

*To every human being who
resists oppression*

"Workers of the world, unite"

Marx-Engels, *Communist Manifesto*

***"In its struggle for power the proletariat has
no other weapon but organization"***

Lenin, *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*

Elio Bolsanello

***A SHORT ILLUSTRATED
HISTORY OF LENIN***

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Elio Bolsanello.

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Free translation: Ramiro Vinuesa P.

Corrections: Raúl Yáñez M.

Design and Layout: Sergio Caza

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Av. Santa Prisca Oe3-26 y Pasaje San Luis

Albán Building. Of. 102

Telephones: 593 2 282 011

Email: ramirovinuezap.opcion@gmail.com.

Web: www.periodicopcion.Tk.

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PRESENTATION

This book tells the life and work of the revolutionary leader who changed the history of humanity, who led the first socialist revolution in the world, in October 1917. It was written as a tribute to someone who "will remain forever as the symbol of the past, present and future of the struggle for liberation".

Elio Bolsanello, author of *A Short Illustrated History of Lenin*, is a prominent Brazilian Marxist intellectual, a lawyer by profession, who has a history of fighting for social justice and a great propagator of Marxism.

This book is the synthesis of a great work of research carried out with care and seriousness, using an enormous number of sources that Elio consulted when he visited Russia in the 1980s.

The texts and illustrations in this book, organized chronologically, provide the reader with an accurate vision of the personal, political and intellectual life of this great revolutionary. It makes it possible, objectively, to see the ups and downs of the revolutionary process, the role of the masses, the role of the party and its leaders, Lenin's great dedication to study and practical work, his unshakable faith in the triumph of the cause of the workers and peoples and his incessant labor until victory is achieved.

Undoubtedly, reading these pages will contribute to broadening one's knowledge, to elevating one's spirit of struggle, to knowing and imbuing us with the power of Lenin's revolutionary thought, with the tenacity and intrepidity of a man who was at all times at the forefront of such an enormous feat, the seizure of power and the establishment of the workers' society.

A Short Illustrated History of Lenin has had five editions in Portuguese. This 5th edition was produced by the Manoel Lisboa Cultural Center of Brazil; it appeared in 2012 in homage to the 95th anniversary of the October Revolution, whom we thank for having let us use the text.

The Spanish edition is presented in homage to the 100th anniversary of the great October Revolution, the most important revolution of humanity that the workers and peoples of the world are celebrating this year.

ELIO BOLSANELLO

Ramiro Vinueza P.
Editor of the Newspaper Opción
Quito – Ecuador
July 2017

PREFACE

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov – Lenin – was undoubtedly the greatest genius of the proletarian revolution. Lenin's works are an immense contribution to Marxism-Leninism; in them we find a profound analysis of the role of the working class in the revolution, of the class character of the state, the importance of materialist philosophy, of the principles of the revolutionary party, the invincibility of the victory of the working class and the inevitability of socialism. Thanks to him, great questions of Marxism, of the revolution and of the building of socialism were resolved.

This man who "had nothing impressive to be an idol of a multitude, but who was loved and revered like few others in the history of mankind", was the main leader of the revolution, which led the workers and peasants of Russia to transform themselves from slaves into masters of factories and land.

A book about his life is thus a work of great interest to all those who want to know the history of the socialist revolution of October 1917. However, when one writes clearly, simply, and with the same enthusiasm for revolution that characterized Lenin, it becomes even more interesting. Well, that's what this *Short Illustrated History of Lenin*, by Elio Bolsanello, is.

In this book we will learn not only about Lenin's life, his family, prisons, exiles, his struggle in hiding, but also the history of each of the major books and how they came about. We see that Lenin did not write for the sake of writing; in each of his works he sought to solve urgent problems of the revolution, to orient the Bolshevik party and its militants, to raise the consciousness of the exploited and oppressed masses, in short, to change the world faithful to the Marxist principle that theory is a guide to action. In this way, the immense ideological and political richness of Lenin's works, his role in the Russian revolution and in the world revolution is revealed here without great adjectives or pompous phrases, but with depth.

But, beyond being a theoretician of the revolution and a man who developed the strategy for the working class and peasants to seize power, Lenin's prisons and his life in hiding are told in detail that we do not find in many biographies of Lenin with hundreds of pages. We know, for example, that

Lenin, when he lived in exile in a small community, participated in a chorus and that he himself as a lawyer illegally defended a worker against the owner of a gold mine.

Written in a living way that leads the reader to identify with Lenin, with his ideas and his dream of making a revolution and building communism throughout the world, the book describes Lenin as he truly was: courageous, bold, studious, disciplined, affectionate, and a fighter for his ideas.

Elio Bolsanello, however, would not have been able to write such a book if he were not a Marxist himself and did not have a history of struggle dedicated to the propaganda of socialism. Graduated in Law in Rio de Janeiro, a lawyer committed to social justice, Elio visited Russia in the 1980s, which allowed him to carry out a great deal of research and to synthesize in a few pages the life of the greatest revolutionary of the 20th century, as we will see in the following pages.

Luiz Falcão

Head of the Editorial Office of the newspaper *A Verdade* and member of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party [of Brazil].

"Previous philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways, The point is to change it."

Karl Marx

Edition published in 2017, in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the Victorious Russian Socialist Revolution of 1917

1 BIRTH

From 1860 onwards, capitalism in Russia began to develop. In the center and south of the country, in the Urals and St. Petersburg, as the capital of the immense empire, factories were springing up, many foreign owned using the labor of the workers. Railroads were being built linking the center with the peripheral regions.

Politically, however, the vast Russian Empire remained a kind of private property of the Romanov family, who hereditarily succeeded each other on the monarchical throne for more than two centuries.

The all-powerful Tsar (Emperor) Alexander II reigned and, in 1886, forced to recognize the need for reforms, promoted the emancipation of peasants and domestic services. "It is better to abolish serfdom, starting from the top, than to wait until it begins to be abolished from below," declared "the liberating tsar," a faithful ally of the land-owning nobility.

All power filtered downwards from the tsar. The Council of Ministers was appointed and dismissed in accordance with his sovereign and "sacred" will. At that time in Russia, there was no Constitution, no elections, no Parliament, there was no freedom of speech or assembly; books, newspapers and magazines were censored.

The abolition of serfdom in 1861 did not free the landless peasants, who continued to be dependent on the latifundia and the rural authorities. In the countryside discontent was widespread; in the cities, repression was increasing.

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov's paternal grandfather went from peasant serf to work as a tailor, dying in poverty. His father, Ilya Ulyanov, with great effort and work managed to become a professor of Physics and Mathematics at the University of Kazan, the "capital of the Volga". Ilya taught and was an inspector and director of schools.

Ilyich's mother, Maria Alexandrova, daughter of the doctor Alexander Blank, studied at home and learned several languages. She devoted herself entirely to the education of her six children; Anna, Alexander, Vladimir, Olga, Dimitri and Maria.

1500 kilometers from St. Petersburg, in the city of Simbirsk, now Ulyanovsk, located on the high and mountainous banks of the Volga River, Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov was born on April 10, 1870.

A provincial city, Simbirsk had about 30,000 inhabitants. Its long avenues, with wooden sidewalks, bordered the houses of the noble owners, the lords of the best and richest lands in the region.



The Ulyanov family; in 1879. Standing, from left to right: Olga, Alexander and Anna. Seated: Maria Alexandrova with her daughter Maria on her lap, Dmitri, Ilia Ulyanov and Vladimir Ilyich.

The Tsar's own family owned half of the forests surrounding Simbirsk, leaving to the poor peasants, the vast majority of the population, a tiny portion of fertile land on the vast plain.

First letters

The childhood of Volodia, as Vladimir was affectionately called, was spent in Simbirsk among his large and united family. At the age of five he already knew how to read, after having received his first teachings from his mother, from whom he also learned to play piano. At nine, Volodia entered the Simbirsk Lyceum, whose director, by strange irony, would be the father of Alexander Kerensky, head of the provisional government overthrown in October 1917.

One day while he was writing a composition "The causes of the people's welfare", the director rebuked him: "What exploited classes are you talking about here? What is that all about!"

He liked games; swimming and skating especially attracted Vladimir Ilyich, but most of all, he read a lot.

Vladimir, a Slavic name that means lord or owner of the world, was acquainted early on with the works of Russian writers: Pushkin, the father of Russian poetry; Gogol, author of *Dead Souls*; Turgenev, author of *Fathers and Sons* and creator of the terms nihilism, nihilist, Leo Tolstoy, author of *War and Peace*. But the books that occupied Vladimir most were the forbidden ones of the democratic-revolutionaries: Bielinsky, Herzen, Chernyshevsky. Of the latter, he was particularly fond of the novel *What Should Be Done?* and the following passage. *"The path of history is not like Nevsky Prospekt; they all pass through fields, sometimes dusty, sometimes dirty, or swamps and bushes. Anyone who is afraid of getting dust or dirt on their boots should not get involved in social activity."*



Simbirsk in the 1970s

2

UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATIONS

The tsarist police-bureaucrat regime, along with cruel and savage capitalism, brought the workers of the city and the countryside an unbearable life of misery and lack of rights. Increasingly arbitrary and shameful, police control kept the apathetic and brutalized working masses under the yoke of the capitalists, landowners and tsarist officials.

Countering this situation, small clandestine opposition groups began to emerge that resulted in the first secret organization, *Land and Freedom*, led by Herzen and Chernyshevsky. *Land and Freedom*, however, was short-lived and was replaced by the organization Narodnaya Volya (People's Will), whose program in 1879 provided for "the organization of secret societies to be coordinated by a central command." Its tactic was that of revolutionary terror.

The Narodniks (populist terrorists) were inspired by communal, peasant socialism, believing that the liberating mission corresponded to the peasantry. It was a time when the intelligentsia was quite influenced by populism; individual terrorism as a means of political struggle was very popular among intellectuals.

At that time, Marxism was still at its beginnings in Russia, but an edition of 3,000 copies of the first Russian translation of Marx's *Capital*, begun by Lopatin and completed by Danielson in 1872, was quickly sold out; the second edition of this fundamental work of Political Economy was banned by the censor. The tactics of revolutionary terror, which did not awaken the peasantry to political life, became harmless.

In March 1881, the death of Tsar Alexander II in a bomb attack perpetrated by members of *the People's Will* did not change Russia at all. Another Romanov ascended the throne, Alexander III, son of the dead tsar, a vengeful tyrant, who unleashed a very violent repression against any and all opposition.

Death of his father

Shortly after the death of Karl Marx, in London on March 14, 1883, Plekhanov, the first notable propagandist of Marxism

in Russia, was forced to leave his homeland and take refuge in Switzerland, where he organized the first Russian Marxist group, Emancipation of Labor. All the works of Marx and Engels were then translated into Russian by the members of the group, among whom were Vera Zasulich and Pavel Axelrod; this played an important role in the dissemination of scientific socialism.

In January 1886, when he stood out as one of the most brilliant students of the Simbirsk Lyceum, Vladimir Ilyich, then 15 years old, suffered the irreparable loss of his father, from whom he inherited the cheerful and outgoing character. Ilya Ulyanov died suddenly of a brain hemorrhage at the age of 54 while working as a primary school principal.

Helpless, Maria Alexandrova was forced to apply for a pension from the tsarist government, for which she had to wait several months. In the end, the Treasury began to pay the widow and children 1,200 rubles per year, which allowed the large family to live modestly in the province.



The Simbirsk Lyceum where Vladimir Ilyich studied from 1879 to 1887

3

HANGING OF HIS BROTHER

Sasha, as Alexander Ulyanov was diminutively called, exercised a great influence on Vladimir Ilyich, who tried to resemble the elder brother in everything. When asked how he would proceed in this or that situation, Ilyich invariably replied, "*Like Sasha.*"

It was through his brother that Vladimir first came into contact with Marxist publications. Of high moral qualities, "Sasha was an exceptionally serious and thoughtful man, distinguishing himself not only by his firm character but also by his fairness. Volodya tried to imitate the elder brother..." Anna later wrote in her *Family Memoirs*.

Despite being very close, no member of the Ulyanov family knew of Sasha's revolutionary activities in St. Petersburg where, after finishing the Simbirsk Lyceum, he went to study science at the University. In addition to taking his studies very seriously, Sasha participated clandestinely in the revolutionary youth by carrying out political propaganda among the workers of the capital. Ideologically, he was situated between the People's Will and Marxism. In fact, because of the thorough education he received, with the teaching of their parents to be honest, studious and sensitive to the needs of the people, all the Ulyanovs, with the exception of Olga who died very early, became revolutionaries.

In March 1887, Sasha participated in a conspiracy to assassinate Tsar Alexander III, who was unharmed. Imprisoned for preparing the bombs to kill the tsar, Alexander Ulyanov was hanged at the age of 21, along with four other young members of the organization.

Anna, who also went to study in St. Petersburg after Sasha, was also arrested on suspicion of a conspiracy against the emperor's life. But, having no evidence of her involvement, the police transferred her to the village of Kokushkino where she was placed under surveillance.

With bitterness, Maria Alexandrova was present at all the trial hearings, pleading in vain for her son.

The progressive press of several countries reported on the

courage and heroism of Alexander Ulyanov, including Mendeleev, the renowned scientist who formulated the Periodic Table of the Elements, who greatly regretted the decision made by one of his best students.

The execution of the brother he idolized deeply affected Vladimir Ilyich, who decided to dedicate his life to the revolutionary struggle. *"Alexander died a hero, he and his blood, like the glow of a revolutionary fire, illuminated the path of the younger brother, Vladimir,"* Anna wrote about the two brothers.

Despite greatly admiring the selflessness of his brother and his comrades, at the age of 17 Vladimir already considered the struggle against autocracy through the assassination of tsarist representatives and the tsar himself useless. It is said that, upon reading the telegram sent from the capital in which his mother reported Sasha's execution, he exclaimed: *"No, that is not the way to go, we will follow a better path!"*



Vladimir Ulyanov at 17



Alexander Ulyanov at 21

4

REVOLUTIONARY BAPTISM

In August 1887, Vladimir Ilyich entered Law School at the University of Kazan with excellent grades; he finished with a gold medal at the Simbirsk Lyceum, in whose city the news of Sasha's hanging spread. Simbirsk thus became intolerable for the Ulyanovs; all those who had previously visited the family began to avoid it. This was a pusillanimous hostility of the liberal "intellectuals" that Ilyich saw and felt for the first time.

They then sold the house in Simbirsk and Maria Alexandrova moved with her whole family to Kazan.

After his entry into the University of the "capital of the Volga", Vladimir Ilyich established contact with students of progressive tendencies. At the beginning of December 1887, for participating in a student meeting in which the backward aspects of the internal regulations of that institution were discussed, he was imprisoned and expelled from the University. It is true that his admission to the University of Kazan had not been well regarded by the "elite" of the city because he was the brother of an executed terrorist.

The policeman who led him to the prison said to him in the tone of a professor: "Why rebel young man, if a wall is rising in front of you?", Ilyich replied resolutely: *"Yes, it is a wall, but a rotten one; all it takes is a push for it to collapse!"*

Thus, the young Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, in Kazan at the age of 17, received his revolutionary baptism. Expelled from the University and not allowed to stay in the city, he was sent to Kokushino, the village where his sister Anna had been for months and where his mother had inherited a fifth of a location from his father.

The regional director of the Police Department sent the following instruction to the chief of the Kazan police: *"Order that severe vigilance be exercised on the deportee to the village of Kokushino and the surroundings of Kazan, Vladimir Ulyanov."*

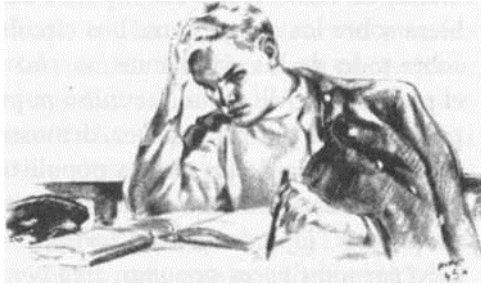
The severe police surveillance, however, did not prevent him from studying Marx's *Capital* in depth, in which he carried out the critical-scientific analysis of capitalism.

In a cold and poorly finished part of Grandfather Blank's old house, through books sent by relatives, Vladimir expanded his knowledge.

Later, he himself would recall: *"It seems to me that never in my life after that, not even in the prison in Petersburg or in Siberia, did I read as much as in the years of my deportation to the village of Kazan. I read continuously, from the early hours of the morning until late at night."*

At the end of 1888, after his confinement in Kokushino, Vladimir tried unsuccessfully to return to the University from which he was expelled, but he was even denied permission to study abroad.

Devouring Books
Design by N. Zhukov



The University of Kazan at the end of the 19th century

5 TIME IN SAMARA

In May 1889, the Ulyanovs moved from Kazan to Samara, first living in a small place and in autumn moving to the city center, where they would reside until August 1893.

This period was one of intense intellectual activity for Vladimir Ilyich, who in addition to continuing to study the works of Marx and Engels, decided to learn several languages and to train in law.

When Vladimir arrived in Samara, an essentially agricultural city, the regime of Tsar Alexander III was at its height. An imperial decree of early 1889 restored the administrative and judicial power of the nobility over the peasants. The underground revolutionary circles, especially those of the students, were greatly influenced by populism. It was there at a populist meeting that Ulyanov spoke publicly for the first time, demonstrating in heated debate the lack of consistency of populist theories and the crass error of trying to liquidate tsarism through the assassination of high officials or the tsar himself. "*The overthrow of tsarism,*" he argued, "*would not be carried out by a few people, but by the whole people; the regime would continue to exist as soon as the dead ministers were replaced by other faithful servants of the tsar.*"

In her *Family Memoirs*, Anna recalled that Ilyich chose a corner of the garden where there was a table and a bench shaded by linden leaves, and there he spent many hours concentrating, reading books in complete isolation. "A small detail, more solidly constituted," was how the Social Democrat Lalaïants described it at the time, observing that "in him simplicity, sensitivity and the joy of living, on the one hand, were combined in a fearful way with seriousness, depth of knowledge, implacable logical coherence, clarity and precision of judgment, on the other."

In his childhood, Ilyich studied music and therefore had a very refined perception. He frequently sang with his sister Olga, who also accompanied him on the piano, always preferring revolutionary songs and hymns. His singing sounded resolute, as if inviting action; his relatives remembered that there

was never sadness in Vladimir's way of singing.

Law Degree

Due to his mother's insistent requests to the authorities, Vladimir obtained permission to sit for the law exams at the University of St. Petersburg in mid-1890. As they did not want to see him in contact with the other students, the educational authorities only allowed him to prepare as an "external student"; that is, Ilyich could not attend the University, having to learn alone, studying in books.

For a year and a half Vladimir studied the entire four-year course and, in 1891, in two stages, in the spring and autumn, he graduated in Law from the University of St. Petersburg. Ilyich was the only graduate to receive the highest grade in all 13 subjects, and the first among 134 regular students of the Law course. Faced with such a result, "there were many who were dumbfounded," said his older sister.

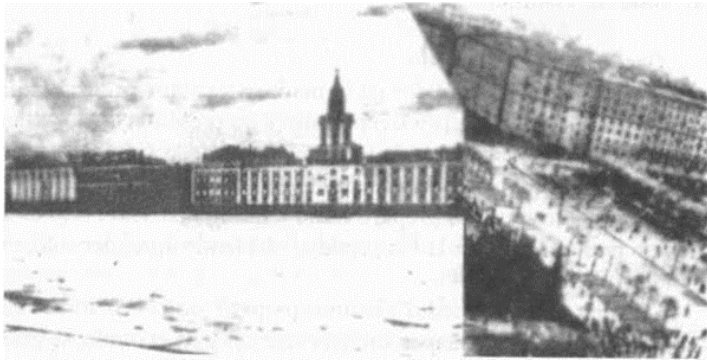
Then he dedicated himself to the defense of poor peasants; at the age of 21, Vladimir Ulyanov began to practice law in the Samara region. He liked to talk about conditions in the countryside; he thus obtained data concerning the situation of the peasantry. From that time, there are documents from several cases sponsored by Ilyich in the Samara Court.

But it was not the legal profession that absorbed Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov.

At the end of 1892, he organized the first Marxist circle in the Samara region, whose members studied the works of Marx and Engels and, in the spring of 1893, he wrote his first scientific work: *New Economic Developments in Peasant Life*.

In that first essay, Vladimir Ilyich showed that he profoundly mastered Marxism, using it correctly in a dialectical and non-dogmatic way. In his study of the peasantry, he clearly distinguished between antagonistic classes: the *muzhiks* (poor or middle peasants) and the *kulaks* (rich peasants).

Although he began to be recognized and went on to enjoy prestige in Samara, the city did not offer the desired environment for his activity. Ulyanov felt the need for a great industrial center where, eventually, the working masses would concentrate, to unleash his revolutionary work.



On the left, the palaces of dawn.
On the right, partial view of St. Petersburg



Nicholas II and Tsarina Alexandra, the last imperial family of Russia

6 THE CAPITAL

In early December 1883, while his mother and siblings moved to Moscow, Illich left for St. Petersburg, or simply Petersburg, as the Russians called their beautiful capital.

The seat of government, in the 1890s St. Petersburg was the main city of the largest country on Earth. Along its wide and long Nevsky Prospekt, carriages passed in the direction of the Winter Palace, the Tsar's residence. Cheerfully, state dignitaries and courtiers entered the concert halls in their uniforms embroidered in gold and silver.

More than 80% of the population of the vast Empire were practically illiterate peasants; the autocracy feared that culture could make the people unruly. About three million workers were concentrated around the factories in some cities (Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Novgorod, Baku, etc.). Their wages were not enough for food and the minimum working day was 12 hours, often extended to 16. The workers were exploited under appalling conditions until their last breath.

Once he arrived in St. Petersburg, Vladimir Ilyich joined a modest law office, and immediately entered, through the student M. Silvin, a small Marxist circle that carried out socialist propaganda among the workers. His arrival in the capital coincided with a significant rise of the workers' movement; new factories were being built, and the working class was growing considerably.

In the six and a half years since Sasha's execution in 1887 (in the capital's Shlisselburg fortress), the future revolutionary leader was forged. Now, observing that the workers were increasingly confronted by the bosses and the autocratic government, whose elite indulged in luxury and extravagance, Ulyanov concluded that in order to fulfill its historic mission the proletariat needed a revolutionary party of its own. Putting this question to the Marxists of Petersburg, the engineer Krzizanovsky said: *"In our ranks, there appeared an extraordinary young man, who saw better than anyone else the power of the weapon forged by the brilliant Marx."*

Vladimir Ilyich's profound knowledge of Marxism made

him a recognized leader of the Marxists in the capital. He knew how to explain in a simple and understandable way the most complex problems of Marx's doctrine: the organization of the workers, their socialist political education, the aims of the struggle of the proletarian class, was what Ulyanov clearly understood and explained to the Marxists of Petersburg.

At the end of 1893, at a meeting of the Marxist circle, Ilyich radically attacked the ideology of the Narodniks on capitalism and in his second great work, *On the So-Called Market Question*, he made a very clear Marxist analysis of the economic conditions of Russia.

First Book

In January 1894, going to Moscow to visit his relatives, Vladimir took the opportunity to participate in a crowded populist conference and there, with his implacable dialectic, he silenced the populist leader Vorontsov, who was making a speech; he became known and admired by Moscow's Marxists. Back in St. Petersburg, seeing that the Okhrana (ferocious tsarist secret political police) was watching in disguise, Ulyanov was constantly on the move.

In the summer of 1894, in clandestinity, Vladimir I. Ulyanov's first book, *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*, was printed in small quantities.

Emphasizing the extraordinary importance of Marx's *Capital*, to which he devoted many pages, in this first book, Ilyich fundamentally emphasized the mission of the working class as the leading revolutionary force of society, also developing the idea of the alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry.

Criticizing the populists, who minimized the exploitation of the poor peasants by the *kulaks* and the class struggle in the countryside, Ulyanov showed that populism had become a liberal movement of small reforms, pointing to the populists as false "friends of the people." He showed that the real allies of the workers, their loyal defenders, were the Marxists, then called Social Democrats.

Circulating from hand to hand, *What the "Friends of the People" Are* became an instrument of struggle and clandestine propaganda.

Nadezhda Krupskaya

Establishing contacts with the most politically advanced workers in some factories, among them Babushkin, Shelgunov and Zinoviev, Vladimir Ilyich was esteemed by the workers of the capital for his qualities and attention. He also prepared pamphlets, organized circles that met at night in the workers' homes.

The politicization of the participants in the circles was an issue to which Ulyanov attached the utmost importance, warning them never to forget the political side of all social events. He often reminded them how to behave in case of arrest, or how to respond in interrogations, and how to help fellow prisoners and deportees. The number of participants in his lively and interesting lectures in the circles increased.

One autumn evening in 1894, at a meeting in Shelgunov's home, Vladimir Ilyich met Nadezhda Krupskaya, a teacher at a night workers' school in the Neva Gate district. By affinity of thought and in the cause, they became friends.

Krupskaya grew up and was educated in a revolutionary environment; her father belonged to the revolutionary intelligentsia of the 1860s. A year older than Vladimir, many of her students participated in the circles organized by him. From the night she met him, Nadia, as she was familiarly known, shared Vladimir Ulyanov's entire life. At first, she helped him by providing information given to her by her students; later, dressed as a worker, she went on to distribute pamphlets at the factory gates when the workers were leaving, or she followed them to their homes and put leaflets under the doors.

At the end of 1894, Alexander III died of kidney disease; tsarist Russia was ruled by his son, Nicholas II, who, upon assuming the legacy, stated his uncompromising resolve to rule as an autocrat: "*With faith in the power and the right of autocracy*". For the next 22 years the new Romanov kept his promise...



Nadezhda Krupskaya about the time she met Vladimir I. Ulyanov



Anna, Ilyich's older sister



Olga Ulyanova in 1887



Dmitry Ulyanova and Maria, Ilyich's younger siblings, in 1896

Travel Abroad

At the beginning of 1895, the novelty in Russia was the occupation of the imperial throne by Nicholas II; at just 26 years of age he had married the 22-year-old former German princess Alexandra the previous November.

The surveillance of Ilyich was so severe that in his request

to travel abroad under the pretext of convalescing from pneumonia, the *Okhrana* prescribed "a careful monitoring of Ulyanov's activities and relations abroad."

For four months he was in Geneva, Paris and Berlin, maintaining contacts with Russian exiles and attending meetings of foreign workers to learn about their customs.

In Geneva, Vladimir met with members of the *Emancipation of Labor group*. Plekhanov, in a letter written after that meeting, observed that during all his long exile abroad, no one impressed him as much as the young Ulyanov, for his intelligence and his unshakable faith in the victory of the revolution.

In Paris, Ilyich met Paul Lafargue, son-in-law of Karl Marx and a prominent leader of the French workers' movement. Taking advantage of his stay of a month and a half in France, he studied the history of the Paris Commune, which is summarized in Lefrancais's book: *Etude sur le mouvement communaliste à Paris en 1871 (Study of the Communal Movement in Paris in 1871)*.

In Berlin, Ulyanov met one of the best-known leaders of German Social Democracy, Wilhelm Liebknecht, for whom he had a letter of recommendation from Plekhanov. Although he very much wanted to meet Engels, who lived in London, he did not succeed because the great master of the international proletariat was very ill, dying on August 5, 1895. In his work, *Fredrick Engels*, published in the magazine *Rabotnik ("Worker")*, Ulyanov paid tribute to the memory of Marx's inseparable friend with whom they laid the foundations of scientific socialism, beginning with the title: "What a torch of reason ceased to burn. What a heart has ceased to beat!"

At the beginning of September 1895, when he returned to Russia, Vladimir carried in a suitcase with a false bottom many foreign Marxist publications that were quickly distributed in several cities. With redoubled determination, he resumed his activities in St. Petersburg together with the workers.

League of Struggle

Knowing that he was being watched by the *Okhrana*, Ilyich took many precautions; he strengthened his contacts with the Social Democrats of St. Petersburg and in October 1895, he managed to unite several Marxist circles in the capital into a

single political organization: the *League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class*, the embryo of the first revolutionary party in Russia. The League of Struggle included Krupskaya, Malchenko, Martov, Starkov and Vaneyev, among others.

Denouncing the tsarist arbitrariness and the starvation wages paid by the bosses, in a short time the organization published dozens of pamphlets, drawing up plans for strikes; the League sought to raise the revolutionary consciousness of the workers.

When in December 1895, the League of Struggle was preparing to launch the first issue of its newspaper, *The Proletarian Cause*, almost entirely edited by Vladimir Ilyich, the *Okhrana* arrested him along with other members of the organization, which was attacked and destroyed.

For more than a year, Ulyanov was imprisoned in a cell in the St. Petersburg penitentiary. Considered a dangerous political criminal because he tried to politicize the workers of his country, he did not allow himself to be dejected and, while awaiting his sentence, he wrote letters and pamphlets in code, passing them on to his comrades in freedom. Many nights, until the early hours of the morning, Krupskaya would stand by the high wall of the penitentiary waiting for the messages sent by Ilyich.

In addition to outlining the draft program of the Russian revolutionary party and writing numerous pamphlets and an essay on strikes, during his period of imprisonment Ulyanov also began to write one of his classic works: *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* (the subtitle of chapter 7).

In mid-1896, on one of the visits to her imprisoned son, Maria Alexandrova heard the director of the prison cynically say: "*you can be proud of your children; One was hanged and the rope waits for the other!*" to which, with dignity, Vladimir Ilyich's mother replied: "*Yes, I am very proud of my children*".

Without trial, on February 13, 1897, he was informed of his sentence: three years of exile in Shushenskoye, a remote village in Siberia.

A SHORT ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF LENIN



Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, center, among members of the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. Seated, from left to right: Starkov, Krzizanovsky and Martov. Standing: Malchenko, Zaporozets and Vaneyev

МОСКОВСКОЕ ОХРАННОЕ ОТДЕЛЕНИЕ

Ульянов
Владимир Ильич
1870-1895

1) Имя	Питер	Иванович	Ершов	Давид
2) Отчество	Иванов	Иванов	Иванов	Иванов
3) Пол	Муж	Муж	Муж	Муж
4) Возраст	30 лет	25 лет	20 лет	25 лет
5) Место рождения	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
6) Место жительства	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
7) Место работы	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
8) Место учебы	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
9) Место службы	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
10) Место жительства	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
11) Место работы	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
12) Место учебы	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
13) Место службы	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
14) Место жительства	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
15) Место работы	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
16) Место учебы	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
17) Место службы	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
18) Место жительства	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
19) Место работы	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
20) Место учебы	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
21) Место службы	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
22) Место жительства	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
23) Место работы	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
24) Место учебы	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
25) Место службы	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
26) Место жительства	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
27) Место работы	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
28) Место учебы	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
29) Место службы	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
30) Место жительства	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
31) Место работы	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
32) Место учебы	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара
33) Место службы	Самара	Самара	Самара	Самара

3) Во имя веры, что он не имеет никаких политических убеждений, а также в том, что он не имеет никаких политических убеждений. Если же он имеет, то какие?

Ulyanov's file in the *Okhrana* archives in 1895

7

EXILE IN SIBERIA

In the last three years of the 19th century, Ilyich lived in a small, almost primitive community in icy Siberia. Today, Shushenskoye is a good city in Krasnoyarsk territory. The wooden house in which he lived during the deportation was transformed into a museum in his honor.

As was his temperament, in the remote Siberian village Ilyich worked hard, writing more than thirty important works. More than anything, books filled his life.

Through his mother and sisters, to whom he sent letter after letter, Ilyich received the volumes recommended to him on philosophy, dictionaries, grammar, etc. "*Dear little Mama*" was how he invariably began his long letters to Maria Alexandrova, to whom he professed a deep filial love. Full of tenderness and affection, Ilyich's letters almost always mentioned and asked for books: "*I have not yet received Volume II of Mehring...*", "*The Kalmikova bookshop gave me a fifteen per cent discount. I asked for the work of Seignobos...*", "*I am now reading the Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History, by Labriola...*"

Resuming the study of several languages, Vladimir progressed rapidly in his knowledge of German, English, French and Italian; Later, he mastered Swedish and Polish.

Continuing to study the agrarian relations in Russia, Ilyich could now directly observe the Siberian countryside. And, to keep abreast of events, he requested several newspapers and magazines.

Taking advantage of the rehearsals of a choir organized by the inhabitants of the region, Ilyich taught them the means to defend themselves from the arbitrariness of the local authorities. Once, illegally, given his confinement status, he acted as an advocate in the region, winning a worker's claim against the owner of a gold mine.

Among many of his works written in Shushenskoye, in *The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats* of 1897, Ilyich insisted on the great importance of revolutionary theory for the political struggle, and precisely established the vanguard role of the proletariat in the future revolution of Russia.

First Congress of the RSDLP

In May 1898, Krupskaya, who was arrested in St. Petersburg for helping to organize a demonstration and trying to rebuild the *League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class*, arrived in Shushenskoye accompanied by her mother Elizaveta. Sentenced to three years of exile in Ufa, she managed to serve her sentence by his side, alleging her courtship with Ulyanov. Nadia loved him tenderly, she replied in a picturesque way to the letter in which he asked her to become his spouse: "Well, woman, let me be a woman!" Later, Ulyanov would remember that answer many times. Thus, in the cold Siberian village they got married. In addition to being his spouse, Krupskaya was a faithful friend, comrade and collaborator of Vladimir Ilyich until the last moment.

It was through her that he learned of the clandestine meeting in Minsk, Byelorussia, in March 1898, of the First Congress of Social Democrats, which proclaimed the foundation of the RSDLP: *Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia*. Only nine Social Democrats came together and founded the party, a bulwark of the struggle against the tsarist autocracy.

In his numerous letters and prison pamphlets, Ulyanov had insisted on the convening of an all-Russia congress of Social Democrats, aiming at the founding of the Russian Social Democratic Party. At his suggestion, Krupskaya had traveled to Poltava to meet with the Marxists in Kiev, where they discussed the preparation for the congress and the publication of a newspaper, which did not materialize due to Ilyich's imprisonment and subsequent deportation to Siberia.

On learning of the founding of the RSDLP, Vladimir expressed his complete solidarity with the fundamental theses of the party, whose First Congress, however, did not succeed in bringing together the various Russian Marxist circles, nor did it adopt a program or any statute.

The *Okhrana*, persecuting and unleashing blows against the newly founded RSDLP, arrested many Social Democrats in several cities, including members of the *Central Committee* elected at the First Congress.

Several of Ulyanov's comrades were deported to the neighboring villages of Shushenskoye, and the RSDLP practically ceased to operate.

The Development of Capitalism in Russia

The unbearable living conditions in Siberian exile ruined the health of many revolutionary Social Democrats. Some died: Vaneyev succumbed to tuberculosis and Fedoseev, unable to resist the terrible misery and tormented by the constant persecutions of the police, committed suicide. The premature death of both – they were not yet 30 years old – was deeply felt by Russian social democracy.

Tirelessly, Ilyich and Krupskaya worked late into the night; Elizaveta took care of the household chores. Nadia and Vladimir read and wrote a lot, they also translated foreign books into Russian, including *Industrial Democracy* by Sydney's and Beatrice Webb. In Shushenskoye, Krupskaya wrote the pamphlet *The Woman Worker*.

The couple took advantage of their free time to cultivate the orchard and garden or to walk and hunt in the imposing and vigorous Siberian forest, on the banks of the wide and mighty Yenisei River.

At the beginning of 1899 Ilyich finished *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, published in St. Petersburg, which in Marxist circles was considered to be the direct continuation of Marx's *Capital*.

This book enriched Marxist Political Economy with new theses, demonstrating that in Russia, capitalism developed not only in industry but also in agriculture and, that in its entrails the proletariat, builder of the new society, the socialist society, grows and strengthens.

In his work, V. I. Ulyanov exhaustively developed the thesis of the alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry, emphasizing the leading role of the proletariat in the preface to the second edition: "*The strength of the proletariat in the process of history is immeasurably greater than its share of the total population.*" This was in fact later confirmed by the entire revolutionary struggle of the Russian proletariat, which won its great historic victory in 1917, even though their numbers were relatively small in relation to the population in general.

The Marxist analysis of the Russian economy in *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* definitively buried the populist theses, becoming a model for the use of theory for the foundation of revolutionary politics.

The Fight against Revisionism

In the middle of 1899, Vladimir Ilyich received from his sister Anna a report called *Credo*, containing the conceptions of the "economists". This was the name given to some social democrats who claimed that the political struggle was the business of the bourgeoisie and tried to convince the workers to only fight for an increase in wages and the improvement of living conditions.

Against these opportunists, the first of the Russian revolutionary movement, Ulyanov drafted a vehement reply: *A Protest by Russian Social-Democrats*, signed by 17 exiled Marxists. The document rejected the ideas of the "economists," who also denied the need for a Russian revolutionary party. The program of the "economists" – the Protesters affirmed – was summed up in that the workers should limit themselves to the economic struggle, and the liberals to the "legal forms". *"The application of such a programme would be tantamount to the political suicide of Russian Social-Democracy,"* the document concluded, emphasizing: *"Only an independent working-class party can serve as a strong bulwark in the fight against the autocracy."*

At the end of 1899, the book by the German Social Democrat Bernstein, *Evolutionary Socialism*, in which he attempted to replace Marxism with a liberal reformist doctrine, left Vladimir Ilyich very indignant.

Cloaking himself in pseudo-socialist phraseology, Bernstein praised neo-Kantian idealism, proclaiming a "return to Kant." Such a proposal was known as revisionism.

Intransigently opposing this current, Ulyanov demonstrated the complete inconsistency of the revisionist criticism, its formidable confusion of ideas, its retreat in relation to the conceptions of Social Democracy. After translating from German to Russian, together with Krupskaya, a book by Kautsky against Bernstein, he expounded in his article *Our Program: "Marxist theoretical position... made clear the real task of the revolutionary socialist party:... to organise the class struggle of the proletariat and to lead this struggle, the ultimate aim of which is the conquest of political power by the proletariat and the organisation of a socialist society."*

End of Exile

Having completed the draft program of the revolutionary party, drawn up while he was still in the penitentiary of St. Petersburg, Ilyich impatiently waited for the end of his exile. "During the last year of his exile....," Krupskaya wrote, "Vladimir Ilyich hardly slept at all, and grew terribly thin. He sat up all night, working out his plan in fullest detail."

Ulyanov was planning a newspaper for the whole of Russia, which would have the important role of uniting all the Russian Marxist groups and preparing in detail the Second Congress of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia.

Krzizanovsky recalled that on a freezing night on the banks of the Yenisei, Ilyich explained to him with great enthusiasm and inspiration his plans, which were astonishing in their audacity.

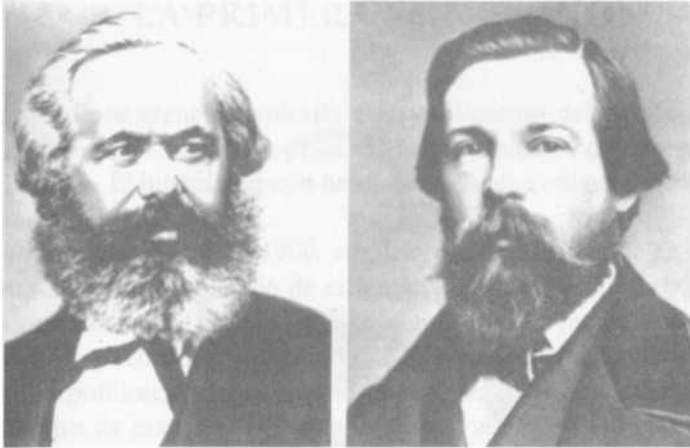
Banned as a dangerous agitator, as an outlaw, in the middle of the very harsh Siberian winter, this was how the architect of the first victorious socialist revolution on Earth began the last year of the 19th century.

Finally, on the morning of January 29, 1900, Vladimir Ilyich and the family left Shushenskoye, ending the hateful and isolating exile in Siberia.

They moved to Ufa, where Krupskaya still had to serve a year of her sentence; Ulyanov helped her settle with her mother in the new home.

The tsarist government forbade his return to St. Petersburg, or near to any other industrial center in the country.

To be as close to the capital as possible, Vladimir went to live in Pskov. "It was a pity we had to part," Krupskaya relates in her *Reminiscences of Lenin*, " but it did not even enter our heads that Vladimir Ilyich could remain in Ufa when he had a chance to move nearer to St. Petersburg. "



Karl Marx (1818-1883)

Frederick Engels (1820-1895).

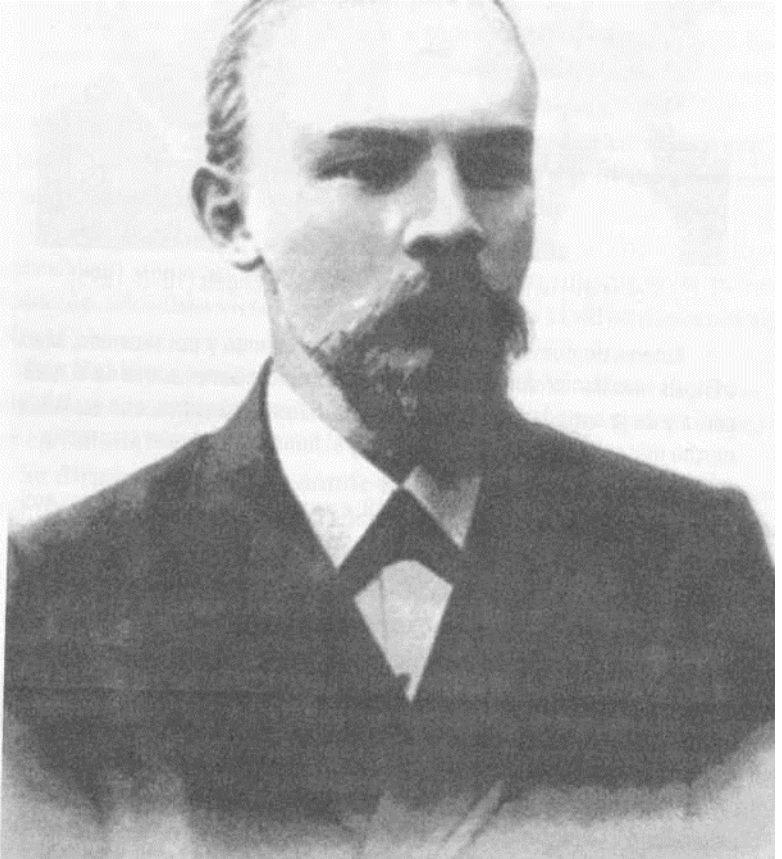
Authors of numerous works written either together and separately, Marx and Engels caused a profound revolution in the conceptions of nature and society, resulting in scientific socialism, which shed much more light on the past, present and future than any other theory.

The *Communist Manifesto*, of 1848, written by the two inseparable friends, ends with the words: "*Proletarians of all countries, unite*", which are engraved on the monument erected to Marx in the cemetery of Highgate, in London, where he was buried.

In 1864, in order to unite the workers' movements of various countries, Marx founded in the English capital *the International Working Men's Association*, known as the *First International*, which dissolved in 1876.

With Engels at the helm, the Second International was founded in Paris in 1889, and dissolved in 1914. Engels' ashes, according to his express will in his testament, were thrown into the sea, in Eastbourne, in the south of England.

"Old legends contain various moving instances of friendship. The European proletariat may say that its science was created by two scholars and fighters, whose relationship to each other surpasses the most moving stories of the ancients about human friendship," Lenin wrote about Marx and Engels.



Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov in February 1900

8

THE FIRST EMIGRATION

With all his attention in Shushenskoye turned to the publication of the newspaper, despite the ban Ilyich traveled from Pskov to other cities. He was looking for financial support, collaborators and distributors for the newspaper.

At the end of February 1900, Ilyich was employed in the state regional services, and in this way he succeeded in concealing his revolutionary activities, which enabled him to mislead the *Okhrana*, and to hold a large meeting of Social Democrats in Pskov, at which his project for the publication of a newspaper that would be the organ of the RSDLP was approved.

In early May, Ulyanov risked traveling to St. Petersburg without authorization, resulting in his imprisonment upon arrival in the capital. He carried a list of his comrades in code. But because the police did not understand them, they released him after ten days in prison. The head of the Petersburg *Okhrana* made it clear in the secret file: "*Today there is no one more important than Ulyanov in the revolutionary camp.*" He planned to eliminate him, to assassinate him.

By establishing contacts with underground social democratic organizations, Ilyich found loyal Marxists willing to collaborate: Babushkin, Bauman, Elena Stasova, Kalinin, Kalnikova, and others. The latter, who edited his work in Petersburg, contributed significantly to the publication of the future organ of the RSDLP.

But the sharp intensification of police repression made it impossible to publish a revolutionary political newspaper in Russia. Ilyich then decided to publish it abroad.

After heading to Ufa in the company of his mother and sister Anna to say goodbye to Krupskaya in July 1900, at the age of 30, Vladimir left for abroad, beginning his first emigration.

In Geneva he resumed his relations with the Emancipation *of Labor group*, receiving the full support of its members. He then continued to the south of Germany, settling in Munich, in a small suburban room, under the name of Meyer.

Iskra

Aided by the German Social Democrats, Ilyich obtained typographic installations with Russian characters, prepared all the details and at the end of December 1900 he launched the first issue of the newspaper *Iskra Spark*), which bore on its masthead the epigraph: "*From the spark will emerge the flame*". In its first editorial, it exhorted: "*Without a strong and organized party, the Russian proletariat will never succeed in carrying out its historic task: to free itself and the entire Russian people from their political and economic slavery.*"

The first Marxist newspaper for all Russia, which emerged at the turn of the 19th century, was printed clandestinely in Munich and smuggled into Russia, using all means to get into the hands of the workers and peasants.

At a time when the Russian revolutionary movement was raging, *Iskra* dealt with all political and economic questions. By exposing the tsarist autocratic regime and expounding its Marxist ideas, it propagated that the collapse of tsarism, the most powerful structure of reaction in Europe and Asia, was a duty of the proletariat of Russia. So, little by little, the Russian workers were learning to react against the arbitrariness of the tsarist police-bureaucratic regime, capitalist exploitation and landowner oppression.

Succeeding in bringing together the various forces of Russian Social Democracy, *Iskra* also began to publish articles sent from Russia and other parts of Europe, mainly from the members of the *Emancipation of Labor group*, becoming the organizational nucleus of the RSDLP. Ulyanov's great effort was successful: a revolutionary political newspaper was circulating in the vast country, the fighting organ of the Russian workers.

Babushkin, who along with other selfless workers distributed *Iskra*, wrote from a small town in the interior of Russia: "*Iskra* is avidly read here and all the copies received are in circulation. Thanks to this, there is an increase in the enthusiasm of the workers."

In April 1901, having served her sentence of confinement in full, Krupskaya left Russia and went to meet Ilyich in Munich, where she went to work as secretary of *Iskra*.

Lenin / What Is To Be Done?

In December 1901, the second issue of the magazine *Zaria* (Dawn), which the editorial staff of *Iskra* went on to edit, published part of the article *The Agrarian Question and the "Critics of Marx"*, signed by Lenin. It was the first time that Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov had used this pseudonym, derived from Lena, the great navigable river of Siberia. From then on the world came to know him as Lenin.

In February 1902, in a printing press in Stuttgart, the first book under this pseudonym, *What Is To Be Done?*, was printed, which occupies a prominent place in the history of the organization of the "*party of a new type.*" In this work, Lenin presented an analysis of international social democracy, showing that there were two orientations in it: one consistently revolutionary, defined by Marx's ideas; the other, opportunist, "economist", which distorted the fundamental theses of Marxism.

"Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement," the leader stated on record in *What Is To Be Done?*



Plekhanov organized the Emancipation of Labor group in Switzerland, later joining the editorial staff of *Iskra*.



Vera Zasulich shot the governor of Petersburg; escaping she went to join Plekhanov's group in Switzerland.

To the Rural Poor

At the request of the *Okhrana*, the Munich police discovered where the *Iskra* was printed, so the press and the members of its editorial board had to leave Germany.

For a year, from April 1902 to April 1903, Herr and Frau Richter would reside in the English capital; using those names, Lenin and Krupskaya rented two rooms at number 30 Holford Square.

Lenin spent the mornings in the Library of the British Museum, and in the afternoon and evening in the editorial office of *Iskra*, which continued to be published with the help of the English Social Democrats.

"One of Lenin's characteristic traits," Maria Ulyanova relates in *Lenin and the Ulyanov Family*, "was his rigorous economy in expenses, especially personal ones. He did economize, especially when he earned nothing and had to resort to 'subsidies' (as he called his mother's financial aid)." To meet her and his sister Anna, who went on a walk in Longvie in the summer of 1902, Lenin went to the north of France, very much wishing that his mother would come to live with him. But Maria Alexandrova told him that her presence in Russia was all the more necessary, as now another member of the Ulyanov family was a victim of tsarist persecution.

He attentively attended events of the British labor movement, never missing any meetings or assemblies of workers. Sometimes, to get to know the city better, he took a long bus ride to Highgate Cemetery to Marx's grave, observing the sharp contrast between rich and poor of the London landscape. He muttered under his breath: "*They are two nations.*"

Early on an October morning in 1902, Trotsky, who had escaped from Siberian exile, sought out Lenin in Holford Square; they met for the first time. The latest Russian émigré in London told him the news of Russia, spoke about the tremendous repression unleashed on the Social Democrats, which left Lenin very worried and restless.

In 1903, the preparation of the Second Congress of the RSDLP began to take place in July in Belgium; this took up a good part of Lenin's time. Feeling obliged to explain to the peasants the draft of the party program, that he elaborated, and which would be presented to the congress, in March and April

he wrote the pamphlet *To the Rural Poor*, saying in simple language: "We want to achieve a new and better order of society: in this new and better society there must be neither rich nor poor; all will have to work. Not a handful of rich people, but all the working people must enjoy the fruits of their common labour. Machines and other improvements must serve to ease the work of all and not to enable a few to grow rich at the expense of millions and tens of millions of people. This new and better society is called socialist society. The teachings about this society are called socialism."

"*To the Rural Poor*," sent clandestinely to Russia, came into the hands of practically all Social Democrats. To be as clear as possible, Lenin explained to the peasants what the RSDLP intended and why they should walk shoulder to shoulder with the workers. He explained that the first step in the struggle against the landowners would be taken by all of them, while the last and most important could only be taken in alliance with the workers: "We shall take all the land and all the factories from the landlords and the bourgeoisie and set up a socialist society."

As an appendix the pamphlet outlined the draft program of the party which proclaimed: "By substituting social ownership of the means of production for private ownership, the revolution of the proletariat will eliminate the division of society into classes, thus liberating oppressed humanity, once it puts an end to all forms of exploitation of one part of society by the other."

In the spring of 1903, at the insistence of the Emancipation of Labor group, *Iskra* was published in Switzerland. Leaving London, Lenin and Krupskaya stayed in a small house in a working-class neighborhood of Geneva, where they received the Social Democrats who arrived from Russia. Striving to give them all possible assistance, Lenin eagerly awaited the Second Congress of the RSDLP, for which he was preparing with great dedication.

9

SECOND CONGRESS OF THE RSDLP

On the afternoon of July 17, 1903, in a flour warehouse in a suburb of Brussels, the work of the Second Congress of the RSDLP began; 43 delegates representing many underground organizations of the party were present.

In addition to drafting the program, Lenin drew up a draft statute for the RSDLP, establishing the "party of a new type," a militant organization, whose members would be united with a perfect understanding of its fundamental goals, ready to achieve them, and carrying out orders when necessary.

Almost immediately after the start of the work, heated debates and discussions broke out. The group was not homogeneous. Plekhanov chaired the meeting, and two vice-chairs were elected: Lenin and Krassikov. The congress also elected Lenin rapporteur of the commissions of the program, statutes and mandates.

The intolerance of the Belgian police towards the group of "boisterous" Russians soon made itself felt, as the supposed intensity of the argument caused the group to be summoned to leave the country. Their work in Brussels thus interrupted, the delegates to the Second Congress of the RSDLP left by boat to London where, in a church under renovation, they met until August 10, 1903.

The Second Congress of the RSDLP was held in a climate of a close fight between the Iskra-ists united with Lenin and the economists and other opportunists led by Martov. On the one side, for the defense of the revolutionary program, the Iskra-ists closed ranks; on the other, the opportunists joined in the attacks on the project of the Marxist program.

Although Plekhanov expressed vacillations on some fundamental questions, he intervened in Lenin's favor and, by a majority vote, the Second Congress of the RSDLP approved Lenin's draft program. This contained, among others, the following programmatic principles: Substitution of the tsarist monarchy by a democratic republic; alliance of the working class with the peasantry; total freedom of conscience, speech and assembly; universal and secret voting for all elections of

judges by the people, etc.

During the discussions on the draft party statute, new heated debates arose, winning over even Lenin's supporters who, like him, advocated a consistently revolutionary party. It was approved that only those could be members of the party who supported it materially and participated in one of its organizations. Martov's proposal, minimizing who could be a party member by making it easier for opportunists, was defeated.

Although Lenin was in the minority on some points concerning the status of the RSDLP, during the Second Congress of the party there was a historic separation: various opportunists left the congress, the consistent revolutionaries led by Lenin obtained a majority (in Russian, Bolshevism) of the votes in the election of the central organs of the party, being called Bolsheviks, and the opportunists who remained in the minority (in Russian, Menshevism), were called Mensheviks.

The importance of the Second Congress of the RSDLP consisted of the emergence of the Bolshevik Party. " *As a trend of political thought and as a political party, Bolshevism exists since 1903,*" Lenin later wrote in *Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*.

After the Second Congress of the Party, an obstinate struggle between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks broke out, which lasted for all the following years....

One Step Forward, Two Steps Back

After the Second Party Congress in London, Lenin returned to Geneva and at the beginning of 1903 left *Iskra* starting from its 53rd issue, because the Mensheviks, whom Plekhanov joined, seized the newspaper and began to attack the Bolsheviks and the decisions of the Second Congress of the RSDLP in its pages.

Without such an important means of linking with the party organizations as *Iskra* was, Lenin began to maintain contacts with the rank and file through correspondence; in that period he sent out up to 300 letters per month.



Lenin speaking at the Second Congress of the RSDLP.
Painter: Vinogradov

At the beginning of 1904, absorbed in the struggle against the Mensheviks, the Bolshevik leader wrote *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back (The Crisis in Our Party)*, showing that, in pulling back, the Mensheviks were attacking the RSDLP as the organizing force of the proletariat. He also showed that the Party can lead the struggle of the proletariat successfully only if all its members are united by the same will of action and discipline; he also formulated the solid norms of daily Party life: strict observance of the Statute of the Party by all its members; the elective and collective nature of its party organs; the development of criticism and self-criticism, the consistent application of the principles of democratic centralism, etc.

One Step Forward, Two Steps Back ends with the words that show the great importance that Lenin attributed to the organization of the workers: " *In its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organisation.*"

In the summer of 1904, on the verge of exhaustion, Lenin left for the mountains around Geneva to regain his strength. Near Lausanne, in a small village where Bogdanov and Olminsky lived as exiles, the Bolshevik leader discussed the launching of a new party organ to spread the call for the Third Congress of the RSDLP.

Because of the division in its ranks and the events unfolding in Russia, a new party congress was an urgent necessity.

The Russo-Japanese War

With the Japanese attack on Port Arthur at the beginning of 1904, the Russo-Japanese War had been going on for months in the far east of the tsarist empire. It was a war of annexation and plunder on both sides.

Plehve, the former bloodthirsty leader of the *Okhrana*, and then Minister of the Interior under Nicholas II, preached in relation to the Tsar's expansionist policy, in order to eliminate the maturing revolutionary crisis: "A small victory in the war becomes necessary."

Commanded by incompetent tsarist officers, the Russo-Japanese war bled the country's economy enormously, causing great discontent both in the cities and in the countryside. The continuous increase in prices became unbearable for the workers. Russia was on the threshold of a revolution.

Following the revolutionary development in his country attentively from Switzerland, Lenin wrote to the Bolsheviks that "*A shameful end to the shameful war is not far off; it was necessary to stimulate revolutionary propaganda throughout the country, demanding from the proletariat the most decisive offensive measures.*"

Lenin moved closer to the old center of Geneva (David Dufor Street, no. 3) where he devoted himself entirely to the publication of the new party organ.

The name *Vperyod* (Forward) was approved at a Bolshevik meeting, and in December 1904 the first issue of the new newspaper came out. "*The orientation of Vperyod is the orientation of old Iskra. In the name of the old Iskra, the Vperyod fights valiantly against the new Iskra,*" wrote the Bolshevik leader in his first editorial of the new organ of the RSDLP.

The humiliating surrender of the tsarist forces in the Far East of Russia, for their catastrophic performance in the Russo-Japanese war, provoked Lenin to make the following statement on January 1, 1905. "*The capitulation of Port Arthur is the prologue to the capitulation of tsarism.*"

A few days later, the first Russian revolution broke out in St. Petersburg.

Colaboradores de Vperiod



Bonch-Bruевич



Karpinski



Olminski

SOCIÉTÉ DE LECTURE

Grand'Rue, 11, Genève

*Est présenté pour devenir membre
effectif de la Société,*

*Monsieur, (nom et patronyme) Vladimir
Oulianoff*

*date de la naissance 1870
domicile 3 Rue David d'après 3. Genève.
profession Publiciste
origine Russie*

*Il est présenté par Messieurs:
Paul Bourkoff
Armand Mestant.*

Genève, le 12 Décembre 1904

Le Président,

Paul Rivière

Formulario llenado por Lenin en la Sociedad
de Lectura (Biblioteca de Ginebra),
el 12 de diciembre de 1904

Form filled out by Lenin in the Lecture Society (Geneva Library)
on December 12, 1904

10

THE FIRST RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

On Sunday morning, January 9, 1905, despite the warning of the Bolsheviks about an ambush, the priest Gapon went out at the head of a large procession heading toward the Winter Palace, the residence of the Tsar. Peacefully, thousands of workers, including women and children, went to express their needs to Nicholas II, to ask for help and support. "We must get together, go to the tsar and tell him everything; the tsar will listen and give the people freedom and land," said Father Gapon, later identified as a tsarist agent.

The crowd, carrying icons and portraits of the monarch, was near the palace when the tsarist troops opened fire: more than two thousand people were killed and about five thousand were wounded. *"It was a dastardly, cold-blooded massacre of defenseless and peaceful people,"* Lenin wrote in his article *The Plan of the St. Petersburg Battle*.

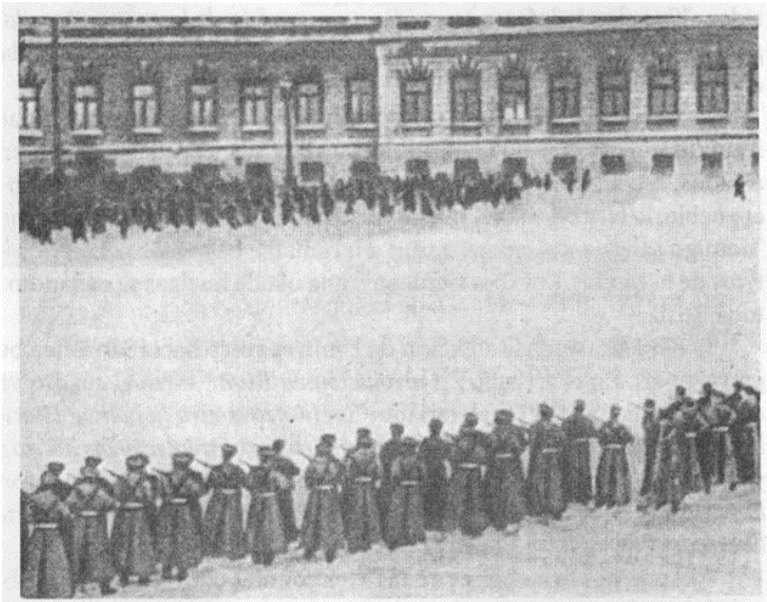
The violent repression was intended to crush the proletariat, to drive it into submission and resignation. But the calculations of tsarism were wrong; the cowardly crime of Nicholas II provoked hatred and indignation in the people, and on the afternoon of that same day, which the people baptized as "Bloody Sunday", barricades began to be erected in several neighborhoods of the capital. In the following days a wave of strikes spread throughout Russia.

In Geneva, Lenin's entire attention turned to St. Petersburg and his country. In the article *Revolution in Russia*, he drew the living picture of the heroic struggle of the proletariat: *"Force against force. Street fighting is raging, barricades are being thrown up, rifles are cracking, guns are roaring. Rivers of blood are flowing, the civil war for freedom is blazing up. The slogan of the workers has become: Death or freedom!.... Long live the revolution! Long live the insurgent proletariat!"*

In addition to sending long letters to the party committees saying what they should do to lead the Revolution, Lenin wrote more than sixty articles in *Vperyod*, elaborating and substantiating the tactics of the Bolsheviks and the necessity of the leadership of the party in conducting the armed insurrection.

"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 organization of armed insurrection. He had given more thought to this than people know..." wrote Krupskaya, in her *Reminiscences of Lenin*.

As the Revolution spread throughout Russia, the crises within the RSDLP deepened further. Any tactical or organizational question gave rise to intransigent disputes between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. The former, forming the independent wing of the party, consistently revolutionary, corresponded to the aspirations of the proletariat and the peasantry; the Mensheviks, seeing the bourgeoisie as the leader of the revolution, sought to lead the proletariat into the line and tactics of liberal reformism.



"Bloody Sunday", January 9, 1905:
Tsarist troops machine-gun workers near the Winter Palace

Third Congress of the RSDLP

The events that were developing rapidly in Russia led to the

convocation of the Third Congress of the RSDLP, to take a clear and defined position by the party. The Third Congress of the RSDLP, which met in London in April 1905, was in fact the first Bolshevik Congress, since the Mensheviks refused to participate in such an important event.

Having been elected chair, Lenin directed all the work of the congress by unleashing forceful criticism of the absence of the Mensheviks, mainly of their political line of mere liberal reformism.

Deciding that the main task of the party at the time was the organization of armed insurrection, the Third Congress of the RSDLP called upon all its committees to take prompt and adequate measures to arm the proletariat in the direct struggle against the autocracy.

Unanimously elected to the leadership of the Central Committee of the RSDLP and accepting the post of editor-in-chief of the new party organ, *Proletary* (The Proletarian), replacing *Vperyod* (Forward), Lenin returned to Geneva after the congress had ended.

The Bolshevik leader immediately began to write many articles for *Proletary*; in June 1905, he published in Geneva *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, which quickly sold out in the main cities of Russia.

In that book, Lenin based the Bolsheviks' strategic plan for the Revolution, showing that it was advantageous for the bourgeoisie that the reforms should proceed as slowly as possible, gradually and not through revolution; in this way they could preserve the old state apparatus and the corrupt tsarist monarchy.

Meanwhile, the revolutionary movement was becoming more and more inflamed, growing impetuously throughout the Tsarist Empire. In the Black Sea, the crew of the battleship Potemkin revolted, inaugurating a series of military insurrections in the country. Great strikes broke out in the industrial centers, spreading the revolutionary wave to the countryside.

"Form fighting squads at once everywhere, among the students, and especially among the workers.... Let them arm themselves at once as best they can," Lenin insisted in a letter *To the Combat Committee of the St. Petersburg Committee.*

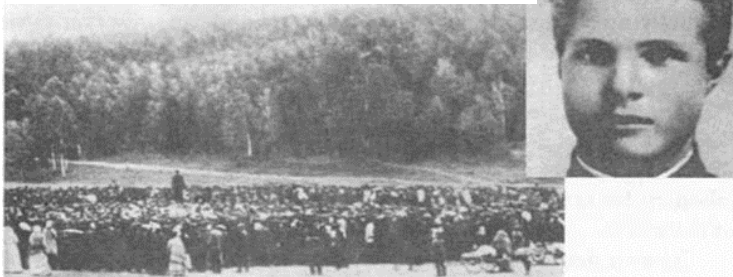
The Soviets

In early October 1905, Russia came to a halt because of the outbreak of a general political strike carried out under the Bolsheviks' slogans of order: "*Down with absolutism;*" "*Long live the Democratic Republic!*" During the stoppage many Soviets emerged, leading organs of the strike struggle: the workers met in the factories and chose those responsible (deputies) to represent them in the Central Council that directed the general strike.

The first soviet (council, meeting of people who discuss and decide together) arose in May 1905, in Ivanovo-Voznesensk: the workers of the city, led by the Bolsheviks, decided to create a special body (COBET: in Russian C=S, O=O, B=V, E=I, T=T) to organize and lead the strike. From the organ to direct the strike, the Soviet went on to lead the armed struggle against the tsarist government, transforming itself into an organ of revolutionary power.

Lenin highly valued the Soviet, seeing in it the embryo of people's power, a new form, a new type of state. In the article *Our Tasks and the Soviet of Workers' Deputies*, he studied in depth the role of the Soviets, stating that the party should direct them, direct their activities, but not replace or dissolve them.

The Bolshevik Frunze was one of the leaders
of the first Soviet



The Ivanovo-Voznesensk meeting that resulted in the first Soviet.

Lenin's Return / The Parties

The emergence of many Soviets worried Nicholas II who, on October 17, 1905, in a message addressed to the people, promised freedom of speech, assembly and other civil liberties, the monarch even authorized the establishment of a Duma, a kind of parliament under the aegis of a granted Constitution.

Pointing out that the tsarist promises were not to be believed, on the morning of November 8, 1905, Lenin returned clandestinely to St. Petersburg. After more than 5 years outside Russia he was back in the national capital to lead the party in the revolutionary struggle.

Immediately after the Tsar's message, the various sectors of society began to coalesce into parties, founding: *The October 17th Union*, organized to protect the interests of the big capitalists, the *Constitutionalist Democratic Party*, a stronghold of the landowners, its members will be called *Cadets* (from the initials of the party's name: CD); the *Social Revolutionary Party* (SR), representative of the small property owners, its members would be renamed *SRs*, who vacillated between the social democrats and the constitutionalist-democrats, seeking to resurrect populist theories. Other minor parties would enter the political arena, among them, the *Peasant Union*, whose members would be called *trudoviks* (labor). The *Bund*, an acronym for the Jewish Workers' Union, a movement founded in 1897, supported the Marxists until the Second Congress of the RSDLP, then joined the Mensheviks, although a considerable number of young Jews joined the revolutionary movement because of the barbaric tsarist anti-Semitism.

Divided between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, the RSDLP went on to have a legal Bolshevik newspaper, *Novaya Zhizn* (New Life), for which Lenin, now in St. Petersburg, wrote a great deal, despite its short duration, since it was closed by tsarist agents in December 1905.

In his articles in *Novaya Zhizn*, he stated that the party could not continue to work in the old manner, Lenin called for the creation of new party organizations, taking advantage of the legal possibilities, keeping the existing ones underground.

Fighting in Moscow

With a few rights won from tsarism, the general strike that

broke out at the beginning of October 1905 diminished in intensity. Taking advantage of this, Nicholas II attacked the Petersburg Soviet, arresting its leadership. In retaliation, the Moscow Soviet put the workers in the streets, and from December 7 to 16, 1905, they engaged in fierce armed battles against the police and tsarist troops. Although they were entrenched in hundreds of barricades, the workers were seriously defeated in the streets and squares of Moscow.

Describing the Moscow armed insurrection as a heroic feat of the Russian workers, in his article *Lessons of the Moscow Uprising*, Lenin also pointed out its shortcomings: the weapons should have been wielded more decisively, a more offensive tactic should have been applied, and not only barricade fighting.

At the end of December 1905, a Bolshevik Conference was held in Finland (which was then part of Tsarist Russia) with Lenin as chair, which passed an important resolution on the unification of the RSDLP. Joseph V. Dzhughashvili, the future Stalin, then using the pseudonym Koba and a Bolshevik delegate from Georgia, met Lenin there for the first time.

Despite the defeat of the workers in Moscow, strikes in the cities and uprisings in the countryside, in the army and navy, intensified throughout Russia.

The Cadets, labelled "*worms in the grave of the revolution*" in the pamphlet *The Victory of the Cadets and the Tasks of the Workers' Party* of March 1906, Lenin showed that the tactics of the Cadets, in complicity with tsarism, consisted in using the struggle of the people for their own interests. It was therefore the task of the party at that time to fight against constitutional illusions and to explain to the broad strata of the population that the main form of struggle of the social movement continued to be the revolutionary struggle.

Fourth (Unification) Congress of the RSDLP

In April 1906, in view of the resolution of the Bolshevik Conference of Finland, the Fourth Congress of the RSDLP was held in Stockholm, aimed mainly at its unity, which had long been demanded by a significant number of its members.

As soon as the work of the congress began, with many of

the sessions presided over by the Bolshevik leader, the "*Agrarian Question*" provoked heated debates. Occupying the rostrum, Lenin defended the abolition of ownership of the land without compensation and its immediate handover to the peasants, affirming that the agrarian revolution and the political revolution were inextricably linked. "*We must plainly and definitively say to the peasants: if you want to carry the agrarian revolution to the end, you must also carry the political revolution to the end; for unless the political revolution is carried to the end, there will be no durable agrarian revolution,*" the Bolshevik leader concluded in his speech.

The Mensheviks, who formed a temporary majority at the congress, advocated a reformist solution to the agrarian problem – the land should be at the disposal of the municipal organs (*zemstvos*) and the peasants would lease it, thus approving the resolution on the municipalization of the land.

The attendance of many Mensheviks at the Fourth Congress of the party, instead of serving the objective for which it was convened (unification of the RSDLP), served to further deepen the divergences between them and the Bolsheviks. At the close of the congress, they took a position of boycotting the Duma elections.

Back in St. Petersburg, despite the vigilance of the *Okhrana*, Lenin took every opportunity to talk to the workers, intellectuals and students. On the evening of May 9, 1906, at the People's House in Panima, he discussed the Cadets' self-interested agreements with the autocracy and vehemently defended the revolutionary line of the proletariat. "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," Krupskaya recalled in her *Reminiscences on Lenin*.

End of the First Russian Revolution

In accordance with legislation widely favorable to the tsar, elections were held for the first State Duma. As a result of the boycott of the elections, no Bolsheviks were part of the "parliament", which met for the first time at the end of May 1906, in the Tauride Palace in St. Petersburg.

The absence of Bolsheviks in the First Duma did not prevent the frustration of Nicholas II, who wanted to have in the "parliament" a docile appendage of his power, an empty, formal body. A few deputies of the *Peasant Union* began to demand land for the peasants. Angry, the monarch dissolved the First Duma in July 1906, promising new elections of a Second Duma by the beginning of 1907.

With the "parliament" closed, tsarist repression intensified violently: political strikes and the struggle of the peasants against the landowners were repressed with iron and fire.

Being pursued relentlessly, Lenin moved to Finland (Kuo-kala) where he hid and went to Petersburg. At the end of 1906, revisiting the position of boycott of the elections, he began to support the Bolshevik candidates for the Second Duma, as a way of continuing the struggle against small reforms and opportunism within it.

At the beginning of 1907, many Social Democrats, including several Bolsheviks, were elected, and took their seats in the Second Duma.

The need for a thorough analysis of the situation in the country and the party led to the convening of the Fifth Congress of the RSDLP in April 1907. Initially held in Copenhagen, the delegates to the Fifth Congress of the party had to move to London due to persecution by the Danish police.

After Plekhanov, who contested for the chair supported by the Mensheviks, was defeated, Lenin presided over the Fifth Congress of the RSDLP. The writer Maxim Gorky was invited to participate in the event, who described the Bolshevik leader's performance on the tribune of the congress as follows: "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... pouring forth not so much from him as from the very mainspring of history."

Meanwhile in St. Petersburg, the fact that the Bolsheviks and Trudoviks were acting together in the Second Duma, led to the false accusation of a plot by the minority to eliminate Nicholas II. Without any kind of investigation, the monarch had the "conspirators" arrested and deported to Siberia. He immediately dissolved the Second Duma in July 1907 and Russia entered a long period of unbridled reaction. The end of the first

Russian revolution was definitively evident, with many shootings, prisons and escapes from the country,.

After the Fifth Congress of the RSDLP in London, Lenin returned to Finland and stayed in Stirsudden.

Persecuted by the agents of the *Okhrana*, the Bolshevik leader changed hiding places several times through the end of 1907, but he managed to collect his works in three volumes for publication, under the title of *Twelve Years*.

In Abbo, Lenin lost the ship that was to take him across the Gulf of Finland. Bravely, during the night he walked with great effort on the thin layer of ice; on the verge of drowning he managed to cross the gulf and escape...



Lenin's escape through the Gulf of Finland.
Painter: Rilov.

11 THE SECOND EMIGRATION

Fleeing tsarism, Lenin left his homeland and arrived in Stockholm where he waited for Krupskaya, who remained in Petersburg. After a few days, they headed for Geneva on a cold, gray morning of January, 1908; their second forced emigration began, which lasted until April 1917.

They set out to reorganize the newspaper "*Proletary*", for which it was necessary to start all over again. "It was very difficult for us, after the revolution, to get used to an atmosphere of exile again," Krupskaya recalled. Lenin later remarked, "*Hellish difficult years will begin.*"

In spite of everything, the defeat of the first Revolution did not affect his unbreakable will to fight. The great lesson of the "dress rehearsal," as the Revolution of 1905-1907 was called, was to be found in the fact that the proletariat had learned to confront the revolutionary struggle. "*Of all the classes of Russian society, it was the proletariat that displayed the greatest political maturity in 1905-1907,*" he wrote in the article "*The Historical Meaning of the Inner-Party Struggle in Russia.*"

Meanwhile, in Russia the autocracy took revenge, arresting, shooting and persecuting; Lenin taught in "*Proletary*" the skillful combination of legal and clandestine work. He invited Gorky, who lived in Italy, Lunacharsky and other publicists to collaborate with *Proletary*.

In 1908, Lenin produced a great deal, his outstanding works being: *Marxism and Revisionism*, a long article written on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx, which was, as he pointed out, "*the formal declaration of war on revisionism*"; in the book, *The Agrarian Programme of Social Democracy in the Russian Revolution*, he explained the necessity of the nationalization of the land; in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, the Bolshevik leader fought against all the adversaries who propagated revisionist views against Marxist philosophy. In mid-1908, writing to Gorky, he said. "*You must understand, and you will understand, of course, that when a member of the Party sees that certain propa-*

ganda is erroneous and harmful, he has the obligation to intervene against it."

Materialism and Empirio-Criticism

Published under the pseudonym of V. Ilin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, reveals Lenin as a philosopher, thinker. To write this book he used Swiss libraries, also doing research in the library of the British Museum, in May 1908.

In this work, Lenin exposed and refuted the attempts to revise the philosophical bases of Marxism and the deception of presenting socialism as a new religion. Making a penetrating analysis of bourgeois philosophy, he also dealt with the fundamental questions of philosophical materialism: objective reality as matter in motion; knowledge as a dialectical reflection of the world in the consciousness of men, the correlation between absolute truth and relative truth, the role of practice as a criterion of truth, etc.

Criticizing philosophical idealism, Lenin stated in *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*: "*From this Marxist philosophy, which is cast from a single piece of steel, you cannot eliminate one basic premise, one essential part, without departing from objective truth, without falling a prey to a bourgeois-reactionary falsehood.*"

Provoking endless philosophical discussions among Russian exiles, read and studied even by political prisoners in tsarist prisons, this important book by the Bolshevik leader helped party militants and vanguard workers to master dialectical and historical materialism.

In October 1908, Lenin visited Maxim Gorky on the island of Capri at the invitation of the writer where he was directing a school. During his stay, the Bolshevik leader toured the surroundings of Naples and Pompeii and climbed to the top of the Vesuvius volcano. He would also often go fishing in the company of fishermen, questioning the workers about their lives, their wages, where and how their children studied. "Lenin possessed a 'magnetism' which attracted the hearts of the workers to him," declared the noted author of *The Mother*.

At the suggestion of many collaborators, *Proletary* was published in Paris, which was then the center of Russian exiles in Europe. At the end of 1908, leaving Geneva, Lenin and

ELIO BOLSANELLO

Krupskaya moved to the French capital where they lived for more than three years at 4.60 Marie Rose Street.



Lenin playing chess in the garden of Maxim Gorky's house in Capri.
The writer appears with his hand on his jaw



Lenin and Krupskaya lived in the house on rue Marie Rose,
in Paris, from the end of 1908 to June of 1912

In Paris

Lenin took an active part in the work of the Bolshevik group; there were many Russian exiles of the most diverse tendencies who lived in the French capital. To get to the National Library where he went almost every day, the Bolshevik leader had to practically cross the entire city by bicycle.

"In emigration," said Dr. Semashko, "the vast majority led a very difficult life. We had a mutual aid house. Vladimir Ilyich provided all kinds of help. Sometimes he was asked to give a paid lecture and the money was used to relieve colleagues in need. Vladimir never refused to give profound lectures that were well attended."

Lenin's main means of subsistence was his books, paid lectures and occasionally, a modest contribution from the party. "The scorn with which the concierge eyed our white deal tables, plain chairs and stools! Our living room," Krupskaya recalled in her *Reminiscences of Lenin*, "contained just a couple of chairs and a small table.... Russian political emigrants were flocking to Paris at that time from all over Europe.... Our people used to sit about in the cafes till late at night...."

Shortly after his arrival in the French capital, a general conference of the RSDLP was held there at the beginning of 1909, convened to discuss and take a position on *liquidationism*: a Menshevik movement that proposed the liquidation of the party's illegal organizations, taking into account the sharp decline in party membership after the Revolution of 1905-1907.

In presenting the report *The Situation on the R.S.D.L.P. and the Immediate Tasks of the Party*, Lenin forcefully attacked the liquidationists and the conference passed a resolution condemning the *liquidationist movement*. Then, in a series of articles published in the *Proletary*, he showed the great damage that the *liquidators* caused to the workers' movement and the party.

Although he was almost always very busy, the Bolshevik leader found time to play chess with his comrades, watch a new play, and read good authors such as Emile Zola.

From the middle to the end of 1909, he gave many paid lectures in various cities in France, also traveling to other countries of central Europe. In Liège, Belgium, after a well-attended lecture in which he spoke on *The Ideology of the Bourgeoisie*,

the police intercepted a letter from an attendee which read: "He is a brilliant diplomat and politician, an excellent theoretician and practitioner, equally appreciated in an academic setting as in a meeting of workers, combining in himself all that is required of a party leader."

At the beginning of 1910, acting as editor-in-chief of the newspaper *The Social Democrat* transferred from Moscow to Paris, Lenin promoted an intense campaign against the liquidators, among whom was Trotsky, then highly criticized by the Bolshevik leader. In the summer of that year, when he was taking part in the Eighth Congress of the Second International in Copenhagen, Plekhanov again approached him, uniting them with the common struggle against the liquidators and the revisionists of all shades.

At one session of the Eighth Congress of the Second International, when the question of co-operatives was being discussed, some Mensheviks insinuated that Lenin was "destroying the party". To the question put by a Bolshevik as to how a single man could destroy the party, the Menshevik leader Dan, replied: "Because there is no other man who thinks only of the revolution 24 hours a day, even in his sleep he saw nothing but the revolution; with such a man there is nothing one can do." Involuntarily, the Menshevik was telling the truth.

When his work in Denmark was finished, Lenin went to Stockholm to meet his mother and his sister Maria, who went for a walk. "When we left," Maria Ulyanova related in *Lenin and the Ulyanov Family*, "Vladimir accompanied us to the dock but did not get on board the ship, because it belonged to a Russian company and he could be captured. I remember his expression when he stood on the dock with his eyes fixed on his mother. What bitterness the features of his face expressed, as if he sensed that he was looking at her for the last time... and it was indeed so"! In fact, Maria Alexandrovna died in St. Petersburg, in July 1916; she did not get to see the victory of the great cause for which her son fought.

On his return to Paris, Lenin insisted that the Bolsheviks revive the Marxist press in Russia. The newspaper *Star* in St. Petersburg and the magazine *Thought* in Moscow then emerged, for which he wrote many articles, among which was *Certain Features of the Historical Development of Marxism*.

In the spring of 1911, Lenin founded a Party School in Longjumeau, a town in greater Paris, for workers engaged in clandestine work. Krupskaya, Semashco, Lunacharsky and Inessa Armand gave valuable help to the school which became frequented by many Bolsheviks who had recently arrived from Russia.

They taught more than fifty courses on the theory and practice of socialism, the agrarian question, the political period and party questions, Lenin's lectures were very lively, frequently leading to lively discussions.

Traveling to Zurich in October 1911, the Bolshevik leader participated in several meetings of the International Socialist Bureau, giving his full support to Rosa Luxemburg, who denounced the opportunist behavior of the German Social Democrats regarding the elections to the *Reichstag* (German parliament).

At the end of 1911, at a Bolshevik meeting in Paris, it was approved to hold a Conference of the RSDLP in Czechoslovakia at the beginning of 1912.



Lenin and Krupskaya at the time of the founding of the Party School

Prague Conference

In the first week of January 1912, a General Conference of the RSDLP was held in Prague, in which representatives of almost all the existing party organizations in Russia participated. The Czech Social Democrats did a great deal for the organization of the event, hosting delegates and providing the venue for its realization.

At the opening of the works presided over by Lenin, his proposal to proclaim the conference the highest organ of the party, with powers to create party organs, was approved.

Most of the delegates to the Prague conference were workers. Lenin took up residence with one of them, the locksmith Stepan, of the Petersburg party committee, in the same room of the house of a Czech worker. "Frequently," the locksmith related in his memoirs, "Lenin would come in late at night, drink some tea, walk to and fro in the room with his thumbs hooked to the buttonholes of his waistcoat, and then — not wanting to waste a minute, he would say: '*Well, Stepan, you read, that -- I am going to work a little.*'"

The General Conference of the RSDLP in Czechoslovakia played the role of a real Party Congress; it passed important resolutions on the political situation and party tasks, also adopting a series of resolutions on the questions of the international workers' movement, expelled the liquidators and other opportunists from the party, putting an end once and for all to the formal unity between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks.

At the end of the conference, Lenin, Kalinin, Sverdlov, Elena Stasova and Spandaryan were elected to the Central Committee of the (Bolshevik) party. Back in their localities, the Bolsheviks went on to promote the unity of the workers around three fundamental demands: a democratic republic, confiscation of land from the landowners and the eight-hour workday.

"*At last,*" Lenin wrote to Gorky, "*in spite of the liquidationist scoundrels, we succeeded in rebuilding the party and its Central Committee; I hope that you also participate in our joy.*"

Massacre in Siberia

Purged of the liquidationists and other opportunists, the party was considerably strengthened, and the revolutionary movement was reborn in Russia. Indeed, "*a party becomes*

stronger by purging itself" is part of the opening epigraph of Lenin's book *What Is To Be Done?*

Despite the reopening of the Duma in St. Petersburg, discontent with tsarism deepened more and more. And in order to force the people into submission, the autocracy committed more than one bloody crime.

On April 4, 1912, when hundreds of gold miners on the banks of the Lena River in Siberia were peacefully heading to negotiate with the bosses for better wages and working conditions, tsarist troops opened fire, killing more than 500 men. The workers of all Russia, led by the Bolsheviks, protested with many strikes, demonstrations and rallies, transforming the Lena massacre into a strong revolutionary upsurge.

In the Duma, when questioned about the massacre, Durnovo, then Nicholas II's Minister of the Interior, simply declared: "So it was and so it will continue to be."



The Lena River Massacre: Painter: A. Morarov

At a Bolshevik meeting in Paris, Lenin presented a lengthy report on the measures the party should take to lead the new revolutionary growth in Russia.

Pravda / Move to Poland

Faced with the revolutionary spirit that was spreading throughout the country, the Bolsheviks, at Lenin's insistence, decided on a newspaper that would cater to all strata of the population. With Stalin's coordination, the first issue of the

newspaper *Pravda* (Truth) was published in St. Petersburg on April 22, 1912. Although closed many times by the agents of the *Okhrana* but circulating under other names, *Pravda* proudly became the new organ of the party for the Bolshevik workers.

Using pseudonyms – *V. Frei; V.I., V. Illin, T., Pravdist* (the true one)... Lenin began to write almost every day for the new newspaper, emphasizing in one of his articles: "*Disunited, the workers are nothing; together they are everything.*" Among others, Bukharin, Eremeev, Krupskaya, Molotov, Pyatakov, Stalin and Stushka also contributed to *Pravda*.

In June 1912, Lenin left Paris, moving with Krupskaya and his elderly mother Elizaveta to the Polish city of Krakov, which was then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

To obtain a residence visa in Poland, the Bolshevik leader answered the question about his occupation: "*I am a correspondent for the Russian newspaper Pravda, published in Petersburg, and for a Russian newspaper published in Paris, The Social Democrat, which is the source of my income.*"

Until the outbreak of World War I, Lenin and the family spent the winter in Krakov and in the summer in a not-too-distant village, Poronin. In addition to editing the new party organ, he wrote almost 300 articles in the period from April 1912 to 1914. Correcting the errors and flaws of the newspaper, he said: "*The corrected error disappeared; the uncorrected ones became a festering sore.*"

In September 1912, still with electoral bases largely favorable to the Tsar, elections were held for the Duma. Only in six of the hundred provinces in Russia could voters directly choose their candidates. Lenin drew up an electoral platform for the party, getting a Bolshevik deputy elected in one of the six provinces. Although this was not much, he was satisfied with the result and went on to guide the actions of the Bolshevik deputies in the Duma and outside of it.

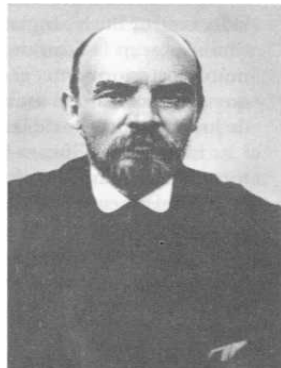
At the beginning of 1913, making severe criticisms of Trotsky's anti-party activity, the Bolshevik leader developed the thesis of the relation between the party and the class, emphasizing the great importance of the revolutionary party organization. In commemoration of the 30th anniversary of Karl Marx's death, in March 1913 he wrote the well-known work, *The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism*,

published in the Bolshevik magazine *Education*. In June, satisfied with Bukharin's articles for *Pravda*, he visited him in Vienna, taking Krupskaya to the Austrian capital for a consultation with a renowned thyroid specialist.

Exacerbating nationalism in confrontation with proletarian internationalism, during the second half of 1913, Lenin held a series of conferences on the "National Question" in several European cities, publishing at the beginning of 1914 the classic works: *Critical Remarks on the National Question* and *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*. When speaking on the "National Question," the Bolshevik leader never tired of repeating the dialectical Marxist thesis: "No nation that oppresses other nations can be free."



The Krakow library used by Lenin



Lenin in Poronin, 1914

12 WORLD WAR I

In the first months of 1914, large strikes took place in the main cities of Russia, involving about one and a half million workers. In the countryside, the discontent of the peasants threatened to erupt into widespread uprisings.

Meanwhile, in Krakow and Poronin, meetings of the Central Committee of the Party were being held with the aim of convening a new congress of the RSDLP, to define a strategy in the face of the impetuous growth of the revolutionary movement. This was only transformed into a revolution by the outbreak of the First World War. August 1, 1914.

Fomented by imperialism, especially German imperialism, which sought to divide the world in its favor, the first world conflagration (1914-1918) plunged dozens of countries into a bloody armed conflict, causing countless misfortunes to the popular masses, millions of deaths on the battle fronts.

Initially, Germany and Austro-Hungary were confronted on one side, against Russia, England and France on the other, these last three states forming the famous Entente, a military alliance against the common enemy. Subsequently, the conflict became widespread throughout Europe and Asia, which meant the murder of millions of workers for the benefit of the capitalists and the ambitions of the dynasties.

The First World War found Lenin in Poronin, Austro-Hungarian territory. At the beginning of 1914, the Austrian police arrested him on the false accusation of espionage in favor of the tsarist government. When searching his house the police found a manuscript of statistics on the agrarian question, which was taken as a secret code. They locked the Bolshevik leader in Nowy Tag prison. In reality, Lenin's imprisonment was carried out because from the beginning he had spoken out decisively against the war.

Thanks to the intervention of public figures of the social democracy, eleven days later he was released, and went with Krupskaya to Bern, the capital of "neutral" Switzerland.

War on War

With the outbreak of the slaughter, the tsarist government

took "patriotic" measures: the name of the capital, Petersburg, which had a German sound, was changed to Petrograd; the sale of vodka was banned; the Bolshevik deputies of the Fourth Duma were deported to Siberia for demonstrating against the war, etc. The *Tsar* was furious with the German *Kaiser* and with the revolutionary movement in Russia, carrying out mass imprisonment of members and sympathizers of the Bolshevik Party.

From Bern, Lenin followed the course of the catastrophe. Totally unprepared for war, Nicholas II went to the front, further worsening the situation of his government because he practically put at the head of it the Tsarina Alexandra, a hysterical German deeply influenced and manipulated by the pseudo-mystical and illiterate Rasputin. At the end of 1916, the fake monk, whose real name was Grigory Efimovich, was murdered by members of the imperial family (Rasputin in peasant jargon meant scoundrel, corrupt).

Drafting a major manifesto against the war, Lenin proposed to turn the imperialist war into a civil war – the weapons should be turned not brother against brother, wage workers of one country against another, but against the bourgeois, reactionary and oppressive governments. In short, Lenin called on the peoples to declare war on war.

As soon as the world conflagration began, however, the leaders of the European social democratic parties shamefully began to openly support their governments, thus leading to the disintegration of the Second International. Very indignant, Lenin called on the true socialists to break with all the opportunists (Kautsky in Germany, Trotsky in Russia, Longuet in France, et al.) and proposed the creation of a Third International. In a letter to Inessa Armand he blurted out: *"This is my destiny: campaign after campaign against political cretins, against vileness and opportunism."*



Inessa Armand – married to a wealthy Russian merchant, studied in Paris; Affiliated with the Bolshevik Party, she was active in the European Social Democratic Movement.

Rasputin (bearded and hand on chest), "sacristan of the Tsar", as he was called, exerted influence over the Imperial house.



On the battlefields in the First World Cup

The works of 1914-1916

Without interrupting his political-party activities, Lenin reread the philosophical works of several authors, especially the founders of scientific socialism, resulting in his book *Philosophical Notebooks*. A continuation of *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, in that work he deepened a large number of philosophical theses.

Developing the idea of Hegel and Marx about the coincidence of dialectics, logic and the theory of knowledge, Lenin formulated in *Philosophical Notebooks* an important thesis: *The essence of dialectics and of the doctrine of the unity of opposites – in the emergence and solution of contradictions, the struggle of opposites, it is the source of development.*

In addition to giving numerous lectures in various cities of Switzerland, denouncing the crimes of reactionary governments and the complicity of opportunists, Lenin wrote in 1915-16 a series of books and works whose simple enumeration illustrates his unprecedented activity: *The Failure of the Second International; Socialism and War, The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination, On the Defeat of the Government Itself in the Imperialist War, Some Theses, the Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution, The Question of Peace, On the Slogan of Disarmament, Imperialism, Higher Stage of Capitalism...*

"The end of wars, peace among peoples, the end of plunder and violence – such is our ideal", "disarmament is the ideal of socialism" left the Bolshevik leader, respectively in *The Question of Peace and On the Disarmament Slogan.*

The late 1915 book, *Socialism and War*, was published in several languages, serving as an ideological basis and unity among revolutionary internationalists.

He participated in the organization of the Zimmerwald magazine *Herald*, published in German, Lenin took an active part in it and in Kienthal (Swiss villages) in important socialist conferences that brought together representatives from many countries, resulting in a greater cohesion of the internationalists in the ideological basis of Marxism.

In February 1916, he moved from Bern to Zurich, he settled with Krupskaya in an old house in the old city center, there in the summer he concluded *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of*

Capitalism.

An important contribution to Political Economy, this book shows that at the beginning of the twentieth century humanity entered a new stage of capitalism, the imperialist phase. In that period, the socialist revolution could initially succeed in a single capitalist country, contrary to what Marxists had hitherto thought that the revolution would only succeed in all or most countries. Lenin came to this conclusion on the basis of the law he discovered of the unevenness of the development of capitalism in different countries.

In December 1916, writing to Inessa Armand, the Bolshevik leader said: *"One should know how to combine the struggle for democracy and the struggle for the socialist revolution, subordinating the first, to the second. In this lies the whole difficulty; in this is the whole essence."*

On his way back to his homeland, when he said goodbye to his landlord in Zurich, he said: "I hope, Mr. Ulyanov, that in Russia you do not have as much work as you do here." To which Lenin replied, fixing his small, bright and piercing eyes: *"I think, Herr Kammerer, that in Petrograd I shall have much more work."*



The house in Zurich (next to the restaurant),
Lenin's last home outside Russia

13

VICTORY

At the beginning of 1917, the incompetence and corruption of the autocratic government, the defeats suffered on the fronts, the economic disorder and the famine revealed the decrepitude of tsarism. Ministers were appointed and dismissed within days. Fed up with the war, entire regiments abandoned the trenches, refusing to carry out orders. Of the nearly 15 million Russians mobilized since August 1914, more than 5 million were killed or wounded. The Germans occupied a large part of Russian territory. Discontent was widespread.

On January 9, 1917, the anniversary of "Bloody Sunday," thousands of workers took to the streets of Petrograd and several other cities in anti-war demonstrations. The guns were beginning to turn against tsarism.

In the first days of February, the still small Bolshevik party emerged from hiding and organized a great parade in the capital: *Down with the autocracy! Down with the war! Peace!* the workers shouted in the streets and squares of Petrograd.

The tsarist government tried to put down with arms the insurrection that had begun, but it no longer had the conditions to do so. The army, composed mostly of peasant and worker soldiers, no longer lent itself to mobilization against the people. The tsarist machine was practically paralyzed.

On February 22, *Pravda*, which had been closed, began to circulate again; the autocracy felt pressured by various forces together. Nicholas II went to the general headquarters outside Petrograd and in a last attempt to save the monarchy, decreed the dissolution of the *Fourth Duma*. This time, however, the deputies did not disperse.

On the last day of February 1917, when the Tsar was hurriedly trying to return to the capital to assess the resistance of the deputies in the Duma, his train was intercepted by the railway workers: the imperial train stopped in its tracks and the whole mechanism of the monarchy was paralyzed. There was nothing left for the monarchy. Cornered, "with a heavy heart", as he stated in his *Diary*, Nicholas II abdicated the imperial throne; the carriage of his train picked up his family and they

went on to the palace of Tsarskoe Selo, located on the outskirts of Petrograd.

In the end, tsarism collapsed and with it the Romanov dynasty that had lasted for more than three centuries. Russia began to breathe an air of freedom.

In the streets of the capital and many other cities, the people began to break up and burn the tsarist coats of arms and symbols. Everywhere Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies were beginning to form. In the Duma, to officially represent the new republican power, a provisional government was organized, led by Prince Lvov, of which the following would become part, among others: Alexander Kerensky who occupied the portfolio of Justice; Miliukov, that of Foreign Affairs; Gutskov assumed the Ministry of War; Skobelev, the Ministry of Labor, et al.

Between the fall of the Tsar and the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks (February to October 1917), Russia experienced a social revolution from below to above, unprecedented in human history.

From Zurich, Lenin sent the Bolsheviks in Petrograd a long telegram explaining the problems that had arisen such as the dual power: the Provisional Government and the Soviets. Trying to elude the "blacklists" that the provisional government sent abroad with his name and that of other Bolsheviks to deny them a return visa, the Bolshevik leader planned an extraordinary scheme to leave Switzerland: by plane, via Stockholm with a false passport; through France or England with a wig, etc. The plans fell apart. It was very easy for them to denounce you: "Imagine yourself falling asleep and dreaming of Mensheviks, which will start you off swearing juicily in Russian! Where will your disguise be then?" I said with a laugh," Krupskaya recalled.

In mid-March 1917, in his famous *Letters from Afar*, Lenin warned about the bourgeois character of the Provisional Government. Saying that only the first stage of the revolution had been completed, he issued an ardent appeal to the workers: "*You performed miracles of proletarian heroism yesterday in overthrowing the tsarist monarchy. In the more or less near future... you will again have to perform the same miracles of*

heroism to overthrow the rule of the landlords and capitalists."

To the Finland Station

In March 1917, saying goodbye to his landlord in Zurich, Lenin and more than thirty exiles, helped by the Swiss and German Social Democrats, left Switzerland on a closed train bound for Petrograd.

The German government authorized the passage of the revolutionaries through its territory, presuming that the revolution would be a misfortune for Russia, further weakening it in the ongoing war.

Crossing all of Germany, the group arrived in Sassnitz on the Baltic Sea on March 30. From there a Swedish cargo ship transported the revolutionaries to Trelleborg, from where they traveled by train to Stockholm, staying one day in the Swedish capital.

On the Swedish-Finnish border, British officers decided to examine Lenin in a separate room. "Finding nothing, they had to let us pass, and Ilyich laughed happily. Hugging me, he said: *'Our deprivations are over, comrade. We are in our land and we are going to show them that we are worthy masters of the future'*," Mikhail Tskhakaya recalled.

At the Bielostrov station of the Finnish railway, Stalin and Maria Ulyanova, Lenin's younger sister, along with an entourage of workers awaited the Bolshevik leader and accompanied him to Petrograd.

At 11 p.m., on April 3, 1917, after almost more than 10 years outside Russia, Lenin arrived at the Finland Station in the national capital.

On a warm spring night, although it was Easter, the town filled the entire square in front of the station. The orchestra played the Marseillaise. From the last carriage, Lenin looked at those present and greeted them cheerfully by raising his hat. A storm of applause flooded the platform. Thousands of workers waved red flags, greeting him with enthusiastic cheers. Asking for silence, the leaders of the reception whispered to him that the people wanted to hear him. The soldiers and workers put him on top of an armored car that served as a platform and the Bolshevik leader, striving to be heard by the entire square, said.

"Comrades! I greet you without knowing yet whether or not you believe in all the promises of the Provisional Government. However, I am convinced that when they talk to you with sugary words, when they promise worlds and funds, they are deceiving you and the entire Russian people. The people need peace; the people want bread; the people want land. They give them war, hunger and no bread – they let the landowners continue to control the land... We need to fight for the social revolution, to fight to the end, to the complete victory of the proletariat. Long live the world socialist revolution!"

"It was extraordinary!" said the writer N. Sukhanov, who was not a Bolshevik. And Podvoisky, one of the organizers of the reception, stated: "Lenin's characteristic gesture when he extends his right arm forward as if concentrating on his overpowering thoughts will forever be etched in the memory of the people who heard and saw Lenin speak from the top of the armored car next to Finland Station. The spotlights illuminated the immense sea of heads, flags and bayonets... the armored car departed."

Surrounded by the people, the leader was taken to Kschessinska Palace, the headquarters of the Bolshevik Party. In a spacious living room he quickly drank some tea and headed to the balcony to make a second speech. The workers did not want to move. Some members of the Central Committee of the Party explained to them that he would speak again the next day and that from then on he would be constantly with the people. The workers left almost at dawn.

In the garden of the Winter Palace, which was the home of a ballerina of the Bolshoi Ballet, a former lover of the Tsar, many Bolsheviks insisted on listening to Lenin in particular. The conversation began with his account of the difficulties he had in leaving Switzerland. He then asked about the situation in the capital and its surroundings. In detail, they informed him about the struggle of the workers during the bourgeois revolution of February, the composition and activities of the Soviets and the party work in the neighborhoods.

On the morning of April 4, 1917, Lenin and Krupskaya went to the house of Anna, the leader's older sister, who was married to Mark Elizarov. They had a special room reserved for them. On the bed, the couple found a poster prepared by the adopted

son of the owners of the house that read: "Proletarians of the whole world, unite."



Lenin (carrying umbrellas) and a group of emigrants in Stockholm, stopover on their return trip to Russia



The Kschessinska Palace at the entrance to Petrograd

The April Theses

In the few months that followed until the October Victory, Lenin developed a great deal of activity that gave the indelible

impression of someone with a very privileged brain. The journalist John Reed, who was there in those days, described him in his masterpiece of journalism *Ten Days That Shook the World*: "A short, stocky figure, with a big head set down in his shoulders, bald and bulging. Little eyes, a snubbish nose, wide, generous mouth, and heavy chin; clean-shaven now, but already beginning to bristle with the well-known beard of his past and future. Dressed in shabby clothes, his trousers much too long for him. Unimpressive, to be the idol of a mob, loved and revered as perhaps few leaders in history have been. A strange popular leader—a leader purely by virtue of intellect; colorless, humorless, uncompromising and detached, without picturesque idiosyncrasies—but with the power of explaining profound ideas in simple terms, of analyzing a concrete situation. And combined with shrewdness, the greatest intellectual audacity."

The day after his arrival in Petrograd, after visiting the graves of his mother and sister Olga in the Volkov cemetery, at the All-Russia Assembly of Soviets, established in the Tauride Palace, Lenin defended his remarkable *April Theses*, a concrete and precise plan for passing over from the bourgeois-democratic revolution of February to the socialist revolution.

The Theses showed that the Provisional Government was only interested in protecting the interests of the big capitalists and landowners and that the war with Germany continued to be annexationist and predatory. Launching the slogan "*No Support for the Provisional Government!*" and "*All Power to the Soviets*", Lenin put forward the idea of the Republic of Soviets as a new form of state, which meant the predominance of labor over capital and the power of the working majority over the bourgeois minority. Arguing the possibility of a peaceful path to power for the workers, the leader encouraged the Bolsheviks to win over all the Soviets that were at that time in the hands of the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries (SR).

In his *April Theses*, Lenin also put great emphasis on the economic platform of the party: the merger of all the banks into a single National Bank, workers' control over the factories and the confiscation of all the latifundia.

Later assuming the leadership of *Pravda* and the Central

Committee of the Party, the Bolshevik leader went on to insistently demonstrate that only the power of the Soviets could put an end to the imperialist war, which the Provisional Government continued by sending large contingents of soldiers to the fronts. In his report to the Seventh Conference of the Party, which began on April 24, 1917, he emphasized: "*The fundamental question of every revolution is the question of state power.*" The conference unanimously approved his political line of transformation of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

During the month of May 1917, in addition to participating in the First Congress of Peasants' Deputies, Lenin spoke at numerous meetings organized by workers, soldiers and sailors, emphasizing that the new revolution – the socialist revolution – was "a revolution a thousand times stronger than that of February."



Lenin expounding the April Theses at the Tauride Palace

First Congress of Peasant Deputies

On the afternoon of May 22, 1917, Lenin spoke at the First Congress of Peasant Deputies. A. Kushkin, delegate to the congress, recounted his speech as follows.

"The commotion in the hall suddenly ended when Avksentiev, Chair of the Executive Committee of the All-Russia Soviets of Peasant Deputies, said: Comrade Lenin has the floor. And as soon as his loud and slightly guttural voice was heard, they began to shout from the right side of the room: "Why is Lenin given the floor? He is not a delegate to the congress. Don't give him the floor!"

A murmur of voices rose in the room. But Lenin was perfectly calm, securing the table with both his hands and looking pensively at the enraged right. Finally, the shouting stopped and there was silence.

I came here, says Lenin, as a duly elected Bolshevik member of the present congress – and he raises his mandate high above his head (Lenin had a consultative vote).

Avksentiev confirmed this. Lenin began his report. At the beginning of his speech there were replies from the right-wing bench. For a short time, they kept quiet. Lenin spoke in absolute silence.

He explained the policy of the Bolsheviks on the three main questions: land, war and the organization of the state. Lenin presented a resolution on the agrarian question. In it he proposed the immediate handing over of all the latifundia, of all the private lands, of the church and others, to the people without any compensation. Private ownership of land – said the resolution – must be totally abolished, that is, the right to property over all land must belong only to the people. The Bolshevik resolution pointed out that the transfer of land from the landowners to the peasantry without compensation, could not be accomplished without a close alliance of the peasants with the workers, without the power of the state passing entirely to the soviets of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies.

The delegates, especially the peasants, looked intently at Lenin's face and followed his gestures. His words were precise, clear and understandable to everyone... Accurate phrases, sharp as arrows... They gave a standing ovation. "The audience was won over, subjugated..."

First Congress of Soviets

During the month of June 1917, many sessions of the All-Russia Congress of Soviets were held, whose delegates were mostly Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries (SR).

Tseretelli, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs in the Provisional Government, in a long speech criticized the proposals of the Bolsheviks for the formation of a Soviet government. When he asserted that there was no party in Russia that could assume all power alone, a loud and determined voice sounded from the middle of the great auditorium: "There is!" It was the voice of Lenin, who took the rostrum and repeated: *"He says that in Russia there is no political party capable of fully assuming power. I answer: There is! No party can refuse that, and ours does not refuse. At all times it is ready to take all the power."* At the end of his speech, the Bolshevik leader declared that in a period of revolution one cannot stay still – one either advances or retreats.

In his second speech to the delegates to the First Congress of Soviets, Lenin spoke on the question of war and peace, arguing that the only way out of war lay in the victory of the socialist revolution.

He was listened to attentively by the representatives to the congress, especially the soldiers, who were increasingly on the side of the Bolsheviks. With the rejection of the Bolshevik leader's proposals, however, the unconditional support of the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries for the policy of the Provisional Government became clear.

In the second half of June 1917, powerful demonstrations began in the working-class districts of the capital that showed the discontent of the workers with the provisional government now headed by Alexander Kerensky.

On the morning of July 3, 1917, thousands of workers, led by the Bolsheviks, took to the streets of Petrograd demanding the total transfer of power to the Soviets. The Provisional Government ordered its agents to fire on the workers in order to suppress the formidable demonstration. The streets of the capital were covered in blood and the prisons were full of Bolsheviks. The editorial office of *Pravda*, where Lenin had been just moments before, was destroyed. He escaped and went into hiding.

In Hiding

From July 3 to October 7, 1917, Lenin was away from Petrograd. He was declared an outlaw by the Provisional Government, which offered a large amount of money to anyone who handed him over to the authorities. There was a price on Lenin's head.

Posing as a peasant, he rented a cottage on the shores of Lake Razliv, near the Finnish border, where he took refuge. A family of workers provided him with food and daily newspapers. Improvising a table in the middle of the dense willow grove, the Bolshevik leader developed several theses and began to write his work entitled *Marxism on the State*, which became the well-known book *The State and Revolution*.

In these theses, Lenin demonstrated the necessity of the temporary withdrawal of the watchword "*All power to the soviets*", since the existing ones led by the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries had been transformed into appendages of the Provisional Government. Pointing out that the Bolshevik Party did not renounce the struggle for a Soviet Republic, he predicted that in the coming revolutionary upsurge, new soviets would certainly emerge, not like the ones now of conciliation with the bourgeoisie, but as organs of revolutionary struggle. He further stated that, due to the violent repression unleashed by the Provisional Government, hopes for the peaceful development of the revolution had been dashed.

At the end of July and the beginning of August 1917, the temporary withdrawal of the slogan "All Power to the Soviets" was approved by the Sixth Party Congress, meeting clandestinely in Petrograd. Stalin, who presided over the congress, presented the Leninist thesis as a political report: "*Alliance of the working class with the peasantry, an indispensable condition for the victory of the socialist revolution.*" In his forced absence, Lenin was elected "Honorary Chair" of the Sixth Congress of the RSDLP (b), which approved, among other things, the resolution on the preparation of the armed insurrection. The Party had grown considerably in recent months; it then had more than 300,000 Bolsheviks members.

When its work was concluded, the Sixth Congress of the Party more than doubled the composition of its Central Com-

mittee and addressed an ardent message to the workers, expressing certainty of the victory of the socialist revolution.

Following the Sixth Party Congress, detachments of the Red Guards were created: Workers led by the Bolsheviks obtained weapons and learned to handle them. Already in his *April Theses*, Lenin declared that the police should be eliminated and the army replaced by a people's militia whose officers could not earn more than the average wage of the workers.

It became very difficult for the Bolshevik leader to stay in the hut because the agents of the Provisional Government were sniffing around Lake Razliv, so the Emelianovs, who had provided him with supplies, disguised him as a stoker of a locomotive and Lenin arrived in Khalkala, Finland. However, he did not linger long at the house of the worker Parvianen. Two young workers, amateur actors, disguised him as a Protestant pastor and traveled with him to Lahti, 130 kilometers from Helsingfors, now Helsinki, the capital of Finland.



Alexander Kerensky, head
of the Provisional
Government that outlawed
Lenin

Lenin on the
shores of Lake
Razliv.
Painter: N.
Zhukov



The State and Revolution

In Helsingfors, Lenin stayed in the apartment of the Social Democrat Kustaa Rovio, head of the Finnish capital's police. From the point of view of his safety, he could not find a better place and there, he concluded the sixth chapter of *The State and Revolution*.

In the Postscript to the first edition of that work, the author himself stated: *"This pamphlet was written in August and September 1917. I had already drawn up the plan for the next, the seventh chapter... But... I had no time to write a single line of the chapter; I was 'interrupted' by a political crisis – the eve of the October Revolution of 1917. Such an 'interruption' can only be welcomed.... It is more pleasant and useful to go through the 'experience of the revolution' than to write about it."*

In *The State and Revolution*, Lenin gave special importance to the approach of socialism and communism as two phases in the evolution of communist society. Socialism is the first or lower phase of communism. Society cannot leap from capitalism to communism without passing through the socialist stage of development. *"From capitalism,"* he wrote, *"mankind can pass directly only to socialism, i.e., to the ownership of the means of production and the distribution of products according to the amount of work performed by each individual. In communism, which develops on the basis of the consolidation of socialism, this fundamental principle will be developed: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."*

Reviving the theory of Marx and Engels on the state and

the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin stated that after the fall of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat must establish its dictatorship and create a new state. A truly democratic state because it safeguards the interests of the majority of the popular masses. The destruction of the bourgeois state does not mean that the new society can exist without the state. He said: "*We do not indulge in 'dreams' of dispensing at once with all administration; these anarchist dreams... are totally alien to Marxism.*"

Considering that the fundamental political premise of the withering away of the state is the development of socialist democracy, the Bolshevik leader predicted: "*Politically, the difference between the first, or lower, and the higher phase of Communism will in time, probably, be tremendous.*"

The Bolshevik Soviets

Ready to sweep away the advance of the revolution, the bourgeoisie caused the closure of factories, the paralysis of transport, the rationing of food, making living conditions in Russia very difficult. Increasingly tense, the political climate was worrying and causing unease and nervousness to everyone.

Through the *Proletary*, published clandestinely to replace the shattered *Pravda*, Lenin warned the party and people of the plot of the capitalists and landowners, recommending vigilance and readiness to confront the enemy. As before, the bourgeoisie attacked with a general as its champion.

On August 25, 1917, financed and supported by the big Russian and foreign capitalists and by the Constitutionalist-Democratic Party, General Kornilov advanced on Petrograd with his troops with the intention of liquidating the Soviets and establishing a military dictatorship.

However, by quickly mobilizing the masses and leading the struggle against Kornilov, within a few days the Bolsheviks defeated the counter-revolutionary attempt. Definitively, the workers were convinced in practice that only the Bolshevik Party defended their interests.

After the elections to the Soviets, the Bolsheviks went on to lead them in the main cities of Russia, including Petrograd and

Moscow. The slogan "*All power to the Soviets!*" once again became the priority of the Bolsheviks. Lenin devoted himself once again to the question of the possibility of the peaceful development of the revolution. In his extensive work *The Russian Revolution and Civil War*, written in the first half of September 1917, he stated: "*The Bolsheviks will do everything to ensure this peaceful development of the revolution.*"

At the same time, in Helsingfors he sent two letters to the Central Committee of the Party presenting the task of armed insurrection for the seizure of power: "*The Bolsheviks... can and must take state power into their own hands.*" And insisting that many Bolsheviks go to the factories, to the barracks, to wherever the working masses are, he pointed out: "*the pulse of life is there, there is the source of salvation for our revolution.*"

Back to Petrograd

At the end of September 1917, Lenin moved from the Finnish capital to a refuge offered to him in Vyborg, a town near Petrograd. To a member of the Social Democratic Party of Finland who was anxious about his change, he replied: "*No, we cannot wait any longer; the decisive situation in the struggle for Soviet power is rapidly maturing.*" And immediately, in his new hiding place, he began to write for the newspaper *Workers' Path*, the name under which *Pravda* was coming out.

Persisting in the preparation of the insurrection and emphasizing the role of the soviets as a new state apparatus, the Bolshevik leader emphasized in his long article *The Crisis Has Matured*: "*The honor of the Bolshevik Party is in question. The whole future of the international workers' revolution for socialism is at stake.*"

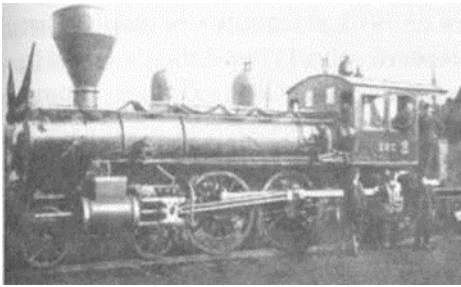
Wishing to return to Petrograd as quickly as possible, Lenin sent letter after letter to the Central Committee of the Party inquiring about his return to the capital. On October 3, 1917, the Central Committee of the RSDLP met and decided to "propose to Ilyich that he move to Petrograd."

Then, wearing a wig, shaved and made up, posing as a worker in an arms factory, the Bolshevik leader took a train in Vyborg and returned to Petrograd on October 7. Krupskaya arranged a secret lodging in the house of Margarita Fofanova.

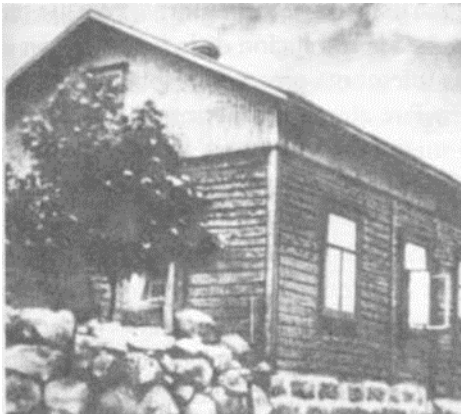
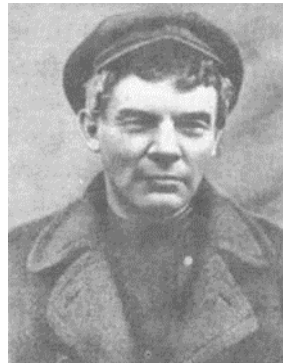
The next day, in writing the memorable letter to the Party's

Central Committee, he said: "*Delay is criminal.*" And in his famous *Advice of an Onlooker*, Lenin recalled Marx's principal rules of armed insurrection:

- a) Never play with insurrection; once it has begun it is necessary to know that it is necessary to act with the greatest determination, without fail, to take the offensive. The defensive is the death of every armed insurrection.
- b) To try to take the enemy by surprise, concentrating a great superiority of forces at the decisive point and at the decisive moments
- c) To obtain daily successes, however small, and at all costs retaining moral superiority.



The locomotive that took Lenin thus disguised from Vyborg to Petrograd



Lenin's refuge in Vyborg

The quarters in
the house of
Margarita
Fofanova in
Petrograd.



On the Eve

On the night of October 10, 1917, the Central Committee of the Party met clandestinely and deliberated on the inevitability of armed insurrection. To lead it, a *Political Center* composed of seven members, presided over by Lenin, was elected.

The following days, both in his secret lodgings and in Kalinin's house, the Bolshevik leader met with all the members of the Central Committee and many Party officials. "In those days," Krupskaya recalled, "he was entirely dominated by the idea of armed insurrection; he only thought of her, infecting everyone with his mood and conviction."

From October 16 to 17, a new meeting of the Bolshevik Central Committee was held, in which 25 members participated. By 20 votes to 2, with 3 abstentions, the resolution of the immediate armed insurrection was adopted. Almost all the members present spoke; Kamenev and Zinoviev voted against. A five-member *Revolutionary Military Center* – Bubnov, Dzerzhinsky, Stalin, Sverdlov and Uritsky – was elected to map out the military strategy and tactics of the armed insurrection.

Refuting any argument to postpone the insurrection, Lenin checked the preparations with the members of the *Military Revolutionary Committee*, drawing up guidelines on the most varied aspects. Practical instructions for mobilization were sent to party organizations throughout the country, and members of the Central Committee of the Party were also sent to the countryside for the proper organization of the peasants.

On October 18, in an interview with the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* (New Life), Kamenev and Zinoviev declared themselves against the preparations for the armed insurrection, thus revealing a Party secret, putting the whole cause of the revolution at risk. Indignant, Lenin proposed that the two be severely censured and expelled from the Party: *"I should consider it disgraceful on my part if I were to hesitate to condemn these former comrades because of my earlier close relations with them."* For all these reasons, the majority of the Central Committee resolved to expel them, forbidding anyone, except for two members of the Central Committee, to make any statement in the name of the Bolshevik Party.

In the Smolny Institute, a former school of nuns of the aristocracy, transformed into the general headquarters of the Bolshevik Party, the Second Congress of All-Russia Soviets was about to be installed on the night of October 25, 1917. Planning to deal a mortal blow to the revolution, the Provisional Government hoped to dissolve the congress by imprisoning its participants.

Lenin, however, who followed the dense political movement attentively, attached fundamental importance to the initial moment of the insurrection. *"Waiting for the Congress of Soviets... would be utter idiocy or sheer treachery,"* the leader was exasperated with Trotsky who, readmitted to the party, called for the postponement of the insurrection until the end of the Second Congress of Soviets. On the orders of the Bolshevik leader, the Red Guards immediately set about occupying the strategic positions of Petrograd.

In the end, the moment came for which Lenin created the most efficient revolutionary party in the world. Some main leaders were:



Kalinin



Sverdlov



Dzherzhinsky



Bubnov



Uritsky



Lunacharsky



Podvoisky



Stalin



Kamenev



Zinoviev



Trotsky

The Seizure of Power

On the morning of Monday, October 24, 1917, when agents of the Provisional Government were on their way to the newspaper *Workers' Path* to close it, they found the fighters of the Red Guard organized by Trotsky in front of them, who took on the defense of the newspaper and also went on to protect the Smolny Institute where the Petrograd Soviet was located. The most formidable confrontation between the old world and the new world had begun.

In his chambers in the house of Margarita Fofanova, Lenin was informed that the Provisional Government planned to raise the mobile bridges over the Neva River, in order to divide the revolutionary forces. Lenin wrote to the Central Committee of the Party: *"I am writing these lines on the evening of the 24th. The situation is critical in the extreme.... With all my might I urge comrades to realize that... we are confronted by problems which are not to be solved by conferences or congresses... We must at all costs, this very evening, this very night, arrest the government... History will not forgive revolutionaries for procrastinating when they could be victorious today (and they certainly will be victorious today), while they risk losing much tomorrow, in fact, they risk losing everything."* Fofanova delivered the letter to the Central Committee of the Party.

Meanwhile, wrapped in a scarf around his neck, dressed in an old coat and his inseparable cap, taking a risk, on the cold

night of October 24, 1917, Lenin came out of hiding and went to the Smolny Institute, the general staff of the Revolution, where he began to direct it personally.

Flooded with light – according to Krupskaya's description – Smolny burned. On the second floor, the *Revolutionary Military Center* was in permanent session. In the auditorium, workers, peasants and sailors joined the delegates to the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets who came from all over. By receiving and delivering information, Lenin clearly discerned the development of events.

On the morning of October 25, 1917, the telegraph and telephone exchange, radio stations, railway stations, power stations, the State Bank, and other important institutions were under the control of the Red Guards. With the exception of the Winter Palace where the provisional government was taking refuge, Petrograd was in the hands of the workers. The insurrection was victorious.

"The workers' and peasants' revolution, about the necessity of which the Bolsheviks have always spoken, has been accomplished.... From now on, a new phase in the history of Russia begins, and this, the third Russian revolution, should in the end lead to the victory of socialism," Lenin said at the plenum of the Petrograd Soviet on the afternoon of October 25, 1917.

However, the final touch of such a great work was missing.

At nightfall on October 25, a shot rang out from the battleship *Aurora*, anchored in the Neva River. It was the expected signal and Lenin ordered the taking of the Winter Palace.

Commanding the operation, Podvoisky led 18,000 attackers against 2,000 defenders. In a few hours, after midnight, the Winter Palace was taken by assault; five people died. All the ministers of the Provisional Government who were in the Palace were arrested. Alexander Kerensky, disguised, managed to leave the city, later emigrating from Russia.

Thus the *October Socialist Revolution* won, the most important political event of the 20th century, which only a brilliant strategist could have led without massacre, in a country of more than 160 million inhabitants.

"Those who could not witness the Revolution cannot imagine its solemn and grandiose beauty," said Krupskaya.

Peace and Land

Delivering to Lunacharsky a message to be read at the opening of the Second Congress of Soviets, Lenin left Smolny and went to the house of Vladimir Bonch-Bruevich where he intended to rest. He was exhausted; he hadn't slept for more than 48 hours. On the way out of Smolny he met Trotsky, who was now helping him dedicatedly as chair of the Petrograd Soviets; he said to him in a cracked voice: *"You know... after so much persecution, after all that life underground... to come to power like this... I'm stupified!"*

Having taken the Winter Palace in the early morning of October 26, 1917, in the main hall of Smolny, with 675 delegates present, of whom 343 were Bolsheviks, Lunacharsky took the rostrum and read Lenin's handwritten message: *"To the workers, soldiers and peasants? Relying on the will of the immense majority of the workers, soldiers and peasants... The Congress takes power into its hands!"* In the midst of animated and intense acclamations, the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets, representing millions of workers, decided that all power in Russia belonged to the Soviets.

Meanwhile, in Bonch-Bruevich's house, Lenin could not sleep, according to a worker who wrote his memoirs. Thinking of the Second Congress of Soviets, which was to meet in the afternoon of that day for its second and last session, the revolutionary leader, careful not to wake anyone, began to write the historic reports *On Peace* and *On Land*.

When Lenin went to Smolny on the evening of October 26, 1917, it was not only the delegates to the Congress who were present. A crowd of workers, soldiers, and sailors had gathered to see him. Caps were thrown into the air, weapons were raised. Standing up, everyone listened to his report *On Peace*, which branded war as the greatest crime against humanity. Unanimously, the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets passed the first decree of the Soviet power, the *Decree on Peace*, which aimed at concluding a just, immediate peace without annexations or indemnities with all the belligerent countries.

Lenin then presented the report *On Land*, reading his draft decree. It was the initial measure with which he socialized Russia. In summary, it decreed:

"Private property of the land is abolished immediately

without any compensation. The right of private property over land is abolished forever. The whole land becomes the patrimony of the whole people..."

Approved with enthusiastic applause by the delegates to the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets, the *Decree on Land* was the starting point of a new era, not only for Russia, but for all humanity.



Storming the
Winter
Palace

They then elected the Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom), with Lenin presiding; the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets chose ten other revolutionaries to make up the Council: Stalin for the Commissariat (Ministry) of Nationalities; Semashko, Health; Lunacharsky, Education; Stepanov, Finance; Miliutin, Agriculture; Trotsky, Foreign Affairs, etc. and after the election of 101 members of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, the Congress concluded its work by singing throughout Smolny the melody of *the Internationale*: *'Tis the final conflict/ Let each stand in his place/ The International working class/ Shall be the human race!'*



In Smolny, Lenin
proclaims Soviet power
Painting by V. Serov

14

THE HEAD OF STATE

The former detainee, outcast, hunted, émigré, outlawed conspirator, was now, at 47 years of age, the head of the government of the largest country on Earth. Three decades had passed since the execution of Sasha, his brother Alexander, in 1887. Thirty long years of struggle since his first exile to the village of Kokushkino... How did he feel?

Shortly after the Revolution, Lenin received in his office in Smolny some workers stationed with one of the People's Commissariats; they wanted to warn him that if things went wrong, they would return to the factory. The head of the socialist government listened to them attentively and replied: *"I also never led a state; but the party and the people entrusted me with that work and my duty is to honor that trust they placed in me. I recommend that you do the same."*

A new stage in Lenin's life began.

With the victory of October, all his thoughts, will and energy were concentrated towards preserving and increasing the gains of the Socialist Revolution. In his pronouncements and messages to the people, he called on the workers to take the administration of the State into their own hands. *"We demand,"* he said, *"an immediate break with the prejudiced view that only the rich, or officials chosen from rich families, are capable of administering the state, of performing the ordinary, everyday work of administration. Socialism is nothing more than the work of the people themselves, an inexhaustible source of talents."*

Building a new world, the Council of People's Commissars met every day, for endless hours developing revolutionary measures. The decrees swept away everything that was obtuse and obsolete, "into the dustbin of history," in Trotsky's expression. The means of transport, banks, factories became the property of the whole people; the privileges of the wealthy classes were eliminated, titles of nobility abolished, the eight-hour work day was decreed, men and women were declared equal before the law, state debts were cancelled, Russia was freed from the domination of foreign capital, the demobilization of

the old army was ordered; the old judicial institutions were replaced by new ones chosen according to the universal democratic principle: "*All power emanates from the people.*" In short, the obsolete state machinery had to be demolished.

The Armistice

Starting from the principle that an economy based on social ownership must be a planned economy, Lenin personally directed the creation of the Higher Council of Economics. With the abolition of exploitative relations, the workers began to work for themselves and for the good of society, the head of the socialist government emphasized: "*For the first time after centuries of working for others, of forced labour for the exploiter, it has become possible to work for oneself and moreover to employ all the achievements of modern technology and culture in one's work.*"

Proclaiming the sovereignty of all the peoples of Russia, including the right of separation and the formation of independent states, the Soviet government recognized the independence of Finland, in response to a message of the Finnish government.

However, the most urgent thing was to put an end to the ongoing imperialist war, which was the cause of the serious disorder of the economy and the weakness of the country.

In accordance with the Decree on Peace, the first socialist decree on planet Earth, which called for immediate peace and a policy of friendship with all peoples, the Soviet government made repeated efforts to jointly initiate peace negotiations with Germany together with the governments of France, England and the United States,. However, none of the belligerent countries responded to Lenin's call for a general, just and democratic peace, and the chair of the Council of People's Commissars denounced this in his *Letter to the American Workers*: "*It was the Anglo-French and the American bourgeoisie who refused to accept our proposal; it was they who even refused to talk to us about a general peace! It was they who betrayed the interests of all nations; it was they who prolonged the imperialist slaughter!*"

When the Entente rejected his government's peace proposals, Lenin was then concerned with ending the war in his

own country. After separate negotiations with Germany, a provisional armistice was signed with its government. Meanwhile, on November 12, 1917, for the first time in Russia, elections for a Constituent Assembly were held, which the provisional government promised and did not fulfill, and it was established at the beginning of 1918.

However, not everyone was satisfied with the socialist government. The capitalists and landowners were not satisfied with the victory of the workers and stubbornly resisted the measures of the Soviet power. In addition to resorting to economic sabotage and political struggle, they openly promoted terrorism and armed struggle for the re-establishment of the old regime.

Sabotage and terror by the bourgeoisie forced the government to adopt measures of response; on November 7, 1917, Lenin approved the formation of the All-Russia Extraordinary Commission (Cheka) to combat the counter-revolution. At the head of the new political-administrative organ for the prevention of counter-revolutionary crimes was placed the incorruptible Pole, Felix Dzherzhinsky.



Meeting of the Council of People's Commissars, in Smolny, in December 1917. Next to Lenin (center), Stalin; standing next to him, Alexandra Kollontai, People's Commissar of State Welfare.

"Neither War Nor Peace"

In the small town of Brest-Litovsk, located on the Russian-

Polish border, a Peace Conference was held in mid-1917.

Lenin recommended to Trotsky, People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, that even if the conditions demanded by Germany were harsh and plundering, peace should be signed. Russia needed peace for the consolidation of socialism.

In addition to recognizing that the old tsarist army had disintegrated and that the newly created Red Army was still very small, the Soviet head of state foresaw with extraordinary insight that in the very near future the liberation movement of Germany would revoke the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

However, Trotsky did not follow the instructions for immediate peace; he temporized with his suicidal slogan "neither war nor peace". In reality, the Commissar of Foreign Affairs was opposed to signing the peace, acting in accordance with his theory of "*permanent revolution*", according to which it was impossible for socialism to be achieved in a single country without socialist revolutions taking place in other countries.

At the end of 1917, on December 23, the Council of People's Commissars decided to grant Lenin a rest because he was visibly exhausted.

The Soviet leader was reluctant to spend a week with Krupskaya and his sister Maria in a small rest home in Finland. He continued to work intensively as he always did; there he wrote the articles: *From a Publicist's Diary*, *How to Organize Competition* and *Fear of the Collapse of the Old and the Fight for the New*; these articles showed that Lenin was striving to solve the problems of socialist construction: workers' initiative in organizational work, control of the people over production, democratic centralism in the state structure, etc.

15

1918: WAR AND PEACE

On January 1, 1918, when Lenin was returning from a meeting in the company of his sister Maria and Fritz Platten, secretary of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland, his car was machine-gunned by counter-revolutionary terrorists. Lenin's head was quickly pushed down and he suffered nothing; Fritz Platten was wounded in the arm. The attack provoked a great deal of indignation among the workers. *The Cheka* failed to discover the criminals.

On January 4, *Pravda* published one of the most remarkable documents in world history, the *Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People*, written by Lenin, which was to be presented to the Constituent Assembly at its inaugural session the next day. Proclaiming Russia a Soviet Socialist Republic, on the basis of the free union of its peoples, in the form of a federation, the Declaration emphasized the main task of Soviet power – *the abolition of all exploitation of man by man* – and ratified the measures already decreed: abolition of private property in land, workers' control of factories, cancellation of the State debts, etc.

Meanwhile, the Constituent Assembly, elected on lists of candidates drawn up before the October Revolution, with an temporary majority of Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, refused to approve the *Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People*. Not only that. Expressing an outdated balance of forces, when the Bolsheviks were not in power, the counter-revolutionary majority of the Constituent Assembly also refused to approve the second government project by which power in Russia was the power of the Soviets. It was evident that the Assembly was challenging socialist power. Discarding it, the Bolshevik deputies declared that they did not wish to cover up the crimes of the enemies of the people.

The next day, January 6, 1918, replacing the Constituent Assembly with the Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets, the largest representative forum of the workers, the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Executive Committee decreed the dissolution of the Assembly.

"The people wanted the Constituent Assembly summoned and we summoned it... And now, we have carried out the will of the people, which is - All power to the Soviets" said Lenin to the All-Russia Central Executive Committee on January 6, 1918. With many greetings to the revolutionary leader, the delegates to the Congress ratified the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly and approved the *Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People*.

In the first week of February 1918, impatient with the "protracted" armistice, the German Kaiser, Wilhelm II, demanded immediate acceptance of German conditions for signing the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty.

Trotsky, who on Lenin's instructions was to sign a peace agreement in case the Germans presented an ultimatum, declared in Brest that Soviet Russia refused to sign the annexationist peace. Resuming the offensive, the German army advanced to near Petrograd, and the problem of war became of great importance to Russia.

Removed from the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs, Trotsky went into open opposition, leading the so-called "Left Communists", supporters of "revolutionary war" against Germany.

As the Soviet power was seriously threatened by the Germans, the Central Committee of the Party resolved to convene its Seventh Congress, under the central theme of Peace; Lenin's proposal to send a new delegation to Brest-Litovsk, led by Chicherin, was unanimously approved in the plenary.

At the beginning of March 1918, a peace treaty was finally signed with Germany, under much more onerous conditions than those previously demanded, with Russia losing the entire Baltic region, Ukraine and Belarus, and also having to pay a large war indemnity to Germany. *" It is incredibly, unprecedentedly hard to sign an unfortunate, immeasurably severe, infinitely humiliating peace,"* Lenin said bitterly. However, Soviet power was saved, an indispensable premise for all the subsequent vigorous development of the Soviet people under socialism.

The Communist Party / Transfer to Moscow

At its close in early March 1918¹, at the close of the Seventh Party Congress, the Seventh Party Congress decided to change the name of the Social Democratic Labor Party of Russia (RSDLP) to the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Russia CP(b)R. A special commission was charged with drawing up a new party program, since the first, in 1903, had already been fulfilled: the power of the tsar, the landowners and the capitalists no longer existed. Now the party needed a new program that would define the tasks of building socialism.

For strategic reasons, on March 11, 1918, the Soviet government left Petrograd and moved to Moscow, which became the capital of the newly founded Russian Soviet Socialist Republic. The Sovnarkom and the Central Executive Committee CEC were installed in the Kremlin (meaning citadel). Lenin moved into an apartment with Krupskaya on the third floor of the former Senate building. Not only Lenin, but most of his main Bolshevik comrades – Kamenev, Stalin, Sverdlov, Trotsky, et al. went on to reside in the Kremlin with their respective families.

To have the people lead the new state, to create a new, socialist economy, was the most important task with which the Council of People's Commissars was confronted once peace was signed. *"This is the most difficult task..."*, Lenin confessed, *"because only after it has been fulfilled... will it be possible to say that Russia has become not only a Soviet, but also a Socialist Republic."*

Criticizing the so-called "left communists," who denied the possibility of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social regimes, the Soviet leader rejected the idea of the "export of the revolution": *"We know that revolutions cannot be made to order, or by agreement; they break out when tens of millions of people come to the conclusion that it is impossible to live in the old way any longer."*

In April 1918, in his pamphlet *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*, Lenin laid out the plan for the construction of socialist society. A single economic plan for the whole

¹ In February 1918, the Soviet government adopted the Gregorian calendar, advancing the Julian calendar by 13 days, which has been used in Russia until then.

country was already outlined, also based on works written in May (*Theses on the Current Situation, Hunger, etc.*), when counter-revolutionaries together with foreign interventionists unleashed the civil war.



Soviet government building in the Kremlin, in 1918



Lenin in his cabinet, reading *Pravda*

The Civil War

Many capitalists and landowners from various countries, especially from Germany, England, France and the United States, who for decades had been beneficiaries of Russia, were angry at losing the fabulous profits provided by the exploita-

tion of its wealth. Britain's then-Minister of Munitions, Winston Churchill, saying that it was necessary to "strangle the Bolshevik baby in the cradle," announced a "14-State Campaign" against Soviet Russia. Thanks to the help of foreign men, arms and money, the counter-revolution was strongly organized.

From mid-1918 to mid-1921, the newly founded Soviet Republic was forced into a war that cost millions of lives and untold economic devastation. *"When it comes to power and property, the exploiting classes forget all their phrases about love of the Fatherland and its independence, enter into negotiations against their people with any of the reactionary forces,"* Lenin stated quite clearly.

In the spring of 1918, U.S., Canadian, British, Italian, French, and Serbian soldiers seized Murmansk and Arkhangel'sk in northern Russia; later, the U.S., Japanese and British took Vladivostok, in the Far East.

Acting not only as a political leader, but also as a skilled military strategist, Lenin's performance during the years of civil war and foreign military intervention was exceptional. Under his direction, military operations were planned, and the Red Army was forged in battle. Professional military men admired him for solving often complex issues of military strategy and tactics so well.

In the summer of 1918, the interventionists went on to occupy almost three-quarters of the Soviet Republic. The situation was desperate. In the Urals, a bloody battle was fought. The "White Guards" knew that the former tsar had moved from Petrograd to Yekaterinburg and they tried to release him to lead the counter-revolutionary forces. By order of the Ural Regional Soviet, on July 17, 1918, the former monarch along with his relatives and a servant were shot. A few days later the "White Guards" entered the city.

Attack on Lenin

While the interventionists and "White Guards" formed anti-Soviet governments in the vast regions they dominated, Lenin instilled courage and certainty of victory: *"Everything for the front, everything for victory!"* were his slogans. "Hungry, barefooted, poorly dressed, but overflowing with enthusiasm and consciousness, we drank in his every word," wrote Paniunin, a

young worker at the Dynamo factory in Moscow.

On the night of August 30, 1918, the counter-revolutionaries tried to overthrow the Soviet government by attacking Lenin.

After a lecture at the Michelson factory, where he received a warm ovation, when he had crossed the gates of the factory exit surrounded by friends, Lenin was shot from behind, at point-blank range by the Socialist Revolutionary Fanny Kaplan, who fired three shots, hitting him twice. One of the bullets hit his left shoulder and the other penetrated his lung, causing a serious hemorrhage. Lenin was quickly taken to the Kremlin where doctors recommended absolute rest for him. The Soviet leader was one step away from death, but with extraordinary self-control he calmed the doctors, friends and family: *"It doesn't matter, this can happen to any revolutionary."* Referring to the terrorist who was shot after being duly prosecuted, he commented: *"Everyone does according to the lights they have."*

Thanks to his good general health, Lenin quickly recovered from his wounds and left Gorky, a small village near Moscow where he was convalescing. He returned to the Kremlin in mid-September 1918 to lead the country.

Literally surrounded by thousands upon thousands of counter-revolutionaries and foreign interventionists, the young Soviet Republic was on the verge of being "strangled in the cradle" by the great fury of its enemies. Lenin then launched the slogan: *"Let us rise up to the aid of the front of the latter!"* A large contingent of unionized workers accepted his call and marched to the front.

Notable military leaders of the Red Army were created, such as: Voroshilov, Tukhachevsky, Frunze, Chapayev and Budionny commanding. The counter-revolution consisted mainly of Denikin, Yudenich, Kolchak, and Wrangel.

The End of World War I

Despite the immense work of organizing and defending the state, Lenin found time to write and received numerous delegations of workers and peasants. "Our Lenin – as the workers affectionately called him – was solicitous and modest in his dealings with everyone, whether a famous person or a simple

cleaning woman," recalled Karpinsky, an old communist.

Very concerned with young people, the Soviet leader founded the Union of Communist Youth, whose First Congress was held in October 1918, while violent battles were taking place against the former baron and tsarist general Wrangel.

In response to Kautsky's book published in Germany, distorting Marxism and slandering Soviet Russia, Lenin wrote on October 1918, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*.

He denounced Kautsky's betrayal of the working class and explained that bourgeois democracy expresses the interests of the minority. Lenin showed in his pamphlet that proletarian democracy is "*a million times more democratic*" because it safeguards the interests of the absolute majority of the population, of the workers, and that there is no more democratic power than that exercised by the soviets.

On November 6 and 7, 1918, according to the Gregorian calendar adopted in February, the Soviet people celebrated the first anniversary of the Socialist Revolution. "The days of the first October anniversary," Krupskaya observed, "were the happiest days of his life." Also, with the defeat of the Austro-Germanic bloc, the First World War ended.

Very satisfied with the end of the imperialist war, Lenin rejoiced even more over the revolution in Germany, which, as he foresaw, would annul the predatory Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, and the lost territory would be reintegrated into Russia.

However, never overtaken by events, the Soviet leader warned in a speech on the international situation that after the victory over the Austro-German bloc, foreign powers would strengthen their attacks against socialist Russia.

16

1919: THIRD INTERNATIONAL

According to the Soviet leader's prediction, in the first months of 1919, new contingents of military personnel from France, Britain, the United States and Japan penetrated further north into Central Russia. Without hiding the difficulties, he told the truth and only the truth to the workers, who, heeding his call, organized the so-called "communist Saturdays" throughout the country. These consisted of free overtime work for the State after the eight-hour day.

In the first week of March 1919, presiding over the Eighth Congress of the Party which approved his new program, Lenin explained once again in his report that the foreign policy of the Soviet state was peace, but the bourgeois states in their furious struggle against the new socialist republic forced it to an indispensable increase in its defense. While he was working on this, practically every moment he sent an intense correspondence to the workers of Europe and America, proposing to them the foundation of the Third International.

In March 1919, in Moscow, opening the First Congress of the Communist International (Comintern), Lenin spoke on "*Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*." Much applauded by the delegates and guests from more than 30 countries, the delegates approved the platform of the Third International and addressed a manifesto to the proletarians of the whole world.

In lectures to the participants of the Comintern and in a series of articles published in *Pravda*, the revolutionary leader developed the thesis of the various ways of passing to socialism in different countries. He explained that the ruling classes do not voluntarily renounce their power and privileges and that the degree of violence used by the workers in the passage from capitalism to socialism did not depend so much on the proletariat as on the resistance of the exploiters, on their use of violence.

In the summer of 1919, speaking to the students of Sverdlov University, the socialist leader ended his famous lecture "*The State*" with the words:

"This machine called the state, before which people bowed in superstitious awe, believing the old tales that it means popular rule, tales which the proletariat declares to be a bourgeois lie—this machine the proletariat will smash. So far we have deprived the capitalists of this machine and have taken it over. We shall use this machine, or bludgeon, to destroy all exploitation. And when the possibility of exploitation no longer exists anywhere in the world, when there are no longer owners of land and owners of factories, and when there is no longer a situation in which some gorge while others starve, only when the possibility of this no longer exists shall we consign this machine to the scrap-heap."

During the autumn of 1919, the interventionists and "White Guards" violently intensified their attacks, destroying hundreds of towns and villages: millions of people were killed.

Already in the middle of the winter of December 1919 and the beginning of 1920, the Red Army managed in spectacular victories, to pacify the enemy fury on almost all fronts.



Lenin speaking to the volunteers of the civil war. As an orator, he possessed a force of expression that captivated everyone, with a deep understanding of mass psychology.

1920: Lenin's Fiftieth Anniversary

Left-Wing Communism; An Infantile Disorder

Once a truce was achieved on the fronts of the civil war, the government immediately set to work to begin the recovery of Russia.

With the central theme "*Economic Reconstruction of the Country*", the Ninth Party Congress was begun in the Bolshoi Theatre at the end of March 1920. Inaugurating it, Lenin declared: "*Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the entire country*". Led by the engineer Krzizanovsky, a special commission was charged with developing Lenin's daring plan for the electrification of Russia: in 10-15 years, by building thirty large power plants.

On April 13, 1920, the Soviet people, who truly loved and admired their leader, joyfully commemorated his fiftieth birthday. The Moscow Party Committee organized a solemn session to honor him. With his simplicity and modesty, Lenin arrived at the end of the meeting where he made a short speech devoted entirely to the party. Condemning the cult of personality, he taught that Marxism in no way diminishes the importance of leaders; but only those who rely on the masses, carry out their will and rigorously follow the collective principle and decision can be considered true leaders of the proletariat.

In May 1920, it was the turn of neighboring Poland to send its army against the Land of the Soviets and occupy much of Ukraine.

With the publication of *Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder*, in June 1920, Lenin subjected to severe criticism the so-called "left" leaders of the European Communist Parties who refused to work in bourgeois parliaments and trade unions, and denied the possibility of agreements with other parties.

In the second half of 1920, the Red Army unleashed a general offensive. Although it suffered a defeat in the battles of the Vistula (a Polish river), the Red Army managed to expel all foreign enemies from its territory.

1921: End of the Civil War / NEP (New Economic Policy)

Compounding the atrocities of the civil war, a terrible drought ravaged all of Russia in early 1921. The "White Guards"

used these calamities for their counter-revolutionary objectives. In many regions, kulaks were able to attract muzhiks for anti-Soviet actions.

Finally, after almost three long and hard years of civil war, in mid-March 1921, the last and worrying counter-revolutionary revolt took place: at the naval base of Kronstadt, in the port of Petrograd, sailors supported by "White Guards" tried to take power from the Bolsheviks. The more than ten thousand rebels occupied important points of the city. Not heeding the order to surrender, the counter-revolutionaries were completely destroyed by the Red Army, commanded by Trotsky, who was then chair of the Military Revolutionary Council, thus ending the devastating civil war.

Once the foreign and counter-revolutionary troops were defeated, all the capitalist forces that had tried to suffocate the nascent socialism in Russia were defeated. Lenin, full of legitimate pride, said: *"We resist against all."* Convinced he said: *"A people whose workers and peasants for the most part know and see that they were defending their power, the Soviet power, the power of the workers, will never be defeated."*

During the years of civil war and foreign military intervention, the Soviet government put out notes and communiqués recognizing the right of all peoples of the Earth to independence and self-determination. In a conversation with Stalin, who served as his political adviser on the fronts during the civil war, he characterized the foreign policy of the Soviet state as follows: *"Our path is correct: we stand for peace, against subjugation and the onerous conditions of understanding. It is necessary to secure the helm and continue on our way, we do not surrender to flattery or intimidation."*

But Russia was seriously devastated. The picture was bleak: nearly 10 million dead, hundreds of towns and villages destroyed, agriculture ruined. Lenin's remark that the interventionists and counter-revolutionaries had achieved half of their objectives was the record of a fact. It was necessary, however, to continue without hesitation with the implementation of socialism.

As soon as the Red Army had put down the last resistance in Kronstadt, the Party met at its Tenth Congress in Moscow to discuss and finally approve the New Economic Policy, NEP,

drawn up by Lenin.

Considered by Congress to be the only correct economic policy for the period, the system of requisitioning surplus grain, "war communism," was replaced by a tax in kind, and private trade in surplus grain and other products was allowed.

Lenin knew that the NEP meant a certain setback in relation to the revolutionary process, since it admitted small private commerce and the hiring of labor. It was, however, a temporary, calculated setback, which did not threaten the power of the soviets, since all the land, the big industries, the banks and the means of transport were the property of the whole people. In his pamphlet *The Tax in Kind*, he explained the meaning of the New Economic Policy and the methods of its application, clarifying that the NEP would strengthen the alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry, consolidating Soviet power.

Very concerned with the cultural level of the people and stating that socialism is intimately linked to the cultural revolution, Lenin gave to the People's Commission for Education the task of eliminating illiteracy as quickly as possible, and that the network of primary, middle and higher schools should be greatly expanded.

Attaching great importance to the newborn Soviet literature, the revolutionary leader recommended reading and using the works of Maxim Gorky, Damian Bedny and Alexander Serafimovich, proposing that they be widely disseminated among the people, to serve as a stimulus to the creation of their own, popular literature. Thus began socialist realism, which was to be called Soviet literature,.

A SHORT ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF LENIN



Lenin speaking at the First Congress of the Comintern, 1919.

Going with his sister Maria to the Bolshoi Theatre, in March 1920



Attending the celebration of the 4th anniversary of the Socialist Revolution

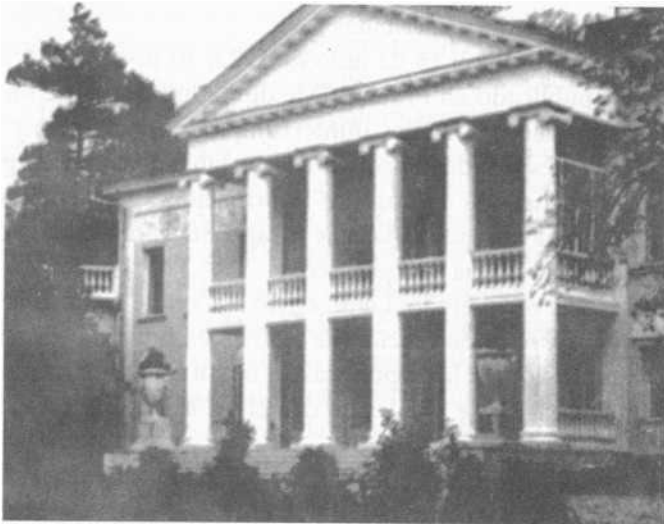
17 ILLNESS AND DEATH

In the winter of 1921, Lenin fell ill. He went to the village of Gorky on December 6, 1921, was granted six weeks of vacation, wrote to Maxim Gorky: "*Terribly tired. Insomnia. I'm going to treat myself*"

The month and a half of leave, however, was not enough for him to recover from the deep fatigue in which he found himself; The Soviet leader had to undergo rigorous medical treatment until the end of March 1922.

The doctors diagnosed that the severe headaches he felt were due to the two bullets that remained in his body, as a result of the attack of August 30, 1918.

"*They can't make me not think anymore,*" he said in relation to the rigorous medical demands. Every day Lenin received a large package of correspondence, newspapers and various documents, settling the most important affairs of the state, meeting the party leaders, giving instructions by telephone.



Gorky's rest home 35 km from Moscow.

1922: "The Testament" / USSR

Apparently recovered, the revolutionary leader opened the Eleventh Party Congress in Moscow on March 27, 1922, taking stock of the first year of the application of the NEP. Warmly applauded by the congressional delegates, the Eleventh was the last party congress at which Lenin spoke. In his closing speech, he referred to the role of the party in building the new life, about the extraordinary achievements of the October Revolution. And at his suggestion, the plenum of the Central Committee created the post of General Secretary of the Party to which Stalin was elected.

At the end of April 1922, the head of the Soviet state underwent surgery for the removal of one of the bullets lodged in his body. Due to medical determination, he had to go to Gorky, accompanied only by Krupskaya and his sister Maria Ulyanova.

Due to the cerebral sclerosis, his state of health began to worsen greatly and, on May 26, Lenin suffered the first stroke that caused a weakening of the movements of his right side (leg and arm) and a certain speech disorder. In mid-June, he began to convalesce slowly and at the beginning of July, he was allowed to receive his closest comrades, read books, newspapers and magazines in several languages; resuming the correspondence, he began to learn again about current affairs.

After visiting him on July 13, 1922, Stalin described him in an article published in *Pravda*: "the impression he made on me – that of a veteran fighter who had managed to get some rest after incessant and exhausting battles, and who had been refreshed by his rest. He looked fresh and recuperated, but still bore traces of overwork and fatigue.... What struck one in Comrade Lenin was his thirst for information... he asked questions and took silent note. He became very cheerful on learning that the harvest prospects were good...."

Practically recovered, Lenin sent the Central Committee of the Party a letter, *The Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*, in which he laid out the basis for the unification of the republics in a voluntary union of independent nations with equal rights. On October 2, 1922, he returned to the Kremlin.

In the next two and a half months, he worked as actively as before. On his activity between October 2 and December 16,

1922, the following note from his secretaries is preserved: "he wrote 224 letters, received 171 people, presided over 32 meetings of the Council of People's Commissars.

At the plenum of the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, which took place on November 13, 1922, in Petrograd, Lenin presented to the delegates, representatives of almost 60 Communist Parties, the report *"Five Years of the Russian Revolution and Prospects of the World Revolution"*, which was widely applauded. He then invited them to assimilate the teachings of the October Revolution in a creative and non-dogmatic spirit: *"We do not consider Marxism as something finished and immutable; we are convinced, on the contrary, that Marx laid the cornerstones of science that socialists must promote in all senses, if they do not want to lag behind in relation to life."*

The Danish writer, Martin Andersen-Nexo, a participant in the Congress, noted: "Lenin's thought flowed clear and transparent while dealing with the most important problems of humanity, showing everyone the evidence that the future inevitably and surely grows from the present. It seemed that he lived all human lives..."

On the afternoon of November 20, 1922, at the plenum of the Moscow Soviet, the revolutionary leader made his last public speech. Highlighting the importance of the party and urging a rational administration of the economy, he concluded: *"difficult as this task may be, new as it may be compared with our previous task, and numerous as the difficulties may be that it entails, we shall all—not in a day, but in a few years—all of us together fulfil it."*

In his chambers in the Kremlin in the early morning of December 16, 1922, Lenin suffered a second attack of atherosclerosis, which lasted more than 30 minutes. However, before the arrival of the doctors in the morning, he dictated a letter to Krupskaya about the powers of the vice-chairs of the Council of People's Commissars. "Work was life for him, inactivity meant death," said Dr. Ferster, a professor of medicine and head of the team leading his treatment. In the following days, the Soviet leader was unable to move his right limbs, still retaining full lucidity, his unusual willpower and great optimism.

Asking his secretary Maria Volodicheva to take notes, on the morning of December 23, 1922, Lenin dictated the first part

of his famous *Letter to the Congress*, with a view of the Twelfth Party Congress to be held in April 1923. In the first part of the *Letter* which was delivered to Stalin on the same day, he proposed the increase of the membership of the Central Committee of the Party: *"In the first place, he placed the increase in the number of members of the Central Committee to a few dozen or even a hundred."* The second part of the *Letter to Congress*, which became known as the *"Testament,"* was dictated gradually, on December 24, 25, and 26, 1922, and January 4, 1923. In accordance with his will, this second *Letter* was only delivered by Krupskaya to the Central Committee of the Party after his death.

The *"Testament"* contains a vehement appeal for Party unity and the personal characterization of some members of the Party Central Committee. Referring to Trotsky, Lenin pointed out his struggle against the Central Committee and his "non-Bolshevism", analyzing him: *"He is personally perhaps the most capable man in the present C.C., but he has displayed excessive self-assurance and shown excessive pre-occupation with the purely administrative side of the work."* On December 24, referring to Stalin, he dictated: *"Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has unlimited authority concentrated in his hands, and I am not sure whether he will always be capable of using that authority with sufficient caution."* He added, on January 4, 1923: *"That is why I suggest that the comrades think about a way of removing Stalin from that post."*

Because he was bedridden, the Soviet leader could not participate in the First All-Union Congress of Soviets, installed on December 30, 1922. The importance of that Congress was the approval of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the USSR, based on the suggestions of the letter *"On the Establishment of the U.S.S.R."* The delegates to the First All-Union Congress of Soviets elected him chair of the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., which was initially formed by the socialist republics of Russia, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. It later was made up of fifteen republics, which, with the dissolution of the U.S.S.R. in 1991, became independent states, now forming the Commonwealth of Independent States CIS.

1923: His Last Writings

From mid-January to the beginning of March 1923, Lenin dictated his last works: Pages from a Diary, On Co-operation, How We Should Reorganize the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, Our Revolution and Better Fewer But Better. By decision of his doctors, he could only dictate 5 to 10 minutes per day and at most, no more than 30 to 40 minutes.

Related to each other, Lenin's later works are imbued with great concern for the ideological consolidation of the Party, which he saw as the leading force of society, capable of uniting the people and leading them to the realization of socialism. Insisting on the need for a foreign policy of peace, he reaffirmed his unshakable faith in socialism. Broadly speaking, this is the content of Lenin's last writings.

The third and most serious attack of arteriosclerosis occurred on March 10, 1923, preventing him from appearing at the Party Congress. In its opening, the Secretary of the Bryansk Council took the floor and said: "Comrades, I think that discussions should begin on Lenin's articles, because he has done almost as much for the Twelfth Congress as he did for the previous congresses in the sense of their preparation. I would say more: the latest works are really a political report and point to the immediate tasks facing the Party, the Soviet power and the Communist International."

In mid-May 1923, having improved a little, the Soviet leader was taken to Gorky, passing command of the government to the triumvirate: Stalin-Kamenev and Zinoviev.

Stubbornly fighting his illness, by July 1923, Lenin was able to sit down and in his wheelchair go through the park. He liked to have poetry read to him. "I remember a poem that ended with the words: 'No, the communards will never be slaves.' He would stay thoughtfully watching the sunset through the window," Krupskaya recalled, moved.

On the morning of October 18, 1923, he went to the garage, got into the car, and insisted on going to Moscow. He went through all the divisions of the Kremlin, entered his study, was in the hall of the Council of People's Commissars. He put his notebooks in order, collected three volumes of Hegel and took them with him... the next day, he hurried back to Gorky, Krupskaya recalled.

In Gorky, during the celebration of the sixth anniversary of the October Revolution, a delegation of workers brought him a message and several cherry pies. At the farewell, the workers embraced and kissed Lenin. The 60-year-old Kuznetsov, with tears in his eyes, repeated without stopping: "I am a blacksmith [forger], Vladimir, I am a blacksmith. We will forge everything you envisioned." It was his last interview with the workers.

On New Year's Eve 1923, a small party was organized in the village rest home. Sitting in the living room, Lenin did not take his eyes off the children and laughed with pleasure at their performances. When they expressed the fear that the noise might disturb him, he asked that they not interrupt the children's games.

Lenin in Gorky



On a walk



With Krupskaya



In his wheelchair

January 1924

On the afternoon of January 19, 1924, at the opening of the Eleventh All-Russia Congress of Soviets, Kalinin reported that the specialists dealing with Lenin were hopeful that he would soon return to full activity. The news was received by the delegates with prolonged applause.

Suddenly, however, there was a rapid worsening of his state of health.

On January 20, Lenin woke up complaining of a headache and general malaise. The next day, he continued to feel unwell, but stimulated by his intimates, he had a little lunch and dined frugally. After dinner, he retired to his room. Suddenly, victim of a very strong attack, his breathing became difficult, his temperature rose sharply and he turned pale; he became unconscious and succumbed to a stroke. It was 6:50 p.m. on January 21, 1924.

The news quickly spread around the world. On the same night, the Central Committee of the Party met and addressed a message to the people:

"The man under whose militant leadership our party raised the red flag throughout the country, swept away the resistance of the enemies and firmly consolidated the rule of the workers in what was tsarist Russia, has died. The founder of the Third Communist International, the leader of world communism, the pride of the international proletariat, the banner of the oppressed, has died..."

Accompanying most of the members of the Central Committee of the Party, a large contingent of workers went to Gorky; together with the peasants of the neighboring villages, they went to bid farewell to Lenin.

Transported to Moscow, the body of the revolutionary leader remained on display for four days in the hall of the columns of the House of Trade Unions. Despite the harsh winter, dignitaries from many countries, thousands and thousands of workers, peasants, soldiers, women, old people and children from all over the world, went to the House of Trade Unions to pay their last tributes to the founder of the first socialist country on Earth.

"No king, emperor or pope received a final tribute such as

that," said the U.S. doctor and businessman Armand Hammer, who attended the funeral.

Lenin's embalmed body lies in his mausoleum in Red Square, in the center of Moscow, where people from all over the world pass through daily to see him; even the author of this book had the unforgettable opportunity to visit it.

Certainly, Lenin will not be exposed to public visits indefinitely. But wherever his mortal remains are taken, Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov will forever remain the symbol of the past, present and future of the struggle for liberation.



Lenin's mausoleum, next to the Kremlin, Red Square, central Moscow.

Lenin embalmed.



"Autobiography"

In April 1917, the Petrograd Soviet received a letter from the soldiers of the 8th Mounted Artillery Battery, asking for information on the Bolshevik leader's condition. The letter was delivered to him.

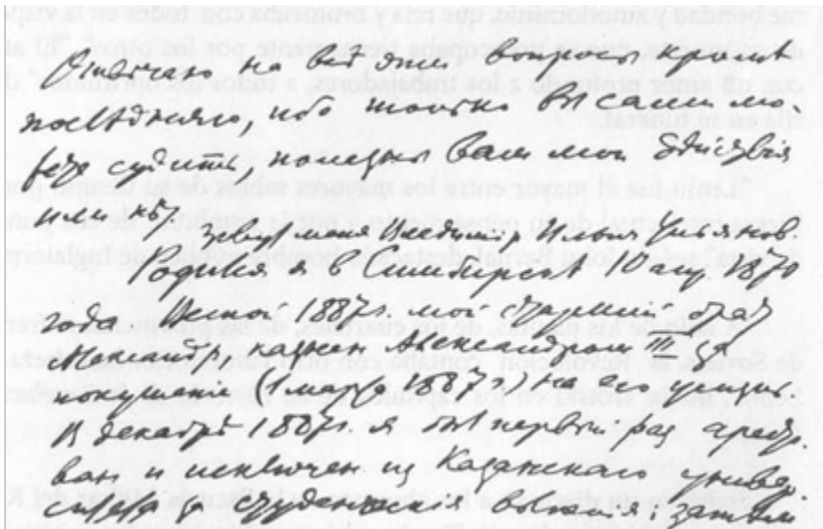
The prolific author, whose complete works are collected in 55 robust volumes (a world record among statesmen), responding to the soldiers, simply wrote:

My name is Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov.

I was born in Simbirsk, on April 10, 1870. In the spring of 1887, Alexander, my elder brother, was executed by Alexander III, for having made an attempt on his life. In December 1887, I was imprisoned for the first time and expelled from the University of Kazan, due to student agitations; later I was forced out of the city.

In December 1895, I was imprisoned for the second time for distributing Social-Democratic propaganda among the workers of Petersburg..."

At this point, the "autobiography" was interrupted. Lenin did not feel the will to talk about himself.



Commentaries

Asked about Lenin's most outstanding characteristic, Dmitry Pavlov, a worker at Sormovo, replied to Maxim Gorky: "Simplicity. He is simple as the truth." "With the face of a Mongolian type," Gorky also described him, "those sharp eyes of an indefatigable fighter shone and sparkled against the lies and evils of life. His speech gave a physical sensation of irrefutable truth. From his words was born with surprising simplicity an artistically modeled image of truth."

John Reed recorded in the book of comments of the First Congress of the Third International: "Lenin is so simple, so human, and is at the same time wise and firm."

Of her spouse's last days, Krupskaya wrote: "Until death he was the same man he was before – a man of enormous kindness and self-control, who laughed and joked with everyone on the eve of his death, who cared tenderly for others." "He loved the workers, all the oppressed with a deep love," she said at his funeral.

"Lenin was the greatest of the greatest scholars of his time because of the intellectual strength of his thought and the breadth of his views," said John Bernal, England's prominent public figure.

"At the factories, the barracks, in the provinces, at the front, the Soviets, the Revolution had another laboratory: Lenin's head," Trotsky begins in the chapters of his *History of the Russian Revolution*.

Stalin in a speech to the students of the Kremlin Military School, referred to him as follows: "Lenin knew how to write about the most complex questions with such simplicity and clarity, with such conciseness and audacity. He was truly a genius of revolutionary explosions and a great master of the art of leading revolutions."

"Lenin does not need my commendations. History will place him among the world's greats," wrote Armand Hammer, who had "the supreme privilege of a personal relationship with Lenin" in *Hammer, a Capitalist in Moscow*.

ELIO BOLSANELLO

Sun-Yat-sen, the first president of the Republic of China, gave an emotional funeral speech upon receiving the news of Lenin's death: "In the memory of the oppressed peoples, you will live for centuries, great man!"

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED PERSONAGES

- Armand, Inessa (1874-1920) – married to a wealthy industrialist, studied at the Sorbonne in Paris. She became an active participant in the Russian and international revolutionary movement. Associated with the Bolshevik Party, she took part in the Russian Revolution of 1905-1907. After the October Revolution, she held positions of responsibility in the party and in the management of the economy.
- Avksentiev, Nicolai (1878-1943) – leader of the Socialist Revolutionary Party (SR), chaired the Executive Committee of the All-Russia Soviet of Peasant Deputies. A former Minister of the Interior of the Provisional Government, he fought against the Soviet power during the civil war.
- Axelrod, Pavel (1850-1928) – a member of the editorial staff of *Iskra*; after the Second Congress of the RSDLP, he became a Menshevik. In 1917, he supported the Provisional Government and after the October Revolution, he emigrated.
- Babushkin, Ivan (1873-1906) – revolutionary worker, member of the *League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class*, was arrested as a representative of *Iskra* and shot.
- Bauman, Nicolai (1873-1905) – Member of the *League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class*, became a correspondent for *Iskra*, arrested, was assassinated by tsarist agents.
- Bogdanov, Alexander (1873-1928) – physician, philosopher and activist of the Russian revolutionary movement; headed the Institute of Blood Transfusion, died from experimenting on himself.
- Bonch-Bruevich, Vladimir (1873-1955) – worker, later historian, participated in the three Russian revolutions. He organized Bolshevik newspapers and publishing houses. After the October Revolution he headed the administrative service of the Council of People's Commissars.
- Bubnov, Andrei (1884-1940) – Bolshevik since 1903, he was a member of the Military Revolutionary Center in the

October Revolution. He held positions of responsibility in the party and military institutions.

- Budyonny, Semyon (1883-1973) – stood out as a military commander during the civil war. In 1935 he became a marshal and later Vice-People's Commissar for Défense.
- Bukharin, Nicolai (1888-1938) – Bolshevik since 1906, he collaborated in several Marxist newspapers, wrote two books on economics: *The Economic Theory of the Leisure Class* and *Imperialism and the World Economy*. In his "Testament", Lenin said: "Bukharin is not only most valuable and major theoretist of the Party; he is also rightly considered the favorite of the whole Party."
- Chapayev, Vasily (1887-1919) – hero of the civil war, died on the battlefield. He commanded the Marine division that was instrumental in Kolchak's defeat.
- Chernychevsky, Nicholay (1828-1889) – writer and literary critic engaged in the intellectual movement against tsarist rule, spent many years in exile in Siberia. Among his works are: *What is to be Done?* (Novel) and *Studies of the Gogol Period*.
- Chicherin, Georgy (1872-1936) – émigré from 1904 to 1918, he was the second People's Commissioner for Foreign Affairs from 1918-1930. In 1918, on behalf of the Soviet government, he signed the Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.
- Dzherzhinsky, Felix (1877-1926) – Polish, he was an active participant in the Russian and Polish revolutionary movement. He spent more than ten years between prison and exile. The first leader of the *Cheka*, he later held leadership positions in state and party organizations.
- Engels, Friedrich (1820-1895) – German philosopher and economist, developed scientific communism with Karl Marx. Among his works are: *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* and *Anti-Dühring*. He was Marx's literary executor, with whom he wrote several works, including the *Communist Manifesto*, which, according to Lenin, is worth an entire library.
- Eremeev, Konstantin (1874-1931) – Old Bolshevik, collaborator of *Pravda*, participated in the assault on the Winter Palace.

- Fofanova, Margarita (1883-1976) – Bolshevik since 1903, she hid Lenin in her home in October 1917. After the Socialist Revolution, she dedicated herself to teaching.
- Frunze, Mikhail (1885-1925) – one of the organizers of the first Soviet to emerge in Russia, in May 1905. He stood out as a military chief in the civil war, and in 1925, he was People's Commissar of the Navy.
- Gogol, Nicolai (1809-1852) – one of the great writers of the Russian language, had a beginning of his career marked by literary failures. He wrote, among other works: *The Refuge*, *The Marriage*, *The Conductor*, *Memoirs of a Madman*, and *The Dead Souls*, considered his masterpiece.
- Gorky, Maxim (1868-1936) – pseudonym of Alexei Maximovich Peshkov, one of the initiators of socialist realism in literature. He founded the Union of Russian Writers and was active in the Russian revolutionary movement. Among his works are: *The Mother*, *The Three of Them*, *My Universities*, *The City of the Yellow Devil*, *Twenty-Six Men and a Girl*.
- Hegel, G. W. Friedrich (1770-1831) – German philosopher and university professor, wrote the idealist dialectic. His philosophical system was expounded in the work *The Science of Logic*. He also wrote: *Philosophy of Law*, *Philosophy of History*, *Philosophy of Religion*, etc.
- Herzen, Alexander (1812-1870) – Russian revolutionary writer, he remained in exile for four years in Siberia. Among his works are: *Whose is to Blame?* and *My Paast and Thoughts*.
- Kalinin, Mikhail (1875-1946) – member of the *League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class*, representative of *Iskra*. He was one of the organizers of *Pravda*. From 1917, he held high positions in the state administration, becoming Chair of the Supreme Soviet in 1938.
- Kamenev, Lev (1883-1936) – member of the editorial board of *Pravda*, was a member of the Central Committee of the Party, opposed the preparations for the October Revolution. In 1934, he was expelled from the Party.
- Karpinsky, Vyacheslav (1880-1965) – activist of the Russian revolutionary movement, collaborated in *Vperyod*,

Proletary and *Pravda*. After the October Revolution he was a frequent contributor to the Soviet press.

- Kautsky, Karl (1854-1938) – one of the leaders of German Social Democracy and the Second International. He was initially a Marxist, breaking with Marxism at the beginning of the First World War. In 1918, Lenin fought against him in his book *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*.
- Kerensky, Alexander (1881-1970) – leader of the Socialist Revolutionary Party (SR), in 1917 he was Minister of Justice and the prime minister of the Provisional Government deposed by the October Revolution. He managed to escape, initially to France where he worked as a journalist, later he moved to the United States where he died.
- Kolchak, Alexander (1873-1920) – former tsarist admiral, one of the counter-revolutionary leaders, was imprisoned and shot.
- Kollontai, Alexandra (1872-1952) – daughter of a tsarist general, joined the Bolshevik Party in 1915. People's Commissar of State Welfare, she was later the first Soviet ambassador, serving in several countries. She wrote *Red Love* among other works.
- Krasikov, Pyotr (1870-1939) – in 1903, with Lenin was Vice-Chair of the Second Congress of the RSDLP. From 1917, he worked in the Courts.
- Krzizanovsky, Gleb (1872-1959) – engineer, member of the *League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class*, representative of *Iskra*. From 1920, he headed the Commission for the Electrification of Russia.
- Krupskaya, Nadezhda (1869-1939) – raised in a revolutionary milieu, she was a member of the *League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class*, she married Lenin in Siberian exile. She was a member of the editorial staff of *Iskra*, *Vperyod* and *Proletary*. From 1917, he worked at the People's Commissariat for Education. She wrote *The Woman Worker* and *Reminiscences of Lenin*.
- Kuybyshev, Valerian (1888-1935) – one of the political leaders of the Red Army, fought for Soviet power in Samara (Kuybyshev).

- Lafargue, Laura (1845-1911) – daughter of Karl Marx, contributed greatly to the spread of Marxism in France together with her spouse Paul Lafargue. She translated several works by her father and Engels into French.
- Lafargue, Paul (1842-1911) – Cuban physician and writer, based in Paris, helped found the French Workers' Party. The first Socialist deputy in the French Parliament, he committed suicide along with his spouse, Laura, Marx's daughter.
- Lalayants, Isaak (1870-1933) – activist of the revolutionary movement, helped organize the *League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class* in Ekaterinoslav. In 1914, he abandoned party work.
- Liebknecht, Wilhelm (1826-1900) – friend of Marx and Engels, father of Karl Liebknecht, one of the founders of the German Social Democratic Party. He worked actively in the First International, fighting militarism. He was several times a deputy in the Reichstag.
- Litvinov, Maxim (1876-1951) – former member of the RSDLP, representative of *Iskra*. From 1907 to 1915, he participated in several international socialist congresses. From 1917, he held diplomatic posts.
- Lunacharsky, Anatoly (1875-1933) – Bolshevik since 1903, he was the First Commissar of People's Education, later exercising diplomatic functions.
- Luxembourg, Rosa (1871-1919) – Polish, naturalized German, active participant in the German and Polish labor movement, helped found the German Communist Party. Detained alongside Karl Liebknecht, she was killed with him on the way to prison.
- Martov (1873-1923) – pseudonym of Julius Tserdobaum, a supporter of Lenin until 1903 when he became one of the Menshevik leaders. Against the October Revolution, he emigrated in 1920.
- Marx, Karl (1818-1883) – German philosopher and economist, developed Scientific Communism together with Engels. Encyclopedic, he discovered dialectical and historical materialism. He founded and led the First International. He wrote extensive and profound works; some of his books, such as *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, are true

masterpieces; but, without a doubt, *Capital* is his greatest work. Lenin had in Marxism the theoretical starting point for the revolutionary struggle.

- Mendeleev, Dmitri (1834-1907) – progressive scientist, professor of Sasha, Lenin's brother, at the University of St. Petersburg; developed the *Periodic Table of the Elements*.
- Miliutin, Vladimir (1884-1937) – Bolshevik since 1910, excellent administrator, was the first People's Commissar for Agriculture.
- Nicolai II (1868-1918) – Nikolai Aleksandrovich Romanov, the last tsar of Russia, succeeded his father Alexander III. Forced to abdicate in February 1917, the Romanov dynasty, the Russian monarchy, came to an end. Ill-prepared to rule, an anecdote of the time said that Russia did not need a limited (i.e., constitutional) monarchy, since we already had a limited monarch. In July 1918, a plot to free him and lead the counter-revolution was discovered; he was executed along with his family in Yekaterinburg, exclusively by order of the Ural Regional Soviet; Moscow had nothing to do with the shootings. The opening of the State Archive of the Russia Federation in the 1990s put an end to the legends about the members of the former tsar's family.
- Olminsky, Mikhail (1863-1933) – a member of the RSDLP since its foundation he collaborated in the newspapers *Vperyod*, *Proletary* and *Pravda*. From 1917, he became an official of *Pravda*.
- Pyatakov, Georgi (1890-1937) – participant in the Russian social-democratic movement since 1906, Lenin stated about him in his *Testament* " Bukharin and Pyatakov... are, in my opinion, the most outstanding figures (among the youngest ones)."
- Platten, Fritz (1883-1942) – one of the founders of the Communist Party in his country (Switzerland), moved to Russia in 1923. He helped Lenin leave Switzerland by train in March 1917.
- Plekhanov, Georgi (1856-1918) – philosopher and propagandist of Marxism, organized in Switzerland the *Emancipation of Labor* group, translated the works of Marx and Engels into Russian. A Menshevik leader, he had a negative

attitude towards the October Revolution, but did not support the counter-revolution.

- Podvoisky, Nicolai (1880-1948) – revolutionary since 1898, helped organize the first Soviet in May 1905. On Lenin's orders he commanded the assault on the Winter Palace. From 1917 he held high positions in the Red Army.
- Pushkin, Alexander (1799-1837) – considered the father of Russian poetry, published odes to Liberty, leading to his exile in the Caucasus. Among his works were: *Eugene Oegin*, *The Gypsies* and *The Captain's Daughter*.
- Reed, John (1887-1920) – U.S. journalist, correspondent in Europe during World War I. An eyewitness of the October Revolution, he wrote about it: *Ten days that Shook the World*. One of the founders of the U.S. Communist Party, he died in Moscow and is buried in the Kremlin.
- Semashko, Nicolai (1874-1949) – physician, former member of the RSDLP, took part in the three Russian revolutions. He was the first People's Commissar for Health, later dedicating himself to teaching.
- Stalin (1879-1953) – pseudonym of the Georgian Joseph Dzhugashvili, Stalin means “man of steel”. Expelled from the seminary in Tbilisi, he became a revolutionary, escaping several times from Siberian exile. Bolshevik from the first moment, he participated in the three Russian revolutions. With Lenin's death, he uncompromisingly took Soviet power into his hands for almost 30 years. Criticized for committing excesses, he was also praised for having defeated the Nazis in 1945, and transforming the USSR into a powerful country. His works are collected in 16 volumes, highlighting the works: *Anarchism or Socialism, Marxism and the National Question* and *Trotskyism or Leninism?*
- Starkov, Vasili (1869-1925) – member of the National *League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class*, from the October Revolution he held prominent positions in the Soviet administration.
- Stasova, Elena (1873-1966) – professional revolutionary, representative of *Iskra*, became secretary of the Central Committee of the Party after 1917.
- Stushka, Piotr (1865-1932) – born in Latvia, Bachelor of Law from the University of St. Petersburg. Bolshevik since

1903, he was the first People's Commissar for Justice. Notable author of the *General Theory of Law*, based on Marxism.

- Sverdlov, Yakov (1885-1919) – former member of the RSDLP; he participated in the three Russian revolutions. From 1917 he was Chair of the CEC (Central Executive Committee of the Soviets).
- Tolstoy, Leo (1828-1910) – one of the greatest writers of all time. Author of *War and Peace*, *Anna Karenina*, *The Power of Darkness*, etc.
- Trotsky (1879-1940) – pseudonym of the Ukrainian Lev D. Bronstein, Trotsky was the name of one of his jailers. An anti-tsarist, later a Marxist, he was deported to Siberia from where he fled to join Lenin in London in October 1902. Menshevik firmly opposed to the Bolsheviks. An active participant in the October Revolution, he held prominent positions in the Soviet government. After Lenin's death his enmity with Stalin intensified, and he was expelled from the Party and from Russia. He passed through several countries, finally settling in Mexico where he was assassinated. He wrote, among other works: *The Revolution Betrayed*, *History of the Russian Revolution* and *My Life*.
- Tskhakayia, Mikhail (1865-1950) – member of the RSDLP since its foundation, participated in the Revolution of 1905-1907. One of the exiles who returned with Lenin by train in 1917 to Russia. After the October Revolution, he held prominent positions in the Soviet administration.
- Tukhachevsky, Mikhail (1893-1937) – excelled in the civil war, commanded several divisions of the Red Army. In 1931 he became Marshal and Deputy People's Commissar of the Army.
- Turgenev, Ivan (1818-1883) – one of the classics of Russian literature, among other works wrote: *Fathers and Sons* and *First Love*.
- Ulyanov, Alexander (1866-1887) – Lenin's brother, participated, as a student at the University of St. Petersburg, in the preparation of an attempt on the life of Tsar Alexander III. He was executed by hanging.
- Ulyanov, Dmitry (1874-1943) – Lenin's brother, was part of the Revolution of 1905-1907 and the October Socialist

Revolution, graduated in Medicine, since 1921, joined the People's Commissariat for Health.

- Ulyanov, Ilya (1831-1886) – Lenin's father, educator emeritus, organized public education in Simbirsk province, founding many schools. A supporter of free public education, he was decorated for his outstanding service to education.
- Ulyanova, Maria A. (1835-1916) – Lenin's mother, a progressive primary school teacher, learned several languages by studying at home. She understood perfectly the revolutionary aspirations of her children, devoting herself entirely to their education.
- Ulyanova, Maria I. (1878-1937) – Lenin's younger sister, a representative of *Iskra*, participated in the Revolution of 1905-1907 and in the October Socialist Revolution. From 1917 she went to work in the editorial staff of *Pravda*.
- Ulyanova, Olga (1871-1891) – Lenin's sister, she succumbed prematurely to typhus while studying at the university courses for women in St. Petersburg.
- Uritsky, Moses (1873-1918) – former member of the RSDLP, joined the Revolutionary Military Center during the October Revolution. He was assassinated, in Petrograd, on the same day (August 30, 1918) as the assassination attempt on Lenin in Moscow.
- Voroshilov, Kliment (1881-1969) – Bolshevik since 1903, engaged in party work in various cities. An active participant in the October Revolution, he was commander of a front during the civil war. He later held high positions in the Red Army.
- Wrangel, Piotr (1878-1928) – ex-Tsarist Baron, was a key organizer of the counter-revolution; He emigrated in 1921.
- Yelizarov, Mark (1863-1919) – married to Lenin's elder sister Anna, he was one of the leaders of the general strike of October 1905. After the Socialist Revolution, he served as People's Commissioner of Railways.
- Zaslulich, Vera (1849-1919) – a former militant of the Russian revolutionary movement, helped organize the Emancipation of Labor group in Switzerland . From 1903, she became a Menshevik.
- Zinoviev, Grigory (1883-1936) – emigrated from 1908 to

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1917, he was a member of the editorial staff of the *Proletary*. Frequently against Leninist policy, he almost betrayed the October Revolution in an interview,. In 1934, he was expelled from the party.

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