were shown. I especially remember one scene called "The Legs of Paris". We were shown under the curtain lowered to knee height the walking legs of people of different occupations and social status: a worker, a lamplighter, a grisette, a priest, a policeman, a petty shopkeeper, a Parisian fop, etc. The legs were so strikingly typical that one had no difficulty identifying them and completing the image they represented. It was very funny, Vladimir Ilyich laughed in his inimitably hearty and infectious way and obviously had a very good time and rest.*

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\* L. Martov (Yu. O. Tserderbaum) (1873-1923), a Social-Democrat who took part in the Russian revolutionary movement. He was a member of the *Iskra* editorial board from 1900 and the leader of the Left wing of the Mensheviks after the Second RSDLP Congress (1903). In 1920 Martov emigrated from Soviet Russia.—Ed.

*May 20.*

Lenin writes a letter to the International Socialist Bureau about the Third RSDLP Congress and its decision to regard the newspaper *Proletary* as the central organ of the RSDLP. Lenin also informs the Bureau about the forthcoming publication in French and German of a booklet with the texts of the congress's resolutions, and about the fact that, according to the new Party Rules, the RSDLP Central Committee is the Party's only central institution.

*Not earlier than May.*

Lenin reads a letter to Geneva about discussions between Social-Democrats and Socialist Revolutionaries in Moscow about the agrarian question and the need for Lenin or Plekhanov to write a popular booklet on this subject; he strikes out certain words on the first page of the letter and marks it with the word "Moscow".

*May—before June 10.*

Lenin is working on the book *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, writes the drafts of the title, table of contents, remarks on certain questions and a note to Paragraph 10 of the book.

*May—June.*

Lenin is busy arranging accommodation for revolutionaries who have escaped from exile.

Lenin asks a comrade going to Petersburg to take along a letter for his relatives who lived at that time near the Russian capital.

*May—early November.*

Lenin edits issues 1 to 24 of the newspaper *Proletary*.

*Before June 4.*

Lenin reads the reports of the Tver committee and the Minsk and Kostroma groups of the RSDLP and correspondence from Yekaterinoslav, Tver and Ivanovo-Voznesensk, making his marks and notes in them.

*After June 15.*

A letter addressed to Lenin comes from Odessa with the news about revolutionary events in the city and the mutiny on the battleship *Potemkin*.

*June 17.*

The RSDLP Central Committee sends M. I. Vasiliev-Yuzhin to Odessa to establish contact with the Social-Democratic organisation which led the mutiny in the Black Sea Fleet and on the battleship *Potemkin*.

During his talk with Vasiliev-Yuzhin before his departure Lenin stresses the absolute necessity to secure the active support of the peasantry and to act resolutely, boldly and quickly. But Vasiliev-Yuzhin failed to establish contact with the battleship. When he came to Odessa the *Potemkin* had already left port for Romania.

### **Mikhail Vasiliev-Yuzhin:**

*It is easy to imagine the sensation caused abroad, especially among the émigrés, by the news of the mutiny of the crew of the battleship Potemkin. Of course we received it after some delay but we realised and felt that a truly serious armed uprising had occurred, the first real uprising.*

*We hoped that it would be successful, that it would be supported by all of oppressed Russia which was breaking its age-old fetters and first of all by the heroic proletariat which had already displayed its self-sacrifice in struggle and had been baptised by fire and blood. Once again we felt the powerful pull-back to Russia. The return home was the main subject of conversations in our circle.*

*I decided to approach Lenin himself with the request to send me immediately to Russia to do whatever work was required. Suddenly I was told that Vladimir Ilyich was looking for me himself on some important and urgent matter. I immediately decided to go to him but he forestalled me and dropped in at my place or met me on the way, I don't remember exactly. Our talk was short and to the point.*

*Lenin told me that I was, by decision of the Central Committee, to go to Odessa as soon as possible, preferably on the next day.*

*"I am ready even today. What is my mission?"*

*"Your mission is very serious. You know that the battleship Potemkin is now at the port of Odessa. There is apprehension that the Odessa comrades may not use to full advantage the mutiny of its crew. Try at all costs to get on the ship and urge the crew to swift and resolute action. Muster all the available forces of the Odessa organisation for this work. By leaflets and by word of mouth, call on the peasants to unite with the workers for joint struggle. I attach immense, exceptional importance to the alliance of workers and peasants in the struggle that has begun."*

*Vladimir Ilyich was obviously agitated. Never before had I seen him so flustered. I was particularly struck by his further plans, calculations and expectations.*

*"I am confident that most of the ships will join the Potemkin," he said.*

*"Do you seriously believe that this is possible?" I asked.*

*"Of course I do. Only we must act swiftly and resolutely. But, of course, not without account of the actual situation," he said.*

*Later on I was convinced that Vladimir Ilyich had been right in many respects and had correctly appraised the situation. But I had no such conviction when I received his instructions in Geneva. Some three years earlier I had lived near Odessa and was more or less familiar with the conditions and situation there. There were comparatively few real proletarian workers in Odessa, a trading city, and the peasants, especially those near Odessa, could hardly be relied upon as a revolutionary element. Neither did I expect an easy capture of the Black Sea Fleet. But I fully shared Lenin's view that we should act resolutely, boldly and swiftly. It was necessary to use the mutiny on the Potemkin to the best advantage. My intention was (should we fail to capture Odessa) for the Potemkin to sail to the Caucasian coast, first of all to the area of Batum (now Batumi.—Ed.). I knew well that the Batum garrison and fortress had been permeated by our propaganda. The workers of Batum had more than once waged heroic revolutionary struggle. Lastly, the peasants of Guria (a province of Georgia) and of adjacent areas displayed a strong revolutionary attitude and followed the Social-Democrats.*

*Georgian peasants who remained in fact serfs of their princes would, in my opinion, easily and willingly support an uprising. The Batum area seemed to me to be the most reliable revolutionary base on the entire Black Sea coast.*

*I repeated, of course, that I was ready to go immediately and left on the next day. Before my departure Vladimir Ilyich had another talk with me, stressing again that it was necessary to secure the active support of the peasants.*

*After June 18.*

Lenin copies out excerpts from the British magazine *The Economist* about the mutiny on the battleship *Potemkin*.

*Between June 18 and 27.*

Lenin copies out excerpts from the Liberal Swiss newspaper *Journal de Genève* about the attitude of the Liberals to the project of establishing the highest consultative legislative body (State Duma) proposed by Russia's Minister of the Interior A. G. Bulygin. Lenin uses this material in his article *The Bourgeoisie Bargains with the Autocracy, the Autocracy Bargains with the Bourgeoisie* and also in the plan of the article *The Revolutionary Army and Revolutionary Government*.

*June 21*

Lenin receives a telegram from Berlin addressed to the editorial office of the newspaper *Proletary* with a request to inform the International Socialist Bureau that the Russian government has asked foreign states for assistance in restoring order in the country.

Lenin writes a letter in French on behalf of the RSDLP Central Committee to the International Socialist Bureau requesting it to issue an appeal to the workers of all countries urging them not to allow foreign powers to assist the tsarist government in its struggle against the revolution while the

European peoples play the role of the hangmen of Russian freedom.

*June 23.*

Lenin is working on the article *The Russian Tsar Seeks the Protection of the Turkish Sultan Against His People*; he copies out material from British, German and French newspapers—*The Times*, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, *Le Matin* and *Berliner Tageblatt*—concerning the tsarist government's request for assistance from the Romanian and Turkish police against the mutinous sailors, and writes the article.

*Before June 27.*

Lenin edits the manuscript of V. V. Filatov's booklet *The Application of Tactics and Fortification to a Popular Uprising*.

*After June 28—early July.*

Lenin reads an anonymous report to the newspaper *Proletary* describing the revolutionary events in Odessa in June 1905 and provides it with the heading *Odessa (From an Anonymous Correspondent)*.

*After June 29—beginning of July.*

Lenin receives a letter from Krasin\* in Petersburg who writes that there is no literature on the Third RSDLP Congress and a shortage of experienced personnel in Russia. Krasin also writes that it is necessary to make use of the experience of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk strike and of the mutiny on the battleship *Potemkin*.

\* *L. B. Krasin* (1870-1926), an engineer by education, participated in the revolutionary movement from 1890, member of the RSDLP Central Committee in 1903-1905. During the 1905-1907 revolution he was in charge of a combat technical group of the Party Central Committee. After the October Revolution Krasin was the People's Commissar for Foreign Trade and simultaneously the Soviet Ambassador and Trade Representative in Britain. From 1924 he was a member of the Bolshevik Party Central Committee.—*Ed.*

*Not earlier than June 30—July.*

Lenin and his family live at a country house near Geneva; he comes to the city to work three and sometimes four times a week.

*Second half of June.*

Lenin instructs comrades directed by the RSDLP Central Committee to work at local party committees in Russia, gives his assessment of the current events, the war situation\*, the events on the battleship *Potemkin*, and examines in detail the resolutions of the Third RSDLP Congress and the decisions of the Mensheviks' Geneva Conference\*\*. He writes down L. Martov's report made in Geneva on armed uprising.

*July 1 (14)\*\*\*.*

Lenin's article *The Democratic Tasks of the Revolutionary Proletariat* is reprinted in the Armenian language in issue 6 of the newspaper *The Struggle of the Proletariat*.

Lenin writes a note to Lepeshinsky\*\*\*\* asking him to speak in his place at a meeting of the Berne group for the assistance to the RSDLP dedicated to the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille.

Lenin's article *The Third Congress* is reprinted in the newspapers of the Caucasian Union of the RSDLP in the Russian, Armenian and Georgian languages.

*July 6.*

At Lenin's request N. K. Krupskaya writes a letter to Koreiz (in the Crimea) saying that in Geneva "all thoughts

\* The Russo-Japanese war was still going on at that time.—*Ed.*

\*\* The Mensheviks countered the Third Party Congress by holding their own conference simultaneously with it. This did not have the status of a congress due to the small number of its delegates.—*Ed.*

\*\*\* July 14, New Style.—*Ed.*

\*\*\*\* P. N. Lepeshinsky (1868-1944), one of the eldest members of the Bolshevik Party; after the October 1917 Revolution he concentrated on educational work. He was one of the organisers of the Institute of the Party History.—*Ed.*

are focussed on the events developing in Russia" and inquiring about the state of affairs in Sevastopol and Feodosia.

*After July 12.*

Lenin edits the manuscript of an article of one of the *Proletary's* correspondents, entitled *On the Question of Barricade Fighting*.

*Between July 18 and August 3.*

Lenin works on the article *The Boycott of the Bulygin Duma and the Insurrection*.

*Before July 19.*

Lenin contributes to the Geneva Library of the RSDLP over 400 books on the agrarian question, agricultural statistics and the handicraft industry in Russia, on philosophy, law, etc., subject to their return to the owner in the event of the library's closure.

*July 20.*

Lenin writes to Lunacharsky in Italy that after the Third RSDLP Congress the struggle against the Mensheviks has entered a new stage; he points to major shortcomings in the party work abroad and in Russia; and emphasises that the struggle for the Party demands everyone's utmost effort. He proposes to Lunacharsky that he move from Italy to Geneva in order to participate directly in lecturing and propaganda work. "Personal influence and speaking at meetings make all the difference in politics," Lenin writes. "Without them there is no political activity..."

*Between July 20 and September 1.*

Lenin writes the article *Social-Democracy's Attitude Towards the Peasant Movement*.

July 25.

Lenin's booklet *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* is printed in Geneva as a publication of the RSDLP Central Committee.

Before July 27.

Lenin edits the manuscripts of the articles *The Bourgeoisie and the Monarchy* and *The First Steps of the Trade-Union Movement* by V. V. Vorovsky and *The Peasant Movement* by V. Kalinin (V. A. Karpinsky)\*. The articles are published in the newspaper *Proletary*.

Between July 30 and August 3.

Lenin writes a letter to the local party committees in Tomsk, Riga, Samara\*\*, Kazan and Moscow. A copy of the letter was probably sent at the same time to the RSDLP Central Committee.

July.

Lenin writes in his *Draft Leaflet* about the revolutionary events in the Caucasus, in Poland, Odessa and other cities, on the need to form a revolutionary army, and on the slogans and goals of a revolutionary government; he edits the translation into Russian of Marx's booklet *The Civil War in France* and Lunacharsky's booklet *Outline of the History of the Revolutionary Struggle of the European Proletariat*, which was printed by the RSDLP Central Committee in Geneva in 1905.

After August 7.

Lenin edits the manuscript of P. Nikolayev's booklet *The Revolution in Russia*, writes a note to it and the text of the title

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\* V. A. Karpinsky (1880-1965), a participant in the Russian revolutionary movement and a political writer, was a member of the RSDLP from 1898. He contributed to Bolshevik newspapers and journals and was the author of works on the Party's history.—Ed.

\*\* Now Kuibyshev.—Ed.

page. The booklet was published by the RSDLP Central Committee in Geneva in 1905. He also edits reports from Nizhni Novgorod and Sormovo about strikes, workers' rallies and pogroms there, and marks this material as ready to go to press in the section *From Social Life* of the newspaper *Proletary*.

*After August 20.*

Lenin edits a report from Vilno about a strike at the leather factories in the city under the guidance of the local RSDLP group. Lenin marks the report *Vilno* and gives instructions for printing it in the section *Working-Class Movement* of the newspaper *Proletary*.

*Between August 24 and September 2.*

Lenin receives the first issue of the illegal newspaper of the RSDLP Central Committee *Rabochy* (Worker).

*End of August—beginning of September.*

Lenin receives a letter signed *Riga Propagandist* which stresses the need to draft an all-party propaganda programme; he reads an account of the Moscow RSDLP Committee for the spring and summer of 1905 and writes above the text: "From the Party. Moscow. To be printed in full. It's a very instructive account of one of the exemplary committees of our Party."

Lenin receives *An Open Letter to the Central Committee and to Comrades Working in the Countryside* published as a hectographed leaflet by the Moscow Regional Organisation of the RSDLP.

He writes the article *Social-Democracy's Attitude Towards the Peasant Movement* in reply to a letter from Moscow asking for an explanation of the resolution of the Third Party Congress on this matter.

### **Nadezhda Krupskaya:**

*Vladimir Ilyich always gave a great deal of attention to the peasant question. During the discussion of the Party Programme at the Second*

Congress he put forward and strongly advocated the slogan of returning to the peasants the *otrezki* of which they had been deprived during the Reform of 1861\*.

He believed that in order to win over the peasantry a concrete demand that would meet the peasantry's most urgent need had to be put forward. The peasantry had to be rallied around a concrete slogan as had been done in the case of the workers, when the Social-Democrats had launched their agitation among them with a campaign for reducing working hours and for paying wages on time.

The events of 1905 made Vladimir Ilyich re-examine this question. His talks with Gapon (a peasant by origin, who had not lost touch with the village), with Matyushenko, a sailor from the *Potemkin*, and with a number of workers who had arrived from Russia and had first-hand knowledge of what was going on in the countryside, showed him that the "otrezki" slogan was no longer adequate, that a broader slogan was needed—one calling for the confiscation of the landowners' estates, and all the crown and church lands. It wasn't without reason that Vladimir Ilyich had once delved into statistical reference books and fully revealed the economic connection between town and country, between big and small businesses, between the working class and the peasantry. He saw the time had come when this economic connection would serve the proletariat as a lever of powerful political influence upon the peasantry.

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\* The Russian word *otrezki* means land "cut off" by the landowners during the reform of 1861 which abolished serfdom in Russia.

**September-December 1905:**  
**CLIMBING TO THE SUMMIT**

*September 1.*

In his letter to Petersburg Lenin advises that closer working contacts between the Petersburg RSDLP Committee and the editorial board of the newspaper *Proletary* be established; he highly praises the publication of the first issue of the illegal newspaper *Rabochy* and the *Flying Leaflets* issued by the RSDLP Central Committee in Russia.

*September 3.*

Lenin writes a letter to Camille Huuysmans, Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau based in Brussels, informing him of the consent of the RSDLP Central Committee to the organisation of a conference proposed by the Bureau in connection with the contradictions within the RSDLP on the condition that it would be in the nature of a preliminary discussion.

The dispatch group of the RSDLP sends from Berlin to Odessa Nos. 11 to 16 of the newspaper *Proletary*, Lenin's booklet *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* and a collection of articles *Workers on the Split in the Party* with a preface written by Lenin.

*After September 7.*

Lenin receives a letter from Odessa with information on the numerical and social composition and the activity of the local RSDLP organisation, on the popularity of Lenin's booklet *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, the desirability of its broadest distribution and the shortage of Bolshevik literature at local organisations.

*September 8.*

Lenin delivers a report on the Bolshevik Party's tactics in regard to the Bulygin Duma, notes down the debate on the report, and makes the concluding speech.

*Between September 9 and 13.*

Lenin reads a telegram printed in the newspaper *Le Temps* about an armed attack by Latvian revolutionaries against the central prison in Riga and the liberation of two political prisoners, and writes the article *From the Defensive to the Offensive*.

*Before September 13.*

Lenin edits V. V. Vorovsky's article *The Liberal Unions and Social-Democracy* and adds an insert to it; the article is published in the newspaper *Proletary*. He also edits the manuscript of the article by V. V. Filatov *The Army and the People* which is published in Issue 17 of the *Proletary*.

*Between September 13 and October 6.*

Lenin's article *Argue About Tactics, But Give Clear Slogans* is reprinted with minor editorial changes in the form of a leaflet by the united students' organisation of the Petersburg RSDLP Committee.

Lenin copies out material from the newspaper *Rus* (Russia) of September 13, 1905, about a students' strike, the attitude of the bourgeois-liberal newspaper *Pravo* to the boycott of the Bulygin Duma, and the government's retreat under the pressure of the intelligentsia and the students.

*Mid-September.*

The appeal, written by Lenin, *From the Editorial Board of the Central Organ of the RSDLP* to all party organisations on measures to improve printed propaganda and agitation, is published in Issue 2 of the newspaper *Rabochy*.

*September 20.*

Lenin writes a letter to the Central Committee in Russia, acknowledging receipt of No. 2 of the *Flying Leaflets* of the

RSDLP Central Committee and stressing the necessity for the regular publication of the Central Committee's bulletins.

Lenin also informs the Central Committee in Russia of his inability to come to Finland in time for a meeting of Central Committee members owing to the absence of the *Proletary*'s co-editors; he asks for an early appointment of a representative to the conference being convened by the International Socialist Bureau; sets the task of strengthening local party organisations, and urges the earliest possible convocation of the Fourth RSDLP Congress.

Lenin meets Y. D. Stasova\* who has come to Geneva from Petersburg and receives from her detailed information about the state of affairs in Russia and the attitude of the Russian Bolsheviks to the Zemstvo-Liberal movement.

### **Yelena Stasova:**

*In September 1905 I was sent to Geneva to take charge of all technical matters of the Central Committee. When I arrived in Geneva I immediately went to the flat where Vladimir Ilyich lived with Nadezhda Konstantinovna and her mother Yelizaveta Vasilyevna.*

*When I came to the flat I found only Vladimir Ilyich. He led me at once to a room which served both as kitchen and dining room, and showered me with questions about the events in Petersburg, in Russia, and at the Petersburg and Central Party committees. Suddenly he jumped from his chair and said: "Wait a minute!", fetched a kettle from the sideboard, filled it with water, lighted the gas range, set the table for tea and only then continued his talk with me. Vladimir Ilyich often "kept house" himself. The rule in their family was that daily chores were done by whoever had free time.*

*Vladimir Ilyich had his own manner of listening and asking questions which he put so as to direct the speaker along the lines he wanted, to touch on matters which interested him. In this way Vladimir Ilyich learned during our first talk in Geneva about everything important from what I had to say about the situation in Russia.*

*During the spring and summer of that year, 1905, congresses of*

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\* Y. D. Stasova (1873-1966), an active participant in the Russian revolutionary movement and an RSDLP member from 1898, took part in the 1905-1907 revolution and the October 1917 Revolution (in Petrograd). In 1917-1920 she was a Secretary of the Party Central Committee and during the '20s and '30s, a member of the Central Control Commission of the Party Central Committee.—Ed.

physicians, teachers, lawyers and other groups of the intelligentsia had been held; they had set up unions which formed a union of unions. I told Vladimir Ilyich how we had fought the Liberals at the congresses and in the unions. He told me: "You know, I think you should make a report about this in our local Russian colony."

I was at a loss since I had never made a report before, but Vladimir Ilyich persuaded me that the report was necessary. As I was preparing it, I realised what a wonderful teacher and comrade Vladimir Ilyich was.

#### *After September 19.*

Lenin copies out in English some material from *The Times* to the effect that preparation was under way in some Russian cities for a workers' congress to be held in Moscow. He also notes that information on this matter has also been published by other foreign newspapers.

#### *September 21.*

Lenin receives a report from Russia about a conference of Social-Democratic organisations which was held in Riga on September 7 to 9 and which adopted the tactics of actively boycotting the Bulygin Duma.

#### *September 22.*

Lenin receives A. A. Bogdanov's letter from Petersburg inviting him to attend a meeting of the RSDLP Central Committee to be held in Finland.

Lenin writes in his letter to the Central Committee that he finds it possible to attend a meeting of the Central Committee members; he proposes to hold the meeting not in Finland, as was earlier planned, but in Stockholm; and asks to be informed about the date of the meeting.

#### *September 23.*

Lenin signs a letter of recommendation (in Russian, German, French and English) for V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich

who goes on a business trip to London, Berlin and Paris on behalf of the Demos publishing house.

*After September 24.*

Lenin receives V. V. Vorovsky's letter from Berlin with information about Vorovsky's talk with August Bebel about Social-Democracy's attitude to the State Duma and the acquisition of financial aid from the Board of the German Social-Democratic Workers' Party.

*Before September 25.*

Lenin receives hectographed resolutions of the Southern Russian Constituent Conference of the Mensheviks.

*September 25.*

In his letter to the RSDLP Central Committee in Russia Lenin writes about the appointment of G. V. Plekhanov by the Southern Russian Constituent Conference of the Mensheviks as its representative in the International Socialist Bureau and recommends V. V. Vorovsky to be appointed the Bolsheviks' representative in the Bureau.

*After September 25.*

Lenin copies out of foreign newspapers some material on the beginning and development of the political strike in Moscow and drafts a plan of the contents of a book of excerpts from newspapers about the Moscow events.

He writes first a rough copy and then the final version of a note *From the Editorial Board* concerning the documents of a meeting of the RSDLP Central Committee and the Organising Committee of the Mensheviks and comments on them under the general heading *On the Question of Party Unity*.

Lenin edits a report from Petersburg about speeches made at workers' rallies by Bolsheviks and Mensheviks on the

question of the unity of the RSDLP, the attitude of workers to the electioneering in the campaign for the State Duma, and their great desire to find their bearings in the current political activity. He writes on top of the report the heading *Petersburg*.

*After September 26.*

In his letter to Petersburg Lenin proposes to the editors of the legal newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* (New Life) to approach G. V. Plekhanov with a collective and official request to join the newspaper's editorial board.

*After September 27—beginning of October.*

Lenin receives a letter from Petersburg commenting on the decisions of the joint conference of Social-Democratic organisations of Russia on the attitude toward the State Duma.

*Before September 29.*

Lenin reads the manuscript of A. V. Lunacharsky's article *Parliament and its Significance* and makes notes on it.

*September 28.*

In his letter to A. V. Lunacharsky Lenin notes that his article is important and timely but advises him to rewrite the manuscript, making greater emphasis on the parliamentary illusions of the Mensheviks in the age of revolutionary struggle; he returns the manuscript to the author for improvement.

*Between September 28 and October 3.*

Lenin is included in the editorial committee of the *Znaniye* (*Knowledge*) Publishers in Petersburg.

September 29.

Lenin writes the article *The Political Strike and the Street Fighting in Moscow* where he notes that the material available for covering the subject is limited by brief and often contradictory information from foreign newspapers and the reports of the legal press that have been strained through the sieve of censorship. Vladimir Ilyich uses in this work his earlier article *Days of Bloodshed in Moscow*.

After September 29.

Lenin copies out excerpts from the article *Les troubles de Moscou* printed in the newspaper *Le Temps*.

Beginning of October.

Lenin receives N. A. Skrypnik's\* letter from St. Petersburg with information on the preparation of an uprising and on the work of the Petersburg RSDLP Committee.

Lenin writes the article *The Finances of Russia* which is published in the London journal *The Economist* (Vol. LXIII, No. 3242, October 14, pp. 1630-1631).

October 2.

Lenin reads a paper about the political strike in Moscow at a rally held in Geneva.

Before October 4.

Lenin receives information from the Combat Committee of the Petersburg RSDLP Committee about the organisation of preparations for an uprising.

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\* N. A. Skrypnik (1872-1933) took part in the revolutionary movements of Russia and the Ukraine from the early 1890s; he was an active participant in the revolution of 1905-1907 and the October 1917 Revolution. In 1918-1919 Skrypnik was the chairman of the first Soviet government in the Ukraine.—Ed.

Lenin edits a report from Moscow about a strike of printers and writes the heading for it: *Moscow, September 24*; he also writes a note of the editorial board that the report is published in order to characterise the initial stage of the movement which is rapidly becoming not only political but also purely revolutionary. The report was printed in Issue 21 of the newspaper *Proletary*.

Lenin reads a report from Petersburg about the successful conduct by the Bolsheviks of rallies of workers and students of schools of higher learning, adds the heading *Petersburg, September 23* and paginates the report. It is printed in the same issue of the *Proletary*.

*Between October 7 and 18.*

Lenin writes the article *The Aggravation of the Situation in Russia*.

*Between October 8 and 14.*

Lenin receives a letter with information about the forthcoming organisation in Petersburg of a legal publishing house to produce popular booklets, the expected publication of the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* from October 19 and Lenin's inclusion in its staff, and the request to him to mobilise all literary forces abroad, to write at least one article a week for the newspaper, and to prepare and send for reprinting his booklet *What Is To Be Done?*

*Between October 10 and 13.*

Lenin copies out material from the newspaper *Frankfurter Zeitung* about the all-Russia political strike.

*Between October 11 and 25.*

Lenin edits material taken from the bulletins of the Moscow RSDLP Committee on the course of the general strike in Moscow and marks it to be urgently printed in the newspaper *Proletary*.

October 12.

Lenin receives a letter from the RSDLP Central Committee about his appointment as the RSDLP's representative at the International Socialist Bureau.

October 13.

Lenin is working on the article *The All-Russia Political Strike*; he drafts the article's plan, writes notes to the article, adding material copied out from foreign newspapers, then writes the article itself.

In his letter to M. M. Essen\* in Petersburg Lenin expresses his hope for an early return from emigration to Russia and for the publication in Russia of the central organ and of propaganda literature; he stresses the role of printed propaganda during revolution and advises that the preparation for an armed uprising be stepped up.

### **Maria Essen:**

*In May 1905 I was sentenced to five years of exile in the far north of the Arkhangelsk Gubernia. I managed to escape on my way there and in September I returned to Petersburg and resumed my work.*

*I flew to Petersburg as if on wings, fearing to be late for events which I visualised as the preparation for an armed uprising. What I actually saw there was quite different. Bogdanov, Krasin and some other members of the Central Committee considered these slogans to be premature. Bogdanov asserted that the events would rather favour the implementation of Menshevik ideas and that we Bolsheviks should only seek to preserve our ideological integrity and cohesion. The members of the Petersburg Committee asked me to write to Lenin, describing the situation and assuring him that the Petersburg Committee wholly*

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\* M. M. Essen (1872-1956) participated in the revolutionary movement from 1892. She became a Bolshevik after the Second RSDLP Congress. She was a member of the Petersburg Party Committee in 1902 and took part in the 1905-1907 revolution (Petersburg and Moscow). After the October 1917 Revolution she worked at the Institute of Party History, the Lenin Institute, the Institute of Journalism, and in several major publishing houses.—Ed.

supported his line and the slogans of the Proletary and censured the curtailed slogans of the Central Committee. Lenin wrote in reply to my letter: "As regards Party affairs, it seems to me that your pessimism is a bit exaggerated..."

"But things are not as bad as they seem. With the gigantic movement that there is now, no single Central Committee in the world, under conditions where the Party is illegal, could satisfy a thousandth part of the demands made on it. That our slogans, the slogans of the Proletary, are not just a voice crying in the wilderness, can be clearly seen even from the legal newspapers, which report meetings of 10,000-15,000 in the University, etc." Vladimir Ilyich noted in regard to the timing of the uprising: "Who would undertake to fix it? Personally, I would willingly postpone it until the spring, and until the Manchurian army comes home;\*... But, then, nobody asks us anyway. Take the present tremendous strike."

The letter ended with the words: "Generally speaking, the importance of the foreign-based section of the Party is now diminishing hour by hour, and this is unavoidable. We shall not abandon the Proletary, of course, under any circumstances, until we can get it published in Nevsky Prospekt in Petersburg. But we must now pay a great deal of attention to a legal newspaper as well. We here abroad already have to put the shutters up (propagandist literature), and we shall soon close down altogether and open up in Petersburg. All the very best. Yours, N. Lenin."

### October 17.

Late in the evening Lenin learns about the Tsar's Manifesto of the same date.

### Between October 17 and 25.

Lenin edits summaries of reports on the course of the revolutionary events in Russia before and after the Tsar's

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\* The Portsmouth Peace Treaty, signed in September 1905, ended the Russo-Japanese war. One of its stipulations was the evacuation of the Russian troops from Manchuria. The defeat in the war which brought to light the utter incompetence of the top command of the Russian army was another factor spurring the revolutionary events in the country. It also affected the mood of the soldiers.—Ed.

Manifesto of October 17, made by the staff of the *Proletary*. This material is printed in issue 24 of the *Proletary* under the general heading *The Revolutionary Days in Russia*.

*Before October 18.*

Lenin edits a report from Tula about strikes of the students of secondary schools in that city.

*After October 18.*

Lenin copies out an excerpt from the newspaper *Arbeiter Zeitung* about the reaction to the victory of the general political strike in Russia and about the calls for universal suffrage in Austria.

Lenin copies out excerpts from reports of the newspapers *Vorwärts* and *The Times* about the response to the Tsar's Manifesto of October 17, the appeal of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies, and a demonstration in Petersburg.

*October 20.*

Lenin reads a paper on the latest political events in Russia at a meeting of Russian Social-Democrats held in the Handwerk Hall in Geneva.

**Yelena Stasova:**

*I heard Vladimir Ilyich as a public speaker for the first time when he read a paper on the political events in Russia at a meeting of Russian Social-Democrats held on October 20, 1905. What impressed me most of all in his report? Not a single remark or exclamation was uttered while it was being delivered, although the audience included, along with Bolsheviks, Mensheviks and SRs. When the speaker finished and the chairman asked for questions there were none. Were the Mensheviks and SRs really in full agreement with the ideas set forth in the report? Of course not! But Lenin's powerful logic subdued everybody. It was only on the next day that the Mensheviks came to their senses and started vigorously to contest the theses laid down in Lenin's report.*

*Lenin's manner of public speaking was very simple and unaffected. He usually paced to and fro as he spoke, sometimes hooking his thumbs in the arm-holes of his waistcoat or throwing forward his right hand with his index finger extended. When I listened later to Plekhanov I involuntarily compared him with Vladimir Ilyich. Plekhanov was a brilliant orator, he spoke with rich modulations and many gestures, like an actor, but he lacked Lenin's power of logic, power of conviction...*

#### *October 21.*

Early in the morning Lenin receives a telegraphic message about the murder of N. E. Bauman\*. This heavy loss greatly grieves him.

#### *After October 20.*

Lenin visits Y. D. Stasova, tells her of the report about N. E. Bauman's murder and asks Stasova about her revolutionary work with Bauman in Moscow, their imprisonment in 1904, and the attempts to free Bauman.

Lenin learns about the wounding of N. I. Podvoisky\*\* and other participants in a workers' demonstration in Yaroslavl, which was dispersed by Cossacks and Black Hundreders on October 20, 1905. Vladimir Ilyich writes a warm friendly letter to Podvoisky.

#### *After October 21.*

Lenin reads reports in the newspapers *Neue Freie Presse* and Petersburg's *Novoye Vremya* (New Times) about the

\* *N. E. Bauman* (1873-1905), a leader of the Russian revolutionary movement from the 1890s, a Bolshevik, a veterinarian by education. He took part in the organisation of the Leninist newspaper *Iskra* and was from 1904 the head of the Moscow Party Committee and the Northern Bureau of the RSDLP Central Committee. Bauman was murdered by Black Hundreders, and his funeral in Moscow grew into a 300,000-strong political demonstration.—*Ed.*

\*\* *N. I. Podvoisky* (1880-1948) participated in the revolutionary movement from 1898, was an RSDLP member from 1901. He took part in the establishment of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Soviet (1905), in the revolutions of 1905-1907 (in the Volga area) and of October 1917 (in Petrograd) when he was the chairman of the Petrograd Military-Revolutionary Committee. After the October Revolution Podvoisky held important military posts.—*Ed.*

further upsurge of the revolutionary movement in Russia and tsarism's attempts to stop the revolution.

*After October 23.*

Lenin writes out excerpts in Russian and German from a report in the newspaper *Berliner Tageblatt und Handelszeitung* about the October political strike in the Baltic region and in Finland.

*Before October 25.*

Lenin prepares for publication the leaflet of the Krasnoyarsk RSDLP Committee *How We Should Prepare for the Bulygin Duma* and renames it *The Krasnoyarsk Committee on the State Duma*. It is then published in the *Proletary*.

Lenin edits a report from Kharkov about the resolution adopted by the students of Kharkov University demanding the convocation of a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of universal and direct suffrage by secret ballot, and writes his instruction to print the resolution in the section *Social Life* of the *Proletary*.

*October 25.*

Issue 24 of the *Proletary* carries Lenin's articles *The First Victory of the Revolution* (editorial), *Petty-Bourgeois and Proletarian Socialism*, and *Nikolai Ernestovich Bauman*, as well as material from foreign newspapers prepared by Lenin under the headings *The Central Strike Committee*, and *Petersburg, October 18*.

*After October 27.*

A survey of the Social-Democratic movement in Russia prepared by the Police Department points out that the first issue of the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* published on October 27, 1905, "lists among its staff members Lenin (V. I. Ulyanov), leader of the Bolshevik faction".

### *End of October.*

In his letter to G. V. Plekhanov Lenin writes of the necessity of uniting the Social-Democratic forces, invites him to join the editorial board of the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* and proposes to meet him personally.

### *Early November.*

Lenin copies out material from reports printed in the newspaper *Le temps* about the offer by Emperor Wilhelm II of Germany of military assistance to the Russian Tsar in suppressing the armed mutiny of Kronstadt\* sailors and the attempts of the German authorities to prevent the influence of the rebellious Polish miners on German workers on the border of Upper Silesia.

### *November 2-4.*

Lenin writes the article *Our Tasks and the Soviet of the Workers' Deputies (A Letter to the Editor)* regretting that "I still have to write from that accursed 'afar', from the hateful 'abroad' of an exile."

### *Between November 2 and 5.*

Lenin leaves Geneva for Russia via Stockholm and waits in Stockholm for documents for his illegal return to Russia.

### *November 5.*

Lenin moves from Stockholm to Helsingfors (now Helsinki), accompanied by Ola Castrén, a Finnish Social-Democrat who is specially sent to help him, and stays at the flat of Ola's brother Gunnar Castrén, an assistant professor at Helsingfors University.

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\* *The mutiny at Kronstadt*, the principal base of the Baltic Fleet, was repeated in July 1906. Both mutinies were suppressed by troops. In 1906 alone 1,417 people were convicted and 36 were executed.—*Ed.*

*Not before November 5, not later than November 7.*

Lenin writes and sends (evidently from Helsingfors) a letter to N. K. Krupskaya in Geneva, advising her to travel to Russia by the same route that he did and providing her with the necessary addresses.

*November 6.*

Lenin meets and has talks with the leaders of Finland's working-class movement.

*November 8.*

Lenin arrives in Petersburg.

On the same day he visits the Preobrazhenskoye Cemetery where the victims of "Bloody Sunday" were buried. Lenin makes a speech at a packed meeting of the Petersburg Bolshevik Committee on the question of the Party's attitude to the Soviets of Workers' Deputies.

### **Maria Essen:**

*We awaited Lenin's arrival with great impatience. He arrived at last and came on the same day to a meeting of the Petersburg Committee. He immediately felt our fervour, our revolutionary mood and readiness to fight, but he also saw at once our inexperience and inability to properly organise work and censured our futile speechifying. Vladimir Ilyich questioned us in detail about our work, our connections in workers' districts and workers' requirements. He acquainted himself with the progress made in arming workers and in the formation and training of combat squads. He inquired about the character of this work, its every particular and detail. He devoted special attention to the Bolsheviks' work in the army and advised us to appoint the most experienced comrades to do this work. Vladimir Ilyich attached equally great importance to the work among peasants. A special commission for work in the countryside was set up.*

*November 9.*

Lenin conducts a meeting of the Bolshevik members of the editorial board of the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* together with Party activists, at which the composition of the editorial

board is determined and the newspaper's immediate programme is drafted.

Lenin takes part in a meeting of the RSDLP Central Committee which unanimously adopts the appeal *To All Party Organisations and to All Social-Democratic Workers* on the convocation of the Fourth (Unity) RSDLP Congress.

*Between November 9 and December 3.*

Lenin takes charge of the editorial board of the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* which virtually becomes the Party's central organ.

Lenin works at the editorial office of the *Novaya Zhizn* almost every day; there he conducts meetings of the RSDLP Central Committee and the Petersburg Committee and meets party workers. He also conducts the sittings of the editorial board of the *Novaya Zhizn* where the main content of the newspaper is discussed. Altogether the newspaper published 14 articles by Lenin.

### **Anatoli Lunacharsky:**

*At first my meetings with Lenin were connected almost exclusively with the intensive work in the newspaper. Vladimir Ilyich was in general greatly excited and cheerful and was in a most militant mood. But he was aware, of course, of the danger of the situation and the precarious character of the gains secured.*

*Lenin did not directly participate in the work of the then Petersburg Soviet, but he guided the work of the Bolshevik members of the Soviet with whom he was in constant contact.*

*Vladimir Ilyich did, of course, engage in varied and vigorous work, since both Petersburg and Moscow and many provincial towns led a most intensive life, torn between the revolutionary shake-up and the impending reactionary backlash, they were often bathed in blood and ablaze with the fires of the Black Hundred pogroms. Their inhabitants listened with trepidation to the rumours about the fate of the Eastern army\* which the government sought to scatter so that its retreating avalanche would not join the surging waves of the workers' revolution and peasants' riots.*

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\* The troops which had taken part in the Russo-Japanese war.—Ed.

*I personally also had very much to do, both in the literary and propaganda areas, I repeat that, at first, my work came in touch with the various great aspects of Lenin's activity at that time only in connection with our work on the newspaper.*

*Vladimir Ilyich attached great importance to the Novaya Zhizn. It should be remembered that this large legal newspaper had a circulation of more than 50,000 copies, something the Bolsheviks had never had before. At first the newspaper had a very peculiar collection of contributors. We Bolsheviks worked in it side by side with numerous poets with decadent tastes, anarchists from cafés and all manner of Bohemians who considered themselves "very extreme Left" and found their alliance with Bolsheviks very exciting.*

*I must note that Vladimir Ilyich acted very tactfully and considerately. But he boisterously laughed at the various escapades of some of our colleagues, which were unusual for us, and often repeated: "Well, this is indeed a historic incident!"*

*But the sad fact is that the newspaper, which had acquired so many subscribers and readers and had begun to play a very important role not only in Petersburg but also elsewhere in the country, was closed down.*

*This was the beginning of the twilight period of our work. Later on, unwilling to remain without a press organ, we began to replace one newspaper by another, or rather one title by another, none of them remaining for long as the name of our legal central organ.*

*Vladimir Ilyich continued all the time to be the editor-in-chief and give his utmost attention to all the sections of the newspaper. I was in charge of the press review section of both the Novaya Zhizn and for a long time of these small newspapers which replaced one another, and there was not a single little note or clipping I wrote or cut out which Vladimir Ilyich did not check. In most cases the entire material, except telegrams, current reports, etc., was read out loud at a meeting of the editorial board presided over by Lenin. He also read to us his own articles and very willingly listened to all comments and advice.*

*Lenin in general very much liked collective work in the truest sense of the word, i.e., the elaboration of formulations on the basis of a rough copy through the concerted efforts of many minds.*

*Throughout this period Lenin was, of course, the brain and the heart of these newspapers. As we worked, as we had done before, on the Vperyod and Proletary, very intensively, in a collective and friendly manner, we drew great pleasure from this always thriving, resourceful and flaming leadership. We were inevitably struck by our leader's ability suddenly to compare several facts which seemed quite unrelated and remote from one another, by his amazingly quick orientation and the precision of his formulations.*

*Before November 11.*

Lenin writes the article *The Proletariat and the Peasantry*. Issue 9 of the *Novaya Zhizn* prints the beginning of Lenin's article *The Reorganisation of the Party*, the first article he wrote after his return to Russia.

### **Nadezhda Krupskaya:**

*When Vladimir Ilyich arrived in Russia the legal daily newspaper Novaya Zhizn was already being published. Its publisher was Maria Andreyeva\* (Gorky's wife), the editor was the poet Minsky, and contributors were Gorky, Leonid Andreyev, Chirikov, Balmont, Teffi\*\* and others. The Bolshevik staff members were Bogdanov, Rumyantsev, Rozhkov, Goldenberg, Orlovsky, Lunacharsky, Bazarov and Kamenev. The secretary of the Novaya Zhizn and of all subsequent Bolshevik newspapers at that period was Dmitri Leshchenko, who also acted as news editor, copyman, gave reports from the Duma sessions, etc.*

*Vladimir Ilyich's first article appeared on November 10. It began with the words: "The conditions of activity of our Party are undergoing a radical change. Freedom of assembly, of association and of the press has been seized." And Ilyich hastened to make the most of these changed conditions by promptly dashing off with a bold stroke the main outlines of the "new course". It was absolutely essential, along with the underground machinery of the Party, to set up more legal and semi-legal party and affiliated organisations. More and more workers had to be enlisted in the Party. The working class was spontaneously and instinctively Social-Democratic, and more than ten years of Social-Democratic work had done quite a lot to turn this spontaneity into consciousness. Addressing himself to the "committeemen" who feared that the Party would be swamped by the mass, Vladimir Ilyich wrote: "The initiative of the workers themselves will now display itself on a scale that we, the undergrounders and members of the inner circle of yesterday, did not even dare dream of." "Our task now is to develop the most far-reaching*

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\* M. F. Andreyeva (1868-1953), a well-known Russian actress, party member from 1904. She entered the theatre in 1894 and worked in the company of the Moscow Art Theatre in 1898-1905. Besides publishing the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* she fulfilled many other important assignments of the Party Central Committee. After the October 1917 Revolution she worked as Commissar for Theatres and Places of Entertainment of Petrograd and in 1931-1948 as director of the Moscow House of Scientists.—Ed.

\*\* All these were revolutionary-minded writers.—Ed.

and boldest work." "In order to put the organisation on a new basis, another Party congress must be convened."

Ilyich's next article in the *Novaya Zhizn* dealt with a fundamental issue of the Russian revolution—the relations between the proletariat and the peasantry.

His article *The Proletariat and the Peasantry* was a guiding article which supplied a clear Party slogan: *The proletariat of Russia together with the peasantry is fighting for the land and freedom. The Bolshevik representatives in the Soviet of Workers' Deputies also began to pursue this line.*

### *November 12.*

Lenin attends a sitting of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies.

### *After November 12.*

Lenin talks to Secretary of the Moscow Party Committee V. L. Shantser (Marat)\* and member of the Moscow Committee M. N. Lyadov, explains to them the slogan on the agrarian question in connection with his article *The Proletariat and the Peasantry*, and questions them in detail about the work of the Moscow party organisation; he instructs Lyadov to go abroad to negotiate the collaboration of K. Kautsky, R. Luxemburg, K. Liebknecht and other prominent figures of the European Social-Democratic and working-class movement with the *Novaya Zhizn*.

### *November 13.*

Lenin speaks at a sitting of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies on the measures of fighting the lockout imposed in reply to the introduction by the workers of an 8-hour working day without permission of factory owners and proposes his draft resolution on this matter.

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\* V. L. Shantser (1867-1911) participated in the Russian revolutionary movement and was a Bolshevik from 1887. During the 1905-1907 revolution he was one of the leaders of the Moscow Party Committee and of the December 1905 armed uprising.—Ed.

## **Maria Essen:**

*I recall Lenin's speech at a sitting of the Executive Committee of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies held on November 13, 1905, the day the government locked out 100,000 workers of Petersburg.*

*The entire audience was alarmingly quiet. There was a breath of real revolution in the air, as if the walls of the hall had been removed and we could see the boundless sea of tremendous revolutionary prospects.*

*Lenin exposed the political intent of the tactics of the government which used the lockout to strike a decisive blow at the revolution, at the working class. The government, Lenin said, sought to break the workers' spirit by the threat of hunger, to subjugate it, or to provoke an immediate uprising which it would crush by armed force. Lenin proposed not to yield but also not to rise to provocation, not to engage in battle in unfavourable conditions, but to start vigorous preparation for rallying all revolutionary forces. Lenin said that the workers should neither plead nor negotiate, but demand factories to be opened and in case of refusal call for a general strike and other resolute measures of struggle. Lenin proposed to prepare for an overall offensive and to fight only when it would be advantageous for the revolution, for the insurgent people and not for the government. In order to implement the plan of preparation for an uprising it was necessary to immediately contact workers in other towns, the railway, post and telegraph, peasant and other unions and also the army and the navy.*

*Lenin's speech, permeated with revolutionary enthusiasm, electrified the entire audience, and when he unfolded before his listeners a clearly-defined plan and programme of action for the further development of the revolution the hall responded with the rising hum of approval which burst out into stormy applause. The resolution proposed by Lenin was unanimously accepted.*

*Those of us who knew him from the time of the Second Party Congress and struggle against the Mensheviks after that congress managed to meet him and discuss the questions that agitated us. These were of course nothing like the talks we had had with him in Geneva, still we had a chance to see and talk to Vladimir Ilyich outside of public meetings. One of us would drop in, for instance, in the morning in connection with his next speech or party meeting and use the opportunity of talking of other matters. Lenin was quite willing to talk with us unless he was too busy. I must confess that we quite often abused our acquaintance with him and called on him even if it wasn't very necessary. But he never let us feel that such visits were burdensome. I do not remember a single expression of displeasure or an annoyed gesture on his part on such occasions. This was in fact not needed, since he was able to*

get so immersed in his own thoughts and to drift away from the talk that one immediately sensed that it was time to leave him alone.

Lenin would cut himself away from a talk, absorbed in thought, evidently outlining the main points of an idea before he began to elaborate it. Nadezhda Krupskaya writes in her memoirs that Lenin would whisper to himself as he paced to and fro, before he sat down to pen his ideas. He did not do this when others were present; he would instead retire into himself and step aside from us. This was always so obvious that no sign had to be made for those present to bow themselves out.

#### *November 13.*

Circular letter No. 14430 of the Police Department orders the heads of provincial gendarme departments, secret police units and border posts to watch carefully for the appearance in Russia of Lenin and other émigrés and on seeing them to report immediately to the Police Department and set up secret surveillance.

#### *November 14.*

The Executive Committee of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies officially endorses the resolution on the measures of struggle against the lockout proposed by Lenin. On the next day the resolution is printed in the *Novaya Zhizn*.

#### *November 15.*

The newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* prints as its editorial Lenin's article *The Provocation That Failed* and the continuation of his article *The Reorganisation of the Party*. Lenin writes the article *The Armed Forces and the Revolution*.

#### *Middle of November.*

Lenin takes part in a discussion held at the Technological Institute with the Mensheviks on the agrarian question. He makes a speech on the current events at a workers' meeting.

November 16.

Lenin makes a report entitled *A Criticism of the Agrarian Programme of the Socialist Revolutionary Party* at a meeting of party functionaries of Petersburg. The meeting is interrupted by the intrusion of the police.

November 20.

The first part of Lenin's article *The Reorganisation of the Party* is published in the Georgian language in the journal *Mogzauri* (Traveller) in Tiflis.

November 23.

The newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* publishes as its editorial Lenin's article *The Dying Autocracy and New Organs of Popular Rule*. Lenin continues the reading of his report *A Criticism of the Agrarian Programme of the Socialist Revolutionary Party* at a meeting of party functionaries of Petersburg which was interrupted by the police on November 16.

The censorship committee of Petersburg adopts a decision to institute proceedings against N. M. Minsky, publisher and editor of the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn*, for printing Lenin's article *The Dying Autocracy and New Organs of Popular Rule*.

November 23-30.

Lenin and N. K. Krupskaya live in one of the San Remo furnished rooms, No. 90 Nevsky Prospekt, registered under fictitious names.

November 24.

Lenin writes the article *Socialism and Anarchism* which is printed on the following day in the *Novaya Zhizn*.

November 26.

The *Novaya Zhizn* publishes the first half of Lenin's article *The Socialist Party and Non-Party Revolutionism*.

In the evening Lenin attends a sitting of the Executive Committee of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies which discusses the tactics of struggle against the tsarist government that has launched repressions against the Soviet and other workers' organisations.

November 27.

Lenin meets A. M. Gorky for the first time at the editorial office of the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn*.

Lenin attends a meeting of the RSDLP Central Committee which discusses questions of an armed uprising, the need for further strengthening the editorial board of the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* and starting the publication in Moscow of a Bolshevik newspaper, the *Borba* (Struggle). The meeting is also attended by A. M. Gorky.

### **Maria Andreyeva:**

*During his visits to Petersburg Maxim Gorky (A. M. Gorky's pen-name.—Ed.) usually stayed at the flat of the book publisher Konstantin Pyatnitsky where he had two small rooms. When he was in Petersburg Pyatnitsky's entire large flat was filled from morning till night by the most diverse people: writers, artists, drama and opera actors, students and workers, which certainly made the flat an object of close and undisguised surveillance by the tsarist police.*

*When we at last started for Petersburg in November Alexei Maximovich told me in the train that we would first go to the editorial office of the *Novaya Zhizn* and only then to Pyatnitsky's place in order not to disturb those watching the flat and not to be followed. Our luggage was taken by the relatives and friends who met us at the station and Gorky and I went to the editorial office which was located not far from the station in Nevsky Prospekt.*

*That is where Lenin and Gorky first met.*

*I remember Lenin coming out of one of the back rooms and striding quickly to meet Gorky. They shook hands for some time. Lenin laughed merrily while Gorky, as always when embarrassed, spoke in an even deeper*

bass than usual. Over and over he repeated: "So this is what you're like... Fine, Fine! I'm very glad, very glad!"

When we came to Pyatnitsky's place Alexei Maximovich told me after quite a long time: "Well, this is a pretty kettle of fish! But he's an extrafine fellow, don't you think?"

I guessed at once whom he was speaking about but feigned ignorance and inquired teasingly: "Whom do you mean?" "Don't you know?" he asked. "I mean Lenin, who else? What a capital fellow! And don't you boast that you said this before me, for you saw him before me!" he concluded like a child.

### *End of November.*

Lenin conducts the work of a circle of Marxist agrarians organised by him; its members are future propagandists and Party organisers in the countryside.

He attends a meeting of members of the RSDLP Central Committee which discusses the question of organising a legal Bolshevik printing house in Petersburg.

### *Latter half of November.*

Lenin makes a report on armed uprising at a party meeting held in the Technological Institute.

### *Second half of November 1905—June 1906.*

Lenin attends several secret meetings of the RSDLP Central Committee and the Petersburg Committee, the Combat Organisation of the Party Central Committee and also of party meetings and conferences held in the building of a girls' high school in Angliysky Prospekt, where Lenin also often worked and spent the night.

### *Second half of November 1905—August 1906.*

Lenin often meets members of the RSDLP Central Committee and the Petersburg Committee and the leaders of the combat technical group of the Central Committee at doctor I. G. Simonov's flat which is a secret meeting place of party workers.

*November or beginning of December.*

Lenin makes a report at an all-city meeting of Bolshevik workers about the current events and the tasks of the RSDLP.

*November—earlier than December 3.*

Lenin directs the work of the Bolshevik group in the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies.

*November 1905-1906.*

Lenin attends several conferences and sittings of the RSDLP Central Committee and the Petersburg Committee; these are held at a secret meeting place, the flat of M. P. Golubeva, a member of the RSDLP Petersburg Committee, in the Petrograd District of the city, where he also meets with individual party members and often spends the night.

### **Maria Essen:**

*Lenin attended almost all meetings of the Petersburg Committee and demanded that each of us should account in every detail for the work done; he criticised every omission or a misunderstood decision of the Party.*

*Once I complained that workers' wives did not always greet us with kind words and sometimes frankly gave us to understand that our visits were not welcome. Lenin flared up immediately and began insistently to ask us how we behaved when we came to a worker's family. We had to confess that we paid little heed to the concrete facts and circumstances of the lives of workers at home; sometimes we gave vent to our impatience when the children were noisy and interfered with our work; that the wives sometimes began to grumble about uncalled-for visitors while their husbands were embarrassed and asked us guiltily not to mind the silly womenfolk. We were given a regular talking-to from Lenin that time.*

*"If I were in the wives' place I would promptly turn you out of the lodgings," he said. "Have you ever thought of how hard life is for these women who are burdened by their work at the factory, domestic chores, the care for children and the anxiety for their husbands' fate if they land*

in jail? All this has to be properly understood; you should find the necessary words and actions to win over these women who live in eternal fear for their husbands who have joined the revolution!"

Lenin sought to awaken in us not simply kind sentiments but political consciousness without which political activity is futile.

### *Beginning of December.*

Lenin makes a speech at the board of the Petersburg Union of Engineers about the role of the democratic intelligentsia in revolution. Lenin together with Maria Ulyanova\* attends a sitting of the Joint RSDLP Committee of the Vasileostrovsky District.

### *December 3.*

Lenin's article *Socialism and Religion* is published in Issue 28 of the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn*.

Lenin and N. K. Krupskaya settle and get registered under their own names at the flat of N. G. Voronin who is an acquaintance of Maria Ulyanova.

### *December 4.*

Lenin and N. K. Krupskaya find out that they are under police surveillance and go underground.

Lenin attends a joint conference of the members of the RSDLP Central Committee, the Petersburg Party Committee and the Executive Committee of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies held at the flat of writer S. G. Petrov (Skitalets), which discusses the question of countermeasures in connection with the closure of the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn*.

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\* *M. I. Ulyanova* (1878-1937), Lenin's younger sister, took part in the revolutions of 1905-1907 and of October 1917. She was an RSDLP member from 1898, worked in the Secretariat of the Party Central Committee from 1903 and in the Petersburg Bolshevik organisation in 1904-1907. She was a member of the editorial board of the newspaper *Pravda* and its executive secretary from March 1917 till 1929. During the 1930s M. Ulyanova worked at the Lenin Institute where she collected and prepared for the press Lenin's letters to his relatives, which are very important for the study of Lenin's biography.—*Ed.*

*December 10.*

Lenin attends a conference of the RSDLP Central Committee and leaders of the Combat and Joint Military Organisations held at the flat of L. B. Krasin; it discusses measures to be taken in support of the Moscow armed uprising.

Lenin and N. K. Krupskaya go to Tammerfors (Finland) to attend the First Bolshevik Conference.

*December 12-17.*

Lenin conducts the First RSDLP Conference.

He makes a report at the conference on the current events and on the agrarian question.

Lenin and P. P. Romyantsev submit a resolution on the earliest possible convocation of a unity congress; it is adopted by the conference.

Lenin takes part in the work of a commission for drafting a resolution on the attitude to the State Duma; the resolution on the active boycott of the First Duma, drafted by the commission, is endorsed by the conference.

On Lenin's proposal the conference hastily concludes its work because armed uprisings are already taking place in Moscow and several other cities, and so that its delegates can take part in the fight of the revolutionary people.

Lenin attends an evening party arranged by Finnish Social-Democrats on the day the conference ends its work.

### **Nadezhda Krupskaya:**

*The Tammerfors Conference was held in the middle of December. What a pity the minutes of this conference have been lost! The enthusiasm that reigned there! The revolution was in full swing, and the enthusiasm was tremendous. Every party member was ready for the fight. One evening we attended a Finnish mass torchlight meeting, and the solemnity of it fully harmonised with the temper of the delegates. I doubt whether anyone who was at that conference could ever forget it. Lozovsky, Baransky, Yaroslavsky and many others were there. I remember these comrades because of the keen interest which their "local reports" aroused.*

*The Tammerfors Conference, which was attended only by Bolsheviks, passed a resolution calling for the immediate preparation and organisation of an armed uprising.*

*The uprising in Moscow was developing apace, and so the conference had to be cut short. If I am not mistaken, we returned on the very eve the Semyonovsky Guards Regiment\* was dispatched to Moscow. One incident, at any rate, is fresh in my memory. Not far from the Trinity Church a soldier of the Semyonovsky Regiment was walking along with a sullen look. By his side walked a young worker who, cap in hand, was arguing warmly with the soldier and pleading with him. Their faces were so expressive that one could guess what the worker was pleading about—that the soldiers should not come out against the workers. It was equally clear that the soldier did not agree.*

*The Central Committee called upon the proletariat of Petersburg to support the uprising of the Moscow workers, but no concerted action was achieved. A comparatively backward district, like the Moskovsky, responded to the appeal, but an advanced district like the Nevsky did not. I remember how furious Petersburg Bolshevik Stanislav Volsky was—he had been agitating in that very district. He lost heart at once. He failed to take into account that the Petersburg workers were worn out by previous strikes, and most important of all, they realised how badly organised they were for a decisive struggle with tsarism. And that it would be a struggle to the death, they had the example of Moscow to go by.*

*After December 17.*

On his return from the Tammerfors Conference Lenin with a fictitious passport lives until the middle of January 1906 in Nadezhdinskaya Street.

He attends a meeting of the RSDLP Central Committee where member of the Bolshevik Moscow Committee M. N. Lyadov reports on the course of the armed uprising in Moscow.

### **Nadezhda Krupskaya:**

*The December uprising was crushed, and the government took harsh reprisals against the rebels.*

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\* One of the elite units of the tsarist army.—Ed.

In his article of January 4, 1906 (*The Workers' Party and Its Tasks in the Present Situation*), Vladimir Ilyich evaluated the situation in the following words:

*"Civil war is raging. The political strike as such is beginning to exhaust itself, is becoming a thing of the past, an obsolete form of the movement. In Petersburg, for instance, the wearied and exhausted workers were not able to carry out the December strike. On the other hand, the movement as a whole, though hard pressed by the reaction, has undoubtedly risen to a much higher plane. Guns have revolutionised new masses of the people on an unprecedented scale. What now? Let us look reality square in the face. We are now confronted with the new task of assimilating and studying the experience of the latest forms of struggle, with the task of training and organising forces in the most important centres of the movement"* (Author's italics).

Vladimir Ilyich felt the Moscow defeat very keenly. It was clear that the workers had been poorly armed, and that the organisation was weak. Even the link between Petersburg and Moscow was poor. I remember the way Ilyich listened to his sister Anna Ilyinichna\* when she gave him an account of her meeting with a working woman from Moscow at the railway station. The woman had bitterly reproached the Petersburg comrades: "Thank you, Petersburgers, for your support. You sent us the Semyonovsky Regiment."

And as though in answer to this reproach Ilyich wrote:

*"It would be greatly to the advantage of the government to suppress isolated actions of the proletarians as it has been doing. The government would like to challenge the workers of Petersburg, too, to go into battle at once under circumstances that would be most unfavourable for them. But the workers will not allow themselves to be provoked and will be able to continue their path of independent preparation for the next all-Russian action."*

Ilyich believed the peasantry would rise, too, in the spring of 1906, and that this would affect the troops. He wrote:

*"We must present the colossal tasks of a new action in a more definite and practical way, prepare ourselves for it in a more sustained, systematic and persistent fashion, and in doing so, husband as far as possible the strength of the proletariat which has become exhausted by the strike struggle"* (Author's italics).

\* A. I. Ulyanova-Yelizarova (1864-1935), Lenin's elder sister, was one of the oldest participants in the Russian revolutionary movement (from 1886) and a party member from 1898. After the Second RSDLP Congress she was a member of the editorial board of the *Vperyod* Publishing House and later of the journals *Prosveshcheniye* (Education) and *Rabotnitsa* (Woman Worker). She made a considerable contribution to the organisation of the Lenin Institute and the Institute of Party History.—Ed.

*"Let the party of the workers clearly realise its tasks. Down with constitutional illusions! We must gather the new forces which are siding with the proletariat (Author's italics). We must 'gather the experience' of the two great months (November and December) of the revolution. We must adapt ourselves again to the restored autocracy, and be able wherever necessary to go underground once more."*

*And underground we went. We spun the network of the secret organisation anew. Comrades arrived from all ends of Russia, and we made arrangements with them about the work and the line that had to be taken. For the more intimate and important people I arranged interviews with Ilyich.*

### *December 22.*

Lenin attends a conference of members of the RSDLP Central Committee and delegates to the Tammerfors Conference, and makes a report on the Bolsheviks' tactical platform in regard to the State Duma.

### *Second half of December.*

Lenin attends a conference of members of the RSDLP Central Committee which discusses the question of the publication of a series of Social-Democratic books by the publishing house of the Znaniye Association, which was headed by A. M. Gorky.

### *December.*

Lenin attends a secret meeting at the Technological Institute of the members of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies who escaped arrest on December 3.

Lenin spends several nights at V. V. Vorovsky's place after an unsuccessful attempt to find lodgings with his own passport.

### *December 1905—January 1906.*

Lenin attends several party meetings and sittings of the Central and Petersburg RSDLP Committees which were held

at an illegal party club organised by the Petersburg RSDLP Committee. He makes a brief summary of the contents of chapters V-IX of his work *The Agrarian Question and the 'Critics of Marx'*\*, writes notes, estimating the time required for the fast reading of the manuscript of this part of the work and notes down the result: "About two hours."

*End of the year.*

Lenin conducts several talks with a circle of students of the Electrical Engineering Institute on Marxist philosophy and on current events, visits a students' dormitory and makes a speech at a conference of the members of the Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies from the Petrograd District which is held in the institute's building.

---

\* During 1905-1907 Lenin often consults the works of K. Marx characterising the German and French bourgeois-democratic revolutions of 1848.—*Ed.*



The shooting at a peaceful demonstration of Petersburg's workers near the Winter Palace on January 9, 1905.

*Отец*  
*А. Архипов*  
*Замеской*  
*Шрифтом Макарич*  
*курсивом пром + сиб. Захватывайте и захватывайте*  
**Пролетары всех стран соединяйтесь!**

**ГРАЖДАНЕ!**

Вчера вы видели убийства самодержавного правительства! Видели кровь залившую улицы! Видели сотни убитых борцов за рабочее дело, видели смерть, слышали стоны раненых женщин и беззащитных детей! Крохи и махачи рабочих забрызгали мостовую, мошеную их же руками. Кто же направил войско, ружья и пули в рабочую грудь? — Царь, великия князья, министры, генералы и придворная сволочь.

**ОНИ — УБИЙЦЫ! СМЕРТЬ ИМ!**  
**КЪ ОРУЖИЮ ТОВАРИЩИ, ЗАХВАТЫВАЙТЕ Арсеналы, Оружейные Склады и оружейные магазины. Разнесите, » Товарищи, » Тюрьмы, » Разоблажайте Кортовы, » За Свободу. Расширьте Жандармерию и Полицейскія Управления и вой Казенныя Учреждения. Свергнем царское правительство, ПОСТАВИМЪ СВОЕ ДА ЗДРАВСТВУЕТЪ РЕВОЛЮЦІЯ, да здравствуетъ Учредительное Собрание Народныхъ Представителей. — —**

**Российская С. Д. РАБОЧАЯ ПАРТИЯ**

*Э*  
*Отец*  
*леж*

*Петер...*  
*самыми рабочими*  
*и Макарич, он*



A leaflet written by workers immediately after "Bloody Sunday" with notes made by Lenin.

A page of the Bolshevik newspaper *Vpered* with Lenin's article *The Beginning of the Revolution in Russia*.



March 1905. A meeting of agricultural workers and peasants held in northern Latvia (near the town of Dundaga).

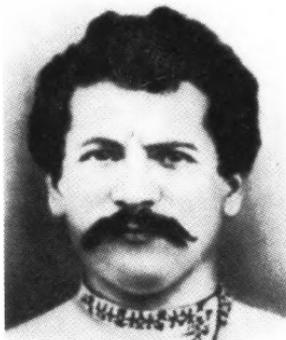


A dockers' strike in Odessa in March 1905.



A group of delegates to  
the Third RSDLP  
Congress:

- V. I. Lenin.
- V. V. Vorovsky.
- P. A. Dzhaparidze.
- R. S. Zemlyachka.
- P. A. Krasikov.
- L. B. Krasin.
- N. K. Krupskaya.



M. M. Litvinov.

A. V. Lunacharsky.

M. N. Lyadov.

N. A. Skrypnik.

M. G. Tskhakaya.

Россійская Соц.-Дем. Рабочая Партия  
ПРОЛЕТАРИИ ВСѢХЪ СТРАНЪ СОЕДИНЯЙТЕСЬ!

## ТРЕТІЙ ОЧЕРЕДНОЙ СЪѢЗДЪ

Росс. Соц.-Дем. Рабочей Партіи.

## ПОЛНЫЙ ТЕКСТЪ ПРОТОКОЛОВЪ.

Издание Центрального Комитета.

ЖЕНЕВА

Типографія Партіи, 6, Quai du Clou et Blanc, 6  
1906.

The cover of the full text  
of the minutes of the  
Third Party Congress.



House No. 16 Percy  
Circus where Lenin and  
Krupskaya lived during  
the work of the Third  
Party Congress.



The memorial plaque  
mounted on the house by  
the London County  
Council in 1962. In April  
1971 the plaque's replica  
was presented to the  
Moscow City Council on  
behalf of the residents of  
London.



Geneva, Rue de Carouge, 93, where in 1905 the Bolsheviks' club was housed, as well as the printing shop where the newspapers *Vperyod* and *Proletary* were published.

N. Lenin Deux tactiques.

Prix. 1 fr. 25 cts. — 1 mk. — 18 ch. — 25 cent.

Россійская Соціалъдемократическая Рабочая Партія.

ПРОЛЕТАРИИ ВСѢХЪ СТРАНЪ СОЕДИНЯЙТЕСЬ!

Н. ЛЕНИНЪ.

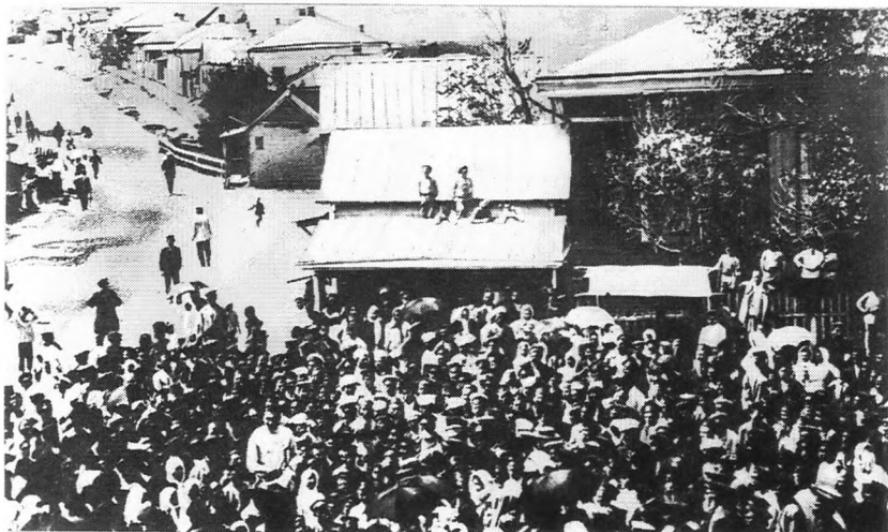
**ДВѢ ТАКТИКИ  
СОЦІАЛЬДЕМОКРАТІИ  
въ демократической  
революціи.**

Изданіе Центр. Ком. Р. С. Д. Р. П.

ЖЕНЕВА

Типографія Парти. 3 rue de la Colline 3

1905



Armed Cossacks bar the way of a mass demonstration of working people in Petersburg.

A rally held in support of the Petersburg workers in the Cossack village of Ust-Medveditskaya in the Don area in 1905.

◀ Cover of Lenin's book  
*Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution.*



The legendary battleship  
*Prince Potemkin*  
*Tavrishesky.*



Sailors Afanasi Matyushenko and Grigori Vakulenchuk who were the leaders of the mutiny on the *Potemkin*.

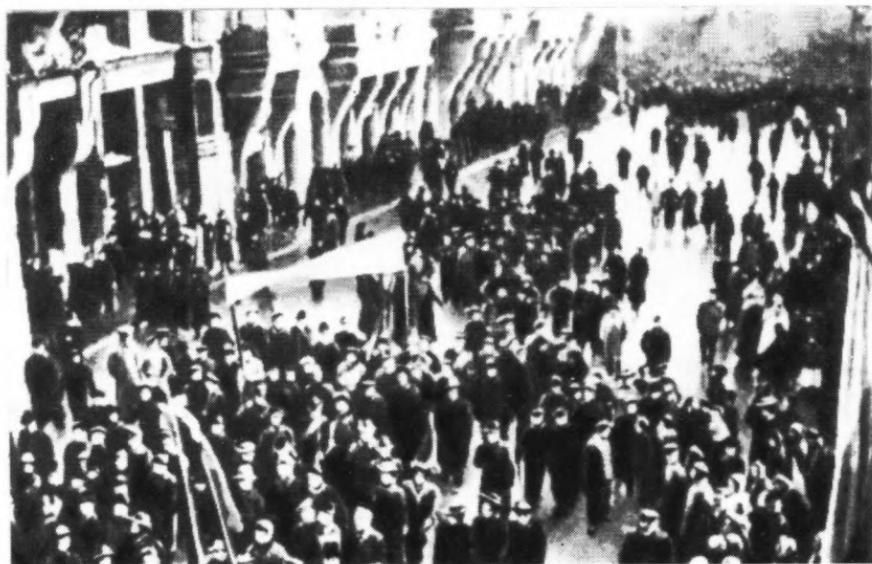
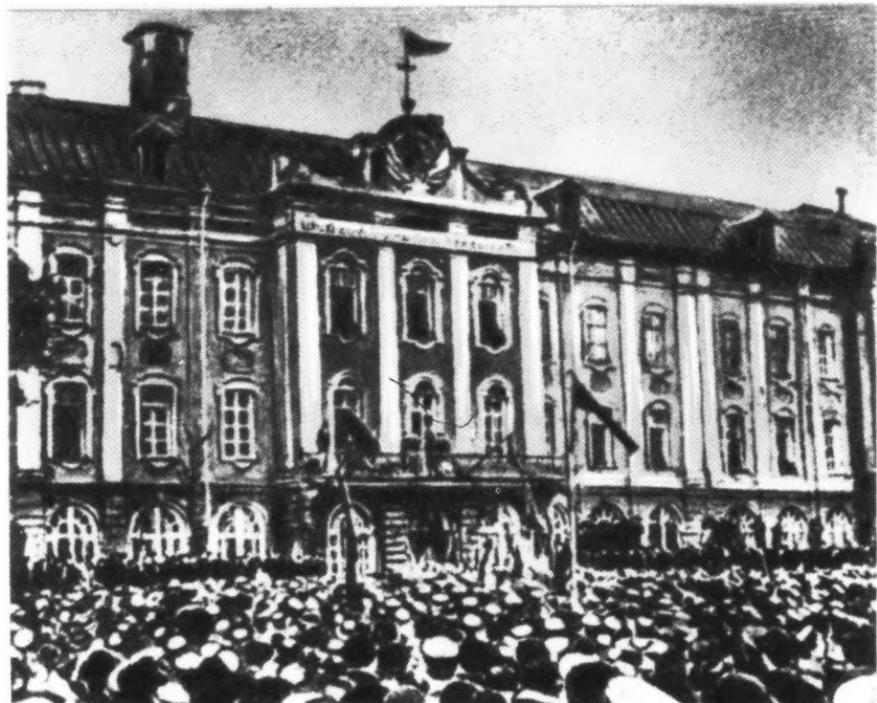
Революция и государство  
и революционная армия

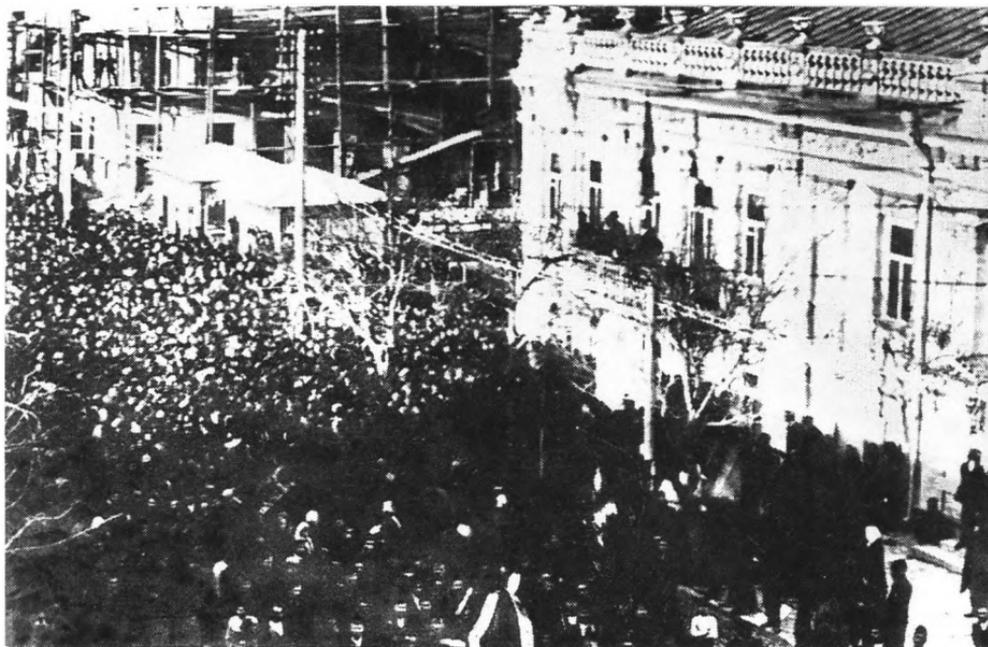
Учение о том, что государство — это аппарат насилия, который используется для подавления угнетенных классов, является основой марксистского понимания государства. Согласно Марксу, государство — это продукт общественного разделения труда и классового общества. Оно возникает, когда общество становится настолько сложным, что требуется централизованная организация для поддержания порядка и защиты интересов господствующего класса.

Важным аспектом теории государства является вопрос о его сущности. Маркс и Энгельс рассуждали о государстве как о «надклассовом» институте, который призван регулировать отношения между различными классами общества. Однако в реальности государство часто оказывается инструментом в руках одного из классов, что приводит к эксплуатации и угнетению.

Ключевым моментом в понимании государства является его роль в обществе. Государство не только защищает интересы правящего класса, но и организует общественные ресурсы, устанавливает законы и обеспечивает безопасность территории. В условиях капитализма государство становится ареной борьбы за власть между различными социальными группами.

Pages of the manuscript of Lenin's work *The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government*.





◀ October 1905. A rally of workers and students near Petersburg University.

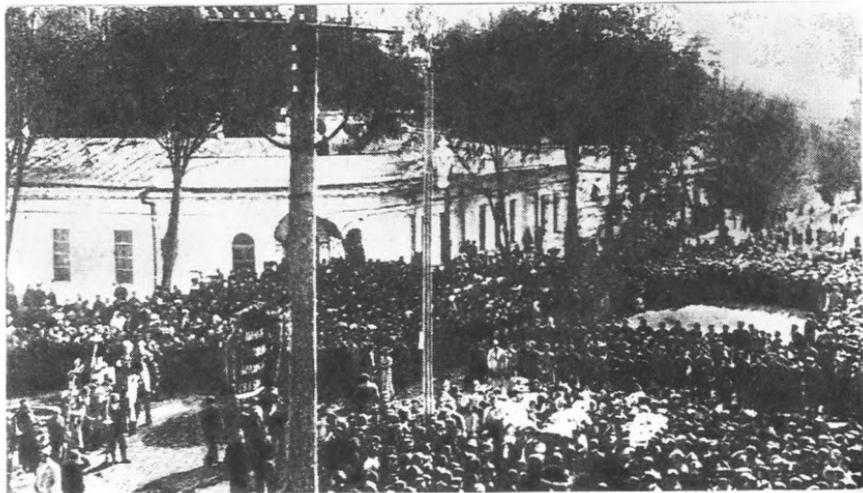
October 1905. An armed demonstration in Novorossiisk.

◀ October 1905. A demonstration in Moscow during the general political strike.



October 1905. A political demonstration in Kharkov.

October 1905. A revolutionary rally in the outskirts of Tashkent.





1905, Ivanovo-Voznesensk. The city's weavers hold a rally on the bank of the River Talka at which they elect the first Soviet of Workers' Representatives, the prototype of the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies.



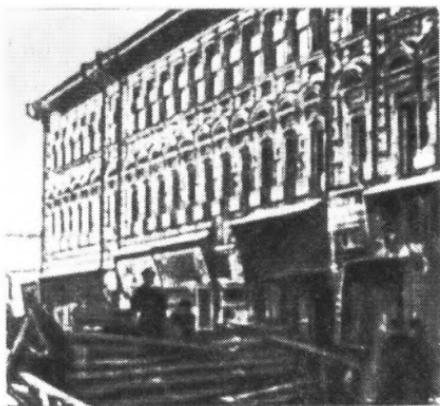


The building in  
Tammerfors (Finland)  
where the First Bolshevik  
Conference was held in  
December 1905.



A. V. Lunacharsky.  
M. S. Olminsky.  
I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov.

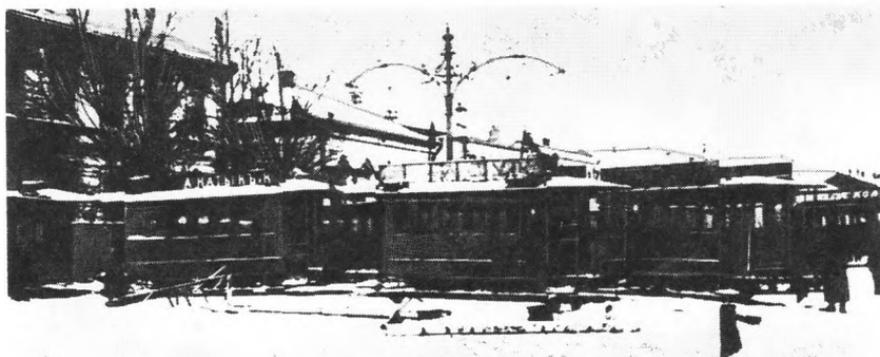
The December 1905  
armed uprising in  
Moscow was the peak of  
the revolution of 1905-  
1907.

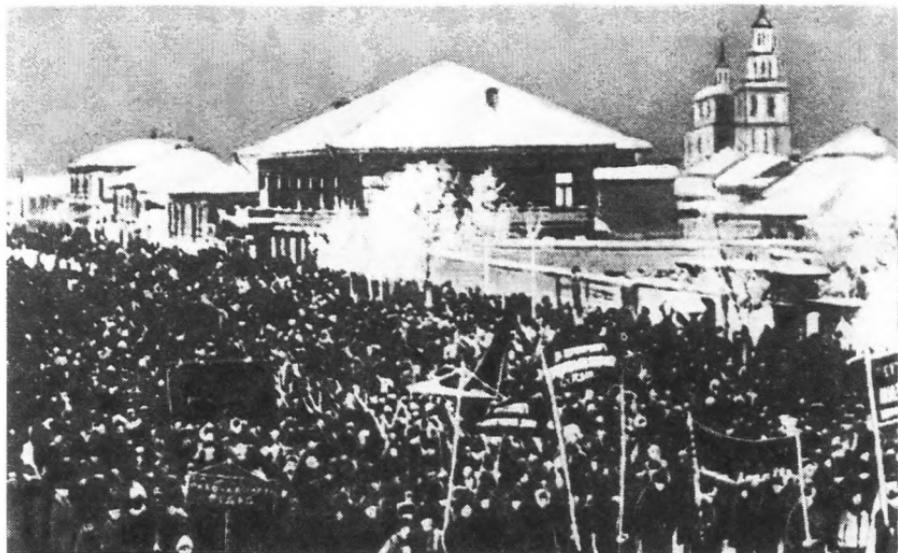


Barricades in Arbat Street.

Barricades in the  
Sadovoye Ring.

Barricades near the  
Presnya tram depot.

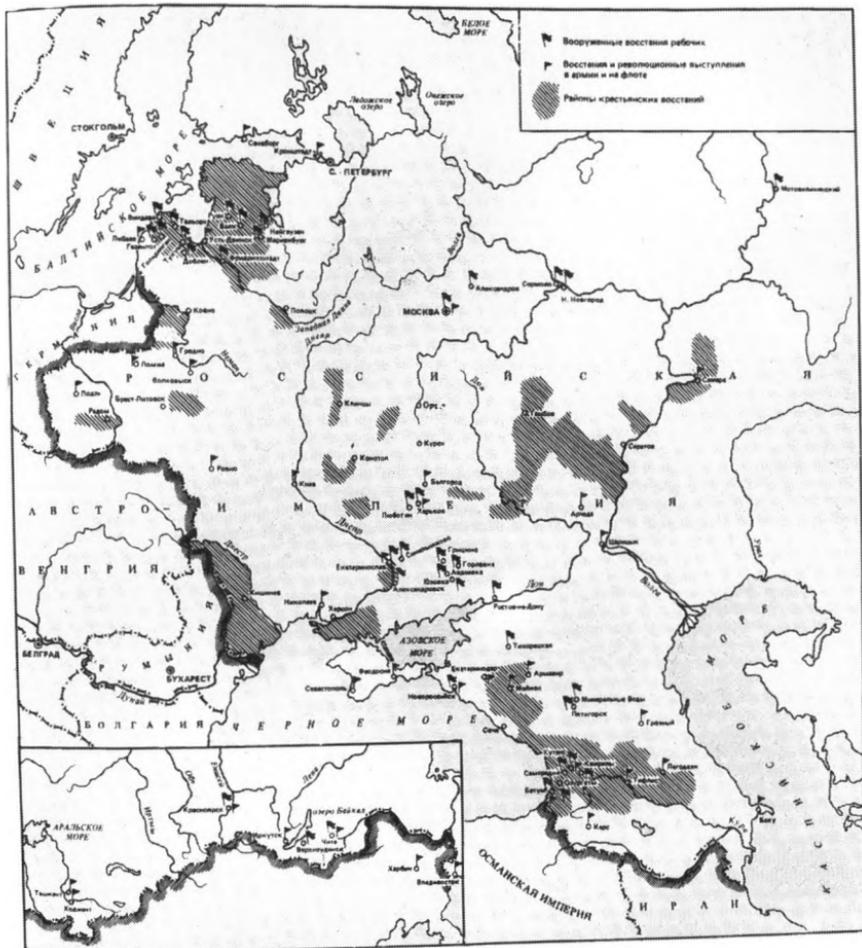




The Moscow uprising set off a chain of revolts in many towns of the Volga area, of the Urals, Siberia, the Far East, of the area north of the Black Sea, and the Ukraine. All of them were suppressed as ruthlessly as the December uprising in Moscow.

An armed demonstration of workers and soldiers in Krasnoyarsk.

An armed uprising in Sormovo (near Nizhni Novgorod).



Map indicating the places where armed revolts took place in Russia in December 1905.

Autumn 1906. No. 2 of the newspaper *Proletary* with Lenin's article *Lessons of the Moscow Uprising*.





The house in Stockholm  
in which the Fourth  
(Unity) RSDLP Congress  
was held in April 1906.

Н. ЛЕНИНЪ.

## ДОКЛАДЪ

ОБЪ ОБЪЕДИНИТЕЛЬНОМЪ СЪВЪЗДЪ

РОССІЙСКОЙ

СОЦІАЛЬ-ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКОЙ

РАБОЧЕЙ ПАРТІИ

(Письмо къ петербургскимъ)

Цѣна 25 коп.

1906. Cover of Lenin's  
booklet *Report on the  
Unity Congress of the  
RSDLP. A Letter to the  
St. Petersburg Workers.*

КНИГОИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО „НАША МЫСЛЬ“

Петербургъ, Литейный, 60, кв. 9.

Н. ЛЕНИНЪ.

## Пересмотръ аграрной программы РАБОЧЕЙ ПАРТІИ.

№ 1.

Цѣна 10 коп.

С.-ПЕТЕРБУРГЪ.  
1906.

1906. Cover of Lenin's  
booklet *Revision of the  
Agrarian Programme of  
the Workers' Party.*



The Reformed Church in London where the Fifth RSDLP Congress was held in May 1907.

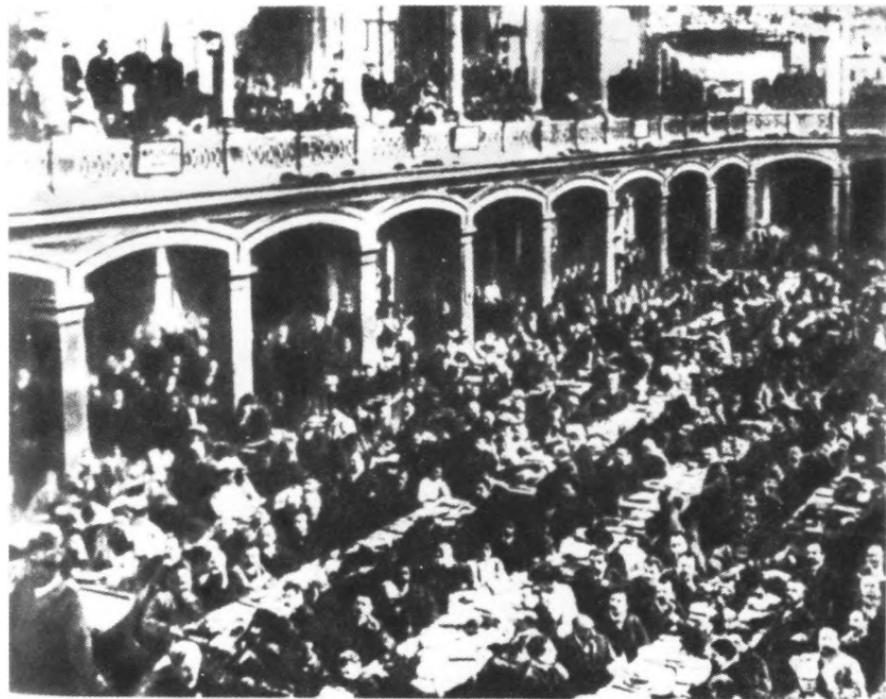


The full text of the minutes of the London Congress.

The country house Seivisto, near Styrssudd (Finland) where Lenin and his family rested in the summer of 1907.



The hall in Stuttgart where the International Socialist Congress of the Second International was held in August 1907. Lenin was a member of the congress presidium and of the commission which prepared the resolution on militarism and international conflicts.



ЦЕНТРАЛЬНЫЙ КОМИТЕТ, В ЗАСЕДАНИИ СВОЕМ  
ОТ 10 ОКТЯБРЯ ПОСТАВИЛА  
ПРЕДЛОЖИТЬ ТОВАРИЦУ ЛЕНИНУ  
ВЗЯТЬ НА СЕБЯ ПРЕДСТАВИТЕЛЬ-  
СТВО ОТ Р.С.-Д. Р.П. В МЕЖДУ-  
НАРОДНОМ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКОМ  
БЮРО.

The decision of the RSDLP Central Committee on Lenin's appointment as the Party's representative at the International Socialist Bureau.



The title page of the first volume of Lenin's collected works in three volumes, which the author prepared for the press in November 1907 and which reads: *Vi. Ilyin. Twelve Years. A Collection of Articles. Volume One. Two Trends in Russian Marxism and in Russian Social-Democracy. St. Petersburg, 1908.*

Members of the *Proletary's* editorial board and its active contributors:

V. I. Lenin.

M. F. Vladimirsky.

V. V. Vorovsky.



A. M. Gorky.  
N. K. Krupskaya.  
A. V. Lunacharsky.  
N. A. Semashko.

Цѣна 10 коп.

Москва, 1907 годъ.

№ 17.

# ПРОЛЕТАРІЙ

РОССІЙСКАЯ СОЦІАЛДѢМОКРАТИЧЕСКАЯ РАБОЧАЯ ПАРТІЯ

Суббота, 20-го октября

Органъ Моск., СПб., Моск. Окр., Казанск., Курск. и Пермск. комитетовъ Р. С. Д. Р. П.

## Революція и контр-революція.

Въ началѣ 1906 года Россія пережила величайшую революціонную бурю. Пролетаріатъ совершилъ въ началѣ года величайшую борьбу за свободу и независимость. Въ началѣ 1907-го года онъ переживаетъ контр-революцію, контр-революціонную бурю. Въ началѣ 1907-го года онъ переживаетъ контр-революцію, контр-революціонную бурю. Въ началѣ 1907-го года онъ переживаетъ контр-революцію, контр-революціонную бурю.

Величайшая буря, пережитая Россіей въ началѣ 1906 года, была бурей величайшей. Пролетаріатъ совершилъ въ началѣ года величайшую борьбу за свободу и независимость. Въ началѣ 1907-го года онъ переживаетъ контр-революцію, контр-революціонную бурю.

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Цѣна 10 коп.

Москва, 1907 годъ.

№ 18.

# ПРОЛЕТАРІЙ

РОССІЙСКАЯ СОЦІАЛДѢМОКРАТИЧЕСКАЯ РАБОЧАЯ ПАРТІЯ

Понедѣльникъ, 29-го октября.

Органъ Моск., СПб., Моск. Окр., Казанск., Курск. и Пермск. комитетовъ Р. С. Д. Р. П.

## Третья Дума.

Пролетаріатъ переживаетъ третью думу. Пролетаріатъ переживаетъ третью думу. Пролетаріатъ переживаетъ третью думу. Пролетаріатъ переживаетъ третью думу.

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Руб. 00 коп.  
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LE PROLETARIE, органъ русск. социал-демократ. рабоч. партіи  
ЕМЕНЕД ГАЗЕТА, ВЫХОДИТЪ ПО СРЕДАМЪ

№ 22.

# ПРОЛЕТАРІЙ

РОССІЙСКАЯ СОЦІАЛДѢМОКРАТИЧЕСКАЯ РАБОЧАЯ ПАРТІЯ

ОБЪЕМЪ СРЕДА (4 вер.) 19 ФЕВРАЛЯ 1908.

Органъ С.-Петербургскаго и Моонзвонскаго комитетовъ Р. С. Д. Р. П.

## МОНАХЪ И РАБОЧИЙ ВОПРОСЪ.

Въ началѣ 1906 года Россія пережила величайшую революціонную бурю. Пролетаріатъ совершилъ въ началѣ года величайшую борьбу за свободу и независимость. Въ началѣ 1907-го года онъ переживаетъ контр-революцію, контр-революціонную бурю.

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LE PROLETARIE, органъ русск. социал-демократ.

№ 23.

# ПРОЛЕТАРІЙ

РОССІЙСКАЯ СОЦІАЛДѢМОКРАТИЧЕСКАЯ РАБОЧАЯ ПАРТІЯ

ЖИВЕНА, СРЕДА, (5 авг.) 23 июля 1908

Органъ С.-Петербургскаго и Моонзвонскаго комитетовъ Р. С. Д. Р. П.

## МОНАХЪ И РАБОЧИЙ ВОПРОСЪ.

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LE PROLETARIE, органъ русск. социал-демократ.

№ 24.

# ПРОЛЕТАРІЙ

РОССІЙСКАЯ СОЦІАЛДѢМОКРАТИЧЕСКАЯ РАБОЧАЯ ПАРТІЯ

ЖИВЕНА, СРЕДА, (5 авг.) 23 июля 1908

Органъ С.-Петербургскаго и Моонзвонскаго комитетовъ Р. С. Д. Р. П.

## МОНАХЪ И РАБОЧИЙ ВОПРОСЪ.

Въ началѣ 1906 года Россія пережила величайшую революціонную бурю. Пролетаріатъ совершилъ въ началѣ года величайшую борьбу за свободу и независимость. Въ началѣ 1907-го года онъ переживаетъ контр-революцію, контр-революціонную бурю.

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LE PROLETARIE, органъ русск. социал-демократ.

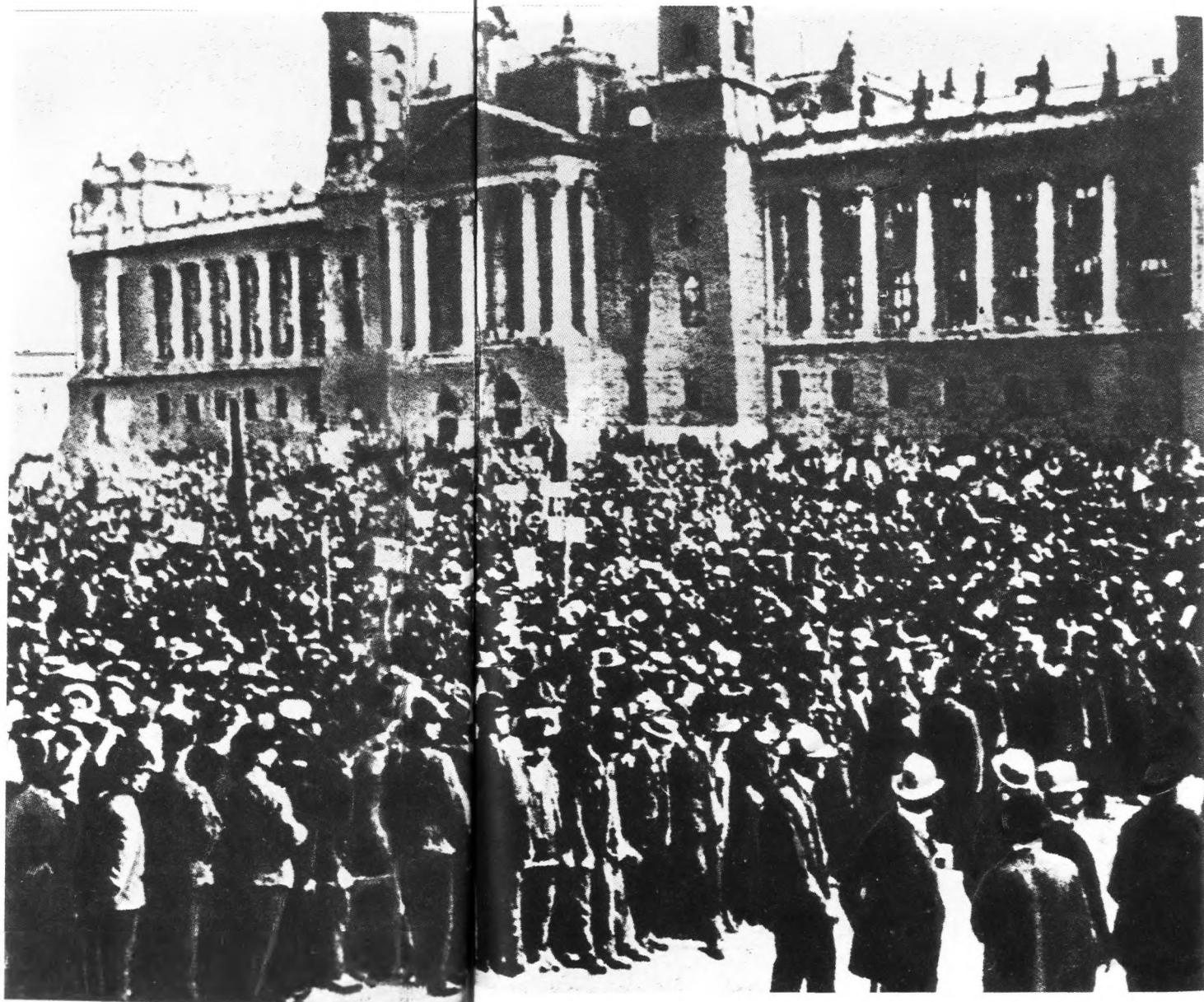
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Issues of the Bolshevik newspaper *Proletary* which was illegally published in Russia from 1906. After the defeat of the first Russian revolution the publication of the *Proletary* was transferred to Switzerland.



The Russian revolution of 1905-1907 raised a revolutionary wave in many countries, which reached its highest in 1905. The rebellious workers demanded greater economic and civil rights.

A mass demonstration in Budapest.

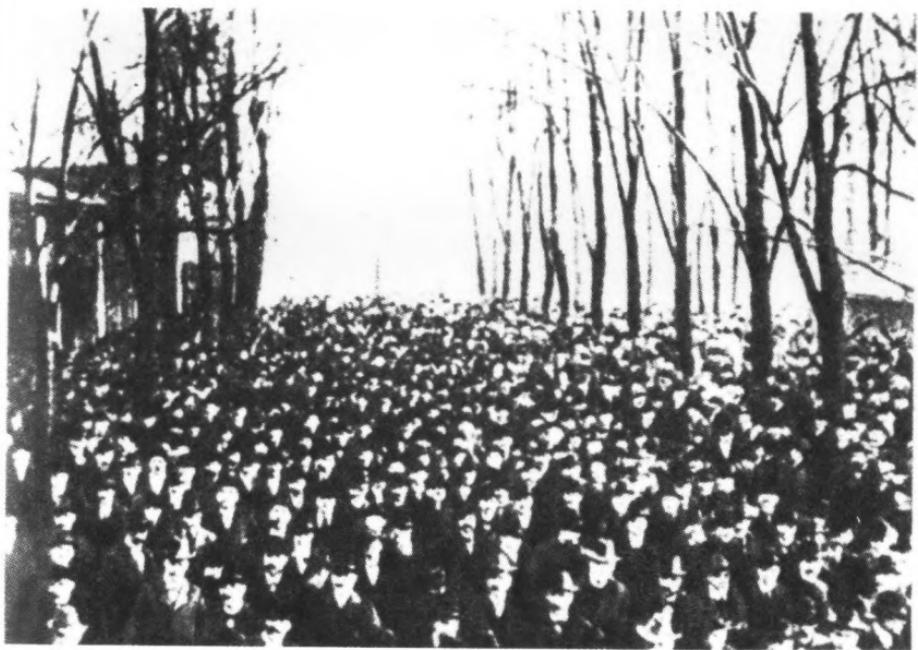




A many-thousand-strong demonstration in Prague.

The miners of the Ruhr on strike.

A mass demonstration in Vienna.





In December 1907 Lenin and Krupskaya were forced to leave Russia again. "We were beginning our second period of exile," wrote Krupskaya, "a much harder one than the first." The photograph shows the house in Geneva where they settled in 1908.

**1906-1907:**

**THE REVOLUTION ON THE  
DECLINE**

1906

*January 4.*

No. 1 of the newspaper *Molodaya Rossiya* (Young Russia) which was organised on the initiative of Bolshevik students of Petersburg University carries as its editorial Lenin's article *The Workers' Party and Its Tasks in the Present Situation* and the resolution of the Tammerfors Conference on the agrarian question.

*January 5.*

A note is filed in the records of the Police Department that the Petersburg branch of the secret police is trying to find out Lenin's address in order to arrest him.

The Petersburg censorship committee starts legal proceedings against the editor of the *Molodaya Rossiya* for printing Lenin's article which is classified as "instigative" and impounds the newspaper.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers S. Y. Vitte forwards to the Ministry of the Interior a copy of the newspaper *Molodaya Rossiya* with Lenin's article and a covering letter in which Minister of the Interior Durnovo writes his order for Lenin's immediate arrest.

*January 9.*

The secret police branch is ordered to find Lenin.

*First half of January.*

Lenin travels secretly from Petersburg to Moscow where he acquaints himself with the state of affairs after the December armed uprising, visits the sites of barricade fighting and meets its participants.

Lenin discusses with Moscow Bolsheviks the tactics of actively boycotting the First State Duma.

*End of January—February.*

Lenin and N. K. Krupskaya live in Petersburg with fictitious passports.

*January.*

Lenin writes an article in defence of the Bolshevik tactics entitled *Should We Boycott the State Duma? The Platform of the "Majority"*. It is published by the RSDLP Central Committee in January as a leaflet.

He writes the article *The State Duma and Social-Democratic Tactics*.

*January—February.*

Lenin directs the activity of the Petersburg RSDLP organisation during the election campaign for the First State Duma and he himself acts as an agitator.

### **Yelena Stasova:**

*The election to the State Duma was held in 1906. Both the Petersburg and the Central Committee of the RSDLP were united (i.e., included Mensheviks.—Ed.). We agitated for the boycott of the Duma. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin was on my list of agitators. I remember how annoyed the Mensheviks were because they did not have such a speaker as Lenin in Petersburg.*

*I must note Lenin's exceptional discipline. When I summoned him to a secret address (for we worked underground) in order to tell him where to go to make a speech or report he never failed to arrive and was never late. On the following day Lenin reported very accurately how many people had attended his report, what questions had been asked and what the shortcomings were in the organisation to which we sent him.*

*Not later than February 7.*

At Lenin's proposal A. V. Lunacharsky, V. A. Bazarov\* and V. V. Vorovsky represented the Bolsheviks on the editorial board of the newspaper *Partiyniye Izvestia* (Party News), organ of the United RSDLP Central Committee.

*February 9.*

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov is included in the list of people who are being looked for by agents of the Russian secret police in Finland.

*After February 11.*

Lenin writes the appeal *To All Working Men and Women of the City of Petersburg and Vicinity* in which he sums up the results of the city RSDLP conference and calls for the active boycott of the State Duma. The appeal was published as a leaflet by the United Petersburg RSDLP Committee.

*End of February.*

Lenin conducts the work of the second city RSDLP conference of Petersburg, which continues the discussion of the attitude to the State Duma.

Twice he comes out in defence of his resolution on the tactics of boycott. The conference adopts it as a resolution of the Petersburg RSDLP organisation.

Lenin addresses a conference of party functionaries with a report on the work in the countryside. Intensified surveillance by the secret police makes him leave for Kuokkala (Finland) right after the conference, without calling at his flat.

*End of February—beginning of March.*

In Kuokkala he works on the tactical platform of the Bolsheviks, which is a draft resolution for the Fourth (Unity) RSDLP Congress.

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\* *V. A. Bazarov Rudnev* (1874-1939), a philosopher and economist, was an active participant in the Russian revolutionary movement. He adhered to the Bolsheviks during the 1905-1907 revolution. In 1907-1909 he took part in the translation into Russian of K. Marx's *Capital*. After the October 1917 Revolution Bazarov was engaged in planning and economic work.—*Ed.*

*End of February—beginning of April.*

Lenin makes several trips from Kuokkala to Petersburg to take part in the work of the Central and Petersburg RSDLP committees and to conduct conferences.

*February—March.*

During his trips from Kuokkala to Petersburg Lenin visits the editorial offices of legal Bolshevik newspapers and journals.

*Beginning of March.*

Lenin comes to Petersburg from Kuokkala to attend a discussion on the agrarian question, organised by the Mensheviks. During the discussion he criticises the views of Socialist-Revolutionaries.

*First half of March.*

Lenin comes to Moscow to discuss the tactical platform of the Bolsheviks which constitutes draft resolutions for the Fourth RSDLP Congress. All of them, except the resolution *The Class Tasks of the Proletariat at the Present Moment of the Democratic Revolution*, have been written by Lenin.

Lenin makes two or three calls on I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov\*, a member of the literary and lecturing group of the Moscow RSDLP Committee, talks with him about the preparation for the party congress and the December armed uprising in Moscow; he displays his interest in the mood of the Moscow workers; he visits the flat of S. I. Mitskevich\*\*,

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\* *I. I. Skvortsov-Stepanov* (1870-1928) participated in the revolutionary movement from 1896. He was a Bolshevik and took part in the revolutions of 1905-1907 and of October 1917. A historian and political writer, he contributed from 1925 to the newspapers *Pravda*, *Izvestia* and *Leningradskaya Pravda*. He translated into Russian (together with V. A. Bazarov) K. Marx's *Capital*.

\*\* *S. I. Mitskevich* (1896-1944), physician by profession, was one of the organisers of the Moscow Workers' Union. After the October 1917 Revolution he worked in the field of public health. Mitskevich is the author of works on the history of the revolutionary movement in Russia.—Ed.

a member of the Moscow Bolshevik organisation several times, and talks with him about the questions of the Bolsheviks' tactics after the defeat of the December armed uprising and the improvement of party work.

Lenin attends a sitting of the Zamoskvoretsky District RSDLP Committee (Moscow) where he takes part in the discussion of a resolution on the attitude to the Soviets of Workers' Deputies; he recommends that revolutionary Social-Democrats conduct varied work in mass non-party organisations and to propagandise Bolshevik revolutionary slogans; he explains that Soviets are the buds of new government, the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry which should be established in the course of an armed uprising.

Lenin attends a sitting of the Moscow Area RSDLP Committee which discusses the participation of the Moscow organisation in the election campaign for the State Duma, and a conference of the Moscow combat organisation and the military-technical bureau, which sums up the results of the first year of the revolution and armed struggle.

Lenin attends a conference of members of the Moscow RSDLP organisation, representatives of the Moscow area organisation, a group of agitators and propagandists, a literary group and the Moscow Bureau of the RSDLP Central Committee, which discusses the Bolsheviks' tactical platform for the Fourth RSDLP Congress; he makes a report on the questions to be decided by the Party Congress and substantiates the Bolsheviks' tactical platform.

#### *Middle of March.*

Lenin returns to Petersburg from Moscow.

He conducts conferences of a group of Petersburg Bolsheviks where the Bolsheviks' platform for the Fourth Congress is discussed and he is elected to a commission charged with the final editing of the platform.

#### *March 20.*

No. 2 of the newspaper *Partiyniye Izvestia* publishes Lenin's article *The Russian Revolution and the Tasks of the Proletariat* (editorial) and the tactical platform for the Unity Congress of the RSDLP drafted by him.

*March 26.*

Lenin attends the final meeting for the election of delegates to the Fourth Party Congress. He is elected as a delegate to the congress with the power of the deciding vote.

*After March 30.*

Lenin contributes two articles to the legal Bolshevik scientific, literary and political journal *Vestnik Zhizni* (Herald of Life). At the journal's editorial office he meets M. S. Olminsky, V. V. Vorovsky, A. V. Lunacharsky and other prominent party members who also write for the *Vestnik Zhizni*.

*End of March.*

Lenin conducts a conference of a group of Bolshevik delegates to the Fourth RSDLP Congress, which is held at the Vperyod Publishing House, listens to reports from local organisations, makes a short speech about the significance of the congress and talks with delegates.

*From the end of March.*

Lenin heads the editorial board and directs the work of the legal Bolshevik Vperyod Publishing House which brings out and distributes works by K. Marx and F. Engels, booklets by Bolshevik political writers and journalists and books by prominent figures of the international working-class movement.

Lenin often visits the publishing house, acquaints himself with the organisation of the distribution of literature, talks with his fellow workers and conducts conferences.

*End of March—beginning of April.*

Lenin takes part in a discussion with the Mensheviks and SRs on the agrarian question, which is held at the board of the Petersburg Engineers' Union.

The Joint Petersburg RSDLP Committee publishes as a leaflet the resolution on the tactics of boycotting the State Duma, written by Lenin, and adopted by the Petersburg City RSDLP Conference.

The tactical platform for the Unity RSDLP Congress, written by Lenin, is published in leaflet form by the Joint RSDLP Central Committee and the Petersburg Joint RSDLP Committee.

On Lenin's recommendation workers of major enterprises of all districts of the Russian capital send their representatives to the Council of the Unemployed in whose work Bolsheviks take a notable part.

Under the name of Dr. Weber Lenin lives for some time in Helsingfors, preparing for the Fourth RSDLP Congress. He is visited here by J. Koch who commanded the Red Guards in Helsingfors during the general strike of October 1905, and Y. D. Stasova.

#### *Before April 10.*

Lenin arrives in Stockholm to attend the RSDLP congress. He addresses a separate conference of Bolsheviks on the question of the deployment of forces at the congress.

#### *April 10-25.*

Lenin attends the Fourth (Unity) RSDLP Congress. He is elected a member of the congress presidium from the Bolsheviks, chairs several sittings of the congress, attends meetings of the congress presidium, writes draft resolutions, makes reports, speeches, statements and remarks, takes part in the work of commissions and Bolshevik conferences, talks with delegates and makes notes.

At the first sitting of the congress Lenin proposes that the credentials commission should keep account of the motives of the Party's organisations in electing their delegates to the congress.

Lenin and Dan\* sign a letter (in German) addressed to

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\* F. I. Dan (*Gurvich*) (1871-1947) was one of the Menshevik leaders.—  
Ed.

Karl Branting\* on behalf of the presidium of the Fourth RSDLP Congress with greetings to the Social-Democratic Party of Sweden and an invitation to Branting as one of the party's leaders to attend the congress with a deliberative vote.

During the second sitting of the congress Lenin takes part in the discussion of the demands to end separate meetings of different factions and supports the proposal of ten Bolsheviks to decide this question by roll-call vote.

Lenin presides over the third sitting of the congress. He insists, contrary to Dan's proposal, on the inclusion in the congress agenda of questions on the assessment of the current situation and on national organisations of the RSDLP. Lenin's proposal is adopted. Lenin chairs the fourth sitting of the congress and in this capacity reads out a letter from the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Workers' Party requesting the admission to the congress of that party's representative with a deliberative vote. He asks the congress to decide this question, then greets G. V. Plekhanov who has made his first appearance at the congress.

Lenin makes a report at the congress on the agrarian question, elaborating the views set forth in his booklet *Revision of the Agrarian Programme of the Workers' Party*, which has been distributed among the congress delegates.

Between the 7th and 16th sittings of the congress Lenin takes part in the work of a commission on drafting a joint resolution on the State Duma.

Lenin, who presides over the ninth sitting of the congress, proposes not to close the debate on the agrarian question since the speakers are unable to make their concluding speeches owing to Plekhanov's absence. A majority of the congress delegates adopts Lenin's proposal.

Lenin makes his concluding speech on the agrarian question.

During the 15th sitting of the congress Lenin submits his written proposals concerning the draft Bolshevik resolution to the congress, entitled *The Present Situation and the Class Tasks of the Proletariat*.

At the 16th sitting of the congress Lenin makes a concluding speech on the current situation and class tasks of the proletariat, and takes part, in keeping with the Bolsheviks'

\* *Karl Hjalmar Branting* (1860-1925) was elected Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Sweden in 1907.—*Ed.*

demand, in the roll-call voting on the resolution on the current situation.

A resolution on the State Duma is proposed by Lenin, Skvortsov-Stepanov and Lunacharsky.

Lenin, who presides over the 18th sitting of the congress, announces that the presidium has received a statement on the arrival of a representative of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Workers' Party who has appropriate credentials under the party's seal, and invites him to take his place.

Lenin supports the proposal to give the floor to representatives of national Social-Democratic organisations during the debate on the attitude to the State Duma.

Lenin makes a speech on armed uprising at the 22nd sitting of the congress.

Lenin chairs the 24th sitting of the congress and raises several procedural points. He also takes part in the discussion of a union with national organisations.

The 27th sitting of the congress adopts Lenin's formulation of Clause One of the Party Rules (on Party membership).

Lenin talks with a group of Bolshevik delegates on the situation in local party organisations, the strike struggle, armed uprisings, combat squads, and the strike in Ivanovo-Voznesensk in 1905.

On the conclusion of the congress Lenin participates in a conference of the Bolshevik group, which sums up the results of the group's work.

*After April 17.*

Lenin makes marks and marginal notes in Franz Mehring's book *History of German Social-Democracy* (Volume 2, 1906).

*April 25-26.*

Lenin writes *An Appeal to the Party by Delegates to the Unity Congress Who Belonged to the Former Bolshevik Group*, which is signed by Bolshevik delegates from 26 party organisations. The appeal is printed as a leaflet.

*Between April 26 and May 4.*

Lenin leaves Stockholm and stays for some time at Hanko (Finland). This was done for reasons of secrecy to avoid the return of the congress delegates to Russia at the same time.

*From beginning of May till beginning of August.*

Lenin and N. K. Krupskaya live in Petersburg illegally, often changing flats to avoid the persecution of the tsarist secret police.

### **Nadezhda Krupskaya:**

*On our return from the Stockholm Congress we took rooms in Zabalkansky Street, I with a passport in the name of Praskovya Onegina, Ilyich in the name of Chkheidze. The building had a through courtyard, and we would have been fairly comfortable there but for one of the tenants who beat his wife unmercifully and dragged her up and down the corridor by her hair, and the amiable landlady, who was very inquisitive about Ilyich's kin, and assured him that she had known him when he was a kid of four, only he had then had dark hair.*

*Ilyich wrote a report about the Unity Congress to the Petersburg workers. "Freedom of discussion, unity of action is what we must strive for," Ilyich wrote in his report. "All Social-Democrats agree among themselves in supporting the revolutionary action of the peasantry... In the elections (to the Duma.—Author's note.) complete unity of action is imperative. The congress has decided that we should all vote wherever there are any elections. No criticism for taking part in the elections is to be made during the elections. The action of the proletariat must be united." The report was published by the Vperyod Publishing House in May.*

*May 6.*

Lenin makes a report on the results of the Fourth (Unity) RSDLP Congress at a meeting of Petersburg party workers held at Petersburg University. A brief summary of the report was printed in the newspaper *Prizyv* (Appeal) on May 7, 1906.

Lenin writes the article *The Congress Summed Up* which is on the following day printed as an editorial by the newspaper *Volna* (Wave). The same newspaper also publishes Lenin's article *A New Upswing*.

The Petersburg Committee for the Affairs of the Press takes legal proceedings against the publisher of the newspaper *Volna* for printing Lenin's article *A New Upswing* and orders the confiscation and destruction of the newspaper's issue with the article.

*Between May 6 and 10.*

Lenin makes a report on the question of the State Duma at a meeting of Social-Democratic workers of the Vyborg District of Petersburg.

*From May 8 to March 1907.*

Lenin helps the editorial board of the newspaper *Kazarma* (Barracks) with practical advice on questions of publishing the newspaper and leaflets for soldiers and sailors.

*May 9.*

Lenin visits the Petersburg Union of Accountants and Accounts Clerks and talks with the members of its board about the trade-union's activity.

He writes the article *The Workers' Group in the State Duma*, which is printed on the next day as the editorial of the newspaper *Volna*.

The *Volna* publishes Lenin's articles *Duma and People* (editorial) and *Amidst Newspapers and Journals*, and an editorial afterword to the Bolsheviks' draft resolution on the State Duma submitted to the Fourth (Unity) RSDLP Congress.

Lenin addresses a 3,000-strong rally concerning the RSDLP's tactics in regard to the State Duma. He exposes the Cadets\* policy of behind-the-scenes negotiations with the

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\* *Cadets (Constitutional Democrats)* was the leading party of the liberal-monarchic bourgeoisie in Russia in 1905-1917. The main points of their programme were parliamentary monarchy, bourgeois freedoms, preservation of landlordism, and partial "workers' legislation". — Ed.

autocracy, condemns the tsarist butchers for the bloody massacre of the participants in the revolutionary movement, and calls for struggle until the final victory of the working class is achieved.

### **Nadezhda Krupskaya:**

*On May 9 Vladimir Ilyich, for the first time in Russia, addressed a huge mass meeting at Panina's People's House under the name of Karpov. The hall was packed with workers from all districts. The police were noticeably absent. The two policemen who had been hanging around at the beginning quickly disappeared. "You'd think someone had sprinkled insect-powder on 'em," some wag remarked. After Ogorodnikov, a Constitutional Democrat, had spoken, the chairman called upon Karpov. I was standing among the crowd. Ilyich was terribly agitated. He stood silent for about a minute, very pale. All the blood had flowed to his heart. You could sense at once that the speaker's agitation was communicating itself to the audience. Then all of a sudden a burst of hand-clapping swept through the hall—the party members had recognised Ilyich. I remember the puzzled excited face of a worker standing next to me. "Who is it? Who is it?" he asked. No one answered him. A hush descended upon the hall. A wave of extraordinary enthusiasm swept the audience after Ilyich's speech. At that moment everyone was thinking of the coming fight to the finish.*

*Red shirts were torn up to make banners, and the crowd dispersed to their respective districts with revolutionary songs.*

*It was a May night, one of those exhilarating Petersburg white nights...*

*Ilyich did not have another chance to address any big public meeting during that revolution.*

### **May 10.**

Lenin writes the article *The Peasant, Or "Trudovik" Group and the RSDLP\**. On the next day the newspaper *Volna* prints it as its editorial.

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\* The so-called *Trudoviks* were a petty-bourgeois group of peasant deputies to the State Duma together with groups of liberal intellectual deputies. Their programme mainly consisted of the demand for nationalisation of land except for peasant allotments.—*Ed.*

May 11.

Lenin makes a report about the Fourth RSDLP Congress at a meeting of Social-Democratic workers of the Moskovsky District of Petersburg and proposes an amendment to the resolution proposed at the meeting on the necessity of discussing the decisions of the congress on the pages of Social-Democratic newspapers and at public meetings. Lenin's amendment is included in the final text of the resolution.

No. 8 of the newspaper *Nevskaya Gazeta* and No. 14 of the *Volna* print brief accounts of Lenin's speech at the meeting held on May 9, 1906.

May 12.

The newspaper *Volna* prints as its editorial Lenin's article *The Land Question in the Duma*.

May 13.

Lenin writes the article *Neither Land Nor Freedom* which is printed the next day by the *Volna* as its editorial.

First half of May.

Lenin writes the booklet *Report on the Unity Congress of the RSDLP (A Letter to the Petersburg Workers)*.

May 17.

Lenin writes the article *Government, Duma and People* which is printed by the newspaper *Volna* as its editorial on the next day.

May 18.

Lenin writes the article *The Cadets Are Preventing the Duma from Appealing to the People* and the afterword *From the Editorial Board* to the appeal of worker deputies of the State Duma *To All Workers of Russia*.

May 23.

Lenin delivers a lecture on the agrarian question at a workers' meeting. He also makes a speech at the request of the audience on the attitude of the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks to the State Duma.

May 24.

The resolution, written by Lenin, on the attitude to the State Duma is adopted by a majority vote at a sitting of the Petersburg RSDLP Committee. The workers of Petersburg support the resolution which calls for "joint militant actions of the workers and peasants". Mass rallies and meetings of factory workers accepted the resolution of the Petersburg Committee and rejected the resolution distributed by the Menshevik Central Committee proposing to support the Duma's demand for setting up a Duma, i.e., Cadet, ministry.

The Petersburg Committee for the Affairs of the Press begins legal proceedings against the publisher of the newspaper *Volna* for printing in his paper Lenin's article *Cadets, Trudoviks and the Workers' Party*. The issue of the newspaper carrying the article is impounded.

May 27.

Lenin writes the article *The Present Political Situation*, which is published on the following day by the newspaper *Vperyod* as its editorial.

May 30.

Lenin's article *The Tactics of the Proletariat and the Tasks of the Moment* is published in the *Vperyod*.

*From May to July 7.*

Lenin edits the legal Bolshevik newspapers *Volna*, *Vperyod*, and *Ekho* (Echo) published in Petersburg.

*From May to December.*

Lenin's booklet *Report on the Unity Congress of the RSDLP* is confiscated during searches and arrests in Petersburg, Moscow, Pskov, Tambov, Saratov, Yekaterinburg\*, Perm, Kharkov, Odessa, Riga, Arkhangelsk, Astrakhan, Rostov-on-Don, Tver, Mariupol, Kostroma, Kremenchug, Slaviansk (Kharkov Gubernia), Irbit (Perm Gubernia), Marienhof on the Riga coast, Prigorodno-Streletskaia Sloboda (Tambov Gubernia), and at the Verkhne-Iset factory (Perm Gubernia).

*June 4.*

The secret police branch of the Police Department reports to the Minister of the Interior that a search was made on the evening of June 3 at the printing shop of the Delo Association, rented by the Social-Democratic newspaper *Vperyod*, during which various parts of the composed type of Lenin's booklet *Report on the Unity Congress of the RSDLP* were found.

*June 6.*

Under the name of Karpov, Lenin makes a report and the concluding speech on the agrarian question before a group of delegates of the All-Russia Teachers' Congress. One of the participants in the meeting said that Lenin's report had produced such a strong impression that the pro-SR teachers had given him a standing ovation.

### **Nadezhda Krupskaya:**

*I remember Ilyich speaking to a group of schoolteachers. Socialist-Revolutionary sympathies then prevailed among the teachers, and the Bolsheviks had been debarred from the Teachers' Congress. A talk with a group of teachers was arranged in one of the schools. I particularly*

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\* Now Sverdlovsk.—Ed.

remember, from among those present, the face of one of the school mistresses, the Socialist-Revolutionary Kondratyeva. Vladimir Ilyich spoke on the agrarian question. He was opposed by Bunakov, an SR, who accused him of contradicting himself and quoted Ilyin against him (Ilyin was Vladimir Ilyich's pen-name at the time). Vladimir Ilyich listened attentively, jotting down points, then made short work of this SR demagoguery.

*June 11-12.*

Lenin conducts the work of an inter-district conference of the Petersburg RSDLP organisation (which opened in Petersburg but then moved to Terioki in Finland). Lenin makes reports on behalf of the Petersburg Committee, *Tactics of the Party in Regard to the Duma*, and *Unity of the Party*. The conference was preceded by a discussion in connection with a letter of the Menshevik RSDLP Central Committee, calling for support for a Cadet ministry. By the time the conference was convened 1,760 votes had been cast for the Petersburg Committee's resolution on the State Duma and 952 votes for the resolution of the Menshevik Central Committee. The conference approved the political line of the Petersburg Committee. The newspaper *Ekho* printed a brief report about the Conference on June 22, 1906.

*The first half of June.*

Lenin meets a representative of the Main Board of the Social-Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania and discusses with him the state of affairs in that organisation, its forthcoming Fifth Congress, and the sending of a Bolshevik representative to the congress as a guest.

*June 23.*

Lenin writes the article *Who Is for Alliances with the Cadets?* which is printed on the next day by the newspaper *Ekho* as its editorial.

The draft declaration of the Social-Democratic group in the Duma, written by Lenin, is published without a signature

in No. 1 of the newspaper *Severnaya Zemlya* (Northern Land).

*June 24.*

Lenin writes an editorial for the newspaper *Ekho*, entitled *The Cadet Duma Grants Money to the Pogrom-Mongers' Government*, and a short report for the newspaper's section *Amongst Newspapers and Journals*. The article and the report are printed on the next day.

*June 25 and 28.*

On Lenin's initiative the newspaper *Ekho* prints the main resolutions of the Fifth Congress of the Social-Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania.

*June 28.*

Lenin's booklet *Report on the Unity Congress of the RSDLP (A Letter to the Petersburg Workers)* is impounded. On July 10, 1906, the Petersburg Judicial Chamber confirmed the order for the book's confiscation. On July 19 the Main Department for the Affairs of the Press sent a circular to governors of towns and provinces instructing them to impound copies of the booklet which had "escaped confiscation".

*July 2.*

Lenin's article *The Army and the People* (editorial) and his short report for the section *Amongst Newspapers and Journals* are published by the newspaper *Ekho*. On the same day the Petersburg Committee for the Affairs of the Press begins legal proceedings against the newspaper's publisher Y. S. Milanova for printing the article.

*Before July 5.*

Lenin talks with a representative of the organisation of the Social-Democrats of the Latvian Area about that

organisation's forthcoming congress and receives and accepts an invitation to attend the congress.

*July 5.*

Lenin writes the article *The Parties in the Duma and the People* which is published as the editorial by the newspaper *Ekho* on the next day.

### **Nadezhda Krupskaya:**

*When the land question loomed large and there openly appeared a league of the officials against the muzhiks, the vacillating Trudovik group sided with the workers. Seeing that the Duma could not be relied upon to back it, the government fought with the gloves off. Peaceful demonstrators were beaten up, buildings used for public meetings were set on fire, and pogroms started against the Jews. A government statement on the agrarian question in which violent attacks were made on the State Duma was issued on June 20. Finally, on July 8, the Duma was dissolved, the Social-Democratic newspapers were shut down, and all kinds of repressions and arrests started.*

*July 10.*

Lenin and N. K. Krupskaya take a rest at Sablino, a suburb of Petersburg, at his mother's, Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova's place. When he learns on the morning of July 10 of the dissolution of the Duma Lenin, his wife Nadezhda Krupskaya and his sister Maria Ulyanova immediately leave Sablino in order to discuss the situation with their party comrades and to work out appropriate tactics for the Bolsheviks.

*July 10.*

Lenin conducts a conference in Kuokkala with party workers from Petersburg to discuss the Party's tasks in connection with the dissolution of the First State Duma. Lenin criticises the plan of the Menshevik Central Committee

which calls for a general strike in protest against the Duma's dissolution; he explains that the dissolution of the Duma should be used as a chance for concentrated agitation for an all-Russia uprising.

*After July 10.*

Lenin makes a report on the current situation at a meeting of activists of the Petersburg Bolshevik organisation, which is held on the premises of the Pedagogical Museum (part of Panina's People's House).

Lenin meets a representative of the Lugansk RSDLP organisation and discusses with him the Bolsheviks' tactics in connection with the dissolution of the First State Duma. During the talk Lenin asks about the Lugansk party organisation's links with military units, the numerical strength of combat squads and their provision with arms, about the mood of railway workers, and stresses the impermissibility of isolated and premature actions.

*Between July 13 and 17.*

Lenin writes the booklet *The Dissolution of the Duma and the Tasks of the Proletariat*.

*July 16.*

Lenin learns of the possibility of an immediate spontaneous revolutionary action of soldiers and sailors in Sveaborg\* and writes a draft resolution, which is adopted by the Executive Commission of the Petersburg RSDLP Com-

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\* Sveaborg, now *Suomenlinna* (Finland), belonged to Russia from 1809 to 1917 and was one of the bases of the Russian Baltic Fleet. On July 19, 1906, the sailors and soldiers of Kronstadt mutinied following the report about a *mutiny at Sveaborg* which had broken out on the night of July 18. The government, warned in advance by an agent provocateur, had been ready to strike back. By the morning of July 20 the Kronstadt mutiny was crushed. The mutiny in Sveaborg lasted for three days. However, it was poorly prepared in all respects, and the Sveaborg mutiny was also suppressed on July 20 after the fortress was shelled by warships.—*Ed.*

mittee, on the immediate dispatch of a delegation to Sveaborg in order to clarify the situation and postpone an uprising. In the event of the impossibility of preventing it the delegation was instructed to take part in and lead the mutiny. The draft resolution was adopted by the Executive Commission of the Petersburg RSDLP Committee, but the delegation sent to Sveaborg arrived too late to be able to establish contact with the mutineers.

*July 20.*

At Lenin's proposal the Petersburg RSDLP Committee adopts a decision to call a general political strike in support of the Sveaborg and Kronstadt mutinies.

### **Nadezhda Krupskaya:**

*A revolt broke out in Kronstadt and Sveaborg. Our people took a very active part in it. After a while our military organisation was arrested. It had had an agent provocateur planted in its midst. This happened just at the time of the Sveaborg revolt. We waited despairingly that day for telegrams reporting the progress of the revolt. Someone remembered that there was a comrade named Harrik working as proof-reader on the Cadet paper Rech (Speech). I called on him to find out whether there were any telegrams. He was not in the office, but I got the telegrams from another proof-reader. He advised me to make arrangements with Harrik, who lived nearby. He even wrote the address for me on the galley proofs on which the telegrams were printed. I went there. Two women were walking about arm-in-arm in front of the house. They stopped me. "If you are going to flat number so-and-so, you'd better not. The police are there—it's a trap. They're seizing everybody who goes in." I hastened to warn our people. As we afterwards found out, our whole military organisation had been arrested. The insurrection was suppressed. The reaction began to put the screws on. The Bolsheviks resumed publication of the illegal Proletary, and went underground. The Mensheviks beat a retreat and began to write in the bourgeois press, putting forward the demagogic slogan of a non-party workers' congress, which, under the existing conditions, was tantamount to liquidating the Party. The Bolsheviks demanded the convocation of an emergency congress.*

*Between July 20 and 28.*

Lenin attends a meeting of party workers held in Petersburg which discusses the question of the Party's tactics.

*July.*

Lenin addresses a meeting of women workers of a tobacco factory in Petersburg and supports their decision to call a strike in reply to the refusal of the management to meet their economic demands.

*Between August 6 and 21.*

During his stay in Vyborg Lenin directs the preparation for the first issue of the newspaper *Proletary*, which comes out on August 21, 1906. He sees the sights of Vyborg and goes for walks in its vicinity.

*Before August 12.*

The Novaya Volna (New Wave) Publishing House issues in Moscow Lenin's booklet *The Dissolution of the Duma and the Tasks of the Proletariat*.

*August 12.*

The Moscow Committee for the Affairs of the Press impounds the booklet and starts legal proceedings against its author and persons who took part in publishing it. On September 6, 1906, the Moscow Judicial Chamber endorsed the booklet's confiscation. The booklet was nevertheless widely distributed in Moscow, Petersburg and the provinces.

Lenin writes the article *The Boycott*.

August 17.

F. E. Dzerzhinsky\*, one of the leaders of the Social-Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, writes in his letter from Petersburg to the Main Board of that organisation about the Bolsheviks' decision to take part in the election campaign for the Second State Duma, if no uprising takes place before the election.

*From August 20 to November 20, 1907.*

Lenin lives at Vaasa, a country house in Kuokkala, Finland.

### **Nadezhda Krupskaya:**

*Ilyich was obliged to go into "semi-exile" in Finland. He put up in Kuokkala, not far from the railway station. The large rambling country house Vaasa had long been a refuge for revolutionaries. Ilyich had a room to himself in a remote part of the house, where he wrote his articles and pamphlets, and received members of the Central Committee and the Petersburg Committee, and party workers from the provinces. Ilyich practically directed all the activities of the Bolsheviks from Kuokkala. After a while I joined him there. I took a train to Petersburg every morning and returned late in the evening. Later on my mother came to stay with us, and Maria Ilyinichna lived with us for a time. In those days the Russian police judiciously kept away from Finland, and we enjoyed considerable freedom there. The door of the house was never locked, and every night a jug of milk and a loaf of bread were left in the dining room, where a bed was made on the sofa so that in the event of anyone coming down by the night train he could have a bite and go to sleep without*

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\* F. E. Dzerzhinsky (1877-1926) was an active participant in the Polish and Russian revolutionary movement from 1895. He was one of the leaders of the 1905-1907 revolution in Warsaw. He was a member of the RSDLP Central Committee from 1907. During the October 1917 Revolution Dzerzhinsky was a member of the Military-Revolutionary Centre and the Petrograd Military-Revolutionary Committee. He was the chairman of the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission for the Struggle Against Counterrevolution (from 1917) and People's Commissar for the Interior (1919-1923), and also the People's Commissar for Railways and Chairman of the Commission for Improving the Life of Children (both from 1921).—Ed.

*disturbing anyone. In the morning we would often find comrades in the dining room who had come down during the night.*

*A special messenger came to Ilyich every day with copy, newspapers and letters. Ilyich would look through this mail, then sit down straight-away to write an article and send it back by the same man. In the evenings I would bring the latest news and messages from Petersburg.*

*After August 20.*

Lenin talks in Kuokkala with Maria Essen who has been sent by the Moscow Committee for directives on matters of the Party's tactics.

*August 27.*

Lenin chairs a Party meeting organised by the RSDLP Central Committee in a theatre in Terioki (Finland) where he sharply criticises the Menshevik slogan of a "non-party workers' congress", condemning it as a retreat from the Party Programme, and insists on the need to convene the Fifth RSDLP Congress. The resolution proposed by Lenin is unanimously adopted.

*From the second half of August to November 1909.*

Lenin edits the newspaper *Proletary*, the central organ of the Bolsheviks, which was published in Vyborg (August 1906—November 1907), in Geneva (February-December 1908) and in Paris (January-November 1909).

### **Nadezhda Krupskaya:**

*The illegal newspaper Proletary began to appear in Vyborg in the autumn. Ilyich devoted a great deal of time to it. It was delivered to Petersburg and distributed there among the districts. Although delivery and distribution went smoothly (literature went through the legal Bolshevik Delo printing shop), the addresses to which the literature was to be forwarded had to be obtained. We needed someone to help us. Komissarov, a district man, proposed his wife Katya as assistant. She came—a modest-looking woman with bobbed hair. An odd feeling came*

over me when I first saw her—a kind of sharp mistrust. I could not account for it, and soon it passed. Katya proved to be a very efficient assistant. She did everything quickly, accurately and with careful secrecy. She showed no curiosity, asked no questions. The fact is that Katya and her husband turned out to be agent provocateurs. Katya received a consignment of arms in Petersburg and took it down to the Urals. The police came along right after her visit and confiscated the arms which she had brought, and arrested everyone. We did not find that out until a long time afterwards. Her husband, Komissarov, became manager for Simonov, the proprietor of House No. 9 in Zagorodny Prospekt. Simonov used to help the Social-Democrats. Vladimir Ilyich lived there at one time, then a Bolshevik club was organised there. Some time later, during the reaction, Komissarov fixed up illegal comrades there and supplied them with passports, and afterwards those comrades very quickly "happened" to get themselves arrested at the frontier. It is difficult, of course, to say exactly when Komissarov and his wife turned provocateurs. At any rate, there were a good many things that the police did not know. They did not know Vladimir Ilyich's whereabouts, for one thing.

#### *August-September.*

Lenin meets and maintains contact with F. E. Dzerzhinsky who was at that time in Petersburg. Dzerzhinsky regularly sends Bolshevik literature to Poland, consistently supports the Bolsheviks' tactics in regard to the Duma and their struggle to convene a party congress, against the Menshevik slogan of a "non-party workers' congress".

#### *Summer.*

Lenin instructs a representative of the Party Central Committee to go to the Urals in order to acquaint the Ural party organisations with the Bolsheviks' tactics during the election to the Second State Duma.

Lenin addresses a meeting of party workers held in the office of the Bolshevik book-publishing house *Vperyod* and calls for intensifying the work in the countryside.

*Before September 30.*

Lenin makes a note on a letter from the Perm RSDLP Committee with the resolutions of the city and several district party committees calling for the convocation of an extraordinary party congress.

*After September 30.*

Lenin meets J. A. Berzin-Ziemelis\* at the Vaasa country house in Kuokkala. During their talk Lenin asks Berzin about the activity of the Social-Democrats of the Latvian Area, especially the combat actions of that Party and requests him to translate articles from the newspaper *Borba* and other publications of the Latvian Party.

*From September to November 1907.*

Lenin directs the work of the workers' newspaper *Vperyod* which is published illegally in Vyborg by the editorial board of the *Proletary*.

*Between October 11 and 28.*

Lenin writes the article *On Convening an Extraordinary Party Congress*.

*October 14.*

The Kursk RSDLP Committee adopts a resolution in support of Lenin's proposal to convene an extraordinary party congress.

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\* *J. A. Berzin-Ziemelis* (1881-1938), a member of the RSDLP from 1902, took part in the 1905-1907 revolution in Latvia and in the October 1917 Revolution (in Petrograd). In 1919 he was appointed People's Commissar for Education of Latvia. Berzin was one of the first Soviet diplomats (ambassador to Finland and Austria). — *Ed.*

*End of October.*

Lenin writes the booklet the *Social-Democrats and Electoral Agreements*.

*November 2.*

Lenin attends a preliminary sitting of the delegates to the Second RSDLP Conference held in Tammerfors\*, aimed at working out the procedure of the conference's work.

*Before November 3.*

Lenin makes notes on the leaflet *The Draft Electoral Platform Proposed by the RSDLP Central Committee*, highlighting the words on the importance of a "united, organised and unanimous movement of millions of people" and on the necessity of electing to the Duma people who "not only burn with the flame of revolutionary inspiration but are also able to trace out the way to victory".

*November 3-7.*

Between the sittings of the Second RSDLP Conference Lenin conducts meetings of the Bolshevik group and talks with Bolshevik delegates about the work of local party organisations. During his talk with a delegate from the Volga region, a staff member of the editorial board of the newspaper *Samarskaya Luka*, he asks questions about the Bolsheviks' work among the peasants, and is invited to contribute to the newspaper.

*November 4.*

Lenin makes a report and the concluding speech on the question of the election campaign for the Second State Duma.

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\* It went down in the history of the Bolshevik Party as the *First All-Russia Conference*.—Ed.

*Second half of November.*

Lenin reads a lecture to the workers of the Nevsky District of Petersburg on the subject of electoral agreements in the West and in Russia.

*Before November 16.*

Lenin addresses a conference of the Bolshevik Centre on certain trends toward the isolation of military work from the general party activity and proposes to invite to the First Conference of the Military and Combat Organisations of the RSDLP, along with representatives of military and combat organisations, also representatives of the major Bolshevik party organisations.

**Yemelyan Yaroslavsky\*:**

*In the autumn of 1906 we, workers of military organisations, faced the acute question of the forms of our further work. We felt that a certain part of the Social-Democrats began to incline towards ending this work since, some thought, nothing would come out of it. On the other hand, we witnessed the tremendous spontaneous growth of revolutionary sentiments in the army and the navy. There was an immense danger that all this revolutionary seething and fermentation would burst out in revolutionary flare-ups and riots which would be disorderly, wasteful and fruitless. It was necessary for the workers of the military organisations to come to agreement at any cost among themselves and with the leading bodies of our Party and to work out the forms of communication and unification of all this work. It was necessary at the same time to make more purposeful and concrete the attempts to form combat organisations in various places.*

*Large-scale work was being done in cities for the formation of combat squads which united the bravest and most revolutionary people*

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\* Y. M. Yaroslavsky (*Gubelman*) (1878-1943), an RSDLP member from 1898, was a participant in the 1905-1907 revolution (Petersburg) and in the October 1917 Revolution (member of the Military Revolutionary Committee in Moscow). He was repeatedly elected a member of the Party Central Committee and worked on the newspaper *Pravda* and the journal *Bolshevik*. Yaroslavsky is the author of works on the history of the Russian revolutionary movement and the history of the Bolshevik Party.—Ed.

who were bursting to join the most resolute struggle for the workers' cause. It was necessary to clarify the tasks of combat squads and military organisations.

Worker members of combat organisations naturally thought it was necessary to tie together all the preparatory work for an uprising, to unite the activity of combat and military organisations. Many comrades vigorously studied methods of armed struggle, mines and mining and the chemistry of explosives (here we received great assistance from the late Comrade Pavel Karlovich Shternberg\* who was, I think, at that time a professor of astronomy). Consolidating centres, such as military-technical bureaux, appeared in the second half of 1906 in some cities; Moscow was one of these.

At the same time some comrades were thinking of convening an all-Russia conference of military and combat organisations. We met several times and decided after one of the meetings to convene a conference of military and combat organisations in Tammerfors, Finland, at the end of 1906.

It is well known how positively Vladimir Ilyich judged the work of the conference, how much attention he paid to the questions raised by its participants.

I came to visit Vladimir Ilyich before going to the conference. I came to Finland with great precautions and met Vladimir Ilyich who showered me with questions. He was not satisfied with general answers, he wanted to know the details, the techniques of our work, our plans and our connections. He showed keen interest in our experience of running a military school where we instructed our comrades in the use of mines and explosives, the manufacture of explosive devices, the handling of machine-guns and other weapons, and studied the tactics of street fighting, in short, we trained commanders of our combat units for the future revolution. What Vladimir Ilyich feared most of all was that we would unwisely plunge into some adventure. He most anxiously asked me whether we intended to undertake some action on our own and warned that we should take serious steps only with the knowledge of the Bolshevik Centre; he also inquired in every detail about how we had organised our conference.

I entreated Vladimir Ilyich to come to our conference. Later on we even wrote a letter to him on behalf of the bureau of the military and combat organisations for the convocation of the conference. He replied

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\* P. K. Shternberg (1865-1920), astronomer by profession, was an active participant in the Russian revolutionary movement, RSDLP member from 1905. He was one of the leaders of the October 1917 Revolution (in Moscow). Shternberg was a professor at Moscow University from 1914 and director of the Moscow observatory in 1916-1917.—*Ed.*

to our invitation with a letter which unfortunately has not been preserved but the contents of which I remember distinctly. He thanked us for the invitation, expressed his approval of the conference which he believed to be very important, approved the agenda of the conference; at the same time he warned us very cautiously yet quite insistently against any decisions that would deviate from our general principled Bolshevik line.

This meeting with Vladimir Ilyich dispelled the mood in which I had started my trip to him. It had seemed to me and many other comrades that we, combat personnel and military workers, were doing something that the Party thought to be of secondary importance and that it did not treat seriously enough. This was explained by the secrecy of our work. The talk with Vladimir Ilyich convinced me that what we were doing was needed by and important for the Party.

*November 22.*

Lenin talks with the participants in the conference of the military and combat organisations of the RSDLP about its results.

*After November 22.*

Lenin sends M. N. Lyadov to the Urals to direct the Bolsheviks' work in the election campaign for the Second State Duma and also to organise the election of delegates to the Fifth RSDLP Congress.

*November 23.*

The leaflet *Whom to Elect to the State Duma*, written by Lenin, is published as a supplement to the newspaper *Proletary*.

*After November 23.*

Lenin's article *Draft Election Address* is published as a leaflet in the Lettish language by the Central Committee of the Social-Democrats of the Latvian Area under the title *Our Electoral Platform*.

November 29.

A group of agitators propose to the Bolshevik faction of the Petersburg Committee to form a collegium of agitators and ask for Lenin to be placed in charge of it.

Before November 30.

Lenin takes part in editing the first issue of the newspaper *Zheleznodorozhnik* (Railwayman), organ of the Moscow railway bureau of the RSDLP (it was printed in Finland in the printing shop of the newspaper *Proletary*).

December 24.

Lenin's article *The Political Situation and the Tasks of the Working Class* is published as the editorial of the first issue of the Bolshevik weekly journal *Ternii Truda* (The Thorny Path of Labour).

December 28.

At the request of the Samara Bolsheviks Lenin writes the article *The Working-Class Party's Tasks and the Peasantry* and sends it from Petersburg to Samara, to the editorial office of the legal Bolshevik newspaper *Samarskaya Luka*. Lenin writes in a covering note to the article stating that the newspaper's editorial board may change the contents and heading of the article as it sees fit and asks for several copies of the article to be sent to him, if published. The article was seized by the gendarmes and was discovered only in 1927 in the archives of the gendarme department of the Samara Gubernia.

December 31.

Lenin's article *The Attitude of the Bourgeois Parties and of the Workers' Party to the Duma Elections* is published as the editorial of No. 2 of the weekly *Ternii Truda*.

*End of December.*

Lenin's sister Maria Ilyinichna Ulyanova joins Lenin in Kuokkala for the New Year celebration.

*End of the year.*

During his talk with a member of the Petersburg RSDLP Committee, J. A. Berzin-Ziemelis, Lenin asks him about the progress of the revolutionary movement in the Baltic region, the work of the Riga Bolshevik organisation, and the book by F. Rozins *The Lettish Peasant*, and asks Berzin to translate parts of it for him.

*During 1906.*

Lenin studies the works of K. Marx and F. Engels and also of prominent European Social-Democrats.

He makes notes on the pages of K. Marx's booklet *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, marks off portions of the text about the role of the proletariat in the 19th-century revolution, the alliance of the proletariat and the peasantry, bourgeois freedoms, and the destruction of the state machinery in socialist revolution; he also makes notes in F. Engels's book *Articles of 1871-1875* (Petersburg, 1906). Lenin notes the high appraisal by Engels of the French materialist literature of the 18th century, marks off Engels's statements about the development of capitalism in Russia and the significance of the Russian community; makes notes in K. Kautsky's book *The Catholic Church and Social-Democracy* and in K. Marx's book *Collection of Historical Works* (Petersburg, 1906).

1907

January 6.

Lenin attends a conference of the Petersburg RSDLP organisation held in Terioki. He is elected to the conference presidium and makes a report about electoral agreements at the forthcoming election to the Second State Duma. The conference refused to form a bloc with the Cadets and decided at Lenin's proposal to offer to form an alliance with the SRs and Trudoviks subject to their refusal to form an alliance with the Cadets.

January 13-14.

Lenin writes the booklet *The Social-Democrats and the Duma Elections*.

January 14.

The Bolshevik weekly *Prostyie Rechi* (Simple Talk) prints Lenin's article *The Workers' Party Election Campaign in Petersburg*. The Petersburg Committee for the Affairs of the Press passes a decision to start legal proceedings against the newspaper's editor.

January 16.

The Police Department informs the Petersburg branch of the secret police that large meetings are often held where Lenin lives in Kuokkala.

January 18.

Lenin writes the article *The Social-Democratic Election Campaign in Petersburg*.

Second half of January.

Lenin talks with a representative of the Voronezh RSDLP Committee about the preparation for the Fifth RSDLP Congress and also discusses with him the question of an

armed uprising. During the talk Lenin stresses the need for psychological preparation for the conduct of an uprising.

*February 7.*

Lenin writes the article *The Second Duma and the Second Revolutionary Wave*.

*February 9.*

Lenin is chosen to the electoral college from the Left-wing parties' bloc of the Moskovsky District of Petersburg in the course of the election campaign for the Second State Duma.

*February 13.*

A statement of the Menshevik executive bureau is read out at a sitting of the Petersburg RSDLP Committee to the effect that the Menshevik members of the committee find it impossible to attend the committee's meetings. In reply to the statement the Petersburg RSDLP Committee adopts the following decision: "Having heard a statement of 31 Mensheviks the Petersburg Committee draws the attention of the Central Committee to the disorganisation initiated by the Mensheviks and deems it necessary that the Central Committee put an end to this disorganisation. Should the Central Committee fail to take appropriate measures it would thereby sanction a split of the Party."

*February 15-18.*

Lenin writes draft resolutions for the Fifth RSDLP Congress. Lenin conducts a meeting in Kuokkala of representatives of the Petersburg and Moscow committees, the Moscow Area Committee, the Bureau of the Central Industrial Region and the editorial board of the newspaper *Proletary* to discuss draft resolutions prepared by him. The meeting adopts the drafts as material for a party discussion and for the preparation of the congress as regards certain of the most important tactical questions.

February 17.

Lenin gives an interview to a representative of the newspaper *L'Humanité* on the RSDLP's tactics during the election campaign.

February 18.

Lenin talks with a group of Bolshevik deputies who have come to Kuokkala on the eve of the opening of the Second State Duma. Lenin speaks about the future work of the Social-Democratic group in the Duma, the attitude of the Social-Democrats to the bourgeois parties, the Mensheviks' attitude to the Duma, and describes their tactics as "Cadet-like".

February 20.

Lenin writes the article *The Opening of the Second State Duma*, which is printed on the same day as the editorial in the first issue of the newspaper *Novy Luch* (New Sunray). Lenin writes the article *The Second Duma and the Tasks of the Proletariat*.

### **Nadezhda Krupskaya :**

*The Second State Duma was to be convened on February 20, 1907.*

*Fourteen delegates at the November conference, including those from Poland and Lithuania, headed by Vladimir Ilyich had been in favour of the elections to the Duma, but against any bloc with the Cadets (as advocated by the Mensheviks). It was under this slogan that the Bolsheviks had worked for the Duma elections. The Cadets were defeated at the polls. The number of Cadet deputies returned to the Second Duma was only half of what they had had in the First. A new revolutionary wave seemed to be rising.*

*The Second Duma deputies came to Kuokkala fairly often to talk with Ilyich. The work of the Bolshevik deputies was directed by Alexander Bogdanov. He lived in Kuokkala at the same country house (Vaasa) as we did.*

*The Mensheviks were agitating strongly for a workers' congress in*

the hope that such a congress on a broad basis would help to fight the growing influence of the Bolsheviks. The latter pressed for a speedy convocation of the Party Congress.

*Before February 21.*

Lenin is invited to contribute to the newspaper *Vorwärts*, the central organ of the German Social-Democratic Party, and to *Die Neue Zeit*, the Party's theoretical journal.

*February 22.*

The Petersburg Committee for the Affairs of the Press sends a memorandum to the procurator of the Petersburg Judicial Chamber with the request to start legal proceedings against the author of the book *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in Democratic Revolution* and to impound the book. The request is granted.

*Second half of February.*

Lenin takes part in editing the newspaper *Novy Luch*.

*Between March 1 and April 15.*

Lenin writes the article *The Menshevik Tactical Platform*.

*March 12.*

He completes the article *The Platform of Revolutionary Social-Democracy*.

*March 14.*

Lenin's article *The Elections to the Duma and the Tactics of the Russian Social-Democrats* is published in *Die Neue Zeit*, the theoretical journal of the German Social-Democrats.

*March 25.*

Lenin is elected a representative of the Petersburg RSDLP organisation for liaison with the Social-Democratic group in the Second State Duma.

*March 30-31.*

Lenin writes the article *The Agrarian Question and the Forces of the Revolution*.

*Second half of March—before April 10.*

Lenin takes part in editing the newspaper *Nashe Ekho* (Our Echo). Lenin makes a report on the current situation and the Party's tasks at a briefing of Bolsheviks going out to local organisations to conduct the election of delegates to the Fifth RSDLP Congress.

*April 1.*

Lenin takes part in the debate on the activity of the Social-Democratic group at the Second State Duma, held at the city conference of the Petersburg RSDLP organisation, and recommends the proposition that representatives of the RSDLP combat squads be invited to the Fifth Party Congress.

*April 10.*

Lenin writes the article *The Duma and the Russian Liberals*, which is printed on the same day by the newspaper *Nashe Ekho* as its editorial.

The investigator of Precinct No. 27 of Petersburg sends an application to the Petersburg district court for sanction to start the search for Lenin by following up the clues obtainable from the publication of his article.

*Before April 11.*

Lenin is elected a member of the Petersburg RSDLP Committee.

*Between April 11 and 21.*

He writes the article *On the Question of a Nationwide Revolution*.

*April 18.*

The Petersburg district court approves the application of the investigator of Precinct No. 27 of Petersburg for the search for Lenin to be started.

*Before April 21.*

Lenin is elected a delegate to the Fifth RSDLP Congress from the Verkhne-Kamskaya (the Urals) RSDLP organisation.

J. A. Berzin-Ziemelis informs Lenin about the situation in the Social-Democratic Party of the Latvian Area and the position of the Lettish Social-Democrats on the eve of the Fifth RSDLP Congress.

During his talk with a representative of the Social-Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania Lenin substantiates the Bolsheviks' stand on the eve of the Fifth RSDLP Congress. He describes the position of the Mensheviks and exposes their harmful effect on the revolution. Lenin emphasises the importance of the numerical composition of the delegation of the Social-Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania and insists on the strict observance of formalities when electing delegates to the congress (the conduct of meetings, the writing of proper minutes, etc.).

Lenin attends a joint conference of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks held at Terioki, where the questions to be raised at the Fifth RSDLP Congress are discussed, and opposes the Mensheviks' proposal to convene a "workers' congress".

### *Second half of April.*

Lenin leaves for Copenhagen where the Fifth RSDLP Congress is to be held. (It actually took place in London.)

### *Between April 24 and 28.*

On his way to London to attend the Fifth RSDLP Congress Lenin stops for a few days in Berlin where he meets A. M. Gorky and also the leaders of German Social-Democracy Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Kautsky, and goes sightseeing.

Lenin reads the manuscript of A. M. Gorky's short novel *Mother*, discusses it with the author and travels together with him to London.

### *Between April 24 and 30.*

On his arrival in London Lenin helps to provide accommodation for Bolshevik delegates to the congress, conducts a meeting of the Bolshevik group, which in fact had begun in Copenhagen, before the Fifth RSDLP Congress, and makes a speech at the meeting.

Lenin tells the participants in the meeting that A. M. Gorky is to take part in the work of the congress. Since it is expected that the Mensheviks intend to allow Gorky's attendance of the congress only as a "guest" the Bolshevik delegates adopt without debate Lenin's proposal to fight for inviting A. M. Gorky to the congress as a delegate with a deliberative vote.

### *After April 27.*

Lenin reads the report in the *Morning Post* on the arrival of the delegates to the Fifth RSDLP Congress in London.

### **Maria Andreyeva:**

*I remember Gorky meeting Lenin in 1907 in London where they had come to attend the Fifth Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.*

Lenin took us to the hotel Imperial somewhere near the British Museum. The hotel was a huge, damp and comfortless building, but for some reason no other accommodation could be found.

I remember Lenin fretting over the danger to Gorky's health of the dampness. "He may catch cold here," he said worryingly, "for he is used to a soft climate and good care."

Lenin went to the bed, felt the sheets and, knowing that Gorky did not like to be an object of special concern, half-whispered to me: "The sheets are quite damp, they should be dried, even before this good-for-nothing fire-place. What shall we do if Alexei Maximovich starts coughing?"

For a long time after Lenin had left, Gorky paced the floor of the cheerless room, twirling and biting the ends of his moustache, as was his habit. Finally he said slowly, half to himself: "What a wonderful person!"

Alexei Maximovich was greatly moved and joyously excited when he was invited to the congress, and not simply as a guest, but as a delegate with a deliberative vote.

Alexei Maximovich attended all sittings of the congress, he avidly absorbed the speeches and even the individual words of the delegates, and was falling deeper and deeper in love with Lenin every time they met.

April 30—May 19.

The Fifth RSDLP Congress is in progress. Lenin attends and speaks at meetings of the Bolshevik group, works in the congress's commissions, takes part in the sittings of the congress presidium, presides over congress sittings, and talks to its delegates. In his free time he goes to the British Museum and to theatres.

Lenin receives A. M. Gorky's short novel *Mother* as a gift from its author.

### **Maxim Gorky:**

*The bald man who kept rubbing his Socratic forehead began with beaming eyes to talk of the shortcomings of my book Mother which he had, it appeared, read in the manuscript. I explained that I had written that book in a hurry, but did not manage to tell him why, for he nodded understandingly and gave the reason himself: it was good that I had been in a hurry, for that book was urgently needed; many of the workers had*

*been caught up in the revolutionary movement unconsciously, spontaneously and would now read Mother with great benefit.*

*"A very timely book!" That was his only, but highly valuable compliment. After which he asked in a businesslike tone whether Mother had been translated into any foreign language and to what extent it had been crippled by the censors. I told that its author was to be put on trial, he frowned wryly, threw back his head, closed his eyes, and emitted a burst of laughter.*

*April 30.*

The Fifth RSDLP Congress opens in London. Lenin is elected to its presidium.

*May 1.*

Lenin rises to speak twice during the second sitting of the congress when its draft procedure is discussed.

During the third sitting of the congress Lenin speaks up against ending the debate on the congress's order of the day.

*May 2.*

During the fourth sitting Lenin makes a speech for including in the congress agenda the general principles of the fundamentals of the Party's tactics in a bourgeois-democratic revolution.

At the fifth sitting Lenin speaks in favour of roll-call voting.

*May 3.*

Lenin chairs the sitting of the congress; he makes announcements on the order of the day, and tells the delegates of the presence at the congress of Harry Quelch, a representative of the British Social-Democratic Federation, and of Rosa Luxemburg representing German Social-Democracy, and he greets them on behalf of the congress.

## Maxim Gorky:

*Rosa Luxemburg spoke passionately and sharply, splendidly wielding the weapon of irony. Then Vladimir Ilyich hurriedly mounted the rostrum and said: "Comrades." At first he seemed a poor speaker, but within a minute I was completely engrossed as everyone else. I had never known one could talk of the most intricate political questions so simply. This speaker was no coiner of fine phrases, but presented each word on the palm of his hand, as it were, disclosing its precise meaning with astonishing ease. It is hard to describe the extraordinary impression he created.*

*With his hand extended and slightly raised, he seemed to be weighing every word, sifting the phrases of his adversaries, putting forward weighty arguments against them, with proofs that it was the right and the duty of the working class to travel its own path, not in the rear or even abreast of the liberal bourgeoisie. It was all most extraordinary, pouring forth not so much from him as from the very mainspring of history. The integrity, polish, frankness, and force of his speech, everything about him as he stood on the rostrum blended into a work of art. Everything was in its place. There was nothing superfluous.*

*He spoke less than those before him, but the impression he created was far greater. His every argument revealed itself, unfolded itself by its own internal force.*

*The Mensheviks took no pains to disguise the fact that they found Lenin's speech obnoxious. The more pointedly he drove home the Party's need to rise to the heights of revolutionary theory in order to test all aspects of its practical work, the more often was he viciously interrupted.*

*Rosa Luxemburg aptly told the Mensheviks at one of the later sessions: "You don't stand for Marxism, you sit on it, even wallow in it."*

*It was both strange and painful to see that hostility to him was aroused by the natural thought that only from the height of theory can the Party clearly identify the causes of differences.*

*May 4.*

At the eighth sitting of the congress Lenin takes part in the debate on the report on the activity of the Central Committee and criticises the opportunist actions of the Mensheviks.

*May 8.*

Lenin presides over the 14th and 15th sittings of the congress and takes part in the debate on the report of the RSDLP group in the Duma.

*May 9-11.*

Lenin takes part in the work of the commission for drafting a resolution on the report of the RSDLP group at the Duma.

*May 12-16.*

Lenin takes part in the work of the commission for drafting a resolution on the attitude to bourgeois parties.

*Not earlier than May 16—not later than May 18.*

Lenin makes a speech at a banquet given by certain liberals in London in honour of the delegates to the Fifth RSDLP Congress.

*May 17.*

Lenin attends a meeting of the Bolshevik group at the congress.

*May 18.*

Lenin makes a report at the 33rd sitting of the congress on behalf of the commission for drafting a resolution on the State Duma.

*May 19.*

The congress elects Lenin a member of the RSDLP Central Committee.

*Not later than May 19.*

During the work of the Fifth RSDLP Congress the delegation of the Social-Democrats of the Latvian Area holds

a meeting of its own which invites Lenin to attend the Second Congress of the Social-Democrats of the Latvian Area.

*After May 19.*

After the Fifth RSDLP Congress ends Lenin attends the last meeting of the Bolshevnik group, which sums up the results of the congress. The meeting also elects the Bolshevnik Centre headed by Lenin to direct the Bolshevniks' further activity.

*May 20-24.*

Lenin works at the library of the British Museum.

*May 24.*

The Lettish Bolshevniks propose the inclusion of Lenin's report in the agenda of the Second Congress of the Social-Democrats of the Latvian Area.

*Not earlier than May 21—not later than May 24.*

Lenin attends the Second Congress of the Social-Democrats of the Latvian Area which is held in London.

*May 24.*

During the eighth sitting of the Second Congress of the Social-Democrats of the Latvian Area Lenin delivers a report on the tasks of the proletariat in a bourgeois-democratic revolution.

*Between May 25 and June 2.*

Lenin returns to Kuokkala from London.

*June 9.*

The head of the network of foreign police agents in Paris reports to the Police Department that Lenin lives in Finland with a passport issued in Berlin in the name of Erwin Weikow, a printer.

*Before June 15.*

Lenin talks with Krasin on the prospects of technological progress.

Lenin makes a speech about the Fifth RSDLP Congress at a meeting of workers from Petersburg held in Terioki.

Lenin moves from Kuokkala to a country house near the Styrsudd lighthouse for reasons of security and also to improve his impaired health.

### **Nadezhda Krupskaya:**

*Ilyich was the last to return from the congress. He looked odd, with his moustache clipped short, his beard shaved off, and a big straw hat on his head.*

*Immediately after the congress Ilyich reported back to a large gathering of workers who had arrived from Petersburg to hear him. He spoke at a hotel in Terioki which was later destroyed by fire.*

*On June 3 the Second Duma was dismissed. The Bolshevik group came down to Kuokkala in a body late in the evening, and sat up all night, discussing the situation. Ilyich had come back from the congress utterly worn out. He was overwrought and did not eat anything. I packed his things and sent him off to Styrsudd deep in Finland while I remained to hastily wind things up. By the time I arrived in Styrsudd Ilyich had come to himself a bit. They told me there that he had kept falling asleep the first few days. He would sit down under a fir-tree and in a minute he would doze off. We had a wonderful time in Styrsudd—the forest, the sea, nature at its wildest, with only another large summer house next door belonging to engineer Zyabitsky. Sometimes we got together to listen to music. Ilyich and I spent most of the day by the sea or cycling. Our machines were old ones and needed repairing all the time, which we did, using old galoshes for patches, and I'm afraid we did more repairing than riding. But when we did go cycling it was wonderful. Ilyich steadily picked up and became fit again.*

June 16.

The Police Department receives a report from the head of the network of police agents abroad of June 9, 1907, about Lenin's whereabouts. The department's special branch uses the information supplied by agents for compiling its own report about V. I. Ulyanov (Lenin).

June 23.

The Police Department draws up and circulates a list of persons to be searched for and arrested. Listed under No. 2611 is "Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (pseudonym N. Lenin)" with the instruction: "To be arrested, searched and placed at the disposal of the court investigator of Precinct 27 of St. Petersburg."

June 25.

A sitting of the Central Committee elected by the Fifth RSDLP Congress appoints Lenin as the Party's representative at the International Socialist Bureau.

June 26.

Lenin writes the article *Against Boycott (From Notes of a Social-Democratic Publicist)*.

After June 25.

Lenin writes a letter to M. I. Ulyanova at the station of Kinel (Samara Gubernia) with a brief argumentation against the boycott of the Third Duma, which he has elaborated in the article he has just written on the subject.

June 27.

In his letter to his mother at the station of Mikhnevo (Moscow Gubernia) Lenin writes about his rest in Styrstudd and says that he intends to stay there for two more weeks.

*June—August.*

Lenin edits the Bolshevik collection of articles *Voice of Life*.

*From June to November.*

Lenin conducts regular meetings of the Bolshevik members of the RSDLP Central Committee before the sittings of the Central Committee which are held in Terioki.

*July 8.*

Lenin attends an all-city conference of the Petersburg RSDLP organisation held in Terioki and makes a report on the Social-Democratic attitude to the Third State Duma.

*July 14.*

Lenin attends a city conference of the Petersburg RSDLP organisation; he makes, according to the reports of informers to the Police Department, a "talented" speech, "which summed up the report he had made at the conference in favour of the Party's participation in the elections".

*July 16.*

The RSDLP Central Committee appoints Lenin as a speaker at the Third RSDLP Conference\* on questions of the election platform and election agreements.

The RSDLP Central Committee adopts a decision including Lenin in the RSDLP delegation to the Seventh International Socialist Congress to be held in Stuttgart.

*July 17.*

The head of the Moscow branch of the secret police reports to the Police Department that, according to information from secret agents, Lenin resides permanently in Terioki.

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\* It was also called the Second All-Russia Conference.—*Ed.*

*Between July 20 and August 1.*

The Zerno Publishing House offers to publish a collection of Lenin's works in three volumes under the general title *Twelve Years*.

*Before August.*

Lenin draws up a table, on the basis of the First General Census of the Population of the Russian Empire of 1897 (St. Petersburg, 1905), of the population of cities, towns and trade and industrial centres of the country. He uses data from this table in the second edition of the book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* which he wrote in 1896-1899 and which was published for the first time in Petersburg in 1899.

Lenin familiarises himself with the booklet *Distribution of Workers and Domestic Help According to Groups of Occupation and the Place of Birth on the Basis of the Data of the First General Census of the Population of the Russian Empire of January 28, 1897* (St. Petersburg, 1905), makes calculations in the margins and writes a note on the distribution of hired workers according to the spheres of production.

*About August 1.*

Lenin starts on a trip to Stuttgart to attend the International Socialist Congress of the Second International.

*August 1.*

On his way to Stuttgart Lenin writes a letter to A. M. Gorky on the Isle of Capri (Italy) informing him that the RSDLP Central Committee has granted Gorky a deliberative vote for his participation in the Seventh International Socialist Congress and insistently inviting him to attend the congress.

*August 3-11.*

Every day Lenin attends the sittings of the International Socialist Bureau. He is a member of its presidium and of the commission for drafting a resolution on militarism and international conflicts.

During the sittings of the congress Lenin for the first time meets Clara Zetkin, a well-known figure in the international women's and working-class movements.

He conducts unofficial meetings of Left Social-Democratic participants in the Congress in order to work out a joint position on the questions discussed.

*August 5.*

*Between 11 a.m. and 1:30 p.m.*

As a member of the presidium Lenin attends the opening ceremony of the congress in Liederhalle.

*Between 4:30 p.m. and 6 p.m.*

Lenin is present at popular festivities and an international rally arranged in Cannstatt by the organising committee of the congress in honour of its participants.

*Between 6 p.m. and 8 p.m.*

Lenin conducts a meeting of Bolshevik delegates to the Stuttgart Congress to nominate Bolshevik representatives to the congress commissions.

*8 p.m.*

Lenin is present at a concert in honour of the congress delegates.

*August 6.*

Lenin, in his capacity of the editor of the Bolshevik newspaper *Proletary*, attends a meeting of the editors and

publishers of socialist newspapers; he draws up lists of socialist newspapers of Britain and France which are represented at the meeting or with which it may be possible to exchange information.

*August 7.*

The critical and bibliographic weekly *Novaya Kniga* (New Book) carries the note: "A publishing house in Petersburg is preparing for print a collection of works by Vladimir Ilyin (*Twelve Years*). The three-volume collection includes everything except the book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* and some articles.

In the evening Lenin has a long talk with A. V. Lunacharsky. He shares his conviction that reaction will set in in Russia for three or four years; he says that work abroad again acquires great significance and that he intends to live in Finland, not far from Petersburg, and go to Brussels every three months to attend sittings of the International Socialist Bureau; Lenin proposes that Lunacharsky should become a permanent staff worker of the central organ. Lunacharsky accepts this proposal.

Lenin attends a supper of the participants in the congress which is arranged in the Schützenhaus in Karlsvorstadt, a suburb of Stuttgart.

*August 11.*

Lenin attends the final sitting of the congress which adopts a resolution on militarism and international conflicts (with amendments proposed by Lenin and R. Luxemburg).

The congress adopts a resolution proposed by the delegates of Britain, Austria, Belgium, France, Holland, Italy and the USA that a message of greetings be sent to the Russian freedom fighters. Congress delegates surround the table of the Russian delegation and give them an ovation.

Lenin signs a collective message of greetings to William Haywood, a prominent leader of the American working-class movement, who was arrested by the US government on slanderous charges fabricated by the police and was in prison. Haywood was acquitted in June 1907 as a result of the broad movement in his defence.

*After August 10.*

Lenin returns to Kuokkala from Stuttgart.

*After August 11.*

Lenin attends a meeting of the Petersburg RSDLP Committee held in Terioki.

*August 19.*

Lenin gives a report about the International Socialist Congress at a meeting of the RSDLP Central Committee.

*August 20.*

The 19th sitting of the RSDLP Central Committee elects Lenin Editor-in-Chief of the Party's central organ, the newspaper *Social-Democrat*.

*August 22.*

Lenin writes for the collection *Voice of Life* the article *Notes of a Publicist* which dealt with the questions of Bolshevik tactics in regard to the Third State Duma.

*Between August 24 and 31.*

The collection *Topics of the Day* edited by Lenin is published in Petersburg.

*Between August 26 and October 26.*

Lenin writes the article *The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart* for the Bolshevik publication *Everyman's Yearbook, 1908*.

*From August to November.*

Lenin edits *Vperyod*, a newspaper for the workers.

*From August to December.*

Lenin prepares for the press *Twelve Years*, a collection of his works in three volumes.

*September 2.*

The critical and bibliographic weekly *Novaya Kniga* carries the note: "Vl. Ilyin's work *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* will form Volume 4 of the collection of his works."

*September 7.*

A meeting of the RSDLP Central Committee which revises the question of the Party's Central Organ elects Lenin to the editorial board of the newspaper *Social-Democrat* and to the executive commission of its editorial board; the post of Editor-in-Chief of the central organ is abolished.

*Before September 9.*

Lenin makes a speech against boycotting the Third Duma at a rally of factory workers of Petersburg.

*After September 15.*

Lenin reads the booklet *Socialisme et internationalisme* published in Paris in 1907; he makes notes on the pages of the resolution *On Militarism and on Conflicts Between Nations* adopted by the Limoges Congress of the French Socialist Party.

*September 22.*

In his letter to Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau Camille Huysmans Lenin informs him about the

forthcoming trial of the Social-Democratic group of the Second State Duma and asks for interpellations to be made through the international parliamentary union in the parliaments of Britain, Germany and Belgium in order to have them denounce the actions of the tsarist government.

*Before October 5.*

In his letter to the Swedish Social-Democrat Karl Branting, sent with A. I. Ulyanova-Yelizarova who is going abroad, Lenin asks him to help her in the search for the Bolshevik Party's library and archives which were sent to Stockholm after Lenin's departure from Geneva to Russia.

*October 5.*

At Lenin's request N. K. Krupskaya writes a letter to Berlin about the Bolsheviks' decision to publish the newspaper *Proletary* in addition to the newspaper *Vperyod* since the question of the central organ is delayed indefinitely, and asks that the distribution of these newspapers and other Bolshevik publications abroad be organised.

*October 8.*

The mass workers' newspaper *Vperyod* prints Lenin's article *Anti-Militarist Propaganda and Young Socialist Workers' Leagues*.

*October 10.*

The head of the foreign section of the secret police in Paris reports to the Police Department that "the well-known Lenin, alias Ulyanov, receives correspondence addressed to Herr Paavo Kakko, Terioki, Finland; the inside envelope is marked: 'For L-n'."

*Between October 20 and 29.*

Lenin convenes a conference of the Bolshevik literary group to discuss A. V. Lunacharsky's booklet on the Party's attitude to trade unions.

October 26.

Lenin writes the article *The Third Duma*.

*Between October 26 and November 5.*

Lenin reads the material of the Fifth Congress of the Cadet Party.

October 27.

Lenin attends a conference of the Petersburg RSDLP organisation held at Terioki; he gives reports on the Third State Duma, the participation of Social-Democrats in the bourgeois press, the preparation for an all-Russia conference, and on other items of the agenda. The conference adopts Lenin's resolution on the Third State Duma.

### **Tatiana Lyudvinskaya:\***

*I saw and heard Vladimir Ilyich Lenin for the first time on October 27, 1907, at a conference of the St. Petersburg RSDLP organisation which took place at Terioki, a small town in Finland.*

*We arrived at Terioki during the day. The autumn weather was cold and the rain drizzled. Comrades awaited us at some distance from the railway station. Our contact came close to us, we exchanged pass-words, then we were led with precautions to the building where the conference was to be held. The courtyard had two entrances (and consequently two exits) which could be used in case the police appeared. I was standing in a corner talking to a delegate when a man approached us who was small in height, sturdy and broad-shouldered and dressed in an overcoat that had seen better days; at first glance he looked like a professional revolutionary from among the workers. His sharp, piercing eyes testified to the man's strong intellect and will.*

*The stranger began to talk with me, showering me with questions.*

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\* T. F. Lyudvinskaya (1887-1976) participated in the revolutionary movement from 1895. She was a member of the RSDLP from 1903 and a member of the Odessa Party Committee from 1905. In 1907-1910 she was engaged in trade-union work in Petersburg. Lyudvinskaya was an active participant in the October 1917 Revolution (in Moscow).—Ed.

Somehow one fell at once under the spell of his personality. His sharp eyes, his keen interest in what we were talking about and his unfeigned sincerity—all inspired one's confidence. He asked me in what district I worked, what was the mood of the workers I met, what was their attitude to the State Duma, how the election campaign was proceeding in my district, etc. Suddenly I thought: "Who am I talking with?"

I asked him, concealing my excitement:

"And where do you work?"

The man smiled and said evasively: "Here, also here." I asked him if Lenin would come. The stranger replied: "I don't know," thanked me and began to talk with other comrades.

Suddenly the hall was stirring with excitement. The people began to mutter, almost whisper, to one another the words "go, leave". It appeared that the police had learned about the conference and could break in at any moment.

We followed one another in deep darkness through a strange forest to an imposing but uncompleted big house which had almost no roof. Cold wind was blowing through every crack. We had at our disposal two connecting rooms. The delegates were in one of them and the presidium and the rostrum, a high writing-desk, in the other.

The sitting began. The chairman announced that the floor was given to Comrade Lenin for a report on the Third State Duma. His words were like a rush of fresh air for the audience.

I rose somewhat from seat—I would now see Lenin!—then sat back and saw the comrade with whom I had talked so easily in the corner and whose name I did not know approach the rostrum. It was Lenin! Vladimir Ilyich made a lucid analysis of the socio-political conditions that had taken shape by the autumn of 1907. "Why is the Bolshevik Party going to the Duma?" asked Lenin and replied: "In order that it may carry aloft the banner of Social-Democracy there, that it may wage an irreconcilable struggle in the Duma against counterrevolutionaries of every stripe and shade, from allies to the Cadets."

During the conference Vladimir Ilyich made another report, on the participation of Social-Democrats in the bourgeois press. Besides the two reports Lenin also spoke on the preparation for an all-Russia conference and on other items of the conference's agenda.

One was amazed by the lucidity of his speech, his logic, consistency and conviction. He threw into the audience words which deeply penetrated our minds and senses. As he spoke we all felt as if his speech were directed at each of us personally.

November 1 or 2.

Lenin writes the article *The Third State Duma and Social-Democracy* for the mass workers' newspaper *Vperyod*.

November 5-12.

Lenin attends the Fourth RSDLP Conference\* held in Helsingfors and gives a report on the tactics of the Social-Democratic group in the Third State Duma. The conference adopts Lenin's resolution on this question.

Between November 10 and 23.

Lenin inquires in his letter to the Zerno Publishing House whether 12 lists (one Russian printer's list equals approximately 8,000 words.—*Ed.*) of the manuscript of the 2nd volume of his collection of works (*Twelve Years*) have been sent to the printer's; he also writes that the rest of the manuscript is ready and could be immediately sent to the publishing house, but if it is possible to postpone printing by one or one and a half months, he intends to write as a conclusion to the 2nd volume a substantial work on the distribution of land in Russia, which would be very timely. He explains that most of the material for this has been selected and is partially ready for use (the work in question is *The Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-1907*).

### **Mikhail Olmsky:**

*The first individual feature that strikes the eye of even a casual observer of Lenin's character is his extraordinary capacity for work. This man seems not to know what rest is or that one may need rest. It may be said of him that day in and day out, year after year he would toil at his work-bench without relief, either immersed in books, or writing, or attending a meeting which is discussing the currently emerging new political situation.*

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\* Also known as the Third All-Russia Conference.—*Ed.*

*Alongside Lenin's enormous industriousness is his ability to concentrate his attention on the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. Even when he is writing a whole book on philosophy you can see at once that the work is required by the tasks of revolutionary struggle.*

*These traits of one's mind and character—exceptional industriousness and the ability to give, throughout one's life, all of one's attention to one great task—are in our time indispensable prerequisites of one's advancement to the forefront of one's field of activity. But these qualities are, of course, insufficient for becoming a great man, for rightfully taking the lead in a given sphere of activity and for making an indelible imprint on the life of a whole epoch. Exceptional intellectual powers are also needed, exceptional talent suited to the goals which the person serves.*

*Speaking about the exceptional, rare keenness of Lenin's intellect is like forcing an open door. But it is necessary to point out his ability to analyse, to clarify the meaning of phenomena, as a characteristic feature of his intellectual power. This ability manifests itself best of all in his polemic works.*

*Take a closer look at the collections of Lenin's articles. The Agrarian Question, and Twelve Years, which consist almost wholly of polemic. The form of the articles is almost always the same: the author takes a quotation from his opponent's work and proceeds methodically to take it to pieces. If the quotation is taken from the article by a writer who was considered a Marxist, you are at first unable to see what possible objection can be made. But as you follow step by step Lenin's argument you begin to see clearly what you could not see without his help—a hardly noticeable deviation from Marxism which leads or should lead the quoted author to wrong, patently non-Marxist conclusions.*

*Before November 20.*

Lenin talks with V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich and A. A. Bogdanov about the prospects of cinema after the victory of a socialist revolution.

*Before November 22.*

V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich and M. S. Olminsky visit Lenin in Kuokkala. Lenin instructs Bonch-Bruyevich to organise a legal Bolshevik publishing house in Petersburg.

Lenin moves from Kuokkala to Aggelby (near Helsingfors) to evade police persecution.

November 22.

The court investigator of Precinct No. 27 of Petersburg sends an instruction to the Vyborg governor to take measures to start an immediate search for Lenin in Vyborg and throughout the gubernia.

November 28.

The Petersburg Committee for the Affairs of the Press impounds the 1st volume of V. I. Lenin's collective works *Twelve Years*. The committee sends one copy of the book to the procurator of the Petersburg Judicial Chamber, requesting him to start legal proceedings against Lenin.

### **Nadezhda Krupskaya:**

*In Finland Ilyich was obliged to move farther inland. There had already been police raids at Terioki, and we were expecting them at Kuokkala. We started "cleaning up". We went through all the files, picking out everything of value and giving it to Finnish comrades to hide, while the rest we burned. We applied ourselves to the task with such zeal that we were surprised one day to find that the snow all round Vaasa was strewn with ashes. If the gendarmes had put in an appearance, though, they would still have found enough for their purpose. Special precautions had to be taken. One morning our landlady came running in to say that the gendarmes had turned up at Kuokkala. She took away as much illegal stuff as she could carry to hide in her own house. On that occasion, however, no search was made. They were looking for the fighting-squad comrades.*

*The comrades had sent Ilyich to the hinterland. He lived at Aggelby, a little station near Helsingfors, with two Finnish sisters. He felt an utter stranger in that spotlessly clean cold room, cosy in its Finnish way with lace curtains and everything standing in its proper place, and with the incessant sound of laughter, a piano and loud chatter in Finnish coming from the next room. Ilyich spent all day writing his paper on the agrarian question, during which he carefully weighed the experience of the recent revolution. He walked up and down the room for hours on tiptoe, so as not to disturb the landladies. I went to see him there once.*

*The police were now looking for Ilyich all over Finland. He had to leave the country. Plainly, the reaction was going to last for years. We*

would have to move back to Switzerland. We had little heart for it, but there was no other way. Besides, it was necessary to arrange for the publication of the Proletary abroad, since this was no longer possible in Finland. Ilyich was to leave for Stockholm at the first opportunity and wait for me there. I had to fix up my sick old mother in Petersburg and settle a number of other affairs before following Ilyich out.

### Autumn.

Lenin looks through and makes marks on the stenographic records of the First State Duma (St. Petersburg, 1906); studies and makes numerous marks and notes on the stenographic records of the Second State Duma (St. Petersburg, 1907); makes marks in the collection *Materials on the Peasant Question. Records of the Sitzings of the Congress of Delegates of the All-Russia Peasants' Union, November 6-10, 1905*, Moscow, 1905; and makes calculations and marks on the pages of the booklet *Agrarian Programmes. A Collection of Agrarian Programmes of the Socialist Parties in Western Europe and Russia*, Moscow, 1906. Lenin makes use of these publications in his work *The Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-1907*.

Lenin reads Heinrich Pudor's book *Agricultural Associations Abroad*, Leipzig, 1904, and copies out excerpts from it. He uses the material from this book in chapters X-XII of his work *The Agrarian Question and the "Critics of Marx"*.

Lenin is visited by a member of the editorial board of the Encyclopedic Dictionary published by the Granat Brothers Association to negotiate the contribution of an article to the dictionary. Lenin agrees to write the article *The Agrarian Question in Russia Towards the Close of the Nineteenth Century*.

Lenin edits the Bolshevik collection of articles *Tekushchaya Zhizn* (Current Life).

### Before December 8.

Lenin attends a sitting of the Bolshevik Centre which decides to transfer the publication of the newspaper *Proletary* abroad and tells Lenin to go abroad to organise this publi-

cation. Lenin leaves Aggelby for Helsingfors where he conducts a meeting with Bolsheviks from Petersburg.

He takes the train from Helsingfors to Abo (Turku), notices that he is being shadowed, manages to leave the train unnoticed when still several miles from Abo, and walks the rest of the way. In Abo Lenin finds the house of the Finnish Social-Democrat V. Borgo who was charged with arranging Lenin's passage by ship to Stockholm.

Lenin, accompanied by the Finnish Social-Democrat Ludwig Lindstrom, goes from Abo to the island of Naga by horse in order to board the steamer bound for Stockholm. Having reached the first strait Lenin and Lindstrom cross it by ferry to the island of Kustö and continue their way by horse to the next strait; they cross the frozen strait and stop at an inn in the village of Kirjala. Lenin spends three days there waiting for an opportunity to go on by sleigh.

*Before December 10.*

Lenin and Lindstrom go by sleigh from the village of Kirjala to the village of Parainen (Pargas).

From Parainen Lenin, accompanied by two Finns, goes by horse to the island of Lill-Melö where he has to wait for several days for the strait between Lill-Melö and the island of Naga (Nauvo) to freeze over.

*December 12.*

Lenin crosses the frozen strait from Lill-Melö to Naga. During the trip Lenin nearly perishes when the ice gives way under him and he escapes by sheer miracle.

From the island of Naga Lenin proceeds by ship to Stockholm.

### **Nadezhda Krupskaya:**

*While I was running about in St. Petersburg, Ilyich very nearly lost his life on his way to Stockholm. He was being so closely shadowed that to go the usual way, that is, by embarking at Abo, would have meant*

being arrested for certain. There had already been cases of our people being arrested when boarding the steamer. A Finnish comrade advised boarding the steamer at one of the nearby islands. This was safe as far as avoiding arrest was concerned, but it involved a two-mile walk across the ice to the island, and although it was December the ice was not very strong in some places.

No guides were available, as no one cared to risk his life. At last two tipsy Finnish peasants in a pot-valiant mood undertook to escort Ilyich. Crossing the ice at night, all three nearly drowned when the ice in one place suddenly started to give way under them. They barely managed to jump for safety.

I learned afterwards from Borgo, a Finnish comrade with whose help I crossed to Stockholm, how dangerous had been the path Ilyich had chosen and what a narrow escape he had had. Ilyich afterwards told me that when the ice began to give way, his first thought had been: "Ah, what a stupid way to die!"

*December 13-21.*

In Stockholm Lenin puts up at the Malmstens Hotel.

*December 13-15.*

Lenin makes arrangements with the Swedish Social-Democrat Börjesson for forwarding through him part of the Bolshevik correspondence between Geneva and Russia.

*Second half of December.*

Lenin works at the Royal Library in Stockholm.

*December 17 or 20.*

N. K. Krupskaya joins Lenin in Stockholm.

*December 20.*

Lenin and N. K. Krupskaya meet Hinke Bergegren, a leader of the Left wing of the Swedish Social-Democrats, at the Royal Library.

*December 21.*

Lenin and N. K. Krupskaya leave Stockholm for Geneva.

*December 22.*

On their way to Geneva Lenin and N. K. Krupskaya make a stop in Berlin. There they spend an evening with Rosa Luxemburg.

**Nadezhda Krupskaya:**

*After a few days in Stockholm, Ilyich and I proceeded to Geneva via Berlin. Searches and arrests had been made among the Russians in Berlin on the eve of our arrival. We were met by a member of the Berlin group, who therefore advised us not to go to the homes of any of our comrades. He led us about from café to café all day long. We spent the evening with Rosa Luxemburg. The Stuttgart Congress, at which Vladimir Ilyich and Rosa Luxemburg had been at one on the question of war, had brought them very close together. Their talk together that evening was more than usually friendly.*

*We returned to our hotel in the evening feeling ill. Both of us felt extremely weak. As it transpired afterwards, we had got food poisoning somewhere during our round of the restaurants. A doctor had to be sent for during the night. Vladimir Ilyich was registered as a Finnish chef and I as an American citizen, and so the hotel attendant fetched an American doctor. He examined Ilyich and said it was very serious, then he examined me and said: "You will pull through all right!" He prescribed a heap of medicines, and, smelling a rat, charged us a terrific fee for the visit. We lay in bed for a couple of days, then dragged ourselves off, half-ill, to Geneva. Ilyich afterwards wrote to Gorky that we had "caught a cold" during the journey.*

*December 25.*

Lenin and N. K. Krupskaya arrive in Geneva.

**Nadezhda Krupskaya:**

*Geneva looked bleak. There was not a speck of snow about, and a cold cutting wind was blowing—the bise. Postcards with a view of the*

freezing water near the railings of the Geneva Lake embankment were being sold. The town looked dead and empty. Among the comrades living there at the time were Mikha Tskhakaya and V. A. Karpinsky. Mikha Tskhakaya lived in a small room, he was hard-up and sick and got out of bed with difficulty when we arrived. The conversation flagged. The Karpinskys were then living in the Russian library where Karpinsky was manager. He had a very bad headache when we arrived and kept wincing all the time. All the shutters were closed, since the light hurt him. As we were going back from the Karpinskys through the desolate streets of Geneva, which had turned so unfriendly, Ilyich let fall: "I have a feeling as if I've come here to be buried."

We were beginning our second period of exile, a much harder one than the first.

#### *After December 24.*

Lenin talks with type-setter I. M. Vladimirov and instructs him to have the printing shop of the newspaper *Proletary* restored as soon as possible.

Lenin meets V. V. Starkov, his comrade at the times of the Petersburg's League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class and in the Siberian exile.

#### *After December 25.*

Lenin makes a speech at a meeting of Russian émigrés in Geneva.

Lenin takes out a subscription for 1908 for the Cadets' newspaper *Tovarishch* (Comrade) published in Petersburg.

#### *After December 25.*

Lenin makes a speech at a meeting of Polish Social-Democrats held in the club of their émigrés in Geneva; he speaks about the counterrevolutionary role of the nationalist bourgeoisie and opposes to it the internationalist position of the proletariat.

Lenin attends a lecture on Shakespeare at Geneva University.

#### *December 31.*

Lenin writes in his letter to A. V. Lunacharsky about the decision of the Bolshevik Centre to transfer the publication of the newspaper *Proletary* abroad.

Василий Васильевич Зверев  
Людмила Ивановна Сергеева

ВЛАДИМИР ИЛЬИЧ ЛЕНИН  
СТРАНИЦЫ БИОГРАФИЧЕСКОЙ ХРОНИКИ  
ВЫПУСК 2

*на английском языке*

цена 65 к.