

The Centre Cannot Hold

**The Implosion of the All-Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party,
1906-1914**

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For Einde

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Preface

The Centre Cannot Hold continues the analysis of *Building the Old Bolsheviks, 1881-1903* and *Eight Hours & a Gun, Revolutionary Russia, 1904-1905*, which are available at www.marxists.org/history/etol/writers/harker/. This book examines the trajectory of the Old Bolsheviks in Rossyskaya Sotsial-Demokraticheskaya Rabochaya Partya (the All-Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, or RSDRP) from the beginning of 1906 to summer 1914, and seeks to answer the following questions. Why was a 'workers' party' dominated by a small number of males and a few females who all had a secondary education and often a higher education? What had Bolshevik *intelligenty* (intellectuals) learned from 1904-1905? After 1907, why did the relationship between the émigré Bolshevik intelligenty and workers in Russia change? Why did the Bolsheviks implode by summer 1914?

Many RSDRP intelligenty and a few workers appeared in my previous books, so most of the information about them will not be repeated here. Others will appear for the first time, sometimes with the barest biographical detail, and many will disappear into emigration, prison, deportation or exile, often without trial. Capital punishment had been abolished 150 years earlier, yet Russia prisons were rife with fatal diseases, and it often reached 50 below in Yakutsk in north eastern Siberia, where many Jewish *gosudarstvennyye prestupniki* (state criminals) were sent, so many prisoners and exiles died. Some survivors focused on reforms or gave up the struggle, others risked working underground again and were often detained, imprisoned, deported or exiled again, or became émigrés.

Revolutionary socialists have often asserted that revolutions come from 'below', though hardly any western writers have seriously considered the possibility that revolutionary socialist workers are the real leaders most of the time. We know that Old Bolshevik *praktiki* (practical underground workers) like Iosif Tarshis, Konkordia Gromova, Tsetsilia Zelikson (later Bobrovskaya), Semën Kanatchikov and dozens of others wrote autobiographies after 1930, but they were sometimes rewritten and always scrutinised by Stalinists. It is unclear how many others were translated into western languages and, if they were, whether they have been carefully checked recently. Many western authors quote sentences from other Old Bolsheviks' biographies and autobiographies, but almost all of these writers, including the very few who consider themselves to be revolutionary socialists, tend to make the same assumptions as the Stalinists, and there is a serious lack of studies of intelligenty, of events from a Menshevik perspective or of members of other SD parties. The author of this book is a retired academic with 25 years' experience in a revolutionary socialist organisation, and though this book is necessarily provisional it will challenge the haters of the devils 'Lenin', 'Trotsky', and 'Stalin' and the worshippers of saints Vladimir, Lev and Joseb.

To avoid the bewildering multiplicity of *klitchki* (underground pseudonyms) this book uses given and family names whenever possible. Joseb Jughashvili did not sign himself 'Stalin' in print until late 1912. Late in 1902 Nadezhda Krupskaya greeted Lev Bronstein as 'Piero' in London, though he had just used the passport of an Irkutsk man called Trotsky to escape from Siberia. In summer 1901, when a letter signed 'Lenin' arrived at the RSDRP's *Iskra* (*The Spark*) press in Munich, nobody realised it was from Vladimir Ulyanov, though he used at least 160 other *klitchki* before and after that.

The autocracy sought to 'Russify' the names of towns and cities in subject nations, but this book uses those favoured by the majority of their inhabitants. So the capital of Suomi (Finland) is Helsinki, not Helsingfors, that of Eesti (Estonia) is Tallin, not Reval, that of Latvija (Latvia) is Riga, not Riga, that of Lietuva (Lithuania) is Vilnius, not Vilna, Vilno or ווילנע, that of Russian-controlled Poland is Warszawa, not Warsaw, Varshava or וואַרשע, that of Україна (Ukraine) is Київ (transcribed as Kyiv), not Kiev, that of საქართველო (Georgia) is თბილისი (transcribed as Tbilisi), not Tiflis, and that of Azərbaycan (Azerbaijan) is Bakı, not Baku.

The reader does not need a detailed knowledge of Russian geography, history or culture, or be able to read Russian, or what Anglophones call Belarussian, Estonian, Finnish, Georgian, German, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Ukrainian, Yiddish or any of the 170 or so other languages spoken in the Russian Empire.

This book follows political exiles and émigrés who relied on the few states that offered them shelter. The Finnish and Swiss authorities resisted attempts to extradite them as long as they could: the French authorities gave them limited sanctuary, and though British law had stipulated that they should 'never be surrendered for extradition if their crimes were of a political character' up to 1905, the Aliens Act tightened the rules.

This book uses the Russian calendar when events took place inside the Empire, and the Western calendar, which was 13 days ahead, when they took place abroad. For example, May Day was celebrated on 18 April.

This book is based on Marx's premise that 'the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves', and I have tried to follow his mottoes: 'doubt everything', 'ignorance never helped anybody' and 'go your own way, and let people talk'. I want to thank Eide O'Callaghan very warmly for putting my books online and Ian Birchall for his comradely criticism.

Introduction

From the foundation of the RSDRP in 1898 *intelligenty* dominated the organisation and considered workers as ‘ties’ in their ‘periphery’. The overwhelming majority of workers had a primary education at best, though a few were deemed *rabochy-intelligenty* (educated workers) and allowed to perform certain routine tasks, though there were only three workers from Russia at the RSDRP’s Second Congress in Brussels and then London in 1903, where the largely émigré intelligenty split into ‘minority’ and ‘majority’ *fraktions* (temporary groupings). The idea of a single ruling ‘centre’ was rejected, as were the federationist demands of אגלגמ יידישער אַרבעטער בונד אין ליטע פוילין און רוסלאַ (the General Jewish Workers’ Union in Russia and Poland, or Bund) and Socjaldemokracja Królestwa Polskiego i Litwy (the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, or SDKPiL).

By early 1904 the autocracy was politically shaky and debt-ridden, yet the tsar had imperial ambitions in the Far East, and after the Japanese navy inflicted a crushing pre-emptive defeat on the Russian Pacific fleet, he declared war. In spring the overwhelmingly peasant Russian army was roundly defeated in Manchuria and the tsar granted a few modest reforms to soldiers, Jews and some deportees and exiles. Revolutionaries at home and abroad were in disarray and many had failed to learn the lessons of the period before 1904. In Switzerland the émigré RSDRP intelligenty *fraktions* relied heavily on liberal Western European and legal Russian newspapers and occasional letters and visits from intelligenty from Russia for much of their information, so they were always well behind events, had a very partial view of the situation and so were unable to provide a clear analysis of how intelligenty in Russia should try to steer workers’ economic struggles in a political direction. ‘Minority’ émigrés controlled the leading Party Council, the funds, the ‘central organ’, *Iskra*, and most contacts in Russia. Two *praktiki* ran the transport hub in Berlin, though an intelligent kept the Okhrana informed.

In Russia the RSDRP intelligenty were scattered, largely unconnected and politically dependent for political analysis on émigré intelligenty, yet there were Okhrana spies in several local organisations and informers were everywhere. Both intelligenty *fraktions* led basic *kruzhki* (conspiratorial study circles) for workers, but failed to recruit, develop and integrate many of them. Many male RSDRP intelligenty had private means, and had the skills (including foreign languages), the time and money to travel in Russia and abroad by railway. They could rely on a tiny number of *rabochy-intelligenty* to accept their orders, they marginalised or ignored all women workers and peasants. and their relations with other SD intelligenty were often fraught. The Bund and SDKPiL kept their distance, as did Lietuvos socialdemokratų partija (the Lithuanian Social-Democratic Party, or LSDP) and Latvijas Sociāldemokrātiskā strādnieku partija (the Latvian Social-Democratic Workers’ Party, or LSDSP). ‘Minority’ RSDRP intelligenty began seceding from Russian committees they did not control and forming organisations linked to the Russian CC.

In summer, in Switzerland, 22 ‘majority’ intelligenty formed a *Bolshevik* (‘majoritarian’) faction and decided to win control of local RSDRP committees in Russia from *Menshevik* (‘minoritarian’) intelligenty, by fair means or foul, and to establish an all-intelligenty organising committee for the RSDRP’s Third Congress that was entirely in their hands. Unity would be possible only if the Mensheviks accepted ‘democratic centralism’. Meanwhile Latvian and Lithuanian SDs helped to organise workers and peasants and Bundists organised fighting squads to defend Jews from pogroms. The combat organisation of Vserossiyskaya partiya sotsialistov-revoljucionerov, (the All-Russian Party of Socialist-Revolutionaries, or VPSR) assassinated police, gendarmes and government officials, but also helped to organise peasants and teachers. Some Menshevik intelligenty argued for integrating *rabochy-intelligenty* into local organisations in Russia, and favoured a working arrangement with liberals to win reforms. Attempts to coordinate the *fraktions* and other SD organisations failed, though a transport route for illegal literature was established via Sweden and Finland to Sankt-Peterburg (known as St. Petersburg in the west).

By winter the Russian army had suffered heavy defeats in the Far East and the government’s finances were seriously overstretched. A leader of the revolutionary-nationalist Polska Partia Socjalistyczna (the Polish Socialist Party, or PPS) negotiated with the Japanese government for arms in return for intelligence about Russian troops in Poland. Emigré Bolshevik intelligenty convinced the Berlin transporters to stop forwarding the Menshevik-controlled *Iskra* and called for letters from Russian workers for their new legal daily paper, *Vpered* (*Forward*), though very few copies reached Russia, where some former SD intelligenty had become ‘legal Marxists’. They accepted a few of Marx’s ideas, but refrained from illegal activity and joined liberals in a successful propaganda campaign. Both RSDRP intelligenty *fraktions* failed to take full advantage of the state’s economic weaknesses, including the massive costs of building and maintaining the railway network, the fragility of the security of its enormous borders, the determination to go into debt to increase the armed forces, the increasing reliance on

foreign investment in industry, on imports, especially from Germany, and the vulnerability of exports from Black Sea ports through the Bosphorus Straits to the Mediterranean.

By the end of the year the RSDRP intelligenty fraktionen in Russia had hardened into *factions* and Menshevik intelligenty scuppered an anti-war demonstration and made difficulties about the Third Congress. There seems to have been no sustained or coordinated attempt to propagandise, agitate or recruit soldiers or sailors, yet some SD sailors in the Baltic fleet mutinied. Thousands of St. Petersburg workers, led by a radical priest and a few hand-picked politically-conscious workers, some of whom were former members of, or sympathisers with the RSDRP, had formed an Assembly which was increasingly influential. Some of their economic demands would require changes in the law, and so were effectively political, and their overtly political demands included elements of the RSDRP programme; yet the RSDRP intelligenty either knew nothing about the Assembly or dismissed it as an Okhrana plot. The Japanese army captured the strategically vital navy base of Port Arthur on the Pacific coast, at the cost of 60,000 Russian dead and wounded and 32,000 taken prisoner, and the tsar was convinced that revolution was 'banging on the door'.

By January 1905 the RSDRP claimed 100,000 members in Russia, though both St. Petersburg intelligenty factions later acknowledged that they had been 'woefully weak', 'wasted three-quarters of their time on the factional fight' and suffered from a 'remoteness from the working masses'. Both factions tried to prevent a peaceful demonstration from taking place under Assembly leadership, but up to 30,000 workers tore up their leaflets, ejected student propagandists from their meetings and sometimes beat them up. The priest invited a leading Bolshevik intelligenty to discuss the situation, but he failed to turn up. Mensheviks did arrive, and published a leaflet on the 4th, and while the Bolsheviks published a leaflet on the 8th, it rubbished the Assembly. Most Bolsheviks sat on their hands on the 9th and demonstrators told the tiny number of RSDRP propagandists that 'We do not need students'. The city was an armed camp, troops had been issued with live ammunition and preparations for the dead and wounded had been made days earlier. After troops massacred at least 1,200 demonstrators, and wounded 5,000 or more, a few Bolshevik intelligenty agitated for an armed rising, yet they were unable to provide arms, so workers found them where they could. Bolshevik intelligenty disciplined the very few of their number who had tried to relate to the demonstration, and Menshevik intelligenty thought the massacre would alienate workers from the tsar for good. It took ten days for a St. Petersburg Bolshevik intelligenty to report to comrades in Moscow, and similar reports may not have been given earlier elsewhere, so both factions were unprepared for an upturn in class struggle.

In the second half of January economic strikes spread across Russia, though they were deemed political by factory inspectors, and railway strikers interrupted the strategically vital Trans-Siberian line to the Far East, which was a direct challenge to the army's pursuit of the war. Strikes in several cities, including some at state plants, won economic concessions; and though a few RSDRP intelligenty issued joint propaganda leaflets to try to turn economic strikes into political strikes, others tried to hold back strikers to prevent 'anarchist strikism' and 'terrorist deviations'. In the Pale a few SDs cooperated with Bundists to form armed fighting squads to prevent pogroms, or combat them if they took place, yet both RSDRP factions failed to relate effectively to peasant insurgencies in several regions or to peasants who resisted conscription into the armed forces. Latvian and Lithuanian SDs agitated workers and peasants and organised armed peasant 'brotherhoods', while the VPSR continued its terrorist policy. Bolshevik intelligenty organised the production of bombs in Finland and elsewhere, and the émigré Bolshevik *Vypered* argued for splitting RSDRP committees. In Georgia Menshevik intelligenty drove Bolshevik intelligenty out of committees, while Gurian peasants established local self-government. Across Russia more and more peasants got hold of revolutionary literature and the government was almost bankrupt, yet the tsar did not seek a peace treaty with Japan and thousands more peasant troops died in the Far East.

In February the tsar established a commission to inquire into the industrial unrest in St. Petersburg and gave male factory workers aged 25 or over the right to elect deputies to the commission in two stages. In the first stage Bolshevik workers won a considerable number of 'electors' for the second stage, yet SD intelligenty opposed the commission and it was cancelled. After the VPSR assassinated a member of the imperial family, the Okhrana employed former revolutionaries to train gendarmes about revolutionary organisations and methods, and freed imprisoned SDs on condition that they became spies, and threatened to publicise their role and thereby risk assassination if they failed to deliver. Meanwhile strikes by railway workers' and others were generalising. Bolshevik émigré intelligenty tried to procure arms, and *Vypered* exhorted intelligenty in Russia to recruit radicalised youths, show them how to work, then let them get on with it, even if they made mistakes. It also urged them to enlarge local committees with workers, without micro-managing or substituting for them, and to operate separately from other SD parties, but strike together. After the Russian RSDRP CC voted to sack the sole Bolshevik émigré member, the Russian police arrested Mensheviks, but no Bolsheviks. Terrorism continued in Georgia and peasant strikers made overtly political demands. Strikes and terrorism continued in the Baltic region and peasant insurgency spread to the central European provinces, though troops put down many of them and the police decimated the VPSR

combat organisation. *Vypered* argued that the RSDRP Third Congress should vote to cooperate with SRs, though 'terrorism must be merged in actual practice with the movement of the masses'. Internal democracy was desirable in the RSDRP, but since that was highly dangerous under the autocracy, a single centre, based on 'democratic centralism' was needed. A few Mensheviks and Bolsheviks cooperated in the south, though the secession of Menshevik intelligenty from RSDRP committees was almost complete. A few SD intelligenty issued agitational leaflets, and some strikers made overtly political demands, but most were defeated or settled for economic gains.

By spring the St. Petersburg Bolshevik intelligenty claimed hundreds of 'ties' to workers in their 'periphery', but still relied on émigré intelligenty for analysis and guidance. The few Menshevik intelligenty who arrived for the RSDRP Third Congress in London soon withdrew, claiming that they were under-represented. What was effectively a Bolshevik conference illegally derecognized *Iskra*, decided to set up a new 'central organ', 'dissolved' the Menshevik-controlled Party Council and threatened Menshevik-led committees in Russia which did not recognise its decisions with the same fate. A majority of delegates rejected demands to put more workers on committees, but agreed to adopt democratic centralism and remove intelligenty 'chair warmers and keepers of the seal'. They elected Bundist, SDKPIL and LSD intelligenty to the new CC, and supported an armed rising, but only under Bolshevik leadership. In Switzerland the Mensheviks' Congress delegates and others rejected the Bolshevik conference decisions. They favoured working in trade unions, linking Menshevik-led organisations and propagandising for an armed rising, but envisaged it leading to a bourgeois revolution which might develop into a socialist revolution, but only if it spread to Western Europe. Meanwhile strikes generalised in Russia, especially in the western and south-western border regions. The SDKPIL, Bund and PPS cooperated, and teachers, printers, railway workers and others organised national trade unions. Some workforces, especially in St. Petersburg, unilaterally worked eight hours instead of ten or more, and the government allowed state plants to work nine, and made a few other concessions, though the wipe-out of a Russian fleet at Tsushima in the Far East compounded the defeats of the peasant army.

By summer 'Bolshevism' had become a 'distinctive trend' in the RSDRP in Russia, yet neither intelligenty faction generalised the workers' elected *sborka* (assembly) in the central industrial region, which led a lengthy but ultimately unsuccessful strike, though intelligenty issued leaflets and recruited a handful of male and female workers. In Ukraine economic struggles in Odesa had become politicised, and though SD intelligenty armed themselves, they refused to arm workers. Morale in the Black Sea fleet was at rock-bottom, and after the armoured cruiser *Potemkin* anchored near the city, and dozens of sailors who refused to eat soup made from maggoty meat were shot, others agitated, took over the vessel and the crew elected a committee. Some troops ashore offered to mutiny, though most clashed with workers. The tsar imposed martial law in the region and ordered the sinking of the *Potemkin*. Two civilian SDs agitated the warship's committee, but when some of the garrison again offered to mutiny if the committee took decisive action, its half-hearted response literally misfired, and though the crew managed to fend off a loyal flotilla, they were unable to generalise the mutiny. The *Potemkin* set sail, and when its crew were unable to get coal and provisions they scuttled the warship. When a Bolshevik agent from Geneva arrived in Odesa he found that the intelligenty had been almost totally ineffective. In St. Petersburg Bolsheviks walked out of a teachers' union conference which refused to grant them political control, yet workers began rent strikes, factory organisations joined forces and the number of strikers officially deemed 'political' rose. In Moscow RSDRP intelligenty claimed 1,435 'ties' with workers, led 95 basic *kruzhki*, and 28 workers in 'special' *kruzhki*, and had 30 worker-propagandists; yet the peasants' and printers' unions rebuffed attempts to claim political leadership.

In autumn the railway union generalised strikes across the Empire and other workers followed suit. Moscow RSDRP intelligenty opposed a general strike, yet it was already underway, and the print workers' *sovet* (council) developed into a city-wide organisation with Menshevik support. In St. Petersburg the new *Konstitutsionno-Demokraticheskaya Partiya*, (Constitutional Democratic Party, or Kadets), supported a constitutional assembly. In St. Petersburg and Moscow, at the Mensheviks' prompting, university and other students opened buildings to workers and held huge successful meetings. Workers in St. Petersburg and elsewhere formed *soveti*, with Menshevik support, and though Bolshevik intelligenty called for the general strike to end, many SD workers and students opposed them. *Vypered* insisted that 'We shall not stop half-way' and argued for a twin approach to workers and peasants, though attempts to work with other SDs and revolutionary nationalists to import arms to Russia were not highly successful. Both RSDRP intelligenty factions struggled against 'syndicalism' and the importation of 'revisionism' from the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, or SPD). Bolshevik intelligenty continued to fail to relate effectively to peasant insurgencies, even though their numbers were rising. Workers' strikes had spread across Russia, and the government encouraged widespread pogroms in the western and south-western border regions where most Jews lived. The tsar granted an amnesty for some 'state criminals', but enforced martial law across large swathes of the Empire. There was growing unrest among conscripts being sent to the Far East, yet the St. Petersburg *sovet* vacillated as loyal troops suppressed mutinies at the nearby Kronstadt Navy base in the Gulf of Finland and at Viapori Fortress on the Finnish coast. St.

Petersburg SD students propagandised and agitated factory workers, though the sovet rejected the Bolshevik intelligenty's attempts to impose its political leadership. Workers produced sharp-edged weapons and Bolsheviks stole rifles from a state armaments plant near the Finnish border. The tsar allowed Finland to have a democratically-elected Diet (parliament), but extended martial law even further across Russia. More sovet were established, the teachers' union collaborated with the peasants' union, railway strikes paralysed the strategically vital line to the Far East and the postal and telegraph workers' strike disrupted government and military communications. Both RSDRP intelligenty factions continued to fail to take full advantage of the state's weaknesses, develop and integrate more rabochy-intelligenty into local committees, or form well-armed, well-trained and well-connected cross-party fighting squads linked to revolutionary cells in the armed forces. The peasant army in the Far East continued to lose battles, though the Japanese government, which was at the end of its tether, ratified a peace treaty, and the tsar signed it secretly soon after, but continued to send troops to be slaughtered in the Far East.

In winter the St. Petersburg sovet supported Kronstadt mutineers and railway workers elsewhere who were threatened with execution, though the post and telegraph workers were forced back to work. The RSDRP intelligenty remained hopelessly sectarian, though the unaligned RSDRP intelligenty's *Nachalo (The Beginning)* convinced a minority of intelligenty about the idea of 'permanent revolution'. The sole Bolshevik member of the all-intelligenty émigré RSDRP CC arrived in St. Petersburg and argued that the struggles of workers, peasants and revolutionary democrats should be linked, and he and other intelligenty took over the legal and highly successful *Novaya zhizn (New Times)*. It called for RSDRP unity on the basis of democratic centralism and opening up the party to the thousands of increasingly radicalised young workers. The émigré Menshevik *Iskra* ceased publication. SDs in the western border regions were organised, but often uncoordinated, while organisations in central Russia were weak, yet more and more peasants were seizing land. There were multiple mutinies in the army and some troops joined sovet, including those in towns and cities on the Trans-Siberian line; but after St. Petersburg sovet called for withholding taxes and withdrawing bank deposits, the tsar ordered troops to close it and had most of the delegates arrested. The government sent punitive detachments to crush sovet, and mutinous soldiers and sailors, while employers attacked strikers. Moscow RSDRP intelligenty had no military specialists and insufficient arms, yet they declined some soldiers' offer of the keys to the state armoury and held back a regiment that was on the verge of mutiny. As other regiments wavered, a rising began anyway, and the city governor had too few reliable troops. The VPSR led the fighting, while RSDRP fighters received little effective military support from comrades elsewhere. Poorly-organised attempts to blow up the railway line from St. Petersburg failed, and loyal troops brought artillery, isolated the insurgents and crushed them. Many of those killed were ordinary citizens, including male and female students. A few mainly male RSDRP intelligenty escaped and reportedly claimed that the failed rising had been a 'dress rehearsal' for a future successful revolution, and other intelligenty escaped to Finland or abroad; yet loyal troops exacted a terrible revenge, especially along the Trans-Siberian railway, in the southern and western provinces and in Poland, and the total numbers of imprisoned, tortured, exiled and executed workers and peasants is still unknown.

1. Amalgamation is essential

(i) Martial law

In 1906 European Russia was 2.5 times the size of Germany, and twice as big as France and Britain combined,¹ even without Siberia.² The Empire's population was reportedly 146.4 million,³ although no large cities were within 400 miles of each other, and some peasant villages were hundreds of miles apart.⁴ Around 12.5 million peasant households which included 62.5 million out of 90.5 million peasants held land. Around half held between 19 and 27 acres, a sixth held 15 or more, though 2.2 million, or 11 million peasants, held none.⁵ Wealthier peasants owned around 55 million acres, or around 40 percent of cultivatable land, with private loans and loans from the Peasants' Land Bank, though around 33 percent was still held by village communes. The area that peasants cultivated had grown by over 24 percent in 29 years, but the peasant population had increased by almost 28 percent.⁶ There were 3,145 peasant credit cooperatives with almost 1.4 million members.⁷ Around 17 million were not completely focussed on agriculture,⁸ and many worked in rural industries.⁹

The 1905 revolution had shaken the Russian autocracy and the tsar had announced the election of a State Duma. The number of those enfranchised would rise from the 230,000 who voted in local duma elections to 2.7 million. Workers at plants which employed 50 to 200 workers would choose one delegate for the first stage of the elections, while those with workforces of 200 to 1,000 would elect two for every thousand up to 4,000. In the second stage delegates would choose electors to city or provincial assemblies, which would elect deputies,¹⁰ and the 412 would sit in the Duma. Enfranchised workers had to be men aged 25 or over, while younger workers, all women and members of several subject nationalities, poor peasants, agricultural labourers, students, servicemen,¹¹ and townspeople whose annual rents were less than 1,320 rubles would have no vote. The tsar removed ministers' proposal that deputies had to be literate, and the restrictions on intelligenty and Jews,¹² and gave deputies the rights to free speech,¹³ and to ask ministers questions. The elections were to be conducted in different *curiae* (assemblies according to status). Better-off peasants were guaranteed 43 percent of the seats, large landowners 34 percent and urban people 23 percent.¹⁴ In St. Petersburg just over 7,000 men in a population of 1.4 million would vote in the various curiae,¹⁵ though wealthy men in 26 cities and wealthy landowners would elect deputies directly.¹⁶ The government banned public discussions about reforming the autocracy,¹⁷ ordered organisers of public meetings to give the police three days' notice of the day, time and place, and empowered local authorities to ban any meeting they thought fit. There was no freedom of the press and illegal publications had to be printed abroad.¹⁸ In Russia the Kadets published a daily paper called *Rech (Speech)*, thanks to funds from a Baki engineer,¹⁹ and Kadet membership had reached 120,000. There were up to 50 other legal papers in 48 provinces, though the government had launched 450 legal actions against liberal and radical papers.²⁰ It had also persecuted liberals who demanded a constituent assembly and dissolved the links between the liberal Soyuz Osvobozhdeniya (the Union of Liberation) and the peasants' union, so the Union decided to boycott the Duma elections.²¹

The provincial section commanders of the Otdeleniye po Okhraneniyu Obshchestvennoy Bezopasnosti i Poryadka (the Department for Defense of Public Security and Order, better known as the Okhrana), had formerly decided what was and what was not reported to the St. Petersburg headquarters, and by 1906 the Okhrana reportedly had around 19,500 agents across Russia, but control was centralised. *Directiva Okrany po Sekret'naya Sluzhba* (the *Directive on the Secret Service*) was a 'highly secret' 27-page, small format duplicated booklet. It noted that the heads of the investigation sections recruited agents to identify groups of revolutionaries so that Okhrana gendarmes or ordinary police could arrest them all at the same time, and top detectives supervised the largest group of agents who *surveilled* (trailed) revolutionaries. Some detectives were responsible for finding strangers in hotels or furnished rooms who had not registered with the police, and a 'Central Detachment' had to be able recognise important revolutionaries by sight, while a special unit was responsible for the security of the Imperial family, ministers, and high-ranking figures.²² Agents had to 'prepare to destroy the revolutionary centres at the moment their activity is greatest', and 'not allow their work to be diverted from dwelling on secondary undertakings'. They must not reveal their collaborators, and not arrest suspects or release them 'except when other members of equal importance belonging to the same revolutionary organisation may be arrested or freed'.

Letters from secret collaborators must be written in unrecognisable writing and should contain only ordinary expressions. Use paper and envelopes in keeping with the social standing of the addressees. Write in invisible ink. The collaborator despatches his letters himself. When he received letters, he is obliged to burn them as soon as he had read them. The addresses used should never be written down.

An agent could not visit section headquarters, but could 'undertake no important mission without the agreement of his chief', while meetings with potential recruits 'may be assigned only to highly trustworthy colleagues'.

The meetings were take place in clandestine apartments, consisting of various rooms with no direct communication between them, where, should it be necessary, different visitors can be isolated from each other. The tenant must be in public employment. He will never be able to receive private visits. Nor will he be able to get to know the secret agents or speak to them. He will be obliged to open the door to them in person and check before they go out that there is no-one on the stairs. Interviews will take place in locked rooms. No papers must be left lying about. Care must be taken not to seat any visitor near windows or mirrors. At the least suspicious sign, move apartments.

Agents had to 'make use of the quarrels between the groups', members' mistakes and 'things which have wounded his self-esteem'. Agents were to 'bring the person in question before the chief of police' and 'have serious reasons for charging him, while nonetheless reserving the possibility of freeing him at the same time as other jailed revolutionaries, so as not to cause astonishment'. 'Escape attracts the attention of the revolutionaries', so before 'the liquidation of any organisation, consult the secret agents about which people to leave at liberty, so as not to give away our sources of information'. Volunteer agents could get their military service postponed, or even cancelled, plus pardons, amnesties and other favours after being sentenced. If possible there should be 'several collaborators in each organisation', and placing agents among them could be 'extremely useful'. Agents had to help them to 'gain the confidence of the revolutionaries', which was 'an extremely delicate task', especially when dealing with political prisoners, though possible recruits included revolutionaries of 'weak character', those 'disillusioned with or aggrieved at the party' and those 'living in poverty' or 'under sentence of exile'.²³ Each provincial section commander directed a number of agents, and only the most important had direct access to him and operated under his instructions. A case officer was the contact for most agents. In large sections, such as Moscow, agents were divided into sub-sections according to the revolutionary group they infiltrated. Each section had a bureau and archives, as had the St. Petersburg headquarters at 16 Fontanka, which included anthropomorphic details of revolutionaries, and a library of revolutionary books and journals.²⁴ There was a secret room, which only the chief of police and the officer in charge of sorting documents could enter. (It eventually held files on over 35,000 *provocateurs*, agents whose task was to incite illegal acts). Many agents were listed under pseudonyms. They were paid 3, 10 or 15 rubles a month, though some got up to 150 or even 200, but inspectors interviewed them all and could sack them or give them a rise, and their superiors carefully compared inspectors' reports.²⁵

The Okhrana had established a Zagranichania Agentura (Foreign Agency) in Paris in 1883 and a Berlin Agentura by 1900.²⁶ By 1906 the London Agentura, which posed as the 'Russian Imperial Financial Agency', coordinated counter-smuggling operations with European police forces.²⁷ Sometimes detectives were sent abroad in groups and worked with the local staff. Their job was to recognise émigré revolutionaries, keep an eye on people who often hosted strangers and watch places where Russian students and workers lived.²⁸ The head of each Agentura was the only person in direct contact with the St. Petersburg headquarters. Each Agentura had a bureau which assembled information about revolutionaries, including their personal details. Detectives were stationed in England, France, Belgium, Holland and Copenhagen in Denmark. The Paris Agentura had agents in Manchester, Birmingham, Hull, Liverpool and Amsterdam, and police chiefs in Germany, Denmark, Norway and Sweden supported this anti-smuggling network, which monitored arms shipments to Russia, though smuggled arms were usually packed in crates which were thrown overboard and picked up by fishermen, though some smugglers used barges to take arms from ships at sea, and when they reached port there were often insufficient agents to intercept them.²⁹

Most of European Russia was under martial law, and punitive expeditions of troops were active.³⁰ In the Baltic provinces around 2,000 people in Vilnius province and about 800 in Kovno province had been arrested. In Latvia and Estland 700 had been sentenced to death by courts martial,³¹ and in Estland troops had killed about 300 and flogged 600. Across the region courts martial had sentenced 495 to *katorga* (hard labour) and 652 to death.³² Troops had raped women and girls and shot political suspects by railway lines with any trial, while other suspects were tortured in police stations, especially in Rīga, the capital of Latvia. Across the region hundreds of peasants were flogged, hanged or shot, houses were burned and the occupants turned out in freezing temperatures, yet fearful soldiers marched through towns in single file and groups of two or three policemen had as many soldiers with rifles and fixed bayonets to protect them.³³ On the night of 13 January an 18-year-old prisoner in a Rīga prison who would not admit to any wrongdoing had his thorax and sides ground under the feet of a policeman, and another prisoner was struck so violently on his calves that his flesh hung in strips and his bones were showing,³⁴ while hideous tortures and executions were common in the Russian-controlled Kingdom of Poland.

(ii) Every day two or three persons are bayoneted by soldiers

By 1905 around 80 percent of the ten million people in Russian-controlled Poland worked in agriculture, though the average plot was less than 42 acres, and around 200,000 worked in neighbouring East Prussia at harvest time. Almost half of the entire population was literate, though there were no school places for 60,000 Warszawa children. Most of the 1.5 million Jews were very poor, but Bundists propagandised, collected money and arms, and organised a militia in Warszawa, where 600 of the 1,000 political prisoners were held in the Citadel,³⁵ and the garrison included 30,000 Russian troops.³⁶ The SDKPiL claimed 40,000 members.³⁷ Five percent were Jews, a quarter were Germans and 70 percent were Poles, and most leaders were polonised Jews. Factory workers predominated over artisans, and *Czerwony sztander* (*The Red Banner*) had a circulation of 18,000, though the PPS paper had slightly more.³⁸ The SDKPiL led trade unions in some parts of Poland,³⁹ though most leaders were based in Warszawa,⁴⁰ including the 38-year-old Jewish intelektualny Leon Jogiches. His partner, the 34-year-old Jewish intelektualistka Rosa Luxemburg,⁴¹ had been born in Poland and had been a founder-member of the SDKPiL, but had lived in Berlin for some time and had joined the SPD. In October, when the SPD leader Karl Kautsky asked her to take charge of the 'Russian department' of *Vörrwärts* (*Forward*), she hired a maid. The SPD trusted her with 100,000 marks for revolutionary parties in the Russian Empire, including 22,000 for the SDKPiL, and she could call on 5,000 more.⁴²

On 1 January 1906 Luxemburg used a journalist's passport to board an unheated train under military guard going from Berlin to Warszawa. Next day she described the city to Karl and Luise Kautsky as 'a place of the dead', since there was a general strike and 'soldiers everywhere'. On the 3rd she wrote that Warszawa was 'very lovely'.

Every day two or three persons are bayoneted by the soldiers in the city. Arrests are increasing daily, but other than that everything is quite cheerful. Despite the martial law we're bringing out our *Sztander* **every day**, and it's being sold on the street. As soon as martial law is lifted, our legal daily paper will appear again – *Trybuna* [*Tribune*]. Nowadays we have to ... print the *Sztander* with revolver in hand at bourgeois print shops.

On the 9th, the first anniversary of Bloody Sunday in St. Petersburg, there were mass demonstrations in Warszawa, Czentochon, the Dąbrowa coalfield,⁴³ the major textile centre of Łódź, and smaller places elsewhere, while Polish socialists in St. Petersburg called a one-day strike.⁴⁴

All ten provinces in Poland were under martial law, though early there were uprisings in Suwalki, Radom and Kielce. In Warszawa Luxemburg understood that the general strike had 'misfired', particularly in St. Petersburg, so there could be 'no talk of leadership' from there, since the RSDRP 'localise their outlook to a laughable degree'. In any case a revolution 'can never be victorious in St. Petersburg alone', but 'only in the Russian Empire as a whole'. She 'pumped' a Menshevik visitor who claimed that the RSDRP had led the 'entire struggle' during the Moscow rising, and their losses had been 'minimal'. Ordinary citizens had 'suffered terribly', yet the fighting had 'raised the general tactics to a new level'. 'Only direct, universal fighting in the street can now bring a revolution', but 'there must be more preparation for the right moment', and she wanted to help the SPD 'link up more with the revolution'.⁴⁵ Luxemburg described the Moscow rising in *Czerwony Sztandar*, and argued for the proletariat to help to achieve a bourgeois revolution. The first stage would be establishing a constituent assembly on an All-Russian basis, with the number of representatives based on the size of local populations, though there would also be a *Sejm* (national assembly) in Warszawa to legislate on Polish matters. The proletariat had to force the bourgeoisie to remain loyal to the revolution, and establish a provisional workers' government until the reforms for a democratic constitution emerged.⁴⁶ She was asked to produce a new SDKPiL programme, and argued that the standing army should be abolished, there should be equality before the law, women should be enfranchised, and there should be freedom of speech, assembly, the press and education,⁴⁷ Customs tariffs should be replaced by a progressive tax on income, property and inheritance, and there would be legislation to improve workers' conditions. She insisted on the inviolability of the person and freedom of conscience. All the subject nationalities should be assured of free cultural development and national systems of education, which should be free but compulsory, plus freedom to use their own language and act autonomously. She did not accept the Bolshevik idea of a 'proletarian dictatorship', though she generally agreed with their perspective. Late in January the SDKPiL claimed 30,000 members, including artisans and other workers, and influenced many more, but after a fortnight of open agitation the party was forced underground, and the 39-year-old intelektualny, Julian Marchlewski, was sent to Belgium to buy arms.⁴⁸

In February, in the SPD's *Die Neue Zeit* (*The New Times*), Luxemburg stressed the need to 'maintain the Russian revolution *in permanenz*'.⁴⁹ She told the Kautskys about the 'enormous difficulties with getting things printed' in Warszawa, with 'arrests every day, and threats of the firing squad for those who have been arrested'; but 'work is proceeding cheerfully, big factory meetings are taking place, new leaflets are being written and printed almost every day, and our newspaper, though with moaning and groaning, comes out almost every day'.

People think the struggle is over, when in fact it has gone down into the depths. And at the same time the *organisation* is making forward steps tirelessly. In spite of martial law the trade unions of Social Democracy have been built solidly, with all the formalities: printed membership booklets, stamps, by-laws, regular meetings, etc. The work is being carried out completely as though political freedom already existed. And naturally the police are powerless against this mass movement. In Łódź, for example, we already have 6,000 members signed up in the Social-Democratic trade union for textile workers! Here in Warszawa we have 700 bricklayers, 600 bakers, etc.

She asked Kautsky for '1,600 marks from the main account' in a cheque made out to 'Otto Engelmann', sent 'by registered mail to the address I previously gave you. It's urgent!' She understood that the RSDRP had returned to 'underground conditions' in St. Petersburg, though active work had 'come to a stop' and they were 'absolutely incapable' of publishing a leaflet, let alone a newspaper. For all the 'talk of unification', there was 'Indescribable chaos', 'factional collapse' and general depression'; so the 'family gathering' would 'take place somewhat later than was originally intended'.⁵⁰ She noted that 'the state of siege' (martial law) was not to be lifted during the Duma elections, and émigré Menshevik intelligently favoured participating in them, though not in the Duma.⁵¹ In Galicia the 39-year-old SDKPiL intelektualny Ignacy Daszyński condemned the idea of collaborating with Russian revolutionaries.⁵² In Germany the SPD leader August Bebel believed that the Duma would be 'a monstrosity spawned by filth', and *Vorwärts* (*Forward*) favoured boycotting the elections.⁵³ The number of strikes in Poland had fallen sharply, and when Warszawa police searched Luxemburg's room on 4 March they found illegal literature, proofs and letters from SPD leaders.⁵⁴ The SDKPiL organised a May Day demonstration in Warszawa, and the PPS and Bund supported it, but troops killed 37 and wounded 45.⁵⁵ The SDKPiL leaders Luxemburg and Marchlewski were taken to the Citadel, though he was soon released, since the police did not realise who he was, and the rest of the leaders withdrew to Kraków in Galicia.⁵⁶

(iii) The problem of the next crust of bread

On 5 January 1906, delegates at a conference of Suomen sosialidemokraattinen puolue (the Social Democratic Party of Finland, or SSDP) were anxious that supporting class conflict could give the tsar an excuse for removing the Grand Duchy's privileges, though they agreed to give Russian revolutionaries sanctuary,⁵⁷ and the 35-year-old Bolshevik leader Vladimir Ulyanov, his wife 37-year-old Nadezhda Krupskaya and her mother, settled in Kuokkala.⁵⁸ Vasa was a large two-storey dacha, five miles from the railway station at the Russian border, and 40 miles from St. Petersburg,⁵⁹ which was 50 minutes away by train.⁶⁰ Ulyanov received information from the capital every day by courier,⁶¹ and though Katya Komissarova, one of Krupskaya's assistants, spied for the police, they made no arrests.⁶² Maria, Vladimir's 28-year-old sister, was a secretary of the St. Petersburg RSDRP committee, but was arrested at a workers' meeting. She protested that her elderly and infirm mother would be terrified by a night-time raid, and refused to give the police her address for 12 hours, so her sister Anna and 24-year-old Lidia Fotieva, could remove incriminating evidence. When Maria was released she liaised with Krupskaya, and set up a clandestine rendezvous at a dentist's surgery, where Ulyanov met activists.⁶³

Solomon Drizdo had been born in a Katerynoslav province village in 1878. His father was a poor Jewish teacher and his mother ran a stall in a bazaar. Solomon attended a Jewish primary school, and in 1889 he worked as a butcher's errand boy and later for a grocer; but in 1892 he was apprenticed to a blacksmith. He became a journeyman, but by 1898, thanks to his brother, he was able to study full-time and got through four years of a gymnasium course in a single year. In 1899 he volunteered for the army in Kazan, and though he could not attend SD meetings, he stored illegal literature. In 1901 students helped him to get a school-leaving certificate,⁶⁴ and he joined the RSDRP,⁶⁵ went back to his village, led kruzhski and contacted others in Katerynoslav and Kharkiv. In 1903 he moved to St. Petersburg, registered as a student to get a residence permit and worked as an organiser on Vasilievsky Island and outside the Nevsky Gate. He was soon arrested and deported to Kazan, but supported the Congress 'majority' in 1903. By summer 1905 he was an 'unofficial member' of Kazan's Bolshevik committee. He agitated workers, and was arrested, though when workers threatened to wreck the factory he was freed in hours. He later attended a Bolshevik conference in Samara, and in October he led demonstrators who disarmed police in Kazan, and distributed weapons at the University. For two and a half days Bolsheviks controlled the city, until infantry, cadets and artillery surrounded the University and arrested the occupiers, though Drizdo was soon freed after promising he would not leave the city. Late in November he was a delegate to an RSDRP conference in Finland; but early in 1906 he was arrested in a Baltic shipyard worker's apartment in St. Petersburg. He gave a false name and escaped to Kharkiv, but was arrested, released, rearrested and sentenced to two years in prison.⁶⁶ (He later escaped to Paris, where he worked in the Bolshevik organisation and French trade unions.⁶⁷)

The 28-year-old Menshevik intelligentka Lydia Tsederbaum later recalled that by 1906 very few RSDRP intelligents in Russia remained active, though that was

not to be explained by lack of courage, but by the fact that it was easier for an *intelligent* to leave his customary surroundings, because he usually had contacts and would not be lost. But for a worker who left his factory (and he could not remain at the factory if he was a 'professional') and knew nothing except the business of revolutions, the problem of the next crust of bread, of subsistence, was much more acute and dramatic.

Besides, an intelligent 'often had supplementary earnings (lessons, translation, journalism)'.⁶⁸

Early in February the tsar barred all women from voting in the Duma elections, plus seven million male agricultural workers, 3.5 million servants, two million day labourers, one million building workers, one million commercial employees,⁶⁹ 63 percent of urban artisans, all workers in factories with fewer than 50 employees,⁷⁰ and all those under 25 years of age, all rural craftsmen, all peasants without property, all students, policemen, soldiers on active service, all aliens, and all persons 'under prosecution for any criminal offense'. Workers' *curiae* would elect six electors to choose Duma deputies in St. Petersburg, four in Moscow, two in Warszawa and in Tashkent in central Asia, and one in 21 other 'principal towns'.⁷¹ Duma deputies would have immunity from prosecution, but the tsar retained the power to declare a state of emergency, determine foreign policy,⁷² and alter fundamental laws.⁷³ Theoretically the Duma would control part of the state budget,⁷⁴ though only the tsar could approve military and court expenditure.⁷⁵ The deputies could summon ministers, though they were not obliged to attend,⁷⁶ and only the tsar could stop court proceedings, pardon those convicted or commute sentences. He would appoint half of the State Council, so noblemen would have 40 seats, *zemstva* (local authorities) 34, chambers of commerce 12 and the Orthodox Church, Academy of Sciences and universities six each. Ministers could propose emergency measures, though the State Council and Duma had to approve them. Both bodies could initiate, amend or veto bills, but no law was valid without the tsar's signature, and he could appoint and sack ministers, control foreign affairs and the armed forces, and only he could declare war and conclude a peace.⁷⁷ When the Duma was not in session, ministers could issue temporary laws, though they would lapse if the Duma or State Council did not ratify them,⁷⁸ and the State Council had to approve bills before the tsar would consider them.⁷⁹ Every 2,000 landowners, 4,000 townsmen, 30,000 comfortably-off peasants and 90,000 factory workers would choose one elector. In St. Petersburg the right to vote was limited to workers who had been at the same plant for six months,⁸⁰ and townsmen who had owned a commercial or industrial establishment for a year, paid a professional tax, rented a flat or received a state pension.⁸¹

Mensheviks argued that the RSDRP should take part in the elections, while the Bolsheviks wanted an 'active boycott' involving legally or illegally attending election meetings to expose the Duma as 'a fraud and humbug and call for a struggle for a constituent assembly', to avoid appearing to support 'this travesty of popular representation'. On 7 February, in the RSDRP CC's first *Partiinnye izvestia* (*Party News*), whose editorial board consisted equal numbers of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, argued that a 'new outbreak may not take place in the spring', but 'in all probability it is not very far off', so 'Amalgamation is essential', though 'A Bolshevik' argued that in most parts of Russia there was 'insufficient initiative among our fighting squads, lack of fighting experience, and insufficient determination in their activities'. Both factions had agreed to hold a unity Congress and abide by its decisions, and on the 11th 65 delegates each claimed to represent 30 members at a preliminary meeting in St. Petersburg. The Bolshevik delegates had a majority of seven, and Mensheviks challenged some of their mandates, though the Bolshevik policy of boycotting the elections prevailed.⁸² The police were closing in on 'Nina', the Bolsheviks' high-speed Augsburg press in Baku in Azerbaijan, so it was brought to a workers' district in St. Petersburg,⁸³ and the 28-year-old printer Avel Enukidze arrived by mid-February.⁸⁴

The 25-year-old Menshevik intelligent Mark Broido had founded mutual aid societies and trade unions in St. Petersburg in 1905, and was elected to the sovet EC, but was arrested early in December and put in a solitary cell in Kresty Prison. He was allowed to read only the Bible, so he asked for French, Italian, German and English editions to improve his language skills. By early 1906 Eva, his 29-year-old wife, led 'elementary' and 'more advanced' Menshevik *kruzhki* in the city, and was particularly interested in the economic and social situation of women.⁸⁵ After the government legalised public meetings,⁸⁶ Mensheviks built 'initiative groups' in some districts.⁸⁷ Eva, who was a member of the RSDRP commission responsible for discipline, organised a debate about the Duma elections at the Baltic shipyard where a Menshevik RSDRP committee member argued for working with the Kadets, since 'any advance from absolutism towards democracy should be supported'. Apfelbaum replied for the Bolsheviks, and the debate was long and lively. Next evening Ulyanov 'spoke very well and with great elation', and was 'often interrupted by applause', but neither he nor Apfelbaum attacked the Mensheviks. Broido spoke last and the Mensheviks won by 50 votes to 13.⁸⁸

The 20-year-old Jewish SD intelligent Hirsch Apfelbaum had supported the RSDRP Congress 'majority' in 1903, and in autumn he was sent to south Russia to support the Bolsheviks' *Iskra*. He kept in touch with the Poltava bureau and helped to set up an underground press. In 1904 he fell ill, but late that year he returned to Bern University, joined the émigré Bolsheviks and wrote for their paper.⁸⁹ The Bolshevik intelligent Anatoly Lunacharsky was in his late 20s at the time, and later recalled that the Mensheviks were 'strongly entrenched everywhere' in Switzerland. Apfelbaum 'did not immediately strike' him 'as very promising', but he was 'busily engaged in seeking agents and in organising cells among as many émigré circles as possible'.⁹⁰ After Bloody Sunday in January 1905 Apfelbaum returned to St. Petersburg and got involved in strikes, but suffered from heart trouble and left for Bern University. In March 1906 he returned to St. Petersburg, agitated metalworkers, was elected to the RSDRP committee, and helped to edit *Vpered*,⁹¹ Delegates to the RSDRP Congress were to be elected for the first time,⁹² and Apfelbaum was elected as a delegate.⁹³

On 4 March the tsar legalised trade unions.⁹⁴ Nationally, the numbers of foreign engineers and foremen had begun to diminish.⁹⁵ Factory inspectors did not inspect smaller plants, or mines, railways, and other enterprises, and by mid-March inspectors in St. Petersburg had noted 20 instances of unpopular foremen being wheel-barrowed out of factories, plus several threats and failures.⁹⁶ The reported that the 'increase in female labour' was 'especially marked in the cotton-weaving industry', since women were 'more industrious, attentive, and restrained (they do not smoke or drink)', and were 'more submissive and less demanding regarding rights'.⁹⁷ Females formed six percent of union members,⁹⁸ though textile union leaders allowed women to work on large machines for the same wage as men.⁹⁹ Industry was depressed and trade unionists tried to get the city дума to regulate food prices.¹⁰⁰

On the 20th the editors of RSDRP papers and several members 'engaged in practical work' published draft proposals for the Congress. There should be 'greater efforts' to form fighting squads, improve their organisation, and supply them with 'weapons of every type'. Party members should help to form groups of non-party workers, join them, and educate them 'in the spirit of the class struggle and the socialist aims of the proletariat', and support groups composed of non-party workers. In addition, 'the elective principle in the Party organisations should be applied from top to bottom'. That day the second issue of *Partiinnye izvestia* included the programme for the Congress. It insisted that 'all Party organisations must promote the formation of non-party trade unions', 'induce' all Party members to join the appropriate union for their trade, 'exert every effort to educate the workers who belong to trade unions in the spirit of a broad understanding of the class struggle and the socialist aims of the proletariat', 'win a virtually leading position', and ensure that unions 'some into direct association with the Party', but 'without expelling non-party members from their ranks'.¹⁰¹ Bolsheviks 'must say to the peasants: after taking the land, you should go further; otherwise you will be beaten and hurled back by the landlords and the big bourgeoisie. You cannot take the land and retain it without achieving new political gains, without striking another and even stronger blow at private ownership'.¹⁰² The RSDRP should make 'temporary fighting agreements' with revolutionary democrats' to assure the convocation of a constituent assembly on the basis of universal, direct and equal suffrage by secret ballot.¹⁰³ That same day the tsar gave the State Council the right to reject Duma Bills.¹⁰⁴

The 30-year-old RSDRP engineer Mikhail Kalinin had been exiled to Siberia in 1904, but when the war with Japan began he was deported to Olonets province. He was released in 1905, went to St. Petersburg, got a job at the huge Putilov metalworks and joined an RSDRP district committee and 'command staff'. After a strike, he was sacked, but returned after a short stay in the country. He worked at the Cartridge Factory, then the Reikhel Optical Works, but was arrested. He returned to the country, then went to Moscow and worked at a tramway station. Early in 1906 he returned to St. Petersburg, supported the Bolsheviks, joined a district committee, worked for the metalworkers' union, published a paper for workers and was elected as a Congress delegate.¹⁰⁵

By the end of March the Okhrana was registering suspicious persons across the Empire,¹⁰⁶ and intercepted letters, so they knew that Ulyanov and Krupskaya lived in Finland, where Bolshevik pamphlets were printed, and they knew where they were sold in St. Petersburg.¹⁰⁷ A publication no longer required official permission, but copies had to be submitted to the censors, and courts could order suspension or confiscation.¹⁰⁸ The Bolsheviks lacked sufficient *cadre*, especially in Moscow.

(iv) I did all the things that everybody else did

By spring 1906 the Moscow governor had sacked almost all the additional policemen he had appointed late in 1905 and ordered his new senior officers to suppress disorderly public meetings.¹⁰⁹ The police had closed all the radical and socialist newspapers, and armed police and Cossacks patrolled the streets.¹¹⁰ The managers at the huge Prokhorov textile mill had sacked 1,200 of the 6,000 male workers,¹¹¹ and replaced them with women. The

Bolshevik-led textile workers' union leaders argued that 'because of their economic and domestic situation', women were 'much less able to defend themselves against the bondage and exploitation of capital', so 'all measures' should be taken 'to attract women on an equal basis with men into unions and all other workers' organisations'.¹¹² The city's 40 to 50 trade unions had 25,000 to 30,000 members,¹¹³ and the domestic servants' union had 20. It cost two percent of earnings to join, helped unemployed servants find jobs and ran literacy classes on two evenings a week after 8.00pm.¹¹⁴ Around 1,500 printers had lost their jobs, but the Mensheviks had sent the intelligent S. Ia. Kibrik to work under a pseudonym in the printers' union.¹¹⁵

Most members of the RSDRP's Moscow regional committee were Bolsheviks, though they were unclear what attitude they should take to the Mensheviks. Ulyanov arrived in Moscow to discuss the Congress and told them that they should repent their mistakes, since he considered soviets to be not only organs of struggle, but also potential organs of power. The 41-year-old Bolshevik intelligent Nikolai Mechtcheriakov, a member of the regional committee, visited Moscow to discuss the draft Congress resolutions. Most supported the Bolsheviks, but were conciliatory towards the Mensheviks who favoured taking part in the first stage of the Duma elections,¹¹⁶ though they would form 'fighting groups that will assume the task of preparing a series of terrorist acts at the moment of an aggressive offensive'.¹¹⁷

Andrey Bubnov had been born into a middle-class Ivanovo family in the Moscow region in 1883. He later attended a secondary school,¹¹⁸ and had joined revolutionary *kruzhki* by 1900. In 1903 he entered Moscow Agricultural Institute and supported the RSDRP Congress 'majority'.¹¹⁹ He was expelled,¹²⁰ but propagandised in the region, and in summer 1905 he joined the Ivanovo committee,¹²¹ as an organiser and propagandist.¹²² He was arrested, released early in 1906, and elected as a Congress delegate, but was arrested.¹²³

Feodosia Drabkina (as she became) had been born in Rostov-na-Donu in 1883. She conducted SD propaganda by 1900, married Yakov Drabkin and joined the RSDRP in 1902.¹²⁴ Drabkin became a full-time revolutionary in 1903, and was a secretary of St. Petersburg RSDRP committee in 1904.¹²⁵ In 1905 Drabkina was a member of the combat technical group of the Bolsheviks' St. Petersburg committee, and took munitions to Moscow during the rising. By 1906 she was a secretary of the Narva district organization in St. Petersburg,¹²⁶ then became a secretary of the Moscow committee, and Yakov was elected as a Congress delegate.¹²⁷ Few other Moscow Bolsheviks were elected as delegates because of their negative attitude to the soviets in 1905.¹²⁸

Nikolai Bukharin had been born in Moscow in 1888. His father was a Moscow University graduate, and both parents were primary school teachers. Nikolai could read before he was five, but his father later became a tax inspector in Bessarabia. In 1897, when the family returned to Moscow he was unemployed for two years and led a 'very dissolute life', so his family experienced 'great poverty'. Nikolai entered an elite gymnasium in 1901, where he read 'absolutely everything', and by 1905 his *kruzhok* read literature from the RSDRP and VPSR.¹²⁹ By 1906 his *kruzhok* met Bolsheviks,¹³⁰ and radicalised schoolchildren.

The Jewish schoolboy Ilya Ehrenburg was seeking an underground organisation to join.

I was comparing the programmes of the Social Democrats and the Socialist Revolutionaries. The latter had romanticism on their side: battle groups, terrorism, the role of the individual. But to me they seemed too romantic: I remembered the workmen at the Khamovniki brewery and was drawn to the Bolsheviks, to the romanticism of the unromantic. I was already reading Lenin's [Ulyanov's] articles and understood that the Mensheviks were moderates, more like my father. Often I repeated to myself the word 'justice'. It is a very hard word, sometimes cold like metal in the frost, but to me it then seemed warm, friendly, a word I could love.

'People were saying – some sorrowfully, others with pleasure – that the storm was over'. The seamen's risings at the Navy base at Kronstadt and at Viapori Fortress, late in 1905, 'seemed like the last peals of thunder', but a student member of a 'battle group' known only as 'Dmitry' showed Ilya how to handle a revolver. Senya Chlenon taught him about 'the role of foreign capital, Anglo-German antagonism', and 'the greed and backwardness of the Russian bourgeoisie', but also about art, theatre and novels. Ilya distributed illegal literature and became an organizer in Zamoskvoretsky district. 'The thing I feared most was that the comrades might ... say that a fifteen-year-old could not be entrusted with important missions'.

I did all the things that everybody else did: wrote leaflets and boiled gelatine in a frying pan – we used to print our leaflets by hectograph – looked for 'contacts' and wrote down addresses on cigarette paper which I could swallow if arrested, expounded Lenin's articles to 'workers' circles', argued with the Mensheviks till I was hoarse and did my utmost to observe the rules of conspiracy.

But the Okhrana knew what they were doing.

Girsh Sokolnikov had joined the RSDRP as a teenager in 1905. By 1906 he was an organiser, agitator and propagandist in Moscow, mainly among printers and weavers. He joined the district committee, then the military technical bureau,¹³¹ and by summer he supported the Bolsheviks.¹³² The Okhrana noted that the RSDRP had 'new workers' among secondary pupils. Bukharin, Ehrenburg, Sokolnikov, Sokolov and Sakharova and were district propagandists; Rokshanin was a 'technician' in Zamoskvoretsky district, as was Antonov in City district, while Faydysh was a member of the military technical bureau. The police raided a meeting, and though everyone escaped except Ehrenburg, he got rid of his leaflets before he reached the police station, and was soon released. Young Bolsheviks sometimes met at the Tatar cemetery on the Sparrow Hills, in a little wood below, or on waste ground. They talked about contacts, how one organiser 'got caught with addresses' and Bronstein's Vienna *Pravda*, which supported the RSDRP but was not factional. Sladkov's wallpaper factory lacked soap in the washrooms, so Ilya befriended a worker who organised a strike committee, spoke at meetings and collected money from students. When the 27-year-old RSDRP member and worker Iosif Dubrovinsky suggested that an exhausted comrade should rest, Ilya did not know he was 27-year-old Viktor Nogin. In spring, during the election of delegates to the RSDRP Congress, Ilya spoke to Menshevik printers. His 'eloquence proved useless', but after a Menshevik girl spoke to ten or 15 brick-makers from the same plant, Ilya 'smashed the opportunists'.¹³³

(v) The Duma elections

The first stage of the Duma elections took place on successive Sundays in March 1906.¹³⁴ Early that month, after about 120 meetings of St. Petersburg workers, the Bolsheviks had won 1,168 votes and the Mensheviks 926. At another meeting the Bolsheviks won by 36 votes to 29, and their policy of an active boycott became RSDRP policy.¹³⁵ On the 11th the tsar threatened anyone convicted of campaigning for a boycott with four to six months in prison.¹³⁶ Since socialist parties were barred from standing candidates, discontented liberal and socialists had either to abstain or vote for Kadets. Ulyanov argued that the RSDRP should enter into pacts with Kadets, and support Kadet and Octobrist deputies in the Duma, then await the correct moment to attack the autocracy.¹³⁷

From 10 January to 19 March the provisional governor-general of Kielce province in Poland had handed down 204 administrative sentences, and 65 of the 1,400 fully documented cases involved the illegal carrying of weapons, mainly firearms. Since 20 February 42 cases had involved weapons; yet only two of those found guilty served more than a fortnight in jail, and the highest fine was 25 rubles, even though the maximum sentence could have been three months in jail and a fine of 3,000 rubles.¹³⁸ During March a conference of the Jewish section of the PPS in Poland attracted delegates from Lublin, Płock, Kielce, Radom, Zagłębie and Białystok, and Vilnius and Grodno in Lithuania. They wanted full political and civil rights and 'free cultural development for all national minorities' to be in the PPS programme. At the Lwów Congress young leftists won a majority of seats on the CC, though 38-year-old Józef Piłsudski retained control of the fighting organisation.¹³⁹ PPS fighters harassed Russian officials, and agricultural labourers went on strike for more pay, though the reformist but anti-Jewish Stronnictwo Narodowo-Demokratyczne (the National Democratic Party, better-known as *Endecja*) joined gentry and better-off peasants who supported scabs. Poland was to elect 37 Duma deputies, including one to represent the Orthodox population of Siedlce and Lublin provinces. Townspeople would elect 341 electors, better-off peasants and landowners 286, less well-off peasants 194 and workers 29. The PPS boycotted the elections,¹⁴⁰ 103 out of 114 enfranchised factory workforces abstained, and only 300 Warszawa workers voted. In Piotrków province over 480 workforces out of 500 abstained and 50,000 workers from 293 plants went on strike. *Endecja* won 34 deputies.¹⁴¹

During March, at a Lithuanian SDP conference in Munich, the moderate nationalist Pēteris Stučka had argued that the RSDRP should stop being hostile to other SD parties, and the conference supported a merger with the RSDRP on the basis that other SD organisations in Lithuania would dissolve and join it. It wanted to retain its CC, congresses and party apparatus, and solve its own organisational problems independently, but have representatives on the RSDRP CC and its delegations to international congresses,¹⁴² and the Empire to be a 'union of neighbouring countries'. It acknowledged that it had neglected 'village proletarians', and began negotiating a merger with the PPS in Vilnius, Kaunas and Grodno, yet LSDP members in St. Petersburg rejected a merger with the RSDRP. The LSDP published the legal *Naujoji Gdynė (New Era)*, sent out agents to rebuild party organisations and aimed to expand into Prussia and Switzerland. The LSDP budget for 1906 was almost 29,500 rubles, though 70 percent had come from abroad, including over 19,000 from the USA and 1,000 or so from Britain. Half of the expenditure was for the publication and distribution of 68 periodicals and 26 appeals in Polish, Yiddish and Russian, 21 pamphlets and newspapers, totalling over 500,000 copies. The other half of the party's income went organisation, agitation and the acquisition of arms.¹⁴³

In Latvia censors had closed periodicals, sometimes for a single paragraph, and editors and journalists were imprisoned.¹⁴⁴ Altogether 19 more Poles were elected as Duma deputies in Latvia, Białoruś and Ukraine,¹⁴⁵ and five deputies were elected in Estland.¹⁴⁶ By the end of March enfranchised workers in 36 provinces had voted, but participation averaged around 35 percent, and 71 percent abstained in Kharkiv, 70 percent in St. Petersburg's suburbs, 49 percent in the city, 54 percent in Odesa, 42 percent in Katerynoslav, 33 percent in Ivanovo, 23 percent in Moscow, 13 percent in Tver, six percent in Tula,¹⁴⁷ and 39 percent in St. Petersburg province.¹⁴⁸ Peasants had elected 2,726 delegates to electoral assemblies, landowners 2,231, city-dwellers 1,535 and workers 236,¹⁴⁹ and the assemblies had elected deputies on the 20th.¹⁵⁰ Mensheviks in the Moscow region ignored party policy and elected electors, including RSDRP members and other SDs,¹⁵¹ and I. Savelev, a member of the Moscow typesetter's union became a deputy, with the help of Kadets, though he was criticised by members of other unions.¹⁵²

Nationally, railway building had continued on a much reduced scale,¹⁵³ though about 1.6 million Ukrainians had migrated on the Trans-Siberian line to get land.¹⁵⁴ In the Donbass the luzovka-Petrovsky RSDRP committee had claimed 2,000 members at the end of 1905, but by 1906 the leaders of the Donetsk mineworkers' union had left the region, and while luzovka ironworks had reopened, there were over 16,600 tons of unsold pig iron in the yard.¹⁵⁵ French and Belgian directors sacked a coalmine manager for introducing an eight-hour day, and the governor imprisoned him for two months for 'a measure contrary to public safety'.¹⁵⁶ Bolsheviks and Mensheviks had encouraged Ukrainian workers to register to vote. At the Rutchenko mine the Bolshevik Petr Moiseenko read the *Poltava Sotsial-demokrat* to illiterate workers and explained their rights. The authorities had gerrymandered the electoral rolls to exclude many workers, and a senior policeman had published Black Hundred leaflets, and though 22 out of 31 Kharkiv workforces abstained, the 35-year-old peasant Mikhailchenko, a coal miner who had been a trade unionist since 1905, became a Duma deputy.¹⁵⁷ During March a director of the Katerynoslav tram company had been wounded. *Ukrainska sotsyal-demokratychna robitychna* (the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Workers' Party, or USDRP), had not stood candidates in the Duma elections, and neither had *Spilka* (Union), a breakaway from *Revoliutsiina Partiiia Ukrayiny* (the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party, or RPU), though 63 Ukrainians standing for other parties were elected, and 40 organised a club to promote greater Ukrainian autonomy.¹⁵⁸

Kuban Cossacks had been called out to break a strike in December 1905, then went on strike themselves, since they were not prepared to leave their home region. In February 1906 they surrendered to other Cossack units, though a Cossack regiment disobeyed orders in Vilnius in Lithuania.¹⁵⁹ Almost 1.4 million Kuban Cossacks farmed 60 percent of the arable land in northern Caucasia, and resented 'intruders' who held the rest. The 1906 allocation for education in Don Cossack territory was 718,687 rubles. Don Cossacks farmed 70 percent of the land east of Ukraine, and the slogan 'The Don for the Don Cossacks' became a popular slogan.¹⁶⁰ In Ukraine 90 percent of arable land produced grain for export. The province's population was over 11 million, and on the steppe it had increased faster than anywhere else in the Empire. Kyiv's population had grown to over 400,000,¹⁶¹ but the city's Okhrana had too few agents to examine the literature distributed among troops. In Rostov-na-Donu workers and Cs had shot each other at an election meeting. Four workers died, 18 were wounded and 50 were arrested.

Across European Russia the winter crop had been five percent lower than the previous year and the spring crop was 28 percent lower, so peasants in 127 districts faced hunger.¹⁶² *Zemstva* fed 250,000 peasants in Kazan province, 200,000 in Ufa, 179,000 in Samara, 131,000 in Saratov, 117,000 in Tambov, 107,000 in Penza, 100,000 in Simbirsk and 87,000 in Nizhni Novgorod. *Krasny Krest* (the political Red Cross) fed 209,000 peasants, mainly in Samara province in the Volga region.¹⁶³ During March the tsar had ordered the establishment of district and provincial land-settlement commissions.¹⁶⁴ The peasant union held a secret congress and claimed one million members,¹⁶⁵ though the police arrested a Moscow province peasant Duma deputy.¹⁶⁶

The Saratov province RSDRP committee had claimed 795 members in January. After the Bering and Gankte plant workforces and railway workers pressurised the committee, it participated in the Duma elections,¹⁶⁷ and several members of the recently-formed Saratov Union of Toilers became electors.¹⁶⁸ The RSDRP factions manoeuvred for hegemony at the election of deputies in Saratov province, and three of the ten elected were teachers of peasant origin.¹⁶⁹

Hundreds of Bundists and other Jews had left the Pale for Palestine,¹⁷⁰ and though the Bund led trade unions of Jewish artisans,¹⁷¹ most artisans and factory workers had no vote.¹⁷² The Bund failed to convince all enfranchised Jews to boycott the Duma elections,¹⁷³ and 12 Jewish deputies were elected,¹⁷⁴ but the Bund had a competitor.

Ber Borochoy had been born in 1881 and had joined the RSDRP in Katerynoslav in 1900, but he began to move away after the pogroms in Kishinev and Gomel in 1903, and he and 500 other young Jews formed an armed defence squads. In 1904 there was agitation for a Jewish state in Palestine, but the 1905 revolution had convinced many young Jewish activists about Marxist perspectives. In February 1906 30 delegates from all over the Pale met in a Poltava hotel they had 'expropriated' from the terrified owner, and founded *Evreskaia sotsial-demokraticheskaia rabochaia partiia* (the Jewish Social Democratic Workers' Party, better-known as Paole Zion).

They were mainly young men who focussed on armed self-defence against pogroms and expropriations, and regarded Jewish colonisation in Palestine as 'built on sand or, more accurately, on a volcano'. Paole Zion was a strictly proletarian party which usually followed the Bolshevik line and was critical of Mensheviks, and it grew so swiftly that by spring it threatened the Bund's hegemony among politicised Jewish workers. They sent a delegation to Simferopol to work out a detailed programme, and it appeared week by week in *Evreskaia rabochaia khronika* (the *Jewish Workers' Chronicle*) in Poltava, which demanded Jewish 'territorial autonomy'.¹⁷⁵

Over half the Duma deputies represented the peasantry while around 43 percent were Kadets, Octobrists and other liberals, around 25 percent were independents,¹⁷⁶ and just over five percent were leftists.¹⁷⁷ In three months 196,000 of the 269,000 strikers at inspected plants had been deemed 'political'.¹⁷⁸

(vi) The Urals

Klavidia Novgorodtseva had been born into a merchant's family in Ekaterinburg in 1876. She later qualified as a teacher and worked in the Urals in Western Siberia from 1894 to 1897, then studied in St. Petersburg until 1899, and returned to the Urals as a revolutionary.¹⁷⁹ She supported the RSDRP Congress 'majority' by 1904,¹⁸⁰ and later recalled the situation in 1905.

The influence of the SRs in the Urals had been undermined during the 1905 revolution but the Mensheviks were in a different position. In the autumn of 1905, when the revolutionary fervour was at its height, a number of them had often given their support to the Bolsheviks but it took only a few setbacks to make them panic. Hard on their leaders' heels they began to complain stridently that we should never have taken up arms. ...

The gendarmes and police intended to make their first attack against our headquarters, thus disabling the committee at one blow. They mustered in considerable force and one night they and the Cossacks descended on the Verkhny Isetsk settlement and surrounded the block which housed our commune. All movement in the nearby streets was halted. Despite the late hour a crowd of workers gathered behind the police lines and news of the raid was all over town by the next day. Then there was an organised assault on our HQ; the gendarmerie's tactical geniuses had obviously been working hard. While one group was breaking down the gates, others were scrambling over the fence and throwing themselves into an all-out offensive. Absolutely no one could escape and the officer in charge was already rubbing his hands, anticipating his superior's compliments. ... His fury knew no bounds when they searched the place and found not only none of us there but not even a single scrap of paper to give us away.¹⁸¹

After the defeat of the Moscow rising the 19-year-old Bolshevik intelligent Yakov Sverdlov returned to the Urals. He won over the largest RSDRP groups in Perm and formed committees and 'a multitude' of factory *kruzhki*.¹⁸²

Early in 1906 Novgorodtseva was elected to the RSDRP Ekaterinburg committee, then the Perm committee and the Bolsheviks' Urals committee.¹⁸³

The committee finally decided that it was time Sverdlov left for Perm, where hardly anyone would recognise him – although everyone had heard of him – and where he would be safer. This move was essential to the future of our work. Sverdlov was in effective control of all Party activities in the Urals, was continually on the move, visiting towns and remote factories, and generally directing all our work. Perm served as the administrative centre for almost the entire Urals and had the huge Motovilikha Factory nearby. Therefore it was the obvious place to establish the regional Party HQ. He obtained a passport through Lev Gerts, the student son of a local school mistress, but there was only one railway station, which, though little frequented, it had its own police guard. Absolutely no one escaped this man's notice and he could certainly recognise Andrei [Sverdlov], having often seen him during the days of 'freedom'. One of our most artful comrades was given the job of somehow getting this gendarme out of the way or at least of distracting his attention while Andrei got on the train. When the day came, the comrade in question turned up at the station looking like a lord. His beautiful fur coat with its beaver collar hung open, revealing an expensive suit, an impressive waistcoat and the gleam of a golden watch chain. We had borrowed it all from a rich liberal sympathiser, who had no idea, of course, of how we were going to use the outfit he had lent us. Tapping the floor nonchalantly with his ivory-headed cane, the 'gentleman' entered the first class waiting room in the grand manner and beckoned to the gendarme. 'I say, my man - get me a first class ticket for Perm and look sharp! You can keep the change.' The gentleman looked so fine and behaved with such style, and the wallet from which he casually drew the money to pay for his ticket was so plump - the gendarme was most impressed. On top of that the generous gentleman gave a condescending nod towards the refreshments counter and treated him to a couple of glasses of brandy, tossing some silver coins at the attendant. The guard, bubbling over with enthusiasm, galloped off to the ticket window, pushing at anyone in his way, and thrust the money over the counter. ... Although he did his job with all dispatch, it took him five or ten minutes to get hold of the ticket, during which time the train pulled in and Andrei boarded it unnoticed, his face swathed in a scarf as though he had toothache. In all the confusion before the train left the 'gentleman' passed the

ticket to Andrei through a third party, the flag went up, the train gave a whistle and Sverdlov left Ekaterinburg safely on a ticket bought for him by an over-zealous official.

I had been ordered to find a safe place for Andrei in Perm and had arrived there a few days before. At first I took a room in a 'rooming house' and we stayed there for a week or so. As a rule underground workers never did this, and it was but a poor second best, but there were no reliable clandestine flats in Perm and I could never have recommended a place that was, or could have been, under police surveillance. ... Sverdlov began to rally the Bolshevik forces in Motovilikha, while keeping an eye on Perm and on the Lysva, Chusovaya and Kizel factories. He was in control of the whole Urals organisation and under his supervision the preparations for the regional Party Conference made good headway. The day after his arrival he walked to Motovilikha with Misha Turkin, a young factory worker and RLSDP member. Sverdlov called together five or six people there and directed each of them to re-establish his contact with members of the local Bolshevik organisations who had escaped arrest and to enlist new members from among those who had proved themselves during and after the Motovilikha rising. A few days later there was a larger meeting, where Sverdlov announced that a strong local underground organisation was to be formed. He drafted a plan then and there, describing the structure he had in mind and suggesting a suitable system of communications between members. There followed several brief meetings with Party members and young people with revolutionary potential. He gave detailed instructions to each, making sure that they knew how to talk to the workers, what to look out for and what issues to raise. Then he sent them out to all parts of the factory. Sverdlov began to make himself known to the workers, visiting them at home, encouraging them, giving them confidence in themselves and in the coming victory of the proletariat. The organisation quickly picked up. New young Party members took the place of those who had been arrested and comrades from other towns converged on the area. Sverdlov's arrival had re-invigorated the Motovilikha Bolsheviks. Our work in Perm was proceeding with equal success. Sverdlov supervised the Perm committee, keeping an eye on every aspect of its day-to-day activities. He formed a reliable core of staunch Bolsheviks there too and built up a viable underground organisation. In February the first Ural Regional Conference was convened – a monument to their powers of organisation. About 25 RLSDP representatives attended – from Perm, Ekaterinburg, Nizhni Tagil, Ufa, Vyatka, Tyumen and elsewhere. I could not be there but I later heard from delegates that Sverdlov had, in effect, run the conference. He had tabled almost all the motions that were passed.¹⁸⁴

The Ufa Bolsheviks supported 'expropriations'.¹⁸⁵

Alexandr Shapovalov had been born in the village of Chernaia Sloboda, Poltava Province, in 1871. He became a worker in 1886, and subsequently joined Gruppa Narodovoltsev, who supported the terrorist Narodnaya Volya (the People's Will), but in 1895 he joined the SD-led St. Petersburg Soyuz borby za osvobozhdenie rabochego klassa (the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class). He was arrested in 1896 and exiled to Eastern Siberia, and in 1899 he was one of 17 the exiles who endorsed Ulyanov's 'A Protest by Russian Social Democrats', attack on 'economism'. From 1901 Shapovalov carried out party work in Batumi, Kyiv, Tver, Katerynoslav, and Odesa, and took part in the 1905 revolution in Kharkiv, but was briefly imprisoned and was blind by 1906.¹⁸⁶ Previously almost all the exiles sent to Siberia had been intelligently, but now workers were being sent there too.¹⁸⁷ Shapovalov later recalled that almost all the intelligently had visits from their fiancées, while most workers had visits only from their mothers.¹⁸⁸ After he was freed under caution he fled abroad and joined the Bolsheviks.¹⁸⁹

The 20-year-old Bolshevik intelligent Evgeny Preobrazhensky had taken part in the Moscow rising in 1905, then escaped, but soon returned, put himself at the disposal of the CC and met Sverdlov briefly. The 24-year-old CC member Alexey Rykov offered Preobrazhensky the choice of joining either the Kostroma or Perm organisation, and he chose Perm, which had suffered the greatest losses. It took five days to get there and when he arrived at the beginning of January 1906 he went to a secret party address, where Sverdlov outlined the work he had to do, including attending the committee, which 'had to adopt a resolution on unifying our organisation in the Urals'. Sverdlov travelled throughout the Urals, 'assigning people to appropriate positions and giving all the necessary instructions'. One day an agitator from Moscow or St. Petersburg 'took great pains to lay out an eloquent case for workers to have an eight-hour day'. 'His propaganda met with lively approval from the audience', but some workers remarked that 'we now work a six-hour day'. Sverdlov built a 'leading cadre', but in March the work of provocateurs led to an 'enormous attack' by police on the Perm and Motovilikha RSDRP organisations, and they subjected factory workers to 'most brutal beatings in an attempt to extract compromising information'.¹⁹⁰

Novgorodtseva recalled that in early April an entire propagandist group was arrested.

Summaries of the discussions that had taken place, some underground literature and copies of the Party programme were confiscated. The committee realised from the subsequent searches and the questioning that the prisoners underwent, details of which filtered out to us, that this had not been a chance arrest - it bore the mark of an experienced informer.

Sverdlov became even more circumspect. He never spent two nights in the same place and tried not to go out during the day. He continued to travel, taking even greater precautions than before. But, though he could slip through the spy network, it was more difficult to protect himself against an informer who was working alongside him, pretending to be an ally and a comrade.

The organisation had a large underground press, 176 pounds of type and a good stock of paper.

[We] had to totally discredit the Menshevik ideology and wrest away from them the few local workers who were still under their influence. Our efforts, of course, depended on unity of spirit within our own organisation. ...

For example, we beat them thoroughly in April 1906, when we had to elect a Perm delegate to the Fourth RSDRP Congress. The hustings were held out of town at a mass meeting. Voting was by a show of hands.

There seemed no doubt that Sverdlov would be nominated but the Motovilikha workers protested against his candidature, pointing out that in the present situation there was a good chance that he would be arrested.

... The Motovilikha workers carried the day and even Sverdlov had to agree, much as he wanted to attend the Congress and meet Lenin. So instead of Sverdlov they elected Yakovlev as their delegate - and I was Yakovlev.

Novgorodtseva was one of five young delegates chosen to go to Stockholm.

I not only had to be continually on my guard against the secret police, who considered every Bolshevik fair game, but I also encountered all sorts of obstacles set up by the Mensheviks, who should themselves have had a hand in convening the Congress. And I could not decide what to take - I only possessed a simple cotton blouse, a cheap light coat and a head scarf. But my comrades outfitted me and I set off for my first rendezvous in Petersburg.

As he saw me off, Sverdlov repeated over and over again that they were counting on me to stick by Lenin, not to miss a word he said, to listen to everything and remember everything, because when I came back I would have a lot of questions to answer. He also warned me to keep a sharp eye on the Mensheviks and their tricks.

I got safely to Petersburg, but unpleasant things began to happen almost as soon as I arrived. It was a Menshevik-held rendezvous, and they would stoop to anything to assure themselves a majority at the Congress. I was met by a rather nasty person who kept tugging at his sparse gingery beard and spitting. On hearing that I was a Bolshevik, he announced that I could not go to the Congress with full discretionary powers and an effective vote; if I chose to attend, it would be with an advisory vote.

I made it quite clear that this was not so and decided not to move until I was assured of this by the Perm Bolsheviks who had elected me.

The answer was quick in coming and the Menshevik then had no choice but to tell me where the next rendezvous point was. It was in Helsingfors [Helsinki], and the Party name of my contact there was 'Devil'.

This 'Devil' turned out to be a wonderful comrade and a charming person, a firm follower of Lenin's line. He made me very welcome and advised me to stay until some more people arrived, so that I would not have to go on alone. A small group of delegates gathered within the next couple of days.

We were deep in conversation as soon as we boarded the boat for Sweden, and before long it emerged that apart from a woman called Sablina we were all novices - none of us had been abroad before. Possibly because she was more experienced - or, more likely because she was so charming - Sablina became the leader of our little group almost immediately. Her knowledge about Party affairs was staggering; she knew literally everything that was going on in every local organisation. I myself was amazed by how knowledgeable she was on the state of affairs in the Urals, by the inside information she obviously drew on when asking about our Regional Conference and about Comrade Andrei. I simply could not resist finding out, when we were quite alone, how she had got all those details.

'But, Comrade Olga, aren't you Klavdiya Novgorodtseva?' she asked with a smile.

I was completely taken aback, since I had told no one, not even our Devil, my real name.

Sablina continued: 'I think it's time I introduced myself. My name's Krupskaya.'

... [S]he and Lenin knew about Sverdlov's activities in our area and followed them with interest, discovering what they could from people who had met him in the Volga region or in the Urals.

The time seemed to fly on that short journey to Stockholm.

The Congress was underway when they arrived.¹⁹¹

(vii) The RSDRP Stockholm disunity Congress

Marya Kostelovskaya had been born into a junior civil servant's family in St. Petersburg in 1878. She later attended the Women's Higher Courses in Moscow, but was expelled for taking part in illegal student kruzhs in 1901. She joined the RSDRP in 1903, was active in the Crimea and St. Petersburg in 1905, and early in 1906 she moved to Finland to organise illegal border crossings for the Congress.¹⁹²

The 32-year-old Bolshevik intelligentka Elena Stasova had gone to Geneva in January,¹⁹³ but returned to St. Petersburg. In February she was 'instructed' to go to Finland to take over 'all links with abroad' from the 31-year-old Bolshevik intelligent Nikolai Burenin, including the 'escape route' to Finland, and the shipment of arms via Tornio-Haparanda and Stockholm. She had to organise the Congress in Stockholm along with Rykov, who was working underground in Moscow.¹⁹⁴

Hinke Bergegren, a 44-year-old member of Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Arbetareparti (the Social Democratic Workers' Party, or SDAP) in Stockholm, had looked after hundreds of SDs streaming out of Russia late in 1905, but ignored customs officials' reminders that 130 boxes of books needed to be collected, and the boy who cleaned the cellar burned the Bolshevik library and archive. By spring 1906 Bergegren had police permission for the RSDRP to hold a Congress in the city, and if delegates lacked money for tickets, he loaned it to them.¹⁹⁵

The 27-year-old Georgian Bolshevik intelligent Ioseb Jughashvili took the train to St. Petersburg and another to Hangö in Finland. He joined around 100 delegates who boarded a ship, but while the Mensheviks bought first class tickets, the Bolsheviks travelled third class, and there were fights. The ship sprang a leak outside Stockholm harbour, but the delegates were rescued next day, and Jughashvili booked into a shabby hotel and reported to the police.¹⁹⁶

Jakub Fürstenberg had been born into a prosperous family in Warszawa in 1879. He became a socialist in 1896, studied in Berlin, Heidelberg and Zurich, became a full-time underground worker, and specialised in transporting illegal literature. He attended the RSDRP Congress in 1903,¹⁹⁷ and was an SDKPiL delegate to the 1906 Congress.¹⁹⁸

In Ukraine most of the Odesa sovet executive committee had been arrested late in 1905. That, and the arrest of other leading SDs, had led to the collapse of the Menshevik and Bolshevik organisations, yet workers formed unions and went on strike to win improved conditions and participation in the running of their factories.¹⁹⁹ In spring the 25-year-old Bolshevik worker Kliment Voroshilov left Luhansk in eastern Ukraine with a mandate for the RSDRP Congress, reached St. Petersburg and went to the committee's headquarters. The 21-year-old Menshevik Viktor Krokmal frowned when he heard where he came from, then looked in a notebook and stuttered between his teeth 'A b...b...b...olshevik', though he told him he could find his comrades at the Technological Institute. Next morning delegates reported at the *Vypered* office, and Ulyanov believed the RSDRP would reunify.²⁰⁰

The RSDRP Congress began in Stockholm on 10 April. The delegates who claimed to represent 57 local organisations with 300 members had the right to vote, while 30 others, including the editors of the central organ, three Bolsheviks, two Mensheviks and five members of the CC had a voice but no vote.²⁰¹ There were 45 observers or guests,²⁰² who included three each from the SDKPiL, the Bund, and the LSDSP, and one each from the Ukrainian, Finnish and Bulgarian SD parties.²⁰³ The Mensheviks with a vote claimed to represent 20,000 members and the Bolsheviks 14,000.²⁰⁴ The Tbilisi delegates challenged the mandates of 11 Mensheviks who claimed to speak for 3,000 members, but failed.²⁰⁵ Around 25 percent of delegates were workers,²⁰⁶ under half were ethnic Russians and nearly a quarter were Jews. Their average age was 30,²⁰⁷ and they had been SDs, on average, for six to seven years,²⁰⁸ though a few had active before 1898.²⁰⁹ The 34-year-old Menshevik intelligent Vladimir Makhnovets lived in Stockholm, and though no Russian committee had elected him, Ulyanov proposed that he be given full speaking and voting rights, and this was agreed.²¹⁰ The voting delegates included 62 Mensheviks and 46 Bolsheviks. Around 70 voted for 49-year-old Plekhanov, who had lambasted both factions, to be the two on the Congress bureau, 67 for the Menshevik intelligent Gurvich, and about 60 for the Ulyanov, but he was allowed to join them.²¹¹

The Congress agreed to define a member of the RSDRP as one who 'accepts the party programme, supports the party financially, and belongs to some party organisation', a rule which had been defeated at the second RSDRP Congress in 1903. Future elections of Congress delegates would be 'conducted on democratic principles', with one for each 500 members in larger organisations, and one for 300 in smaller ones. Organisations whose combined membership was 500 could send one delegate; but a Congress would need at least half of all members to be represented in order to be valid. Local organisations would pay ten percent of their income to the CC.²¹²

Novgorodtseva arrived late and recorded her first impressions years later.

One thing was patently obvious: Lenin, who was so unaffected and sensitive towards people he felt an affinity with, could be implacable and merciless in like measure towards the opportunists, the traitors to the revolution. He tore the effusive Menshevik phrasemongering to shreds; their leaders often seemed to be in complete disarray during their bitter engagements with him.

As they held the majority of votes, the Mensheviks introduced motions on every important issue but we Bolsheviks had already decided to ignore them. ...

Almost every evening, after the close of the day's business, the Bolshevik delegates would gather at some quiet little restaurant. Lenin would come, there would be a keen exchange of opinions and the next day's plan of campaign would be agreed. There was nothing official about those gatherings – the conversation was lively and relaxed. In the centre of it all was Lenin, giving every speaker his full attention, tossing off pertinent rejoinders, giving sound advice, clearing up the most involved questions.

When our discussions were over Lenin would eagerly encourage Sergei Gusev [Drabkin], the Moscow delegate, to sing something. Gusev would begin, others would join in, and those irrepressible songs of Russia and the revolution would ring out for hours.²¹³

Some Menshevik delegates at the conference were less enthusiastic.

Pavel Axelrod, the 55-year-old émigré Menshevik intelligent and former SR terrorist, argued that the immediate task was not revolution, but 'destroying root and branch a social and political order which prevents the bourgeoisie from attaining unfettered power'. This meant 'developing the class-consciousness and political coherence of the working masses', using social institutions and 'organs of self-government', and political, rather than 'military, technical or conspiratorial' means; so the Duma would be 'a powerful means of dispelling constitutional illusions among the general public and creating conditions for a successful national rising'.²¹⁴ Social relations had matured sufficiently for a bourgeois revolution, so SDs should 'enter coalitions with the middle class in the fight against the autocracy', but 'under certain conditions'. The Bolsheviks favoured attacking landlords,²¹⁵ but this was 'a mixture of anarchist and Blanquist tendencies, concealed under Marxist or Social-Democratic phraseology'. No single revolutionary party could organise an armed rising, and they should form a 'nonparty or superparty' with a 'common, directing centre'. 'I think it is our duty to point out to the workers with complete frankness that they, in the mass, are still very backward and that even their advanced elements are still only in the first stages of their political development', so legal organisations should carry out their 'social-political education'. Plekhanov largely agreed.²¹⁶ After Bloody Sunday in 1905 he had argued that workers should arm themselves, but he now called the Moscow rising a mistake.²¹⁷ The Bolshevik Lunacharsky proposed censuring him for supporting Axelrod's 'comic operetta' ideas,²¹⁸ though the Menshevik Makhnovets argued that abstaining in the next Duma elections would play into the hands of the reactionaries.²¹⁹ There were 11 Bolsheviks among the 46 who voted against participating in the Duma; but 17, including Ulyanov, voted with the Mensheviks who favoured participation, while 15, including Jughashvili, abstained. The delegates agreed that SD Duma deputies would act 'under the constant supervision and direction of the party's central institutions', and by 64 votes to four, with 20 abstentions, to stand candidates in Caucasia, 'without entering into blocs with other parties';²²⁰ though Ulyanov argued that these elections were of 'no practical significance'.²²¹

The 28-year-old Bolshevik intelligent Minei Gubelman, a member of Moscow RSDRP committee and editor of *Kazarma (Barracks)*, the paper for soldiers,²²² argued that 'a mass of revolutionary energy in the army' was 'going unused', and he wanted to centralise the leadership of the party's military organisations and make them accountable to the CC. Delegates instructed the CC to convene a conference of military organisations,²²³ and sanctioned raids on army arsenals and ammunition dumps.²²⁴ The 35-year-old Bolshevik intelligent Leonid Krasin was to supervise the manufacture and distribution of arms and explosives, and Ulyanov would control the proceeds of the expropriations. The military organisation would be accountable to the CC via local committees,²²⁵ and a military conference would establish a training school.²²⁶

The Mensheviks criticised expropriations for their negative 'moral and political effect on the revolutionary masses'.²²⁷ Krasin agreed that expropriations should not involve violence against private citizens, but an armed rising was 'inevitable in the objective course of the Russian Revolution'.²²⁸ Reportedly, Ulyanov spoke,

completely quietly, without any oratorical modulations in his voice, and exceptionally clearly, in a business-like fashion, which could reach the simplest minds. And he also impressed them by his quiet self-assurance, by his ability to impart, without a dose of self-flattery, a feeling of superiority which convinced [listeners] that truth was on his side, and only on his side, and that everyone else was either in error, over-simplified, complete idiots, or intent on deceiving the working-class, and more generally all labouring people, and should therefore be exposed mercilessly.²²⁹

He withdrew his proposal that expropriations should be 'under the control of the Party', and after he left the room 64 delegates, including four Bolsheviks, voted against expropriations from private individuals and institutions, and 20 abstained.²³⁰ Delegates resolved 'to combat the actions of persons or groups aimed at seizing money in the name of or using the slogans' of the RSDRP, and rejected 'compulsory contributions for revolutionary purposes'. They approved robberies from government institutions, but 'only when this is associated with the revolutionary organs of power in a particular place and is done under their direction', 'openly and with complete accountability'. Delegates acknowledged that 'an active struggle against government terror and the violence of the Black Hundreds will be inevitable',²³¹ so arms and military uniforms belonging to the government should be seized. Some delegates insisted that 'inopportune armed outbursts lead only to a fruitless waste of revolutionary energy', and the party should not 'assume the responsibility of arming the people, which would arouse false hopes'. Instead 'it must limit itself to promoting self-arming of the general population while arming fighting squads to initiate the insurrectionary struggle'.²³² Ulyanov argued that 'the Russian revolution can achieve victory by its own efforts, but it cannot possibly hold and consolidate its gains by its own strengths' unless there was a socialist revolution in Western Europe. 'Our democratic republic has no other reserve than the socialist proletariat in the West,' since its cultural level was much higher. In response to accusations of Jacobinism, he kept repeating that a revolution 'must be carried through to the end', and one Bolshevik shouted: 'For us a new rising is a question of months'.

'N. Lenin' had recently published a revised agrarian programme for the RSDRP which argued for the confiscation of all church, monastery, crown, state and landlord estates, the establishment of peasant committees to dispose of them, the abolition of all taxes on the peasantry, and the elimination of exorbitant rents and contracts that 'entail an element of bondage' (serfdom).²³³ In Stockholm delegates acknowledged that the peasantry was a 'revolutionary class',²³⁴ though Ulyanov argued that 'After a full victory of democratic revolution, the petty proprietor will inevitably turn against the proletariat, and he will do so the sooner their common enemies are overthrown'.²³⁵ Some other Bolsheviks agreed, but they and the Mensheviks argued that large estates should not be allocated to peasants unless it was unavoidable.²³⁶ Ulyanov opposed the municipalisation of land,²³⁷ but by 62 votes to 42, delegates agreed to the municipalisation of state land and large private estates. A majority also agreed to create 'independent Social Democratic organisations of farm labourers (both proletariat and semi-proletarian)', who should join the peasants' union, form peasant committees and 'restrain' others from terror, arson, and 'sporadic outbursts', while arguing for the 'harvest of grain by tenants without payment of rent', refusing taxes, boycotting government institutions, agitating for an armed rising and not supplying recruits for the army.²³⁸

Krupskaya, the Kazan delegate, had no vote, because fewer than 100 members had elected her, and the Congress did not agree to her being secretary of the CC or the central organ.²³⁹ She later recalled that Ulyanov hoped that a new revolutionary wave would include a peasant rising, affect peasant troops and help to reconcile Mensheviks and Bolsheviks. He wanted the RSDRP to 'get down to the tremendous task of a new active movement, preparing for it more tenaciously, more systematically, more persistently; *sparing in the greatest degree possible the forces of the proletariat, worn out by the strike struggle*'.²⁴⁰ Delegates agreed to form non-party trade unions.²⁴¹

The Bund's Yiddish *Der Bund* had ceased publication by 1906, and its Russian language *Poslednia izvestiya* (*The Latest News*) had been closed.²⁴² In Stockholm the Bund dropped its claim to be 'the sole representative' of the Jewish proletariat, and its delegates conceded that other SD organisations had the right to work among the Jewish proletariat, but while 41 Bolsheviks and 17 Mensheviks voted to accept the Bund back into the RSDRP, 40 Mensheviks voted against,²⁴³ including almost all the Georgians.²⁴⁴ A majority agreed that the Bund was 'the Social Democratic organisation of the Jewish proletariat' whose activities were not limited to a particular region, while the RSDRP's attitude to the question of nationality remained open. The Bund could keep its local organisations and central institutions, hold its own Congresses and handle its own affairs. It would be represented in RSDRP delegations to international Congresses, and in the CC, but was bound by Congress decisions,²⁴⁵ and its committees had to be elected, not appointed.²⁴⁶ Delegates recognised the SDKPiL as an 'organisation of the RSDRP which works with the proletarians of all nationalities' and 'unifies the activities of all party organisations' within its territory with a considerable measure of autonomy, including its relations with the Bund.²⁴⁷ It could hold Congresses,²⁴⁸ have a seat on the editorial board of the central organ and representatives on the International's bureau and Congresses. The LSDSP would also be an 'autonomous territorial organisation' and exempt from the agrarian programme.²⁴⁹

The Bolsheviks gave Lunacharsky the job of negotiating about the composition of the CC.

I signed an agreement with the Mensheviks to the effect that the new membership of the CC, a little over one third of which was to be composed of Bolsheviks nominated by us, would be ratified by the Congress unanimously. In the meantime, our faction, without warning me and apparently without any preliminary meeting, decided otherwise. As a result the whole Congress voted for the Bolsheviks whose names came first on the list, while only the Menshevik majority voted for the Mensheviks, the Bolshevik delegates abstaining.²⁵⁰

The all-intelligent CC included the Bolsheviks Krasin, Rykov and 28-year-old Vasily Desnitsky, and the Mensheviks 35-year-old Liubov Radchenko, the 34-year-olds Vladimir Rozanov and Pavel Kolokolnikov, 33-year-old Victor Krokmal, 29-year-old Leon Goldman, 25-year-old Boris Bakhmetev and 20-year-old Lev Khinchuk. The 40-year-old Arkady Kremer and 26-year-old Raphael Rein would represent the Bund, though confirmation of the SDKPiL's 28-year-old Feliks Dzierżyński and 37-year-old Jerzy Warszawski, and the Latvian SDSP's 20-year-old Khaim Danishevsky, was postponed, pending their ratification of the merger. The Mensheviks' 42-year-old Petr Maslov, 40-year-old Alexandr Piker, 37-year-old Alexandr Potresov, Tsederbaum and Gurvich would edit *Sotsial-demokrat*. On 12 April, the final day,²⁵¹ the factions were formally dissolved. The Mensheviks had won on most issues,²⁵² though 26 Bolsheviks signed a leaflet,²⁵³ which criticised the 'timid evasion of the armed rising' when the revolution was 'on the eve of its turning-point', and argued that SDs 'must in all their work reckon with the inevitability of a new revolutionary explosion'.²⁵⁴ Jughashvili had abstained on the question of the Duma,²⁵⁵ and favoured giving land to peasants, though he did not sign the leaflet.²⁵⁶ According to Apfelbaum the delegates left as separate factions, though some Bolsheviks had been 'taken as hostages' on the CC.²⁵⁷ Others called it the 'disunity Congress'.²⁵⁸

When Lunacharsky returned to St. Petersburg he was arrested at a workers' meeting and briefly detained,²⁵⁹ though Drabkin was arrested, imprisoned and later exiled to Siberia for three years.²⁶⁰

2. A new upswing?

(i) St. Petersburg Unemployed Council

In January 1906 the St. Petersburg governor had decided to limit the case against the soviet to a few dozen individuals and release 500 or so. When 20-year-old Wladimir Woytinsky was released he registered at the University. He was an RSDRP member, but was not interested in the struggles between Mensheviks and Bolsheviks. He heard Ulyanov speak about the Duma elections at a clandestine meeting in a fashionable private school, but found his delivery 'colourless and monotonous'. His argument was that 'the revolutionary tide was rising', so the party must have an aggressive plan of action', and

after repeating this thought several times, he would move to the next conclusion – all with the appearance of absolute certainty that his statements were irrefutable and with derisive contempt for those who thought otherwise. His thesis was that the revolution was on a new upswing and the Duma would be a roadblock in its way. The workers would gain nothing in the new parliament. The party must therefore boycott the elections. Lenin's speech was followed by a lively discussion. All the speakers agreed with him.

The RSDRP committee delegated Woytinsky to speak at a student meeting. He felt unprepared, but agreed. Most party propagandists could not cope with open meetings, so he picked four or five and asked the committee to forbid others from speaking. One day a student comrade asked him to write a petition for unemployed workers to send to the city duma, though he protested that to write for other people he 'must feel what they feel'. Next day he and the student went to one of the emergency hot-meal stations organised by the engineers' union. Those present were mainly elderly men and Woytinsky asked some of them what they would say to the duma if they had the chance. The following day delegates from 25 hot-meal stations agreed to form a 'Council of the Unemployed', and Woytinsky persuaded the manager of a small liberal newspaper to publish their leaflets about bread and work.

The Bolsheviks on the RSDRP committee were alarmed by Woytinsky's conduct and the Mensheviks regarded him with 'undisguised hostility'. The committee decided by 10 votes to 8 to make him change the final paragraph of his petition and to stop the election of factory workers to the Council. A liberal newspaper refused to publish his article, so he and his student comrade visited the offices of 'a newspaper slated to appear in a week or two and connected, I had heard, to the Bolshevik Centre'.

The receptionist stopped us at the entrance. After I gave her my name, a tall, slender man with the head of a Biblical prophet came to the reception room and took us to his study. When I told him about the meeting of the St. Petersburg Committee, he offered to take us to the 'Old Man'. We walked through a dozen rooms, passed several doors and receptionists' tables, and reached a small cubicle. A little bald-headed man in short sleeves sat at a desk with heaps of clippings, galleys, and manuscripts before him. I recognized Lenin.

He asked for details. 'How as the voting?' ten to eight? This means that one of our men was trapped by the Mensheviks. It does not take much to straighten out such a thing.' Then, in a more serious vein, he said, 'The unemployed have been the most active force in many revolutions. How about yours? Could you bring them into the streets?'

'That is not our purpose,' I replied. 'We are interested in helping the unemployed.'

Lenin's laugh was friendly, almost kind. 'Of course, of course. Heading the movement, you have to say this. If, in addition, you feel this way, your words must sound the more convincing. How many copies do you need? Only twenty thousand? You could use more.'

He marked '100,000' on my scripts and passed them to his assistant, a little bespectacled man, who said to me, 'In the students' canteen, at our desk, at this time tomorrow.'

I started to leave, but Lenin stopped me. 'You are on our list,' he said. He showed me the galley of the front page of the newspaper, with my pen name, 'Sergei Petrov', in the list of contributors. 'Now, write something for the first issue.'¹

On 12 April 30 members of the Unemployed Council visited the city duma, which agreed to allocate 500,000 rubles for relief and public works, and gave the Council equal representation on a commission to administer the funds.²

(ii) The First Duma

On 9 January 1906 the British ambassador in St. Petersburg felt that the Caucasus was a 'complicated chaos'.³

Whole districts seem to have been given over to military executions by the Cossacks who appear to have behaved with inconceivable brutality. The surviving inhabitants have fled to the mountains where they endure great privations from hunger and cold. At one place 15 political prisoners were killed by letting steam into the cells where they were confined and this statement, though often repeated, has not been denied.

One general had left 'a state of things hardly credible in a civilised country'.⁴

By spring the revolutionary organisations were 'all but annihilated', though the Bolsheviks had suffered considerably less than the others because 'they had preserved their illegal apparatus'.⁵ The Bolshevik expropriator Ter-Petrosian wanted to plug the gaps in his knowledge;⁶ but when he and two associates reached St. Petersburg, Krasin gave them instructions,⁷ and false passports, and sent them to meet Wallach in Liège in Belgium. They were to buy arms, take them to Wallach in Karlsruhe in Germany, and he used a German firm to get them to Austria and then bribed officials to get them to Bulgaria. Ter-Petrosian returned to St. Petersburg, then left with three other men and travelled to Sofia in Bulgaria.⁸

Late in March the Tbilisi Mensheviks told the Bolsheviks about their underground press, 'agent sources' informed the police.⁹ An agent was assassinated, but the police raided the press on 15 April.¹⁰ Next day *Kavkaz (Caucasus)* reported that the 'Secret Printing Plant' was 'in the courtyard of an uninhabited detached house' in Alvabar district, where a 70 feet deep well 'could be descended by means of a rope and pulley'.

At a depth of about fifty feet there was a gallery leading to another well, in which there was a ladder about thirty-five feet high giving access to a vault situated beneath the cellar of the house. In this vault a fully-equipped printing plant has been discovered with twenty cases of Russian, Georgian and Armenian type, a hand press costing between 1,500 and 2,000 rubles, various acids, blasting gelatine and other paraphernalia for the manufacture of bombs, a large quantity of illegal literature, the seals of various regiments and government institutions, as well as an infernal machine contained 15 lbs of dynamite. The establishment is illuminated by acetylene lamps and was fitted up with an electric signalling system. In a shed in the courtyard of the house, three live bombs, bomb casings and similar materials have been found. Twenty-four persons have been arrested at an editorial meeting in the offices of the newspaper *Elva* and charged with being implicated in the affair. A search of the *Elva* offices revealed a large quantity of illegal literature as well as about twenty blank passport forms. Since electric wires have been discovered issuing from the secret printing plant in various directions, excavations are being made in the hope of discovering other underground presses. The equipment discovered in this printing plant was removed in five carts. The same evening three other persons were arrested in connection with this affair. All the way to the prison the arrested men kept singing the Marseillaise.¹¹

Gendarmes briefly detained the Bolshevik Jughashvili.¹²

Tbilisi's Mensheviks had formed 28 unions with 13,000 members,¹³ and a central body to 'help and lead' them and 'aid the formation of new ones'. The RSDRP had an electoral commission and subcommissions in each district for the Caucasian Duma elections, and asked each member to recruit ten voters. There were 150,000 potential voters in the first stage, and though turnout was very low, RSDRP candidates became nine of the ten electors and then won 71 of the 80 votes for deputies, including one each in Tbilisi and Tbilisi province and three in Kutaisi province, where Menshevik candidates had received much of the peasant vote. They included the 47-year-old intelligent Isidor Ramishvili, the 37-year-old intelligent Noe Zhordania, the priest Svimon Tsereteli, Ivane Gomarteli, a doctor who had been imprisoned for blasphemy, Archil Japaradze, a lawyer's assistant, 33-year-old Arshak Zurabov, who had recently switched from supporting the Bolsheviks to the Mensheviks, 22-year-old Konstantine Kandelaki, a Gurian peasant member of Batumi RSDRP committee and the Gurian Severian Jugheli.¹⁴ The 34-year-old socialist-federalist Iosif Baratov from Kutaisi province became a deputy,¹⁵ as did the 27-year-old Bolshevik intelligent Stepan Shahumyan from Erevan in the south.¹⁶

On the 23rd the tsar sacked the finance minister who had negotiated the French loan,¹⁷ and next day he stripped the Duma deputies of many powers,¹⁸ including the right to propose constitutional changes,¹⁹ and there were strikes in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kyiv and Poland.²⁰

On the 27th the tsar received the Duma deputies at the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg. The 200 peasants included 107 who formed a group called the *Trudoviki* (Toilers),²¹ nine members of the peasants' union, three SRs, seven unaligned socialists, eight autonomists, 11 SDs, 18 Kadets, 51 'nonparty' and the rest were leftists.²² Wealthy peasants and large landowners had 47 percent of the 524 seats, townsmen 26 percent, right-wingers 26, though anti-Semites had none,²³ and their organisation had splintered.²⁴ Around six percent were Jewish businessmen.²⁵ Some Jews were Zionists and eight were Kadets,²⁶ and six of the 30 Muslims formed a separate group.²⁷ Later that day the Duma opened in the Tauride Palace. The Kadets demanded the abolition of class and national distinctions, the democratisation of zemstva, universal suffrage in Duma elections, an equitable distribution of expropriated crown, monastery and some privately-owned land by peasant committees,²⁸ civil rights, universal and free primary

education, the abolition of capital punishment and an amnesty for political prisoners.²⁹ Plain-clothes police outside the palace kept departing deputies under surveillance,³⁰ and a dedicated police bureau sent daily reports to senior officers and had a direct phone line to the tsar,³¹ and legal papers could not publish their speeches.³² The Kadets had about 180 of the 480 deputies, but the Bolsheviks ridiculed their 'dream about peaceful parliamentarianism', and Ulyanov hoped that the 90 or so peasants and 15 unaligned SDs would give a lead.³³

(iii) We can use all sorts of trash

The RSDRP committee had appealed to workers to hold meetings on May Day 1906, and demand an eight-hour day, a democratically-elected constituent assembly, public works and the abolition of the standing army.³⁴ On the day bakers, sweet makers, shoemakers, dockers and tobacco workers went on strike,³⁵ and an RSDRP leaflet predicted an attempt to overthrow the autocracy. Many factory workers met in fields, forests and cemeteries, and sang the *Marseillaise* and other revolutionary songs, and the port commander was assassinated.³⁶ By May there were 12,933 unemployed workers in St. Petersburg included 7,016 skilled metalworkers and 3,149 in other skilled trades, plus 2,768 labourers. In Gorodskoi district 27 percent of the 560 unemployed had been sacked because of cuts in production, 40 percent for striking and 23 percent for 'politics'. In Vyborg district 29 percent had been sacked because of cuts in production, 34 percent for striking and 23 percent for 'conflicts' or 'political convictions'.³⁷

On 5 May 'N.L.' reported about the Stockholm Congress in the St. Petersburg Bolsheviks' legal *Volna (Wave)*.

Disagreements on organisation have been almost entirely eliminated. There remains an important, serious and extremely responsible task: really to apply the principles of democratic centralism in Party organisation, to work tirelessly to make the local organisations the principle organisational units of the Party in fact, and not merely in name, and to see to it that all the higher-standing bodies are elected, accountable, and subject to recall.

Next day 'N. L---n' noted 'A New Upswing' in *Volna*, and though it was 'not in our interest to hasten an explosion at present',³⁸ he criticised the Menshevik-dominated RSDRP CC for ignoring the Congress decision to organise a conference of military organisations.³⁹ On the 9th there was a meeting of 3,000 people in St. Petersburg, half of whom were workers,⁴⁰ and Woytinsky recognised 'Mr Karpov'.

A small, pale man with a big bald skull and narrow slanted eyes appeared on the stage. His charges that the Kadets were traitors and the Labourites weaklings met with an outburst of applause. He warmed up. 'To support the Duma in its desperate attempts to support the throne? Is this a joke, comrades?' He screamed. And he called for mobilisations of forces outside the Duma for direct revolutionary action.

He argued against 'constitutional illusions' and for a focus on 'the last decisive battle against the autocracy',⁴¹ and his call to support the peasant Duma deputies was agreed 'almost unanimously'.⁴² Reportedly a worker took off his red shirt, tore it up and made a flag, and workers left singing revolutionary songs before the police arrived.⁴³ *Volna* reported that 'Comrade Karpov' had argued for the SD Duma deputies to stand up to the Kadets, and hoped that the peasant deputies would form an independent party.⁴⁴

On the 13th the government announced that the Kadet Duma deputies' agrarian programme was 'unconditionally unacceptable',⁴⁵ since the 'inalienability and inviolability of private property' was 'the keystone of people's welfare and of social development', and 'the foundation of the state's being'.⁴⁶ On the 18th the Okhrana estimated that 2,000 SRs and 5,000 SDs in St. Petersburg were trying to organize trade unions and establish an illegal 'Council of Unemployed Workers'.⁴⁷ On the 20th *Volna* argued that 'The principle of democratic centralism and autonomy for local Party organisations implies universal and full *freedom to criticise*', but 'rules out all criticism which disrupts or makes difficult the *unity* of an action decided on by the Party'.⁴⁸ That day the Kadet Duma deputies' motion favouring the compulsory transfer of privately-owned land to peasants fell by 124 votes to 53, with 100 abstentions. Only 120 wanted to see the proposal published and 160 abstained.⁴⁹ On the 23rd 104 deputies proposed to 'work towards the establishment of a system under which all the land with its mineral wealth and waters would belong to the whole people', and all agricultural land should be given 'to the use of those who cultivate it with their own labour'.⁵⁰ A minister suggested closing the Duma to the tsar; though the governor-general was unsure about his troops' reliability, since one regiment had expressed solidarity with the Trudoviki. (One NCO had led peasant risings in 1902.)⁵¹ There was famine in 24 provinces, and though the government had spent the equivalent of £8 million on relief, £10 million more was needed. The Duma had loaned £75,000 for seed corn and food, and was asked to approve a new washhouse at Dorpat University.⁵² The Trudoviki deputies proposed abolishing capital punishment,⁵³ and when ministers refused to consider the idea,⁵⁴ they were greeted with catcalls:

‘Murderers! Hangmen! Resign!’ The Duma ended the use of Finnish in Finland’s schools, courts, companies, societies, unions, post offices, telephone exchanges and other means of communication, which reduced the Diet to the status of a provincial zemstvo.⁵⁵ There were enough deputies to stop the foreign loan, though they did not do so.⁵⁶ After they passed a vote of no confidence in the government,⁵⁷ the tsar privately decided to dissolve the Duma.⁵⁸ The police closed *Volna* on the 24th,⁵⁹ but on the 26th, in the first Bolshevik *Vypered (Forward)*, ‘N.L.’ rejected Plekhanov’s idea of focussing on ‘the political education of the people’.⁶⁰

The Unemployed Council had examined the city дума’s files and found plans for large projects costing 5.6 million rubles. They persuaded the дума to organise the work on the basis of an eight-hour day, no overtime, an agreed daily wage, appropriate sanitary arrangements, workers’ representatives and recruitment from those who had registered. On the 29th the дума authorised the Council to organise and manage public works and gave them 360,000 rubles for rent and free dinners over summer. When 200 unemployed workers were sent to prison for attending the Council, the дума prevaricated.⁶¹ Council leaders were responsible for ‘firing, hiring, and maintaining discipline on the job’, but since most work involved earth moving, they banned machinery to maximise employment.⁶² They announced that ‘The interests of the unemployed can only be served by city authorities elected on the basis of universal, direct, equal and secret suffrage by the entire urban population’.⁶³ After the police raided the Council EC and arrested 40 or so members, Woytinsky escaped to Kuokkala and met Ulyanov in ‘a small two-room cottage typical of a Finnish peasant’. It was ‘poorly furnished but neat, and there was a feeling of simple hospitality in its narrow living room’. Woytinsky visited Ulyanov frequently after that and felt that he ‘was closer to him than to anybody else in the party’. Ulyanov ‘did not belong to the St. Petersburg organisation, but used it as a sounding board in his fight against the Mensheviks’.

He was a fanatic, but there was no fire in his fanaticism. Rather, it was cold, like a steel blade. He was perhaps the most unemotional man I have ever met in politics. No hate, no compassion, not even any irritation against his opponents. His ruthlessness in polemics never stemmed from a personal grudge – each word, even each slanderous innuendo in his writings, was coldly calculated.

His ‘strength was in his singlemindedness. He knew no doubt, no hesitation’, and though most of his immediate circle were ‘of high political and personal morality’ there were ‘obedient scoundrels’ like M.S. Makadzyub ‘for minor errands’ or Apfelbaum for ‘more responsible dirty jobs’. Woytinsky found Apfelbaum ‘almost as obnoxious’ as the Menshevik Gurvich. Ulyanov explained that revolution was a ‘dirty job’ ‘You do not make it with white gloves.’ Some of his entourage might be ‘drunks, wastrels, gigolos, embezzlers of party funds, notorious liars, or cowards’, but ‘We can use all kinds of trash’.⁶⁴

(iv) The whole Party organisation is now built on a *democratic* basis

On 1 June 1906 the St. Petersburg Bolsheviks’ *Vypered* noted that ‘Social-Democrats know that the whole Party organisation is now built on a *democratic* basis. This means that *all* the Party members take part in the election of officials, committee members, and so forth’, ‘discuss and *decide* questions concerning the political campaigns of the proletariat’ and ‘*determine*’ the tactics of the RSDRP.⁶⁵

Grigol Ordjonikidze had been born in the village of Goresha, in Georgia’s Kutaisi province, in 1886.⁶⁶ His father was a minor nobleman,⁶⁷ but worked as a farmer and as a haulier for the manganese mines.⁶⁸ Grigol’s mother died when he was an infant, and his father died when the boy was ten.⁶⁹ In 1901, after two years at a school in Kharagaul, he entered Mikhailov Hospital Medical School in Tbilisi and began a four-year course to be a *feldsher* (medical assistant). In 1903 he propagandised and agitated railway workers,⁷⁰ supported the RSDRP Congress ‘majority’,⁷¹ and befriended 22-year-old Semeno Ter-Petrosian in 1904.⁷² After graduating in autumn 1905 Ordjonikidze agitated. In December, when he and others were taking arms from Gagra, they were arrested and imprisoned in Sukhum, but Ordjonikidze was released in April 1906.⁷³ Some Caucasian SDs ignored the Stockholm Congress resolution about disbanding fighting squads, and by the end of May they had killed 136 people and wounded 72 in Tbilisi and Kutaisi provinces, in addition to robberies and bombings. The Caucasian Duma deputies left Tbilisi on 2 June,⁷⁴ and when they arrived in St. Petersburg Woytinsky took them from factory to factory. ‘Most of them were unaccustomed to flying meetings, some were not very articulate, and others were plainly nervous, but these things did not matter’. He took the Menshevik Ramishvili to speak to around 500 men in woods outside the city. Troops arrived, but they did not intervene, and a young officer thanked Ramishvili for his speech. No leading member of the Council received wages and Woytinsky lived on royalties from pamphlets and fees from lecturing on his father’s

courses. Revolutionaries had access to the Council's membership lists, which included 40 or so soldiers and sailors on Kronstadt and in Viapori, and a dozen Baltic region agricultural labourers who had escaped firing squads.⁷⁵

The Okhrana knew of 91,450 Black Hundreds in 22 provinces,⁷⁶ and the tsar had long believed that Jews led the revolutionary movement.⁷⁷ Approaching 100,000 of almost 400,000 Jewish waged workers across European Russia were reportedly members of socialist parties.⁷⁸ There were 3,000 unemployed in Białystok in north-east Poland,⁷⁹ a textile town of 44,000 Jews and 21,000 Poles close to the Lithuanian border. On 1 June a pogrom began there and lasted three days. It left 200 Jews dead,⁸⁰ 600 wounded,⁸¹ scores of women raped and whole districts devastated.⁸² Most troops had stood by and watched and some had joined in. The government thanked them for 'their courage and self-sacrifice in the honest and earnest performance of their duty' and promoted the police chief.⁸³

By the 6th 7,000 St. Petersburg metalworkers, over 3,100 other skilled men and almost as many unskilled labourers, mainly from state plants, were unemployed. Most lay-offs were the result of cuts in production and the intensification of work, but 23 percent in Gorodskoi district had been sacked for 'politics' and 40 percent for striking, while 23 percent in Vyborg district had been sacked for 'political convictions' or 'conflicts' and 34 percent for striking. Activists stripped Black Hundreds of insignia and weapons, forced them to beg forgiveness and punished them, sometimes demanding a fine for the unemployed.⁸⁴ The Mensheviks' daily *Nevskaya gazeta* had been closed.⁸⁵ Soon after the delegates to the RSDRP Moscow Regional Conference came from the city and district, Vologda, Iaroslavl, Kineshma, Kostroma, Vladimir district, Ivanovo, Borisoglebsk, Nizhni-Novgorod, Orel and Kozlov committees, and a group in Shuya. They claimed to represent 14,000 organised workers. On the 8th, in the first legal Bolshevik *Rabotnik (The Worker)*, published in Kyiv, 'N. Lenin' wrote that 'We are on the eve of great historical events' in the form of 'the second great stage of the Russian revolution'.⁸⁶

The director of the Department of Police had leaked information to the press that a gendarme was distributing anti-Jewish literature at Kronstadt.⁸⁷ The governor of Bessarabia and Tver, who was an under-secretary at the Interior Ministry and the Duma deputy for Kaluga,⁸⁸ spoke about the Białystok pogrom on the 8th.

First, the massacre is always preceded by reports of its preparation, accompanied by the issue of inflammatory proclamations, which are uniform as regards subject-matter and style. Secondly, when the massacre occurs, the facts which are officially stated to be its cause invariably prove to be false. Thirdly, the action of those who take part in the massacre reveals a certain organisation, which deprives it of all accidental and elemental characteristics. Those who take part in the massacre act in the consciousness of some right, in the consciousness of impunity, and they only continue acting until this consciousness is shaken; when that moment arrives, the massacre ceases swiftly and easily.

The gendarme had sent leaflets to police and officials who favoured pogroms, and had boasted that 'we can arrange any massacre you like; a massacre of ten or a massacre of 10,000'.⁸⁹ The Duma established a commission of mainly Jewish deputies, but it got nowhere,⁹⁰ though the prime minister sacked the director of the Okhrana.⁹¹ On the 10th the Białystok police chief was assassinated.⁹² On the 14th the Bolsheviks' *Vypered* was closed.⁹³

(v) The Small Trinity

Early in 1906, when the 32-year-old St. Petersburg Bolshevik intelligent and former soviet deputy Alexandr Malinovsky was in Kresty Prison, he, or Krasin, or perhaps both, had published an anonymous pamphlet. It argued that the concept of the 'individual' was a 'bourgeois fetish', and a 'proletarian ethic' would 'develop one's "I" beyond the limits of individuality, and toward commonality', which would triumph over nature and death, since self-sacrifice would be remembered forever. In February Krasin contacted Malinovsky,⁹⁴ who was sentenced to three years' deportation to Tver province under surveillance on 27 May, but was temporarily released on bail.⁹⁵ He went illegally to Kuokkala in Finland, and worked on Bolshevik publications and with Duma deputies,⁹⁶ then 'sent' to join Menshevik-dominated RSDRP CC, and he, Krasin and Ulyanov formed a 'Small Trinity'.⁹⁷

Malinovsky's *Empiriomonism Book Three* was published in St. Petersburg by summer under the pseudonym of 'Bogdanov',⁹⁸ and the preface was dated '30 April 1906 Kresty Prison'.⁹⁹ The book was a 'systematisation of all the material of science and life' that he had had access to. He believed that as the material basis of society developed 'ideological meaning can only have historically-transient and not objectively-suprahistorical meaning' and 'can be "true for their times" (objectively true, but only within a certain era) and in no way "true for eternity" ("objective" in the absolute meaning of the word).' He argued that 'scientific laws have the right to be called laws only when they *have no exceptions*'. Either 'a "law" expresses a *constant tendency* of an entire cycle of phenomena that it embraces or it is not a "law"', but a temporary empirical generalisation. '*Consistent Marxism does not permit such a dogmatic and static outlook*' as Plekhanov's. The social philosophy of Marx 'was more than just material'; it was

'simultaneously the governor and the method of my work', and particularly the idea that *knowledge is social*, which was the basis of his search for a 'monism', a unified world view. Marxism implied the 'rejection of absolute objectivity of any truth whatsoever and the rejection of any eternal truths', though 'Marxist philosophy must first and foremost be precisely *scientific*', and 'the basic idea of historical materialism' was that 'the productive forces of society present the basis of society's general development'. Marxist philosophy must also 'reflect the social form of productive forces, being based, obviously, on sciences that are properly "social"'. Marx had 'studied the causal relationship of the development and degradation of social forms in changing and diverse social environments', 'broadened the method to all of social life', and 'established that the development of social forms in *changing* and *diverse* social environments'; but he 'did not provide a special, distinct formulation of the method', or 'establish its connection with the contemporary methods of the life sciences in general'. 'Empiriocriticism was 'a step forward', since it 'reduces the entire construction of the picture of the world down to the systematisation of experience through a continual critique of its content'. It 'emphasises the identity of the psychical and the physical elements of experience' and 'the identity even of whole complexes of those elements in both realms (for example "'bodies"' and "'perceptions"' of them) and finds that the entire difference is reducible to the nature of the connection between complexes or elements'. Malinovsky believed his the Prague professor Ernst Mach to be 'the most rigorous of the existing forms of positivism', though he did not call himself an empiriocriticist.

I personally know so far of only one in the literature – a certain A. Bogdanov - but on the other hand I know him very well and can guarantee that his views completely satisfy the sacramental formula of 'the primacy of nature over mind'. It is precisely he who views all that exists as a continual chain of development, the lowest links of which are lost in the 'chaos of elements', and the highest links represent the *people's experience* – first 'psychical' and even higher, 'physical experience' - and this experience, and the cognition that arises from it correspond to what is usually called 'spirit'.

The 'physical' was '*socially-organised experience* (i.e. socially-coordinated in the communication of people)' and the 'psychical' was '*individually organised experience* (i.e. coordinated only in the confines of individual experience)'. 'We face a world of *direct* experience and a world of *indirect* experience – a world of the immediately sensed and a world of supplemental "substitutions" for it'. Empiriomonism was 'an attempt to provide as harmonious a picture of the world as possible for our times and for that social class to whose cause I have dedicated myself'. Knowledge was ideological and had a history.

The social process always includes in its huge profusion of content a great many carry-overs from the past and germs of the future. Even after the conditions that brought one or another form into life have disappeared from the social environment, the form continues to be preserved, sometimes for a very long time, due to its 'systemic' interconnectedness with a large number of other adaptations that have not yet become outmoded. When a new combination of conditions of the social environment is created that needs a new social adaptation, it is not created quickly, by any means, and sometimes very slowly, due to inner resistances of the social processes.

Malinovsky proposed a 'correlation' between "ideology" and "technology" in the process of social development'.

1. The technological process is the realm of immediate struggle of society with nature; ideology is the realm of organising forms of social life. In the final analysis, the technological process presents precisely the content that is organised by ideological forms.
2. Consistent with such a correlation, the technological process represents the fundamental realm of social life and social development, and ideology represents a derivative realm of social life and development. Ideology is energetically conditioned by the technological process in the sense that it arises and develops on account of the inherent preponderance of assimilation over disassimilation in it. From the qualitative aspect, the material of ideological forms also has its basis in the technological realm.
3. The development of technological forms is accomplished under the immediate action both of 'extra-social' selection (the influence of external nature) and also of social selection. Development of ideology is directly subject only to social selection.
4. The starting point of any social development lies in the technological process. The basic line of development goes from technological forms through the lower organising forms of ideology to higher ones. Correspondingly, the growth of conservatism of social forms goes in the same direction.
5. The derivate line of social development, directed from higher organising forms to lower ones and from ideology to technology, is always only a continuation of and reflection of the fundamental line. It not only does not change the relatively large magnitude of conservatism of the higher forms of ideology but it even depends on this conservatism as a necessary condition.

6. Thus, the dynamic conditions of social development and degradation – the motive forces of these processes – lie in the technological process; static conditions of social development and degradation – limiting, regulating. Formative conditions – lie in ideology.

Malinovsky applied these conclusions to class society.

The division of society into groups and classes is the result of the quantitative and qualitative progress of technology. 'Social groups' spring up on the basis of the development of socialisation; 'classes' spring up on the basis of the progressive splitting off of the organisational and the implementational functions in society. ... Social groups or classes acquire the properties of definite and stable complexes when specifically-different ideologies take shape in them that are caused by a persistently-different direction of social selection in the milieu of these collectivities ... The ideology that is elaborated by the organisational part of society retains complete vital significance for both parts of society as long as the content that it organises actually common to them both.

When this begins to break down it is 'the starting point of the development of any class struggle'. The development of capitalist society had eventually 'led to the progressive transformation of the mass of individual worker-implementers into a solid collectivity that is suitable for an organisational role on a scale that expands limitlessly' and then to 'the development of contradictory class ideologies and class struggle', and would ultimately lead to the establishment of 'a society that develops integrally and harmoniously'.¹⁰⁰

Malinovsky sent a copy of his book to Ulyanov, who had a 'furious' reaction.

It became clearer to me than ever that he was on an absolutely wrong track. I thereupon wrote him a 'declaration of love', a letter on philosophy taking up three notebooks. I explained to him that I was just *an ordinary Marxist* in philosophy, but that it was precisely his lucid, popular, and splendidly written works that had finally convinced me that he was essentially wrong and Plekhanov was right.¹⁰¹

Malinovsky threatened to break off relations unless the notebooks were considered 'unwritten, undispached and unread',¹⁰² and though Ulyanov thought about publishing them, he eventually decided not to.¹⁰³ Empiriomonism presented no operational threat to the Bolsheviks, unlike the activities of rival revolutionary organisations.

(vi) The whole prison listened

After the 40-year-old former leader of Międzynarodowa Socjalno-Rewolucyjna Partia 'Proletariat' (the International Social Revolutionary Party 'Proletariat'), Feliks Kon, completed his exile in Siberia in 1904 he had returned to Poland. In 1905 he joined the revolutionary wing of the PPS and was elected to the CC,¹⁰⁴ and by 1906 he worked underground for the Warszawa committee, receiving district reports, distributing literature and providing speakers. One day a comrade told him that her imprisoned brother, the CC member 'V', wanted to see him, and gave him the necessary document to enable him to visit with his mother. In the Citadel one political prisoner had killed a police inspector, and others had killed spies. Ten had been sentenced to death, and 'V' wanted Kon to rescue them on their way to execution. The police chief would receive a forged order for their release into the custody of a 'gendarme captain' with a strong 'police' guard. They found someone who spoke Russian without a Polish accent to be the 'captain', and Kon taught him the appropriate military phraseology and mannerisms. Tailors made uniforms, tinsmiths produced metal badges, the military organisation trained the 'police', district organisations arranged secret lodgings and railway workers organised transport to the border. The CC had often forged the police chief's signature on false passports, but this time every document had to have the correct file number, so they got hold of the prisoners' full names. The 'police' were to capture the prison van and deal with the driver, and if the worst happened, their families would be taken care of. The city was under martial law. There were soldiers at every street crossing and Cossacks patrolled the main streets around the clock. On 23 April, as soon as the prisoners were in the van the 'police guards' locked in the driver, gave all the prisoners a Browning revolver, a coat, cap and a safe address, then changed into their own clothes. Three hours later the CC's manifesto demanding a political amnesty was pasted on walls all over Warszawa and the Citadel warden was arrested.¹⁰⁵

In the month to 12 May 57 of the 165 cases brought before the Piotrków province governor-general involved firearms, other weapons and explosive devices, while 30 were concerned with illegal meetings, 20 with strike agitation, nine with disruption of trade and commerce, eight with 'illegal solicitation', eight with possessing illegal publications, eight with posting and distributing them, five with the distribution of illegal newspapers, three for resisting the authorities, two for joining illegal demonstrations, one for tearing down government publications and

one for *gmina* (community) agitation. 'Order' had been restored in the countryside, and strikes had subsided dramatically. Armed bands waged political terror, but with diminishing effect and less popular support.¹⁰⁶

Pavel Zavarzin had been born in Odesa in 1868. He joined the Gendarme Corps in 1898 and served in the western and southern border regions. By summer 1906 he was head of Warszawa Okhrana and intensified the use of torture in the Citadel.¹⁰⁷ He had 'machines for crushing and smashing fingers', had prisoners gagged and beaten with leather belts and conducted interrogations in a field next to a cemetery late at night. He had one PPS prisoner tied to a tree, and told him he was to be executed, though the soldiers fired into the sky.¹⁰⁸

The Vserossiyskaya partiya sotsialistov-revolutsionerov (the All-Russian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries, or VPSR) had adopted maximum programme for a socialised society, and a minimum programme which called for a constituent assembly, a federal republic and self-determination for nationalities, plus the separation of church and state, full political liberty with constitutional guarantees, and progressive social and labour legislation, including the eight-hour day and state funding for poor litigants. It also demanded expropriation of all privately-owned land without compensation, followed by nationalisation, and its management by democratic municipal bodies so that every household had enough to live on, though dealing in land would be prohibited. The VPSR Congress acknowledged that the programme might require the 'intervention of conscious warriors for truth and justice', though terrorist acts had to be approved by the highest party authority in advance. A 'revolutionary dictatorship' might be needed before the maximum programme could be realised, though this would be succeeded as soon as possible by a state founded on law. A quarter of the delegates voted against this part of the programme.¹⁰⁹

Mikhail Sokolov, an SR student at Mariinskoe Agricultural College near Saratov, had been influenced by the veteran terrorist, the Ekaterina Breshkovskaya, by 1904, though he favoured economic as well as political terror. By summer 1905, in Geneva, he had persuaded other young SR émigrés. Early in 1906, in Poland, the SR intelligent Evgeny Lozinsky called for a union of revolutionary socialists, and had considerable support, especially in Białystok,¹¹⁰ in order to bring about a socialist workers' republic by an insurrection.¹¹¹

In Moscow the Institute of Transportation student Sergey Vasiliev was in his final year, and he and a propagandist and a Bestuzhev course student stored illegal literature in their apartment. She had a cousin in the VPSR combat organisation and arranged for the 24-year-old lawyer Alexandr Kerensky to meet him. He was deemed too inexperienced to be a fighter, yet after the VPSR's *Pesnya o Burevestnike* (*Song of the Petrel*) published his 'particularly outspoken' article the police closed it. On 21 January the police raided his apartment, found revolutionary literature and put him in Kresty Prison.¹¹²

On 14 March three revolutionaries in the Baltic region had their nails and hair torn out, they were hit on their genitals, and their bones were broken.¹¹³ Dissident members of the VPSR, including some students, formed a group which advocated extreme terror,¹¹⁴ and in February some members of the VPSR Moscow committee joined the *Maximalisty* (Maximalists).¹¹⁵ On 20 March Maximalisty, led by a Moscow University student, attacked a city bank.¹¹⁶ They gave part of the 875,000 ruble proceeds to the RSDRP's Krasin, who had supplied the arms,¹¹⁷ and the raid inspired VPSR dissidents in St. Petersburg, Riazan, Katerynoslav and Stavropol to join the Maximalisty.¹¹⁸ In St. Petersburg representatives of the VPSR and PPS were allowed to speak but not vote at a trade union conference.¹¹⁹

Father Georgi Gapon, who had led the Bloody Sunday demonstration in St. Petersburg, in January 1905, had gone abroad, but returned to Russia in November, and met the Okhrana official Petr Rachkovsky.¹²⁰ Gapon went to Nice, and was gambling at the casino when the Moscow rising was crushed in December, then went to Finland and met the 25-year-old SR Pinhas Rutenberg. By January 1906 Rachkovsky had persuaded Gapon to publish a 'confession',¹²¹ and a London publisher reportedly paid a 'fortune' for a ghosted 'autobiography' in English.¹²² In February Gapon agreed to recruit Rutenberg as a spy.¹²³ He was living illegally in Moscow and told Gapon that he would get 100,000 rubles if he betrayed the 33 members of the VPSR combat organisation,¹²⁴ though its leader, the 36-year-old police spy Evno Azev, lived in Finland most of the time,¹²⁵ so his contact with his Okhrana handler was intermittent.¹²⁶ Rutenberg went to Helsinki,¹²⁷ and the VPSR CC insisted that Rachkovsky and Gapon had to die. Rutenberg told Gapon that if he met Rachkovsky he would get 25,000 rubles, but he failed to turn up early in March; so Rutenberg rented a quiet cottage near the Finnish border and recruited workers,¹²⁸ including some of Gapon's supporters.¹²⁹ Late that month Rutenberg urged Gapon to betray his comrades. Workers in the next room overheard him, rushed in and hanged him from a hallstand, but it was too low, so they sat on his shoulders until he died. The VPSR CC disowned the assassination,¹³⁰ and the police did not find Gapon's body for a week.¹³¹

Anastasia Kameristkaya had been born into a peasant family in 1875, but got enough schooling to qualify as a teacher. She organised dining rooms for the poor in Kazan, and in 1899 she joined the VPSR and went to Moscow. In 1901 she was arrested for organising workers' *kruzhki*, lost her teacher's certificate and was deported, but propagandised in various cities, including St. Petersburg. In 1904 she and a woman from the south planned to assassinate the tsar's minister for Finland, but were betrayed. Kameristkaya was exiled to near the Arctic Circle, though she escaped, fled to Geneva, then returned to Moscow in summer 1905, joined the VPSR combat

organisation in November, went to Saratov and assassinated a general who had led a punitive expedition to suppress Volga peasants. A court-martial sentenced her to death, but that was later commuted to katorga for life in Siberia, and in spring 1906 she was transferred to a solitary cell in Moscow's Butyrka Transit Prison.

In Tambov Prison the 21-year-old SR Maria Spiridonova, who had assassinated a general in January 1906 and was savagely beaten, wrote about her experiences and a sister smuggled out the manuscripts.¹³² Most 'progressive' Moscow papers refused to print it, but *Russ (Russia)* sent a journalist to investigate. The War Ministry asked the Interior Ministry to stop the publication of the manuscript and the journalist's report, but both appeared in a one ruble pamphlet which sold by the thousands and caused a sensation. In February Spiridonova was court martialled behind closed doors in Moscow. A doctor testified that she could distinguish different degrees of light with one eye, but her hearing had been permanently damaged and she had tuberculosis. She was sentenced to death, but in March that was commuted to katorga for life in Siberia. In April SRs assassinated the bodyguard and policeman who had beaten her.¹³³ She was sent to Minsk Prison, and two of her sisters visited twice a week, bringing news and illegal newspapers and smuggling out her letters, until they were imprisoned. Spiridonova was transferred to Butyrka Transit Prison in Moscow, where she met Kameristkaya, Alexandra Izmailovich, Maria Shkolnik, who had shot the Chernihiv governor, 18-year-old Rebecca Fialka, who had been arrested in Odesa for making bombs, Lidia Eserkskaya, who had taken part in an assassination attempt on a government minister in 1904, but escaped, shot the Mogilev governor, but was arrested.¹³⁴

On 23 April the 25-year-old SR Boris Vnorovsky threw a bomb under the governor-general's carriage. He escaped with minor injuries, but the coachman, several bystanders and Vnorovsky were killed. When the Kadet Congress heard about this, half the delegates applauded. In Katerynoslav six people shot the governor-general.¹³⁵ A VPSR conference in Moscow empowered the CC to resume terrorist activity 'whenever they might consider it necessary in the interests of the Revolution',¹³⁶ and it established a central directorate to coordinate activity and gave the combat group a good deal of autonomy.¹³⁷ The VPSR combat leader Boris Savinkov knew he was too well-known in Moscow to take part in the assassination of the governor-general, and insisted that Azev ran the operation.¹³⁸ Savinkov visited Tbilisi and met the Bolsheviks Jughashvili and Ter-Petrosian, but a spy spotted him, so he went to Finland to meet Krasin and Wallach.¹³⁹

The Menshevik military organisation at the Navy base of Sevastopol in Crimea had resolved to 'explain to sailors and soldiers that a military insurrection depends on a national insurrection', and, 'given disorder in any unit' they would 'make every effort' to stop it 'turning into a premature, hence doomed, insurrection. They criticised 'the recklessness of those who are adventuristically attempting to call them to such an insurrection', though the RSDRP and VPSR military organisations prevented a mutiny. On Kronstadt revolutionary sailors had a provisional military technical bureau of three members from both the RSDRP and VPSR to plan an insurrection, and a mass meeting including RSDRP and VPSR civilians, confirmed them in office. They were to be accountable to a sovet and be changed often.¹⁴⁰ During March and April 288 government officials had been assassinated and 383 wounded.¹⁴¹ During April ministers acknowledged that punitive detachments had killed 3,000 to 5,000 people since December 1905,¹⁴² though the real figure was at least 14,000, and over 20,000 had been wounded. Flogging had been abolished in 1904, but peasants had been flogged to death. Around 70,000 had been detained, imprisoned, deported or exiled, and an unknown number had died in prison.¹⁴³ The 28-year-old Bund leader Mossaye Novomirsky recalled that from October 1905 to the end of April 1906 70,000 people went to Siberia from the Baltic region, mostly without trial. 'Nearly every morning a number of men, women and young boys were hanged'.¹⁴⁴ In April, officially, there had been four army mutinies. On 14 May a bomb missed a general in Sevastopol but killed six bystanders and wounded 50.¹⁴⁵ In mid-May Moscow police estimated that there were 5,320 SDs in the city,¹⁴⁶ yet 'barely one member in three' attended factory meetings, fewer paid subscriptions regularly, and 'those who have even the vaguest idea of the Party programme' were counted, 'not in thousands, but in hundreds'.¹⁴⁷

From February 1905 to the end of May 1,068 government employees had been assassinated, including 706 policemen, 204 officials,¹⁴⁸ and 288 from the Interior Ministry,¹⁴⁹ though the VPSR CC had authorised only about five percent of the killings.¹⁵⁰ Other terrorists had killed or gravely wounded 1,421 people who were mostly junior government officials.¹⁵¹ During May a Cossack platoon had refused to move against workers in Novocherkassk near Rostov-no-Donu and they had told the police that 'We're not your servants now'. Henceforth they would serve the workers.¹⁵² That month, officially, there had been 24 mutinies,¹⁵³ and 449 strikes by inspected workers.¹⁵⁴ RSDRP fighting squads had urged committees to raise money for training schools, and discipline members who lost or sold weapons, were indiscrete or left their posts without permission in 'peacetime'. The St. Petersburg RSDRP committee, which included 13 Bolsheviks and seven Mensheviks, adopted Ulyanov's perspective on Duma elections and armed struggle, and antagonised the Menshevik-dominated CC.¹⁵⁵

On 12 June Spiridonova and other SR women terrorists in Moscow's Butyrka Prison were put on a train, and when they reached Sysran on the Volga army reservists returning from the front told them that Kameristkaya was

the most popular assassin. At Kurgan in Siberia, 2,000 men from the railway workshops ordered the train driver to stop short of the station, waved red flags, sang the *Marseillaise* and SDs made speeches. Spiridonova was their favourite. At Omsk there was a crowd of over 5,000. Photographs of the women went all over Russia. (The army officer who permitted this was later sacked.) Soldiers uncoupled the women's carriage at every large station, and sometimes workers drove trains to meet them. Workers were arrested at Sima, but workmates marched to the prison and demanded their release, though the authorities spread rumours that the train had passed. At Baikal the women heard about a punitive detachment which had shot four or five people. They understood that they were going to Akatui Katorga Prison, to join several VPSR leaders,¹⁵⁶ and when they reached Nerchinsk district over 100 exiles greeted them with red banners and revolutionary songs.¹⁵⁷ The governor did not lock prisoners in their cells or make them wear chains, and they could walk in nearby woods. The VPSR intelligenty had a library and ran educational courses and a school for sailors, soldiers and workers. Lectures by Grigory Gershuni on the revolutionary movement were 'specially prized', and socialist theory was taught systematically. Warders and chief officers stood in a corner and 'the whole prison listened'.¹⁵⁸

(vii) Every day it became more difficult to work under cover

When Novgorodtseva returned to Perm in May 1906 the intelligenty called a meeting, which was 'fairly broad-based for those days', and she reported about the Stockholm Congress.

I concentrated on explaining the resolutions that Lenin had put forward, showing that I thought they should be viewed as Party directives, and subjected the Menshevik motions to the sharpest possible critique.

Sverdlov followed me on to the rostrum; he confined his talk exclusively to the practical conclusions to be drawn from Lenin's line at the Conference, and the effect that it would necessarily have on our activities in the future.

The overwhelming majority of those present agreed with us and the Perm organisation, along with its committee, remained firmly Bolshevik. ...

It took the police a very long time to track Sverdlov down, although they were looking for him with undiminished eagerness and the price on his head was a great incentive for their spy network. The places where he met his contacts and where he held meetings were kept such a close secret that not even the Perm committee ever knew where he was going.

Our meetings were also carefully guarded. When Andrei spoke to the workers, they would gather close round him, not allowing the police to get near. Afterwards they would hide him in the crowd, give him a change of clothes and remove him to somewhere safe.

The secret police were mad with frustration. This criminal, this revolutionary known throughout the Urals, this Andrei was going about his business literally under their noses. Their informers were constantly sending in reports that Andrei had appeared to give a speech at this factory or that but they never got there in time to arrest him.

Telegrams flew out of Perm in all directions, even going as far as the Volga. The provincial police administration were in a panic, were demanding his arrest, but time went on and he was still at large. ...

One day he would be chairing a Party committee meeting in Perm and the next, it seemed, he was in Ekaterinburg. By the time the police got on to his trail, he was in Ufa. They sent a telegram to Ufa - and he was back in Perm.

He would turn up in Tirylyan, Alapaevsk, Sysert, Kushva, Nizhnyaya Tura ... hold instructional sessions for the local Bolsheviks, lead meetings, chair committees, speak to the workers... And meanwhile the secret police were vainly rushing from one end of the Urals to the other.

One day he went to a large gathering of workers at the Rezhevsk plant. Andrei was to speak by the pond; police look-outs encircled the place. They did not dare to arrest him then and there in front of the workers, but calculated that it would be easier when the crowd began to disperse. They waited for two hours, the meeting ended, but no one was there. By then Sverdlov was far away - some friends had rowed him across the pond during the meeting to where some horses were hidden.

There was an underground Party meeting near Nizhni Tagil, by the River Vyika. The writer, A. P. Bondin, who was present, remembered how silence fell when Andrei began to speak. His eyes, profound and wise behind his glasses, seemed to rivet the attention of his listeners. His measured speech was easy on the ear, and so persuasive...

Sverdlov spoke about the clash with capitalism, about ways of nationalising agriculture through revolution, about arming the workers, about the merciless battle against traitors and informers. ...

Every day it became more difficult to work under cover. The secret police were sending even more informers out to join our ranks and demanding an extra effort from the established ones. One of them actually wormed his way into the Perm committee. His name was Yakov Votinov and he held a particularly trusted position, being in charge of our cache of weapons.¹⁵⁹

Bolshevik fighting squads expropriated supplies and equipment from publishing houses and presses, and money from post offices, factory offices and liquor stores. They had accumulated one million rubles in 18 months.¹⁶⁰ Novgorodtseva recalled that Sverdlov held the Bolsheviks together.

On 10 June Sverdlov returned to Perm after one of his trips. It had been decided that we would leave that night; we simply could not remain there any longer. A committee meeting had been arranged to re-allocate our duties among the others, to agree on who should be sent to other towns and who should be summoned to Perm.

Sverdlov and I had considerable difficulty in getting to the flat where the meeting was to be held. We had decided to go together but as soon as we went out we found ourselves followed by not one but several spies. By changing cabs a number of times and going through courtyards and alleys, we finally lost them; at the town boundaries we checked that our shadows really had gone.

'That doesn't look good,' Sverdlov said. 'I mean, they were after us all right, but they didn't get us ... it's very odd. Think about it - they were literally on our heels, but didn't touch us. I wonder what their game is.'

... For some time we had been convinced that there was an informer on the committee; we even suspected who it was and had begun to check on him and exclude him from certain activities. Now it seemed clear that he had let the secret police know about our meeting in advance, but they no doubt wanted to know our plans, to hear Sverdlov's instructions to the committee and so had decided to let us hold our meeting and arrest us as we left. ...

We got to the meeting place without further complications; there did not seem to be any spies around the house. Evidently, if the police knew about our arrangements, they had posted their lookouts at a distance, so as not to alarm us prematurely.

Our comrades had already assembled, and Sverdlov began the meeting without wasting any time. All the issues were quickly decided; Sverdlov, calm and unruffled as ever, told everyone exactly what he expected of them.

At the end he advised them to wait for five or ten minutes after we had gone and then to leave in ones and twos as usual. I could see why: we had to make our way quickly to the Kama wharf where it would be easier to disappear, before our informer could get away from the meeting and let the police know that we had left. ...

Not quite half-way to the wharf we noticed that we were being followed. As we had feared, they had surrounded the entire block in case the informer did not reach them in time to let them know when we had left. ...

We turned down an alley where we could see a cab stand, but strangely enough the place suddenly began to fill with people. Some suspicious-looking types came towards us, we heard steps behind us; civilians and military alike were converging on this absolutely unremarkable little street. We could see police in the dim distance.

Then a cab appeared. Sverdlov calmly asked him to take us to the wharf, but he brusquely replied that he was not free. So did the next. We knew that it was all over. Now we had to keep calm, keep calm – we quickly said all that we had to say to each other, walking arm in arm and looking so unconcerned that the officer who was going to arrest us hesitated as he came near, and actually went by.

I thought that maybe we had got away with it, but a few steps further on a voice was raised behind us: 'Well come on, then, get them!' They swooped down on us from all sides, pushing Sverdlov into one cab and me into another. Some policemen jumped on to the footboards, there was a whistle, and off we went at full pelt. ...

At first the police had no material proof that he had been campaigning against the government. He had a false passport and they did not even know his real name. He had managed to destroy all incriminating documents, and when they searched him they found only a few insignificant notes. ...

Ultimately 36 people were charged with membership of a criminal organisation, which, 'taking the name of the Perm RLSDP committee, did knowingly incite the populace to overthrow the government, subvert the monarchy and set up a democratic republic, with the aim of establishing a socialist order in Russia'. Most of the accused were aged 22 or 23; the eldest was 30, and Shura Kostareva was only 17. Sverdlov had had his twenty-first birthday the week before his arrest.

As a result of these arrests and the discovery of our press, the prosecution finally managed to lay hands on some documents, including the drafts of leaflets and the committee's accounts for May. Although they were not signed, a handwriting expert testified that Sverdlov had written them, but this was still not adequate grounds for accusing him of leading the Ural Party organisation, and none of us would give any information about our roles within the Party. It was a Bolshevik rule not to admit anything that would help to reveal the secrets of our underground network - the fainthearted who broke under questioning were always expelled. But the gendarmes did not need us to tell them Andrei's role.

We were transferred from cell to cell, from prison to prison, and still the investigations continued. ... While awaiting trial we were held first in Perm and later allocated to prisons all over the Urals.¹⁶¹

In the Urals region 3,000 industrial workers were unemployed.¹⁶²

(viii) The great Russian revolution is in full swing

By June 1906 the St. Petersburg Unemployed Council was distributing 40,000 meals a day and opened hot-meal stations near strike-bound factories. The city дума instituted no public works, so 150 delegates from the largest

mills challenged the councillors,¹⁶³ who agreed to meet a small delegation on the 14th. The council room had two doors, so members of the delegation entered by both at once,¹⁶⁴ with four 'husky boys' in front. Woytinsky and Sergey Malyshev led one group, and Zagoraev, 'a six-foot giant and excellent speaker', the other.¹⁶⁵ The governor sent a message to the interior minister that the workers had clubs and other weapons, and police, gendarmes and troops surrounded the building; but after a delegate spoke to the governor they were withdrawn, and the дума promised to begin public works, provide up to 20,000 free meals a day and to subsidise strikers. There were attacks on police, officials, foremen and factory owners who pressured the city дума to stop public works,¹⁶⁶ but the chief factory inspector acknowledged the 'extremely bad' conditions in private enterprises.

There are no protective measures against extreme temperatures in workshops, against dust, dampness, steam or poisonous gases – there is hardly any ventilation at all. The very high percentage of accidents, especially among children, is due to the absence of protective installations round the machines, although the owners of factories assert that the reason for accidents is the negligence of the workmen and children themselves. Severe cases of accident do not receive any special treatment at all.

Most factory barracks were 'intolerable'. 'Married women and men, bachelors, children and young girls were all sleeping together in the same room'. 'Bugs and fleas are so numerous' that some men preferred to sleep outdoors in summer.¹⁶⁷ Many were peasants, though the metalworker P. Timofeev believed that most of his workmates 'probably feel that the village is nothing but a burden', except those with 'such good land that they did not have to send money home', and especially the 'sons of prosperous village artisans and merchants'.¹⁶⁸ Menshevik papers campaigned for a 'responsible ministry' and tried to get the RSDRP committee to curb the Unemployed Council, but the Bolsheviks refused,¹⁶⁹ so the Mensheviks persuaded workers to criticise the RSDRP CC, which had banned agitation against its decisions.¹⁷⁰ Tsederbaum had called on workers to 'secure the transfer of all power to the constituent assembly', and a Menshevik deputy spoke to this effect in the Duma on the 18th.¹⁷¹ On the 20th the government made it clear that it would not give an inch on the land question to satisfy the peasants.¹⁷²

The Bolsheviks were victorious at an RSDRP conference on the 21st, where the delegates claimed to represent 4,000 workers.¹⁷³ The 32-year-old intelligent Vladimir Bonch-Bruевич organised a new Bolshevik paper, *Ekho* (*Echo*),¹⁷⁴ which appeared on 22 June,¹⁷⁵ and was highly optimistic. 'The great Russian revolution is in full swing.' 'The victory of the people is not far distant.'¹⁷⁶

Vatslav Vorovsky had been born in Moscow in 1871, into the family of an ethnically Polish but Russified nobleman and engineer. After secondary school, he enrolled at Moscow University, where he was exposed to radical ideas. He became a socialist in 1895,¹⁷⁷ and a revolutionary in 1898,¹⁷⁸ but was soon arrested and sentenced to three years' exile in the city of Orlov on the Trans-Siberian railway. On his release he went underground.¹⁷⁹ In 1902 he left Russia and worked abroad on *Iskra*. In 1905 he co-edited *Vypered* and *Proletary*, and was a delegate to the RSDRP Congress,¹⁸⁰ where he supported the 'majority',¹⁸¹ and late that year he had worked in St. Petersburg's Bolshevik organisation and on *Novaya zhizn*.¹⁸² Vorovsky attended as a representative of *Vypered*, with the right to speak but not vote.¹⁸³ In the week to the 25th at least 17 Germans, 55 Poles and 79 Jews had been killed in Poland.¹⁸⁴

On the 24th *Ekho* argued that the proletariat 'can, and must, be in the forefront of the fight for the victory of the bourgeois revolution, while strictly preserving its class independence'. On the 27th *Ekho* reported that 25,000 to 30,000 Polish SDs opposed the RSDRP CC policy of supporting a Kadet cabinet in the Duma, as had a St. Petersburg RSDRP conference representing about 4,000 members. That day Ulyanov noted that the SDKPiL Congress's 'emphatic opposition' to the RSDRP CC tactics regarding the Duma, as had delegates representing 14,000 members at an RSDRP Moscow region conference.¹⁸⁵ Next day the Duma unanimously passed a Bill abolishing capital punishment, but the tsar refused to sign it,¹⁸⁶ and 23 peasants and 49 other deputies formed a new party,¹⁸⁷ though police raided the Moscow RSDRP organisation on the 30th.¹⁸⁸

In St. Petersburg thousands of SD workers had met at least 42 times during June, including 25 meetings attended by about 2,000 and ten by up to 6,000.¹⁸⁹ Menshevik workers in the Vyborg district had seen their intelligent leaders collaborating with Kadets and had come over to the Bolsheviks 'factory by factory'.¹⁹⁰ There were strikes at several mid-size machine-building plants, and clashes over hiring and firing at the Erikson telephone works, where workers tried to cart out offending supervisors. Managers fired those responsible, but the rest of the workers refused to do their work, so the managers imposed partial layoff. The workers refused all piecework, slowed output, and imposed a partial strike in the assembly, warehouse and packing shops. They formed a strike committee and made further demands including a nine-hour day with an hour and a half for their mid-day meal, daily and not hourly pay, the posting of rates of pay in each workshop, pay for strike days and an amnesty for strikers. At the Atlas engineering plant, after clashes over hiring and firing, the managers announced a complete shutdown, and imposed it before end of the statutory fortnight. The workers sought the support of the metalworkers' union, set

up picket lines and blocked the shipment of finished goods. They demanded a nine-hour day, daily pay, a rise of 30 percent, a grievance committee, the abolition of overtime and fines and polite forms of address, and strikers at three other plants made similar demands.¹⁹¹

(ix) Peasant disturbances, strikes and mutinies

By summer 1906, in Latvia, the SDSP claimed 14,000 members, including 6,000 in Riga. The party had issued 123,000 copies of *Cīņa* (*Fight*) and around 800,000 copies of 530 leaflets since 1905. On 24 June 1906 51 delegates at a Congress near Riga agreed to merge with the RSDRP, change the party's name to Latvijās Sociāldemokrātija (the Social Democracy of Latvia, or LSD), and publish the illegal *Borba* (*Struggle*), but keep *Cīņa* as the central organ. Bolshevik-influenced delegates demanded preparations for an armed struggle, including buying arms for an autonomous fighting organisation for 'partisan actions' against police and government officials, and fighters formed a combat squad.¹⁹²

In Poland agricultural labourers had gone on strike for higher pay, though landed gentry and *kulaki* (well-to-do peasants) supported strike-breakers. Cossacks and other soldiers killed five workers and wounded several returning from an SDKPiL meeting near Łódź, and Łódź workers built barricades.¹⁹³ On the 18th an SDKPiL Congress opened in Zakopane in Galicia. The 52 delegates with the right to speak and votes claimed to represent 56 local organisations and 26,000 members, including 9,970 in Łódź, 6,600 in Warszawa and 2,000 or so in Czestochowa, Dąbrowa, Górnicza and Lublin province. The Congress called on Polish trade unions to acknowledge the SDKPiL's political hegemony and contribute ten percent of their income. They favoured democratic centralism, called for a special Congress, empowered the leading Main Directorate to authorise and attend committees and conferences, promised it 40 percent of local subs, and gave its five members a vote at Congresses. Dzierżyński declined to join the Main Directorate, because he was a member of the RSDRP CC, but he agreed to be a candidate member.¹⁹⁴ Eight delegates had to the right to speak, but not vote, and Ulyanov spoke on behalf of the RSDRP St. Petersburg committee.¹⁹⁵

In Ukraine the workers' movement the Odesa had begun after the legalising of trade unions in March. The factory inspectors' reports noted that the 'general workers' movement' of the previous year had raised their 'awareness of their commonality of their class interests', though anti-Jewish sentiments were in evidence in factories and workshops, and on the streets, and this hindered united action between Jews and Christians.¹⁹⁶ After being chased from pillar to post by police and Black Hundreds, the Bolshevik Petr Moiseenko worked at a manganese mine near Nikopol by 1906. On the eve of May Day luzovka police arrested several RSDRP committee members and ironworkers. Police patrolled the metalworks at night, and there were police and reactionaries at each gate in the morning, so May Day was not celebrated openly. Moiseenko tried to organise a strike at the Makeevka mine, though miners beat him up and tried to lynch another activist, while dragoons looked on. There were strikes at four mines, but the miners returned after being threatened with the sack. Ekaterinin railway workers interrupted iron ore trains and the governor of Katerynoslav was assassinated. During May 44,800 miners at 36 pits went on strike, and a few won higher pay, and though there were no strikes at luzovka ironworks or its associated mines, unions were formed 'daily and hourly'. On 4 June 1,500 Bryansk steelworkers in Katerynoslav had heard a draft union charter, but hecklers broke up the meeting. A week later 1,000 Bryansk workers approved the charter, and workers at the Donetsk-lureev factory in Kamenskoe formed a union. On the 22nd a 'particularly large meeting' at the Rutchenko mine to support 14 Duma worker-deputies attracted miners and factory workers to hear an unnamed speaker from outside the district. Troops arrived from luzovka and arrested him, but a Cossack officer freed him. Elsewhere around 30 Cossacks who refused to fire or arrest workers were themselves arrested. On the 27th Cossacks were sent to a meeting near luzovka, but refused to fire, and were transferred out of the district, in spite of reports that peasants were seizing grain and burning landowners' buildings.¹⁹⁷

Katerynoslav RSDRP claimed 2,000 members.¹⁹⁸

At five o'clock the usual boulevardiers were replaced by members of the various political parties: the first three blocks were taken over by the Social-Democrats, the next by the Bund, then the Socialist Revolutionaries, the Zionists, on down to the anarchists. Until seven o'clock the Prospekt became the ... 'party exchange' – where Social-Democrats met to discuss politics, exchange literature, receive assignments and perhaps listen to a party speaker.

They had a sense of 'personal immunity' and when the police turned up there was no trouble.¹⁹⁹ A 'fairly large number of anarchist-communists' took no part in a strike at an engineering works, though they assassinated the director.²⁰⁰ The police chief had discovered three or four underground presses annually, and this had hastened his

promotion; but he ran into difficulties when his superiors found out that he had set them up himself. There were 4,500 RSDRP members in the Donets Union, 1,000 in Luhansk,²⁰¹ Odesa and Kyiv, and 20,000 in the region.²⁰² The tsar had announced that Kyiv would have separate representation in the next Duma.²⁰³ The legal Bolshevik *Rabotnik* (*The Worker*) noted that workers, peasants, sailors and soldiers were 'tired of waiting'. 'We are on the eve of the second great stage of the Russian revolution'. The police closed the paper;²⁰⁴ but after terrorists stole 70 revolvers from a military depot there were mass resignations from the police.²⁰⁵ Black Hundreds had been assassinated in Bryansk and elsewhere.²⁰⁶ Almost 2,000 teachers had been arrested, including around 300 in Katerynoslav.²⁰⁷ There were 18,000 unemployed in Kharkiv, 5,000 in Rostov-na-Donu, 3,000 in Kazan and Kyiv,²⁰⁸ and the Donbass miners' working year had shrunk to 253 days,²⁰⁹ but there had been strikes in Bakhmut and Mariupol, and in Kerch in Crimea. The police had found 40 bombs in an Odesa flat and 13 in a Katerynoslav province village. In the Caucasus police had found bombs, including one in a Tbilisi street-seller's basket of berries. In Siberia the police had found 18 bombs in a house in Perm. In the Pale police had found five bombs in a Kovno flat. Peasant unrest had turned violent across the Caucasus, and Orlov, Tula, Voronezh and Saratov provinces.²¹⁰

On the Volga the Saratov RSDRP committee's 530 members were 265 fewer than in January. Its ties with workers' *kruzhki* had been severed, and waves of arrests and the closure of the Bolshevik paper checked activity.²¹¹ The authorities had closed the SD newspaper and other radical publications, yet there were 32 registered trade unions in the province.²¹²

Since October 1905 VPSR and other terrorists had killed or injured 671 Interior Ministry employees, including 13 in senior positions, plus 658 policemen and security personnel. They had tossed bombs at military patrols and thrown sulphuric acid into policemen's faces. In border areas and the Pale gendarmes suffered from nervous ailments, refused to show up for duty, applied for immediate retirement or fled.²¹³

Nationally, there had been peasant disturbances in almost half of all rural districts,²¹⁴ and loyal troops had dispersed peasant meetings with cannon.²¹⁵ In June there had been 86 officially-recorded strikes.²¹⁶ Since April 222,000 inspected strikers had been deemed economic and 257,000 political,²¹⁷ and 144,000 had either won or achieved a compromise.²¹⁸

The army included over a million men who were overwhelmingly peasants, though between 25,000 and 35,000 soldiers and sailors had joined at least 80 RSDRP and 47 VPSR military *kruzhki*. The RSDRP published 21 papers for troops, and the VPSR produced nine, while up to 1,300 civilian comrades agitated them. Most garrisons were small, but some had over 500 troops. Sappers camped near St. Petersburg wanted to blow up the officers' club, seize the arsenal and march on the city, and a spy reported that 'revolutionary speakers' were 'admitted to the meetings almost daily', though a VPSR CC member talked the troops out of a mutiny. The revolutionary military organisations in Tbilisi, Nizhni Novgorod and Simbirsk readied themselves for a rising if the tsar disbanded the Duma.²¹⁹ In St. Petersburg district some troops refused to perform police duties or use weapons, and 4,000 men from various regiments heard Duma deputies and revolutionaries speak. The tsar's 'own' regiment of Guards refused to march to his summer residence, or put down a mutiny at Kronstadt. After the commander begged them, one battalion submitted, but two made demands and supported the Trudoviki Duma deputies.²²⁰ At Peterhof palace guards refused to disperse to quarters and cursed officers, but a general persuaded them to return to duty, identified the leaders, disarmed a battalion,²²¹ and sent the officers to infantry units. In Tambov province cavalry refused to fire on villagers or salute, demanded bed sheets and better food, and supported the land policy of the Trudoviki Duma deputies. When their leaders were arrested, others seized arms and ammunition, freed the prisoners and barricaded themselves in for two days. Troops were called, but some were withdrawn because of their doubtful reliability. Similar events had taken place in Kursk. In Riazan a battalion recently returned from the Far East demanded bed sheets, better food, back pay, polite treatment and the right to walk in public parks and read newspapers.²²² A regiment had mutinied in Poltava.²²³ When troops who had attended revolutionary meetings in Tbilisi and Batumi had been put on trial, troops in Batumi Fortress mutinied.²²⁴ Don Cossacks revolted and declared that 'police service is incompatible with the title of Cossack as a warrior and defender of the fatherland'. Since January, officially, there had been 130 cases of serious indiscipline and mutiny in the army.²²⁵ The War Ministry ran officers' schools to counteract political illiteracy,²²⁶ but officially there had been 84 military mutinies that month.²²⁷

3. The blade must now be sharpened

(i) Make War for the Free Russian People!

On 2 July 1906 St. Petersburg's governor-general survived a bomb attack, though it killed a major-general.¹ The Bolshevik *Ekho* noted that an elite regiment had supported the Trudoviki deputies in the Duma 'in the struggle for land and freedom', and an infantry regiment had demanded the right to elect Duma deputies. In Warszawa troops wanted the right to serve in their 'native districts', not wear uniform off duty, elect deputies, judges to try alleged offenders and representatives to supervise the mess, freedom of association and a constitutional assembly.²

On the 5th the Duma discussed the land question, but failed to agree, and the Trudoviki and socialists walked out next day, and the police refused to let the Bill be printed on the 7th.³ A Duma committee resolved that 'the only means to prevent further pogroms' was 'an immediate judicial investigation and the punishment of all officials, high and subordinate' who were responsible, and the 'dismissal of the ministry'.⁴ A minister had suggested closing the Duma to the tsar; though the governor-general was unsure about his troops' reliability. (One NCO had led peasant risings in 1902.)⁵ Government leaflets incited troops against the imprisoned Duma deputies,⁶ and the police closed over 90 newspapers and detained or deported 141 editors and journalists.⁷ By the 8th the police had arrested most of the city's RSDRP committee and the VPSR CC, and the tsar made his new prime minister the interior minister.⁸ The tsar dissolved the Duma at midnight, after 75 days,⁹ and soldiers occupied the building.¹⁰ Only two of its 29 Bills had become law. There were 22,000 troops in the city and some had machine guns and artillery. There was a military guard at the railway stations, while a cruiser and patrol boat were stationed on the River Neva. By next day, when the Senate ratified the dissolution of the Duma,¹¹ the city was under martial law,¹² but crowds of up to 5,000 protested.¹³ Police and troops cordoned off the Kadet deputies' lodgings and club.¹⁴

The Bolshevik Wallach disagreed with expropriations, but the RSDRP CC refused to accept his resignation, so he went to Brussels, Vienna and Karlsruhe, where Russian officers told him about the latest arms and ammunition. The Okhrana's Berlin Agentura informed St. Petersburg Okhrana that Wallach had made 'arms purchases in large quantities' and arranged their delivery to Russia. St. Petersburg Okhrana told Berlin Agentura that Wallach had been in Marseilles to arrange the transport of arms via the Black Sea. He had visited most major European ports. In Bulgaria he had told officials that the cargo was for Armenians fighting 'Turkish oppressor', and when their enthusiasm waned, he visited the war minister, who did not interfere.¹⁵ On 9 July Wallach gave a cheque for 120,000 francs to the International bureau.¹⁶ Since 27 April terrorists had killed 177 people, tried to assassinate 52 officials and 88 others, and carried out 189 attacks on official institutions and 93 on commercial premises and apartments.¹⁷ By the 9th Bolsheviks who had prepared an insurrection on Kronstadt were arrested.¹⁸

Around 120 Kadet and 80 other Duma deputies had escaped to Vyborg in Finland,¹⁹ including one from Estland,²⁰ and they met in the Hotel Belvedere that evening. SD deputies reserved the right to call for an insurrection,²¹ and on the 12th Trudoviki and SD deputies published a manifesto. It called on soldiers and sailors to 'stop obeying an illegal government', 'come out against it together with us and the whole of the Russian people',²² not to report for military duty or pay taxes, and announced that any government loans 'contracted without the approval of the people's representatives' were 'invalid'.²³ It promised to reduce military service to two years, pay wages monthly and stop officers insulting troops and using them as servants.²⁴ Printed copies were smuggled to St. Petersburg, but the Finnish authorities were anxious, so the Vyborg meeting was adjourned.²⁵ The deputies scattered,²⁶ and when some returned to St. Petersburg the police put them under surveillance.²⁷ Army recruitment would not take place until November,²⁸ and direct taxes were a negligible part of government income, and the appeal evoked no response.²⁹ The RSDRP and VPSR CCs, three trade union ECs, and the Trudoviki Duma deputies issued a manifesto to the peasantry with the slogans 'Freedom and land to all the People! - Down with the People's Enemies, Traitors, Violators and Evil-Doers! - Down with the whole tsarist Government! - Make War for the Free Russian People!'

There were agrarian disturbances in Voronezh and Odesa provinces and the Caucasus.³⁰ A London paper reported that shipments of arms to Russia from Britain and elsewhere had been 'on a more or less extensive scale during the past few months'.³¹ *Novaya volna* (*New Wave*) issued a pamphlet on political and organisational perspectives, including a section on workers' armed *druzhinniki* to attack policemen and procure arms. 'Let an appeal be made at every factory, in every trade union and in every village for the formation of such volunteer fighting squads'. The pamphlet was widely distributed in St. Petersburg and the provinces.³²

Woytinsky later recalled that the St. Petersburg RSDRP organisation had been 'practically liquidated', the survivors 'had nothing to discuss', and workers were 'deserting the factory cells'. Some intelligently had 'disappeared beyond the Finnish border' and others had settled in Paris and Switzerland. Woytinsky resigned from

the Unemployed Council to focus on his University examinations, but the unemployed workers persuaded him to carry on, and he agreed to speak at meetings about the jailed SD Duma deputies, beginning at the Cartridge Factory.

[There was] a single police post at the gate, the next post half a mile away, and the nearest police barracks three miles distant. At the hour the shifts changed, I was at the grilled factory gate with a commando of about fifty youths from the harbour. We stood on the far side of the street. As soon as the gate opened, the boys crossed the street, linked arms, and formed a semicircular chain in front of the entrance. I mounted the nearest curbstone, the crowd passed around me, and those in front shouted to those in the rear, 'Come closer ... On behalf of the comrades in the Duma ...' I had a good half hour for my speech and disbanded when the mounted police appeared in the distance.

There were police at every gate of the Putilov metalworks and foot and horse patrols nearby. A meeting inside would jeopardise the workers, so one gave Woytinsky oil to smear on his face and they climbed onto a pile of rails. 'People appeared ... in small groups, then in strength. The passage was filled with men. Somebody shouted from the darkness, "Stop, comrades! On behalf of our deputies in jail".' Three days later around 40 EC members met to plan a new campaign, but the police raided. The EC members declined to give their names, but insisted that the Council was a legal organisation. The police took them to the 'Crosses' (Kresty Prison), but the superintendent refused to accept them, so they were taken to a house of detention miles away. Woytinsky later managed to escape and get to Terijoki, where Ulyanov failed to persuade him to accompany him to Switzerland to edit a periodical, but he reluctantly agreed to lead the Katerynoslav organisation in Ukraine.³³ The Bolsheviks still lacked sufficient cadre.

(ii) Kollontai

Early in 1906 the 33-year-old intelligentka Alexandra Kollontai had represented Finnish SDs at RSDRP meetings in Helsinki and reported on Finnish socialist parliamentary deputies. Finnish SDs published her articles as *Sosialismi Suomessa (Socialism in Finland)*, which called on workers to 'rise up with arms against the state'.³⁴ She disagreed with the Bolsheviks' boycott of Duma elections,³⁵ joined the Mensheviks,³⁶ and wrote reports for deputies.³⁷ She argued that 'under current socioeconomic conditions', 'the interests of the proletariat' were 'nearer than anything to answering the most general interests of mankind', since their 'leading principles' 'more closely coincide with fundamental moral criteria'. 'When society as a whole is threatened with danger from one social group, then the act of self-defense' should 'be recognised as moral', while 'non-resistance to evil is the greatest moral crime'.³⁸ She wanted a 'special bureau or commission' to 'ascertain and defend' women members' interests.³⁹ Other RSDRP members campaigned for the recognition of the demands and needs of working women and for special forms of agitation. Bourgeois women were sending petitions to the Duma, demanding that the franchise be extended, but working women formed the majority of those who signed them.

One Duma deputy received a telegram 'authorised' by 75 women near Saratov on the Volga.

In this great moment of struggle for rights we, the peasant women of the village Nogatkino, greet those elected representatives who express their distrust of the government by demanding that the ministry resign. We hope that the representatives will support the people, give them land and freedom, open the doors of the prisons to liberate the fighters for the people's freedom and the people's happiness. We hope that the representatives obtain civil and political rights for themselves and for us Russian women, who are unfairly treated and without rights even within our families.

In St. Petersburg up to 30 members of one women's club met semi-legally at a union building outside Nevsky Gate or at a Sunday school 'lecture', though the RSDRP leaders did not support them.⁴⁰ The politics of the left-wingers in the city's Equal Rights League were often close to those of the socialists, though right-wingers formed the Women's Progressive Party. By spring the League had around 8,000 members, and supported four clubs for women factory workers, though the police soon closed the political club. Kollontai was the RSDRP committee treasurer and invited Bolsheviks and Mensheviks to collaborate on an annual publication to inform and entertain workers with political sketches, poems, biographies of socialist leaders, and lively unsectarian pieces on the strike movement, to raise badly-needed money. It appeared in May, and included the demands for an eight-hour day, an end to employing children under 16 and of heavy work for older adolescents, the protection of women's labour, the provision of nurseries in workplaces, proper benefits for the sick, the unemployed, the old and the disabled, plus the right to strike, freedom of speech, freedom of worship and a free press. It was closed by the police and did not reappear, but she smuggled leaflets which appealed to soldiers and workers in garrisons and factories to form revolutionary fighting groups, and she spoke at meetings. Once, at a meeting of factory women, she called for an armed rising against the tsar, and managed to escape in disguise before the police arrived. More and more women workers were

joining the clubs where Kollontai and her textile workers talked about factory hygiene and maternity care, then discretely developed the themes of revolution in the last few minutes, if spies in the audience were not vigilant.⁴¹

In St. Petersburg the Menshevik intelligentka Margarita Margulies chaired a large meeting of women, but Bolsheviks rejected the proposal to send a telegram praising the Duma deputies who supported equal rights. A woman worker wrote of 'Growing up in need and darkness', 'afraid of everyone'. 'Her husband beats and curses her, her father punishes her, and then her grown children order her about'. Women were 'timid and deprived of all rights' and were 'the most desirable "merchandise" for the bosses. They can pay her less and she will work more', so 'it is necessary for the male worker to enlighten her, to call her to his unions, to make her a comrade'. After the women's clubs were granted limited legal status, they offered lectures on natural and social sciences, history, literature, prostitution, the family, women's education and women's history. Most clubs had libraries, a few had cheap cafés and many held social evenings;⁴² though some were closed. Kollontai argued that women 'can only be free and equal in a world of socialised labour, harmony and justice'.⁴³ After the Bolshevik intelligentka Stasova returned from Stockholm she had become a secretary of the St. Petersburg RSDRP committee along with the Menshevik Raisa Karfunkel.⁴⁴ Stasova and Kollontai led 'geography lessons' for 25 to 30 women workers,⁴⁵ and there were soon 14 women's clubs. Most members were socialist and feminist intelligentki, though some, especially on Vasilievsky Island, were working-class women.⁴⁶ By summer Stasova had become a member of the Bolsheviks' military organisation,⁴⁷ and she and Karfunkel organised a city-wide conference,⁴⁸ but they were arrested on 23 July,⁴⁹ and the strikers soon went back.⁵⁰ Karfunkel was taken to Kresty Prison and the others to another jail. Police found nothing criminal in Stasova's home, but deported her;⁵¹ and yet some RSDRP members remained optimistic.

(iii) Victory over tsarism was not far off

Early in 1906 26-year-old Lev Bronstein, an unaligned RSDRP intelligent, and former soviet President, was in St. Petersburg Fortress, and believed that most of the Stockholm delegates had been active for less than a year.⁵² The former soviet leaders received smuggled revolutionary papers, pamphlets and books, wrote letters and talked in the exercise yard. Bronstein admitted to the 32-year-old Menshevik intelligent Luly Tsederbaum that he 'felt closer' to the Bolsheviks.⁵³ Although 'the *immediate objective* tasks of the revolution consisted in the creation of "normal conditions for the development of bourgeois society as a whole"', the 'main characteristic of Russian social development' was its 'comparative primitiveness and slowness'.

Though the absence of accumulated bourgeois-individualistic traditions and anti-proletarian prejudices among the peasantry and intellectuals will assist the proletariat to come into power this absence of prejudices is not due to political consciousness but to political barbarism, social formlessness, primitiveness and lack of character. None of these features can in any way create a reliable basis for a consistent, active proletarian policy.

... The primitiveness and petty-bourgeois character of the peasantry, its limited rural outlook, its isolation from world-political ties and allegiances, will create terrible difficulties for the consolidation of the revolutionary policy of the proletariat in power.

... [T]here can be no talk of any sort of special form [of] proletarian dictatorship in the bourgeois revolution, of democratic proletarian dictatorship (or dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry). The working class cannot preserve the democratic character of its dictatorship without refraining from overstepping the limits of its democratic programme. Any illusions on this point would be fatal. They would compromise Social Democracy from the very start.

... The proletariat will find itself compelled to carry the class struggle into the villages, and in this manner destroy that community of interest which is undoubtedly to be found among all peasants, although within comparatively narrow limits. From the very first moment after its taking power, the proletariat will have to find support in the antagonisms between the village poor and village rich, between the agricultural proletariat and the agricultural bourgeoisie.

... Socialism does not aim at creating a socialist psychology as a pre-requisite to socialism but at creating socialist conditions of life as a pre-requisite to socialist psychology.

... *Without the direct State support of the European proletariat the working class of Russia cannot remain in power and convert its temporary domination into a lasting socialistic dictatorship* ... But on the other hand there cannot be any doubt that a socialist revolution in the West will enable us directly to convert the temporary domination of the working class into a socialist dictatorship.

... Left to its own resources, the working class of Russia will inevitably be crushed by the counter-revolution the moment the peasantry turns its back on it.⁵⁴

He agreed with Marx that a revolution was necessary 'not only because the *ruling* class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class *overthrowing* it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew'. The 'liquidation of absolutism and feudalism' through

'growing social conflicts, risings of new sections of the masses, unceasing attacks by the proletariat upon the economic political privileges of the ruling classes',⁵⁵ would represent 'Revolution in Permanence'.⁵⁶

The authorities postponed the trials of the sovet deputies,⁵⁷ and in June Bronstein's pamphlet, *Itogi i Perspektiv (Results and Prospects)* appeared in St. Petersburg.⁵⁸ The Menshevik press was 'silent', so the Bolsheviks had printed it. According to Bronstein, 'Tens of thousands of copies' were sold in weeks,⁵⁹ yet reportedly the police confiscated most of them immediately and the rest caused little interest.⁶⁰ After the sovet leaders were transferred to the House of Detention for interrogation,⁶¹ Bronstein wrote an introduction for a translation of Marx's *Der Bürgerkrieg in Frankreich (The Civil War in France)*, and developed the idea of 'uninterrupted revolution'.⁶² Bolshevik papers welcomed his critique of the liberal Petr Struve and Bronstein's cell became 'a sort of library'. His wife Natalia Sedova brought letters, and she and his lawyers smuggled out manuscripts. Officials 'winked' at Sedova's visits and she became pregnant.⁶³

The St. Petersburg Mensheviks focussed on trade unions, and the trade union leader, Petr Bronstein,⁶⁴ took activists to Finland to meet Axelrod. They included Kolokolnikov of the RSDRP CC and its union committee, and V. Grinevich, who edited a trade union bulletin.⁶⁵ Axelrod argued that a workers' Congress was 'the best means of assuring the independence of the proletariat in the bourgeois revolution' and avoiding becoming 'cannon fodder'; but one worker was doubtful. 'Would workers die in a bourgeois and then a proletarian revolution? No, comrades, it is not to be found in the party program; but if we workers alone will spill our blood, then only once, for freedom and for socialism'.⁶⁶ The Menshevik workers disagreed. The Menshevik intelligent Gurvich and the 33-year-old VPSR leader Viktor Chernov had represented the St. Petersburg printers' union in arbitration courts;⁶⁷ though other unions were closed and their leaders arrested.⁶⁸ Elsewhere, six unions had been established in Kostroma, and several in Kyiv, Poltava, Smolensk, Cherkasy, Proskurvo and small provincial towns.⁶⁹

During July a female member of a VPSR 'flying combat detachment' had thrown a bomb at the Odesa military headquarters, then shot herself.⁷⁰ Across Russia, village communes had banned collaborating with the police, fought mounted police, ambushed single policemen and soldiers and freed prisoners on at least 120 occasions. While 200 peasants died and hundreds were wounded, 33 police and soldiers were killed and 42 wounded, and a bomb ripped off the Samara governor's arms and legs. There had been 628 officially-recorded peasant disturbances, making almost 1,600 since May, and 169,000 workers had gone on strike.⁷¹ The police had searched or arrested almost 3,600 people, and on the 31st railway gendarmes were told to investigate political suspects, because the others were overwhelmed.⁷²

The Bolshevik Mikha Tskhakaya had been a full-time revolutionary in the Caucasus, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav and elsewhere in 1904, and in 1905 he had been a Caucasian delegate to the London Bolshevik conference.⁷³ In 1906 the 41-year-old joined the otherwise all-Menshevik Tbilisi RSDRP committee and ran a bomb factory. The Okhrana arrested the committee in April, but released Tskhakaya early in July,⁷⁴ and an article signed 'Koba' appeared in the union journal *Akhali tskhovreba (New Times)* on the 13th.

We must collect the experience of the risings in Moscow, the Donets Basin, Rostov-na-Donu and other places, *disseminate* this *experience*, perseveringly and painstakingly *prepare* new fighting forces and *train and steel* them in a series of militant guerrilla actions. The new upheaval may not break out in spring, but it is approaching; in all probability it is not very far off. We must meet it armed in military fashion, and be capable of taking determined offensive action.⁷⁵

Alexandr Svinadze had attended Tbilisi seminary and became a Bolshevik.⁷⁶ By 1905 his father, who was probably a railway worker, had become an SD and organised a strike at Alexandropol.⁷⁷ In 1906 his religious daughter Ketevan worked as a seamstress for a French dressmaker,⁷⁸ and at 2.00am on 16 July she married Jughashvili.⁷⁹ There were strikes in Tbilisi and Poti, and 'Red Hundreds' controlled Telavi. After Khoni RSDRP decided there should be two intelligently and seven workers in the committee, the intelligently left.⁸⁰ Soldiers had assassinated officers, including the commander, and given rifles to civilians.⁸¹ After eight months of military occupation in Guria fines of 80,000 rubles had been imposed and 381 houses and 400 shops had been burned.⁸² From April to June around 500 people had been searched or arrested, but that shot up to 3,600 in July.⁸³ Since April there had been 153 army mutinies,⁸⁴ and at least 43 had made serious political demands.⁸⁵ A general believed that only the army's loyalty and a decline in the peasant movement could save the regime.⁸⁶

In Ukraine many Donbass workers ignored the RSDRP call to strike in protest at the dissolution of the Duma,⁸⁷ though 6,000 Rutchenko miners went on strike and flooding caused an estimated one million rubles' worth of damage. The governor brought in troops, arrested the leaders and banned meetings, but the strike continued,⁸⁸ and 15 new trade unions appeared in Katerynoslav.⁸⁹ On the 30th 10,000 luzovka people called for a strike at nearby mines. On 9 August, as the strike was ending, the former peasant miner and Duma deputy Mikhailchenko returned to Druzhkovka to speak to his constituents. Some shouted revolutionary slogans, and the police chief ordered the

crowd to disperse. A shot was fired, Cossacks charged and killed people. Next day work stopped in all the district's mines and factories and 10,000 people attended the funerals carrying black flags and singing revolutionary songs.⁹⁰ In the Cherkassk region police searches found over 1,000 rifles and 486 revolvers.⁹¹ By next day 82 of the 87 provinces were under one form or another of martial law.⁹²

(iv) Bobrovskaya

Late in 1905 Moscow RSDRP committee had sent 'notorious' comrades to other cities, but early in 1906 the 'less prominent' 33-year-old Bolshevik *rabotnitsa-intelligentka* Tsetsilia Bobrovskaya was still in the Zamoskvoretsky district. The differences with the Mensheviks, especially about the armed rising, had been clarified, but her father died in spring and his widow despaired of a daughter with a criminal record, so Bobrovskaya stopped working for the RSDRP. The police claimed they had 'forgotten' the tsar's amnesty and arrested her, but after her mother complained they released her within hours, and she went to Elizaveta Kolodeznikova's house in Kostroma province, which was 'a sanatorium for underground party workers'. Kostroma RSDRP committee asked her to help to publish a May Day leaflet, and she was later elected as a secretary and City district organiser. A comrade had hidden type and parts of a press and 'had influence with many petty officials and petty bourgeois', so Bobrovskaya consulted her old friend, Sonia Zagina, 'who knew everything to the last detail concerning illegal print shops'. 'Paper, ink and other necessities were unearthed', a comrade wrote a leaflet and Zagina printed several thousand copies. Her feet swelled from standing at the press for four days and three nights, but only she knew how to work it, so they got people and machinery from Moscow and Saratov for a permanent underground press and installed it in the suburbs. Bobrovskaya was acutely aware of what stopped women, and especially those with children, from being fully active revolutionaries, even though they 'had all the attributes required to make them real party members'. There was no 'definite' Bolshevik fraction in local unions, but the leadership of the largest, that of the textile workers, was 'completely in our hands', and the chair and vice-chair were members of the committee which met in the back of the party's legal bookshop. By summer they had a legal paper and the bookshop sold old political pamphlets. When the printers were under surveillance the press had to be put underground. Two committee members tried to move it, but the carriage springs gave way under its weight, so they put it in an iron trunk, lowered it into a pond at night, and went into hiding. The RSDRP committee had encouraged SR teachers to call at the bookshop for a 'chat'; but the authorities closed it, and spies beset committee members, so Bobrovskaya could not operate effectively. The fighting squads, 'although formally connected with our Party organisation, began gradually to drift away from it and finally broke up into disorganised groups of *bojeviki*' (robbers), and 'attempts to influence them were in vain'. They 'offered part of their spoils' to the committee, but 'we refused to touch their money under any circumstances',⁹³ though Bolsheviks carried revolvers when they addressed union meetings.⁹⁴ In February Bobrovskaya was sent to Ivanovo, where the RSDRP committee had disclaimed the fighting squad after it had 'degenerated into mere robbery and even murder',⁹⁵ and the RSDRP CC reportedly reprimanded the squad for handing over only part of their haul and descending to 'bandit attacks of the most ordinary criminal type'.⁹⁶

In Moscow SRs led the railway union and issued a leaflet boasting that the VPSR was 'sprouting new shoots and growing more and more each day', though 'many weak-spirited comrades are afraid to join us'. The union appealed to revolutionaries for support, and the RSDRP CC ordered the Moscow committee to capture the union leadership, though some members rejected the CC's 'purely professional' perspective.⁹⁷ The Bolshevik intelligent Rykov had left Moscow for Odesa, to organise cells and combat the Mensheviks, but when the police spotted him he returned to Moscow.⁹⁸ There were outdoor mass meetings in Presnya district and the suburbs almost every night, and speakers argued that 'the leading role should now pass on to the revolutionary masses'. Workers clashed with police and cavalry and 'many shots were exchanged'.⁹⁹ The printers' union had 3,658 members, but almost 5,000 attended meetings,¹⁰⁰ and by 1 July the printers had won 39 of 51 strikes in two months and compromised in eight.¹⁰¹ The 35-year-old intelligent Bolshevik Petr Krasikov had been arrested at the St. Petersburg sovet late in 1905,¹⁰² but was released by July 1906 and became a member of the Bolshevik military organisation, though he was arrested on the 18th.¹⁰³ On the 23rd up to 60,000 workers went on strike, but none from some politicised plants.¹⁰⁴

By August the Bolshevik Nogin was a member of Moscow's central trade union organisation.¹⁰⁵ Almost 30,000 organised workers included 8,000 printers, 4,500 metalworkers and 600 textile workers. They helped the unemployed,¹⁰⁶ but on the 12th the authorities confiscated the pamphlet which advocated forming fighting squads.¹⁰⁷ One railway union called a conference to protest at the closure of the Duma, and 23 deputies, including Trudoviki, Russian and Polish SDs, SRs and Bundists, and members of the postal and telegraph union, discussed a general strike; but a leading railway worker noted they were the 'permanently diminishing remnants of an army'.¹⁰⁸

(v) *Proletary*

On 4 August 1906 the interior minister gave Malinovsky permission to go abroad. He stayed with Krupskaya and Ulyanov in Finland,¹⁰⁹ replaced Rykov on the RSDRP CC,¹¹⁰ and was responsible for Bolshevik fighting squads.¹¹¹

The SDKPiL leader Dzierżyński was in St. Petersburg, but was in a minority on the RSDRP CC and the editorial board of its paper. He condemned Axelrod's proposal for a workers' Congress, and the Mensheviks refused to establish a permanent section for Polish correspondence or organise an RSDRP Congress, so Dzierżyński and the Bolsheviks began persuading local organisations to petition the CC.¹¹² St. Petersburg's RSDRP committee had a subcommittee tasked with producing agitational literature, an 'assembly of agitators and propagandists', a 'technical division' for distribution, a secretarial section, and a military organisation with nine members, while districts and subdistricts had organisers, propagandists and secretaries.¹¹³ The Bolshevik Apfelbaum was a member of the committee and had a base among metalworkers.¹¹⁴ He was responsible for producing a new Bolshevik paper,¹¹⁵ and assembled a group of editors and support staff.

Mikhail Vladimirsky had been born in Arzamas, Nizhni Novgorod province, in 1874. In 1894 he studied medicine at Tomsk University, then transferred to Moscow University.¹¹⁶ He had joined SD *kruzhki* by 1895,¹¹⁷ and took part in the formation of the Moscow workers' union in 1896,¹¹⁸ but was exiled.¹¹⁹ He escaped in 1900 and completed his degree at Berlin University in 1903. He supported the RSDRP Congress 'majority', and later joined the Moscow committee.¹²⁰ In August 1906 Vladimirsky, Dubrovinsky, Lunacharsky, the 43-year-old former SR Mikhail Alexandrov Vorovsky and Ulyanov edited the new Bolshevik paper.¹²¹ Their support staff included 26-year-old Vyacheslav Karpinsky, 31-year-old Ivan Teodorowicz, 37-year-old Vera Velichkina, Fotieva and Krupskaya.¹²² The first issue was edited and set up in Vyborg, Finland, then matrices were sent to St. Petersburg to be printed by E.S. Schlichter and Alexander,¹²³ who had been born in 1868. After studying at Kharkiv University he had joined SD *kruzhok* in 1891.¹²⁴

The first *Proletary* appeared on 21 August, but was dated '3 September' from 'Moscva' (Moscow). It argued that 'Left-wing Social Democrats must reconsider the question of boycotting the Duma', even though it had been worthless, since its dissolution had 'unmasked' the Kadets and the 'consolidated' Trudoviki were potential allies of the RSDRP. The revolution was 'proceeding along a hard and difficult road'. 'Every upsurge, every partial success is followed by defeat, bloodshed and outrage committed by the autocracy against the champions of freedom', but 'the movement spreads, the struggle becomes more intense, ever larger masses are drawn into the fight' and 'more classes and groups of people participate'. 'An explosion is inevitable and may be near at hand', so a 'ruthless guerrilla war of extermination against the government's perpetrators of violence' would be 'timely and expedient'.

We advise all the numerous fighting groups of our Party to cease their inactivity and undertake a number of guerrilla actions in strict conformity with the decisions of the Congress, i.e. without any expropriation of property, with the least possible 'disturbance of the personal safety' of peaceful citizens, but with the *utmost* disturbance of the personal safety of spies, active members of the Black Hundreds, army, Navy and police officers ...

The police's arms and military supplies 'must be seized *whenever* the opportunity presents itself'.¹²⁵

On 29 August the second *Proletary* was date-lined 'Vilno' (Vilnius).¹²⁶ It condemned Plekhanov for criticising the Moscow rising in December 1905 and noted that the city governor had acknowledged that 10,000 of the 15,000 troops in the garrison had been unreliable, and the proletariat had sensed 'the change in the objective conditions' sooner than the RSDRP committee, which 'should have taken to arms more resolutely, energetically and aggressively', and 'explained to the masses that it was impossible to confine things to a peaceful strike and that a fearless and relentless armed fight was necessary'.

And now we must at last openly and publicly admit that political strikes are inadequate; we must carry on the widest agitation among the masses in favour of an armed rising and make no attempt to obscure this question by talk about 'preliminary stages', or to befog it in any way. We would be deceiving both ourselves and the people if we concealed from the masses the necessity of a desperate, bloody war of extermination ...

From a strike and demonstrations to isolated barricades. From isolated barricades to the mass erection of barricades and street fighting against the troops. Over the heads of the organisations, the mass proletarian struggle developed from a strike to a rising. This is the greatest historic gain the Russian revolution achieved in December 1905; and like all preceding gains it was purchased at the cost of enormous sacrifices.

Marx had argued that 'insurrection is an art' whose 'principal rule' was 'a desperately bold and irrevocably determined *offensive*'. A 'great mass struggle is approaching' and it 'will be an armed uprising'. The Japanese war had 'produced the hand grenade' and factories produced automatic rifles. Both were being used, but 'to a degree that is far from adequate'. It was vital to 'teach the workers' detachments to make bombs in large quantities' and

'help them and our fighting squads to obtain supplies of explosives, fuses and automatic rifles'. Guerrilla war required 'mobile and exceedingly small units' of 'ten, three or even two persons'. The RSDRP had '*failed to keep pace* with the growth and range of the movement', so 'the blade must now be sharpened to a keener edge'.¹²⁷

Years earlier Gottlieb Maish and his brother had left Luxembourg for southern Ukraine, where they maintained imported agricultural machinery and became wealthy enough to buy an estate in Kherson province. Gottlieb married a Moldavian woman and they had a large family. Evgenia was born in 1879, but her father died when she was very young. When her mother married her uncle, relations soured, and Evgenia went to live with another uncle in Ivanovo in the Moscow region, but then returned to Kherson province. In 1896, against her parents' wishes, she married Petr Bosch, who owned a carriage workshop in Ivanovo and read political pamphlets to his employees. By 1900 Evgenia attended SD *kruzhki*, donated money and distributed illegal literature.¹²⁸ She joined the RSDRP in 1901, and supported the Congress 'majority' in 1903. Her sister, Elena,¹²⁹ who had been born in Petropavlovka in the Donbass in 1886,¹³⁰ had later married a man called Rozmirovich, but left him in 1904, joined the RSDRP and became a full-time revolutionary in Kyiv. In 1906 the police searched Evgenia's home and found nothing incriminating, but she told her husband about her clandestine Bolshevik activities and then took their children to Kyiv, where she propagandised railway workers.¹³¹ By July there were new trade unions in the city,¹³² and by August SDs controlled the railway union,¹³³ The Bolsheviks funded combat training, and on 12 August, near St. Petersburg, one SR Maximalist in civilian clothes and two others dressed as gendarmes entered the prime minister's dacha. Guards stopped them, but they shouted 'Long live freedom, long live anarchy!' They blew themselves up, and though the prime minister was in his office and came to little harm, his 14-year-old daughter and four-year old son were injured, and 27 people died,¹³⁴ including a general and three senior officials, while 70 were injured.¹³⁵ The bomb had come from Krasin's laboratories.¹³⁶ The prime minister returned to St. Petersburg, donated 150,000 rubles to the reactionary Union of the Russian People,¹³⁷ and moved his family into the Winter Palace. He visited the tsar by boat,¹³⁸ since he dared not leave Peterhof Palace.¹³⁹ On the 13th Zinaida Konopliannikova a 27-year-old soldier's daughter and a member of the VPSR combat organisation, assassinated a general,¹⁴⁰ because he had ordered troops to take no prisoners during the Moscow rising.¹⁴¹ On the 14th the acting governor-general of Warszawa was assassinated, and the government learned that arms costing 100,000 German marks had been sent from Hamburg to Russia.¹⁴² On the 18th a 16-year-old school boy, who was accused of signing the Vyborg manifesto, was hit on the arms, head and genitals, and his whole body was 'one horrible wound'.¹⁴³ (Eventually the 166 Duma deputies who had signed the Vyborg manifesto were sentenced to three months in prison and barred from being candidates again,¹⁴⁴ though three Georgian SD deputies later died in Siberian prisons.¹⁴⁵)

On 19 August the tsar empowered governors-general,¹⁴⁶ governors and military commanders in areas under martial law to send anyone suspected of armed assaults, assassinations, manufacturing, concealing or using explosive devices, carrying out expropriations, or resisting the authorities, to courts martial. Hearings were to be held in camera in 24 hours, and while defendants could call witnesses, they could not have lawyers. Verdicts were to be reached in 48 hours and sentences carried out in 24 hours.¹⁴⁷

From January to 20 August there had been almost 1,800 terrorist attacks.¹⁴⁸ In the week to 20 August 172 government officials had been assassinated and 42 wounded, 13 government spirit depots were raided and 22 employees wounded or killed, and the police had found 120 bombs, 12 illegal presses and 17 stores of illegal literature.¹⁴⁹ By the 24th courts martial had been established and the tsar proclaimed that all concessions granted since 1905 would be withdrawn.¹⁵⁰ Konopliannikova 'went to her death as one would go to a holiday festivity' on the 29th,¹⁵¹ and on the 30th the tsar told his mother about an attempt to kill him.¹⁵² In the next few days St. Petersburg police arrested 420 people.¹⁵³ During August, when 2,000 people in Rostov-na-Donu had protested at the arrest of a political agitator, Don Cossacks had refused to break up the meeting.¹⁵⁴ During August SRs had made bombs at Kuokkala in Finland,¹⁵⁵ but by late that month the police had shattered the VPSR combat organisation.¹⁵⁶ Survivors resolved 'to begin partisan warfare immediately not only to acquire means or to inflict some damage on the government by killing a specific police official, but mainly to keep the militant spirit up in the detachments by constant partisan attacks' and 'accustom them to danger'.¹⁵⁷

There had been a few strikes in Azerbaijan early in 1906, and though revolutionary activity had petered out by spring,¹⁵⁸ the Baki workers' union published *Fehlenin sesi* (*Workers' Voice*).¹⁵⁹ Some workers celebrated May Day,¹⁶⁰ though soon after protests by peasant troops in the Caucasus led to two deaths and mass arrests.¹⁶¹ In May the Baki workers' union published the newspaper *Devet Qoch*,¹⁶² which supported the Bolsheviks,¹⁶³ and by summer Mensheviks led the mechanical workers' union in Baki.¹⁶⁴ There were 3,000 unemployed in Baki, Batumi in Georgia and Astrakhan on the Volga,¹⁶⁵ yet after the Baki police injured and arrested workers there were strikes.¹⁶⁶ Ter-Petrosian organised expropriations in Baki, Kutaisi and Tbilisi using Krasin's bombs.

Krasin's contacts in Belgium and England supplied weapons and explosives to fighting squads in Latvia and Poland, as well as to Mensheviks and Bundists. In Western Siberia Ivan Kadomtsev led Urals fighting squads who

confiscated weapons and explosives from government depots and disarmed soldiers and gendarmes. Around After Bolshevik fighters expropriated 163,000 rubles at Dema station, and 25,000 rubles at Voronki station, the St. Petersburg RSDRP committee received 1,000 rubles a month and Moscow RSDRP committee 500, while the Menshevik-led CC sometimes got 100. According to Malinovsky Ulyanov delayed sending funds to RSDRP organisations that did not support his views and this weakened their ability to protect themselves from the police.¹⁶⁷ The Bolsheviks funded combat schools in Kuokkala and elsewhere, bomb-making in Lwów in Galicia and those in Kuokkala in Finland. Krasin visited the Caucasus and Ter-Petrosian visited Kuokkala.¹⁶⁸ Krupskaya's mother did the cooking and performed other domestic tasks, but also coded and decoded letters, sewed waistcoats and skirts that could carry illegal literature and shredded heaps of party documents.¹⁶⁹ Ter-Petrosian always went fully armed, and she tied his revolvers on his back with 'particular care'.¹⁷⁰

By 1 September 6,000 people were under surveillance across Russia, compared to 1,000 in January.¹⁷¹ Around 70,000 political suspects had been imprisoned,¹⁷² though he Bund claimed 257 local organisations with 33,000 members. About 23,000 took part in the elections for the 68 representatives at the Bund Congress on the basis of one for every 200 members, and by 48 votes to 20 they agreed to join the RSDRP, though the delegates voted overwhelmingly against 'guerrilla' actions. Together with the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks, about 26,000 Polish SDs and about 14,000 in Latvia. *Sotsial-Demokrat* claimed that the RSDRP had 150,000 members, including 43,000 Mensheviks, 33,000 Bolsheviks, 33,000 Bundists, 28,000 Poles and 13,000 SDs in Latvia.¹⁷³ The RSDRP Transcaucasian Congress confirmed the importance of participating in Duma elections, and boycotting the conscription campaign and taxes, as part of 'preparations for a revolutionary rising'.¹⁷⁴ St. Petersburg RSDRP committee had won the trade unions' support for taking part in the elections.¹⁷⁵ On 8 September *Vypered* claimed that it was published in 'Warszawa', and was now supported by the RSDRP Moscow regional committee.¹⁷⁶ By the 14th courts martial had sentenced 27 people to death in a fortnight,¹⁷⁷ and the government had barred employees from joining political parties, societies, and unions that showed 'a tendency to incite conflict between the government and the population'.¹⁷⁸

In Ukraine Kyiv SDs controlled the railway union and junction committees on several lines, and by the 15th delegates from the Kharkiv-Mykolaiv line had formed a committee. Two-thirds of the 620 union members were craftsmen, 14 percent were clerks and telegraph operators and 12 percent were engine drivers and guards. Four percent were SRs, but almost 40 percent were SDs.¹⁷⁹ Gendarmes found bombs like Krasin's in Taganrog on the Black Sea coast.¹⁸⁰ On the 20th the Outfit took at least 16,000 rubles from a ship off Cape Kodori in Georgia.¹⁸¹

Ter-Petrosian returned to St. Petersburg. Reportedly the Okhrana knew about his trip and his pseudonym, but border gendarmes let him through, hoping to find his accomplices. He lost his tail in Vilnius, and though he was soon captured and taken to St. Petersburg, he escaped, found the Bolshevik Centre, made a scene and got the money,¹⁸² then left for Varna in Bulgaria. The yacht was loaded and the crew arrived from Odesa.¹⁸³ On 25 September the yacht left Varna,¹⁸⁴ with Mauser pistols and Mannlicher rifles,¹⁸⁵ which were intended for Batumi in Georgia,¹⁸⁶ but it ran aground on the Rumanian coast, the crew scattered and fishermen 'made away with the arms'.¹⁸⁷ Khristian Rakovsky, a local SD intelligent,¹⁸⁸ spoke to the yacht's crew, and to Ter-Petrosian, who claimed they had had at least 50,000 rifles on board, and that the captain had run the yacht ashore deliberately.¹⁸⁹ Baruch Rabinowitch had become an Okhrana agent in Berlin at a salary of 200 rubles a month, and filed reports, but though he raised funds for arms, after the police seized Wallach's yacht, Rabinowitch was sacked.¹⁹⁰

During September Kollontai had attended a congress of German women socialists in Mannheim.¹⁹¹ When she returned to St. Petersburg she got permission from the RSDRP leaders to establish a women's section, but on the day they were to meet they found the room locked and a notice on the door. 'The meeting *for women only* has been called off. Tomorrow a meeting *for men only*'.¹⁹² Kollontai recalled that 'formally, the comrades did not forbid our initiative, but they did not support it', since 'no one was interested', but SRs and the Menshevik-led textile workers' union supported her. She formed a working women's mutual aid society, and though the RSDRP committee recognised it, it declined to provide financial or human resources. There were 20 women's clubs in the city,¹⁹³ and the mainly female shop assistants' union had 2,688 members.¹⁹⁴

By the 30th the Perm and Kursk RSDRP committees supported *Proletary*. It argued that the government was preparing a coup, so part of the expropriated money should go for preparing a rising and maintaining comrades engaged in struggle, and 'big expropriations (such as the Caucasian, involving over 200,000 rubles, and the Moscow, involving 875,000 rubles)', should be given to revolutionary parties. *Proletary* analysed the links between economic, political and armed struggle since 1900, including those against Black Hundreds, leading politicians, police and troops. Moscow RSDRP committee backed *Proletary*. The branch of the Latvian SDSP in Liepāja had donated 5,600 rubles from expropriations to its CC for arms. It argued that it was 'not guerrilla warfare which demoralises, but *unorganised*, irregular non-party guerrilla acts'. The struggle was at 'the point of civil war', so the RSDRP should organise 'small encounters' and 'big engagements'.¹⁹⁵

(vi) The revolution is magnificent, and everything else is bilge

In Germany, by early 1906, the SPD had 384,000 members, including 6,460 women, plus full-time bureaucrats in 278 of the 397 electoral districts, and the SPD-led unions had almost 1,690,000 members,¹⁹⁶ which included almost 119,000 women.¹⁹⁷ In February the EC and trade union leaders secretly discussed the mass strike and agreed to 'try to prevent one as much as possible'. If one occurred the SPD would bear the cost, and union leaders agreed 'not to stab it in the back'; but after 32,000 workers in four cities struck on May Day they were locked out. In March the SPD failed to persuade the International bureau to keep anti-militarism off the Congress agenda.¹⁹⁸

In Warszawa Citadel Luxemburg learned about the 'confusion and the vacillation' during the Duma elections in Russia. She asked Kautsky to represent the SDKPiL in the International bureau and told him that two of her three new pamphlets were being printed.¹⁹⁹ Kautsky acknowledged the increase of large-scale industry in Russia, but the defeat of the Moscow rising had shown that that method of struggle was impossible, and taking part in Duma elections had 'more chance of success'.²⁰⁰ Yet in June the SDKPiL Congress in Zakopane, Galicia, agreed that revolution was imminent.²⁰¹ In Warszawa Citadel Luxemburg went on hunger strike, which undermined her health,²⁰² but the police could not prove that she was connected to *Czerwony Sztander*. The SDKPiL bribed a Russian officer with 5,000 rubles,²⁰³ and her brother raised 3,000 rubles for bail. The SDKPiL hinted that if she was not released there could be reprisals against prominent officials. Doctors reported on her deteriorating health, and she was released on 8 July. She was not supposed to leave Warszawa until 8 August; but on 31 July, using a doctor's certificate, she was allowed to leave for medical treatment. She travelled to St. Petersburg, where she met leading Mensheviks, then went to Kuokkala and met leading Bolsheviks.²⁰⁴ She wrote to the Kautskys that the 'general impression of disarray and disorganisation' and the 'confusion in concepts and tactics' had 'completely disgusted' her,²⁰⁵ though the Menshevik Axelrod told her that the SDKPiL would get 10,000 marks from the SPD. She visited the Bolshevik intelligenty Israel Helphand and Lev Deutsch in St. Petersburg Fortress,²⁰⁶ and found that Helphand favoured a tightly organised mass party linked to trade unions and cooperatives.²⁰⁷ The SDKPiL's Dzierżyński had argued with Ulyanov about attacks on officials and civilians, and when Dzierżyński returned to Warszawa he found that the Main Directorate was split about the Duma elections. Łódź trade unions had recruited 60 percent of the town's textile workers,²⁰⁸ and late in July a riot in Siedlce lasted three days.²⁰⁹

The PPS bojowka had 752 members,²¹⁰ and on 2 August they carried out 100 attacks,²¹¹ including in Warszawa, Lwów, Radom and Płock.²¹² They targeted Russian police, gendarmes, soldiers and officials, and released political prisoners from Warszawa police stations, killing 26 policemen, a district police chief and 12 soldiers, and wounding around 80 others,²¹³ including bystanders. The bojowka leader, Piłsudski, refused to limit activity to self-defence,²¹⁴ and a bomb wounded the Warszawa governor-general on the 5th.²¹⁵ The PPS had sent Kon to inspect émigré groups in Paris, London and Zurich, where he found ideological dissension and no clear perspectives. At the PPS Stuttgart conference he and other left-wingers walked out. On the 11th Kon met Ulyanov, who was also concerned that the PPS was being pulled by terrorism and nationalism.²¹⁶ On 1 September Polish police arrested 1,400 people,²¹⁷ and from the 8th to the 10th there was a pogrom in Siedlce,²¹⁸ leaving 100 Jews dead and 300 wounded.²¹⁹

The SPD's Hamburg organisation had commissioned Luxemburg to write a pamphlet on the Russian revolution and the mass strike in time for the Mannheim Congress, and she sent her manuscript to printers in Hamburg. She left Kuokkala on 14 September, and visited the printer, but found that the SPD leaders had insisted on toning down its content and destroying the original printing blocks.²²⁰ Her version of *Der Massenstreik (The Mass Strike)* traced the links between Russian strikes and political events from 1896 to 1904 and the few economic victories in 1905. It argued that 'the task of social democracy does not consist in the technical preparation of mass strikes', but 'in the *political leadership* of the whole movement'.²²¹

The most precious, because lasting, thing in this rapid ebb and flow of the wave is its mental sediment: the intellectual, cultural growth of the proletariat, which proceeds by fits and starts, and which offers an inviolable guarantee of their further irresistible progress in the economic as in the political struggle ... [T]he principle of the capitalist 'master of the house' is de facto abolished. In the larger factories of all the important centres the establishment of workers' committees has, as if by itself, taken place, with which alone the employer negotiates and which decide all disputes.

'Every great political mass action, after it has attained its political highest point, breaks up into a mass of economic strikes', and with 'the spreading, clarifying and involution of the political struggle, the economic struggle not only does not recede, but extends, organises and becomes involved in equal measure' and functions as 'the transmitter from one political centre to another'. The political struggle was a 'periodic fertilisation of the soil for the economic struggle', and while cause and effect 'continually change places', '*their unity* is precisely the mass strike', which was 'not an isolated act but a whole period of the class struggle'. If this period was 'identical with a period of revolution,

it is clear that the mass strike cannot be called at will, even when the decision to do so may come from the highest committee of the strongest social democratic party’.

[T]he proletariat requires a high degree of political education, of class consciousness and organisation. All these conditions cannot be fulfilled by pamphlets and leaflets, but only by the living political school, by the fight and in the fight, in the continuous course of revolution. Further, absolutism cannot be overthrown at any desired moment in which only adequate ‘exertion’ and ‘endurance’ are necessary. The fall of absolutism is merely the outer expression of the inner social and class development of Russian society.

She concluded that ‘The revolution is magnificent, and everything else is bilge’.²²² Spontaneity played an ‘unprecedented part’ because revolutions ‘do not allow anyone to play the schoolmaster with them’.²²³

On the 23rd the Mannheim Congress opened,²²⁴ and Bebel promised that the SPD would ‘oppose any government which takes the initiative in war’.²²⁵ The delegates had the toned-down version of Luxemburg’s pamphlet.²²⁶ They acknowledged that a mass strike would be appropriate in the event of an attack on the rights to vote or form unions,²²⁷ though the EC would need the cooperation of the unions.²²⁸ Luxemburg told Zetkin that Bebel and other leaders had ‘given themselves over to parliamentarism’,²²⁹ then left for Italy.²³⁰

(vii) The Caucasian Fruit Shop

The 37-year-old intelligent Nikolai Rozhkov had met Ulyanov for the first time at a meeting of 70 to 80 Bolsheviks in Moscow in spring 1906. Rozhkov declined to attend the RSDRP conference, but was elected to the Bolsheviks’ Moscow committee and tasked with forming a literary group. He raised 4,000 rubles from a writer and an engineer and 3,000 from a friend of the late factory owner Nikolai Schmidt, and published *Svetch (The Torch)*, though the authorities soon closed it. He was arrested in summer, sentenced to a year in prison, and banned from living in Moscow and other major cities, but was soon released and went to St. Petersburg where he lived with two Menshevik sisters. He met Krupskaya, and had long discussions with Ulyanov about newspapers, party organisation and tactics. Ulyanov advised him to take a short break in Finland, and by autumn he was a member of the Bolsheviks’ St. Petersburg committee and an editor of *Proletary*.²³¹

St. Petersburg’s Wolf bookshop advertised over 950 SD and 250 VPSR publications.²³² Several members of Odesa RSDRP committee had been in prison early in 1906, yet the 24-year-old Bolshevik transporter Iosif Tarshis ‘devoured’ Marxist books. He was freed in summer and visited his home town of Vilkomir in the Pale, where he found a ‘big organisation’ including Jews, labourers from large estates, and workers from Latvia, Russia and Poland. In autumn he was sent to Moscow where the RSDRP leaders were ‘in a cheerful, even in a fighting mood’. The organisation was divided into districts, and larger ones were divided into sub-districts that were linked to factory committees. District leaders, who knew about the printing facilities, elected a committee, took factory reports to the city committee, and attended district and city conferences at which the city committee was elected. Tarshis was elected as a secretary of the RSDRP committee. It had ‘a lecturing and literary board, a finance commission, and a central organisation for printing’, distributing literature and making false passports, while the ‘military technical bureau’ was ‘responsible for the invention, testing and production in great quantities’ of ‘simple arms, including bombs’, and was responsible to the committee through Tarshis. The Bolshevik Centre in St. Petersburg had published literature about the Duma elections, and Moscow RSDRP committee had received a great deal packed as merchandise. The committee assumed that ‘the approaching mass proletarian and peasant movement’ would ‘culminate in an armed struggle with tsarism’ involving other SD organisations, SRs and the peasants’ union, so they drew up joint lists of voters. SD compositors in large legal print shops set up and stereotyped illegal leaflets, which were printed at an illegal press, or set up at one legal press and printed at another. Tarshis organised men and women students as couriers. ‘They worked without pay’ and gave him ‘their flats as meeting places, as depots for the receipt and distribution of literature, and occasionally as sleeping quarters. One could go through fire and water with them’. The family of three young sympathisers owned bakeries, and as soon as the literature was delivered there it was sent to a house where couriers were waiting, and in 15 minutes it was on its way to the districts, where comrades distributed them in factories and workshops. Thousands of working men and women went to the villages on important holidays and took 140,000 copies of four leaflets and 20,000 copies of the RSDRP agrarian programme. The US-made press, which had belonged to the RSDRP CC, was in the Caucasian Fruit Shop.²³³

The print workers’ union was recovering and each branch with 50 members had a delegate who collected subs and distributed its journal, though they always ended in prison.²³⁴ There were 300,000 unemployed workers in the city,²³⁵ but nationally, from 1 July to the end of September, there had been 125,000 economic and 171,000 political

strikers in inspected plants,²³⁶ and government debt was almost double that of 1900, largely because of its military programme.²³⁷ In the third quarter of the year courts-martial had executed 465 revolutionaries and 56 had been executed without a trial.²³⁸

(viii) The tide towards Bolshevism

In July 1906 the Bund's Russian language paper *Molot (Hammer)* had argued that victory over tsarism was 'not far off'.²³⁹ The 27-year-old intelligent Vladimir Grinberg was an editor of the Russian language journal, *Nashe slovo (Our Word)*, and sometimes attended the CC in a Vilnius suburb with a voice but no vote.²⁴⁰ The Bund claimed 1,200 members in the city, the RSDRP 800 and PPS na Litwie (PPS in Lithuania) 300.²⁴¹ A Moscow Jewish intelligent who had converted to Orthodoxy to become a University lecturer, but was not allowed to become a professor, had been a founder member of the Kadets, and in 1906 he became a Duma deputy in Moscow.²⁴² He spoke out against pogroms and signed the Vyborg manifesto and was gunned down by paid assassins. Thousands attended his funeral, and the assassins were convicted of murder, but the tsar pardoned them.²⁴³ During 1906 Kadet zemstvo candidates had lost heavily in elections,²⁴⁴ though the former Trudoviki Duma deputies, who were transforming themselves into a political party with a programme like the Kadets', demanded an amnesty for agrarian, political and religious criminals, strikers, violators of army rules, and the abolition of martial law, fines on workers and child labour.²⁴⁵

By August Grinberg was one of the leading contributors and editors of the Bund's Russian language newspaper *Posledniya Izvestiya (The Latest News)*. At the Bund's seventh convention he was elected to the CC, and his neutral attitude to the idea of a Jewish nation became party policy.²⁴⁶ He later attended a conference in Bern, Switzerland, and became one of the Bund's three delegates to the RSDRP Congress. By summer *Nashe slovo* had ceased publication, but the Congress in Kraków, Galicia, claimed 30,000 members, and decided to re-enter the RSDRP, and Grinberg was subsequently re-elected to the CC at a conference in Imatra in eastern Finland.²⁴⁷ In mid-August, in Crimea, Kerch police found a barrel full of revolvers and cartridges in the main synagogue.²⁴⁸

Early in 1906 the teenage Bundist Simon Kaplan had been in prison in Slutsk in Białoruś. He had been beaten with a rifle butt when he was arrested and his ear was unbearably painful. Two other inmates went on hunger strike for two days until he received medical attention, and the doctor found a burst eardrum and an infection nearing the brain. He recovered by spring, was exiled to Vologda for three years without trial, and expected to be drafted into the army for four more. On the way, in Minsk Prison, he met 40 *Potemkin* mutineers. Twelve had been sentenced to death and the rest to 20 years' katorga in Siberian mines. In May Kaplan and other political prisoners were taken by train to Moscow, and as they marched from the station women with tear-stained faces and men with drawn features at upstairs windows bowed and threw bouquets and silver coins. There were hundreds of men in their 40s and 50s in Butyrka Transit Prison, but most politicals were in their 20s. Five hundred SRs, mostly university students, had been sentenced to 18 or 25 years' katorga in Siberian mines. They had to wear chains and exercise separately, but Kaplan managed to speak with some of them. He shook hands through the bars with the VPSR leader, Gershuni, and saw Spiridonova. Kaplan was in cell No. 8, the 'university', with professors and young Bolsheviks, but the Caucasian prisoners in No. 9 did not attend lectures. He later realised that Jughashvili led these 'strong-arm men of the revolution'. Early in June Kaplan was due to go to Vologda and then be sent further north, 800 miles or so from the nearest railway station. He would receive four kopeks a day, which was not enough for food or shelter, and he would not be allowed to work for wages. A warder told him that suicides were increasing. Krasny Krest gave him bandages and told the governor that he could not survive the journey, but he was given a train pass and had to set off. On the way, with the help of comrades, he escaped, and by summer, thanks to underground networks, he was near Minsk, where he was invited to be a full-time revolutionary, but he was demoralised and anxious about 'the tide towards Bolshevism'. The Bund's 'ranks were broken' and very few remained. He was arrested and imprisoned, but inexplicably released, and agreed to his parents' wishes and decided to emigrate. Kaplan was later smuggled into Germany, went on to Holland and sailed from Amsterdam to the USA.²⁴⁹

4. Social Democratic doctrine is the most revolutionary

(i) Gorky

Early in 1906 Black Hundreds had raided the Moscow flat of the famous writer 'Maxim Gorky' (Alexey Peshkov's pseudonym had stuck).¹ He went to Helsinki and Ulyanov persuaded him to move his publishing house, Demos, to Berlin, under the name of his friend, Ivan Ladyzhnikov.² Gorky helped Krasin to organise concerts and meetings to raise money for the Bolsheviks,³ and Helsinki police refused to carry out a St. Petersburg police order to arrest Gorky, as he believed, 'so as not to incite unrest among the Finns, with whom I am very popular'.⁴ In February he and his partner Maria Andreeva left for Berlin. SPD leaders welcomed them, he appeared at literary events,⁵ and Max Reinhardt arranged a benefit,⁶ which raised a large sum for the Bolsheviks.⁷ Gorky's *Na Dne (The Lower Depths)* had been staged over 500 times in Germany. Gorky complained to the SPD that Helphand had kept over 100,000 marks of the royalties, but without success. Helphand had claimed that he had spent the money on a trip to Italy with a young woman,⁸ though he had used it to support his failing publishing house.⁹ In March Gorky wrote to Leonid Andreev, Maria's husband. 'I'm a Social Democrat because I'm a revolutionary, and the Social Democratic doctrine is the most revolutionary'.¹⁰ Krasin suggested that Gorky should go to the USA to raise money for the Bolsheviks.¹¹ Wallach turned down the role of road manager,¹² so Gorky and Andreeva went to Paris, where they met Nikolai Burenin of the Bolsheviks' technical group. The threesome sailed from Cherbourg,¹³ and Burenin began learning English to act as Gorky's secretary and to organise his public appearances.¹⁴

When the threesome arrived in New York, Jack London, Mark Twain, Upton Sinclair and other famous writers were determined to make their visit a success, but the Russian Embassy branded Gorky a 'dangerous revolutionist' who wanted to raise money to buy arms. The Embassy let it be known that Gorky had a wife and children in Russia, and he and Andreeva were not married, and they were thrown out of three hotels.¹⁵ Gorky told his wife Ekaterina Peshkova that the émigré Bund and SRs were 'also against me'. He could not return to Russia because he faced prison, and asked her to explain that divorce was extremely difficult in Russia, so relationships like his and Andreeva's were common. He sent his letter via Berlin.¹⁶ Peshkova's telegram appeared in the New York papers in May, but then the Russian Embassy accused Gorky and Andreeva of robbing the industrialist Savva Morozov of 15 million rubles and murdering him.¹⁷ Gorky wrote 'La Belle France', in which the narrator finds 'her' in a police cell and tells 'her' that the French had given the tsar 'money for murder'. A painting on the cell ceiling showed a wide-open mouth and the German kaiser saying that the tsar was 'the only one that can help me when that mouth there decides to bite off my head'. Gorky wrote to French journalists who praised the French financial support for the tsar, but who also who claimed to love him, for 'bloody reprisals, courts-martial and every imaginable atrocity'.¹⁸

By August Gorky, Andreeva and Burenin were in the Adirondacks in upstate New York.¹⁹ Andreeva sent instructions to the Bolshevik Y.M. Smirnov in Helsinki, and in summer he went to the Russian border and picked up 50,000 rubles, but could not find Krasin, so he gave it to Andreeva's sister, who had a dacha in Mustamiaki, which Krasin often visited.²⁰ Andreeva wanted a further 100,000 rubles from Morozov's legacy to go to Krasin, though Morozov's mother contested this in court. In September Andreeva asked her sister to give Krasin 60,000 rubles and Moscow RSDRP 15,000.²¹ Gorky realised that he was 'just becoming' a revolutionary. 'The people whom we have been accustomed to consider revolutionaries are really only reformers', so the 'concept of revolution must be made more profound',²² and he began collecting material for a novel.²³ He based it on the mother of a revolutionary.

Petr Zalomov had been born in Nizhny Novgorod in 1877. He became a revolutionary in 1892, joined the RSDRP committee in 1901, helped to form an organisation in the industrial suburb of Sormovo and took part in the May Day demonstration in 1902 with a banner that read 'Down with Autocracy!' The police arrested him, but he made a brilliant speech at his trial,²⁴ and it appeared in *Iskra*, as did a letter 'From Behind Bars' in 1903.²⁵

In October, when Gorky had raised around \$10,000,²⁶ he, Andreeva and Burenin sailed from New York.²⁷ When they landed in France Gorky called on workers to arm Russian revolutionaries. He and Andreeva got the Italian government's permission to visit Capri, and in November they settled in a converted monastery on top of a hill that they reached by a funicular.²⁸ Malinovsky was one of their first visitors, and Gorky found him 'an extremely powerful figure' and was convinced that he would 'complete in philosophy the same revolution that Marx has produced in political economy'. Gorky looked forward to 'the complete downfall of all remnants of bourgeois metaphysics, the decline of the bourgeois "soul", and the birth of a socialist soul'. He believed Malinovsky's philosophy was completely compatible with Marx, and gave him cash,²⁹ which he reportedly sent to Krasin via Smirnov in Helsinki.³⁰

(ii) Good-day, Comrades!

In summer 1906 the former St. Petersburg sovet deputy Ter-Mkrchtians, who had taken part in the Kronstadt rising, had been tricked into accepting bail and was summarily executed in the Fortress.³¹ The government decided not to put most members of the second St. Petersburg sovet EC on trial, and Helphand and Deutsch were sentenced to three years in Siberia without being tried. On 4 September they set off and managed to take glazier's diamonds, forged passports, RSDRP addresses and cash, and when Deutsch was allowed to go shopping in Krasnoyarsk he disappeared. At Yenisei Helphand got his guards helpless with drink and a peasant led him to Krasnoyarsk, where a friend bought him a railway ticket, dressed him as a peasant and he took a briefcase of manuscripts to Germany.³²

Tsederbaum had been released from Kresty Prison in St. Petersburg in April, but police later found him carrying compromising papers and sent him back to prison. Early in September he was given the choice of three years' exile in Tomsk in Siberia, or becoming an émigré, and he left on the 15th. In Paris he lived on the modest royalties from his writing.³³ He favoured an agreement between the RSDRP and Kadets in the Duma elections,³⁴ but opposed agreements with any other parties.³⁵

On the 19th, in St. Petersburg, the remaining sovet deputies were charged with attempting to bring about a republic,³⁶ and fomenting an armed insurrection.³⁷ They faced up to 12 years of katorga,³⁸ and decided not to plead.³⁹ They would deny being involved in the technical preparations for a rising, but acknowledged responsibility for political preparations.⁴⁰ Cossacks and other soldiers surrounded the court building and when the 51 prisoners entered troops with drawn sabres lined the corridors, though workers sang revolutionary songs in the waiting rooms. Only half of the 400 witnesses were available, since many had been deported, though flowers appeared in the dock and some of those present wished the defendants 'Good-day, Comrades!' Obukhov metalworkers had sent a resolution with 2,000 signatures, stressing that if Petr Zlydniev was guilty, so were they. The court president believed that some references to the government in theirs and other resolutions were 'extremely improper', so they were not read out. Some deputies admitted nothing, except for being sovet deputies. Bronstein argued that the sovet had not raised the question of a constituent assembly, and considered itself 'entitled to use force or repressive measures in certain cases', but not to lead an insurrection, which was the 'result of social relations, not the product of a plan'. 'For reasons which depended on us as little as they did on tsardom, an open conflict became inevitable. It drew closer day by day. To prepare for it meant, for us, doing everything possible to minimise the casualties',⁴¹ so the sovet was a form of self-defence.⁴² He denounced the tsar's 'constitutional' programme and demanded a democratically-elected assembly.⁴³ Alexey Lopukhin, the recently retired Director of Police, had given documents to the defence lawyers which showed that the government had been involved in pogroms,⁴⁴ but the responsible gendarme denied producing pogromist literature. When Lopukhin was barred from testifying on a technicality, the defendants insisted on being taken back to prison and their lawyers and members of the public also left the court.⁴⁵ No member of the Okhrana was charged with printing the leaflets, and the tsar ensured that the gendarme went unpunished and gave him 25,000 rubles.⁴⁶ Early in November the jury were told that 'Very insignificant expenses on the acquisition of arms' had been found in the possession of Georgi Nosar, the Duma's first president, and 64 revolvers had been distributed to workers.⁴⁷ The jury acquitted 34 defendants,⁴⁸ though the prosecuting lawyer was the judge's only audience when he passed sentence on the rest.⁴⁹ Two got short prison terms, though 15 were sent to near the Arctic Circle,⁵⁰ including Bronstein, even though three of the seven judges had voted to exonerate him.⁵¹ Soon after Sedova gave birth to a son.⁵²

(iii) The All-Russian Provisional Bureau of Military and Combat Organisations

On 3 November 1906 an RSDRP conference had opened in Tampere in Finland.⁵³ The Menshevik-controlled CC had chosen the delegates,⁵⁴ and they included 11 Mensheviks, six Bolsheviks, seven Bundists and eight from the SDKPIL and LSD.⁵⁵ Next day the Bolsheviks' *Proletary* argued for no blocs with any other parties at the first stage of the Duma elections, but 'partial agreements' were permissible at later stages.⁵⁶ Thanks to the Bundists, the Menshevik proposals passed by 18 votes to 14.⁵⁷ Some SDKPIL delegates voted with the Mensheviks,⁵⁸ since they preferred this to a bloc with the Trudoviki,⁵⁹ though six Bolsheviks, five Poles and three Latvians signed a 'Dissenting Opinion'.⁶⁰ In the first stage of the elections there would be no 'partial or local agreements' in workers' curiae with 'groups or parties which do not adhere to the viewpoint of the proletarian class struggle', and agreements with left of centre parties in other curiae were permissible only if there was 'a danger that right-wing parties will win'. The conference ended on the 7th, though its decisions were not binding.⁶¹ According to Novgorodtseva the Bolsheviks had 'made considerable use of the experience of our combat group' in the Urals, and money from their expropriations paid for the publication of the conference proceedings.⁶²

Meier Trilisser had been born into a shoemaker's family in Astrakhan in 1883. He later graduated from secondary school and joined the RSDRP in Odesa in 1901, but was soon arrested. In 1905 he was propagandist in Kazan, and later in St. Petersburg and Finland.⁶³ The 30-year-old Bolshevik intelligentka Rosalia Zalkind escaped from prison in spring 1906.⁶⁴ Pavel Tribuna had been born into the family of a small-scale builder in Orel in 1865. He graduated from Moscow University in 1887 and became a lecturer. He later joined the RSDRP, and by 1905 he was a member of the committee's finance commission,⁶⁵ which established a military technical bureau in autumn 1906. The Bolshevik Minei Gubelman was aware of revolutionary activity in the armed forces and met Malinovsky in St. Petersburg Technological Institute canteen, then went to meet Ulyanov in Finland.⁶⁶

On 10 November the 28 Menshevik members of the St. Petersburg city and province RSDRP unsuccessfully challenged the mandates some of the 42 Bolsheviks at a conference, who in turn challenged some of theirs. The Menshevik-controlled RSDRP CC unsuccessfully demanded separate conferences for the city and province, and though this went against party rules, the Menshevik delegates walked.⁶⁷ On the 16th St. Petersburg and Moscow RSDRP committees and the Bolshevik Centre sponsored a conference of military and combat organisations in Tampere.⁶⁸ Trilisser had a vote, as did delegates from the Kronstadt, Riga, Liepāja, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Nizhni-Novgorod, Kaluga, Voronezh, Kazan and Sevastopol committees. Others from the St. Petersburg, Moscow, Saratov and Ural combat organisations had a voice, but no vote. Representatives of the technical bureau, the southern technical bureau and Finnish SDs were present, as were Zalkind, Lalayants, 33-year-old Martyn Mandelshtam and other leading Bolshevik intelligentsy.⁶⁹ Trilisser denied that the Viapori rising had been a pre-planned and organised operation. There had been preparations for a revolt, but the mutineers' action was spontaneous. About 250 members of the Red Guard and some sailors had gone to the aid of the gunners on the island of Kuninkaasaari. On other islands workers had destroyed part of the railway and blown up a bridge, though loyal guards had occupied the tramway system in Helsinki and compelled workers to operate it under the threat of being shot. Trilisser argued that the Red Guard had been 'more suited for workers' parades than for spontaneous combat'.⁷⁰ After the reports there was a discussion about previous attempts at armed rebellion, and an evaluation of the current state of affairs, the nature of a possible future armed rising, the tasks of military organisations, the appropriate attitude to other revolutionary military organisations and those of non-party organisations, and the creation of military centres and their relations with proletarian organisations. Delegates also discussed the next RSDRP Congress and the CC's attitude to military organisations. Ivan Sammer, who was 36 years old, represented the Bolshevik Centre, and read a letter from Ulyanov that advocated an all-Russian military organisation, and the conference elected an All-Russian Provisional Bureau of Military and Combat Organisations, which included Lalayants and Gubelman. *Kazarma* would be its organ.⁷¹ It was to train fighting squads about explosives,⁷² and how to make expropriations as bloodless as possible.⁷³ On the 18th the Menshevik-controlled *Sotsial-demokrat* was closed,⁷⁴ and the Tampere conference ended on the 22nd,⁷⁵ though Lalayants was arrested. (He was later sentenced to two years in prison and six years' *katorga* in Siberia, then exile for life). Zalkind became a secretary of the Baku Bolsheviks, but later went abroad.⁷⁶

On 7 December *Proletary* included an article on the Bolshevik response to 'The Crisis of Menshevism'

It is abnormal that we should have only 6,000 Party members in St. Petersburg (in St. Petersburg Gubernia [province] there are 81,000 workers in factories employing 500 workers and over; in all, 150,000 workers); that in the Central Industrial Region we should have only 20,000 Party members (377,000 workers in factories employing 500 and over; in all, 562,000 workers). We must *learn* to recruit five times and ten times as many workers for the Party in such centres.⁷⁷

The Bolshevik Centre met in Maria Golubeva's flat in St. Petersburg,⁷⁸ but a police raid found membership lists and 114,000 rubles.⁷⁹ Officials closed the Bolsheviks' print shop and confiscated the Augsburg press. Krasin suggested that the staff move to Vyborg in Finland to produce *Petersburgskiy rabochy* (*Petersburg Worker*) and other illegal literature and smuggle it into Russia.⁸⁰ He and Malinovsky had organised hundreds of expropriations,⁸¹ and Krasin recalled that comrades who considered him a possible traitor once pointed revolvers in him, though he took it as a joke.⁸² On the 20th *Proletary* acknowledged that its editors were unable to read SD newspapers that were not in the Russian language. Late in December *Proletary* argued for 'the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry', and a manuscript by 'N. Lenin' argued that the peasants can win land and liberty only by marching hand-in-hand with the class-conscious proletariat.' The legal Bolshevik *Ternii truda* (*Thorns of Labour*) in St. Petersburg argued that the 'real and fundamental danger that confronts the Russian revolution is the immaturity of the peasant masses, their lack of staunchness in the struggle' and 'their failure to understand the shallowness and treachery of bourgeois liberalism.'⁸³

Most of the alleged leaders of the 1905 Moscow rising were found not guilty, but the governor insisted on a retrial, which exculpated over half of them, though nine received *katorga* sentences of from four to 12 years.⁸⁴

(iv) Terror

By late 1906 the RSDRP claimed 81,000 members,⁸⁵ including 1,000 in Turkestan, 1,500 in Siberia, 3,000 in Kazan, Samara, Saratov and the northwest, 6,000 in St. Petersburg and St. Petersburg province, 16,000 in the Caucasus, 20,000 in Moscow and the central industrial region and 25,000 in south Russia.⁸⁶

The LSD claimed 18,200 members in Latvia, including 7,200 in Riga. An LSD conference decided to disband the 1,000 or so 'Forest Brethren' who stole private property. Stučka resigned from the CC and *Cīna*. Pauls and Klara Kalniņš arrived from Switzerland to edit the paper,⁸⁷ though only one unit of 'Forest Brethren' was disbanded.⁸⁸ During 1906 the LSD had provided about half of the RSDRP CC's income of 81,000 rubles, while Russians had contributed 3,500.⁸⁹ In Lithuania around 32 percent of LSDP leaders had been workers and nine percent farmers for a decade. Since 1901 the party had produced 36 issues of *Darbininkų balsas* (*Workers' Voice*), and nine of the Polish language *Echo życia robotniczego na Litwie* (*Echo of Workers' Life in Lithuania*) had appeared since 1902; but the last *Naujoji Gadynė* (*New Epoch*) appeared in December 1906. Around 70 percent of the LSDP's annual budget came from the USA, the UK and elsewhere abroad. Almost half its expenditure was on organisation, agitation and arms, while the rest went on 500,000 items of literature. It claimed 1,020 members in Vilnius, and there were unified organisations in Kaunas, Panevėžys and St. Petersburg, where members discussed a merger with the RSDRP CC, but demanded 12 elements of autonomy and negotiations ceased. The Vilnius, Kaunas and Grodno organisations merged with PPS na Litwie, but not those in Białystok or Suwałki, where the LSDP claimed about 250 members.⁹⁰

The Bund CC had decided to revive *Nashe slovo* under a new name and sent 26-year-old Mikhail Goldman to the USA to 'rustle up some dollars', while Grinberg went to Kovno.⁹¹ The Bund claimed 274 local organisations with 33,890 members, including 5,320 in Poland, though Paole Zion claimed 24,200. The Bund and SDKPiL leaders held discussions, but the police arrested most leaders of both organisations, including Dzierżyński. A Łódź factory owner locked out his workers,⁹² and others followed suit. The police arrested hundreds of workers and deported thousands to their villages,⁹³ yet 55,000 textile workers were unionised by December,⁹⁴ and 160,000 more that month. A quarter of the wage-earning population were members of legal unions, 32,000 belonged to illegal SD unions and 20,000 were politically aligned. Union density was five times higher than in European Russia. In two years almost 7,000 strikes had involved 1.3 million workers and agricultural labourers. On 29 December all Łódź factories were closed until the workers accepted the employers' terms. Thousands were arrested and hundreds were deported to their native villages. During 1906 the official executioner, the brother of an Okhrana agent who had been assassinated by the PPS, had hanged 104 prisoners,⁹⁵ and 41 Warszawa periodicals had been closed. There were 32,000 trade unionists in Warszawa and that year 42 percent of officially-recorded strikes in the Empire had been in Poland. Piotrków province accounted for over 57 percent of all textile strikers, and most were successful.⁹⁶ Officially, 2,868 strikes involved 498,000 workers.⁹⁷

In Odesa a Jew had owned the Café Libman in 1905,⁹⁸ and young men and women anarchists had bombed it. One escaped to Switzerland, but several were tried. In 1906 a 21-year-old joiner admitted throwing a bomb, with 'the aim of killing the exploiters there'. Together with an 18-year-old boy and a 22-year-old girl he was executed.

Olga Taratuta had joined Katerynoslav RSDRP when it was founded in 1898 and later became an anarchist. She was imprisoned, but broke out and escaped to Switzerland, then returned to Katerynoslav and joined an 'anarchist-communist' 'battle detachment'. In 1906 she was sentenced to 17 years in prison, and two others were sentenced to 15 years. (One of them committed suicide three years later by throwing himself down a well in a Siberian penal colony). A 20-year-old man was sentenced to 10 years in prison on account of his youth. (Two years later he was beaten for insulting a jailor in Schlüsselberg Fortress. On another occasion a guard shot him in both legs.) During 1906 four more anarchist 'battle groups' had appeared in Moscow. Some planned 'expropriations' and manufactured 'Japanese bombs',⁹⁹ and 13 of the 37 court martial death sentences on Jewish 'anarchists' had been carried out.¹⁰⁰ Around 90 percent of anti-Jewish pogroms were in the seven southern provinces of the Russian Pale.¹⁰¹ At least 3,103 Jews were killed, including 942 in Bessarabia province, 452 in Poland, 371 in Kherson, 356 in Grodno, 285 in Katerynoslav, 167 in Kyiv and 131 in Taurida;¹⁰² and over 125,000 had left for the USA.¹⁰³

In two years PPS bojowka had killed 790 soldiers, gendarmes and police in Poland,¹⁰⁴ in 678 attacks, and there had been 336 assassinations in 1906.¹⁰⁵ On 7 November bojowka had attacked a mail train near Rogów in Piotrków province, wounded 18 Russian soldiers and got away with 30,000 rubles, though PPS leaders ordered Piłsudski to stop expropriations.¹⁰⁶ In the two and a half months to the 17th, Warszawa province police had recorded 170 assassination attempts on officials and citizens and 161 attacks on property.¹⁰⁷ The PPS claimed 55,000 members, including 5,200 in its Jewish Section,¹⁰⁸ and led 37,000 workers in affiliated unions. The mainly older members called themselves Frakcja Rewolucyjna (the revolutionary faction). They included the combat organisation and were based in Zakopane in Galicia,¹⁰⁹ but on the 19th, at the PPS Congress in Vienna, a majority of the 46 delegates decided that those who had attended that conference had placed themselves 'outside the party's sphere'.¹¹⁰ Piłsudski and his

supporters, including most bojowka, walked out and formed PPS-Prawica (PPS-Right), which advocated the use of terror and expropriation to weaken the autocracy's hold on Poland.¹¹¹ They would fight for an end to capitalist exploitation and for 'the only political system that answers the political, social and cultural-national interests of the working class, which was 'an independent democratic Polish republic'.¹¹² They did not base themselves on the working class,¹¹³ but claimed 19,000 supporters.¹¹⁴ They ran a combat school in Kraków, Galicia,¹¹⁵ where Piłsudski and other leaders reportedly lived very well, while those training to be expropriators were badly-dressed and often went hungry.¹¹⁶ Kon and 39-year-old Maximilian Horwitz led PPS-Lewica, (PPS-Left),¹¹⁷ which included the Jewish section,¹¹⁸ and claimed 36,000 supporters.¹¹⁹ They abjured terror,¹²⁰ abandoned the slogan of Polish independence, adopted most of the SDKPiL programme,¹²¹ and a few hundred joined the SDKPiL. The SDKPiL claimed 40,000 members, though 85 percent were in Warszawa and Piotrków provinces, including 20,000 in Łódź, where 189 people had recently been killed in street fighting, and there were a few thousand members in Lublin and Radom.¹²² In October, in Łódź, PPS-Lewica, Bundists and members of the SDKPiL had led a general strike.¹²³

In autumn the VPSR claimed 50,000 members and a periphery of 350,000 'under constant party influence'.¹²⁴ There were 34,200 members in the ten provinces and cities which reported,¹²⁵ and in a sample of 1,000 around 45.6 percent were workers and artisans, 16.5 percent were students, 12.8 percent were clerical and shop workers, 12.4 percent were minor professionals (mainly schoolteachers), 7.7 percent were peasants, 4.5 percent were professional men and an unknown number were soldiers and sailors. Most members of the combat organisation were young workers,¹²⁶ and 20 or so received 250 rubles a month, and the whole organisation cost up to 5,000 rubles a month, plus 'extraordinary expenses'. Excluding the combat organisation, the CC's expenditure was up to 1,000 rubles a day.¹²⁷ Regional committees oversaw attacks on police and gendarmes and the expropriation of state money and arms, but members who stole from private citizens were expelled.¹²⁸ The CC liaised with committees in provincial capitals, but the links were often loose. On the Volga 90 percent of Saratov province villages had a VPSR presence, but four members of the combat organisation who had assassinated the governors of Simbirsk, Penza and Samara died when the Kazan dynamite laboratory exploded.¹²⁹ In St. Petersburg 'Comrade Sergey' led an attack on a heavily guarded carriage and they got away with over 600,000 rubles.¹³⁰ A. Venediktova was found carrying a bomb on Kronstadt, and she and the 19-year-old medical student A. Mamaeva, and another member of the combat organisation, were court martialled and executed for inciting sailors to revolt.¹³¹ Others failed to get close enough to the prime minister to assassinate him, and Savinkov failed to kill the St. Petersburg governor.¹³² He and Azev resigned from the CC, though Azev took 20,000 rubles to develop a 'flying machine' for assassinations.¹³³ The CC appointed replacements, and though many refused to acknowledge them and dispersed,¹³⁴ three squads continued to operate,¹³⁵ and Karl Prauberg, who had been active in the Baltic risings in 1905, offered the CC the services of his 'Flying Terrorist Detachment of the Northern Region'.¹³⁶ Around 80 percent were not VPSR members, but they sometimes acted on the CC's orders and were accountable to its St. Petersburg committee.¹³⁷ In December two VPSR meetings about the Duma in the Nevsky district of St. Petersburg both attracted over 1,000 workers.¹³⁸ A member of a VPSR 'flying detachment' threw a bomb into the headquarters of the Odesa Military District, then shot herself.¹³⁹ The VPSR acknowledged responsibility for 78 attacks in 1906,¹⁴⁰ which had killed 768 people and wounded 820.¹⁴¹ The CC decided against inciting the peasantry to seize the land in spring.¹⁴² The authorities closed VPSR papers,¹⁴³ but the organisation recruited some Mensheviks and Bolsheviks.¹⁴⁴ The SR Maximalists were based in Finland and had a policy of mass terror. 'Where it is not enough to remove one person, it is necessary to eliminate them by the dozen; where dozens are not enough, they must be gotten rid of in hundreds.'¹⁴⁵

In the Caucasus taxes were being paid in Guria and the 'majority of the leaders of the revolutionary movement and those close to the Gurian [RSDRP] committee had disbanded'. The Tbilisi 'organisational commission' had united trade unions, and in November the viceroy heard that legal Tbilisi unions were 'completely under the leadership of the Social Democratic organisation'. During 1906 1,521 people had been deported from Tbilisi and Kutaisi provinces without trial. The Peasant Land Bank had opened a branch in Georgia, and an oil pipeline linked Baki and Batumi,¹⁴⁶ but rumours that the Shendrikovs were close to the Baki oilfield employers had led to the union's decline.¹⁴⁷ The RSDRP expelled Lev, but the Bolsheviks had set up an alternative union in Baki in autumn. During 1906 there had been five political strikes in Baki.¹⁴⁸ Jughashvili had split the RSDRP committee,¹⁴⁹ and extorted money from businesspeople and seminary teachers. The Outfit had robbed a Tbilisi bank, taken 21,000 rubles from a train carrying goldfield workers' wages and sent 15,000 to the Bolsheviks in Finland.¹⁵⁰

(v) We had heard that prisoners were brutally beaten and tortured

Dmytro Manuilsky had been born in the village of Svyatets in Volhynia province, western Ukraine, in 1883. His Jewish peasant father was a scribe. Dmytro attended a primary school, and then his father insisted that he enter

Ostrog gymnasium, where he earned his own living from the fourth year onwards and organised pupils' kruzhki, though teachers persecuted him. In 1903 he enrolled at St. Petersburg University, joined SD kruzhki, and late in 1904 he joined a student demonstration protesting against the war with Japan, and the police beat him savagely. By 1905 he was a Bolshevik, and was sent to Dvinsk in November. He returned to St. Petersburg in spring 1906, but was put in Kronstadt Prison. Late that year he was deported to Arkhangelsk in northern Russia, but when he reached Vologda the interior minister decided that he had to go to Yakutsk in north-east Siberia for five years. He escaped to Kyiv and joined the RSDRP committee and military organisation. After most other members were arrested, he left for Paris, and joined the Vyperedists. Mikhail Kalinin had been deported to the countryside and worked on the land. A police raid found nothing incriminating in his room, and peasants kept quiet about his political activity. He later joined Manuilsky, Lunacharsky, Alexinsky and Pokrovsky in their attempt to create a united party.¹⁵¹

Zinovy Sedov had been born 1876. He became an SD in 1897, worked underground, and was arrested several times. In December 1905 he was active in the Presnya district of Moscow, but in 1906 he left for France.¹⁵²

Sergey Kostrikov had been born into a poor family in Urzhum, Viatka province, in 1886. His alcoholic father disappeared around 1890 and his mother died in 1893. His poor grandmother looked after him, but eventually had to send him to an orphanage. In 1901 benefactors paid for him to study at an industrial school in Kazan, and after he graduated he moved to Tomsk. He joined the RSDRP in 1904 and was active during the 1905 revolution, but was arrested and imprisoned.¹⁵³ Late in 1906 he was released on bail, pending trial,¹⁵⁴ and joined the Bolsheviks.¹⁵⁵ He and his comrades organised 'an excellent underground printing-press' in a doctor's house on the outskirts, below two feet of earth, and disguised the entrance from the cellar. A police raid missed it, but they deported six SDs and sent Kostrikov, who was not yet 21, to prison for three years. The library was 'quite satisfactory' and he received the latest 'legal writings'. The 'only hindrances to study' were the 'tens of people' who were hanged. 'On many a night the solitary block of the Tomsk country prison echoed with condemned men shouting heart-rending farewells to life and their comrades as they were led away to execution'.¹⁵⁶

Dmitry Ulyanov, Vladimir's younger brother, had trained as a doctor and became a revolutionary in 1895. From 1897 he worked in Moscow, but was betrayed after the Workers' Union was crushed. In 1900 he was an *Iskra* agent, and became a Tula delegate to the RSDRP Congress in 1903. He became an *Iskra* agent in Kyiv, but was arrested in 1904 and detained for 11 months. In 1905 he went to Simbirsk on the Volga, where he joined the Bolshevik organisation. He was imprisoned, but freed after 11 months. He returned Simbirsk where he joined the Bolshevik committee in 1906. He later worked in Serpukhov in the Moscow region and Feodosia in Crimea.¹⁵⁷

In Western Siberia SDs were in Nikolaevka Prison. Novgorodtseva knew it had 'the most dreadful reputation'.

We had heard that prisoners were brutally beaten and tortured there: one method was apparently to take prisoners to the yard in sub-zero temperatures and douse them with water. ...

[Sverdlov] was put into solitary confinement immediately on arrival but the other political prisoners chose him as their spokesman, so that he did not have to suffer in total isolation from his comrades. Taking advantage of his position, he visited the other cells, checked on the food and the condition of the sick, and obtained books for the prisoners.

... [T]he Bolsheviks who had rallied around Sverdlov were so unanimous in their views, so firmly grounded in Leninist principles, that by the end of 1906 there was not one functioning Menshevik group in the Urals. ...¹⁵⁸

Yet Siberia was changing.

(vi) The Ministry for the Prevention of Public Education

Since 1904 Ukrainian peasants had formed well over half of all migrants to Siberia.¹⁵⁹ During 1906 over 216,600 peasants migrated there legally,¹⁶⁰ and almost did so illegally,¹⁶¹ though 46,000 returned.¹⁶² In a decade around 1.6 million had migrated, especially to the Amur Basin near the Pacific, though many had returned.¹⁶³ Migrants bought around 25 percent of all imported agricultural machinery and used Western European farming methods. During 1906 Siberian farmers had produced seven million tons of grain, or 16 percent of the Empire's total, and sent 1.3 million tons to European Russia.¹⁶⁴ Over half of the Empire's butter plants were in Siberia, and provided 90 percent of exports, which earned over twice as much foreign exchange as the goldmines.¹⁶⁵ The governor of Akmolinsk province had been assassinated, and 31 strikes had involved 2,000 workers across Siberia.¹⁶⁶

In August the tsar had transferred some state and monastery land in European Russia to the Peasants' Land Bank,¹⁶⁷ which made almost 15 million acres available,¹⁶⁸ at 80 percent of its market value.¹⁶⁹ That month, officially, the number of agrarian disturbances fell to 224,¹⁷⁰ though agricultural labourers' strikes were widespread.¹⁷¹ The harvest had been poor for the second year in succession,¹⁷² and failed in 24 provinces, so there was widespread

famine.¹⁷³ In October the government barred land captains from punishing peasants without trial and allowed peasants to hold zemstvo posts.¹⁷⁴ Heads of households could no longer have family members arrested, forcibly returned to their village or flogged,¹⁷⁵ even for non-payment of taxes, and they lost control of internal passports.¹⁷⁶ In November the tsar decreed that 'any householder who holds allotment land by communal right may at any time demand that the parts of this land accredited to him be deeded to him as personal property'.¹⁷⁷ Where repartition of communal land had taken place regularly, households which held more than their numbers entitled them to could buy the surplus at the price stipulated in 1861, even though market prices had risen steeply since then.¹⁷⁸ Where there had been no repartition for 24 years, or if 20 percent of householders demanded one, the commune had to comply,¹⁷⁹ and if two-thirds of a village assembly agreed,¹⁸⁰ the consolidation of strips of land would be compulsory for all,¹⁸¹ and land-settlement commissions would help to form smallholdings. The Peasant Land Bank would reduce interest rates and offer mortgages to buy allotment land. Peasants could sell land to raise capital to modernise their methods,¹⁸² though not to non-peasants, and there was an upper limit to the size of their holdings.¹⁸³ The legislation favoured kulaki.¹⁸⁴ During 1906 around 221,000 peasants had applied to own the land they held,¹⁸⁵ mainly where commercial pressures were high, and less so where land-hunger and unrest were acute.¹⁸⁶ Many hated the 'land-grabbing commissions',¹⁸⁷ and some villages communalised land to stop a minority breaking away, while others used intimidation;¹⁸⁸ yet the proportion of communal land soon began dropping from 73 to 60 percent,¹⁸⁹ and many peasants sold their holdings and sought work in towns.¹⁹⁰ The 584 peasant agricultural societies had improved techniques and financed small purchases of machinery, bulk purchasing, warehousing and marketing.¹⁹¹ In 1902-1905 farm labourers' average annual wages had been about 100 rubles, but they were 112.5 rubles in 1906.¹⁹² Gentry owned 140 million acres, but rented about 90 percent to peasants,¹⁹³ and put 21 million acres on the market. Consequently 2.8 million peasants, mainly in western and southwestern provinces, owned land.¹⁹⁴ Officially there had been 2,600 cases of peasant unrest,¹⁹⁵ including 1,037 in the south west,¹⁹⁶ and 141 agricultural labourers' strikes in Kaunas and Suvalkija provinces,¹⁹⁷ though strikers faced up to eight months in prison and agitators faced up to four years in a Fortress.¹⁹⁸

The Education Ministry employed 72,000 schoolteachers, including 69,200 in rural areas, and aimed to establish universal primary education.¹⁹⁹ There were 15,500 independent schools,²⁰⁰ and a minister noted that 'primary schools were nearly everywhere in the most pitiful state', and nearly all teachers were 'suspect in the government's eye and at any moment could be deprived of their posts',²⁰¹ and 20,000 unemployed teachers were deported.²⁰² An English academic called the Education Ministry the 'Ministry for the Prevention of Public Education',²⁰³ though the government doubled the proportion of its 1907 budget for primary schools to 40 percent.²⁰⁴ In spring realschule and commercial secondary school graduates had been allowed to enter university if they passed an examination in Latin, and when universities reopened on 1 September enrolments almost doubled and the barriers to Jews and women were largely ignored.²⁰⁵ Odesa University's 3,000 students included 746 Jews.²⁰⁶ Women could attend university lectures.²⁰⁷ There were 923 at six universities, and 10,493 'auditors' enrolled in other higher education institutions.²⁰⁸ Women could not teach in universities, though they could on higher women's courses,²⁰⁹ and new ones had opened in Kyiv, Odesa and Kazan. A Women's Polytechnical Institute had opened in St. Petersburg, where the Women's Medical Institute had 1,635 students, commercial Institutes were coeducational,²¹⁰ and 19 percent of Bestuzhev Course women were Jews. Graduates would be able to teach the first four years in boys' gymnasiums.

The new intake at St. Petersburg University included 25 men from townsmen's families and 38 Jews. Students hoped that their 'revolutionary traditions will compel the utilisation of university buildings for meetings, when the interests of the revolutionary struggle so demand'. 'Until that time, academic studies are allowed.'²¹¹ The students' council included 20 SDs, four SRs, four Kadets, three from the PPS, two Trudoviki and two who were non-party. SD students complained about their isolation from the RSDRP centre, though the 41-year-old 'legal Marxist' Mikhail Tugan-Baranovsky led a political economy circle in which students prepared papers on subjects including 'The Marxist Theory of Value' and 'Agrarian Disturbances'. At Moscow University there was a 60 percent turnout in the elections for student leaders. SDs received 2,044 votes, Kadets 1,462 and SRs 1,258, and there were similar results in several institutes of higher education.²¹² In November, after the reactionary Union of Russian people accused 26 Kyiv University students of planning to commemorate the fourth anniversary of the execution of a political activist, students disrupted classes, the University was closed for a week and 719 were suspended for a year.²¹³ Over half the students at Swiss universities were Russians.²¹⁴

(vii) Unions

From 1900 to 1906 the annual rate of industrial growth had averaged 1.43 percent.²¹⁵ In 1905-1906 alone commercial turnover had risen by over 11 percent,²¹⁶ and industrial employment stood at over 2.1 million by

1906.²¹⁷ That year workers produced 24 million tons of coal, three million tons of iron, 2.75 million tons of steel and almost 10 million tons of oil,²¹⁸ though there were scarcities of all of them.²¹⁹ From 1901 to 1905, nationally, factory workers' wages had averaged 206 rubles a year, but in 1906 they averaged 231.²²⁰

In Ukraine Bryansk ironworks had operated for nine months that year, but several Donbass steel firms had bought other iron and coal companies.²²¹ Since 1903 the number of coalmines producing over 180,000 tons annually had grown from 18 to 30, while small firms had declined from 55 to 27.²²² The government had approved the Prodogol coal cartel in 1904, but it had not operated until 1906, when 11 firms had invested one million rubles and controlled around 43 percent of output.²²³ A survey of 5,384 buildings in Bakhmut showed that they housed 54,162 workers, though 2,173 dwellings had roofs and floors made of earth. A family's living cost varied from 185 to 850 rubles a year in houses, with an average of 300, and barracks cost a worker 25 to 180 rubles, with an average of just under 100. Miners earned an average of 328 rubles a year, and luzovka ironworkers from 200 to 336.²²⁴ The first legal miners' union had been formed at the Lydia mine and it had 200 members by autumn, and though luzovka ironworkers formed a union, the authorities refused to register it. On 17 October, the anniversary of the tsar's manifesto, Luhansk RSDRP committee published *Donetsky kolokol (Donets Bell)*, but Bolsheviks and Mensheviks struggled for editorial control and the next issue did not appear until 19 November. In December 200 workers formed a union at the Petrovsky factory in Yenakyeve,²²⁵ though the police had closed the *Rassvet (Dawn)* library since it was allegedly a source of revolutionary ideas.²²⁶ By the end of the year 11 unions had been registered in the region, and though 28 delegates attended an illegal conference in Druzhkovka, little seems to have come of it, yet there had been around 100,000 strikers that year.²²⁷

Nationally, many unions were recovering and arrested leaders were being replaced.²²⁸ By December there were 600 unions,²²⁹ with around 250,000 members.²³⁰ The railway union leaders' ties with local groups were irregular, and were more easily maintained in the 'most remote corners'. On 9 December, at a congress in Tampere in Finland, 35 delegates included five members of the central bureau, though most others were unelected. They claimed to represent 9,336 workers on 19 lines, yet eight lines and about 6,000 workers were unrepresented. A spy reported that the once-revolutionary Moscow-Kazan union was weak and that the union suffered from 'inertia',²³¹ but during 1906 railway workers' average annual pay had risen by 34 percent to 329 rubles.²³²

In St. Petersburg, according to Fyodor Bulkin, members of the metalworkers' union had elected factory delegates, though they were often unknown or disregarded by their workmates,²³³ yet the union had led 11 of the 17 strikes in the city.²³⁴ The city's laundresses had issued an appeal.

Comrade laundresses, all men and women are uniting in the trade-union movement to defend their interests. The conditions of our work are very harsh. We toil between 15 and 18 hours a day in damp, cold, and very hot conditions, and in the process lose our health prematurely. Our masters oppress and exploit us. We have endured enough. It is time for us to unite and join the struggle. That is why we, the undersigned, call on all our fellow workers to form a union of laundresses in order to strengthen our efforts in the fight for higher wages, a reduction in the working day, improvements in food and accommodation, and for respectful treatment.

There had been 174 serious labour disputes in Finland.²³⁵

In Moscow a sizeable number of women in the tailors' union had fought for equal pay, and the end of the use of apprentices to undercut adult wages and compulsory overtime.²³⁶ The police had closed RSDRP unemployed workers' organisations in Moscow and elsewhere,²³⁷ though the Moscow Society of Workers of Graphic Arts, the printers' union, allowed non-members to vote for members of the central organisation.²³⁸

During 1906, officially, there had been 5,358 strikes in cities and 786 in non-urban areas,²³⁹ and 1,108,000 strikers,²⁴⁰ compared to over 2.8 million the previous year. Almost 66 percent of inspected workers had gone on strike.²⁴¹ There had been 6,114 strikes in 42 percent of inspected workplaces,²⁴² for a total of 5.5 million days, though 54 percent lasted two days or less. Over 35 percent of strikes had been successful, approaching 31 percent had ended in compromise and almost 34 percent had been defeated.²⁴³ The 2,545 strikes deemed economic involved 458,000 workers,²⁴⁴ while 651,000 strikers were deemed politically-motivated, compared to 1,843,000 the previous year,²⁴⁵ and over 763,000 of the over 5.5 million strike days were deemed political. The average number of strikers per plant was 181, and the average length of strikes was 4.9 days. Three-quarters of strikers had come out more than once, and approaching 40 percent of all inspected workers were employed at strike-hit plants.²⁴⁶ Around 85 percent of metalworkers and 90 percent of textile workers had gone on strike. In the last quarter of the year 6,000 of the 37,000 economic strikers had won,²⁴⁷ and 26,000 were deemed politically-motivated. The numbers of strikers had increased in Arkhangelsk, Vologda, Olonets, Chornoye Morye, Kursk, the eastern provinces and along the Volga.²⁴⁸ In Saratov province there were 32 legal unions, and 61 percent of workers had gone on strike that year,²⁴⁹ though 30,000 were unemployed in the Volga region.²⁵⁰ There had been 525,000 strikers in

Warszawa, 307,000 in St. Petersburg, 170,000 in Moscow and 106,000 in Kyiv, Kharkiv and the Volga region.²⁵¹ Together with Vladimir province, Piotrków province in Poland and Livonia province in Latvia had accounted for 77 percent of strikers. There had been 106 strikes in the Kyiv-Volga-Kharkiv region, 170 in the Moscow region, 307 in and around St. Petersburg and 525 in Warszawa,²⁵² which was fewer than in 1905.²⁵³ The pattern of strikes moved just ahead of peasant disorders and army mutinies.²⁵⁴

(viii) Retribution

During 1906 the government had allocated around 18 million rubles to hire 30,000 policemen, an increase of one third, out of the Interior Ministry budget of 131 million rubles. Government spending on the ordinary police had risen by 22 million rubles, to 52 million, out of the Interior Ministry budget of 131 million; yet late that year there were 101 police in Moscow province outside the city. Officially, courts martial had tried 4,863 people, condemned 65 soldiers and 182 civilians to death (17 for political crimes), and sentenced 229 to *katorga* and 512 to exile. Civil courts had tried 3,395 political suspects and found 2,315 guilty. Altogether 8,701 convicts were deported within European Russia, including 1,828 from major cities, or exiled to Siberia, though 3,000 had escaped.²⁵⁵ That year 111,000 political suspects had been detained.²⁵⁶ Officially there had been 4,742 acts of banditry,²⁵⁷ including 4,138 in the Caucasus. Reportedly, 738 officials and 645 citizens had been killed and 948 officials and 777 citizens wounded,²⁵⁸ though the government claimed that, including bystanders, 1,588 had died.²⁵⁹ Officially ordinary courts martial had sentenced 144 to execution, though the real number was reportedly 683,²⁶⁰ and almost 8,000 were exiled.²⁶¹ The PPS had assassinated 20 soldiers, seven constables and 56 other policemen, and wounded 92. In Warszawa the PPS and other revolutionaries had assassinated 97 policemen, and had put 179 more out of action.²⁶² There had been 362 expropriations in December, including 15 from state institutions on the 30th. In 12 months there had been 1,951 expropriations, including 940 from state and private institutions, which netted 7,000,000 rubles, and 3,611 officials had reportedly been assassinated or wounded.²⁶³ Another report put the number killed at 7,331 and approaching 10,000 wounded, though yet another report put that at 13,381.²⁶⁴ Another noted 1,508 executions of civilians, 22,721 deaths in pogroms and people shot on the streets, plus 851 sentences of *katorga* for a total of 7,138 years, while 30,000 had been exiled to Siberia, mostly without trial.²⁶⁵ Officially, since January, the police had deported 2,000 people from provinces under martial law and sentenced 21,000 others without trial.²⁶⁶

In December the government established eight new Okhrana security sections. The St. Petersburg headquarters supervised 'political investigations' in Pskov, Vologda and Vyborg, plus gendarme railway posts and Finnish border points. The Okhrana depended on police for intelligence in smaller towns and villages, but the 5,726 St. Petersburg police were very badly equipped, poorly educated and earned less than most factory workers, though detectives received 50 rubles a month. In Poland Warszawa gendarmes 'beat statements' out of prisoners in the Citadel,²⁶⁷ and corpses with disfigured faces washed up on the banks of the Vistula.²⁶⁸ The city governor had had 17 anarchist-communists executed without trial and the governor of Łódź had had 11 executed, who were mainly members of the PPS who had tortured and killed a factory owner.²⁶⁹ That year two of the Okhrana's 22 agents among SRs had been exposed, as had two of the eight among anarchists, but none of the seven among SDs.²⁷⁰ Shlisselburg Fortress had been closed,²⁷¹ but by the end of 1906 Moscow's Butyrka Transit Prison held half a dozen women as young as 18 who had killed or tried to kill government officials.²⁷²

Gendarmes were stationed in cities with active RSDRP and VPSR committees,²⁷³ but Okhrana agents had infiltrated revolutionary organisations in St. Petersburg,²⁷⁴ and Moscow, where Zinaida Zhuchenko had become an Okhrana agent in 1905, and by spring 1906 she was a secretary of the Moscow regional committee's fighting squad. She soon became a prominent member of the Moscow committee, collected addresses and lists of secret apartments, and sent out a questionnaire to district committees. Late in 1906 she was tasked with assassinating the governor of Minsk, so she gave the bomb to her Okhrana contact, who had it defused, then returned it, and Zhuchenko gave it to someone else to throw. The governor sustained a slight head wound, but the would-be assassin was executed.²⁷⁵

During 1906 16 civil newspapers had been fined 15,525 rubles,²⁷⁶ while 435 of the 706 new publications were banned.²⁷⁷ Late that year Gorky agreed that Andreev would edit his publications from spring.²⁷⁸ The Bolsheviks had produced 60 periodicals that year,²⁷⁹ while the RSDRP had produced 33 newspapers aimed at the military, and some had appeared for two years with circulations of between 5,000 and 20,000.²⁸⁰ The St. Petersburg RSDRP military organisation had suffered many arrests, though they and the SRs had at least 59 *kruzhki* in the armed forces between them,²⁸¹ and Bolsheviks led most of those organised by SDs.²⁸²

Peasant troops had suppressed peasant risings on 2,700 occasions by the end of October.²⁸³ In December a Kuban Cossack *rada* (general assembly), with over 500 delegates, elected an educated man as their president, and

when they called for better provisions the tsar agreed.²⁸⁴ That year peasants had written to relatives in the armed forces, stressing the crop failure, Cossack and police depredations and support for the Trudoviki Duma deputies. Around 400,000 troops had been deployed against citizens that year, and though 104 mutinies were officially reported, the real figure was probably around 250, and involved 22 percent of all units and 60 percent of technical units. Up to three-quarters of officially-recorded mutinies had taken place from April to July, peaking in June, when the Duma was in session, and most mutineers, especially soldiers who had seen action in the Far East, had made political demands.²⁸⁵ At least 20 had taken place in Moscow military district.²⁸⁶ From October to December five mutinies were reported,²⁸⁷ though there were at least 11.²⁸⁸ In 1905-1906 police and troops had killed 26,000 civilians and wounded 31,000, including up to 2,000 in the Baltic provinces.²⁸⁹

In November Luxemburg was holidaying in southern Germany with Zetkin.²⁹⁰ Late that month, in Warszawa, she and Jogiches were in court charged with being members of the SDKPiL and attempting to overthrow the Russian Empire.²⁹¹ She was sentenced to two months in prison,²⁹² to begin the following summer. In mid-December she was sentenced to two months in prison in Weimar for her Jena Congress speech in 1905, to begin the following summer.²⁹³ Baden and Bavaria Landtags had adopted the principle of direct election, and the Württemberg Landtag had adopted universal suffrage for its lower house. In Berlin the SPD Reichstag deputies had voted against indirect taxes to reduce the government's 500 million mark deficit.²⁹⁴ The Italian government had broken from the alliance with Germany and Austria,²⁹⁵ and German newspapers complained about encirclement.²⁹⁶

By the end of 1906 the Russian government had spent the French loan. The gold standard had almost collapsed,²⁹⁷ and income from redemption payments had ceased.²⁹⁸ The increase in tax yield had been spent and the state treasury urged the government to impose new taxes.²⁹⁹ The government's income was almost 2.29 billion rubles, and it had invested 41 million in new railways, 71 million to improve the network,³⁰⁰ and 103 million to cover losses, while 15 to 20 million came in from private lines, though the national debt of 7.84 billion rubles included 3.51 billion of unliquidated railway debts.³⁰¹ Altogether the government had debts of 9.12 billion, and needed almost 2.21 billion for ordinary expenditure in 1907.³⁰² It allocated 155 million for containing civil unrest, emergency food relief, payments to Japan on behalf of prisoners of war and 425 million to re-equip the army.³⁰³ Peasant farming had recovered and grain exports from Odesa were worth almost 154 million tons, and the Bosphorus Straits remained economically and strategically important.³⁰⁴ After the British Navy launched the huge battleship HMS *Dreadnought*, the Russian government ordered similar vessels and had ports deepened to accommodate them.³⁰⁵

5. The Red Duma

(i) The most complete democratism

By January 1907 there were reportedly 8.64 million industrial workers in Russia, plus 1.7 million wage-earners in trade and transport and 2.3 million minor white-collar workers.¹ The RSDRP claimed it had 287 organisations, around 300,000 sympathisers,² and 150,000 members, including over 46,100 Bolsheviks, over 43,100 Mensheviks, and almost 25,500 Bundists, while the SDKPiL claimed over 25,600 and the LSD 13,000.³ The secretaries of the Kharkiv, Kyiv and Katerynoslav RSDRP organisations were aged between 18 and 22.⁴ Reportedly around 8,000 Mensheviks and 2,000 Bolsheviks were women. Almost half of Bolshevik men and 26 percent of women had joined as teenagers as young as 15, usually after 1905, and around 36 percent of men and 42 percent of women had joined in their early 20s. Around 19 percent of men and 20 percent of women were from noble or intelligenty families, around 28 percent of men and 26 percent of women were from workers' families, and 34 percent of men and over 10 percent of women were from peasant families. Reportedly around 28 percent of Bolshevik women from noble or intelligenty families had attend secondary school and 63 percent had some higher education. Half of the women from peasant families had attended primary school, over 34 percent had gone on to secondary school and 11.5 percent to higher education, while 63 percent of workers' children had attended primary school, 28 percent had gone on to secondary school and 2.2 percent to higher education. Over 47 percent of men and 55 percent of women were Russian or Ukrainian. Less than 15 percent of Bolshevik men but 40 percent of Menshevik women were Jews.⁵

Feodosy Kribokov had been born into a wealthy merchant's family in Rostov-na-Donu in 1876. In 1894 he organised a *kruzhok* at his gymnasium and they read revolutionary literature. By 1895 he considered himself an SR, but became an SD in 1897. That autumn he entered Moscow University, formed an SD *kruzhok* and joined the city organisation.⁶ He was expelled in 1899, and deported to Voronezh in 1901, where he helped to found *Iskra's* 'Mutual Aid Struggle Fund'.⁷ He supported the RSDRP Congress 'majority' in 1903 and met Ulyanov in Geneva in 1904.⁸ In 1905 he was a Bolshevik agent,⁹ and a member of St. Petersburg RSDRP committee.¹⁰ By 1906 he was a member of its EC,¹¹ and he later recalled that by 1907 the organisation was 'completely restructured as it emerged from the underground'.

The sub-district, district and city committees were elected by direct elections. All members of the district organization elected the members of a general city conference, and at the same time during these elections the members of the Petersburg committee of our organization were also selected. The general city conference chosen by this kind of direct election was the supreme legislative organ of Petersburg Social Democracy. Between conferences, the executive organ was the Petersburg committee, which elected from its own ranks a very small executive commission (three to five members) for day-to-day on-going work. The most complete democratism, the colossal authoritativeness of the directing centres and the most complete freedom of opinion was achieved by these methods.

Such occurrences as the replacement or appointment of comrades to leadership posts against the will of the organization were unknown ... Nearly always the most visible and authoritative members of our organization entered at the district level as completely ordinary party workers and only gradually, earning the confidence of the mass, were moved up by this membership to responsible leadership posts.¹²

Ulyanov also insisted that the 'whole organisation is built from below, on an elective basis'.¹³

In the upcoming Duma elections around 230 landowners, 1,000 other wealthy people, 15,000 lower middle class people, 60,000 peasants and 125,000 workers would elect one deputy.¹⁴ There were two rounds for landowners and urban dwellers, three for workers and four for peasants. An industrial enterprise with 50 to 100 workers could elect one representative and another for every additional 1,000 workers. They would choose electors and then they would deputies.¹⁵ The government had banned left and centre candidates and election meetings, and used the slightest failure of procedure to disenfranchise their supporters.¹⁶ The ballot papers bore an official stamp, but unionised printers produced 'Electrolytic replicas' using a seal loaned by an official.¹⁷

The Bolsheviks claimed 2,105 members in St. Petersburg and the Mensheviks 2,156,¹⁸ though the RSDRP committee included 40 Bolsheviks elected by 2,148 workers and 31 Mensheviks elected by 1,733. On 6 January the Mensheviks lost the vote for evenly dividing the delegates to a regional conference,¹⁹ challenged the credentials of some Bolshevik delegates without success and then walked out.²⁰ That day the legal Bolshevik *Ternii truda* was closed.²¹ The Bolsheviks elected a commission to instruct workers' representatives, electors and deputies, and a press commission of the editors of *Proletary* and *Vypered*,²² which appealed for preparing for an armed rising.²³ The government had banned 337 newspapers and pamphlets,²⁴ though the Bolsheviks had issued 87.²⁵ The Mensheviks

had fewer Duma candidates than the Bolsheviks,²⁶ who offered the SRs and Trudoviki a bloc in the first round in return for sharing the four seats. SRs won a third of the representatives at the city's largest factories with the most-class-conscious workforces on the 8th. SDs won 147 representatives out of 272 and 109 others identified with them to a greater or lesser degree. The RSDRP won over 16,600 votes, or 25 percent of those cast, VPSR candidates defeated Mensheviks in 12 of the 18 largest factories, while the Bolsheviks defeated SRs in 12 out of 14.²⁷ The VPSR won 36 percent of the votes and SDs won 47 percent, mainly from workforces of less than 500.²⁸ On the 13th the Mensheviks announced that their Duma deputies would bloc with SRs, Trudoviki, Kadets and others.²⁹ By the 25th the St. Petersburg, Moscow, Moscow region, Perm, Kursk and Kazan RSDRP committees supported *Proletary*,³⁰ which revealed that the Menshevik leader Gurvich had negotiated a bloc with SRs, Trudoviki, Narodno-Sotsialisticheskaya Partiya (the Popular Socialists) and Kadets.³¹ That day successful Bolsheviks, SRs and Trudoviki formed a 'Left bloc' and between 200 and 250 delegates at a conference in St. Petersburg supported it on the 28th. The RSDRP committee chose 14 candidates for the electors' list, which was published on the evening of the elections, and they were all elected. The Left bloc won a quarter of the votes and its candidates won outright in the Vyborg district,³² and the 14 electors elected six Bolshevik deputies,³³ including 43-year-old Mikhail Brusnev.³⁴

The skilled worker Alexey Buzinov later recalled that the Moscow's bakers conducted two successful strikes in 1905 and 1906, and most wanted to begin a third in 1907, but though 'conscious' bakers wanted to gather forces and improve organisation, the 'lower stratum of the working class' exhibited 'a kind of indifference' to the current situation and the future. B. Ivanov later recalled that most bakers were 'tied to the land' and 'undeveloped'. 'In moments when his spontaneity drives him to battle', a baker 'goes forward with hot decisiveness'; but 'if some obstacle arises in his path, his strength is immediately smashed at the first decisive rebuff of capital'.³⁵ About 200 SD representatives were reportedly elected and 20 SRs.

Elsewhere left candidates secured 13 percent of the vote in workers' curiae, and 41,000 votes out of 153,000 in 22 cities. In big cities over 96 percent of curiae voted for left candidates, and the RSDRP won 84 of the 140 electors, while 52 were unaligned SDs and four were SRs. Kadet candidates won 74,000 votes,³⁶ and 40 percent in towns and cities,³⁷ though they had refused to repudiate terrorism.³⁸ In Poland the SDKPiL and Bund's joint candidates won 7,000 votes in Warszawa's workers' curiae, 68 percent in Łódź,³⁹ and a majority in Radom and Dabrowa Górnicza, and they had some success in Puławy peasant curia.⁴⁰ Almost all provincial worker electors were leftists. In 17 cities where liberals and leftists had a joint candidate they won deputies, though only one out of 32 in Poland.⁴¹ The PPS had boycotted the elections,⁴² as had the Lithuanian SDP;⁴³ though five members of the LSD became deputies.⁴⁴ One was Pēteris Stučka, the chair of the party, who had returned to Riga as a Bolshevik the year before, and had contributed to Bolshevik publications.⁴⁵ He later recalled that the Mensheviks agreed with government officials on 'the need to Russify' subject nations and concluded that 'behind the mask of antinationalism' they supported nationalism.⁴⁶ Jānis Ozoliņš also became a deputy.⁴⁷ In Ukraine Katerynoslav police had disqualified 7,000 of the 16,000 enfranchised workers, Gomel police had disqualified 1,000 and Kyiv police had disqualified 3,756 (mainly Jews) out of 13,000.⁴⁸ Four Jews became deputies,⁴⁹ but Black Hundreds assassinated one of them.⁵⁰

Georgian SD papers criticised the Russians' *intelligentshchina* (intelligenty-centredness) and their inability to go beyond abstract slogans, and Tbilisi RSDRP committee rejected joint programmes with other parties.⁵¹ There were at least 38 legal unions with 13,000 members in the city, and the committee entered a tactical alliance against the Kadets in the first stage, except in workers' curiae.⁵² Irakly Tsereteli had been born into a prominent gentry family in 1881. He later became aware of SD intelligenty's links with Tbilisi workers and in 1901-1902 he participated in a campaign for political freedom at Moscow University, but was exiled to Siberia. In 1906 he joined the Mensheviks in Georgia, and became a Duma deputy early in 1907.⁵³

The bloc of SRs and Bolsheviks had received over 20 percent of peasant votes. The peasant deputies were younger and better-educated than others,⁵⁴ and almost half were on the extreme left.⁵⁵ Bolsheviks had been most successful in central Russia and the Urals, and the Mensheviks in the Pale and Caucasus, where they had cross-class support.⁵⁶ The 518 deputies included 36 Mensheviks, 18 Bolsheviks, and 11 attached to neither faction. There were 120 Trudoviki, 99 Kadets, 64 Black Hundreds, 37 SRs and 16 Popular Socialists. Peasants had elected 111 deputies including 98 Kadets, one student, six schoolteachers, two graduates, one doctor and one editor. Three SDs were from oppressed minorities in Black Sea ports, eight from Caucasian towns and mining communities, nine from Siberia and central Asia, 14 from Ukraine and the south, 15 from Volga and Ural provinces and 16 from central and western provinces. Five Mensheviks and ten Bolsheviks had been elected with Kadet support and 16 Mensheviks and six Bolsheviks with that of other socialists. The RSDRP deputies included 32 Mensheviks and four sympathisers and 15 Bolsheviks and three sympathisers. Overall the SDs included 25 workers, ten journalists and other writers, six office workers, five working peasants, five teachers, four zemstvo employees, one technician, one lawyer and the vice-governor of Turkestan. They included 30 Russians, eight Ukrainians, seven Georgians, six Latvians, two from Estland, one Armenian and one Jew. Two were in their fifties, six in their forties, 22 in their thirties and 35

were aged 25 to 30. Seven had had been educated at home, 22 had attended a primary school, 12 a secondary school or a seminary and 16 were graduates. All the left deputies had been arrested, imprisoned or deported, and were still under surveillance.⁵⁷

(ii) 16 Fontanka

During January 1907 terrorists had reportedly wounded 39 officials and killed 52, including a governor, a deputy police chief and two spies, and by early February courts martial had sentenced 771 to execution.⁵⁸ Martial law was in effect in 23 provinces, 25 districts and nine cities, and on two railway lines,⁵⁹ and 122,000 people were in jails designed to hold 101,000. Since 31 August 1906 at least 83 of the 629 death sentences imposed had been carried out, including 28 in the south and 17 at Kronstadt. The Okhrana's St. Petersburg headquarters and the Samara, Kyiv, Odesa, Kharkiv, Vilnius and Riga security sections were responsible for between four and 12 provinces each, while the Moscow headquarters was responsible for Arkhangelsk, Vologda, Kazan, Vladimir, Kostroma, Nizhny Novgorod, Orel, Riazan, Tula and Yaroslavl, which covered the VPSR's main region of operations. The annual cost of the Okhrana, including gendarmes' salaries in between 24 and 27 places, was set be 1,266,934 rubles. During January over 200 SDs were arrested in Moscow.⁶⁰ There were at least 68 SR Maximalist groups,⁶¹ though only two of the ten members of Prauberg's flying detachment were ideologically-motivated SRs. The VPSR claimed 60,000 members, though it probably had fewer than 45,000.⁶² Around 24 percent were Jews, but no more than 8,000 were women.⁶³ The Okhrana's St. Petersburg headquarters was now at 16 Fontanka.⁶⁴ On 10 February its director told other sections to employ agents to infiltrate public bodies and revolutionary organisations. A third of VPSR members had been arrested, but organisations still existed in a few places in Siberia and in Baki in Azerbaijan, and there were tiny groups in Odesa, Kharkiv, Moscow and St. Petersburg.⁶⁵

Officially, Tobolsk Katorga Prison in Siberia held 250 political criminals.⁶⁶ Most of the women in Akatui Katorga Prison were SRs, though nine were SDs, and one recalled that they had all 'come into the Revolution very young, taken up by the emotional waves of the movement', and had been 'forced to review our whole intellectual armoury, to re-think all our principles, to establish carefully the fundamentals of our philosophy of life'. They studied 'assiduously', according to a 'strict timetable', and friends and publishers helped them to build a library, though their reading was often no newer than Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* and works by the late émigré Russian utopian socialist Alexandr Herzen. A few studied Avernarius, Mach and Marx, but other than that they read 'practically nothing dealing with politics and economics'. After the governor was recalled, the new one arrived with soldiers and orders to treat political criminals as ordinary convicts. This meant that they would lose their money, bed linen and communal kitchens, and the right to buy food, and would have to wear prison uniform and chains. He gave the wives, children and friends of male prisoners 24 hours to leave. 'Everything brought into the prison was minutely examined. Every cell was regularly searched.' Some men reluctantly accepted the chains, though some of those sent to Algachi Katorga Prison had their heads half-shaven like common criminals by force. One Jewish SR was clubbed, but 15 men decided to disobey and some tried to commit suicide. Tuberculosis, scurvy and gastric and nervous complaints were common, but the Akatui women were to be sent to Malzev Katorga Prison, 200 miles away, where the cold was extreme. The governor was ordered to put them in chains, and 'in case of resistance', to 'shoot until unrest completely quelled'. On 12 February he wanted to transfer four women, but the SRs Spiridonova and Maria Skholnik were seriously ill and refused to go. A doctor pronounced them unfit to travel, but they were taken to the Malvez hospital, and next day they were taken to the prison.⁶⁷

A young army officer, Vladimir Lebedev, arrived in Finland as the representative of soldiers and sailors who had organised mutinies, and discussed cooperation with the VPSR's Savinkov, but Lebedev felt that he wanted complete control. Savinkov returned to Paris and met the veteran SR Figner, who now opposed terror, and Gershuni.⁶⁸ He had escaped from a Siberian katorga prison in October 1905, reached the Pacific coast, sailed to San Francisco and crossed to the East coast, where he received a substantial amount of money,⁶⁹ and had returned to Russia by February 1907.⁷⁰ He and Azev decided to rebuild the combat organisation.⁷¹ The VPSR Congress opened in Tampere, Finland, on the 12th,⁷² and 60 delegates had votes.⁷³ They re-elected Azev to the CC,⁷⁴ which had the sole right to sanction expropriations, but insisted on bloodless attacks,⁷⁵ and ended the boycott of Duma elections.⁷⁶

After appeals from her lawyer father the Bolshevik intelligentka Stasova had returned to St. Petersburg by January 1907,⁷⁷ then worked in Tbilisi.⁷⁸ Her close friend, the 37-year-old intelligentka Zinaida Krzhizhanovskaya, Gleb's wife, was a Sunday school teacher in Moscow, and she and other women Bolsheviks took over a bourgeois women's club.⁷⁹ The Bolshevik intelligent Elizarov had been deported to Syrzan in Samara province for three years for being involved in the railway strike in 1905. Elizarova visited him in December 1906 to obtain illegal literature relating to the Duma, and back in St. Petersburg she translated Bolshevik propaganda and Otto Bauer's *Die*

nationale Frage und die Sozialdemokratie (The National Question and Social Democracy).⁸⁰ She distributed leaflets and spoke to workers about the elections, but the police detained her. Her sister Maria had translated Marx's letters to Ludwig Kugelmann, and her brother Ulyanov edited them in Finland and wrote an introduction dated 5 February. He found it reassuring that Marx had argued that 'there are moments in history when a desperate struggle of the masses, even for a hopeless cause, is *essential* for the further schooling of these masses and their training for their *next struggle*'. The pamphlet appeared anonymously in St. Petersburg, where Bolsheviks in Vyborg and Petersburg districts published an illegal paper, *Rabochy (The Worker)*, with the support of the RSDRP committee on the 13th.⁸¹

Across European Russia 61,000 of the 78,000 primary schools were of a high standard, though they could accommodate only 42 percent of school-age children.⁸² On 20 February the education minister closed St. Petersburg schools.⁸³ The RSDRP committee had called on workers not to observe the holiday, and most large workforces stayed away,⁸⁴ went on one-hour strikes or donated their pay to the unemployed. The SD deputies filed into the Duma building with a red ribbon in their lapels,⁸⁵ and the new Bolshevik daily *Novy Luch (New Ray)* appeared. Some Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks blocked with Kadets to elect a Kadet as president and one of the vice-presidents and a Trudovik as the other.⁸⁶ The RSDRP deputies elected an executive committee of five Mensheviks, and when the Bolshevik Alexinsky refused to join them, the Menshevik G.E. Bielousov replaced him.⁸⁷ Ozoliņš, who sided with the Mensheviks, was the secretary,⁸⁸ and the Menshevik chair, Tsereteli, wanted to cooperate with Trudoviki and SRs.⁸⁹ The Bolsheviks and two sympathisers formed a separate group,⁹⁰ and Malinovsky supervised them.⁹¹ Only 7.5 percent of the deputies were leftists,⁹² yet it became known as the 'Red Duma'.⁹³

(iii) It was necessary to carry confusion into their ranks

Aron-Shmuel Taratuta had been born in Elizavetgrad in south central Ukraine in 1881. He later married an anarchist,⁹⁴ but joined the RSDRP in 1898.⁹⁵ He was soon arrested, though from 1900 he was active in Katerynoslav,⁹⁶ and joined the committee in 1901. In 1902 he was a member of the Mykolaiv committee,⁹⁷ but late that year he was arrested in Odesa.⁹⁸ He supported the Congress 'majority' in 1903,⁹⁹ but was exiled to Siberia for four years. He escaped in 1904,¹⁰⁰ and was active in Odesa and Baki,¹⁰¹ where he joined the committee and then the Batumi committee.¹⁰² He was in jail again by May 1905, but was freed by the October amnesty,¹⁰³ and took part in the Moscow rising in December. In 1906 he was a secretary of the RSDRP Moscow committee and the Moscow region bureau, and a delegate to the Stockholm Congress.¹⁰⁴ He became the lover of Elizaveta Schmidt,¹⁰⁵ whose brother Nikolai had told Gorky that he wanted to donate his fortune to the RSDRP,¹⁰⁶ though Gorky feared arrest, and arranged for someone else to pick up the money.¹⁰⁷ Over the winter Taratuta was involved in expropriations, and in February 1907 Krasin visited Schmidt in prison and persuaded him to leave his fortune to the Bolsheviks. He had been tortured, and soon after he was either beaten to death or committed suicide.¹⁰⁸ His sister Ekaterina told the Bolshevik Centre that she would donate her half of her inheritance, consisting of around 47,120 rubles in cash and 83 shares in a joint-stock company,¹⁰⁹ after her brother's will left probate.¹¹⁰

In Ukraine an anarcho-syndicalist group included a large number of Odesa port workers and sailors, Katerynoslav bakers and tailors and some SR and SD intelligenty. In Moscow anarchists distributed leaflets in the Zamoskvorechie and Presnya districts, had cells in the Tsindel mill and the electric power station, and organised strikes and demonstrations. Anarchist-communist groups held a conference in the Urals. They decided to try to convert trade unions into 'illegal inter-party' organisations, to counteract 'opportunist' socialists,¹¹¹ and SR Maximalists joined them.¹¹² Émigré anarchists in New York and London organised the Anarchist Red Cross to help imprisoned comrades. Petr Kropotkin led the London group and there were others in Geneva and Paris.¹¹³

On 27 February the St. Petersburg Bolsheviks' *Novy luch* was closed.¹¹⁴ On 1 March the city governor banned factory meetings and stationed police at factory gates.¹¹⁵ *Rabochaya molva (Worker's Word)* appeared, but the police closed it immediately,¹¹⁶ and police 'mistook' a meeting of SD Duma deputies in Gerasime Makharadze's flat for an 'illegal assembly'.¹¹⁷

The RSDRP claimed between 150,000 and 170,000 members nationally, and on the basis of the elections to a St. Petersburg conference the Bolsheviks claimed 5,100 and the Mensheviks 2,200 members in the city.¹¹⁸ On the 4th *Proletary* published a draft RSDRP Congress resolution which argued that 'a most determined ideological struggle must be waged against the anarcho-syndicalist movement'. The Duma elections had educated the masses, but the Kadet deputies would not satisfy their basic needs and 'forcible repression' would follow. It was 'not a constitutional but a revolutionary crisis leading to a direct struggle of the proletariat and the peasant masses against the autocracy'. The 'main task of the proletariat' was to 'consummate the democratic revolution' and that of the SD Duma deputies was 'criticism, propaganda, agitation and organisation'. The economic crisis showed 'no signs of early abatement' and 'the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the landlords and

the peasantry', and 'between the government-bribed peasant bourgeoisie and the poor villagers' was 'becoming more acute'.¹¹⁹

The national Peasant Union had effectively ceased to exist,¹²⁰ but the peasant Duma deputies voted with the SDs more often than with the Kadets.¹²¹ On the 9th the Trudoviki deputies presented a bill to free everyone who had been arrested, fined, imprisoned or deported for illegal political, religious or economic activity, including those sentenced by courts-martial. (A committee was established weeks later, but it came to nothing.)¹²²

After the censors destroyed the Bolshevik intelligent Lunacharsky edition of Arturo Labriola's book on reformism and syndicalism,¹²³ he believed that a social revolution in Russia would have to wait for Asia to become capitalist.¹²⁴ He had been prosecuted for an article about Kautsky's book about Russian and US workers, and a pamphlet against the Kadets, and his situation had become 'insufferable'. 'Severe overtiredness, the undermining of my health, extreme dissatisfaction with the course of events in the Party and the need to examine many things in its past – all inclined me to emigration. A relative political calm provided the opportunity' and 'threatened literary prosecutions provided an additional argument'.¹²⁵ He told Ulyanov that he wanted to study 'the latest in west European proletarian life' and 'especially syndicalism'. Ulyanov sought to direct his research,¹²⁶ then Lunacharsky left for Finland, without his family,¹²⁷ and stopped off in Berlin on his way to Italy.¹²⁸

In Russia, on 20 March, the RSDRP's internal *Partynniye izvestiya* published a 'tactical platform' for the next Congress. It argued that the RSDRP should demand that peasants got land, and though the 'democratic revolution is still in progress' the party should ruthlessly denounce 'constitutional illusions'. The 'primary task' was to merge all SD organisations and adopt the 'elective principle' 'from top to bottom'. Guerrilla fighting was 'permissible and advisable', so the party should use the slogan of insurrection and proclaim civil war. Preparations had to be made for the 'transition from defensive to offensive forms of armed struggle' and 'still greater efforts must be made to form more fighting squads, improve their organisation, and supply them with weapons of every type'. Squads of party members, non-party workers and peasants should 'wage relentless struggle against' the Black-Hundreds who were 'using violence against the population', and 'destroy the government, police and military machinery'. There should be 'increased work' in the armed forces and.¹²⁹ Reportedly Krasin had sent 40,000 rubles to the St. Petersburg Bolsheviks' *Rossiyskiy soldat (Russian Soldier)*, *Proletary*, and a paper in the Tatar language. Part of a haul of 60,000 rubles went to the Bolshevik school for military instructors in Kyiv in Ukraine, part to the 'Bomb-throwing School' in Lviv in Galicia, and part for smuggling publications, helping fugitives and paying for RSDRP Congress delegates' travel costs.¹³⁰

The Lithuanian SDP applied to join the RSDRP on the basis that it would be the only SD party in that region, be able to recruit RSDRP members there, have its own CC, congresses and apparatus, but also have representatives on the RSDRP CC and on delegations to international Congresses, though the St. Petersburg RSDRP committee rejected a merger with the 170 Lithuanian SDs in the city.¹³¹ The Mensheviks won 267 votes for RSDRP Congress delegates in the Vyborg district, 231 in Nevsky district and 50 in Okruzov district, while the Bolsheviks got 155, 202 and 300 respectively, and did better than Mensheviks elsewhere. On 22 March/4 April the leftist French paper *L'Humanité* noted that the Bolsheviks had a majority on the RSDRP St. Petersburg and Moscow regional committees. The Bolsheviks' legal daily *Nashe Ekho (Our Echo)* appeared in St. Petersburg on 25 March. That day in Terijoki, Finland, 92 Bolshevik and 41 Menshevik delegates formally ended the split. The St. Petersburg RSDRP committee's military organisation had contributed to the Bolshevik *Rabochny*, and the Baltic region military organisations had acted against the wishes of the LSD. The CC 'soundly reprimanded' Ulyanov for attending a military-technical conference without its approval, though he insisted that the CC had sent him and he denounced the Menshevik CC member Gurvich for beginning the split the previous November.¹³² The CC summoned him to a party court which included three members he selected, three picked by the Mensheviks and one each chosen by the SDKPiL, Bund and LSD; but he defied them,¹³³ and his report for the RSDRP Congress later described his motivation.

What is impermissible in members of a united party is permissible and obligatory for sections of a party that has been split. It is wrong to write about Party comrades in a language that systematically spreads among the working classes hatred, aversion, contempt, etc., for those who hold other opinions. But *one may and must write* in that strain about an organisation that has seceded.

Why must one? Because when a split has taken place it is one's duty *to wrest* the masses from the leadership of the seceding section. I am told – you carried confusion into the ranks of the proletariat. My answer is – I purposely and deliberately carried confusion into the ranks of that section of the St. Petersburg proletariat which followed the Mensheviks who seceded on the eve of the elections, *and I shall always act* in that way *whenever a split occurs*.

By my sharp and discourteous attacks on the Mensheviks on the eve of the St. Petersburg elections, I actually succeeded in causing that section of the proletariat which *trusts and follows the Mensheviks* to waver. That was my aim. That was my duty as a member of the St. Petersburg Social-Democratic organisation which was conducting a campaign for a Left bloc; because, after the split, *it was necessary*, in order to conduct the campaign, to rout the ranks of the Mensheviks, who were

leading the proletariat in the footsteps of the Cadets; *it was necessary* to carry confusion into their ranks; it was necessary to arouse among the mass hatred, aversion and contempt for these people who had ceased to be members of a united party, had become political enemies, and were trying to put a spoke in the wheel of our Social-Democratic organisation in its election campaign. Against *such* political enemies I then conducted – and in the event of a repetition or development of split *shall always conduct* – a struggle of *extermination*.¹³⁴

The party court had adjourned and never resumed,¹³⁵ though the police were ordered to find Ulyanov.¹³⁶

The state, the imperial family, the church and church-related institutions owned over 38.7 percent of the agricultural land for which statistics are available, private individuals owned over 25.5 percent, and over 34.6 percent belonged to 12.5 million peasants, at an average of 30 acres.¹³⁷ Across European Russia around 42 percent of male peasants were regarded as part of the ‘surplus’ population, and allotments fed households in only ten provinces.¹³⁸ The government reckoned that a Cossack household need 60 to 70 acres to get by, but the average in the Don region was 25, and the Cossack Duma deputies made demands.¹³⁹ Several liberal and radical Armenians had also become deputies,¹⁴⁰ and Muslim deputies conducted a ‘severe struggle against the autocracy’s policies of colonial emigration and discrimination, and argued for a radical solution to agrarian problems, though they usually supported the Kadets.¹⁴¹ During March there were 131 officially-recorded cases of peasant unrest,¹⁴² while Finnish socialists had won over a third of seats in the parliamentary election.¹⁴³

On 1 April the St. Petersburg Bolsheviks’ *Nashe Ekho* called a revolution ‘accomplished only by the bourgeoisie’ a ‘caricature of Marxism’.

A liberation movement that is bourgeois in social and economic character is not such because of its motive forces. The motive force may be, not the bourgeoisie, but the proletariat and the peasantry ... [who] suffer even more than the bourgeoisie from the survivals of serfdom, because they are in greater need of freedom and the abolition of landlord oppression. For the bourgeoisie, on the contrary, complete victory constitutes a danger, since the proletariat will make use of full freedom against the bourgeoisie, and the fuller that freedom and the more completely the power of the landlords has been destroyed, the easier will it be for the proletariat to do so.

The bourgeoisie ‘strives to put an end to its revolution half-way from its destination, when freedom has been only half won, by a deal with the old authorities and the landlords’.¹⁴⁴

(iv) Torture and executions

In spring 1907 a political prisoner in Algachi Katorga Prison in Siberia refused to doff his cap to the governor and was dragged off to the ‘dark cell’. Two others refused to stand when the governor ordered them, and he ordered soldiers to take them to the ‘dark cell’ too. When they refused soldiers clubbed them with rifle butts, but managed to take only one. The governor ordered that all ‘politicals’ should be deprived of bedding, hot meals and exercise, and the vessels for urine and faeces were to remain in their cell all day; but he subsequently stopped visiting the prison and restored the bedding and warm food. On 5 April a telegram from the SR Igor Sazonov reached an SR Duma deputy in St. Petersburg, and he read out part of it. (It took a month for a minister to offer an ‘explanation’.)¹⁴⁵

On 10 April the State Publishing House revealed the tortures that political prisoners had undergone, including having their eyes torn out, painful wounds filled with salt, feet scorched, and cigarettes extinguished on their bodies, and then they were killed to hide what had happened. All this had taken place without any trials.¹⁴⁶ Torture was common in the Baltic provinces, and on the 10th the Duma considered a report on the ‘Riga Museum of Horrors’.¹⁴⁷ The government acknowledged that courts martial had sentenced 683 people to death since August 1906,¹⁴⁸ and 144 had been executed.¹⁴⁹ In reality courts martial had sentenced at least 1,102 of 1,247 suspects to death,¹⁵⁰ and there had been 324 executions in the Baltic provinces, 212 in Poland and 195 in the Caucasus.¹⁵¹ At least 459 had been executed for terrorism, 382 for attacks on state and private property and 84 for agrarian assassinations. Courts martial had sent 329 to katorga prisons, deported seven, jailed 443 and acquitted 71.¹⁵² One report claimed that 2,500 people from the Baltic provinces had been executed, 700 imprisoned, some with katorga, 1,800 deported and 2,600 sent to the interior of Russia. In Estland 300 had reportedly been executed, 600 flogged and 500 sentenced to katorga.¹⁵³

Courts martial for civilians ended,¹⁵⁴ and the government did not enact new emergency legislation, fearing a defeat in the Duma;¹⁵⁵ but it had an SD deputy arrested for advising peasants to refuse to pay taxes and seize land.¹⁵⁶ On the 14th 28 members and supporters of the VPSR combat organisation were arrested. Three were executed and the rest imprisoned, deported or exiled.¹⁵⁷ The VPSR leaders advised peasants to ‘Get guns, there are plenty around in government warehouses’, and ‘form fighting detachments’ under VPSR leadership, in case the tsar

dissolved the Duma. Breshkovskaya argued for cutting down telegraph poles, tearing up railway lines, blowing up bridges, taking over civil and military administrations and redistributing land.¹⁵⁸ The police knew of 253,407 Black Hundreds in 74 provinces, yet they ignored the prime minister's order to disperse them.¹⁵⁹ On the 17th he privately decided that the Duma should be closed.¹⁶⁰

The press at Moscow's Caucasian Fruit Shop had produced 1.5 million copies of 45 items in eight months.

[S]even leaflets totalling 174,000 copies on political and economic questions were issued for the workers; twenty-one different leaflets, totalling 705,500 copies, were issued to the general public, dealing mainly with the political demands of the Party ... for the peasants there were four leaflets, totalling 140,000 copies, and 20,000 copies of the agrarian programme of our Party ... two manifestos (10,000 copies) were addressed to the soldiers; one leaflet (10,000 copies) to the railwaymen; two issues of the journal, *The Voice of the Railwaymen*; one leaflet for the Railwaymen's Union (15,000 copies); 6,000 copies of a leaflet addressed to the general public, asking for aid for the political prisoners; and finally, four leaflets on the activities of the Moscow Committee in November and December; the resolutions for the Fifth Party Congress; and an address to the Duma fraction, totalling 14,000 copies.¹⁶¹

Since the 'third' Congress had been a Bolshevik conference,¹⁶² the 'fifth' would really be the fourth.

Across European Russia around 300,000 workers had joined trade unions, including more than half of those in some trades.¹⁶³ The Bolshevik Nogin was involved textile workers' union, and its first regional conference in Moscow had recently called for a strike,¹⁶⁴ though the RSDRP committee's weekly paper, *Istina (Verity)*, was closed after its fourth issue. In preparation for May Day the committee printed over 350,000 copies of a small poster on red paper, and a pamphlet, *Kto yavlyayetsya nastoyashchim zashchitnikom rabochikh mass (Who is the Real Defender of the Working Masses?)* Police raided the Caucasian Fruit Shop and arrested several committee members; but others, including Malinovsky, lived in a student hostel, and the police left them alone because they feared being bombed.¹⁶⁵ May Day leaflets went into all the factories, and on the day there was a meeting in nearby woods. Lookouts were posted, but Cossacks attacked with their whips, robbed some and beat the leaders, including Bobrovskaya, very badly, but did not arrest them, though they arrested others.¹⁶⁶ (The Cossack whip, the *nagaika*, had a stock about 15 inches long and leather thong of about 20 inches with pieces of lead at the end. It could inflict hideous wounds and even kill.¹⁶⁷) Days later the police raided the print shop and I.M. Tsipkina's flat, found her address book, a large cache of SD literature and the committee's plans, including those for fighting squads.¹⁶⁸ The Bolsheviks' school for terrorism, at Kuokkala in Finland,¹⁶⁹ was transferred to the village of Haapala near the northern coast, and bomb-making materials arrived from Helsinki and Vyborg.¹⁷⁰ The Okhrana allowed Krasin to have a foreign passport,¹⁷¹ but kept him under surveillance, and the Berlin Agentura knew when he arrived. He contacted a man who supplied weapons and asked him to acquire equipment for a press, then bought a large quantity of special paper and arranged for the SPD to send it to Finland. He helped to organise expropriations in Tbilisi and Baki, and Malinovsky organised others in the Urals;¹⁷² but the Bolsheviks' *Nashe Ekho*, was closed.¹⁷³

During April the manager at Bryansk ironworks in Katerynoslav had been assassinated,¹⁷⁴ as had 50 businessmen in Armavir in Kuban Cossack territory. Baki SRs had supported a sailors' strike, blown up a large ship, causing 60,000 rubles' worth of damage, assassinated a captain and threatened employers who refused to rehire strikers. Expropriations amounted to 500,000 rubles,¹⁷⁵ and officially there had been 193 cases of peasant unrest;¹⁷⁶

(v) There and Back Again

In January 1907, in St. Petersburg's Kresty Prison, Bronstein had 'devoured' *Das Kapital* Volume III and French novels.¹⁷⁷ At dawn on the 5th he and 14 other former St. Petersburg sovet deputies left the city,¹⁷⁸ in a third class railway carriage, to Tyumen in Siberia.¹⁷⁹ Bronstein had been allowed to keep his boots which had a passport in one sole and gold pieces in the heels. Their ultimate destination was Obdorsk, near the Arctic Circle, where the temperature could reach 50 degrees below. It was 500 miles from the nearest telegraph and almost 900 miles from the nearest railway station. A sergeant on the train 'declaimed the latest revolutionary poems', though gendarmes surrounded their carriage at every halt.¹⁸⁰ They had been sent from Moscow,¹⁸¹ though the soldiers on the train posted prisoners' letters. From Tyumen the prisoners travelled in sleighs, guarded by 52 soldiers, a captain, a police sergeant and a senior police officer.¹⁸²

Bronstein found that Siberian peasants had changed: 'they talk of political matters; they ask if this state of things will last forever or whether it will end soon'. The 13-year-old sleigh driver kept shouting 'Wake up! Wake up! All you working people get ready for the fight, you hungry people!' Soldiers scolded him and threatened to report him, but he 'knew quite well that they were on his side and continued to roar'. Before they reached Tobolsk the prisoners learned that they would be going to Khe, 300 miles north of Obdorsk.¹⁸³ They reached Berezov on 11 February, but

Bronstein pretended to be suffering from sciatica, and was allowed to go to the hospital.¹⁸⁴ He escaped on the 20th, and the police did not notice his absence for two days.¹⁸⁵ A young merchant had put him in touch with a hunter who had a sleigh and in the middle of nowhere someone asked Bronstein about the Duma, and 'the employee of a certain village profiteer' – kulak - told him that 'the "scientific" standpoint of the SDs had won his adherence'. On the last leg an SR looked after him, and on the 25th he reached the narrow gauge railway which was connected to the main line at Perm,¹⁸⁶ where he rejoined Sedova. They went to St. Petersburg and met colonel Alexandr Litkens, the chief medical officer at the Imperial Military Academy, and then to Finland, where Ulyanov 'taunted' Bronstein for not joining the Bolsheviks, but gave him addresses in Helsinki. Bronstein recalled that the 'tide of the revolution was still ending. The Mensheviks were recanting the mad acts of 1905. The Bolsheviks were not recanting anything, and were getting ready for a new revolution'.¹⁸⁷ He and Sedova stayed in a village near Helsinki for a few weeks, then he left, and Sedova followed later, leaving their son with a friend. They met in Berlin, then stayed with Helphand in Dresden. After a holiday in the Bohemian mountains, Sedova returned to St. Petersburg to collect their son, and Bronstein toured SD groups in south Germany.¹⁸⁸ The advance on his *Tuda i Obratno (There and Back Again)* paid for their fares to the RSDRP Congress.¹⁸⁹

Thanks to his false passport the 26-year-old former worker and Bolshevik Semën Kanatchikov had been released from prison after two months, early in 1906, and went to Moscow, where he worked both legally and illegally,¹⁹⁰ as the RSDRP organizer in Sokolniki district.¹⁹¹ Early in 1907 the CC sent him to the Ekaterinburg committee, who sent him to Nizhni Tagil east of Perm in Siberia, and he became a Congress delegate, though he was arrested in Perm and taken to the prison.¹⁹²

The Bolshevik Sverdlov had been betrayed in summer 1906, along with scores of other Urals comrades,¹⁹³ including Novgorodtseva.¹⁹⁴ One day Sverdlov was surrounded by detectives and swallowed ciphered addresses, so he was 'clean', but was taken to Okhrana headquarters and then Perm Prison. Kanatchikov recalled that

we discussed the state of things in the Party and tactical questions of the movement, and we worked out and sent resolutions to the outside world for the organisation to adopt. Yakov Mikhailovich [Sverdlov] sent his organisational directives through the prison-post, which ... made its way out and back by various routes. I remember writing, on his orders, some proclamations for the Perm organisation involving, if I am not mistaken, the elections for the Duma.

The second part of our work involved conducting propaganda within the prison among the younger and less-prepared comrades, mainly workers from Motovilikha and other Urals factories near Perm. There were several circles in the prison, mainly organised by Yakov Mikhailovich, in which we, the propagandists, did systematic work.

Sverdlov 'attached great importance to this work' and 'followed it so closely that we might theoretically finish off the Mensheviks even behind the prison walls'. He estimated the height of the wall and sent for thin steel-files from Motovilikha. They received illegal literature, and *Das Kapital*, and agreed a 'constitution' which 'forbade for a given time any talking, pranks or other disruption of the silence'; though they enjoyed singing, and Sverdlov's strong voice could reach political prisoners in the women's yard. In autumn, because of overcrowding, Sverdlov, Preobrazhensky and others were sent to a nearby prison with solitary cells, which allowed them 'not to worry about others' and have peace for 'more serious reading'. Kanatchikov recalled that Sverdlov was 'the head of our corridor and looked after our material supplies'. One day two prisoners were 'dragged into the punishment-cell and beaten for no serious reason', though others responded with a one-week hunger strike, and got the administration to compromise. Preobrazhensky recalled that two-thirds of Urals SDs were in prison, but 'lower levels' of the organisation 'quickly produced new workers to replace those who had been arrested'. In spring 1907 the Perm SDs' trial was transferred to Kazan. Several SDs faced trial in Nizhni Novgorod for the 1905 insurrection in Sormovo. After five months in Perm Prison, and a four-day hunger strike, Preobrazhensky and others, including two women, were released under surveillance for lack of evidence. The RSDRP Urals military organiser sent two soldiers to meet Preobrazhensky in a forest, but they wanted too much money to help him escape. Alexandr Minkin told him about the Urals organisation and he discussed the situation with SRs, then left to re-establish contacts in Ekaterinburg, Chelyabinsk and Ufa. The Perm committee sent Preobrazhensky to St. Petersburg to buy Browning pistols for the fighting squad, but a spy spotted him and the police sent him back to Perm Prison, so he was unable to attend the preparatory conference he had organised in Viatka, and the 'most active elements' in the Urals were 'rounded up'.¹⁹⁵ Novgorodtseva became Perm RSDRP committee's Congress delegate,¹⁹⁶ with 14 other female Bolsheviks and four Mensheviks.¹⁹⁷

Konstantin Popov had been born in 1876. He joined Tserderbaum's St. Petersburg SD kruzhek in 1899, supported *Iskra* in 1901, became a Menshevik in 1903, but joined the Bolsheviks in 1906.¹⁹⁸ He led the RSDRP committee in Omsk in south-west Siberia, which included 34 Bolsheviks (three of them women) and four Mensheviks, and was in charge of propaganda and workers' kruzki. Virgily Shanster had escaped from exile and he and Popov taught

younger comrades about revolutionary theory and practice and argued with the Mensheviks on the committee, but many more Mensheviks arrived. Early in 1907 the committee received instructions from the regional centre to elect delegates to a meeting to elect Congress delegates. On the day a baker known as 'Smoky' was the lookout, and rushed in to say that Cossacks had surrounded the building. Committee members destroyed incriminating material, but the sheriff, police and a Cossack officer found the seal, leaflets and resolutions written by Shanster with Popov's amendments. Most of the committee were taken to prison, pending courts martial, but the survivors visited them and elected them as Congress delegates. At their trial they challenged the legality of the raid, and undermined the credibility of witnesses who stole money, a Browning revolver and a pair of trousers. Most defendants were sentenced to a month in a Fortress, and though 'Smoky' got three years' *katorga*, he later escaped.¹⁹⁹

(vi) Selecting RSDRP Congress delegates

Earlier that year the Bolshevik intelligent Woytinsky had been in Novgorod House of Detention, pending his trial for advocating the overthrow of the government; but in February the St. Petersburg engineers' union paid his 3,000 rubles bail. He returned to the capital and was twice briefly arrested for criticising the government.²⁰⁰ There had been a 'complete stagnation in party life at the grass roots';²⁰¹ but he heard about an RSDRP 'conference' abroad, with one delegate per 100 members. He did not campaign, but though he received more votes than all the other Bolshevik candidates put together, Ulyanov refused to include him in the delegation because he knew he would vote with the Mensheviks when he agreed with them.²⁰²

Mikhail Efremov had been born into a lower-middle-class family in Kolpino, near St. Petersburg, in 1880. His drunken father beat his wife, and the three children went to live with their grandfather. Mikhail attended a private boarding school when he was five, and could read well after a year. In 1889 he attended a three-year primary school, then worked at a box-making factory for five kopeks a day, but was sacked, then worked at a tobacco factory and an engineering works. When he was 14 he was among the leaders of a strike, but was sacked again. After a few months of unemployment he became a chromolithographer's apprentice, and when he was 21, after he had served his time, he got a job in St. Petersburg. In 1903 he came across socialist literature, and in 1904 he joined an SD *kruzhok*, but was sacked in 1905. Months later he moved to Estland, where he was involved in the 1905 revolution and supported an armed rising. He helped to form the Reval Soviet of Workers' Deputies and the Reval Union of Metal Workers, but was arrested and deported to Siberia. He escaped to St. Petersburg and organised a protest against the massacre of demonstrators in December, but was arrested in January 1906. He was put in the death cell, but was exiled to Siberia. That summer he and others escaped to Tomsk, where comrades hid him. He returned to St. Petersburg, worked under a pseudonym at a factory on Vasilievsky Island and formed a union of engravers and chromolithographers. He was elected as its president, and when the union merged with the other print workers' union he was elected to the leading committee. In January 1907 he was elected to the RSDRP committee, worked in various districts and was elected to the extended editorial board of *Proletary* and *Vypered*, and in spring he became a delegate to the RSDRP Congress.²⁰³

The SD intelligent Rozhkov was convinced that his and other SDs' grandchildren would bring about a revolution only after capitalism began 'to shake in its foundations and commence its own decline'. He knew the Okhrana were aware of his false passport, so he went to Kuokkala, met Ulyanov, and commuted to St. Petersburg for the Bolshevik committee EC, which often met at the University. Afterwards he talked to workers at the Nevsky shipyard and the Obukhov plant and became a Congress delegate.²⁰⁴ The Bolshevik Apfelbaum propagandised in workers' districts, and also became a delegate.²⁰⁵

Iwan Teodorowicz had been born into an aristocratic Polish family in Smolensk in 1875. His great-grandfather had been active in the 1830 insurrection and his father and two brothers had been exiled after taking part in the 1863 rising.²⁰⁶ Iwan's mother worked as a seamstress and laundrywoman to feed and clothe six boys.²⁰⁷ When Iwan graduated from the gymnasium he was determined to be a professional revolutionary.²⁰⁸ He entered Moscow University,²⁰⁹ joined an SD *kruzhok* in 1895 and the RSDRP in the late 1890s. By 1902 he was a member of the committee and was repeatedly arrested,²¹⁰ then denounced by an informer and exiled to Yakutsk. In 1903 he supported the Congress 'majority' and escaped to Geneva, but by October 1905 he worked in St. Petersburg,²¹¹ and early in 1907 he became an RSDRP Congress delegate.²¹²

During the 1905 revolution the SD intelligent Pokrovsky had taught workers' evening classes in Moscow and published a book which favoured Marxism. He visited Ulyanov in Geneva, but escaped to Finland after the failure of the Moscow rising.²¹³ He worked as a journalist in 1906, but censors banned his pamphlet on economic materialism.²¹⁴ It became clear to him that since the autocracy 'suppressed the workers' movement with the help of *foreign capital*', the Russian revolution 'would have to be international in character'.²¹⁵ By 1907 he was a member

of St. Petersburg RSDRP committee, helped to edit its main publications and was a candidate member of the CC.²¹⁶ He participated in the election campaign for the Congress, and attended a large number meetings of workers who were 'very adapt in political matters', especially the 'old revolutionary fighters', though 'we had to explain to them the importance of the slogan of the Constituent Assembly'.²¹⁷

In Ukraine, after 20 issues, the Luhansk RSDRP committee's *Donetsky kolokol* had been closed in January 1907, but by then the Petrovsky factory union had 700 members.²¹⁸ Konkordia Gromova had supported the RSDRP Congress 'majority' in 1903, when she was 27, then returned to Russia,²¹⁹ and worked in Moscow,²²⁰ Tver and Odesa.²²¹ After the *Potemkin* mutiny in 1905 she returned to Moscow, and after the rising was crushed in December she escaped to Odesa, then Rostov-na-Donu, where there had been an armed revolt. She was arrested and imprisoned, and in 1906 she was deported to Vologda province under surveillance, but escaped to Moscow and lived illegally. Three RSDRP sympathisers refused to let her stay, but Bobrovskaya took her in.²²² The Bolsheviks were 'not fashionable', because of the failed rising; but illegal literature arrived in suitcases from Finland and was exchanged for a luggage receipt, taken to a centre, sorted, and distributed to districts and factories. Olga Putyata provided addresses for distribution and secret correspondence, but she was a spy and those arrested included Bobrovskaya.²²³ Gromova and Arkadi Samoilov,²²⁴ a Jew born in St. Petersburg, lived together,²²⁵ but in December spies followed her, so the couple went to Luhansk, 'a small Bolshevik island in the "Menshevik sea" of the Donets basin'. The RSDRP committee met at the Hartmann factory, where the Bolshevik Voroshilov was influential. Gromova led workers' *kruzhki* at the cartridge works and railway workshops, and in February 1907 she was nominated as a Congress delegate, but declined.²²⁶ Voroshilov had been due to be tried in Luhansk the previous October, but a general strike had caused a postponement and he was acquitted in spring, and represented the Luhansk organisation at the first All-Russian trade union conference in Moscow.²²⁷ The SD intelligent George Denike had been forbidden to argue his perspective in the St. Petersburg RSDRP organisation, so he went to Luhansk, became a propagandist and agitator and spoke at the Hartman plant, where the workers were unionised. He and another comrade wanted to establish a 'nonfactional' centre and link up with Bronstein, and though they won Voroshilov's support, Samoilov and Gromova opposed them. In March Katerynoslav gendarmes arrested Denike and showed him an uncoded letter from the Kazan RSDRP committee.²²⁸ Gromova and Voroshilov became Congress delegates.²²⁹

Georgi Telia had been born in the Georgian village of Chagani in Kutaisi province in 1880. He taught himself to read and write, became a domestic servant in Tbilisi, learned Russian, worked as a carpenter in the railway workshops and became an SD. By 1901 he was a propagandist and organiser, but after a demonstration the police searched for him 'with lanterns'. In 1903 he organised a demonstration, carried a red flag and made a speech, then went underground and travelled around Caucasia as an organiser. He set up a secret press in Batumi, but was arrested and sent to Kutaisi Prison, where he studied and discussed socialist ideas, but contracted tuberculosis. After 18 months he was transferred to the 'little prison', but escaped to Tbilisi. He considered himself a Menshevik, but 'rejected factional fanaticism' and 'wanted to think everything out for himself'. In 1905 the RSDRP sent him to Baki, where he established a press, improved the organisation and wrote articles for the Bolshevik *Proletariats brdzola* (*The Struggle of the Proletariat*). He was arrested, but escaped, and attended the Tampere conference. When he got back to Georgia he took to his bed, but wrote articles and worked on a pamphlet about the history of Social-Democracy in the Caucasus, but he died in March 1907. That month the first issue of the Georgian daily paper, *Dro* (*Time*), appeared in Tbilisi, and included an obituary for Telia by 'Ko' and a translation of Kautsky's pamphlet on the Russian revolution. The Tbilisi organisation sent seven Congress delegates,²³⁰ and 28 of the 38 Caucasian Congress delegates had votes.²³¹

(vii) Everything that is done in the interest of the proletarian cause is honest

Angelica Balabanoff had been born into a well-to-do family near Kyiv in 1878. They spoke foreign languages at home, but she learned Russian 'from books hidden from my mother and governess'. She had to fight to go to school, and knew too little Russian to pass the entrance examination to a gymnasium, so her mother sent her a fashionable school in Kharkiv. After she graduated in 1895 her mother allowed her to teach poor children, but she managed to attend the Université Nouvelle in Brussels, where she discovered Plekhanov's mediation of Marx and 'found a light which illuminated every corner of my intellectual life'. She went to Rome, attended Labriola's lectures and was influenced by his mediation of Marx. She read *Avanti* (*Forward*), the paper of the Partito Socialista Italiano (the Italian Socialist Party, or PSI), joined, read SPD literature and went to German-speaking Switzerland as a translator and interpreter for migrant Italian workers. She published a paper for women and encouraged working-class women to write, 'regardless of their capacities', to develop their self-confidence. She spoke at large conferences

and challenged an angry young man who 'had no faith in the political education of the masses'. 'You cannot abolish injustice by merely raging against it. You cannot lead the workers intelligently unless you know something of the labour movement. You must understand its history – its failures as well as its successes and the reasons for both'. She admired the PSI's Geneva secretary, Pietro Losio. For him socialism was 'not merely a political creed, it was a way of life; human solidarity not a conviction but a religion'. His shoe shop in Geneva was 'a magnet for the Italian émigrés. Whether one wanted one's shoes repaired, a socialist pamphlet, a paper, bread, wine or advice in some moment in need, one went to Pietro's'. He thought the angry young man was a workshy sponger'. 'He never looks in your eyes, he is so restless, so rude'. His name was Benito Mussolini.

During 1905, in Lugano, Balabanoff heard about the Russian revolution, gained support for it and accumulated the equivalent of around \$30,000. Nobody doubted Ulyanov's 'complete unselfishness and abnegation', but his 'habit of accusing notoriously honest and disinterested people of treason, dishonesty, or bribery' troubled her.

When Ulyanov was in Zurich for a speech, I asked him to explain the matter to me, and, somewhat annoyed, he replied that to seize power every means must be used. 'Even dishonest ones?' I countered.

'Everything that is done in the interest of the proletarian cause is honest', Ulyanov said impatiently, heading towards the door. But I stopped him: 'Why do you call Socialists who have dedicated all their lives to the cause of the exploited traitors?'

'By so naming them, I do not intend to say that they are dishonest individuals, but I do want to point out that, objectively, through their attitude they become traitors'.

'But', I objected, 'those who read your writings, the workers, for instance, are not aware of this distinction; for them a traitor is a traitor, a contemptible creature who had knowingly sold himself to the enemies of the working class'. Ulyanov shrugged his shoulders and left without a word.

Balabanoff returned to the Swiss-Italian border and worked with émigré Russian SDs, though the intelligentsy were not 'absorbed into the life of the Swiss labour movement'. Russian students in Geneva could not risk meeting revolutionaries, but they built support networks, sold illegal literature, raised money and 'rendered many other services'; and in spring 1907 they elected Balabanoff as 'a fraternal delegate' to the RSDRP Congress.²³²

Iakov Lupolov, a native of Kostroma, had fled to the USA in 1891. He settled in Boston in 1893, where he was an active socialist. He later moved to New York, but in 1900 he returned to Russia and was active in the Perm RSDRP organisation. He became a correspondent of *Iskra*, and the police briefly detained him three times, but in April 1907 he organised the passage of Congress delegates through Finland.²³³

Paole Zion demanded 'Jewish personal political autonomy' and 'territorial autonomy', though it the first settlers in Palestine.²³⁴ The leading intelligentsy had moved from Poltava in Ukraine, where there were few Jewish workers, to Vilnius in Lithuania, where there were many.²³⁵ They claimed that membership had risen from 12,000,²³⁶ to 16,000, while the Bund claimed 33,000,²³⁷ and published a legal daily *Folktsaytung (People's Paper)* in Vilnius.²³⁸ The Bundists Grinberg and Mikhail Goldman went to Copenhagen for the RSDRP Congress, but the Danish government insisted that all the delegates left, so they set off for London, and the Bundists believed it was 'the only European city in which it could be certain that we would be left alone'.²³⁹

In London Fyodor Rothstein had opposed the Social Democratic Federation leader's views on the 'Jews War in the Transvaal' in 1899, and attended the International Congress in 1900. He became a member of the SDF's National Executive in 1901,²⁴⁰ but also joined the RSDRP. He supported the Congress 'majority' in 1903,²⁴¹ and wrote for legal Russian journals in 1904. In 1905 he wrote about the Russia revolution in the SDF's *Justice*, but left the National Executive in 1906,²⁴² joined the British Socialist Party, and organised a revolt against its leader. In 1907 he got a job with the liberal *Daily News*, read the foreign press and made extracts on international questions. With Alexeyev, Sergey Kravchinsky, Aaron Zundelevich and other émigrés, Rothstein prepared for the RSDRP Congress.²⁴³

In Berlin Dr Petr Zhitomirsky had begun working for the RSDRP when he was a student in 1902. He was a correspondent for *Iskra*, undertook important secret tasks including dealing with passports and transport, visited Rostov-na-Donu and other cities in Russia, organised links with groups abroad, and then went to Geneva. Most émigrés later left for Russia, but Zhitomirsky did not, even though he had nothing to do.²⁴⁴ In 1906, back in Berlin, he offered to restore the Bolsheviks' transport links.²⁴⁵ His salary was so large that the Okhrana paid it a bit at a time and helped him to establish a publishing house for medical books to launder it. The Okhrana was delighted when the RSDRP CC summoned him to Russia, since he would help them 'evaluate considerable interesting information dealing with the social democratic organisation within the Empire'.²⁴⁶ At the end of 1906 and early in 1907, as Russian revolutionaries escaped to Western Europe, and especially to Geneva, Zhitomirsky joined them.²⁴⁷ Before the RSDRP Congress the Okhrana sent him to Russia to get himself elected as a delegate.²⁴⁸ He now received 2,000 francs a month and was one of two spies who became delegates.²⁴⁹

6. Very indelicate methods

(i) The RSDRP London Congress

On 10 May 1907 Russian émigrés, English socialists, 12 Special Branch detectives and two Okhrana agents met the RSDRP Congress delegates who arrived in London. Some delegates booked into small hotels in Bloomsbury. Jughashvili, Tskhakaya and Shahumyan, who was now a Bolshevik, shared a small room in the home of an émigré Russian Jewish cobbler in Stepney, and Ulyanov's room was hardly bigger than a railway carriage compartment. Gorky and Andreeva stayed at the Hotel Imperial in Russell Square. The delegates registered at the Polish Socialist Club in Fullbourne Street off Whitechapel Road and received their daily two shillings and a password, and the Bolsheviks elected five comrades to choose speakers.¹

Next day the delegates assembled at the 34-year-old German anarchist Rudolph Rocker's Workers' Friend Club, a former Methodist chapel known as the 'Anarchist Club' in Jubilee Street, Whitechapel. Outside, the veteran Russian émigré anarchist Kropotkin introduced Ulyanov to the Special Branch detectives Edwin Woodhall and Herbert Fitch, who was dressed like an Eastern European, knew the secret handshake and managed to get inside.² The 303 with a vote from 138 local organisations included 89 Bolsheviks, 88 Mensheviks, 55 Bundists, and a total of 45 from the SDKPiL and LSD.³ The delegates had been SDs on average for 6.1 years,⁴ and had experienced 710 prosecutions and had been sentenced to 834 years in prison, deportation and exile, though they had served 597 years on account of 210 escapes.⁵ No Bolshevik was older than Ulyanov, who was 37, though 12 were over 30, as were seven Mensheviks, and four were over 50. The average age was 27.7.⁶ Officially each delegate represented 300 members,⁷ or over 148,000 altogether, but this included workers who had voted at Duma election meetings.⁸ The Bolsheviks claimed to represent 46,143, the Mensheviks 38,174, the SDKPiL 25,654, the Bund 25,468 and the LSD 13,000. The Bolsheviks had 12 of the 17 delegates from St. Petersburg, 16 of the 19 from Moscow and the Moscow region, all 19 from the Urals, Ivanovo, Vladimir, Kostroma, Bryansk, Kazan and Krasnoyarsk, while 58 Mensheviks came from south and south-west Russia. Thirteen Mensheviks and 21 Bolsheviks had had a higher education, 34 and 46 a secondary education, 39 and 35 a primary education, while Mensheviks nine and one Bolshevik were self-taught, and two of each had been taught at home. There were 12 Bolsheviks and 22 Mensheviks who were Jews,⁹ including around 11 percent of Bolshevik and 23 percent of Menshevik leaders.¹⁰ Fifteen Bolsheviks and four Mensheviks were women.¹¹ The Bolsheviks included 50 manual, office and shop workers, compared to the Mensheviks' 35,¹² and 188 delegates were 'living at the expense of the Party'.¹³ The Tbilisi Mensheviks protested that there were hardly any members in the district where Jughashvili claimed a mandate,¹⁴ and he was denied a vote, as was another Bolshevik.¹⁵

Alexander Rubinstein had been born in Poland in 1879. He joined the socialist movement in the late 1890s, was active in Łódź and Warszawa in the early 1900s and joined the SDKPiL's Main Directorate in 1906.¹⁶ In 1907 he was a London Congress delegate, along with Marchlewski, Fürstenberg, Warszawski and Dzierżyński. Luxemburg and Jogisches had travelled separately to London,¹⁷ where she avoided him,¹⁸ but was twice lobbied secretly in a pub.¹⁹

Nikolai Nakoriakov, the son of an official in Tobolsk, Siberia, had been born in 1881. He joined the revolutionary movement in 1899, the RSDRP in 1901 and the Congress 'majority' in 1903. He engaged in party work in the south, the Volga Region and the Urals, and had been a delegate to the London conference in 1906. He recalled that Ulyanov had a 'detailed talk' with every delegate 'about his life, work in the Party, education and even family affairs' at the 1907 Congress.²⁰ Gorky recalled that Ulyanov asked workers. 'What about the Women? Isn't the housework too hard for them? Have they time to study or read?' Gorky was in 'a very festive mood' because he 'was in the midst of three hundred choice Party men' – the voting delegates were all men - but while Plekhanov 'stood eyeing me firmly with folded arms, with an air of boredom, like a weary teacher looking at yet another new pupil,' Ulyanov greeted him warmly. 'You're fond of a fight, aren't you? Well, here there's going to be a big scrap'. He spoke with a guttural 'r', and 'stood with his thumbs shoved in the armholes of his waistcoat', though 'there was nothing of "the leader"' about him. He pointed out the 'shortcomings' of *Mat (Mother)*, and Gorky replied that it had been written in a hurry. Ulyanov called it a 'very timely book!' and asked in a 'businesslike tone' if it had been translated and, if so, 'to what extent it had been crippled by Russian and American censors'.²¹ (Reportedly, Ulyanov privately thought it glorified revolutionary intelligenty.²²)

The Congress opened on 13 May,²³ at the Brotherhood Church in Southgate Street, Islington, with the funeral hymn for fallen comrades.²⁴ Bolsheviks and Mensheviks sat on different sides of the room with the others in between.²⁵ Reportedly the 392 people present included 50 guests.²⁶ Gorky was a 'guest of honour',²⁷ as were the RSDRP contact with the SPD in Berlin, Wilhelm Buchholtz, and his wife.²⁸ Those with a voice but no vote included

ten SD Duma deputies,²⁹ and the 55-year-old Zundevich,³⁰ who lived in London but hated the Bolsheviks.³¹ Gorky recalled that Plekhanov was dressed in 'an impeccable frock-coat, lined with satin, with a very stiff high collar and an imposing cravat',³² and looked like a protestant preacher,³³ or a nobleman.³⁴ Gorky sat next to Ulyanov,³⁵ and when Plekhanov claimed that 'there were no revisionists in the party', Ulyanov 'doubled up, the bald spot on his head turned red and his shoulders shook in soundless laughter'.³⁶ Afterwards the Poles and Latvians met separately, as did the Bolsheviks, who reported about their local organisations.

Next day Plekhanov and the 37-year-old Pole Stanislaw Trusiewicz were nominated for the Congress bureau, but declined, and the five elected were Ulyanov, Gurvich, Jogiches, Grinberg and the LSD's 'Azis', who was probably Ansis Buševics. The Poles and Latvians barely understood Russian, but Karpinsky had published a manual about stenography and was the Bolshevik delegate on the foreign section of the minutes' commission. Taratuta suggested he should minute only the Bolsheviks' speeches, and especially Ulyanov's, and though Bronstein, Gurvich and Tsederbaum gave Karpinsky him notes, most speakers did not.³⁷ Marchlewski, who had been arrested in 1906 but released early in 1907,³⁸ usually spoke for the Poles, and Rozhkov for the Bolsheviks, and they indicated how their delegates were to vote, though very few others spoke.³⁹

Mandelstam argued that the RSDRP should turn itself into a militia, but while Tsederbaum acknowledged that SDs 'may take part in an armed rising' and 'call upon the masses to rise', the RSDRP could not 'prepare a rising if it is to remain faithful to its programme of not becoming a party of "putschists"'.⁴⁰ He complained bitterly that illegally-acquired funds and 'manufactured' 'Voting units' had given the Bolsheviks undue weight at the Congress,⁴¹ and accused them of not being Marxists; but a worker intervened. 'When are you going to have tea with the liberals again?'⁴² (The previous November Menshevik leaders had taken tea with a Kadet leader.⁴³) Gorky recalled that Tsederbaum was 'almost hysterical'.⁴⁴ He pleaded with 'youthful passion' that 'the split must be overcome' since the party was 'too weak to be broken in two'.⁴⁵ After Plekhanov described Bolshevik tactics as 'paving the way for anarcho-syndicalism',⁴⁶ Gorky recalled that Ulyanov 'hurriedly mounted the rostrum'.

With his hand extended and slightly raised he seemed to be weighing every word, sifting the phrases of his adversaries, putting forward weighty arguments against them, with proofs that it was the right and duty of the working class to travel its own path, not in the rear or even abreast of the liberal bourgeoisie. ... The integrity, polish, frankness and force of his speech, everything about him as he stood on the rostrum blended into a work of art. Everything was in its place. There was nothing superfluous, no embellishments, or if there were, they could not be seen, for his figures of speech were as indispensable as a pair of eyes to a face, or five fingers to a hand.⁴⁷

The delegates repudiated 'anarchist' and provocative actions and expropriations by 170 votes to 35, with 52 abstentions,⁴⁸ but allowed the theft of government cash, and agreed to disband fighting squads,⁴⁹ 'on pain of expulsion'.⁵⁰ Luxemburg and Jogisches voted against 'expropriations' from private citizens,⁵¹ though Gorky hoped that the Bolsheviks would ignore these decisions.⁵² Most SDKPIL and LSD delegates usually voted with the Bolsheviks,⁵³ and Trusiewicz did so consistently,⁵⁴ though Luxemburg argued that the Bolsheviks' 'Conspiratorial speculation and crude revolutionary adventurism' were the political counterparts of Menshevik vacillation, and no substitute for mass action, while the Bolsheviks' rigidity was the other side of the Mensheviks' 'formlessness of jelly that creeps in every direction under the pressure of events'.⁵⁵ She criticised the Bolsheviks' 'mechanistic' view of revolution,⁵⁶ and told the Mensheviks: 'You don't stand for Marxism, you sit on it, even wallow in it'.⁵⁷

The Congress resolved to fight the 'treacherous policy of bourgeois liberalism' in the Duma.⁵⁸ Malinovsky argued that RSDRP policies should be binding on the SD deputies under his 'direct leadership',⁵⁹ but proposed boycotting future elections. Ulyanov, eight other Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks voted against,⁶⁰ though a majority agreed that SD deputies should be accountable,⁶¹ cooperate with SRs, Trudoviki and the People's Socialist Party, and use the Duma for propaganda.⁶² Malinovsky circulated *Imeli li partiya Tsentre.Kom.vi 1906-7 godu?* (*Did the Party Have a Central Committee during 1906-7?*)⁶³ Ramishvili attacked the 'organisational opportunism of Menshevik leaders'.⁶⁴ Four Bolsheviks, four Mensheviks, three Bundists, two Poles and one Latvian called on the 'ideological leadership' to encourage trade unions to accept their leadership and 'establish organisational links', and a majority agreed.⁶⁵

Plekhanov had previously warned the Menshevik Axelrod about the 'inevitability' of a split with the Bolsheviks,⁶⁶ and Axelrod argued that the RSDRP had always been 'the revolutionary organisation not of the working class, but of the petty bourgeois intelligentsia (noise, protests from the Bolsheviks, shouts: Listen!) for the revolutionary influence over this class'. Party workers were 'a sort of class of plebeians', while the intelligentsy were 'an aristocracy, a class of party members controlling internal and external affairs of our party state, guarding the plebeian lower orders against all pernicious influences from without'. 'Our party must undergo radical changes so that it can begin to be a genuine homeland for the workers',⁶⁷ though it was 'our duty to point out to the workers with complete frankness that they, in the mass, are still very backward and that even their advanced elements are

still only in their first stages of political development'.⁶⁸ The Bolshevik Efremov spoke against Axelrod's proposal for a workers' congress,⁶⁹ and a majority agreed.⁷⁰ Luxemburg supported Bronstein's perspective of 'permanent revolution',⁷¹ and he argued that the Mensheviks believed that if the bourgeoisie could not lead a bourgeois revolution, a revolution 'has got to be invented'. Their negative attitude to the proletariat's potential relations with the peasantry 'leads them inexorably towards revolutionary pessimism'.⁷²

In their spare time Bronstein and Gorky walked around the city,⁷³ but one or two detectives always accompanied delegates and sat with them in pubs. When asked if they were British or Russian, they replied that they were British and were watching Russian spies.⁷⁴ Ulyanov worked in the British Museum,⁷⁵ reading books that were unavailable in Moscow or St. Petersburg.⁷⁶ Reportedly he was briefly arrested after attending an anarchist meeting, though Kropotkin reassured his comrades that he was 'perfectly safe with the British police', even though the Aliens Act had ended the automatic and unconditional acceptance of religious and political refugees, and they had to prove that they had been persecuted. Some who had failed to do so had been sent back to Russia and executed.⁷⁷

During the Congress women brought beer and sandwiches,⁷⁸ and Ulyanov asked Andreeva if 'our comrades have had enough to eat? No one going hungry? Hm ... Perhaps you'd better make more sandwiches?'⁷⁹ Gorky noted that he 'ate little: an omelette and a scrap of bacon washed down with a mug of thick, dark beer',⁸⁰ and he sometimes ate gefilte fish at the Anarchist Club.⁸¹ He often had fish and chips and coffee for breakfast, and he and other delegates sometimes ate at a little workers' café near King's Cross in the evening.

Krupskaya had given the Bolshevik accounts and a commentary to Ulyanov. Andreeva had contributed 60,000 rubles, and 'Mr. K' (presumably Krasin) and the agent 'P.N.' had received 40,000. The Bolsheviks had spent 60,000 rubles in 18 months, including almost 1,300 for the 'passport bureau', 2,270 for bail, almost 5,000 for publishing and transporting literature and nearly 21,000 for local committees; yet the St. Petersburg committee was 'without money, without literature' and 'without people'; and after the last leader of the Moscow region organisation 'vanished' there had been a 'complete collapse'.⁸² The Bolsheviks had inherited 75,000 rubles from the famous SR writer Nikolai Mikhailovsky,⁸³ who had written for Gorky's publishing house.⁸⁴ The Mensheviks had received 6,000 francs from Swedish SDs, 8,000 from Danish SDs and 15,000 marks from the SPD. The RSDRP's income for 12 months had been 83,570 rubles. 'L.L.' had donated 30,000, 10,000 had come from abroad and 3,534 from local committees. The Duma faction had cost 790, passports 1,868, bail 2,055, the previous Congress minutes 2,180, exiles 2,256, the liquidation of the previous Congress 2,603, conferences 4,079, full-time agents 4,200, organisation 4,494, CC agents 4,554, the CC secretariat 4,708, trips abroad 5,829, illegal literature 13,400 and legal literature 24,611. That totalled around 78,000 rubles.⁸⁵ The Congress would cost almost 100,000 rubles, and at least 20,000 would be needed to continue to the end and get the delegates home, which would cost around 60 rubles each. Some factions had borrowed from émigrés, and the Mensheviks wanted to wind it up.⁸⁶

The veteran Deutsch chaired the committee tasked with finding funds.⁸⁷ Balabanoff contacted the SPD,⁸⁸ which agreed to send £300,⁸⁹ and though the wealthy London artist Felix Moscheles hosted a fund-raising dinner party, the delegates felt like 'animals at the Zoo', and no loan was forthcoming.⁹⁰ Henry Brailsford, an SDF comrade who worked on the *Daily News*, the Labour MP George Lansbury, the widow of the SR terrorist Sergey Kravchinsky, and other Russian émigrés, contacted Joseph Fels. He was the son of Polish Jews who had migrated to the USA, but now lived in London, where he had a large soap-making business. At the end of May he invited Lansbury to his office, where he met Rothstein and Brailsford, who asked Fels to lend money. He wanted to see the delegates for himself, and was surprised how young they were. Hours later a delegation picked up £1,700 from Fels, but he demanded a promissory note for its return signed by all the members of the delegation,⁹¹ to be repaid by 1 January 1908.⁹² According to Balabanoff, after 'a whispered conference' with Bolshevik leaders, Gorky announced that he would guarantee the loan, but only if the new CC 'would consist of Bolsheviks'.⁹³

The delegates decided to hold three conferences and one Congress each year,⁹⁴ and the CC would appoint and supervise the editors of *Sotsial-demokrat*.⁹⁵ A merger with the Ukrainian and Armenian SD organisations was agreed in principle,⁹⁶ but a merger with the Lithuanian SDP was not discussed.⁹⁷ By the penultimate session the Congress's financial resources were almost exhausted, so delegates who would not take part on the final day left for home,⁹⁸ and Fels gave all of them £1.⁹⁹ On 1 June 22 Bolsheviks, 21 Mensheviks, 14 Bundists, 11 from the SDKPiL and seven from the LSD elected the CC. Five candidates, including one Menshevik, received the same number of votes as Bolsheviks, though three Bolsheviks were elected in a second ballot.¹⁰⁰ The CC included the Bolsheviks Rozhkov, Teodorowicz, Nogin, Dubrovinsky and Iosif Goldenberg, who had been born in 1873, joined the RSDRP and the Saratov committee in 1904.¹⁰¹ The Menshevik members were Zhordania, 41-year-old Alexandr Martynov and Iosif Iusev, who was aged around 30. The SDKPiL's Warszawski and Dzierżyński and the LSD's Danishevsky were also elected, and its CC was to nominate another, while the Bund CC was to nominate two. The 30 candidate members included the Bolsheviks Krasin, Taratuta, Ulyanov, Malinovsky, Apfelbaum, Rykov, Sammer, Shanster, and Gavril Leiteisen,¹⁰² who had been born in 1874, joined the revolutionary movement in the 1890s, supported the Congress

'majority' in 1903 and joined the Russian CC bureau in 1907.¹⁰³ The Menshevik candidates were Tsederbaum, Ramishvili, Mark Broido, Petr Bronstein, Boris Goldman, Vladimir Ikov, who was around 25 years old, and Konstantin Yermolayev, who was around 23-years-old. The other candidates were the LSD's Buševics,¹⁰⁴ plus Marchlewski, Jogisches, Rubinstein and Fürstenberg from the SDKPiL.¹⁰⁵

According to Balabanoff, Ulyanov had 'assigned parts to his collaborators, determined the emphasis of the various topics, and signalled for interruptions of Menshevik speakers', 'about 20 times'. He 'made the decisions', 'the professional revolutionists carried them out' and 'the workers obeyed'.¹⁰⁶ Luxemburg had found the Congress 'thoroughly depressing', and she thought that the Mensheviks Axelrod, Gurvich and Tsederbaum, as well as Plekhanov, were 'the most pathetic things the Russian revolution has to offer'.¹⁰⁷ Tskhakaya respected Ulyanov, and had heard the term 'Ulyanovism' at the Congress for the first time, and worried that his perspectives were being 'ossified' in 'isms'.¹⁰⁸ After the Congress ended the Bolsheviks formed a 'Bolshevik Centre' that included Ulyanov, Krasin, Malinovsky, Pokrovsky, Rozhkov, Mandelshtam, Nogin, Lindov, Shanster, Taratuta, Apfelbaum, Dubrovinsky, Rykov, Goldenberg, and Lev Rosenfeld, who was in his early twenties. Ulyanov, Malinovsky and Dubrovinsky would edit Bolshevik publications.¹⁰⁹

RSDRP organisations in Tallin and Tartu had suffered devastating arrests, though surviving Bolsheviks and Mensheviks worked together.¹¹⁰ On 3 June an LSD Congress opened in London.¹¹¹ It claimed to represent 17,000 members, including almost 8,500 in Rīga. The 17 CC members were closer to the two Menshevik supporters than the ten who favoured the Bolsheviks, who won most seats on the CC, though the Menshevik Ozoliņš was elected.¹¹²

When Gorky got back to Capri he wrote to Peshkova. 'I like the workers awfully, especially ours, the Bolsheviks. They are amazingly lively, varied, and intelligent people, with a pure thirst for knowledge and such an avid, all-round interest in life', though Plekhanov, Tsederbaum and others had given him 'the sad impression of people who have been blinded and stunted by life'. He asked her to send the minutes of the VPSR Congress.¹¹³

In St. Petersburg Krasin had participated in what the Okhrana believed was the RSDRP committee's finance commission on 14 May. They raided a lawyer's flat, confiscated correspondence, documents and 2,431 rubles, and arrested the lawyer, Krasin, Rykov, Sammer and eight others,¹¹⁴ though the police lacked evidence against Krasin and released him on 5 June. (Rykov was to spend a year in jail before being deported to Samara, while Sammer was deported to Vologda province for two years, and the lawyer was also deported.)¹¹⁵

The Bolshevik Gromova had returned to Kharkiv and Voroshilov to Luhansk, though he warned her that he was under surveillance.¹¹⁶ The Bolshevik Gubelman was arrested in Moscow. (He was sentenced to five years in Siberia.)¹¹⁷ Karpinsky was also arrested in Moscow. (He was sentenced to two years in Tyumen Katorga Prison in Siberia, and when Nogin later passed through he told him that the police had seized his London Congress minutes; though the Bolsheviks published them in Paris two years later.¹¹⁸) The Bolsheviks' military preparations continued and SD émigrés supplied arms and ammunition to Latvia.

(ii) 'German screws', sporting ammunition' and 'mechanical toys'

On 1 September 1906, in London, the SDF's *Justice* had exhorted readers to render 'our Russian comrades all the assistance you can'. In Leith, near Edinburgh, after arms and ammunition arrived from Hamburg, the police arrested two SDF members. John Leslie later admitted that he and 'about a dozen' others had sent Mauser and Browning rifles and over a million rounds of ammunition to Russia. In November Thomas Keast rented a room at 42 Leazes Park Road in Newcastle, and told another tenant, the tailor Joseph Hogarth, he was 'a dealer in German screws'.¹¹⁹ Heinrich Fischer had been an engineer and SD in St. Petersburg, but now lived on Tyneside. Alfred Nagel of the LSD found his address from *Justice* and asked him to help to transport arms and ammunition to Baltic ports. Fischer and SDF comrades in Newcastle and Sunderland gave small parcels to Latvian sailors, who hid them on board and unloaded them in Baltic ports.¹²⁰ Arms shipments from Scotland to Russia petered out over winter.¹²¹

In March 1907 Sunderland police accused the SDF member Daniel Currie of collecting ten boxes of cartridges from Monkwearmouth goods yard, taking them to T. Wright, a stationer in Roker Avenue, and claiming that they contained 'mechanical toys' and 'sporting ammunition'. Wright had asked the printer Alfred Graham, a relative, to keep them in a room above his office, and paid him 4s 6d a week for the rent. Early in April Currie appeared at Sunderland magistrates' court charged with 'having in his unlawful custody 1,944 lbs of gunpowder' in the form of 35,000 cartridges. The prosecution alleged that ten cases of safety cartridges had been unloaded from the SS *Oporto* in Sunderland and that Currie had paid Robert Hutchinson 1s 6d a week rent to store the boxes at 15 King Street, though Currie's father had become suspicious, opened a case and told the police. Currie told the police that the rest of the cartridges were in Villiers Street Congregational Institute, where he was the caretaker, and a German had told him that they were 'mechanical toys'. Edward Clark, who worked for a firm of 'general manufacturers in

Germany' and had 'travelled through Russia', claimed that the cartridges had been sent for transshipment, but the exporters were anxious 'not to let people at the other end know where they were going'. The magistrates confiscated the cartridges, fined Currie £20 and freed him on bail.

Newcastle police seized 117,250 cartridges, including some from a stable in Back Tindal Street. They arrested Hogarth, and charged him with possessing 25,000 Mauser cartridges for pistols and 6,500 for rifles, though he was granted bail. On 1 May Thomas Baston, an auctioneer and a member of the Socialist Institute, pleaded guilty to unlawfully storing cartridges. Clark explained that they were stored pending shipment to Russia. Baston had received a phone call from 42 Leazes Park Road and asked to send a cart, but bad weather on the Baltic delayed the ship's departure. The court fined him £10, confiscated the cartridges and remanded Hogarth for a week.¹²² At Newcastle Socialist Institute Fischer argued that workers had taken over the leadership of the RSDRP from 'nobles' six years earlier, described the recent torture of political prisoners in the 'Riga Museum' and expressed confidence in the SD Duma deputies. The meeting applauded locals who had helped to send arms and ammunition to Russia, protested at the confiscation of cartridges and called on the police to return them to their owners.¹²³ On 9 May Hogarth appeared for trial, but the prosecution dropped the case. Clark had persuaded Keast to hand himself in, and his lawyer said that he was 'not posing as anything but an avowed socialist' and stored the cartridges to prevent the police and 'other people further away' finding them. The court fined him £10, confiscated the cartridges and let him go.¹²⁴ On the 13th Fischer was a guest at the RSDRP Congress in London.¹²⁵ Back in Newcastle he hosted Baltic region SD refugees, did all he could for RSDRP émigrés who arrived with a 'party passport', and tried to stamp out 'liquidationism' in Hartlepool, Edinburgh and Aberdeen. Back in April the father of one SDF member had found cartridges and a letter from Nagel with Fischer's address, and he told the police, who arrested SDs in Sunderland, Newcastle, Edinburgh and Glasgow. They were fined for illegally storing explosives in May, though Nagel escaped punishment, as did Fischer, since no cartridges were found at his house, but he had failed to post his application for naturalisation, and the Home Office had a report about him.¹²⁶ An article signed 'Thomas Denvers' appeared in *The Keel*, 'The Organ of Tyneside Socialism'. It listed tsarist atrocities and explained that no licence had been sought for the cartridges 'to prevent Russian spies tracing the means whereby the goods were exported'.

In June 'Denvers' and W.C. Angus visited Fife and addressed the Methil branch of the SDF. Soon after Angus, Leslie and two other men appeared in an Edinburgh court. The Tory High Sheriff charged them with storing ammunition, which was confiscated, and he fined Leslie £1 1s 6d. J.F. Reid of Glasgow SDF was later charged with unlawfully possessing cartridges, and testified that 'Denner' had found the names of 'brother socialists' in *Justice*. Four foreign sailors had taken 10,000 cartridges from Glasgow to Methil, where they left in a collier for the Baltic.¹²⁷

In Newcastle Fischer occasionally received the Vienna *Pravda*, but later moved his family to the coast,¹²⁸ and became a British citizen.¹²⁹

(iii) A major error for which we paid a high price

By spring 1907 the Bolshevik Bobrovskaya had been allowed to go to Ivanovo in the Moscow industrial region, 'a real proletarian centre', and was appointed as a secretary of the RSDRP committee. They did not have a pre-Congress debate, because there were no Mensheviks, but they came into conflict with the remnants of 'completely demoralised' fighting squads who had been disowned by the committee six months earlier. The committee had refused to accept stolen cash, and relied on membership dues to pay full-timers an inadequate 18 rubles a month. The 33-year-old Bolshevik Vladimir Bobrovsky brought a suitcase full of type from Moscow, and more was hidden beneath icons in another comrade's huge iron-bound trunk, while Bobrovskaya 'sent for' her old friend Sonia Zagina from Kostroma, who arrived with Alexey Zagin. Bobrovskaya also 'sent for' the printer Egor Ivanovich, Lydia Molchanova came from Moscow and a couple volunteered to hide the press in their house in a nearby village, where the man sold legal papers. The printers began setting *Borba (Struggle)*, but had insufficient type, so they printed half a page at a time. When a policeman began paying too much attention,¹³⁰ they moved the press to a safe house where 24-year-old Matriona Razumova was the link to the Bolshevik committee.¹³¹ The Moscow RSDRP committee tried to politicise an impending strike, but the police arrested Bobrovskaya and another agitator, and the strike was called off.¹³² Late in April arrests disorganised the RSDRP Moscow region committee.¹³³

Nationally around 350 legal unions claimed 239,000 dues-paying members.¹³⁴ There were 37 in St. Petersburg,¹³⁵ and the print workers' union claimed 11,000 members, including 600 lithographers and most of the typographers, and they elected Tauba Rubinchik, a Jewish women proof-reader, as their chair and an editor of their paper.¹³⁶ On 10 May the Interior Ministry told governors to permit new unions only when there was a 'definite absence' of ties with SD groups. In Moscow and St. Petersburg around ten percent of the labour force, and especially skilled workers, but also some unskilled workers, had joined unions, which focussed on economic issues.¹³⁷ The police had

prevented the central trade union bureau from meeting for six weeks, and so delegates from the textile, metal and print workers' unions had not been able to attend; but on the 15th the authorities registered a legal metalworkers' 'society'. Its branches could elect one council delegate for every 50 members at a mass meeting,¹³⁸ and they were to collect subs, distribute a paper and questionnaires, hold meetings and represent members.¹³⁹ The Vasilievsky Island branch refused to send 75 percent of its funds to the central treasury, though others donated all of theirs.¹⁴⁰

Avigdor Mandelberg had been born into a Jewish family in Berdichev in northern Ukraine in 1870. He graduated from the faculty of medicine at Kyiv University in 1893, settled in St. Petersburg, and worked as a doctor, but also helped to organise workers' kruzki. In 1899 he was exiled to Irkutsk in Siberia, where he joined the RSDRP. In 1903, on his release, he attended the RSDRP Congress as a delegate and supported the 'minority', then returned to Siberia and took part in the revolution of 1905. After the arrest of the SD Duma deputies late that year, Mandelberg escaped to Italy. He returned by early 1907 and was elected to the second Duma in Irkutsk, but avoided collaborating with the three Jews who had joined the Kadet faction.¹⁴¹ He became the secretary of the Moscow regional conference of metalworkers' unions, and helped Kollontai to found a shop workers' union. A St. Petersburg worker attended a metalworkers' conference in Moscow where non-members attended without a vote. A Baki delegate reported on the competing oil workers' unions, and proposed that unions should be 'schools of socialism', though not for 'discussions of a party political character'. In St. Petersburg SD Duma deputies had helped to organise a railway workers' union. The Bolsheviks noted that Mensheviks used unions 'to win over the masses',¹⁴² and Apfelbaum later acknowledged that ignoring trade unions was 'a major error for which we paid a high price'.¹⁴³

In Poland, early in 1906, Łódź textile workers had gone on strike and socialists had collected 382,000 rubles for them, but payouts averaged 17 rubles per striker, or 12 percent of their usual wages. Late in April they went back and employers across Poland enforced lockouts. In spring 1907 the SDKPiL claimed 40,000 members, and by May 66 legal and ten illegal SD unions in Łódź had 85,000 members, or half of all factory workers and three-quarters of textile workers. In Warszawa 50,000 workers had joined unions, including over half the metalworkers; but only half of the estimated 30,000 members of SDKPiL-led unions paid subs. After an SDKPiL conference, Dzierżyński was arrested, but paid 1,000 rubles bail in June and went underground, though membership declined and the Warszawa organisation disintegrated.¹⁴⁴ The Jewish section had left the PPS,¹⁴⁵ and both the PPS and SDKPiL factions and the Bund had been crippled by arrests. Many legal unions were closed, including 23 in Łódź, and forming new unions was almost impossible.¹⁴⁶

Revolutionary activity had almost doubled in the Baltic region.¹⁴⁷ During May LSD members in Rīga had joined the RSDRP, handed over their funds, propagandised and published a paper.¹⁴⁸ Censors closed periodicals and imprisoned editors and journalists.¹⁴⁹ Nationally, from mid-January to May, 226 daily papers had been closed,¹⁵⁰ but there had been 211 officially-recorded cases of peasant unrest.¹⁵¹

Late in May a young woman SR arrived in Chita in Siberia on the same train as the inspector of the Transbaikalian prisons and checked into the same hotel with the passport of the daughter of a parish priest. Next day she asked to meet the governor and handed him a petition which requested permission to visit a political prisoner in Maltsev Katorga Prison. As he began to read it, she pulled out a revolver, shot him, and escaped.¹⁵²

(iv) Gerrymandering the next Duma elections

Ekaterina Shornikova had been born in 1883. She later joined the RSDRP and worked in Kazan in 1905, but by 1906 she studied law at St. Petersburg University. The Kazan Okhrana later asked St. Petersburg Okhrana to arrest her for writing to a VPSR publication, and they persuaded her to be a spy. Her experience as a stenographer helped her to become the secretary of the RSDRP's military organisation. In April 1907 L.F. Gerus, an SD Duma deputy, attended a meeting of that organisation, and on 3 May the Bolshevik Woytinsky wrote an 'instruction' calling on the Duma fraction to raise questions about the needs and sufferings of strategically-placed army units, contact them, and get them to promise to support the fraction if the government tried to drive them out. On the 5th a delegation of soldiers presented the 'instruction' to the fraction, but Shornikova gave the police a copy,¹⁵³ and reported that Gerus had met 14 soldiers. Police raided the fraction's headquarters in Ozoliņš' flat, but found nothing incriminating,¹⁵⁴ because the deputies had hidden the 'instruction'. On the 7th a priest who was a Duma deputy told the Okhrana all he knew, and next day police raided the RSDRP headquarters and found the London Congress resolutions, plus leaflets and letters.¹⁵⁵ They handed one deputy a document calling on soldiers to mutiny, then arrested him before he could read it.¹⁵⁶ Police raided Woytinsky's room and found nothing incriminating, but arrested him.¹⁵⁷ On the 30th the authorities described the SD Duma deputies as members of a 'criminal society' that was 'plotting the overthrow of the established form of government by means of a popular uprising' and 'the creation of a democratic republic'.¹⁵⁸ Next day the government accused the fraction of conspiring with a military

group to organise a mutiny.¹⁵⁹ The police detained 35 people, raided again next day, 'found' documents linking one deputy to the military organisation,¹⁶⁰ and arrested everyone connected to it except Shornikova. The following day a drunken sailor gave the names of the soldiers' delegation and that of Shornikova to the police. The Justice Ministry did not know she was a spy, so the Okhrana gave her 35 rubles to escape to Kazan.¹⁶¹

On 1 June the prime minister demanded that the Duma strip 55 deputies of their immunity,¹⁶² but it refused to do so without hard evidence and set up a committee.¹⁶³ Next day the prime minister asked the tsar to expel them and have the 16 'most guilty' arrested,¹⁶⁴ and he agreed.¹⁶⁵ That evening soldiers surrounded the Tavrishesky dvorets,¹⁶⁶ and by 6.00am on the 3rd gendarmes had posted the dissolution ukase on the door. By then the police had arrested 200 to 300 deputies,¹⁶⁷ including all 65 SDs and sympathisers.¹⁶⁸ The prime minister announced the 'discovery' of a document planted by a police agent at the London Congress and accounts of Ulyanov's speeches.¹⁶⁹

The tsar promised to 'tear' the Duma from 'revolutionaries', 'distil from Russia's chaos those elements in which there lived a feeling for the Russian state system' and make the Duma 'an organ for the re-education of society'.¹⁷⁰ 'To our grief, the majority of the members of the second Duma did not justify our expectations', so 'we have decided to change the method of calling together the elected of our people, so that each class shall have its chosen representatives', though they all 'must be Russian in spirit'. Other nationalities would be represented, but not 'in such numbers as to have a decisive voice in purely Russian questions', while in the 'border provinces, where the population 'has not reached a sufficiently high level of civic development, elections would be 'temporarily abolished'. Those not to be enfranchised included all women, men under 25, students, soldiers and sailors, nomad aliens, foreign subjects, people 'tried and convicted for certain enumerated criminal acts, even if they have been subsequently pardoned', 'all who have been dismissed from civil service by a sentence of court, for three years from the date of dismissal, even if they have been subsequently pardoned', and 'all who are under indictment or trial for offenses enumerated', all who 'sentenced under the press regulations for newspaper articles, publications, speeches, etc.', and 'all who have been deprived of their church rank and calling for vice, or excluded from their class (peasant or gentry) by a sentence of the class institutions to which they belong'; but other 'priests and church servants' would 'take part in parish electoral assemblies, even if they have not the suffrage qualification'.

Voters in 18 towns and cities would take part in provincial elections, the number of other 'principal towns' would be reduced from 25 to seven. St. Petersburg would have six deputies, Moscow four, Warszawa, Odesa, Riga and Kyiv two each, and Łódź one, but Tashkent lost the right to have any. The number of deputies from the predominantly peasant provinces of Viatka, Perm and Ufa would be cut from 13 to eight, 13 to 9 and 10 to 8 respectively, though peasants who worked away from their villages all year, or just in winter, would have no vote. The deputies from Vilnius and Kovno provinces had been locals, but those communities and the Russian inhabitants would elect one deputy each. In Vitebsk 108 Poles and Germans, 171 Russians and 665 Jews would each elect one elector, as would Russians in Lublin, Siedlce and Warszawa, thereby reducing the total from 37 to 14. Ukrainians who formed 17.8 percent of the population would have 2.1 percent of Duma seats, Poles who formed 6.3 percent would had 3.9 percent, people in Biełaruś who formed 4.7 percent would have 1.1 percent, though Germans who formed 1.4 percent would have 2.1 percent and Russians who formed 44.3 percent would have 83.4 percent. In Siberia, Tomsk, Tobolsk, Irkutsk and Yenisei provinces the number of deputies would be cut from 67 to 9, 4 to 3, 2 to 1 and 2 to 1 respectively. The Amur and Maritime provinces would send one deputy from the Cossack army, but the region's total would be cut from 21 to 15. The Kuban Cossack and Ter Cossack armies would each elect one deputy, though Central Asia was 'not to be represented', so it lost its 10 deputies. 'Persons not knowing the Russian language' could not be deputies,¹⁷¹ including the Turkic peoples of Astrakhan and Stavropol,¹⁷² Bashkirs, Buriats, Chechens, Chuvash, Kalmyks, Kazakhs, Turkmen and Uzbeks.¹⁷³ In the Caucasus the Russian and Muslim populations would each elect one deputy. In Tbilisi province 29 of the electoral votes were allocated to landowners, 12 to peasants and 14 to town-dwellers, divided between large property-owners and workers. The region's Duma deputies would fall from 29 to 10, though SDs exhorted supporters not to 'abandon the battlefield'.¹⁷⁴

Altogether the number of deputies from European Russia was to be cut from 414 to 403, and from 524 to 442 for the Empire as a whole.¹⁷⁵ Landowners were guaranteed a majority of electors in 27 European provinces, and together with townsmen they would form a majority in another 24. The representatives of around 130,000 landowners would elect 2,618 electors, while those of 100 million peasants would elect 1,113. In St. Petersburg, Moscow, Vladimir, Kostroma, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav,¹⁷⁶ and Warszawa provinces,¹⁷⁷ workers would elect one deputy, but would have to compete with four groups of electors for other seats. A factory workforce of 50 or more could elect one elector, while those of 2,999 or more could elect two. Elections would be conducted according to lists prepared by the factory authorities and published by the governor. Workers could meet in 'closed buildings', but permission 'must be obtained from the local police authorities'.¹⁷⁸ Overall the number of workers' electors was cut from 237 to 124.¹⁷⁹ In 'Great Russia' every 230 landowners, 1,000 wealthy townsmen, 15,000 poorer townsmen, 60,000 peasants and 125,000 workers would elect one elector.¹⁸⁰ The tsar would not recognise candidates from

political parties which refused to condemn political terror,¹⁸¹ which included Kadets.¹⁸² Over the next few days 600 people were arrested.¹⁸³ The elections would begin on 1 September, and the Duma would open in November.¹⁸⁴ The RSDRP CC announced the arrangements with other SD parties. In cities that elected deputies directly, SDs were not to enter into joint arrangements in the first stage, and in runoff elections they were to seek agreement only with parties to the left of the Kadets, though agreements with them were permissible in the provinces.¹⁸⁵

In two and a half years St. Petersburg RSDRP committee had had 137 different members. By June 1907 it included 25 Bolshevik and two Menshevik women,¹⁸⁶ and the Bolshevik Golubeva ran the press.¹⁸⁷ The committee decided to participate in the elections,¹⁸⁸ but the Bolshevik Manuilsky publicly advocated a boycott. The Bolshevik Centre had been driven underground,¹⁸⁹ and refused to commit itself to a boycott, but Mensheviks, Bundists and the LSD decided to participate. The VPSR decided to boycott,¹⁹⁰ but Azev and Gershuni went abroad to reorganise the combat organisation.¹⁹¹ After an SR assassinated the Krasnoyarsk Prison warden,¹⁹² the government removed distinctions between ordinary and political prisoners and floggings led to hunger strikes and suicides.¹⁹³

University student leaders had ignored the RSDRP CC's call to demonstrate over the arrest of the SD Duma deputies, but the government banned students' self-governing organisations and empowered university authorities to supervise mutual aid societies. Students at the same institution could hold meetings of an 'academic character', with the rektor's approval, but the police could close them if they strayed from their agenda.¹⁹⁴ The government targeted students whose conduct was deemed 'incompatible with the law and the spirit of the Russian state', especially if they claimed to speak on behalf of all students.¹⁹⁵ It limited the right of assembly and restricted university autonomy. Kyiv University students protested, but around 800 were suspended and many were deported,¹⁹⁶ though rioting troops were suppressed on 4 and 5 June.¹⁹⁷ By the 13th 130 RSDRP members were under arrest in St. Petersburg, including nine members of the committee, 45 militia, and members of the military organisation,¹⁹⁸ including the Bolsheviks Burenin,¹⁹⁹ and Zalkind,²⁰⁰ and though 15 new CC members and alternates joined the Bolshevik Centre,²⁰¹ including Apfelbaum, Goldenberg and Rosenfeld,²⁰² they were split about the elections. Dubrovinsky, Nogin and the imprisoned Rykov had not supported breaking with the Mensheviks, and while Malinovsky and Shanster opposed participating in Duma elections, Dubrovinsky and Rosenfeld, who favoured expropriations, were for participation.²⁰³ In Moscow the Bolshevik-led RSDRP organisation voted to boycott the elections, as did most central, northern, Volga and Ural organisations.²⁰⁴

On the 26th a pamphlet by 'N. Lenin' described the RSDRP CC's calls for strikes and a struggle against the armed forces merely 'verbal', since the Kyiv and Black Sea mutinies had not 'evoked a mass response', and the revolutionary struggle 'in its direct and immediate form' was over for the time being. Russia's working class was the smallest in Europe in proportion to its population and was 'utterly exhausted'. He had heard that representatives of 20,000 textile workers in the Moscow region had resolved to strike in July and 'may involve up to 400,000 workers', so he wanted to end the boycott elections to help to convert a 'partial upswing into a general upswing'.²⁰⁵ The RSDRP had reportedly 'lived a life of complete democracy', even in St. Petersburg and Moscow, where police pressure was 'extremely high'; but Ulyanov reportedly no longer used the term 'democratic centralism' with an emphasis on control from below.²⁰⁶

During June, nationally, there had been 216 officially-recorded cases of peasant unrest.²⁰⁷ The authorities had closed the Bolsheviks' St. Petersburg *Rabochy*,²⁰⁸ and the Moscow Society of Workers of Graphic Arts.²⁰⁹ The 35-year-old SD intelligent Gleb Krzhizhanovsky had left the Bolsheviks,²¹⁰ but was active in Kyiv,²¹¹ then opened the Vypered bookshop and publishing house in St. Petersburg. The Bolshevik Woytinsky was in prison, where Martynov was beginning to convince him that the Mensheviks' perspective was stronger than the Bolsheviks'.²¹²

(v) The Tbilisi expropriation

By summer 1907 around 800 new trade unions had been legally registered nationally, and over 100 operated illegally.²¹³ Around 100 had regional and national links and published journals,²¹⁴ including 52 of the 61 which included 22 percent of factory workers,²¹⁵ and over 245,000 union members represented 3.5 percent of the total workforce. The 81 metalworkers' unions had over 54,000 members, or 8.6 percent of those in the trade, and though 3.9 percent of textile workers were unionised, compared to 43 percent of print workers.²¹⁶ The railway union consisted mainly of sacked workers and agitators,²¹⁷ and the teachers' union had toned down its political programme.²¹⁸ In six months there had been 52,000 inspected economic and 271,000 political strikers,²¹⁹ but during June 14 of the 45 officially-recorded conflicts had ended without a strike. There were 72 legal and 17 illegal unions in St. Petersburg and 65 legal and 11 illegal ones in Moscow,²²⁰ plus 15 journals.²²¹

In the Donbass region of Ukraine around 4,000 Vetka miners had gone on strike on May Day. Socialist leaflets had appeared and some workers tried to picket out the night shift. Police and Cossacks killed two strikers and

wounded others, but one policeman died. Workers at Lydia mine met briefly, and the night shift at the Petrov and Karpov mines stayed out, but the authorities closed the miners' union. During June 15,000 copies of a Luzovka-Petrovsky committee leaflet urged workers to nominate Duma candidates, and when the police raided its press in the village of Semenovka they found 212,000 leaflets promising that the struggle would continue.²²² Luzovka ironworks employed 6,340 workers. Its collieries employed 7,095 miners,²²³ and the Rutchenko Coal Company employed 6,000.²²⁴ In 18 months over 36 legal unions had been formed in the region.²²⁵ The RSDRP organisation was semi-legal, though membership had grown, factory cells functioned well and met at union meetings, workers' clubs, and on a Katerynoslav street;²²⁶ but no new ones were registered.²²⁷ The Bolshevik Gubelman was in Katerynoslav, where there was a fairly large group of anarcho-communists. They took no part in a strike at engineering works, and though they killed the director, the strikers later went back on worse conditions.²²⁸ Katerynoslav RSDRP issued a leaflet for workers and insisted that just because it had gone underground, that did not mean that it had gone out of existence; but membership was 'at best a few thousands'.²²⁹

The Bolshevik Ordjonikidze had visited Berlin in summer 1906, then returned to Azerbaijan early in 1907,²³⁰ and became head of the Bolshevik organisation in the Balakhova district of Baki,²³¹ where the level of workers' struggle was high.²³² Suren Spandarian had been born into a lawyer's family in Tbilisi in 1882. He later attended Moscow University, joined the RSDRP in 1901 and propagandised workers.²³³ He was subsequently sent to St. Petersburg,²³⁴ and in 1905 he was active in Moscow, then joined the Baki committee and later the Caucasian joint committee.²³⁵ He worked as a feldsher in the oilfields, but was arrested on a May Day demonstration in 1907 and briefly detained.²³⁶ Shahumyan had run oil workers' trade union clubs in Baki, and had been sacked for being an atheist; but by June he was a pipeline manager in Balakhany.²³⁷ After the London Congress Jughashvili had spent a week in Paris,²³⁸ then visited Berlin and met Ulyanov.²³⁹ Jughashvili used a dead Georgian's papers to get to Tbilisi,²⁴⁰ where 28 trade unions had 13,000 members.²⁴¹ He returned to Baki,²⁴² and worked with Spandarian, Shahumyan and 27-year-old Prokofy Japaridze,²⁴³ a member of Hummut, (Energy), which the RSDRP had founded, though only Muslims could join.²⁴⁴ Caucasian SD workers' organisations agreed to contest the Duma elections so that their deputies could fight for a constituent assembly,²⁴⁵ and elected candidates who adopted the Bolshevik 'mandate'.²⁴⁶ Jughashvili revived the Outfit to conduct expropriations, extortion, protection rackets and kidnappings, and after his police contacts warned him that a double-agent had betrayed the Baki press, it was moved to the old part of town. The police arrested Jughashvili, Ordjonikidze and Japaridze, but when a detective went to get orders about what to do with them, Jughashvili and Ordjonikidze bribed the remaining policeman and escaped,²⁴⁷ though Ordjonikidze was soon arrested, charged with being a member of the RSDRP and sentenced to 18 months in a fortress.²⁴⁸

At the end of 1906 Ter-Petrosian returned to St. Petersburg, and then went to Finland. He returned to Tbilisi with arms and explosives. The first attempted robbery failed and Ter-Petrosian was wounded by an exploding bomb and the second raid failed because the guides who were meant to help the robbers escape ran away. When the robbers returned to Tbilisi in June 1907 they learned that 250,000 rubles was to be taken from the post office to the State Bank at around 10.00am next day. Next day the cashier and accountant of the State Bank picked up the money from Tbilisi post office and set off in two carriages guarded by two policemen and five Cossacks.²⁴⁹ As they left the Post Office Palsya Goldova signalled to Anna Sulamidze, who signalled to six men in Erivan Square.

Suddenly, two terrific explosions rent the air. Two policemen and a Cossack fell to the ground. The horses dashed through the escort to the other waiting men – for the carriage containing the money had not been blown up. A bomb was then thrown between the horses' legs, following which one man seized the bag of money from the vehicle and made off. Meanwhile Ter-Petrosian, dressed as an officer, was in a carriage in the square. On seeing the commotion he rose in his seat, began shouting and firing off his revolvers as if attacking the culprits, and finally rode off after them.²⁵⁰

Three bystanders had been killed,²⁵¹ and 50 men, women and children wounded.²⁵² The first bomb had failed to damage the carriage with the money and the horses had bolted. Another bomb was thrown in Erivan Square and the robbers took the money and gave it to Ter-Petrosian. He took it to a comrade's flat and later moved it to the study of the manager of the observatory and hidden in an upholstered couch.²⁵³ The robbers held 241,000 rubles, including 100,000 in 500-ruble banknotes, and gave Krasin 208,000 for the Bolsheviks.²⁵⁴ The Caucasian RSDRP committee excluded them for disobeying a Congress decision,²⁵⁵ and though Jughashvili had distanced himself from the operation, he was arrested, but released for lack of evidence.²⁵⁶

The first part of Jughashvili's report on the London Congress, the first document he published in Russian,²⁵⁷ appeared in the legal *Bakinsky proletary* (*Baki proletarian*) on 20 June as by 'Koba Ivanovich', and the second part followed on 10 July. According to him 302 of 'around 330' delegates with a vote included 92 Bolsheviks, 85 Mensheviks, 54 Bundists, 45 Poles and 26 Latvians. The 116 manual workers and 24 office and distributive workers included 38 Bolsheviks, 30 Mensheviks, 27 Poles, 12 Latvians and nine Bundists, while the professional

revolutionaries included 22 Mensheviks, 18 Bolsheviks, nine Bundists, five Poles and two Latvians. The Mensheviks included 12 or so from the Ukrainian Spilka, seven from the Donbass, ten from Tbilisi and nine from Guria. The Bolsheviks were all from major industrial districts and included 45 from Poland, 21 from the Urals, 13 or 14 from Moscow, 12 from St. Petersburg and 11 from Ivanovo. A large majority were Russians, though the Bundists sometimes supported them, as did 27 Polish workers and 12 Latvians. He claimed that most Mensheviks were Jews and that Alexinsky had 'observed in jest that the Mensheviks constituted a Jewish group while the Bolsheviks constituted a true Russian group and, therefore, it wouldn't be a bad idea to organise a pogrom in the Party'. The Congress had called for 'War against the treacherous liberal bourgeoisie' and a 'close alliance with the peasantry'.²⁵⁸

In Baki the 28-year-old Menshevik Ioseb Iremashvili recalled that Jughashvili 'attacked us at every meeting and discussion in the most savage and unscrupulous manner, trying to sow poison and hatred against us everywhere', and when 'the overwhelming majority of Georgian Marxists remained with us' that 'incensed him all the more'.²⁵⁹

The vice-governor of Kutaisi province had recovered sufficiently from a bomb attack in May to lead a Cossack division in Armenia, but he was killed by a bomb in July.²⁶⁰

(vi) Decisive offensive action

The Finnish electorate had expanded tenfold in 1906, though the Senate remained accountable to the tsar, and constitutional changes required a five-sixths majority at one meeting of the Diet, or a two-thirds majority at a second, after a general election.²⁶¹ The Russian Duma agreed to allow the election of a single Finnish legislature by universal and equal suffrage, with the freedoms of speech, assembly and association, and the tsar confirmed this on 20 July.²⁶² Finland was the second country after New Zealand where women could be parliamentary candidates and vote.²⁶³ In January 1907 the revolutionary-nationalist *Suomalainen aktiivinen vastarintaliitto* (Finnish Active Resistance Party, or SAV) agreed to 'support the Russian revolution in a manner consonant with the autonomous position of Finland', form a 'voluntary people's militia', and arm it.²⁶⁴ The SSDP had 18,600 women members,²⁶⁵ and its programme for the elections to the *Eduskunta* (parliament) was comprehensive.²⁶⁶ In March over 890,000 (70 percent) of men and women aged 24 or over who could vote did so.²⁶⁷ The proletariat was tiny, but many agricultural labourers voted for the SSDP,²⁶⁸ which won almost 330,000 (37 percent) of the votes, and 80 of the 200 seats, including nine of the 19 won by women.²⁶⁹ The *Eduskunta* opened on 23 May.²⁷⁰

Ulyanov had returned to Kuokkala in Finland by 2 June,²⁷¹ and next day he visited Moscow to tackle the RSDRP committee's syndicalism.²⁷² The London Congress had voted to dissolve the military organisation bureau, but Ulyanov kept it going.²⁷³ He summoned Maria Essen, a Bolshevik intelligentka in her mid-thirties, from Moscow to report on the situation at Kronstadt,²⁷⁴ and ordered Apfelbaum and others to launch a coup, but they failed.²⁷⁵ On the night of the 7th St. Petersburg RSDRP committee decided that a general strike was too risky,²⁷⁶ and police arrested the RSDRP members of the Unemployed Workers' Council. (The Bolshevik Malyshev was later sentenced to two and a half years in prison. On his release, when asked why all the workers' crosses on the lists were similar, he explained that they all did heavy work and wrote the same way.²⁷⁷)

In Russia the police had arrested most civilians in the RSDRP military organisation, but most SRs had survived and were gaining support. The Navy minister ordered that no ship could dock without his permission, but on the 10 June some sailors and soldiers, including Cossack troops and officers, offered to protect the Duma deputies if they carried on. The VPSR sent a man to Helsinki, where SDs and SRs cooperated, to organise a mutiny in the Baltic Fleet, but Tallin SDs refused to budge without CC instructions.²⁷⁸ The police believed that half the soldiers and most sailors on Kronstadt and at Viapori Fortress were disaffected.²⁷⁹ There were revolutionaries in most army companies and Bolshevik agitators addressed mass meetings. Illegal literature was scarce, and what they had was 'ill-suited to the soldiers' needs', so they produced their own.²⁸⁰ After two were arrested for minor indiscipline, comrades who protested were arrested. Protests continued, and a company was arrested, but others overpowered the military police and whole regiments joined in the mutiny. By evening they controlled the Fortress, and railway workers prevented trains carrying loyal troops from leaving St. Petersburg.²⁸¹ On the 15th the mutineers discussed a rising, though 200 sappers were arrested for demanding money they had paid for alcohol which the officers had withheld. Next day 44-year-old Mandelshtam and 'Trysov',²⁸² who was probably the young peasant Duma deputy Fyodor Onipko, went to Kronstadt.²⁸³ If they failed to get the rising postponed they had orders to take 'the most active part in leading the movement', help the mutineers to organise, 'undertake decisive offensive action', 'disarm and wipe out the reaction' and 'come forward with correct and really revolutionary slogans, capable of rallying the whole people'.²⁸⁴ When Schlichter got there he did not know the password, and the military organisation suspected that he was a spy, though they eventually let him in. The Bolshevik civilians and SD and SR military leaders agitated the soldiers, and that evening they arrested two officers, got support from infantrymen and occupied the Fortress. In

nearby Helsinki 'Red Guards' declared their solidarity with the mutineers and called for a general strike, but SDs were opposed. That night in St. Petersburg the RSDRP CC,²⁸⁵ and some SD and Trudoviki Duma deputies, SRs, Bundists and Polish SDs called for a general strike.²⁸⁶ Helsinki police reported that a 'considerable number' of Russian revolutionaries had disseminated propaganda among troops and corresponded with Red Guard leaders. On the evening of the 17th members of a mine-laying company on a nearby island 'seized weapons and had recourse to violence', and the 'disturbance quickly spread to the gunners' camp on the other side of the island'.²⁸⁷ SRs provoked a rising by seven of the ten artillery companies at Viapori, and their slogans included the overthrow of the tsar, freedom for the people and the transfer of the land to the peasants. By next day there was a general strike in Helsinki.²⁸⁸ The Viapori Fortress commander telegraphed St. Petersburg that the situation was critical, since he had insufficient troops.²⁸⁹ None of this appeared in the newspapers,²⁹⁰ and the London journalist Maurice Baring's *Morning Post* arrived with sections 'blacked out' for the first time in two years.²⁹¹ On Kronstadt the RSDRP military organisation tried to bring out soldiers and sailors. Sailors on shore responded, but officers on warships locked sailors below decks and shelled the barracks. The Helsinki Red Guard blocked the arrival of a punitive detachment, but by afternoon the mutiny was confined to Viapori.²⁹²

The Bolsheviks Apfelbaum, Dubrovinsky and Manuilsky and the Mensheviks Ramishvili and Alexinsky went to Kronstadt.²⁹³ By the 19th infantry had surrendered to the insurgents in Helsinki. VPSR leaders ordered members in Sevastopol in Crimea to begin a rising, and the Bolsheviks called on Tallin, Liepāja, Ust-Dvinsk and Sevastopol sailors and soldiers to do likewise;²⁹⁴ but the mutiny at Kronstadt was suppressed by the 20th.²⁹⁵ On Viapori almost 3,000 mutineers controlled the machine guns and artillery, but many loyal soldiers and Cossacks arrived. A battleship and cruiser shelled the mutineers, and a powder keg accidentally exploded, killing 60. That evening the mutineers decided to surrender next day, though some escaped.²⁹⁶ Next day warships bombarded Helsinki, and Cossacks and other troops crushed the mutiny, but a revolt broke out again at Kronstadt. The Bolshevik Woytinsky volunteered to go there, and Unemployed Council members gave him contacts, but the Fortress was too well guarded. The leading mutineers were executed and their bodies were thrown into the sea,²⁹⁷ as were those of two unaligned Bestuzhev students (one of them was pregnant).²⁹⁸ Hundreds were arrested. That night some sailors on a cruiser killed some officers and seriously wounded the captain, but were overpowered. Eleven civilians convinced Kronstadt militants that a national rising was about to begin, and four warships were approaching to support them.²⁹⁹ Sailors wounded an admiral and many officers,³⁰⁰ and killed four, but loyal troops boarded the mutinous cruiser and arrested about 200 sailors. By next day 1,600 mutineers had been arrested. (A court martial subsequently sentenced seven to death.)³⁰¹ Apfelbaum escaped and comrades spirited Manuilsky away in a rowing boat.³⁰² The Okhrana arrested eight of the Kronstadt SD military organisation's committee,³⁰³ and RSDRP members persuaded SRs to end the mutinies in Sevastopol and Odesa.³⁰⁴

The SD Denike had been in a St. Petersburg prison since late 1905, but when comrades sent him pastries 'there was always a little rolled-up note inside the cream with news in tiny handwriting about what was happening in the world'. 'I knew about the course of the Moscow rising almost daily, but very little about what was happening within the party'. He was released in spring 1906, re-arrested almost immediately, but then released again. In July 1907 Woytinsky ordered him to go to Shlisselburg Fortress to capture the gunpowder and dynamite factories and blow up the railway, and Denike heard that an insurrection had begun.³⁰⁵ St. Petersburg RSDRP committee and five other revolutionary organisations had decided to launch a general strike,³⁰⁶ but after they heard about the events at Kronstadt they tried to call it off.³⁰⁷

(vii) In a pig-stye if necessary

By July, nationally, 904 legal unions had 300,000 members.³⁰⁸ In St. Petersburg 40 to 50 members of the textile workers' union had elected delegates at plant level, while the printers' union claimed that 200 members had joined the RSDRP,³⁰⁹ and about 70,000 went on strike.³¹⁰ Early in July 1907 Malinovsky had argued in *Proletary* that the Mensheviks did not explain Marx's philosophy accurately and dishonestly discredited their opponents. He wanted to give their Duma deputies an ultimatum, but after Ulyanov and Dubrovinsky rejected Malinovsky's claim that empiriocriticism did not conflict with Bolshevism at a *Proletary* editorial board, he resigned,³¹¹ and Krasin became inactive. The head of the tsar's secret bodyguard understood that Ulyanov, Krasin and someone else were the only members of a committee hidden from party members, which was 'particularly concerned with the party's finances'. Malinovsky had been the third member, but according to Bronstein, Ulyanov 'did not budge' as the 'old top leadership of Bolshevism fell apart'.³¹² In St. Petersburg 2,000 political suspects had been arrested,³¹³ so it was impossible to elect the RSDRP committee openly, and it survived by co-option,³¹⁴ though four or five of the 22 members of the Bolshevik committee were workers.³¹⁵ In mid-July Ter-Petrosian brought part of the proceeds of

the Tbilisi raid to Finland,³¹⁶ and Krasin got an assistant,³¹⁷ 'Fat Fanny',³¹⁸ to alter the serial numbers of the 500-ruble notes, but she used two that had not been issued and the Okhrana gave Russian and Western European banks the numbers of genuine ones.³¹⁹ On 16 July the Bolsheviks published *Izvestia (News)* in St. Petersburg.³²⁰

The minutes of the RSDRP meeting on the 8th, in Terijoki in Finland, have been lost, but a spy noted that Rosenfeld led the Bolsheviks who wanted to boycott Duma elections.³²¹ The delegates voted by 33 votes to 30 to take part,³²² and though a majority of St. Petersburg delegates rejected a proposal to work with 'left' Octobrists the proposal fell by 37 votes to 12. Soon after, at an all party conference in Helsinki, there was a proposal to form an SD group in the Duma to challenge the prime minister's 'coup' and the arrest of SD deputies in the previous Duma.³²³ In Helsinki, 61 delegates from 51 printers' unions in 45 towns and cities established a national organisation,³²⁴ Suomen Ammattijärjestö (the Finnish Trade Union Federation). All its members joined the SSDP.³²⁵

On the 21st an RSDRP conference opened in Kotka in Finland. The 26 delegates with votes included nine Bolsheviks, five Mensheviks, five Poles (including Luxemburg), two Latvians and five Bundists. Nine delegates were in favour of a boycott of Duma elections, and 15 were against, including Ulyanov and one Latvian, but rather than vote for the alternative Menshevik and Bundist proposal, the rest of the Bolsheviks supported Ulyanov's position.³²⁶ He had proposed an alliance with other SD parties and the PPS in the first stage, and with parties to the left of the Kadets in the second, and wanted SD deputies to propagandise in the Duma, and this was agreed by 15 votes to 11.³²⁷ The Duma would be a 'cowshed',³²⁸ but revolutionaries should work 'in a pig-sty if necessary; though Malinovsky argued that the elections would produce a 'cardboard, comic-opera' Duma.³²⁹ Soon after the police arrested 27 of the St. Petersburg RSDRP committee,³³⁰ including Manuilsky, who had returned from Oranienbaum.³³¹ Malinovsky and Krasin clashed with the Menshevik majority on the RSDRP CC,³³² who called off the general strike on the 26th,³³³ and the Bolsheviks acknowledged that a 'national offensive' was premature.³³⁴

From 1 June to 15 July membership of the St. Petersburg metalworkers' union had risen from 885 to 9,544, including 2,500 in Vyborg district, 3,500 at the Nevsky shipyard, Obukhov and Nobel plants, 31 percent at the Alexandrovsk works and 515 of the 11,700 at the Putilov works. There had been disputes over pay and conditions at medium-sized machine-building plants, but go-slows had resulted in lay-offs and closures. Employers refused to negotiate and defeated strikes,³³⁵ while the owners of five large metalworking plants circulated blacklists, agreed not to negotiate with the union and locked workers out.³³⁶ The metalworkers' union was closed on the 28th, but maintained a semi-legal existence, though the Duma began renegeing on its commitment to the unemployed.³³⁷

All of Ulyanov's published works had been confiscated, but he drafted a preface for the second edition of his book about the development of capitalism in Russia, and decoded some of the original Aesopian language, so 'supporters of labour' became 'socialists' and 'scholars' became 'Marxists'.³³⁸ He argued that 'the strength of the proletariat in the process of history' was 'immeasurably greater than its share of the total population', while the revolution was 'increasingly revealing the dual position and dual role of the peasantry'. The 'survivals of serfdom, with the unprecedented impoverishment and ruin of the peasant poor, fully explain the deep roots of the revolutionary character of the peasantry as a mass'. An 'insignificant minority of small producers wax rich' and were a rural bourgeoisie, while the 'overwhelming majority' were 'wage-workers or paupers' and 'eke out an almost proletarian existence'. The revolution would be bourgeois in character, but those who relied on Plekhanov and other 'Right-Wing Social-Democrats' had been taken in by their 'vulgarisation of Marxism and downright mockery of dialectical materialism', since the economy would either develop into a 'purely capitalist form' or be 'broken up by revolution'. The prime minister's 'coup' regarding the rules for the next Duma elections had been 'a victory for the counter-revolution', though the final transition to capitalism required 'the free development of small peasant farming', which had received 'a tremendous impetus as a result of the expropriation of the landlords' estates'.³³⁹ During July, in Moscow, a Kadet Duma deputy who was of Jewish heritage, but had converted to Orthodoxy, was gunned down by paid assassins, who escaped abroad, though 20,000 attended his funeral.³⁴⁰

(viii) The International Stuttgart Congresses

In the 25 years to 1907 the number of agricultural workers in Germany had fallen from 3,630,000 to 3,029,000, while number of manual workers had doubled from 4,134,000 to 8,385,000 and the number of salaried workers from 296,000 to 1,131,000.³⁴¹ Almost 11.7 million families, or 63 percent of the population, were deemed to be working class; but while factories with workforces of over 200 employed around 25 percent of ten million industrial workers, craft workshops employed 30 percent.³⁴² German factories employed around half as many workers on average as Russian plants.³⁴³ Few of the 53,106 SPD members in Berlin, or around 81 percent of the national total, were unskilled workers, and skilled workers, including printers, lithographers, engravers, metalworkers, formed

68.7 percent of those in unions, while 5,228 were self-employed,³⁴⁴ and over a third of those employed in 'industry and handicrafts' were either self-employed or were in workforces of five or fewer.³⁴⁵

In January SPD candidates received 3,259,000 votes, or 31.7 percent of those cast, in the Reichstag elections.³⁴⁶ That was 46,000 higher than in 1906, when the SPD won 81 seats,³⁴⁷ yet, thanks to official gerrymandering constituency boundaries, its candidates won 43 in 1907.³⁴⁸ Kautsky wrote that united action between SDs and liberals in Russia was possible 'only when and where it does not prevent united action with the peasantry' who shared the proletariat's economic interests. The revolution would not be 'a bourgeois revolution in the usual sense', nor a socialist revolution, but a 'new process happening on the boundary between bourgeois and socialist society, furthering the liquidation of the former' and 'preparing the conditions for the foundation of the latter'. It would be a 'bourgeois-democratic' revolution carried out by the proletariat.³⁴⁹ A Russian translation of Kautsky's pamphlet appeared in Moscow with a preface by Ulyanov, making over 60 translations that had appeared in Russia.³⁵⁰

In Berlin Luxemburg had fallen in love with Zetkin's 22-year-old son. Her former partner, Jogisches, had escaped in February, gone underground in Warszawa, where he had an affair with a Polish woman.³⁵¹ He began tightening his grip on the SDKPIL,³⁵² and crossed the border illegally and arrived in Berlin. When Luxemburg told him she had begun another relationship he threatened to kill her, so she bought a revolver.³⁵³ In 12 months to spring the SPD's income had been 1.19 million marks, while that of the SPD-led unions was almost 51.4 million.³⁵⁴ SPD union officials had a majority on the EC, and disapproved of May Day strikes where a lockout might follow.³⁵⁵ There were about 10,500 women in the SPD and about 600,000 men.³⁵⁶ Around 120,000 women had joined unions, and there were 70,000 subscribers to the SPD's *Die Gleichheit*.³⁵⁷ Luxemburg had told Bronstein in St. Petersburg that the SPD leaders were 'completely pledged to parliament and parliamentarianism', so 'Our job will take years'.³⁵⁸

In Russia Kollontai argued in a Menshevik paper that the RSDRP should keep track of the 'broad-backed and kerchiefed' women workers who occasionally attended party meetings,³⁵⁹ and she organised lectures and discussion groups.³⁶⁰ The movement had a 'mass character' and she opposed bourgeois feminists. 'Members of the textile and needlewomen's unions, typesetters and workers from many enterprises on the Vyborg side' reportedly listened to her speeches with 'rapt attention'.³⁶¹ Most textile workers were women, and Kollontai spoke about Englishwomen's clubs, maternity hygiene, exploitation and women's liberation until the police closed the meeting.³⁶² After one meeting voted for a strike, the police banned further meetings.³⁶³

In Berlin Wallach and two other Bolsheviks ran an underground press, and when local police and Russian agents raided a suburban 'reading room' they found Bolshevik and Bundist literature, and expelled a University student and five other Russians for participating in the Reichstag elections,³⁶⁴ though Wallach was appointed as secretary of the Bolshevik delegation to the International Congress.³⁶⁵

Bronstein had spoken in Geneva and Paris and favoured participating in Duma elections.³⁶⁶ He and Sedova went to Berlin, then went to stay with Helphand in Dresden.³⁶⁷ Bronstein refused to write for émigré RSDRP papers and accused the Menshevik *Golos* of jettisoning the class struggle to increase circulation. Helphand helped him find a publisher for his memoirs of 1905, and introduced him to Kautsky, who asked him to write for SPD publications. Bronstein and Sedova went to Italy for a holiday and met Luxemburg, then Sedova returned to Russia to pick up their boy, and Bronstein set off for the International Congress.³⁶⁸

On 5 August a Kronstadt court martial sentenced 17 sailors and one civilian agitator to death.³⁶⁹ Another 19 were later sentenced to death, 130 to katorga, 316 to prison and 935 to punitive battalions. On Viapori 43 mutineers were sentenced to death and hundreds imprisoned or sentenced to katorga.³⁷⁰ Onipko was exiled to Siberia.³⁷¹ St. Petersburg police had discovered 223 bombs, 3,000 pounds of dynamite, 183 revolvers, 3,302 rifles and 400,000 cartridges.³⁷² Next day the Okhrana reported that a 'considerable number of Russian revolutionaries kept turning up' in Helsinki in July, 'engaged in disseminating propaganda amongst the troops' and entered 'a close correspondence with the leaders of the so-called red guards'. There was a 'misunderstanding between the lower ranks of a minelaying company' and officers at Santahamina in eastern Helsinki and an adjacent island, 'whereupon the other ranks seized weapons and took recourse to violence'. 'The disturbance quickly spread to the gunners' camp on the other side of the island and from there to the battalion of the Fortress infantry regiment'. A sergeant in called Lahtinen was to blow up a section of the railway line to St. Petersburg and the bridge at Simola. A second group was to take up position near the railway line in Eläintarha Park, and a third was to meet on the Töölö road and go to the sugar factory, while all the other red guards were to transport weapons along that road.³⁷³

In Austria, after mass demonstrations by SDs, the Reichsrat had introduced universal male suffrage, and Galicians had won 23 of the 516 seats.³⁷⁴ The Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei Österreichs, (the Social Democratic Workers' Party of Austria, or SDAPÖ), had 42,000 women members,³⁷⁵ but put off a campaign for women's suffrage.³⁷⁶ There were 150,000 women trade unionists in Hungary, and 14,000 in Belgium.³⁷⁷

On 17 August 58 delegates from 15 European countries and elsewhere, including 12 from Germany, attended the first International Congress of Socialist Women in Stuttgart, and discussed how they could organise to win

women's suffrage. Kollontai acknowledged that some female bourgeois delegates favoured fighting for reforms, but supported the proposal to form an International women's secretariat, in Germany, with Zetkin as secretary, and *Die Gleichheit* as its organ. This was agreed by all but 11 delegates from Austria, Switzerland and Britain.³⁷⁸ (On 8 March 1908 socialist women in New York had organised a 'woman's day' to attract more working class women to the cause.³⁷⁹) Some delegates at the subsequent International Congress came from America, Africa, Asia and Australia, and 25 European nations.³⁸⁰ Next day around 1,000 of the 50,000 or so who attended a demonstration were from India and Japan. Most of the older delegates had experienced prison and deportation, but 100 were members of parliament and one represented a million workers.³⁸¹ Organised Muslims also sent delegates.

Seven Marxist Armenian students from well-to-do families at Geneva University had founded ճնհալ Դեմոկրատ Ինքնակախ Կուսակցութիւն, or ՍԴԻԿ (the Social Democrat Hunchakian Party, or SDHP), the first SD organisation in the Ottoman Empire in 1887. One student had worked with SDs in St. Petersburg, and they contacted Engels and Plekhanov. Their slogan was 'Those who cannot attain freedom through revolutionary armed struggle are unworthy of it', and their first conference took place in London in 1896.³⁸² In 1900 the socialist Dashnaksutiun (Armenian Revolutionary Federation) had been founded in Tbilisi.³⁸³ By 1906 the police claimed that it had an active membership of 165,000, a formidable army of guerrillas, up to 10 million rubles and control of the Caucasian press. From spring, in the Caucasus, over 1,000 'politicals' were sentenced by courts martial to execution or exile to Siberia. In summer, after some Armenian clergy left a meeting at Echmiadzin, 45 of the 53 who remained were members of Dashnaksutiun, and they called for the separation of church and state and the nationalisation of church property. The rectors of the Armenian seminaries in Tbilisi and Echmiadzin hid illegal literature and weapons.³⁸⁴ Thanks to the viceroy's agent and government support, an oil workers' 'parliament' was established in Baki in Azerbaijan in May, in spite of opposition from the Bolshevik Jughashvili, SRs and Dashnaks.³⁸⁵ On 18 July, in Irevan, Qazakh, Karabakh and other cities there were bloody clashes between locals and Dashnaks.³⁸⁶ The Dashnaks had refused to stand candidates for the first Duma, but early in 1907 they forged tactical alliances with SRs and won three of the seven Duma seats. In April the Dashnaks' fourth Congress in Vienna voted to defend Armenian workers' economic, political and national interests and to work towards the socialisation of the means of production. They envisaged a federative Transcaucasian republic with internal autonomy and its own parliament, based on the 'most extensive decentralisation', but within the framework of a Russian federal republic. After Duma was disbanded, several Georgian deputies were sent to Siberia. (Japaridze later died in prison.) In August the Dashnaks were invited to send representatives to the International Congress as guests.³⁸⁷

Nikolai Semashko had been born in 1874. He joined organised SDs in 1893 and attended kruzhs of workers and students in Moscow and Nizhni-Novgorod. Late in 1905 he was arrested for taking care of wounded insurrectionists. In 1906, after nine months in prison, he left for Geneva where he met Ulyanov. In 1907 he was arrested, but feared being sent to Russia and managed to get to Paris where he became the secretary of the Bolshevik Centre.³⁸⁸ He was one of the Bolshevik delegates in Stuttgart, along with Lunacharsky, Malinovsky, Goldenberg, Tskhakaya, Ulyanov, and 28-year-old Bogdan Knunyants,³⁸⁹ and Jughashvili.³⁹⁰ Altogether there were seven Russian trade unionists and 37 Russian SDs, including Stučka of the LSD, Marchlewski of the SDKPiL, Horwitz of PPS-Lewica, who had been exiled to Siberia in 1906, but had escaped,³⁹¹ and Kon. PPS-Lewica worked closely with the Bund and the SDKPiL.³⁹² Luxemburg, who had served her two months' prison sentence for 'inciting to violence',³⁹³ represented the SDKPiL, but joined the Russian delegation.³⁹⁴ She met Kollontai and the SPD's Zetkin,³⁹⁵ and pointed out Ulyanov. 'Look at the self-willed, stubborn head. A real Russian peasant's head with a few faintly Asiatic lines. That man will try to overturn mountains. Perhaps he will be crushed by them. But he will never yield.'³⁹⁶

The 884 delegates included 289 from Germany,³⁹⁷ though half represented provincial organisations and the other half trade unions.³⁹⁸ Zetkin insisted that socialist women did not wish to alienate bourgeois feminists as long as they stood with proletarian women, and were prepared to 'march separately but to strike together'.³⁹⁹ The proposal to form an independent women's bureau, with *Die Gleichheit* as its organ was agreed by a large majority.⁴⁰⁰ Ulyanov and Luxemburg tried to 'assemble an illegal (not in the police sense, but with respect to the leaders of the International) conference of Marxists', but found few supporters,⁴⁰¹ though Ulyanov had discussions with Zetkin.⁴⁰² Balabanoff recalled that he did not participate in the open discussions, but like Luxemburg and Dutch delegates, he propagandised 'more active delegates' in subcommittees.⁴⁰³

Delegates sympathised with the Russian revolution and protested against the persecution of Jews, though they were divided on the colonial question.⁴⁰⁴ Wallach argued that they should stop their governments from fighting, even if that meant a revolution, but an SPD delegate prevented him from continuing.⁴⁰⁵ Lunacharsky had 'fairly sharp clashes' about the revolutionary significance of trade unions with Plekhanov,⁴⁰⁶ whose 'orthodoxy seemed slightly ossified',⁴⁰⁷ and argued that SDs would have to wait until the Asian countries became capitalist and by then they would probably be old men, though Ulyanov was 'distressed' at this perspective.⁴⁰⁸ Zetkin spoke against imperialist rivalries, and the 63-strong Russian delegation supported her. Luxemburg argued that agitation had to

be aimed at averting war, but also at 'hastening the general collapse of class rule'. She repeated this at packed workers' meeting in the city, and shared a platform with Kollontai, who spoke about strike meetings in Russia.⁴⁰⁹ They both argued that militarism was 'the chief weapon of class oppression', and anti-war propaganda had to be carried out among young people,⁴¹⁰ since the 'struggle against militarism cannot be separated from the socialist class struggle'.⁴¹¹ A majority of delegates condemned militarism and war,⁴¹² and resolved that in the event of a war it was 'the duty of the workers and their parliamentary representatives in the countries involved, with the aid of the International Bureau, to exert all their efforts to prevent the war by means of coordinated action'.

They shall use the means that appear the most appropriate to them, and which will necessarily vary according to the sharpness of the class struggle and the general political situation. If war should nevertheless break out, they have the duty to work for its speedy termination, and to exploit with all their might the economic and political crisis created by the war to arouse the population and to hasten the overthrow of capitalist rule.⁴¹³

Ulyanov, who had called Tserba an agent of the bourgeoisie,⁴¹⁴ was elected to the International bureau.⁴¹⁵ The Congress ended on 11/24 August,⁴¹⁶ and Ulyanov and Kon took the same train from Stuttgart.⁴¹⁷

Next day the RSDRP CC elected Ulyanov as an editor of *Sotsial-Democrat*,⁴¹⁸ and the following day *Proletary* acknowledged that 'we are apparently at the lowest ebb of the open mass struggle', but was optimistic.

On the whole, the Stuttgart Congress brought into sharp contrast the opportunist and revolutionary wings of the international Social-Democratic movement on a number of cardinal issues and decided these in the spirit of revolutionary Marxism. Its resolutions and the report of the debate should become a handbook for every propagandist. The work done at Stuttgart will greatly promote the unity of tactics and unity of revolutionary struggle of the proletarians of all countries.

The SPD was 'unstable' and had taken 'an opportunist stand'.⁴¹⁹ Apfelbaum later believed that 'opportunism had in essence already won the upper hand' in the International.⁴²⁰

(ix) Sympathisers altogether ceased to sympathise

The Menshevik Vladimir Antonov-Ovseyenko, the Bolshevik Gubelman and three others had broken through a St. Petersburg prison wall and escaped in spring 1906. Antonov-Ovseyenko was ordered to prepare an insurrection in Sevastopol in Crimea, but police and soldiers surrounded a military meeting, and though he tried to shoot his way out, he was arrested.⁴²¹ An admiral was subsequently assassinated, and a bomb missed a general, but killed six bystanders and wounded 50 others.⁴²² Antonov-Ovseyenko was sentenced to death, and though that was commuted to 20 years' *katorga*, he did not reveal his identity. Thanks to a Moscow comrade he and 20 others blew a hole in their prison wall, shot warders and a sentry and escaped. He hid in the mountains, then set off for Moscow, but had to jump from a train to avoid the police. In August 1907 he arrived in St. Petersburg with a 'cast-iron' passport, and the CC ordered him to go to Finland, where he propagandised sailors. He was under surveillance, so he left for Moscow, led workers' *kruzhki* and worked with Mensheviks in legal workers' organisations.

Nikolai Muralov had been born on a farm near the Black Sea port of Taganrog in 1877. He worked on the farm and his father taught him to read and write. At the age of 17 Nikolai entered an agricultural school, and after he graduated he worked as an estate manager in Tambov district and then in the Moscow region. In the late 1890s he volunteered for the army, but was sent to the reserves in Taganrog. In autumn 1899 he went to Maikop in the northern Caucasus and worked as a manager of a distillery and creamery. He joined a conspiratorial *kruzhok* and read Marxist literature, including *Iskra*, and early in 1902 he went to Moscow, though the Okhrana detained him for three months. He joined a Marxist *kruzhok* at Serpukhov in Moscow province, and by 1903 he was an assistant agronomist in a Podolsk *zemstvo*. He joined the RSDRP and supported the Congress 'majority'. Late in 1905 he took part in the Moscow rising, and in January 1906 he was active in the Donbass and Taganrog. He later recalled that the joint Don RSDRP organisation of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks was 'almost unnatural'. He was imprisoned in Mykolaiv, but after his release he returned to Moscow before taking a job as an estate manager near Tula in 1907. He helped to open 'a popular tea-room under the flag of the "Temperance Society"', lectured on agronomy and the labour movement, printed and distributed illegal literature and supplied the Serpukhov organisation in Moscow province.⁴²³

That summer members of the Moscow RSDRP committee were due to be court-martialled for maintaining a secret press and arsenal.⁴²⁴ The Bolshevik Bubnov, who had been a London Congress delegate,⁴²⁵ was sent to Moscow,⁴²⁶ where he joined Bobrovskaya. The committee had a newspaper, but there had been 'a marked stagnation' in all the central industrial region organisations, so they elected a new committee of representatives from the Centre and one from each local organisation. Bobrovskaya was the secretary, and with the nurse Maria

Dracheva, the student Elena Nomas and a young man called Faddey Meshkovsky, Bobrovskaya went underground. They needed seven safe flats each week and two each month, but they faced a problem.

Sympathisers altogether ceased to sympathise, for we were definitely out of fashion. Philosophic and other problems, particularly the sex problem had become the fashion and they had no time for us. Indeed so acute did the premises question become that not only had we no place to meet in, but we professional revolutionaries had no place to live in.

The police confiscated the press, though the printers escaped, and Bobrovskaya established another press.⁴²⁷

Ulyanov sent his sister Maria his views about RSDRP committees and she toured the Volga region, then joined him and Krupskaya and helped her to prepare the London Congress minutes for publication. Maria suffered from typhus and appendicitis, and returned to St. Petersburg, but her sister Elizarova visited Stockholm, Geneva and Paris to organise the archives, library,⁴²⁸ and Congress minutes.⁴²⁹ Ulyanov insisted that *Chto delat?* had been 'a summary of *Iskra* tactics and *Iskra* organisational policy in 1901 and 1902', and the situation had changed,⁴³⁰ but early in September the RSDRP CC removed him as an editor of *Sotsial-Democrat*.⁴³¹

In August the Lithuanian SDP Congress in Kraków had claimed to represent at least 2,310 members, including a few poor peasants, 817 workers in 20 *kruzhki* in Vilnius, 236 in Šiauliai, around 195 in Suvalkija and over 300 in Panevėžys. Branches elected officers and delegates to eight regional organisations. There were 80 Jewish members in Białystok and Brest Litovsk, and 150 in Vilnius and Grodno. The Congress designated one of the five districts in Vilnius as the Jewish district, with responsibility for its own organisers, producing Yiddish literature and organising a conference of Jewish SDs, but the LSDP would run a day school for agitators.⁴³² The 'autonomists' who wanted a separate state within the Empire triumphed.⁴³³ In September a conference of LSDP leaders noted that 'the revolution had quieted down', but the delegates were confident that there would soon be an armed rising, and wanted to raise funds, form fighting squads and infiltrate the army.⁴³⁴ The First Congress of Lithuanian Women took place in Kaunas late in September. It was organized by Catholic priests in preparation for the October election to the Duma, but discussed only cultural and economic issues. The invitation of representatives from different social classes and political affiliations led to disagreements between socialists and the clergy, and between educated intellectuals and less educated villagers, though delegates resolved to establish the Lithuanian Women's Union.⁴³⁵

In Russia many Jews in the Bund's periphery had joined Paole Zion, though Grinberg called it a movement built on 'a foundation of despair'.⁴³⁶ Its membership had reached around 12,000 and while it demanded 'Jewish personal political autonomy' in Russia and aimed at 'territorial autonomy', it welcomed news of the first settlers in Palestine.⁴³⁷ The Bund's *Folkstsaytung* closed and many Bundists left for the USA.⁴³⁸

In St. Petersburg Serova had told the Okhrana about expropriators and illegal literature in Vilnius in spring, and they seized literature, made arrests, closed the transport route,⁴³⁹ and gave Serova 300 rubles. In autumn, after she betrayed the Menshevik Duma deputy Sergey Saltykov, the Okhrana gave her 500 rubles and she became a full-time spy for 25 rubles a month, which later rose to 150.⁴⁴⁰

In Siberia the assassin of the governor of Tobolsk Katorga Prison escaped,⁴⁴¹ and after a failed attempt to assassinate the Akatui Katorga Prison governor, he went to Pskov, though SRs assassinated him there. The governor of the Trans-Baikal region added a year to the sentence of prisoners serving less than life, and two years of katorga to those sentenced for life. Kyrillov, a *Potemkin* mutineer, had been in several katorga prisons, and when morphine failed to kill him he took strychnine and died in agony.⁴⁴²

Georgian Bolsheviks were suspected of being involved in the murder of the nationalist Iliia Chavchavadze.⁴⁴³ They killed gendarmes, police and guards, and threw a bomb into a police barracks.⁴⁴⁴ The Bolshevik worker Voroshilov had gone to St. Petersburg, but was deported to Arkhangelsk province. He escaped in autumn, and the CC sent him to Baki in Azerbaijan.⁴⁴⁵

Vasily Lossev had been born in 1878. He joined the RSDRP in 1902 and propagandised workers and students, but was deported several times. From 1904 he was a member of the Viatka committee, and he was a delegate to the Bolsheviks' London conference in 1905. He took part in the Moscow rising, but escaped. By 1907 he was a member of the Moscow region committee and became an editor of *Borba (Struggle)*.⁴⁴⁶ By autumn he and eight to ten others had produced two issues. Local subs did not cover the cost of rent and paper, but 'cranky intellectuals' who 'had ceased to believe in the revolution' made donations. The finance committee included the wives of engineers, lawyers, doctors, and a rubber manufacturer, and other supporters included a manufacturer's daughter, an engineer's widow and a baker's daughter who hated churchmen, but taught at an Orthodox school.⁴⁴⁷ The Moscow Bolsheviks resolved to create illegal unions, and though St. Petersburg Mensheviks thought they would be closed,⁴⁴⁸ the Moscow textile workers' union was legally registered,⁴⁴⁹ and the failed attack on the Moscow governor turned out to be the attempt last in the Russian heartlands to kill a major tsarist official for two years.⁴⁵⁰

7. Tsarism was victorious

(i) The lowest ebb of the open mass struggle

On 11 October 1907 the St. Petersburg Bolsheviks' third *Izvestia* turned out to be the last.¹ The Bolsheviks had nominated six candidates for the Duma elections,² and the RSDRP committee urged the central trade union bureau to encourage workers to vote.³ The districts for every 2,000 voters were supposed to receive the relevant documents a week before polling day, but it was set for when workers were at work. Some peasants would have to travel up to 50 miles to a polling station and the details were posted just before the deadline, if at all. In Azerbaijan the Baki duma issued ballot papers with the name of their favoured candidates filled in. In Poland Black Hundreds intercepted documents and beat 'Defenders of the Jews' who resisted. In Białystok over 5,000 Minsk voters who did not pay apartment tax were disenfranchised, as were 2,500 in Katerynoslav in Ukraine, and 70 percent of such voters in Moscow, St. Petersburg and Kyiv, where police disqualified 3,756 who were mainly Jews.⁴ The prime minister barred 169 candidates, including 120 Kadets who signed the Vyborg manifesto, and Trudoviki,⁵ who intended to focus on workers' cooperatives and trade unions. Provincial elections began on the 14th, but in some places over a third of those enfranchised did not or could not vote.⁶ The VPSR boycotted the elections.⁷ On the 15th 21-year-old SR Tolya Ragosinikova stuffed 13 pounds of dynamite into her bodice, visited head of the St. Petersburg's prisons and shot him dead, but did not try to escape. Next day a court martial sentenced her to death and she was executed two days later.⁸ The combat organisation returned to Russia to assassinate the tsar.⁹

In Vladivostok, in the Far East of Siberia, an illegal joint SD and SR military organisation had planned an uprising in spring, but some members had been arrested. An uprising began on the 16th, and some sappers and Navy sailors were involved, though it was suppressed on the 17th.¹⁰ That day the St. Petersburg printers' union was closed.¹¹

Most *Potemkin* mutineers had gone to Romania. Opanas Matiushenko failed to organise 150 'on communist principles', yet they were blamed for peasant unrest.¹² Three had been sentenced to death in Russia, but that was commuted to 15 years' katorga. Three received lesser terms and 31 two years. Matiushenko was deported, and wandered across Western Europe, then went to the USA. In 1907, after the amnesty,¹³ he returned to Mykolaiv. The police found bombs in his flat, a court martial sentenced him to death,¹⁴ and he was hanged on 20 October.¹⁵

Tatiana Liudvinskaya had been born into a minor merchant's family in the town of Talnoe in Cherskasy province, Ukraine, in 1887. From 1900 she worked in a shop in Uman, but by 1903 she worked for the RSDRP. She joined the Odesa committee in 1905,¹⁶ and fought on the barricades in October. By 1907 she worked in St. Petersburg.¹⁷ In June there was an RSDRP conference in Odesa, and though the police arrested and deported all those present, a committee member gave Liudvinskaya the address of a 'permanent underground' centre in St. Petersburg. When she arrived she went to the Zerno bookshop, received the address of a private clinic, and went there, pretending to be ill. She met Krupskaya and Vera Menzhinskaya, who questioned her about her party activity and told her how to find the committee secretary. She got a genuine passport, not in her name, and a copy of Ulyanov's pamphlet against boycotting the Duma. She was appointed as an organiser of the Moscow district and was to work with the Putilov worker, Alexandr Bouiko, the organiser of the Narva district, during the Duma elections.¹⁸ Liudvinskaya was to attend a St. Petersburg RSDRP conference in Finland,¹⁹ and the delegates reached Terijoki on 27 October. Some distance from the station they all waved a serviette with a blue border. A comrade approached and they exchanged passwords, and after more precautions he led them to a building which had two exits in case the police raided.²⁰

There were 57 delegates with votes and 11 with a voice. They decided to call a one-day strike in the city and province on the first day of the trial of the second Duma SD deputies. They accused the Mensheviks of having a secret organisation and rejected their proposal to work with 'left' liberals, but agreed to work with deputies who opposed the liberals and did not write for bourgeois papers.²¹

Next day a letter from a Donbass worker appeared in *Proletary*. 'The chief weakness of the Katerynoslav organisation is the absence of party workers. We have neither agitators nor propagandists nor organisers'.²² The paper argued that SD deputies should 'explain to the people the utter uselessness of the Duma as a means of achieving the demands of the proletariat and the revolutionary petty bourgeoisie, especially the peasantry', since only an open struggle by the masses could achieve a genuinely democratic constituent assembly.²³

In St. Petersburg RSDRP explosives training was mostly theoretical,²⁴ but Krasin's workshops in Finland made up to 150 bombs a day, and he ran courses on how to use them. He also supervised the purchase of rifles from soldiers returning from Manchuria and sent them to the Caucasus and the Urals, where Malinovsky supervised expropriations.²⁵ SR Maximalists used those bombs and rifles to rob a St. Petersburg bank of almost one million rubles, and gave Krasin part of their haul.²⁶ During October there had been 362 attempted expropriations.²⁷

(ii) Colleges of Marxism

Klavidia Nikolaeva had been born in St. Petersburg in 1893. Her mother was a laundress, though her father soon left. At the age of eight Klavidia earned money as a baby-sitter, and attended a primary school for a while, but was largely self-taught. She later trained as a bookbinder, worked for a printing company, joined the printers' union,²⁸ was briefly arrested in 1906,²⁹ and joined the RSDRP in 1907.³⁰ Kollontai had returned to St. Petersburg from Stuttgart late in September 1907 and spoke at women's meetings in disguise.³¹ She and Nikolaeva organised the legal Mutual Aid Society for Women Workers.³² They aimed to 'prepare the ground for socialist work among the working population, encourage workers' self-activity, strengthen revolutionary militancy and bring together the isolated working women and draw them into the trade unions and the party'. Kollontai used legal opportunities to propagandise and agitate among 'broad masses of working women'.³³ The Society was not sectarian.³⁴ It had a reading room and buffet, and soon had 100 members, though few women workers, though some male workers and intelligently, but the RSDRP refused to support it financially, so it had to rely on private donations.³⁵

The veteran former terrorist Vera Zasulich had given up revolutionary activity and earned a meagre living from translating and her *Sbornik statei (Collected Articles)*, and bought a small plot of land in Tula province.³⁶ She told Kollontai that she was wasting her time and diverting party strength; yet the Society soon had 200 members and 100 working men and some male and female intelligently supporters.³⁷ One woman who attended socialist clubs and Sunday schools later recalled secretly reading Nikolai Chernyshevsky's 1860s political novel *Chto delat? (What Is to be Done?)* She also learned about 1880s revolutionaries like Figner and the tsar's assassin Sofia Perovskaya, and later became a Bolshevik.³⁸ The police closed legal meetings in union buildings and workers' clubs, ransacked workers' flats and exiled people.³⁹ After Kollontai published a pamphlet calling for an armed rising in Finland, she left her son with friends and went underground, and when the police arrested her they thought she was an SR.⁴⁰

The Menshevik intelligent Mark Broido was hiding in Finland when his wife Eva gave birth to a daughter in a St. Petersburg suburb.⁴¹ During November she and other Mensheviks opened workers' clubs and gave lectures on 'current affairs', and Menshevik Duma deputies 'came to report to us on their work'.

[G]eneral and special party meetings were held there, party publications were distributed from there, these were the 'addresses' of the local district and sub-district branches, there all local news was collected, from there speakers were sent to factory meetings. And these were also the places where enlightened workers – men and women – could meet for friendly exchange of ideas and to read books and newspapers. All clubs aimed above all at having good libraries. And eventually they also encouraged art, there were music and song groups and the like.

At first clubs were exclusively political, but soon their character changed. Propaganda meetings gave place to lectures and discussions of a more general nature, the clubs became 'colleges' of Marxism. Representatives of all club committees combined to work out systematic courses of lectures, to provide and distribute the necessary books and to supply book catalogues. Soon, groups of workers asked for courses on scientific subjects.

They included physics, mathematics, technology, economics, historical materialism and the history of socialism and the labour movement. Workers ran the clubs and learned how to 'elect and be elected, to accept and exercise responsibility, to organise and to lead the movement'. 'Working-class men and women who were already playing influential roles in the movement' attended evening courses for the illiterate. They gained confidence and criticised a Menshevik paper whose language was 'too involved and difficult', did not mention 'everyday problems of the average working man and woman' and 'rarely accepted the first literary efforts of young workers'. A rich merchant supplied paper and the workers were 'soon bringing out the fortnightly *Nevskiy kuryer (Nevsky Courier)*. All the contributions were by workers and they published six or seven numbers. They were enormously popular with workers, but 'the party suddenly got terribly worked up about our "waywardness"' and the project lapsed.⁴²

(iii) The Black Duma

In autumn 1907 most enfranchised workers in St. Petersburg were SDs and they won 18 electors, while nine of the 14 SRs were from the very large Obukhov and Semmianikov metal plants.⁴³ If a majority of electors in a worker's curia nominated an SD as a deputy, all the other SD electors had to agree.⁴⁴ The Bolsheviks wanted to abstain in the second stage, but though the RSDRP CC overruled them, 28 workforces abstained and very few voted at 31 other plants, though 796 out of 4,000 did so at Obukhov metalworks. The Bolshevik metal turner Nikolai Poletaev, who had become a revolutionary in 1895 and a Bolshevik member of the sovet EC in December 1905, was elected as a deputy,⁴⁵ as were four other Bolsheviks and a sympathiser who were mainly from small factories.⁴⁶ In Moscow women formed around 30 percent of factory workforces, but only 4.4 percent of union members. Around 44

percent of women tobacco workers were unionised, but *Golos Tabachnika (The Voice of the Tobacco Worker)* lamented that 'we have had almost no success among women workers' who were afraid buy the paper or join the union. In Kostroma province three factory workforces included from 22 to 28 percent of women.⁴⁷ The Moscow province worker-electors were all SRs, and so was one in Voronezh province.⁴⁸

About 19 percent of workers eligible to vote in 67 European Russian cities had done so, compared to 55 percent the year before, though the decline was 40 percent in Yaroslavl, Vologda and Kremenchug, 50 percent in Odesa, Katerynoslav, Poltava, Samara, Sevastopol, Stavropol and Viatka, and 65 to 84 percent in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kyiv, Minsk, Nizhni-Novgorod, Riazan and Saratov.⁴⁹ Saratov SDs had opposed taking part in the elections, but workers had run the skeleton SD organisations in the city and province since summer.⁵⁰ Nationally 521 socialists and 374 members of the People's Socialist Party won 19 electors, though the Kadets and other liberal and right-wing parties won 4,572.⁵¹ SDs won three of the four Duma seats in Lithuania,⁵² though gerrymandering reduced the number of Jewish deputies in the Baltic region to two.⁵³ SDs had suffered devastating arrests in Tallin and Tartu,⁵⁴ and though Andrei Priedkalns was elected as a deputy,⁵⁵ neither of the two elected in Estland was a socialist.⁵⁶ The number of Trudoviki deputies fell from 104 to nine, including a lawyer, a factory worker, an artisan, three townsmen and three peasants. They included nine Russians, one Pole from the Baltic region, three from the Caucasus and three from Latvia. Most were Orthodox, though one was an Old Believer.⁵⁷ One was 29 and nine were in their thirties. Four had had a higher education, another had attended a secondary school, while nine had a primary or home education, and three had previously been Duma deputies.⁵⁸ The Menshevik intelligent Potresov had written to the émigré Axelrod. 'We are undergoing complete disintegration and utter demoralisation.' 'There is not only no organisation, but not even the elements for it. And this non-existence is even extolled as a principle.'⁵⁹ In Ukraine one Menshevik worker in Don province became a deputy, but most other Menshevik deputies were not elected by workers,⁶⁰ and one was a spy.⁶¹ The Menshevik intelligent Nikoloz Chkheidze had fled from Guria in Georgia 1906, but was arrested. On his release he moved to Chiatury, and after a second arrest he went to Tbilisi, where he was elected to the city дума early in 1907.⁶² After bargaining with Dashnakutsutiu, Chkheidze became the Duma candidate for Tbilisi province. Dashnak candidates won 26 electors in Tbilisi and the SDs 53. SDs managed to win all three seats in Tbilisi province and Kutaisi province, and the only ones in the Batumi region and Tbilisi.⁶³ Seven were Mensheviks.⁶⁴ One Dashnak won a seat, though the number of Muslim deputies fell to ten. In Paris, with the support of leading socialists, they established the journal *hayamet (Pro-Armenia)*.⁶⁵

Novgorodtseva had been sentenced to 12 months in a strict security prison in Siberia in autumn 1906, making two and a half years in all. Sverdlov had 'maintained his links with the outside world' from prison, though it was 'no easy task in his circumstances, as he was allowed no parcels and few visitors', though they had to be members of his immediate family and his younger sister visited him once. He was 'given two years in a strict security prison in addition to the 18 months that he had already been detained', and 'was moved to the overcrowded prison in Ekaterinburg, where I had been for some time, to serve the remainder of his sentence in an ordinary cell'.

Strict security imprisonment was the harshest kind, reserved for particularly dangerous enemies of the autocracy. In principle, prisoners should have been held in solitary confinement, but, as the only strict security prisons in the Urals, in Perm and Ekaterinburg, were both permanently overcrowded in those days, there were no individual cells available. ...

We were able to keep up spasmodic and precarious contact, exchanging a few words through my casement when he was taken to the exercise yard, or passing occasional notes to each other. Though ... we met rarely, and then thanks to the 'liberal' condescension of the prison authorities. And how immeasurably brief those meetings were! We were never left alone together, were never able to express even a hundredth part of all we wanted, needed so badly, to say.

Many of the political prisoners, especially those whose families lived nearby, were in a much better position than Sverdlov. They regularly received parcels and were sometimes allowed visitors, who could keep them in touch with the outside world. Notes would covertly change hands in any of a dozen cunning ways: hidden in pots with a false bottom, in loaves, in the covers of books ... [and] birch-bark containers used in the Urals for milk or beer.

It was also sometimes possible to bribe certain of the junior warders, who often had a hard time managing on their less than ample wages. Some of the prison administrative staff also secretly sympathised with the political prisoners and were brave enough, as the opportunity arose, to do various jobs for them.

As his communications with the outside world expanded and stabilised, Sverdlov began to send his advice and instructions to those comrades who had not been arrested. He also used his contacts to inform the organisation of decisions taken by the imprisoned Bolsheviks, to tell them the results of their debates and to get the drafts of political leaflets out to them. He gave those who were leaving the prison advice on contacts to make and methods to adopt. ...

His inventive mind was constantly turning over outrageously daring plans of escape, although he soon came to see that escape in the near future was out of the question. He then turned his attention to his colleagues' education, and continued his own study of revolutionary theory; he read extensively, made notes and prepared articles. I have before me one of his notebooks from those days, which contains synopses of Lenin's *The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats, What Is To Be Done!* and *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, and also of works by Kautsky, Plekhanov, and Franz Mehring, of Louis Paul's

L'Avenir du Socialisme, The History of Trade Unionism by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, Charles Gide's *La Cooperation*, Victor Clark's *The Labour Movement in Australasia*, Rozhkov's *The Economic Development of Russia in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century*, and Werner Sombart's *Der Moderne Kapitalismus*.

Sverdlov read works such as *What Is To Be Done?*, *Capital* and the letters of Marx and Engels several times while in prison, each time making new notes and synopses. He made sure somehow that his personal copy of *Capital*, studded with pencil marks and comments, was never taken from him when he was moved from one prison to another.

His cell-mates could hardly believe his diligence. He often worked far into the night, taking advantage of the sleepy silence in the cells. ...

From prison he wrote: 'Life is a wonderful thing - varied, interesting, inexhaustibly profound. No matter how hard we try, we can only grasp a tiny part of it - but it is our duty to make that tiny part as large and as interesting as we can...'

His tuberculosis got worse,⁶⁶ yet he was transferred to a penal battalion with unusually harsh regime, and in autumn 1907 he was sentenced to two years in a Fortress.⁶⁷ Novgorodtseva was freed and settled in St. Petersburg.

I soon found a job, as a clerk in the Provincial Book Wholesalers, with pay which was meagre but regular. I took a small room on Vassilyevsky Island, and began to wait for Sverdlov with mounting agitation, naturally enough, because, except for a few fleeting moments under a warder's eye, we had not met for almost three and a half years. One evening when I came home I found him waiting for me.

That evening and the next few days seemed to fly by - we had so much to say to each other.⁶⁸

Three RSDRP deputies were from Asiatic Russia, two from each of from the Urals, the Baltic region and Georgia, and five each from the central industrial region and the Caucasus, though the total had fallen from 65 to 19. Five had graduated from higher educational institutions, three from secondary schools and 11 had had a primary or a home education. Fifteen were Orthodox, one was Old Believer, and there was one Lutheran, Catholic and Muslim. Eight were workers or artisans, two were farmers and one was a schoolteacher. One of the two townsmen was a worker, and the other, and four aristocrats, were professionals.⁶⁹

On 1 November the Duma opened in St. Petersburg, and the Menshevik Chkheidze was elected as chair of the SD deputies.⁷⁰ On the 5th *Proletary* was optimistic.

Our Party's serious illness is the growing pains of a *mass* party. For there can be no mass party, no party of a class, without full clarity of essential shadings, without an open struggle between various tendencies, without informing the *masses* as to which leaders and which organisations of the Party are pursuing this or that line. Without this, a party worthy of the name cannot be built, and we are *building* it. We have succeeded in putting the view of our two currents truthfully, clearly, and distinctly before everyone. Personal bitterness, factional squabbles and strife, scandals, and splits – all these are trivial in comparison to the fact that experience of *two tactics* is actually teaching a lesson to everyone who is capable of taking an intelligent interest in politics.

The 'whole people know whom they are dealing with in the case of Bolshevism or Menshevism'.⁷¹

That day there was an RSDRP conference in Helsinki.⁷² Jughashvili arrived early and was disappointed to find that Ulyanov was 'a most ordinary looking individual, below middle height'. He was 'distinguished from ordinary mortals by nothing' and carried on 'the most ordinary conversation, with the most ordinary delegate, in a corner'.⁷³ The voting delegates included ten Bolsheviks, five Bundists, five from the SDKPiL, four Mensheviks and three from the LSD. The delegates acknowledged that several local organisations remained factional, and though the CC was being bypassed and *Sotsial-Democrat* had not appeared since December 1906, the conference banned editing or publishing anonymous articles in bourgeois papers.⁷⁴ Ulyanov, Apfelbaum and Rosenfeld inveighed against 'liquidationism from the left', and Malinovsky and Lunacharsky accused them of opportunism.⁷⁵ A majority supported the St. Petersburg committee's decisions about the Duma, against the votes of the Mensheviks and Bundists,⁷⁶ but on the 11th St. Petersburg police liquidated the committee. Krasin had arrived late and escaped,⁷⁷ though the organisation collapsed.⁷⁸

Malinovsky had conducted an election campaign in *Vypered* and worked with the Bolshevik deputies in the Duma.⁷⁹ It needed 30 deputies to question ministers, and the left had 32,⁸⁰ including 14 Trudoviki.⁸¹ On the 15th the SDs constituted themselves as an 'autonomous group' within the party. They agreed to listen to the CC, but not be controlled by it, and when their reply to the government avoided mentioning a democratic republic, the eight-hour day or land reform, the CC condemned them.⁸² The Moscow region committee agreed that deputies could be recalled, but it took 'a great deal of effort' to get Bobrovskaya and others to agree.⁸³ On the 19th *Proletary* included a report on the Terijoki conference, based on what had appeared in another paper, and there was another report about the RSDRP Congress held in Helsinki from 5 to 10 November.⁸⁴

St. Petersburg's judicial inspector had ordered the Kazan Okhrana to arrest the spy Shornikova, and in September she had explained her situation to the Okhrana chief. He reported that she needed a certificate of 'political trustworthiness' to take up a post in Krasny Krest, and she eventually received it on 20 November.⁸⁵

On the 22nd, when the trial of the second Duma SD deputies and the St. Petersburg military organisation began in the capital, 72,000 workers went on strike.⁸⁶ Seventeen deputies had escaped and the 53 others were prevented from speaking and walked out, though one returned next day as an observer. On 1 December ten were acquitted, but eight got four years' *katorga* and ten were exiled for life. The Menshevik Tsereteli got five years' *katorga*,⁸⁷ Japaridze, Makharadze and Chola Lomtadze were sentenced to four years, though two other Georgians were acquitted.⁸⁸ The LSDP deputies were jailed for a year.⁸⁹ Two-thirds of the deputies who had signed the Vyborg manifesto were Kadets, and were sent to prison for three months and disqualified from participating in a future Duma.⁹⁰ (Two later died in prison.⁹¹) Most members of the military organisation received harsh sentences, though a Cossack was freed.⁹² The Duma closed socialist journals and presses, banned trade unions and persecuted activists,⁹³ and it became known as the 'Duma of Lords and Lackeys',⁹⁴ or the 'Black Duma'.⁹⁵

(iv) Armand

Natalie Wild had an English mother,⁹⁶ and a French father who taught French in Moscow. Natalie later went to Paris, became an actress and lived with an opera singer.⁹⁷ Elisabeth was born in a working class district in 1874, though her father died in 1875 leaving three young daughters and a penniless widow. She died in 1877, but around 1880 her sister accepted a post as a piano teacher in Russia and took her mother and Elisabeth with her.⁹⁸

Decades earlier Eugene Armand had left France for Pushkino, near Moscow, and set up a factory to make army uniforms,⁹⁹ and he later opened wool-weaving and dyeing plants. In 1877-1878, during the war with Turkey, he made 900,000 rubles profit from 1,200 workers, bought a large estate and a house in Moscow and hired 45 servants. Armand and his wife raised Elisabeth with their 11 children and called her 'Inès'. She learned French from her aunt, English from her grandmother and Russian and German from tutors, and was strongly influenced by Tolstoy. By 1891 she had qualified as a teacher. She married Alexandr Armand in 1893, and they lived on a small estate near Pushkino. She studied agrarian economics,¹⁰⁰ and visited poor people in Pushkino and Moscow's slums. With the Armand family tutors, Evgeny Kammer and Nikolai Ivinsky, she opened a school for the sons of Armand's workers and peasants,¹⁰¹ and after she bore a child in 1894 she questioned her religious faith.¹⁰² In 1896 Kammer told Boris Armand that he belonged to an SD student *kruzhok* in Moscow that read forbidden books, propagandised workers and supported strikes, and the young Armands helped him to set up a press,¹⁰³ to produce agitational leaflets.¹⁰⁴ Kammer and Boris were arrested in 1897,¹⁰⁵ and Kammer took the blame, but Boris's father hired a lawyer and put up bail, and helped to him get to Germany. The Okhrana watched Inès,¹⁰⁶ and in 1898 she took her two sons to the Crimea, where she read the veteran SR Petr Lavrov's *Zadachi pominanya istory (Problems of Understanding History)*, which discussed the peasant question. In spring 1899 she took her son to Montreaux for medical attention and read books on social issues.¹⁰⁷ After she returned to Russia she helped to establish a Moscow society to improve women's lives.¹⁰⁸ It offered moral and material support and promoted education and technical training, established 'shelters and refuges for fallen women' and 'set up canteens, hostels and temporary accommodations' for women workers. By 1900 Inès was president of the society, and the Bolshevik Elizarova was a member. The police believed that 'unreliable elements made persistent efforts' to 'penetrate all kinds of legal organisations' to spread 'anti-government ideas', and when Inès applied to open a Sunday school they refused all 15 teachers certificates of political reliability because of their 'undesirable acquaintances'.

Vladimir Armand had entered Moscow University, and Alexandr and Inès allowed student SDs and SRs to meet in their flat. They gave her illegal literature,¹⁰⁹ though Vladimir could not decide if he was an SR or an SD. Early in 1901 the police raided and charged the students with planning an illegal demonstration. Other students went on strike, but Cossacks whipped them into a riding school and raped some of the women.¹¹⁰ Inès requested permission to edit a paper for the women's society, but an official demanded to see its constitution, police clearance and her passport, and though they acknowledged that she was 'financially secure and morally upright', they refused permission. In January 1902, while on holiday with Vladimir in Italy, Inès became pregnant, though Alexandr supported her. In summer she took her children to Switzerland,¹¹¹ and visited Georges Koukline's bookshop in Geneva. She heard Lunacharsky speak and read Ulyanov's pseudonymous analysis of the development of capitalism in Russia,¹¹² and concluded that fundamental political change was needed. Early in 1904 Vladimir joined an SD *kruzhok* in Moscow. In spring Inès returned from Switzerland with a baby and SD literature in the false bottom of a child's trunk. She and Vladimir planned to set up a library, and shared a small flat with a Pushkino peasant who had become a student.¹¹³ Ivan Nikolaev helped to pay the rent. Alexandr left for the Far East to help the troops fighting

the Japanese,¹¹⁴ but near Pushkino his sister Anna helped to fund the RSDRP. In summer, after the rest of the Moscow RSDRP committee were arrested,¹¹⁵ there were about 100 SDs in the city, and an actress, Alvetina Druzhin,¹¹⁶ looked after Inès and Vladimir's library. Druzhin was not an RSDRP member, but her brother brought books for Inès and Vladimir's kruzki,¹¹⁷ and their flat became a refuge for 'politicals' on the run.¹¹⁸ Inès visited Stockholm to study feminism, and a Russian introduced her to Ulyanov's *Chto Delat?*¹¹⁹ In Moscow Vladimir was under surveillance,¹²⁰ and the Okhrana prevented Inès from earning a living by teaching since she was 'well known for her lack of political loyalty', but she and other intelligently propagandised workers in fields outside the city.

In January 1905 Vladimir returned home from a demonstration, badly bruised and bleeding profusely.¹²¹ Inès wrote to Alexandr that 'We're having something like a revolution!' 'All of Petersburg is on strike, and even Moscow is beginning to go out'.¹²² Beyond the Moskva River 'everyone has stopped work. Not only the factories but the workrooms and small companies like laundries', and newspapers were scarce.¹²³ Early in February, two days after the assassination of the governor-general, the police raided Inès's room, and found a revolver, ammunition and VPSR literature, and correspondence in Nikolaev's room. They arrested him, Inès and Vladimir, then set a trap, which several of Nikolaev's friends and Druzhin's brother fell into. Vladimir and Nikolaev were soon released, but the Okhrana suspected Inès of belonging to an organisation seeking the 'overthrow of the existing order' and kept her in prison. Her health deteriorated and she was sent to the prison hospital, but in summer, thanks to the Armand family, she was freed under surveillance and the police dropped the charges.¹²⁴ She and Vladimir went to Nice. By February 1906 Vladimir seemed well and he and Inès returned to Pushkino. In spring she and Boris, and two other SDs, revived a kruzok formerly led by Dr. Pechkin and the librarian A.N. Rodd, which met at Peshkin's or Armand's houses. Inès built and rebuilt kruzki and taught political theory, and she and others used the Armand factory hectograph to print leaflets which they left near the village well at night so women would find them next day. They soon ran three kruzki and two more in neighbouring villages, with 55 members,¹²⁵ and Inès led 'advanced' kruzki and tried to link them to the Moscow RSDRP committee.¹²⁶ She took her children for a holiday in Finland, which coincided with calls for a mutiny at Helsinki Fortress. On her return to Moscow she was put in charge of RSDRP propaganda in the Lefortovo district, even though she was not a member,¹²⁷ and she selected literature and trained intelligently to lead kruzki and find safe meeting locations.¹²⁸ Elena Vlasova recalled that they met at the zoo, in nearby woods, or near a tributary of Moskva River. 'The workers in our district were from the sweet factories, bakers and textile industries'. 'Many were illiterate' and 'in great poverty'. Inès 'had a simple direct way of getting through the distrust and awakening their interest. She would talk about the differences between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks and make them understandable even by the most ignorant'. (They called her 'Inessa', and that name stuck.¹²⁹) She taught in legal trade unions, and in spring the police suspected she was connected to the revolutionary militia, raided her flat and found SD literature, but soon released her.¹³⁰ In autumn she enrolled at the University, revived her library, contacted SDs, and joined RSDRP committee's lecturers' commission by winter.

By February 1907 Vladimir had tuberculosis and went to a sanatorium in Nice.¹³¹ Moscow police thought Inessa was an SR because relatives sent her SR literature;¹³² but in spring, when they raided her flat, they found SD literature and briefly detained her.¹³³ In May they arrested her for attending an illegal meeting badly-disguised as a 'reunion', but soon released her after she paid a fine of 300 rubles.¹³⁴ She moved into Vlasova's flat in the Railway district, and Vlasova recalled that they 'had too much work and got back too late too tired to utter a word'. The governor decided that Inessa was 'a danger to public order, deserving imprisonment until complete enlightenment about the circumstances of her affairs'. In Pushkino there was a four-day strike at the Armands' factory, and Alexandr agreed to all but one of the strikers' demands.¹³⁵ The police arrested four RSDRP members and watched Alexandr closely.¹³⁶ Moscow police raided a strike meeting of 11 members of the railway union at an employment agency, and though Inessa arrived late, and claimed she was there to hire a cook, they arrested her. In Lefortovo Prison she found that some women had formed a 'commune' and took turns at preparing meals, and she gave French lessons.¹³⁷ In autumn she was deported to Arkhangelsk for two years, without a trial. Vladimir accompanied her on the train, but when they arrived she was put in a solitary cell. Soon after strikers at the Armands' Pushkino factory protested at the prosecution of an SD Duma deputy, and the police put the employers, and Rodd, in Moscow's Taganka Transit Prison.¹³⁸ The RSDRP committee remained democratic until near the end of 1907.¹³⁹

(v) Notes on the Philosophy of Marxism

In autumn 1907 Malinovsky, Lunacharsky, three other Bolshevik and two Menshevik intelligently had published *Ocherki po filosofii marxizma (Notes on the Philosophy of Marxism)* in St. Petersburg. Lunacharsky wanted a new 'proletarian monism' and a 'religious consciousness' similar to the syndicalist philosophy of 'social myth'.¹⁴⁰ 'God is mankind. Build up God and mankind by joining with the leading elements [in society]'.¹⁴¹ Malinovsky argued that

the psychical elements of 'individually organised experience' depended on the 'individual', while the physical elements depended on the 'collective subject',¹⁴² though 'only continuous, active ties with science as a whole could help philosophy make progress'.¹⁴³ He wanted a better materialist explanation of the development of class-consciousness, without giving ground to idealism or mechanical materialism, and accused Plekhanov and Ulyanov of dualism – the idea that mind and matter were separate.¹⁴⁴ In November Malinovsky published *Krasnaya zvezda* (*Red Star*), a novel set on Mars, where a statistical institute calculated the amount of socially necessary labour and applied surplus resources and highly developed voluntary human labour elsewhere. Martians suffered the same problems as Earthlings, including demographic crises, pollution and the exhaustion of natural resources, but 'atomic power (especially in the conquest of space), specialisation of production, advanced engineering and cybernetics' would solve them,¹⁴⁵ and infinite longevity was possible by blood transfusion.¹⁴⁶ Gorky told Lunacharsky: 'I both like it and don't like it, nevertheless, it's an intelligent work'.¹⁴⁷

The police had confiscated the first part of Gorky's novel *Mat*, but thousands of copies had been printed in Berlin and smuggled into Russia.¹⁴⁸ Lunacharsky argued that 'social democracy is not simply a party', and cited Gorky as a maker of 'proletarian art'. 'The proletariat thinks realistically and monistically' and 'reveals the unity of spirit and matter, the labouring and struggling character of history, life, and nature and feels its growing spontaneity. He envisaged a socialist society in which the proletariat created its own culture. He and Lunacharskaya moved in with Gorky and Andreeva on Capri, and Gorky noted that Lunacharsky wrote about 'the approximation of bolshevism to syndicalism' and 'the possibility of joining socialism and anarcho-syndicalism'.¹⁴⁹ Ulyanov told Lunacharsky that 'Bolshevism' knew how to 'make use of the living element of syndicalism' to 'combat its worst elements', and 'we can only refute syndicalism with a revolutionary view'; but he wanted to differentiate syndicalism from anarchism, so he wrote an introduction to a Lunacharsky pamphlet, and argued that syndicalism was a natural reaction against the opportunistic tactic of parliamentary reform. Plekhanov attacked Lunacharsky's view that syndicalism and reformism were revisionist, but Lunacharsky argued that the Russian revolution was doomed unless socialists helped to channel the 'energy of the rising masses' through a 'revised and purified syndicalism' and strikes.¹⁵⁰

Kato Jughashvili died of tuberculosis in Tbilisi,¹⁵¹ aged 22,¹⁵² and Ioseb asked her parents to look after their son.¹⁵³ Wallach had sent stolen money to the International bureau, and, at his request, it sent the last 1,000 francs to a Caucasus bank for the benefit of 'Koba' (Jughashvili).¹⁵⁴ Wallach narrowly avoided arrest in Bonch-Bruевич's St. Petersburg bookshop, and the CC sent him to the Urals to organise a party conference. The police offered 'any price' for his capture,¹⁵⁵ but he escaped to Paris and late that year he found a detective under his hotel bed.¹⁵⁶

The Berlin police had made difficulties about Bronstein's residence permit,¹⁵⁷ so he had gone to Vienna, and Sedova and their son later joined him.¹⁵⁸ Bronstein pawned books at the end of each month and scraped a living by writing for *Kyivskaya mysl* (*Kyiv Thought*),¹⁵⁹ the most popular liberal paper in south Russia.¹⁶⁰ Late that year Paris police reported on his speech 'to a 'very large' audience at 'Learned Societies'. He spoke about the revolution and strikes, and 'described in minute detail the ills and miseries which are a result of general strikes, whether they break out in this country or in neighbouring states,' but argued that 'without strikes revolutions would never come to a head'. After 'having criticised the attitudes of the German Social-Democrats, he began to talk about the raging crisis in America, then suddenly fainted'. Days later he spoke about 'The Stages of the Russian revolution and the present Political Situation' to nearly 1000 people. He feared a reaction, so 'to destroy the Tsar's *camarilla*' (favourites) and the tsar, it was '*necessary to build several dynamite-producing factories*'. The prime minister 'had crushed the revolution because he had the army on his side', so revolutionaries had to propagandise in the army.¹⁶¹

(vi) Twelve Years

Late in 1907, in St. Petersburg, subscriptions were coming in slowly for Kedrov's book of Ulyanov's early writings, and they had not reached 200 when the first volume appeared with hardly any alterations.¹⁶² *Twelve Years* included articles and pamphlets from 1895 to 1905.¹⁶³ One was an updated version of *Chto delat?* And Ulyanov accused his critics of taking it out of its historical context,¹⁶⁴ though it had been vindicated by events.¹⁶⁵ The book also included *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in a Democratic Revolution* and *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*.¹⁶⁶ Ulyanov's pseudonymous preface favoured 'party unions';¹⁶⁷ but the censors condemned the book for advocating an armed rising, confiscated it,¹⁶⁸ and summoned the official publisher, who claimed his name had been used without his permission, and though the authorities went after the distributors, they got nowhere.¹⁶⁹

Nikolai Baturin had been born into a railway worker's family in Chertkovo, Rostov province, in 1877. After graduating from secondary school in 1898 he entered St. Petersburg University. He participated in the revolutionary movement, but in 1899 he was expelled for participating in student riots. He went abroad and studied at universities in Berlin, Zurich and Leipzig, and joined the RSDRP in 1901, but was arrested several times, and exiled to Vyatka

February 1902. In January 1903 he fled through Finland and Sweden to Zurich and then Geneva. After the RSDRP split, he supported the 'majority'. In 1904, together with Bonch-Bruевич, he organized the RSDRP CC library and archives,¹⁷⁰ but he was in St. Petersburg by late 1907.¹⁷¹

The St. Petersburg police threatened to charge Kedrov with an offence that could result in a sentence of *katorga*, so he sold banned books only to people he knew.¹⁷² He established a working relationship with the Black Hundred printer Berezin, whose manager, A.A. Beliakov, had been Kedrov's schoolmate and the Bolshevik Centre's printer. They printed a book for Kedrov, but after RSDRP CC leaflets left the shop the senior press inspector visited. A wad of banknotes proved ineffectual, and he sealed the rotary presses and the door, and confiscated the leaflets and the book. Beliakov had ordered the clerk to put Zerno's name in the order-book, and a typesetter ran to tell Kedrov. He owned up and Berezin paid a large bribe and got the press working again, but the police raided the bookshop. They found nothing incriminating, since the illegal material was in the warehouse, but took all the copies of the second volume of Mandelshtam's legal history of the RSDRP, then sealed the premises and maintained extremely intrusive surveillance. The manager of another print shop suggested that Kedrov offer an Okhrana officer 1,000 rubles, though he accepted 500, dropped the prosecution and returned the books. Kedrov planned a *Kalendar dlya vsech, 1908 (Calendar for all for 1908)*. He had contributions from Alexandrov, Rozhkov and Baturin, and Kedrov invited Ulyanov to join them.¹⁷³ Kedrov paid his bills regularly and a Danish firm, one of whose shareholders was the widow of the assassinated tsar, offered him unlimited credit for paper. The work was 'voluminous', but Kedrov wanted to sell it cheaply, so most was set in small type. The cover price was 25 kopeks, though retailers got a 40 percent rebate, so Kedrov expected to make a loss. The print run was 63,000, but Kedrov told the printers to show 3,000 copies in their order-book and delay sending copies to the censor for a few days. It had to be distributed quickly, since the contents were 'absolutely illegal' and the cover 'depicting a worker on a background of a city in flames' was 'sufficient for the censors and police to condemn it'. Kedrov had a "'special" agreement' with bookbinders which ensured that copies were distributed throughout the labour movement, while unsold stock was put in the warehouse. The censors eventually banned it, and the police visited the printer, who claimed he had kept 3,000 copies because he was concerned about the contents, and the police left them alone.¹⁷⁴ Kedrov also published 3,000 copies of the first part of the second volume of Ulyanov's articles and the censors passed it, but few workers could afford it. The second part of the second volume included articles from illegal publications and had a different title, and was set up at the 'Russian Printers', but gendarmes ambushed the courier taking the proofs to Kedrov. He assumed a printer had been an informer, since when the chief of gendarmes summoned him he had the manuscripts on his desk and the word 'republican' had alarmed him.¹⁷⁵ Gendarmes raided the Zerno bookshop, confiscated the legal translation of Marx and Engels' *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei* and detained the worker who lived there. Kedrov was away, but when he returned, intending to publish Ulyanov's *Karl Marx*, he was summoned to Okhrana headquarters, where a recently-retired gendarme officer knew that Zerno published for the RSDRP and claimed to have copies of Kedrov's correspondence with émigré Bolsheviks. He suggested a fine of between 4,000 and 5,000 rubles. Kedrov faced having Zerno closed and three years' deportation, and though he offered 1,500 rubles, investigations carried on for a long time and he stayed in jail.¹⁷⁶

Since June governors and governors-general had been empowered to fine violators of press laws 3,000 rubles, and by the end of the year 265 fines totalled 163,950 rubles. Courts imposed 26 fines amounting to 5,378 rubles, and 175 editors were imprisoned, 413 newspapers suspended,¹⁷⁷ and 313 of 337 new publications were closed.¹⁷⁸

(vii) How long are we to wait, until everyone is hanged?

During 1907 most of European Russia had been under martial law,¹⁷⁹ and around 850,000 troops had been deployed against civilians.¹⁸⁰ 'Black cabinets' in Russia had intercepted 14,221 letters and the one in Warszawa had reportedly opened 90,000. Five new provincial Okhrana security sections had been established, and the St. Petersburg headquarters had 800,000 files on political suspects and criminals.¹⁸¹ It had moved to Alexandrovsky Prospekt, and 1907 had been their busiest year so far, especially in February and October. It was responsible for north Russia, while that in Moscow was responsible for 13 central provinces, that in Riga for much of the Baltic region, that in Vilnius for seven north-western provinces, that in Warszawa for all ten Polish provinces, those in Samara and Saratov for 11 eastern provinces, that in Kharkiv for southeastern provinces, that in Kyiv for five southern provinces, those in Tbilisi and Tashkent for the far south and those in Perm and Irkutsk for Siberia.¹⁸² There were 903 gendarme officers,¹⁸³ and 7,417 of the 12,369 ordinary gendarmes were stationed on the railways. Police wages had cost almost 51 million rubles that year.¹⁸⁴ That year 125,000 political suspects had been detained.¹⁸⁵ In Georgia 3,704 people had reportedly been banished without trial.¹⁸⁶ In Siberia Nerchinsk Katorga Prison, which was intended for

1,584 prisoners, held 2,629. Gorny Serentui Prison, intended for 300, held 899, and 40 of the 100 'politicals' were in a cell ten paces wide, 13 long and six feet high. They were seriously undernourished and sickness was rife.¹⁸⁷

Since 1904 over 360 SDs and other socialists had been executed in Warszawa Citadel.¹⁸⁸ PPS fighters were active,¹⁸⁹ and by mid-November the city's police had recorded 170 assassination attempts against officials and private citizens and 161 assaults on property since the beginning of September.¹⁹⁰

Since 1905, officially, the state had executed 1,102 people.¹⁹¹ In reality courts martial had executed 1,139 civilians,¹⁹² ordinary courts-martial 456 and 59 others had been executed without a trial.¹⁹³ Since 1905 135,000 people had been deported or exiled without trial,¹⁹⁴ though most SDKPiL leaders managed to escape.¹⁹⁵ The police had made 194 raids on SD organisations,¹⁹⁶ and by the end of the year SDs had halted most terrorist activity,¹⁹⁷ though there were bomb factories in several cities,¹⁹⁸ and one young SD argued that 'Our eyes will pop out before we live to see the concentration of capital. No, brothers, let's turn to terror instead!' Others agreed: 'What's the use of padding out empty theory?' 'How long are we to wait, until everyone is hanged?'¹⁹⁹

The police had 22 spies in the VPSR,²⁰⁰ which had refused to allow Fruma Frumkina to commit an assassination in the early 1900s, so she had acted alone 'in revenge for the hard labour convicts',²⁰¹ though in 1903, when she was in Kyiv Prison, she failed to kill the chief of police. In 1907, in a Moscow prison, she failed to kill an official and was executed. Irina Kokhovskaya had joined the Bolsheviks in 1905, aged 17, but in 1906 Spiridonova's example drew her to the VPSR, and in 1907 she met her in Siberia.²⁰² During 1906 and 1907 SRs and anarchists claimed to have assassinated over 4,000 people, but almost as many were arrested, and most were SRs,²⁰³ though the SR Maximalists had almost collapsed.²⁰⁴ The VPSR claimed responsibility for 62 attacks,²⁰⁵ though about 5,000 anarchists were responsible for most of them.²⁰⁶ One report claimed that a third of the 1,500 people killed or wounded by terrorists were private citizens,²⁰⁷ while another claimed that around 5,946 officials had been assassinated.²⁰⁸ Another noted that 1,231 officials had been killed and 1,312 wounded in 3,487 terrorist acts,²⁰⁹ another claimed that almost 4,500 officials and 4,700 citizens had been killed or injured, and another gave 1,231 officials and 1,734 citizens killed and 1,284 officials. Baltic region the police reported 1,148 terrorist acts, and 324 people, mainly police and soldiers, killed. In the Caucasus, officially, there had been 3,305 acts of banditry, and terrorists had killed 183 officials and wounded 212 citizens and 90 officials.²¹⁰ There had been 331 terrorist acts in Tbilisi province and 619 in Kutaisi province.²¹¹ Since 1905, nationally, 3,611 high, middle and low-ranking government officials and other employees had reportedly been assassinated or killed during expropriations, and over 9,000 had been wounded.²¹² During 1907, officially, there had been 12,102 acts of banditry and robbers had got away with 2,771,000 rubles,²¹³ in 1,732 expropriations.²¹⁴

In the second half of 1907 A.M. Ignatev had exchanged many 500-ruble notes for foreign currency,²¹⁵ and some were laundered via the Credit Lyonnais in Paris.²¹⁶ Other Bolsheviks who tried to exchange them were arrested in Paris, Stockholm, Geneva, Copenhagen, Sofia, Rotterdam,²¹⁷ and Zurich.²¹⁸ Some were imprisoned in Bavaria, and others were handed over to the Russian authorities.²¹⁹ All the safe banknotes had been spent.²²⁰

The Bolshevik Ter-Petrosian had returned to Tbilisi with arms and explosives that summer.²²¹ In August he arrived in Berlin under an assumed name and with the passport of an insurance agent.²²² Zhitomirsky had told the Okhrana that Ter-Petrosian planned a 15 million ruble bank raid and police raided his hotel room.²²³ They found a false-bottomed suitcase containing explosives,²²⁴ 200 dynamic fuses, 12 fulminates of mercury, 20 electric batteries, a passport in the name of 'Mirsky' and stolen Russian banknote.²²⁵ He was arrested and taken to Alt Moabit Prison.²²⁶ When police raided a house in Pankstrasse they discovered Bolshevik literature, pistols, ammunition and 19,000 sheets of watermarked paper, but made no arrests. *Vorwärts* workers had helped to smuggle the paper to Finland,²²⁷ where Krasin forged three-ruble banknotes.²²⁸ Subsequently Krasin sent Ter-Petrosian a note via Oscar Kohn which described how to simulate madness. He 'began to rave, shout, tear his clothes, throw dishes on the ground and beat the warders, and was placed in a solitary cell where the temperature was below zero for nine days. He was classified as a 'raving maniac' and sent to a ward for 'mental defectives' for observation. Kohn asked to be his guardian and this was permitted.²²⁹ Soon after the Tbilisi Menshevik committee members were exiled.²³⁰ (For the next four months Ter-Petrosian never lay down, but stood facing a corner and raised each foot alternately and refused food, so he was force-fed.²³¹)

In Paris the Mensheviks thought the theft of the 500-ruble banknotes was a betrayal of the agreement made at the London Congress, though Zhitomirsky turned up at a meeting with 10 or 12 burned at the edges.²³² Gurvich told Axelrod in Zurich. 'Menshevism as an organisation simply does not exist, and to re-establish it by mechanical means is impossible'. 'There is no money, there are no people, there is no activity'.²³³ Axelrod reacted angrily to news of the Bolsheviks' counterfeiting. 'How can we remain with them in one party?'²³⁴ The SPD leaders were furious when they heard that Krasin had bought the paper in Germany and that their employees were involved.²³⁵ Plekhanov found the forgery and expropriations 'so scandalous' that he wanted the Mensheviks to break from the Bolsheviks,²³⁶ and when they refused he stopped writing for *Golos*.²³⁷ Gorky wanted to set up a publishing house

for SD literature and give the profits to the Bolsheviks. He estimated that Helphand had not passed on 130,000 marks, so he went to Dresden, and the SPD leaders that Helphand should 'have his ears cut off'.²³⁸

In Finland an illegal raid by Russian police on the VPSR headquarters unearthed compromising documents,²³⁹ and the prime minister annexed the Finnish districts closest to St. Petersburg.²⁴⁰ Finnish police had arrested 11 staff and students at Krasin's explosives workshop in Kuokkala, though they did not hand them over for some time,²⁴¹ and Russian police searched in the vicinity.²⁴² The St. Petersburg and Moscow RSDRP committees wanted the *Proletary* editors to leave Finland,²⁴³ and the CC ordered Ulyanov, Malinovsky and Dubrovinsky to go.²⁴⁴ Ulyanov went to a village outside Helsinki, and Krupskaya joined him days later, but then returned to Kuokkala,²⁴⁵ so she and Anna Malinovskaya could burn sensitive files.²⁴⁶ Ulyanov contacted Vladimir Smirnov in Helsinki, who telephoned Walter Borg in Abö, using code and Aesopian language, and asked him to organise Ulyanov's departure for Sweden. In December Ulyanov got off the train before Abö, where Borg had a car waiting, and they drove to Abö. Smirnov assumed Ulyanov would take the ferry to Stockholm,²⁴⁷ but he had contacted Hjalmar Branting, a socialist member of the Swedish Rikstag.²⁴⁸ Ulyanov got two peasants to accompany him,²⁴⁹ disguised himself as 'Professor Müller' and crossed cracking ice to get to Sweden. When Krupskaya arrived he told her it would have been 'a silly way to die'.²⁵⁰ Days after Ulyanov left Kuokkala several Russian revolutionaries were arrested.²⁵¹ Elizarova reached Helsinki, but spoke no Swedish, so Smirnov took her to the station and she got to Sweden.²⁵²

(viii) The economic downturn

In the decade to the end of 1907 Russian gentry had sold around 19 million acres,²⁵³ and in 1906-1907 the Peasant Land Bank had acquired 1,891 estates.²⁵⁴ The government estimated that 28,000 landlords owned approaching 170 million acres,²⁵⁵ and averaged almost 6,300, while ten million poor peasants owned under 200 million acres at an average of under 19 acres, 'middle' peasants 40.5 and rich peasants 126.²⁵⁶ Over 48,000 peasant households had separated from their village communes and 219,000 had successfully applied for land reorganisation.²⁵⁷ There had been 221,000 applications for land,²⁵⁸ and 48,300 of the 211,900 households who applied to convert communal allotments into private holdings were successful,²⁵⁹ so 240,000 acres or so had become private property.²⁶⁰ The Duma limited the amount that households could own in a given district. They could not mortgage it to a private individual or an institution and could sell it only to peasants.²⁶¹ Almost 568,000 people had legally migrated to Siberia,²⁶² and 25 percent more illegally,²⁶³ though 117,500 legal migrants returned.²⁶⁴ The Union of Siberia Creamery Associations had 65 cooperatives and the 3,145 credit cooperatives had 1.4 million members.²⁶⁵

Since 1905 most of the 7,165 rural conflicts had taken place where landowners exploited peasants particularly badly and where gentry had begun large-scale farming. In 1907 there had been 2,196 in the central provinces, 985 in the south-west, 850 in Ukraine, 724 in the mid-Volga region and 655 in Białaruś. Around 75 percent of the targets were gentry, 15 percent officials, police and troops, and ten percent kulaki and other usurers, shopkeepers and clergy.²⁶⁶ In Tambov province the number of cases of arson was double that of 1904 and the level was 2.5 times higher in Orel province.²⁶⁷ There had been 328 agricultural labourers' strikes in Latvia and 16 in Kaunas and Suvalkija provinces.²⁶⁸ Poor young peasants often gave a lead, especially those who were agricultural labourers, worked in industry or had served in the armed forces. The 227 SRs engaged in propaganda included 57 workers or artisans, 50 teachers, 43 peasants, 40 students, 23 clerical or shop workers, four feldshers and two midwives,²⁶⁹ though the peasants' union had disappeared.²⁷⁰ At the end of the year a visitor to Saratov province noted that the peasants were despondent. Many landlords had armed guards, and while others had offered their land for sale or rent at lower prices, 'conscious' young peasants refused to buy or rent it, since they believed it belonged to them. In a Saratov cotton-padding factory young Riazan peasants were enthusiastic about striking for economic demands, but older workers, and especially those with families, feared the sack.²⁷¹

Since 1903, nationally, industrial production had grown by an average of six percent a year,²⁷² but in 1907 industry had entered a severe depression.²⁷³ Nationally 798,000 inspected workers had been injured and had to go to hospital and 686,000 to clinics. There were 1.81 million workers in inspected plants,²⁷⁴ and 39 percent were in workforces of over 1,000.²⁷⁵ The average wage was 241 rubles.²⁷⁶ Unemployment among industrial workers had risen to 2.2 million,²⁷⁷ and the government had stopped unemployment relief.²⁷⁸ The wages of St. Petersburg metallurgical workers had risen by between 40 and 60 percent since 1904.²⁷⁹ Officially 652 unions across Russia included 54,000 metalworkers, 37,000 textile workers and 28,000 printers, but while 22 others had over 2,000 members, 100 had between 100 and 200 and 349 had less than 100. In Poland 62 unions had 47,700 members. In St. Petersburg province 61 unions had 53,500 members, including 44 with around 51,000 members in the city.²⁸⁰ Almost 35 percent of factory workers had come from the central industrial region and 16.5 percent from Tver province.²⁸¹ Between them legal and illegal St. Petersburg unions had 63,000 members, or 22 percent of the

industrial workforce.²⁸² The VPSR had groups in half the city's unions, and controlled a quarter of them, including the metalworkers' union,²⁸³ though the police believed that a third of its members supported the RSDRP.²⁸⁴ By August 9,300 activists had joined a union, but in autumn the city дума terminated the agreement with the Unemployed Council.²⁸⁵ Malyshev recalled that in the second half of 1907 the 'majority of our party workers were arrested', including members of the Council, and survivors went underground or fled abroad.²⁸⁶ In Moscow the RSDRP CC member Nogin was a member of the trade union bureau.²⁸⁷ The city's 46 unions had 48,000 members. In Moscow province 90 unions had almost 70,000 members. In Georgia 38 unions in Tbilisi had 13,000 members.²⁸⁸ In the last six months of the year governors across Russia had closed 159 unions and refused to register 169.²⁸⁹ During 1907, officially, there had been 3,573 strikes and 740,000 strikers across Russia,²⁹⁰ or almost 42 percent of inspected workers,²⁹¹ for a total of 2.4 million days,²⁹² and while 14 percent of strikes were defensive, 60 percent were for better pay and conditions.²⁹³ Strikes sacked for their political convictions accounted for 42 percent of the unemployed and lowered production for 49 percent.²⁹⁴ From July to the end of September, officially, there had been 66,000 economic and 11,000 political strikers in inspected plants. Altogether there had been 3,258 strikes in cities and 315 in non-urban areas. The average number per plant was 207, and the average length of strikes was 3.2 days,²⁹⁵ though 80 percent of strikes lasted two days or less. Sixteen percent ended in victory, 26 percent in compromise and 58 percent in defeat. Seventy percent of strikers were in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Vladimir Warszawa and Livonia provinces. There were 154 strikes in the Moscow region, 157 in the Kyiv-Volga-Kharkiv region and 325 in the St. Petersburg region,²⁹⁶ including 1,023 involving almost 280,000 workers in St. Petersburg province.²⁹⁷ After the St. Petersburg print workers' union gave strike pay to non-members, the authorities had closed it;²⁹⁸ yet there had been 307,000 strikers in St. Petersburg, 154,000 in Moscow, 157,000 in Kyiv, Kharkiv and the Volga region, and 35,000 in Warszawa.²⁹⁹ In Poland there had been 689 strikes and 100,000 strikers,³⁰⁰ including 104 strikes in and around Warszawa.³⁰¹ There had been 176 strikes in Finland,³⁰² and 75 in Siberia which involved 12,000 workers.³⁰³ The numbers of strikers in Vladimir and Kyiv had increased. Nationally almost 1.44 million strikers had made economic demands. Nearly 370,000 had won, over 670,000 compromised, though almost 400,000 lost. In the last quarter of the year there had been 30,000 economic strikers and 163,000 political strikers. Almost 52 percent of strikes were repeated, and in only two months in 1907 did the number of strikers fall below the annual average for the previous decade, and 22 percent of all workers were at strike-hit enterprises. Workers in small towns and villages accounted for less than 30 percent of strikers, compared to 40 percent in the previous decade; but inspectors noted that 'advanced sections' were 'exercising their utmost energy to halt the retreat and turn it into an offensive', especially in larger plants, and metalworkers often gave a lead. Nationally, strikes cost employers 173 million rubles and workers 23 million rubles, and while some workers recouped their losses, some metalworkers had lost three times the average, yet over 521,000 of over 2.4 million strike days were deemed political, as were 540,000 strikers.³⁰⁴ Over three years the number of strikers had averaged 1.57 million a year.³⁰⁵

During 1907 the government's income had been 2.37 billion rubles and it had invested 49 million in new railways and 75 million to improve the network.³⁰⁶ Over 16 percent went to pay off loans,³⁰⁷ while military spending took a third.³⁰⁸ Since 1901 the War Ministry had paid foreign manufacturers 345 million rubles for equipment.³⁰⁹ In August the tsar had agreed to an Anglo-Russian *entente cordiale*,³¹⁰ which implicitly acknowledged Germany as the enemy,³¹¹ and four dreadnoughts and other warships were being built for the Baltic fleet;³¹² but from January to September there had been 47 officially-recorded army mutinies.³¹³ The government's debt for ordinary purposes was 2.33 billion rubles,³¹⁴ but it refused to discuss disarmament.³¹⁵ During 1906 and 1907 Russia's trade turnover with Persia was equivalent to almost £8.3 million. An agreement between the Russian and British governments put much of Persia under Russia's sphere of influence,³¹⁶ and the price of oil rose steadily. In Azerbaijan Baki factory workers had gone on economic strikes, hoping to win control over hiring and firing, though there had been 3,060 acts of terror and 1,732 robberies in Transcaucasia.³¹⁷ In eastern Azerbaijan the 'Secret Union' had launched a military uprising in February, taken over state institutions, military camps and armouries, and by October it had effectively become the regional government;³¹⁸ but oil and grain exports had to go through the Bosphorus Straits.

At the SPD's annual Congress in Essen in September, Kautsky had argued that 'we cannot promise to share the government's war enthusiasm every time that we are convinced that the country is threatened by attack', and Bebel promised that the SPD would 'oppose any government which takes the initiative in war',³¹⁹ yet Kautsky believed that most Germans would do nothing if the kaiser sent an army against a victorious Russian revolution.³²⁰ The young lawyer Karl Liebknecht had presented *Militarismus und Antimilitarismus unter den Interessen der internationalen (Militarism and Anti-Militarism among the interests of the International)* to the SPD's first youth Congress in Mannheim in February,³²¹ but the authorities ordered the seizure of most copies in April. They charged him with 'advocating the abolition of the standing army by means of the military strike, if needs be conjointly with the incitement of troops to take part in the revolution' in October,³²² and he was sentenced to 18 months in prison.³²³ SPD Reichstag deputies had spoken in favour of 'preserving the independence of the German people'

rather than seeing them 'shoved up against the wall by some other nations',³²⁴ though Kautsky noted that 'the petty bourgeoisie becomes more and more reactionary and unreliable'. Over a third of SPD members working in 'industry and handicrafts' were self-employed or in workforces of five or fewer.³²⁵ The self-employed formed around 9.8 percent of SPD members, while 14.9 percent were probably unskilled workers, though the party's core were skilled workers, as were several thousand staff who controlled the press and bureaucracy.³²⁶ Luxemburg had been hired to teach at the SPD School in Berlin, which had 30 students, and spent 50 hours a month teaching political economy and economic history, for 3,600 marks a month,³²⁷ which was more than she usually earned in a year. A 'very important lawyer' told her about courts martial, prisons and the torture in Warszawa Citadel. 'It's ghastly. Every day there are several executions. Things are happening in the prisons that make your hair stand on end.'³²⁸ In September eight socialists had been executed for murdering a Łódź industrialist.³²⁹

Since 1905 71 percent of those who had joined Russian SD organisations had been workers;³³⁰ and together with peasants they outnumbered intelligenty.³³¹ There were reportedly 500 RSDRP members in underground cells in St. Petersburg, and 2,500 trade unionists, particularly in the metalworkers' and printers' unions, reportedly regarded themselves as SDs.³³² In February a Russian worker had argued that the capitalists were correct when they answered 'our heartfelt proletarian cry' of 'allow us to live like human beings' with 'spend less time contemplating the green signboard' of the shops which sold the state's monopoly alcohol.³³³ The factory worker Lukeria Malinovskya had returned from Japan, and the Okhrana considered her a revolutionary, but she got a job at Maxwell Mill.³³⁴ There were 20 spies in the RSDRP organisations in Russia,³³⁵ and most of the Bolsheviks' Moscow organisation had been arrested.³³⁶ One of the 22 agents among SRs had been exposed, as had five of the eight among anarchists, but none of the seven among SDs.³³⁷ By late 1907 the Bolshevik Centre had lost contact with the garrison, the military organisation had ceased to exist,³³⁸ and the intelligentka Maria Essen was no longer active.³³⁹

Earlier that year the Luzovka-Petrovsky RSDRP committee in the Donbass had claimed 2,000 members, but in July the police had arrested all the region's London Congress delegates.³⁴⁰ By autumn only the Luzovka-Petrovsky RSDRP organisation remained active, though its membership had fallen from 3,000 to 450. In December they produced a leaflet, though it triggered police raids. That year 15 Okhrana raids had found five printing presses and arrested 145 people.³⁴¹ There were 117,400 miners, though employers had rejected 42 percent of claims for compensation for injuries.³⁴² The seamstress Liza Volshtein later recalled that 'there were more provocateurs than workers' in the Odesa organisation in 1907,³⁴³ Nationally, none of the hundreds of publications issued by 35 Bolshevik committees seriously addressed women's issues since 1905,³⁴⁴ though more young workers were literate.

The Duma had earmarked over eight million rubles for education.³⁴⁵ Primary schools accounted for over 21 percent of zemstvo budgets,³⁴⁶ and around 120,000 girls attended secondary schools.³⁴⁷ The Jewish quota for school and university places, and those who studied at home, had been ten percent,³⁴⁸ yet undergraduate numbers had doubled in three years and the number of Jews had risen to 4,266,³⁴⁹ or 12 percent of the total.³⁵⁰ Late in October Kyiv reactionaries had complained that University students planned to commemorate the execution of an SD five years earlier. On 1 November police harassed 26 student leaders, but others disrupted classes. On the 5th police surrounded the building and took names, and University was closed on the 12th. On the 17th, as some students discussed the fate of their arrested comrades, police surrounded the building, took their names and handed them to the disciplinary court, which suspended 719 for a year.³⁵¹ During 1907 Lviv University students had organised mass demonstrations against the authorities;³⁵² but by the end of the year Higher Courses for Women had opened in Kharkiv.³⁵³ There were 8,090 students at St. Petersburg University, and 41 percent were not sons of noblemen or senior civil servants, and 21 percent were from modest backgrounds.³⁵⁴ There were 134 zemliachestva (fellow-countrymen's mutual aid associations), and 62 had a total of 1,581 members. The Kadets had boosted their representation on the leading student sovet from four to 12, along with 11 SRs and 18 SDs, but meetings to discuss a strike, and those at Moscow and most other universities, were either too small or too unenthusiastic to make their decisions binding.³⁵⁵ There were 208 women auditors at St. Petersburg University, 319 in Kazan, 308 in Moscow and 688 in Kharkiv, and the national total was 3,267;³⁵⁶ but 450 of the 1,500 students at Zurich University over 700 of the 1,700 at Bern University were Russians, and many were Jews.³⁵⁷ In Germany the SPD's Bernstein had argued that 'the solution of the Jewish question' was 'denationalisation', so Russian Jews should leave for 'culturally elevated countries'.³⁵⁸ There had been unsuccessful attempts to prevent Jews from joining the Russian army.³⁵⁹ From summer the Russian authorities had often allowed those sentenced to three years' exile to 'remote places' without trial to live abroad for the same time, and many Jews had chosen places other than Switzerland,³⁶⁰ and since 1905 over 332,000 had left for the USA.³⁶¹

There were reportedly around 360,000 Black Hundreds across the Empire,³⁶² and the Menshevik Duma deputies had decided that they were not 'obliged' to take part in extra-parliamentary activity.³⁶³ A revolutionary recalled that 'All the revolutionary and opposition parties were smashed. Depression, demoralisation, dispersion, discord, desertion', and 'pornography took the place of politics'. 'Tsarism was victorious'.³⁶⁴

8. The darkest days of reaction

(i) A tempest in a teapot

By 1908 Moscow was home to the largest number of inspected workers, followed by St. Petersburg, Łódź, Riga, Warszawa, Ivanovo, Odesa, Tver and Yaroslavl.¹ The police had 'dissolved' 81 unions, including 25 in and around Moscow, 12 in Odesa, eight in Nizhni Novgorod, seven in Kazan and three in St. Petersburg. They had closed 41 union journals, including 27 in St. Petersburg, four in Moscow and three in Odesa,² and union leaders had been sent to Siberia.³ The railway unions no longer existed,⁴ but around 130,000 workers were in surviving unions.⁵

St. Petersburg's metalworkers' union had over 5,000 members,⁶ and 78 percent were aged between 16 and 34.⁷ Almost 92 percent could read, but a majority read a one-kopek legal daily paper. The legal metalworkers' 'society' rarely reported to inspectors, since it was an insurance against the closure of the union.⁸ Metalworking plants employed almost 54,000, with an average of 295. Around 36 percent of metalworkers, most of whom were skilled, had been sacked, and employers had imposed hourly pay.⁹ Around 93 percent of the 4,600 who had left the union had paid no dues. The Nevsky branch subordinated itself to the union centre, up to 25,000 were unemployed.¹⁰

In prison Malyshev learned that the government had ended public works. Before they closed the Kagarinsky wharf project they had called out artillery,¹¹ and the Unemployed Council was falling apart.¹² Some Bolsheviks derided those who favoured non-party unions as 'professionalists', but the Bolshevik Goldenberg of the Russian CC and trade union commission, wanted party cells in unions.¹³ The SD Duma deputies complained about the 144 suppressed unions, but got nowhere.¹⁴ Some SDs argued for recalling the deputies and boycotting future elections.¹⁵ Kanatchikov and Alexandr Efimov, the Moscow and Vyborg districts organisers, disagreed.

I remember we both appeared as speakers a couple of times at some kind of protest meeting against the 'recallists', who were then carrying out their anti-Party work with considerable success. The Artist enjoyed enormous authority among the workers of his district, and he was able to drive out the recallists without any difficulty. ...

Soon thereafter, under instructions from the Party Central Committee, we decided to publish our own Bolshevik central organ to guide the workers' trade-union movement and to serve as a counterweight to the Menshevik journal *Professional Herald*. According to our plan, the journal was supposed to appear bi-weekly at first, and then weekly. We called it *Herald of the Professional Movement*. The editorial board consisted of G. Zinoviev [Apfelbaum], N. Rozhkov ... Efimov (The Artist) myself and someone else. We made Efimov the editor-in-chief.

The police confiscated the second issue and Efimov, the editor, was put on trial. 'I believe he was sentenced to two years in prison. But he managed to escape and became a fugitive from justice. After this, under instructions of the Party Central Committee, I shifted to trade-union work'. It felt like 'the darkest days of reaction'.¹⁶

Ivan Skvortsov had been born into a Moscow factory clerk's family in Bogorodsk, Moscow province, in 1870. He became a revolutionary in 1892 and supported the RSDRP second Congress 'majority' by 1904. In November 1905 he was an editor of *Borba* in Moscow, and was a delegate to the Stockholm Congress in 1906.¹⁷ From 1907 he adopted a conciliationist position.¹⁸ Members of the Moscow committee sometimes attended the Literaturnaya Sreda (the Literary Wednesday group). By 1908, though most other former members were in prison or exile, it included Skvortsov, Mescheriakov, Silvin, Mitskevitch, Pokrovsky and Rozhkov, and Malinovsky, Bazarov and others translated and edited the three volumes of Marx's *Das Kapital*.¹⁹

Alexandr Vinokurov had been born in 1869. He became a revolutionary in 1890 and became an SD by 1893. He helped to organise the Moscow Workers' Union and was often imprisoned and deported. He took part in the 1905 revolution, but from 1907 he worked in insurance societies and edited a journal in St. Petersburg.²⁰ By January 1908 he was in Katerynoslav, 'almost without hope', since the workers were 'exhausted, the intelligentsia has broken away from the party' and the town was 'saturated with provocateurs'.²¹

The 19-year-old Bolshevik Valerian Kuibyshev had been deported to Tomsk province and lived with his father, but later left for St. Petersburg. The Bolshevik organisation had been smashed, so he worked as a tutor and manual labourer, and in summer he bumped into a comrade he had met in Siberia. The police held Kuibyshev's domestic passport, but he bribed a superintendent and got a foreign one. Someone who had taken part in the Moscow rising had to be sent abroad, so Kuibyshev handed over his legal passport, but the police detained him for three months.²² Only 12 intelligentsy were active in the capital's RSDRP organisation,²³ but 28 unions had 29,300 members.²⁴

The Duma approved the establishment of 89 new Okhrana security sections,²⁵ and V.E. Kosorotov, the SD Duma deputy from Ufa, was charged with inciting mutiny. By August the metalworkers' union had 2,536 paid-up members out of 6,011 who claimed membership, and older married men were given time to pay up. A few Mensheviks

remained loyal to the RSDRP committee. The Bolshevik Goldenberg represented the CC in dealings with the SD Duma deputies, and Skrypnik noted that the recallists paid little attention to unions.²⁶

I worked first as district organiser and then as Committee Secretary. Conditions continued to deteriorate with the hasty desertion of the intelligentsia – not a week went by without an activist or two departing the cause, moving to another town, returning to study for a diploma, etc., etc. The workers held fast, but provocations thinned their ranks. Every day it became harder to find a room to use as a hideout or as a secret address. ... The printing of appeals became very difficult for lack of funds. The students and young people who had stored and distributed material had scattered in the first puff of wind. The organisation was maintained only through the superhuman efforts of remaining militants.

Eventually Skrypnik was 'driven abroad by the increased attentions of the police'. He spent a few weeks in Geneva, but then returned to Moscow,²⁷ to tackle recallists and rebuild the legal workers' movement.²⁸ He joined the trade union bureau, but the police arrested all its members and detained them for three months.

The Bolshevik Sokolnikov had been imprisoned in autumn 1907. He was aware of 'arguments about empiriomonism and dialectics' in the bath-house, 'amidst thick steam, splashing water and clattering wooden bathtubs, though an unsuccessful attempt by an SR Maximalist to escape from there disguised as a warder led to a 'marked reduction' in the 'liberties' allowed to others. Sokolnikov studied economics, history and politics, made a chess set out of bread and played with neighbours by knocking on the wall. In autumn he was exiled for life, but refused to doff his hat when the prison governor walked past, and was 'thrown into a punishment cell, clapped in irons and given convict status'. By 1908 he was a 'conciliator' between the RSDRP factions.²⁹

The Bolshevik Bukharin had entered Moscow University, but apart from criticising 'some venerable, liberal professor', he rarely attended lectures. He and Sokolnikov united RSDRP youth groups and called a national congress. In 1908 Bukharin was co-opted onto the RSDRP committee as a chief district organiser, and later 'Bogdanov' 'played an enormous role in the development of our party' and of 'social thought in Russia'. Bukharin 'read everything that had appeared on the subject in Russian' and had an 'inclination towards the empirio-critics'.³⁰

By February the RSDRP claimed 260 local organisations,³¹ and 3,000 members;³² but according to Apfelbaum 'the Party as a whole' had 'ceased to exist'.³³ The CC focussed on legal organisations and district groups were 'the exception rather than the rule'. In Finland Krasin believed that many Bolsheviks regarded the émigré intelligenty as 'an obstacle impeding further development of the party along proper lines'.³⁴

Tbilisi RSDRP claimed 3,000 members.³⁵ Voroshilov was the secretary of the oil workers' union in Bakı and he and Jughashvili joined the RSDRP committee.³⁶ In the elections to the 'workers' parliament', 35,000 workers voted for 400 representatives, and two thirds were either SRs or SDs.³⁷ In February 1,500 oil workers went on strike.³⁸ Gendarmes raided an RSDRP meeting, Jughashvili, Shahumyan and Tskhakaya escaped. Gendarmes and Cossacks attacked an SD safe house. Several Cossacks were killed, but the Outfit lost its best gunman. One survivor left to study at St. Petersburg University,³⁹ and Tskhakaya escaped to Switzerland.⁴⁰ Jughashvili argued with Shahumyan,⁴¹ and Bakı RSDRP split.⁴² Since January 12 Tbilisi officials had been assassinated and eight others had been wounded.⁴³

The 34-year-old Bolshevik intelligent Mykola Skrypnik had gone to Yaroslavl in 1906, but police found his resolutions for a planned conference of northern committees and exiled him to Turukhansk in Siberia for five years. He escaped on the way,⁴⁴ returned to St. Petersburg and worked with cooperatives.⁴⁵ He campaigned during the Duma elections in 1907 but was arrested and sent back to Turukhansk. He escaped to St. Petersburg by October, though the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks on the RSDRP committee had split. In November Skrypnik attended the conference in Helsinki as a representative of the Siberian Union. In St. Petersburg intelligenty were drifting away from the party, but Skrypnik joined the board of a cooperative in Rozhdestvensky district to 'exploit legal opportunities', 'edited trade union journals and attended legal congresses on cooperatives and factory medicine, under a pseudonym;⁴⁶ and in spring 1908 he wrote for the Bolsheviks' trade union paper.⁴⁷

The Bolshevik lawyer Shanster had left Russia in 1907.⁴⁸ In 1908, along with Malinovsky, Lunacharsky, Alexinsky and other Bolshevik intelligenty, he demanded that the SD Duma deputies be recalled,⁴⁹ and Malinovsky sent out letters in the name of the Bolshevik Centre.⁵⁰ Recallists controlled the St. Petersburg RSDRP committee,⁵¹ and the central industrial region bureau. Mensheviks had 14 votes at a Moscow conference while the Bolsheviks had 18,⁵² but in spring 1908 11 Mensheviks left the RSDRP committee and worked in cooperatives.⁵³ Bubnov, a member of the committee,⁵⁴ was elected to the central industrial region bureau and as a delegate to a party conference, but was arrested.⁵⁵ The Mensheviks Martynov and Boris Goldman issued a leaflet announcing that the Bolsheviks' Tbilisi raid had brought the RSDRP into disrepute and it had almost disintegrated. It was impossible to rebuild an underground organisation or hold a conference,⁵⁶ so they aimed to replace the CC with an 'information bureau'.⁵⁷

There were 31 Okhrana security stations.⁵⁸ The St. Petersburg headquarters had a secret fund of five to ten million rubles,⁵⁹ and the prime minister admitted there were provocateurs in revolutionary organisations.⁶⁰ Serova

reported about the RSDRP CC and its leading committees and betrayed the Bolsheviks' print shop and money-counterfeiting operation in Finland.⁶¹ Russian gendarmes arrested one of Krasin's collaborators and found compromising documents, but he organised a squad to retrieve them.⁶² Gendarmes raided his home at Kuokkala, and found nothing incriminating, but took him to Vyborg Prison, where officials let him live in the infirmary and allowed his wife and mother to visit every day.⁶³ He failed to escape,⁶⁴ but Russian officials did not provide the correct papers in 30 days, so the governor gave him a foreign passport and advised him to go abroad.⁶⁵ Bolshevik fighting squads had almost disappeared, though arms were buried on an estate in Finland,⁶⁶ and revolutionaries expropriated almost 450,000 rubles. In March the justice minister worried that long sentences meant that 'there will soon be nowhere to put the people'. By April, officially, there were 167,500 political prisoners.⁶⁷

The intelligentka Praskovia Kudelli had joined the RSDRP in 1903 when she was 44.⁶⁸ She joined the Tver committee, then the Tula committee in 1904, took part in the revolution in 1905 and was a delegate to the party conference in December. By 1906 she had joined the St. Petersburg Bolshevik committee,⁶⁹ and worked on publications, but was arrested several times.⁷⁰ In spring 1908 the 16 committee members included four intelligently,⁷¹ and while Bolsheviks and Mensheviks struggled for supremacy, 'work in the districts almost ceased'.⁷² Serova betrayed the Bolshevik Rosenfeld,⁷³ and the police charged him with preparing a May Day leaflet.⁷⁴ Serova betrayed Nogin, Apfelbaum,⁷⁵ Rozhkov,⁷⁶ Warszawski and all the other Bolshevik leaders except Goldenberg.⁷⁷ The police charged 45 with being members of the RSDRP and the charges against Rozhkov dated to two years earlier.⁷⁸

In Ukraine the Luzovka-Petrovsky RSDRP committee and sympathisers met occasionally by 1908, but only four of the 26 *kruzhki* survived, and in February 'Petr' reported to *Proletary* that 'conditions among the miners are such that of ten party workers only one is willing to undertake' political work' and they could hope to 'hold out for five or six months'.⁷⁹ Around 30 SDs were active in Katerynoslav. Woytinsky arrived from St. Petersburg to organise a conference, but was briefly arrested. CC agents tried to revive the Donbass organisation, which managed to produce four leaflets to promote May Day. The Luhansk RSDRP claimed 1,000 supporters. They had published 11 leaflets so far that year, and made two unsuccessful attempts to produce an illegal paper for workers, but a May Day leaflet triggered police raids, and many members were arrested there and in Luzovka-Petrovsky.⁸⁰ On May Day 50,000 miners reportedly stayed away from work, though it was the only large-scale demonstration in Russia.⁸¹ Wages in Kyiv province were well below the national average,⁸² and there were strikes on May Day.⁸³

(ii) Roman Malinovsky

Nine members of the northern combat organisation had been arrested in February 1908.⁸⁴ Four men and three women were executed immediately,⁸⁵ and others later. In summer 74 delegates at a VPSR congress in London included 48 from Russia, plus the CC, and the guests included German Lopatin, Figner and Mikhail Frolenko, former members of *Narodnaya volya*. Chernov acknowledged that 'we are defeated' as an organisation, but he wanted to see survivors 'reinforcing the foundations of conspiracy and centralism', especially in relation to terrorism.⁸⁶

Early in 1908 delegates from Mohilev, Vilnius, Vitebsk and Grodno, and CC members based in Vilnius, Minsk and Warszawa had attended a Bund conference in Grodno, and decided to participate in 'all social movements and institutions that advance directly or indirectly the interests of the proletariat', including trade unions. A Bund leaflet noted that 'The whole of our country has the appearance of a huge graveyard'. The Bund was very weak in Riga, Pinsk, Gomel, Bobruisk, Grodno and Łódź,⁸⁷ and though there had been 22 conferences in Panevėžys, Šiauliai, Suvalkija and Vilnius in 18 months, and at least ten in Kaunas, the number of participants varied from nine to 26, and averaged 16. Only the Suvalkija organisation functioned effectively.⁸⁸ The Bund reportedly had 800 members,⁸⁹ and its illegal *Di shtime fun bund* (*The Voice of the Bund*) approved legal and illegal activity.⁹⁰ In May Grinberg left St. Petersburg for Geneva, but by summer the Bund could not sustain its CC financially,⁹¹ and in Russia the authorities attacked Bundist unions, including those of metalworkers and textile workers in and around Łódź.⁹²

In January, at a PPS Congress at Cieszyn, PPS-Lewica had favoured legal struggle on the basis of a united workers' movement allied to the Mensheviks, while PPS-Prawica saw the political struggle as one for national independence.⁹³ May Day was celebrated hardly anywhere in Poland.⁹⁴ In Ukraine, Luhansk RSDRP printed a leaflet, then hid their press in a mine and buried their guns in a graveyard. Odesa RSDRP had published six leaflets and three issues of an illegal paper, but the police arrested most of the committee and closed the press.⁹⁵

Roman Malinovsky had been born into a Catholic peasant family in Plock province, Poland, in 1876, but was soon orphaned. As a youth he was a jack-of-all-trades in Germany, then returned to Poland and became an apprentice tailor, supplementing his meagre wages by burglary.⁹⁶ In the 1890s he was arrested four times, including three times for armed robbery,⁹⁷ and was sentenced to three years in prison in 1899. In 1902 he used a relative's passport to enlist in an elite regiment. He was later promoted to lance corporal and volunteered for duty in the Far

East in 1904. By 1906 he was a lathe operator in St. Petersburg. By spring he was the factory delegate at the founding of the metalworkers' union, and by summer he was a district secretary and an editor of the union's paper. Early in 1907 he was elected as the union leaders' secretary and helped to produce a national journal.⁹⁸ By 1908 'no one knew better' how to 'inspire and direct the young worker', and 'interest rank and file members in the life and work of the union'.⁹⁹ After the textile workers' union refused to allow illegal parties to meet on their premises, Malinovsky reportedly voted to remove the RSDRP member from the central trade union bureau.¹⁰⁰ In spring the SD Duma deputies established a commission to draft labour legislation and consulted Malinovsky.¹⁰¹ He told the Okhrana that Jughashvili was hiding in Baki and corresponding with Ulyanov,¹⁰² and gendarmes arrested him late in March. He and 1,500 prisoners shared cells designed for 400.¹⁰³ He preferred the company of ordinary criminals,¹⁰⁴ and some killed two men he had reportedly denounced as spies.¹⁰⁵ On Easter Sunday troops lined the politicals up in the yard, formed two lines, forced them to run the gauntlet and beat them with rifle butts.¹⁰⁶

On 26 April the Baki workers' council voted 199 to 124 to negotiate with the employers, and the SRs, who had called for a general strike, and the Dashnaks, walked out.¹⁰⁷ By 1 May the oilfield strike in Baki had ended.¹⁰⁸ The employers excluded workers from the committee organising the elections, and Japaridze was arrested. In June the number of strike days in Baki was ten percent of those in May.¹⁰⁹ Russian troops shelled the building of the Azerbaijani Union.¹¹⁰ Baki SDs told Ulyanov that they 'were firmly convinced' by his perspective but were 'strongly interested in philosophy', particularly that of 'Bogdanov' (Alexandr Malinovsky). Jughashvili urged Bolsheviks to develop Marxism 'in the spirit' of Josef Dietzgen, recognise 'the good sides of Machism', and get a 'better acquaintance with the philosophical bases of Marxism'. He wanted to maintain the underground organisation and for SD Duma deputies to convince the proletariat of the need for strikes and revolutionary violence. The émigré dispute was a 'tempest in a teapot'. The 'tide of our revolution is rising', and 'workers are beginning to look disdainfully' on émigré intelligenty: 'let them crawl on the wall as much as their hearts desire', but 'whoever values the interests of the movement – work, the rest will take care of itself'.¹¹¹

PPS-Lewica representatives attended a Menshevik conference in August and established a working relationship.¹¹² The leaders of PPS-Pravica were in Kraków in Galicia, but after Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina they had become less active in Russia,¹¹³ and the Russian government failed to block the annexation.¹¹⁴

(iii) Everyone has grown out of the habit of working illegally

On their way from Finland, early in January 1908, Ulyanov and Krupskaya reached Paris, where he registered as a Finnish cook. They went on to Berlin and Ulyanov spent an evening with Luxemburg.¹¹⁵ On 7 January the couple arrived in Geneva and Ulyanov wrote to Alexinsky in Vienna. 'Do you think that a weekly paper is possible, and what approximate sale could it could on? 300-500-1,000?' Did he know 'a *suitable* person to manage the printing press and the forwarding section'¹¹⁶ He told friends he felt that he had 'come here to be buried'.¹¹⁷ In Russia when Apfelbaum fell ill he was freed under surveillance.¹¹⁸ He was 'summoned' to Geneva,¹¹⁹ and wrote for *Proletary*,¹²⁰ while Ulyanov spent about 15 hours a day in the library.¹²¹ Ulyanov's sister, Elizarova, arrived, as did Krupskaya's mother,¹²² and they lived at 17 rue des deux Ponts,¹²³ where Krupskaya and her mother did all the housework.¹²⁴ Ulyanov wrote to Gorky and Andreeva on Capri. He wanted her to find the secretary of the sailors' union on steamships going to Russia, their dates of arrival and departure, and how much it would cost to 'arrange *weekly shipments* for us without fail'. He wanted someone in Odesa to keep 'small quantities' temporarily.¹²⁵ From London Fels demanded the return of the money he had loaned for the RSDRP Congress, and threatened to go to the press.¹²⁶ Ulyanov wrote to Rothstein in London, via Harry Quelch of the SDF, to explain that the CC had done nothing about it and the Bolsheviks were unable to repay their share. For two years, in Russia, 'everyone has grown out of the habit of working illegally and has been "spoilt" by legal or semi-legal activities'.¹²⁷ Krupskaya recalled that 'as for letters, we expected them more than we received them'. One accused her of excessive optimism when 'a downright liquidation of the party is going on'. Moscow was 'irrecoverable' and 'there is nothing' in St. Petersburg.¹²⁸

The Menshevik intelligent Pokrovsky had escaped to Paris, and the royalties from his history of Russia enabled his family to live comfortably, though the Russian censors had three of the ten volumes destroyed because he expressed 'sympathy for revolutionaries' and one contained a 'summons to terror to overthrow the state system'. He 'often quarrelled' with Ulyanov, but 'got into a mess each time'. After about seven times he 'submitted to Il'ich, even when logic was telling me you must not act that way'. 'I thought he understands better. He sees three *arshin* [seven feet] in the ground and I cannot.'¹²⁹ Most émigré SDs in Paris were poor and 'went to bed each evening not knowing what you were going to eat next day'.¹³⁰ Representatives of all the Russian émigré organisations ran a fund to help hard-up political émigrés,¹³¹ who received a small sum of money.¹³² The Okhrana's Paris Agentura recruited gendarme and army officers because of the increased workload.¹³³ Menshevik intelligenty had wealthy

sympathisers,¹³⁴ and *Sotsial-Democrat* appeared in January 1908 for the first time since December 1906.¹³⁵ A commercial firm in Vilnius printed copies; but gendarmes confiscated them and most of those printed in St. Petersburg.¹³⁶ The Menshevik intelligentsy were determined to legalise operations in Russia,¹³⁷ and published *Golos Sotsial-demokrat* (*The Voice of the Social-Democrat*). Tserderbaum drafted an exposure of the Bolsheviks, but others persuaded him to tone it down before publishing it in case he was accused of informing the police.¹³⁸

Sophia Ravich had been born in Kharkiv in 1879.¹³⁹ She heard Ulyanov speak at a Bern café in 1903,¹⁴⁰ joined the RSDRP, worked in Kharkiv and St. Petersburg,¹⁴¹ and later became a student in Munich. In January 1908 she tried to exchange stolen 500-ruble notes,¹⁴² along with two comrades,¹⁴³ but they were arrested.¹⁴⁴ Ravich was now Apfelbaum's partner.¹⁴⁵ Wallach was responsible for cashing the 500-ruble banknotes,¹⁴⁶ but he was arrested in Berlin. He proved that he was not in Tbilisi when the raid took place, but was deported as an undesirable alien. He went to London,¹⁴⁷ with an introductory letter from Gorky to the director of the London Library, who found him a job in the foreign department of a publishing house for £1 5s a week. He lived in a Hampstead boarding-house, and socialised with other exiles and émigrés.¹⁴⁸ There were 300 to 400 revolutionaries in the city and some had been there for years. Some were, or had been Bolsheviks or Mensheviks, though not all spoke English.¹⁴⁹

Georgy Chicherin had been born on his uncle's estate in Tambov province in 1872. His mother was an aristocrat, but his father, a moderately liberal diplomat, died in 1882, and his widow took Georgy to live in Tambov. He became aware of social differences at the gymnasium, yet after they moved to St. Petersburg he entered an elite gymnasium, and then the University. After he graduated he worked at the Foreign Ministry and was horrified by the attempts to hush up news of the famine in 1897. He became aware of the labour movement and strikes, and in 1899, after student disturbances and Finland's struggle for a constitution, a friend introduced him to SRs and he performed technical tasks.¹⁵⁰ In 1904 he inherited a fortune.¹⁵¹ In Berlin, he studied revolutionary literature and the labour movement in Berlin and joined the Bolsheviks in 1905.¹⁵² He emigrated late that year and joined the Mensheviks.¹⁵³ By 1907 he was secretary of the émigré RSDRP CC and a delegate to the London congress,¹⁵⁴ which he had helped to organise.¹⁵⁵ He supported the Mensheviks.¹⁵⁶ Late that year the Berlin police found him with false papers and sentenced him to deportation, but he went into hiding, and later moved to Paris,¹⁵⁷ where he worked as a Menshevik,¹⁵⁸ and helped to establish an English committee to assist political prisoners in Russia.¹⁵⁹ By 1908 he was active in the French Socialist Party and helped to organise a conference of RSDRP émigrés in Basel, Switzerland,¹⁶⁰ and along with Bagotsky he founded a Kraków organisation to help émigré Russian revolutionaries.¹⁶¹ Early that year Wallach found Chicherin living in squalor in London. Wallach also met Rothstein, who had many socialist and trade union contacts.¹⁶² Wallach became the secretary of the émigré Bolsheviks in Britain,¹⁶³ and, as the RSDRP CC's representative, he attended most meetings of the International,¹⁶⁴ but on 15 February the Menshevik-dominated CC began investigating him.¹⁶⁵

The Urals region RSDRP committee had taken the place of the Perm and Kazan committees as sponsors of the last *Vypered* which was dated 1 February,¹⁶⁶ but stolen Tbilisi money was used to relaunch *Proletary*.¹⁶⁷ Ulyanov told Gorky that he, Alexandr Malinovsky and a 'praktik' would publish it in Geneva and copies would be ready in a day or two. Ulyanov welcomed Lunacharsky's proposal for Gorky to edit '*belles-lettres*', and he offered to write short paragraphs, but Ulyanov sought an assurance that his other writing would not suffer. Alexinsky had given some contact information to a Menshevik, and Ulyanov told him to 'get the address back from him and cheat him', since there was 'a tremendous and inevitable sharpening of the factional struggle *everywhere*'.¹⁶⁸ On the 7th Ulyanov told Gorky that that 'news comes from all sides that the intelligentsia is *fleeing* the Party' and 'good riddance to these scoundrels'. They were capable of 'old, intellectualist, stuffed-shirt' literary criticism, but were unable or unwilling to integrate their writing more closely with party work, though he had no thought of 'chasing away the intelligentsia' altogether. Workers were 'having a bigger say in things' and the 'role of the worker-professionals is increasing. All this is wonderful'.¹⁶⁹ The editorial board – himself, Apfelbaum and "'Inok" [Dubrovinsky] – a very good colleague' from Russia - had invited Lunacharsky and Bronstein to write for *Proletary*,¹⁷⁰ but 'On Comrade Bronstein's instructions' someone had replied that he was 'too busy' and he wished to stand 'above the contending factions'.¹⁷¹ An anonymous foreword to a Malinovsky article in the SPD's *Die Neue Zeit* claimed that some Russian SDs were making philosophical disagreements the basis for a 'factional division', though *Proletary* denied that. On the 25th Ulyanov told Gorky about a 'serious fight' with Malinovsky over a Gorky article, but a report of a factional split in *Die Neue Zeit* drove them together. Ulyanov believed Malinovsky influenced Gorky, and 'Some sort of fight among the Bolsheviks on the question of philosophy I now regard as inevitable. It would be stupid, however, to split on this'; but could Gorky restrict his contributions to 'neutral questions'?

On the 26th *Proletary* appeared in Geneva,¹⁷² as the organ of the St. Petersburg and Moscow RSDRP committees.¹⁷³ The editors had banned articles about philosophy, and though those influenced by Mach's ideas could appear in legal publications, the editors' ideas about 'orthodox' Marxism would be given equal space.¹⁷⁴ By next day Ulyanova was in St. Petersburg.¹⁷⁵ Mikhail Kobetsky had been born in Odesa in 1881.¹⁷⁶ In February 1908

Krupskaya sent copies of the last *Vypered* and a few hundred copies of *Proletary* to him in Copenhagen.¹⁷⁷ She asked him to forward them, using different envelopes and handwriting, post them in different places over several days and record the addresses so enquiries could be answered. Letters from Russia should not be sent to her directly, since the police monitored them; but could he find others to send them? She enclosed letter to Finland, since Russian police opened those going via Stockholm. He wrapped each copy in paper covered with writing, put it in an envelope with an apology for using an address which had been 'learnt by chance', to safeguard the addressee, and sent them to Leipzig, where they were posted to 86 addresses in 56 places in Russia,¹⁷⁸ but only 13 arrived.¹⁷⁹

On Capri Gorky and Andreeva received batches of *Proletary* and sent them via sailors on Italian steamships to southern Russian ports, including Odesa.¹⁸⁰ Gorky was sure that Malinovsky would 'accomplish in philosophy the same kind of revolution Marx accomplished in political economy' and 'we will witness the defeat of the remnants of bourgeois metaphysics, the disintegration of the "bourgeois soul" and the birth of a socialist soul'. He was 'the most original and sound philosopher of today'.¹⁸¹ His book on Marxist philosophy was 'superb', and its Aesopian language had helped to get it past the censor. Malinovsky had called Ulyanov's 'orthodoxy' one of the 'opportunist tendencies in philosophy' in the Geneva *Raduga (The Rainbow)* and invited Gorky to discuss the future of Bolshevism. Malinovsky and Lunacharsky published *Zadranichnaya gazeta (The Foreign Gazette)* in Geneva, which included an article by Ulyanov. Lunacharsky praised Gorky for avoiding 'narrow Marxism' and 'crude materialism' and supporting 'scientific socialism in its religious significance'. Malinovsky stressed that 'any theory, true or false – exists only in the consciousness of people'. Gorky privately agreed that Ulyanov 'does not understand Bolshevism';¹⁸² Gorky had suggested to his publisher that Ulyanov, Lunacharsky and Malinovsky should edit literary criticism and social philosophy for a *Znanie* miscellany;¹⁸³ but Ulyanov told him that Malinovsky and Lunacharsky's perspectives were 'ridiculous, harmful, philistine' and 'fideist' (based on unreasoning faith), so a fight was 'absolutely inevitable', though he hoped to avoid a split, except perhaps with Malinovsky. Ulyanov had contributed to a symposium on Marx and was confident about 'the inevitable replacement (by virtue of economic development) of the present system by a new order' in Russia. The proletariat was 'marching forward to the complete victory', despite 'the waverings and weaknesses of the petty bourgeoisie'. Marxism had gained 'an unquestionable victory over all other ideologies in the labour movement' after a struggle with 'a trend hostile to Marxism within Marxism', which only Plekhanov had fought 'from the standpoint of consistent dialectical materialism'. A similar struggle was taking place against 'reactionary rubbish disguised as a criticism of Plekhanov's tactical opportunism' by Malinovsky and others, and Ulyanov promised to destroy the ideas of the "'new" neo-Humanist and neo-Berkleyan revisionists'.¹⁸⁴ Ulyanov wrote to Malinovsky. 'Talked yesterday to Jogiches, who will be at your place today. In our opinion he does not know anything yet about the *aggravation* of our philosophical differences and it would be very important (for our success in the C.C.) that he should not know of it'.¹⁸⁵ When Ulyanov quarrelled with Malinovsky, other SD émigrés 'decided that simply because of idleness abroad' he 'had gone slightly out of his mind'.¹⁸⁶

On 1 April *Proletary* acknowledged that since June 1907, and particularly in the six months since September, there had been 'a considerable decline and weakening of all revolutionary organisations', but the 'liberation' of the RSDRP 'from half-proletarian, half-petty-bourgeois intellectuals is beginning to awake to a new life the new purely Proletarian forces accumulated during the period of the heroic struggle', and the party had 'entered the straight road of leadership of the working masses by advanced "intellectuals"'.¹⁸⁷

A strong illegal organisation of the Party centres, systematic illegal publications and – most important of all – local and particularly factory Party groups, led by advanced members from among the workers themselves living in direct contact with the masses: such is the foundation on which we were building, and have built, a hard and solid core of a revolutionary and Social-Democratic working-class movement. And this illegal core will spread *its* feelers, *its* influence, incomparably wider than ever before, both through the Duma and the trade unions, both in the co-operative societies and in the cultural and educational organisations.

A Vladimir district correspondent reported that 'ideological forces' were 'melting away like snow' and those who had joined the party during the 'upsurge' late in 1905 had left. From Kulebaki in Nizhni Novgorod province another correspondent noted that the 'half-proletarian, half-petty-bourgeois intellectuals' had left the organisation, but it had been 'resurrected' by 'advanced workers' who were 'in direct contact with the masses' and had formed factory groups. A Moscow region SD reported that the organisation was 'dead'. 'There are no intellectuals', and the most class-conscious workers 'have to carry on propaganda work'; though the 'number of organised workers is not decreasing but increasing'. 'Party nests' were 'scattered in large numbers throughout the area, in most cases without any intellectual forces, without literature, even without any connection with the Party centre'; but the 'responsible work, owing to the flight of intellectuals, is passing into the hands of the advanced workers'. The 'more revolutionary-minded workers are drawing apart' from legal unions and were 'more sympathetic to illegal unions,

and a paper was being planned. In the Urals eight SD papers were being published, while publication by non-Russian SDs was 'considerable'. In Ukraine one had appeared in Odesa, and another was planned in Katerynoslav, while Crimean SDs had published two papers. The crisis in the RSDRP was 'coming to an end',¹⁸⁷ yet on 2 April the Okhrana Paris Agentura crowed about the collapse of revolutionaries and of the RSDRP in particular.¹⁸⁸)

Vladimir Adoratsky had been born into the family of a noble minor official Kazan in 1878. He later graduated from Kazan University and joined the Bolsheviks in 1904. In 1905 he was deported to Astrakhan province, and after his release he left for Geneva.¹⁸⁹ In spring 1908 Ulyanov told him that a 'peasant revolution under the leadership of the proletariat in a capitalist country is difficult, very difficult, but it is possible and we must fight for it.'¹⁹⁰ He urged him to return to Russia, but he refused.¹⁹¹ The *Proletary* editors agreed that reaction was triumphant, but had not given up hope.¹⁹² Ulyanov told Gorky he had '*sent to be printed* the most formal declaration of war' against Alexandr Malinovsky.¹⁹³ A St. Petersburg SD wrote that 'Revolutionary work has completely died' and 'only professional unions and cultural-educational societies manage to drag out an existence'. The police read his letter.¹⁹⁴

Late in April, on Capri, Gorky and Ladyzhnikov met Malinovsky, Lunacharsky, Ulyanov, Alexandr Ignatiev,¹⁹⁵ the son of a general and a member of an underground Bolshevik fighting squad in St. Petersburg,¹⁹⁶ and Vladimir Rudnev,¹⁹⁷ a 33-year-old member of the Russian Bolshevik Centre and a contributor to Bolshevik publications.¹⁹⁸ When Malinovsky beat Ulyanov at chess, Gorky noted that he 'grew angry' and began 'sulking rather childishly'. Ulyanov told Malinovsky: 'You ought to write a novel for the workers about how the capitalist predators have ravaged the Earth, squandering all its oil, iron, timber and coal. That would be a useful book, Signor Machist!'¹⁹⁹ Ulyanov assured Malinovsky and Lunacharsky of his 'unconditional disagreement' with them on philosophy, and told Malinovsky: 'I am afraid we will have to separate for two or three years'.²⁰⁰ Ulyanov confided to Gorky sorrowfully that he regretted having to part from the 'Machists'. 'They are intelligent, talented people who have done a great deal for the Party' and 'could do ten times more, but they won't go with us! They can't. Scores and hundreds like them are broken and crippled by this criminal system'.²⁰¹

Ulyanov returned to Geneva and attended a socialist meeting. Days later he spoke about the Russian revolution and did so again in Lausanne.²⁰² *Proletary* announced that 'The victory of the bourgeois revolution is impossible in our country *as the victory of the bourgeoisie*'. 'For "a coalition of the proletariat and the peasantry", winning *victory* in a bourgeois revolution' was 'the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry', and the Moscow rising had been 'a beacon for us in training up new generations of fighters'.²⁰³ Ulyanov told Gorky that Malinovsky was collaborating politically, though they were 'pretty much at loggerheads' philosophically. Could Gorky write 'a small article' on Tolstoy 'or something of that sort', but '*on no account* is it permissible to mix the disputes of writers about philosophy with a *Party* (i.e. *factional*) matter'.²⁰⁴ Only 62 copies of the second, third and fourth issues of *Proletary* had reached Russia,²⁰⁵ though 4,000 had been sent.²⁰⁶

At the beginning of May Gorky wrote to Morgari, the editor of the PSI's *Avanti!* Two parcels of *Proletary* had been seized in Genoa and he wanted an explanation of this 'strange misunderstanding'. On the 18th the letter appeared in *Avanti!* On the 25th the paper reported that the ban on *Proletary* had been lifted.²⁰⁷ Gorky's novel *Isповед (A Confession)* had been published in April,²⁰⁸ in St. Petersburg and Berlin.²⁰⁹ It focussed on a character drawn to both Marxism and Christianity, and it concluded that God remained to be created,²¹⁰ and factory workers were both 'gods' and 'god-builders'. Ulyanov stopped writing to Gorky.²¹¹

The former leading Bolshevik Krasin was a draftsman at the Siemens Company in Germany. When his family joined him he told his wife that he was 'not politically-minded' and she believed that he 'made no attempt to mix with the small minority of Germans whose political sympathies resembled his own'.²¹² He earned 250 marks a month, translated scientific and technical articles into Russian and drew up engineering projects,²¹³ yet the family were in 'straightened circumstances'.²¹⁴ The Okhrana believed he might be holding up to 50,000 rubles of the Bolsheviks' funds,²¹⁵ but in reality he held 50 500-ruble notes from the Tbilisi expropriation.²¹⁶ According to an Okhrana spy, Aron-Shmuel Taratuta had compromised the Bolsheviks by unethical conduct in summer, and Krasin had declared that if it became public knowledge he would organise his assassination.²¹⁷

Moisei Sheinfinkel had been born into a peasant family near Kherson in 1879. He later attended Kherson Agricultural School and helped to organize a revolutionary kruzhok. He joined the RSDRP in 1903, worked in Gomel, and joined the Polese committee. He was a delegate to the Bolshevik conference in 1905, and later worked underground in St. Petersburg, Odesa, Luhansk, and Katerynoslav. He was exiled to Siberia in 1907, but had escaped to Paris by May 1908,²¹⁸ and then to Geneva, where he and Ulyanov helped to set type for *Proletary*. What Ulyanov called 'cursed Geneva' was full of Russians, and he joined workers' and socialist clubs.²¹⁹ Ulyanov visited Brussels. Georgi Solomon recalled that he tried to 'inspire those who gloomily doubted by insisting that the revolutionary movement had not died away but was proceeding at its own pace'. Ulyanov stayed with Solomon and before he went to bed he harangued him in his underclothes, insisting that recallism was 'not a mistake – it was a crime'.²²⁰

Swiss libraries did not have the books by 19th century British philosophers which Ulyanov needed,²²¹ so he, Krupskaya and her mother went to London, where he worked in the British Museum, writing a book against Malinovsky's ideas.²²² On 28 May Malinovsky gave a lecture in Geneva.²²³ He argued that Plekhanov's materialism was 'childishly naïve' because he and followers like Ulyanov sought to turn Marxism into a science with eternal truths like the religion they claimed to oppose. Yet 'truth changes over time' and from one individual to another, and what was needed was an ideology that everyone could believe in.²²⁴ Ulyanov had drafted ten questions for Dubrovinsky to ask Malinovsky. They included did he 'acknowledge that the philosophy of Marxism' was '*dialectical materialism*'? If not, why had he never analysed the 'countless statements on this subject' by Engels? Did he 'acknowledge that recognition of the external world and the reflection of it in the human mind formed the basis of the theory of knowledge of dialectical materialism' and that 'the ideas of causality, necessity, law, etc., are a reflection in the human mind of laws of nature, or of the real world?' Or was Engels wrong? Was Malinovsky a Mach-ist and an idealist? Dubrovinsky omitted to ask that question and altered three others.²²⁵

The Bolshevik Vorovsky had moved to Odesa in 1906,²²⁶ and was a delegate to the Bolsheviks' London conference. By 1907 he led the Odesa Bolsheviks, and was exiled, but by summer 1908 he was back in Odesa. On 1 July Ulyanov told him that a split with Malinovsky was imminent, because of 'the sharp criticism of his philosophical lectures.'²²⁷ By the 8th Ulyanov, Krupskaya and her mother lived at 61 Rue des Maraîchers in Geneva.²²⁸ On 1 August Ulyanov told Vorovsky that Malinovsky was 'hunting out every kind of difference of opinion' and 'dragged the boycott' of the Duma 'into the light of day'. Alexinsky was 'kicking up a terrible row' and 'I have been compelled to break off relations'. 'They are trying to bring about a split'. Odesa police deported Vorovsky,²²⁹ and Alexinsky split from the Bolsheviks.²³⁰ On the 13th Malinovsky resigned from the editorial board of *Proletary* and 42-year-old Virgily Shantser replaced him.²³¹ *Proletary* argued that the only way to overcome the tendency to anarchism in the party was by 'turning from senseless, aimless, sporadic violence to purposeful, mass violence, linked with the broad movement and the sharpening of the direct proletarian struggle'.²³²

Alexey Lyubimov had attended the RSDRP Congress in 1905 and was conciliatory to the Mensheviks. On 18 August 1908 Ulyanov told him that the Bolshevik Centre would print Bronstein's *Pravda* on a '*strictly commercial*' basis, and by the 24th Ulyanov and Krupskaya were holidaying in Bombon, Seine-et-Marne, just southeast of Paris.²³³

In Florence Lunacharsky was drafting the first part of *Religya i sotsializm (Religion and Socialism)*. He acknowledged the influence of his early religious training and beliefs, and that his political development was the result of 'the connection between scientific socialism and the cherished expectations of mankind as expressed in religious myths and dogmas'. He accepted German scholars' criticisms of theology and religion, and was influenced by the materialists Ludwig Feuerbach, Dietzgen, Marx and Engels, though he believed that 'Bogdanov' was 'the only Marxist philosopher continuing the pure philosophical tradition of Marx'. Socialists sought to create on earth what the pious believed could only exist in heaven, so their focus needed to go from 'God' to 'man', from the individual to the collective, or to what the SPD's Wilhelm Liebknecht called '*the religion of humanity*'.²³⁴ Knowledge, labour, science, technology and scientific socialism could succeed if placed in the context of ethical ideals,²³⁵ so SDs should support a 'social religion' and build a bridge between 'advanced' intelligentsy and the working masses.²³⁶ Christ had been a proletarian leader revolting against Roman authority, and modern socialists worshipped science and rationalism, so collectivism would help to alter mass psychology through 'festive power' and myth, and bring about the socialist millennium.²³⁷ It was 'not necessary to search for god', but it was 'necessary to give him to the world. He is not in the world, but he may be'. 'Man does not need God, he himself is God. He does not need personal immortality since his immortality is the life of the species and hope is an eternal victory over dead elements, of higher forms over lower ones', and the socialist struggle for the 'triumph of man in nature' required 'god-building'. Lunacharsky received 'fairly strong condemnation' from SDs for 'a deviation towards some kind of refined religion'.²³⁸ Malinovsky disagreed with him on some things,²³⁹ though Gorky was supportive. 'We all inevitably disappear in order to yield on earth to people stronger, more beautiful, more honest than we', who, 'by the miraculous power of their united wills, will defeat death'.²⁴⁰ Gorky, Lunacharsky and Bronstein shared 'the proletarian outlook in its only scientific form - Marxism' - but this did not 'predetermine a uniformity in the evaluation of the various phenomena of contemporary literature', but 'I' had to be replaced by 'we'.²⁴¹

(iv) The Schmidt inheritance

In January 1908 34 SD, 24 SR, 12 Kadet and a few other radical St. Petersburg University students had postponed a decision about what to do until autumn.²⁴² In February the education minister banned the Moscow University student soviet, but while 5,000 others authorised it to carry on underground to lead the struggle for autonomy by legal and illegal means, SDs argued that students had to follow the proletariat and voted against a strike. In May

the minister barred new female students in higher education and expelled those currently enrolled, but after a public outcry they were allowed to complete their courses.²⁴³ In autumn the prime minister sacked the minister and told his replacement to 'Be hard!' He ordered the universities of Moscow, St. Petersburg and Kharkiv to close student organisations,²⁴⁴ yet most university enrolments had doubled in four years,²⁴⁵ to over 35,300, while St. Petersburg Mining Institute had had 1,480 applications for 200 places and the Technological Institute had had 1,500 for 260,²⁴⁶ and there were 4,351 women on the Bestuzhev courses. At the University a where around one eighth of the 9,639 students were Jews, a meeting voted 2,398 to 77, with 82 abstentions, to go on strike, but delayed for a week to 'spread the idea' among workers. They formed a politically unaligned citywide strike committee and sent delegates to agitate in other centres. The SDs decided not to agitate for a strike, but to join if one started.²⁴⁷ Days later, Moscow University students voted to strike by 2,106 to 548,²⁴⁸ and next day St. Petersburg students struck. The St. Petersburg RSDRP committee did not encourage workers to get involved, but the strike spread to other higher education institutions. Technological Institute students came out solidly,²⁴⁹ though the RSDRP committee refused to support them until they 'fought for general as well as student demands'. Moscow students established a sovet to conduct the strike and it joined a city-wide sovet; but then the students voted by 3,522 to 1,420 to end the strike and the St. Petersburg sovet did so by 11 votes to seven. Kharkiv, Kazan, Kyiv and Odesa students also voted for strikes, but the police suppressed them.²⁵⁰

In summer, when the Bolshevik Bobrovskaya visited the wife of a rubber manufacturer in Moscow who had given 60 rubles or more a month to the Bolsheviks, she 'no longer believed in historical materialism but had taken up with empiriocriticism or something of that sort' and 'could no longer support our Bolshevik print shop'. Bobrovskaya concluded that the Bolsheviks 'must rely on our own resources as far as funds were concerned'. The police raided her flat and found nothing incriminating, but arrested her and other leading comrades, and she saw two huge boxes filled with copies of *Proletary* at the police station. (After three months in prison she was sentenced to two years in Vologda province where she joined 3,000 'politicals'.)²⁵¹

The Bolshevik Rykov had spent 17 months in a Moscow prison, and was sentenced to two years' deportation to Samara, though Ulyanov summoned him abroad. Rykov escaped, then returned to Russia to form a bloc against Menshevik 'liquidators'.²⁵² In July Ulyanov argued that it was necessary to 'strengthen the central institutions' of the party,²⁵³ and by August the émigré Bolshevik Centre also included Rosenfeld and Taratuta.²⁵⁴ After Alexandr Malinovsky disavowed recallism and boycottism in *Proletary*, Ulyanov declared his 'complete solidarity'.²⁵⁵

On 24 August five Bolsheviks, three Mensheviks, two Bundists, one member of the SDKPiL and one of the LSD attended an RSDRP plenum in Geneva. They acknowledged the party's weaknesses and decided that one member of each constituent organisation, chosen by their CCs, would lead the party between plenums and nominate alternates. Alexandr Malinovsky, Taratuta, Zhordania and three others would oversee *Sotsial-demokrat*, which Ulyanov and Boris Goldman would edit and print abroad. Apfelbaum, Jogiches and Ramishvili would form the émigré CC,²⁵⁶ and the plenum dissolved the Menshevik émigré CC.²⁵⁷ The LSD delegate supported the Bolsheviks. Jogiches had supported the Mensheviks' investigation into the Tbilisi and Baki expropriations, but the issue was transferred to a subcommittee chaired by Apfelbaum, who later stifled it.²⁵⁸ The plenum prepared for a party conference,²⁵⁹ and one Bolshevik, one Menshevik and one Bundist apologised to Fels for not repaying the loan.²⁶⁰ The Okhrana learned that the émigré CC would give 85 to 90 percent of its income to the Russian CC.²⁶¹

Malinovsky told the Baki RSDRP organisation that his resignation from the *Proletary* board had had nothing to do with philosophy. The disagreement was to be discussed by the Bolshevik centre, but he doubted that it would meet. Late that month the émigré Bolshevik Centre transferred the Schmidt money from 'the private financial group' of Ulyanov, Malinovsky and Krasin to a finance commission of Ulyanov, Apfelbaum, Rosenfeld and Taratuta. The Okhrana still believed that Krasin held 140,000 rubles from the Tbilisi robbery, and he hoped that the Bolshevik Centre would discuss the issue. On 4 September a majority of the Bolshevik Centre decided that 'boycottism' and 'recallism' could be discussed in *Proletary* so as not to exacerbate disagreements. Alexinsky and other SDs in Geneva had suggested an RSDRP school to the *Proletary* board, who were unenthusiastic, though Malinovsky and Gorky had begun raising funds from wealthy friends, including the famous opera singer Fyodor Chaliapin, the famous novelist Alexandr Amfiteatrov and Andreeva.²⁶² *Proletary* argued that SDs should not focus on differences, but 'protest against advancing capitalism', 'the ruining of the masses' 'being dispossessed of their land' and recognise the 'specific features of our revolution as a *peasant* bourgeois revolution'. They should study Tolstoy's 'incomparable pictures of Russian life' to learn about the contradiction between 'the 'hidebound cowardice' of the 'enterprising muzhik', and 'the pent-up hatred' and 'ripened striving for a better lot' of the majority.²⁶³

The Moscow factory owner Nikolai Schmidt had left no will, but his lawyer intended to transfer the money to the RSDRP. The Bolsheviks wanted all of it.²⁶⁴ Reportedly a Moscow court had split around 258,000 rubles between his two daughters, and the Bolsheviks decided to take all of Elizaveta's share, and almost 50,000 rubles from Ekaterina, but thought that two to three million remained unallocated.²⁶⁵ Alexandr Malinovsky and Krasin outvoted

Ulyanov on the Bolsheviks' finance committee,²⁶⁶ and instructed a lawyer to get Ekaterina's money. He offered the Bolsheviks one-third, and they threatened to kill him, but did not do so.²⁶⁷ Ulyanov summoned Ignatiev to Geneva and persuaded him to marry Elizaveta in Paris.²⁶⁸ On 11 October, after they married,²⁶⁹ the Lyons Credit Bank released 200,000 rubles and shares. She handed the cash to the Bolsheviks in stages, and authorised S.P. Shesternin in St. Petersburg to withdraw money from her account.²⁷⁰ The Bolsheviks let Ignatiev keep 85,000 rubles.²⁷¹

On 16 October (according to the Western calendar) *Proletary* noted that 'A students' strike has been called in St. Petersburg University. A number of other higher education establishments have joined in. The movement has already spread to Moscow and Kharkiv. Judging from all the reports in the foreign and Russian newspapers and in private letters from Russia, we are faced with a fairly broad *academic* movement'. The paper urged SD students to 'agitate for political action, *making use* of all possibilities, all conditions and, first and foremost, all mass conflicts between advanced elements' and the autocracy, since the 'reaction against reaction is beginning!'

On 1 November *Proletary* noted 'a fundamental shift in the agrarian policy of the autocracy', whose 'support and reinforcement of the old village commune have been superseded' by 'speeded-up police destruction and plundering'. 'For the first time the classes have achieved a definite cleavage and taken shape in open political struggle'. 'The counter-revolutionary liberal bourgeoisie has come into existence and is growing', so the RSDRP had to 'develop wide revolutionary Social-Democratic agitation, which will bind the Party firmly together with the masses of the proletariat and mobilise those masses'.²⁷² Ulyanov had asked Elizarova to find a publisher for his critique of empiriocriticism, though he doubted that Znanie would be interested. On 2 November Znanie's publisher told Gorky about the book, but while Rudnev and Bonch-Bruевич supported publication,²⁷³ Gorky was opposed.

He is a clever fellow, a wonderful man, but he is a fighter who scoffs at gentlemanly conduct. Let Znanie edit his book and he will say: what fools. ... The argument between Ulyanov and Plekhanov on one side and Bogdanov, Bazarov [Rudnev] and Co. on the other is very important and deep. The first two, differing on tactical questions, both believe in and advocate historical fatalism; the opposing side teaches philosophical activity. For me it is clear on whose side truth resides.²⁷⁴

Days later Ulyanov told the International bureau that it 'cannot imagine what a large number of militants we have lost', though the CC had been 'able to hold (after several months' "rest" in prisons) a plenary meeting'.²⁷⁵ Ulyanov vigorously opposed admitting Zionist socialists into the bureau.²⁷⁶

The RSDRP Moscow region bureau's *Rabocheye znamya* (*Workers' Banner*) published a letter from a worker who favoured recalling the SD Duma deputies, though *Proletary* accused 'recallists' of exaggerating the importance of the deputies, who were not a 'general staff', but 'a unit of trumpeters', and activists were 'real Marxists'.²⁷⁷

Zhitomirsky arrived in Paris, rented a chic apartment in boulevard Raspail, advertised his services as 'Médecin de l'Université de Berlin', and became the secretary of the RSDRP émigré bureau.²⁷⁸ The Bolshevik Centre ratified Alexandr Malinovsky's withdrawal from the editorial board of *Proletary*, relieved him and Krasin of their financial responsibilities, and gave them to Apfelbaum, Taratuta, Krupskaya and Zhitomirsky.²⁷⁹

Rosenfeld later recalled that some Bolshevik intelligently praised the 'revolutionary proletarian character' of Malinovsky's philosophy. They thought that there were 'other means of attracting the working masses to the banner of scientific socialism besides the economic process that proletarianises these masses and brings them over to the point of view of the proletariat'. Socialism 'may be presented in a form more acceptable to the half-proletarianised strata', without adapting to religious psychology.²⁸⁰ In November Rosenfeld told Malinovsky that he agreed with him philosophically, but supported Ulyanov politically.²⁸¹ Ulyanov summoned Rykov to Geneva. He arrived late that year, co-edited *Proletary*,²⁸² and wrote for *Sotsial-Democrat* and *Rabocheye gazeta*.²⁸³

Plekhanov had twice rubbished Malinovsky's ideas in the Menshevik *Golos*. He quoted Engels to undermine his claims to be a Marxist, and claimed that he demonstrated an 'astonishing ignorance of the history of philosophy'. Mach was no Marxist and Malinovsky was an idealist. Plekhanov called him 'Sir', or 'Mr. Alexandr Malinovsky', and insisted that '*you are no comrade of mine*'. Yet Plekhanov's relations with the editors of *Golos* became strained, and his third letter did not appear in the paper.²⁸⁴

(v) Strictly speaking, we no longer have a single party

In Ukraine typhus had broken out in Iuzovka in autumn 1908. The New Russia Company's hospital took in only its employees, and 53 percent of 192 men and 39 percent of 18 women died. It took six weeks for the zemstvo to open a 15-bed typhus barracks.²⁸⁵ Kyiv province's medical committee had refused to allow cholera notices to be published in Ukrainian, and peasants died from drinking infected water,²⁸⁶ and an explosion of fire-damp at Rykovsky mine killed 270 miners.²⁸⁷ After two years in prison, 184 railway workers were court-martialled.²⁸⁸

Late in October *Proletary* published a letter from a member of the Donbass RSDRP which noted that the 'absence of party lecturers' to lead workers' kruzhs had 'forced' them to invite 'revisionists', SRs, Kadets and students. Late that year Woytinsky persuaded Menshevik and Bolshevik workers in Katerynoslav that the party was too weak to 'afford the luxury of factional squabbles', so they merged their cells and aimed to produce a monthly paper to reach out to other cities. Most workers were illiterate, so Woytinsky wrote almost all of the four pages of *Rabotnik Katerynoslava (Katerynoslav Worker)*, and since the printer was a 16-year-old with tuberculosis it was agreed to produce no more issues until he received treatment. Woytinsky used a hand-press to produce a leaflet to announce the paper, and printers stole type, others constructed a new press.²⁸⁹ A second issue was announced the police seized it on the eve of publication and arrested the printer and Woytinsky.²⁹⁰ He had dyed his hair black, but had failed to retouch it often enough, so the red roots had begun to show. There was evidently a spy in the organisation and it collapsed. The Castle had been designed to hold 400 to 500 prisoners but now housed 1,000 to 2,000. Typhus was rife and executions were 'an everyday routine'. Woytinsky arranged for dynamite to be smuggled in, but 27 prisoners died and 44 were injured while trying to escape. Woytinsky's case was referred to a court martial, but he smuggled out an article about the hideous treatment of prisoners, which appeared in a Swiss paper, and French and German papers published excerpts. In St. Petersburg SD Duma deputies demanded an investigation and no more prisoners were beaten.²⁹¹ A Katerynoslav correspondent told *Proletary* that 'old prestigious workers, the acknowledged leaders and instructors of 1905', had tended to 'retire into trades unions as secretaries, clerks, etc' at 'the first opportunity'. Another told *Golos* that there was 'a feeling of weariness' with discussions about recallism and boycottism, and many wished 'to stand aloof'.²⁹² When Petr Smidovich arrived in the Luzovka he could not find the RSDRP committee, though a survivor claimed that 'a region with over 200,000 workers' had been 'forgotten'.²⁹³

Parts of the Baltic region were the fourth and fifth most industrially productive regions in the Empire in terms of the number of workers per 100 inhabitants.²⁹⁴ The LSD claimed 5,000 members, including 3,500 in Riga. Its legal unions included around 2,000 workers,²⁹⁵ and it had organised a strike of over 20,000 in Riga on May Day.²⁹⁶ In autumn 14 delegates at an LSD Congress in Helsinki and its foreign committee in Brussels claimed that they had published 804,500 copies of newspapers and leaflets, but the new CC consisted largely of centrists and Mensheviks who focussed on legal activity.²⁹⁷ In Lithuania the LSDP's budget was 3,000 rubles. It claimed 941 members in Vilnius and 69 in Šiauliai, and a periphery of 2,700, but acknowledged that 'the enemy had defeated us in the first battle'.²⁹⁸

In Poland the SDKPiL claimed 40,000 members,²⁹⁹ yet only nine delegates from four city organisations, plus the Main Directorate, attended a conference in November, and after Jogiches escaped from prison he moved the Main Directorate to Berlin.³⁰⁰ In December, in Prague,³⁰¹ two other leaders accused him of being dictatorial,³⁰² and he handed his role in *Sotsial-Demokrat* to Warszawski in Paris.³⁰³ Jogiches criticised the Mensheviks for 'the most harmful form of opportunism' and considered Ulyanov's opposition to be factionalism. The SDKPiL had 450 members in Prague, and *Czerwony sztandar* had appeared 11 times that year, but surviving leaders went deeper underground or emigrated. Over 10,000 people had been deported from Łódź, and courts martial had sentenced 364 to death, a quarter of the total in the Empire,³⁰⁴ and at least 120 executions had taken place.³⁰⁵ Since 1905 327 officials and 631 citizens had been killed or wounded in Warszawa province and 1,009 elsewhere in Poland.³⁰⁶ Łódź's population had fallen to 88,200, but Warszawa's Jewish population of 277,000 was the largest in Europe.³⁰⁷

In Georgia RSDRP membership had fallen from 15,670 in 1907 to 14,100 by August 1908. There were punitive detachments in all the Kutaisi province villages, but Gurian villagers ran their own economic, judicial and educational affairs. Socialist-federalists and SRs challenged the SDs, whose numbers had fallen from 5,000 to 4,500; yet Tbilisi RSDRP's membership had grown from 3,032 to 4,000. In May 1907 there had been 28 trade unions in Tbilisi, but in 1908 most had either closed or operated illegally. The Menshevik Zhordania argued that the RSDRP should abandon the underground and work in legal workers' organisations, and spent some time in Terijoki in Finland, working for the RSDRP CC.³⁰⁸ He believed that most Georgian SDs wanted 'cultural autonomy', not 'political autonomy', but when he visited Georgia the police detained him for three months for signing the Vyborg manifesto.³⁰⁹ Baki Bolsheviks had issued a legal union Russian-language paper, *Bakinsky Rabochy (Baki Worker)*.³¹⁰ Georgia's economy was beginning to revive,³¹¹ but though 34 Georgian Duma deputies introduced a bill to end the 'temporary obligation' of Caucasian serfs in December, it was rejected.³¹² Jughashvili lamented the state of the RSDRP. 'Instead of thousands, tens and at the best hundreds, have remained in the organisation'. In St. Petersburg in 1907 'we had about 8,000 members', but 'can now scarcely muster 300 to 400'. 'The party is suffering not only from isolation from the masses, but also from the fact that its organisations are not linked up with one another'. 'Strictly speaking, we no longer have a single party living the same common life'.³¹³

The RSDRP had continued to lose male cadre. Mikhail Silvin had spent five years in solitary in Siberia. And after his release in 1908 he abandoned revolutionary activity.³¹⁴ The Bolshevik Nikolai Nakoriakov had been exiled to Siberia for three years,³¹⁵ and the Bolshevik Alexandr Schlichter was exiled to Siberia for life.³¹⁶ Efremov had attended the Bolsheviks' Helsinki conference in 1907, but on his return to St. Petersburg he was arrested at the

RSDRP committee. He spent four months in Kresty Prison, and in 1908 he was sentenced to a year in a fortress. The SD Duma deputy Poletaev managed to get him released after a few months, but he was betrayed in November and sent back to prison.³¹⁷ Pēteris Ķuzis had been born into a peasant family in Latvia in 1889.³¹⁸ He was an SD by 1902, and later became a teacher. He participated in the 1905 revolution,³¹⁹ and in December he led a strike in Valka in northern Latvia.³²⁰ He met Ulyanov in 1906, and became a secretary of St. Petersburg RSDRP committee.³²¹ He was a delegate to the London Congress in 1907,³²² but after several arrests he emigrated in 1908.³²³ Marya Aveide had become a full-time RSDRP propagandist in 1906, and had been arrested several times in Perm. Alexandra Saveleva had joined the RSDRP in 1904, at the age of 18, and worked in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Katerynoslav, Tsaritsyn, Sormovo and Nizhni Novgorod, but went abroad early in 1908, and helped to smuggle literature into Russia. Nina Podvoyskaya had been arrested in 1906 and subsequently exiled to Tobolsk. She later escaped abroad, but returned in 1908 and continued party work in Kostroma and St. Petersburg.³²⁴

Late that year St. Petersburg RSDRP claimed 250 members in each of two districts,³²⁵ and workers in the Petersburg, Vasilievsky Island, Nevsky, Narva, Moscow and Vyborg districts coordinated their activities.³²⁶ Goldenberg was the only survivor of the RSDRP Russian CC, but managed to re-establish it, and the émigré Bolshevik Centre tasked him with bringing the SD Duma deputies into line.³²⁷ The Kadet deputies proposed ending the death penalty for revolutionaries, but lost the vote, so they, the Trudoviki and the SDs walked out,³²⁸ though one SD deputy left the group.³²⁹ RSDRP members who wanted to give the deputies an ultimatum included Mensheviks and Bolsheviks,³³⁰ and it took Goldenberg weeks to persuade SDs to accept the CC's authority;³³¹ and in December 34 Duma deputies failed to win the end of the 'temporary obligation' of Caucasian serfs.³³² After the Moscow region *Rabocheye znamy* printed a letter favouring the recall of the SD Duma deputies, some SDs and *Proletary* heavily criticised the paper, which ceased publication.³³³ It was far safer to publish revolutionary literature abroad.

(vi) The Vienna *Pravda*

Adolf Joffe had been born into a wealthy merchant's family in Simferópol in Crimea in 1883. His grandfather had arrived there years earlier in worn-out boots and a borrowed jacket, but came to own all the postal and transport services and had a second home in Moscow. Adolf read illegal literature in the upper classes of his gymnasium and joined the RSDRP in 1902.³³⁴ He graduated in 1903, but was deemed 'politically unreliable', and was barred from every Russian university.³³⁵ He married a woman from a poor intelligenty family and they went to Berlin, where he entered the University's medical school.³³⁶ He worked with the SPD and RSDRP émigrés,³³⁷ and though he did not join either RSDRP faction,³³⁸ the émigré CC asked him to take literature to Baki,³³⁹ early in 1904. Mensheviks dominated the RSDRP committee, but the police arrested 100 of them.³⁴⁰ Joffe went to Moscow, but was soon spotted and fled abroad. He returned to Russia after Bloody Sunday in January 1905 and was in Crimea at the time of the *Potemkin* mutiny that summer. In 1906 he attended the RSDRP Stockholm Congress and became a member of the émigré CC.³⁴¹ He sheltered fugitives from Russia, and though he was sentenced to deportation as an 'undesirable alien' in May, he and his wife lived illegally in Germany until she bore their daughter. When the SPD's Bebel accused the government of being harsh on Russian refugees, he quoted Joffe as an example. Konstantin Feldman, the Menshevik student who had supported the *Potemkin* mutineers, was in Sevastopol Military Prison, and Joffe arranged his escape.³⁴² Joffe went to Moscow, but was hunted by police, so he escaped abroad. He studied at Zurich University and continued his revolutionary activity. He returned to Russia in 1907, but had to escape early in 1908,³⁴³ and settled in Vienna to complete his medical training.³⁴⁴ He opposed Gorky's plan for books aimed at workers. 'Newspapers and pamphlets are what we need',³⁴⁵ and he supported Bronstein.³⁴⁶

Matvei Skobelev, the son of a wealthy Baki oil entrepreneur,³⁴⁷ had been born in 1885. He joined the RSDRP in 1903, worked as an agent in Baki, and became a Menshevik.³⁴⁸ By 1908 he studied at Vienna Polytechnic. Bronstein knew him,³⁴⁹ and Marian Melenevsky, a leader of Spilka, who was touring Galician cities collecting money to publish a paper. Melenevsky recruited Joffe, Bronstein and Skobelev, and Helphand went into business to raise money.³⁵⁰

Pravda (Truth) appeared in Lviv, Galicia, on 16 October, as the organ of Ukrayinskyy sotsial-demokratychnyy soyuz (the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Union).³⁵¹ It appeared bi-monthly,³⁵² and after the USDS disbanded,³⁵³ the fourth issue was published in Vienna.³⁵⁴ Bronstein later claimed that the first five issues had print-runs of 6,000 to 8,000, though money from Russia failed to cover postal costs.³⁵⁵ He wrote articles for *Kyivskaya mysl (Kyiv Thought)* and *Odesskie novosti (Odessa News)*, chased debtors, borrowed 300 crowns from Austrian SDs, asked Gorky and RSDRP émigrés in New York for money,³⁵⁶ and appealed to *Pravda* readers for 50 rubles. He wanted to 'serve not lead', aimed his articles at 'plain workers',³⁵⁷ and rejected 'an automatic dependence of politics on economics', since the 'interaction must necessarily be the result of the whole process'.³⁵⁸ He spoke at workers' meetings, wrote

to co-thinkers about an 'uninterrupted revolution', read Marx and Engels' correspondence, established a smuggling network that included members of the Black Sea sailors' union,³⁵⁹ and helped them to publish a paper.³⁶⁰

In Russia the 25-year-old Bolshevik Moisei Uritsky linked *Pravda* to the RSDRP underground, and the Okhrana were aware of its 'wide circulation'.³⁶¹ It sold well in St. Petersburg,³⁶² and Bolsheviks reprinted it.³⁶³ In December a Bronstein article on Tolstoy appeared pseudonymously in *Kyivskaya mysl*. It noted his aristocratic, paternalist, populist background, and his fixation with 'surviving oases of gentility'. He 'returns to God, accepts the teachings of Christ, rejects division of labour', 'culture and the state', and was 'the preacher of agricultural labour, of the simple life and of nonresistance to evil by force'. He was a 'conservative anarchist' who was unable deal with capitalism,³⁶⁴ yet his realism was an important model for revolutionaries.³⁶⁵ *Pravda* now reached the Pale.

Nina Marshak had been born in Rostov-na Donu in 1884, and by 1908 she had married the Bolshevik praktik Tarshis.³⁶⁶ From spring, in Geneva, he shipped RSDRP literature to Russia,³⁶⁷ and when he visited the Pale he found that 'reaction had laid its hand on everything vital in the revolutionary movement of the big towns', and his home town of Vilkomir was 'completely under its sway'. He experienced a 'Stupid Arrest' and was taken to Kovno Prison, but thanks to police inefficiency and witnesses who confirmed his false identity he was freed. Late that year he saw a copy of *Pravda*. The émigré CC in Geneva asked him to take a message to Odesa, and RSDRP literature to Lviv in Galicia, the Russian 'transport apparatus' was unwieldy, complicated, costly and ineffective. He was summoned to Geneva,³⁶⁸ where the Menshevik Potresov denied that the proletariat would lead a bourgeois revolution,³⁶⁹ and Plekhanov had resumed publication of *Dnevnik sotsialdemokrata (Diary of a Social-Democrat)*.³⁷⁰ Tarshis and Marshak were sent to Leipzig in Germany, where he became the RSDRP's chief transporter from the attic of the SPD's *Leipziger Volkszeitung*. He got 'acquainted with everything', including how many copies of *Proletary* were printed, 'what leaflets we were to send to Russia, how the conveyance was organised,' and 'began organising the foreign part of the work on a firm basis'. The managers of the SPD paper's technical department allowed him to receive literature from Geneva and 'remittances and letters from abroad, in their name', and gave him addresses of active members of the SPD, who mostly worked for the paper.³⁷¹ He usually wrapped almost nine pounds of literature around an empty box and covered it with paper. Locals took it to a post office, though they did not know that a comrade checked to see if they aroused the clerk's suspicion. Tarshis also organised a payment by results system for professional smugglers, and set up pick-up points in Novozybkov in Bielaruś, St. Petersburg and Moscow.³⁷² He damped copies of *Sotsial-demokrat*, folded them, and put them in a press for several days, then sent them by a route that only he knew to contacts in Russia who all had a list of addresses. Tarshis also sent copies to contacts in Western Europe in packets of 10 to 20.³⁷³ Meanwhile the Bolshevik Centre had moved to Paris.

On 18 November a promotion group had been established in Paris without any Mensheviks. Ulyanov, Krupskaya and her mother settled there in December,³⁷⁴ along with Roman Malinovsky,³⁷⁵ and Maria Ulyanova joined them at the Hotel de Gobelins in boulevard Saint-Marcel. They soon found a 'chic' apartment on the second floor of 24 rue Beaunier. It had four rooms, a kitchen and four storage rooms, and cost 840 francs plus 60 francs tax, and around the same sum for the concierge. That was expensive for Paris, though not too dear compared to the same kind of apartment in Moscow.³⁷⁶ The concierge looked on their bare wooden table and their 'vulgar' chairs and stools with contempt, and he and the proprietor soon became unhappy with the crowd of visitors. Rosenfeld had been asked to find somewhere for the typographers and the press, but had failed.³⁷⁷

D.M. Kotlyarenko had been born in 1876. In 1905 he was a Bolshevik and led strikes on the Kazan railway, but in 1907 he emigrated, and by 1908 he led the Bolsheviks' forwarding department in Paris.³⁷⁸ He told Malinovsky, Dubrovinsky and Alexey Alin that Ulyanov wanted to meet them in rue Caroline, and they found two little rooms above a shop at 8 rue Antoine-Chantin.³⁷⁹ There was no electric lighting and the typographers had to use paraffin lamps and candles at night. Ulyanov checked the proofs of *Proletary*,³⁸⁰ and enjoyed talking with the two Russian printers.³⁸¹ Ulyanov and his family moved to 4 rue Marie-Rose. Ulyanov had brought the émigré CC's library and deposited part of it in the Turgenev library.³⁸² Every day he rose at 8.00am and took a 30 minute tram ride to the Bibliothèque Nationale.³⁸³ He started writing an article around 7.00pm, completed it by 9.00, took his hat and overcoat and after 22 minutes on the Metro he reached the Gare du Nord 10 minutes before the post train left for Russia. He refused offers of help to perform this task. The press was moved to 110 avenue d'Orleans, and Ulyanov checked the proofs in a room next to the press every day, or in the same room as the typographers. He asked them if the cost of living was higher than Geneva, and when they said it was he got them an extra franc a day. When they needed an advance, he saw to it. Apfelbaum lived in rue Leneveux, though an Okhrana agent spied from a hotel opposite. A spy often followed Ulyanov to the press and stood opposite. One day, when it was raining heavily, Ulyanov stayed inside for longer than usual and the spy got soaking wet. When a spy appeared with a camera, A.V. Popov marched towards him and he took to his heels.³⁸⁴

Ulyanov asked Elizarova in Moscow to ensure a 'toning down' of his draft criticisms of Alexandr Malinovsky,³⁸⁵ whose intelligently supporters had little contact with underground workers and were held together by 'left'

revolutionary optimism and a distaste for Ulyanov's methods. Only in Moscow were they an operational threat,³⁸⁶ and Elizarova arranged for his book to be published there.³⁸⁷

(vii) The St. Petersburg women's congress

Inessa Armand had been released from her solitary cell in Arkhangelsk Prison in December 1907, but she and Vladimir were sent to the small town of Mezen on the White Sea coast, which was one degree south of the Arctic Circle and the temperature could reach 37 degrees below zero. Then they were sent over 60 miles further north to the small coastal village of Koido. The government gave most 'politicals' eight rubles a month, but since Inessa was married to an 'honorary citizen' she got 12.5. On 9 January 1908 some 'politicals' commemorated the anniversary of Bloody Sunday, but police and Cossacks beat them savagely. The police wrongly suspected Inessa of organising the event, and threatened her with being sent to an even more remote community. By late February there were 200 'politicals' in Koido and Inessa tried to form an SD organisation;³⁸⁸ but by April Vladimir's health had grown worse and he left.³⁸⁹ He sent Inessa the protocols of the 1907 RSDRP London Congress and the International Congress in Stuttgart, and she asked for Bolshevik and Menshevik literature. The Koido 'politicals' had one of Kautsky's pamphlets,³⁹⁰ and a Pole's contact smuggled in more.³⁹¹ SRs outnumbered SDs, but Inessa read five-year-old copies of *Iskra*. The morale of the 'politicals' sank, yet by summer there were 300. Vladimir returned, but left again in autumn.³⁹² Inessa wrote to friends. 'The conflict between personal family interests and those of society is the most serious problem facing the intelligentsia today. One or the other invariably has to be sacrificed', and 'whatever we decide it is always equally painful'.³⁹³ After martial law was lifted in Poland, some Poles decided to leave Koido and disguised Inessa in the kind of furs worn by local women.³⁹⁴ She reached Moscow by November,³⁹⁵ and stayed a short time to see her husband and children,³⁹⁶ then left for St. Petersburg.³⁹⁷

The city's working women's society had been closed for months, but had been succeeded by Sampsoniyevskoye obshchestvo (the Sampsonievsky Society), whose directors were remarkably similar to the women on the RSDRP district committee.³⁹⁸ Bourgeois women planned a women's congress,³⁹⁹ to form an all-women political party; but the RSDRP committee refused to let Kollontai organise a workers' delegation,⁴⁰⁰ and when the Society demanded that non-workers be excluded, Kollontai left.⁴⁰¹ By spring her women's organisation had 300 members, though its librarians and lecturers were intelligentki, and after a small group of women workers demanded their expulsion, Kollontai resigned.⁴⁰² Bourgeois women prevented women SDs from speaking at their meetings,⁴⁰³ and disrupted working women's meetings,⁴⁰⁴ though Kollontai disrupted the bourgeois women's meetings.⁴⁰⁵ Working women met as a 'name-day party', a 'handicrafts class' or an 'arithmetic lesson'.⁴⁰⁶ Kollontai won the party's backing for a Working Women's Mutual Aid Society, which organised lectures, discussions, a library and a cheap canteen; though some Bolshevik men saw the Society as the thin end of a 'feminist wedge' and barracked speakers. The police closed the Society,⁴⁰⁷ and they had a warrant to arrest Kollontai for advocating an armed rising in Finland and agitating members of the textile union in Russia who belonged to an illegal party, so she left her 14-year-old son with friends,⁴⁰⁸ and in summer she went deeper underground.⁴⁰⁹ By autumn she hoped that the bourgeois women's congress would help her to get clarity on how to win 'the long, stubborn and agonisingly difficult struggle for a new political structure', though the draft programme omitted 'the economic position of women'.⁴¹⁰

A St. Petersburg shop assistant wrote about typical conditions.

Long working hours and low wages push us towards the 'shameful business'. Our wages are not sufficient to live on, while our employers demand that we dress fashionably. We are powerless to resist, since there are so many in St. Petersburg ready to take our place, and work 15 hours a day for a slice of dry bread. Shop owners are only interested in pretty girls. They have their own plans. The majority of girl assistants are between 17 and 20 years of age. Women over 30 can be encountered only occasionally, and then away from the central shops.⁴¹¹

Female shop assistants earned 2.5 to 4 kopeks an hour for 450 to 480 hours a month, and one recalled that 'The first thing the shop owner or manager says when you ask for a job is "Are you ticklish?" If you bat your eyes or nod your head suggestively, the job is yours. Yet 'when you "grow heavy", he will drop you and maybe even fire you'.⁴¹²

Women formed 10.8 percent of union members in some textile plants, but unionised male cotton spinners told them to 'Be satisfied with your eighty kopeks'. When a woman in a ribbon factory asked an assistant foreman to repair her machine, he could not do it, and yelled: "Every pig wants to humiliate the assistant foreman." Then he slapped her face so hard that blood flowed'. The woman 'grabbed him, threw him into a box and rained blows all over his body. Everyone laughed heartily'.⁴¹³ The textile workers' union sought to organise the 59 percent of mill workers who were female, and invited the shop assistants', clerks', confectioners, tailors and printers' unions, and

workers' clubs, to send delegates to the bourgeois women's congress. Between 600 and 650 women attended 40 meetings and elected six delegates from the textile union, 14 from other unions, ten from workers' clubs, ten from outside St. Petersburg; and the central trade union bureau encouraged other unions to send delegates. A.M. Pireiko, a member of St. Petersburg RSDRP committee, was an observer on the central trade union bureau, and in November he demanded full voting rights and the exclusion of other party representatives. The metalworkers' union had 3,678 members, though ten percent were unemployed, and while subs were raised by ten kopeks, weekly unemployment benefits were cut from 1.5 rubles to one ruble.⁴¹⁴

Kollontai won the support of the central trade union bureau, and some Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, and recruited women textile workers to organise the election of delegates to the bourgeois women's congress.⁴¹⁵ She taught 45 them how to speak about women's suffrage, working conditions and women in political parties. The meetings were advertised as name day parties, and hundreds of women attended, including domestic servants, textile, rubber, and tobacco and footwear workers.⁴¹⁶ Kollontai organised 30 delegates, some of whom were barely literate.⁴¹⁷ She completed *Sotsialnaya osnova zhenskogo voprosa (The Social Basis of the Women Question)* by October. It noted that 10 percent of Russian women were self-supporting, and four million were in rural areas. Eight million women lived in cities, and two million lived by their own labour, particularly in the textile and clothing industries, where they outnumbered men; while large numbers worked in the chemical industry, especially in plants making cosmetics, and in glass, china, tile and brick factories.⁴¹⁸ The Mensheviks refused to publish her book without cuts,⁴¹⁹ and some Bolsheviks accused her of collaborating with the bourgeoisie.⁴²⁰ The St. Petersburg RSDRP committee appointed Kudelli as the leader of the delegation,⁴²¹ and they sent two comrades to check up on her.

Vera Slutskaia had been born into a Minsk artisan's family in 1874. She later trained as a dentist, and became a revolutionary in 1898. She joined the Bund in 1901 and the RSDRP in 1902. She participated in the 1905 revolution, then emigrated, but returned to St. Petersburg in 1908 and joined the Bolsheviks.⁴²² In November the RSDRP committee sent her, and 'Sergei',⁴²³ to join Kollontai's delegation. They insisted it should confine itself to a political demonstration, but the workers refused,⁴²⁴ so the RSDRP committee urged other women not to attend.⁴²⁵ Kollontai had disguised her 52 meetings as name days, sewing circles and talks on the harmfulness of corsets,⁴²⁶ and by December she had spoken to thousands of women,⁴²⁷ usually in a 'quiet little room'. Their 'dread of the police was very great', but after an alarm they threw 'a handkerchief over the face of the speaker' and got her away quickly.⁴²⁸

The bourgeois women's congress opened on 10 December,⁴²⁹ in St. Petersburg's Tavrishesky dvorets. It attracted 1,053 delegates,⁴³⁰ mostly from the capital, but a small group came from Moscow and smaller groups from other cities, mainly in Ukraine. Despite the organisers' efforts, no peasants attended.⁴³¹ To the worker Anna Ivanova the other delegates looked like 'the cream of Petersburg and provincial aristocracy and bourgeoisie, the wives of ministers, high officials, factory owners, merchants and well-known lady philanthropists'.⁴³² The great majority were professionals, and half earned their own living, and they waived the five-ruble fee for the workers and the ten Bolshevik, Menshevik and SR intelligentki.⁴³³ Kollontai denied that there were 'specifically female issues apart from the overall social issue', since over six million of 63 million women, including two million of the eight million in cities, supported themselves, and outnumbered men in every branch of the textile industry. Overall, for every 269,000 male workers there were 74,000 women, and for every four single men there were three single women; but most women were badly exploited and they were a minority among proprietors and in the professions.⁴³⁴ She accused the bourgeois women of fighting for themselves 'without challenging the existing prerogatives and privileges', so each concession they won would widen the division with working women.⁴³⁵ The women workers gave 13 reports and stressed that they had nothing in common with the bourgeois women, and that equality could be achieved only through social revolution.⁴³⁶ Volkova delivered a speech that Kollontai had written about why there was no basis for cooperation, and argued for basic RSDRP demands. Ivanova, Klavdia Antonova and Varvara Volkova also spoke,⁴³⁷ and Klavdia Nikolayeva and Maria Burko described their experiences in factories, small workshops and print works.⁴³⁸ The working women won support for laws to protect female and child labour and peasant mothers, but the presidium refused to accept a motion demanding universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage.⁴³⁹ Kollontai argued that 'To be truly free, woman must throw off the contemporary, obsolete, bourgeois form of the family that is burdening her way',⁴⁴⁰ but she had to leave early to evade the police.⁴⁴¹ Armand recalled that the discussion about 'free love' failed to acknowledge most women's economic dependence;⁴⁴² and after the presidium introduced a weaker motion, the women workers walked out.⁴⁴³ Armand and her sister-in-law joined them,⁴⁴⁴ but the Mensheviks stayed,⁴⁴⁵ and the police submitted the bourgeois women to body searches.

The women workers went underground,⁴⁴⁶ but the police arrested most of them, including Burko and Antonova.⁴⁴⁷ Kollontai slept in different places each night, though old friends and her sister refused to put her up,⁴⁴⁸ so she left for Berlin.⁴⁴⁹ Kollontai was the St. Petersburg textile union's delegate to an International Congress in Basel.⁴⁵⁰ Six of the 36 RSDRP delegates were Bolsheviks, and Rosenfeld represented the Russian CC, and challenged the mandate of delegates from the St. Petersburg Menshevik's initiative group.⁴⁵¹ The Congress opposed war, and

called on socialists to use the crisis to fight for a revolution.⁴⁵² Late in December Vladimir's health had deteriorated, and Armand went to Finland illegally. She reached the French Riviera in days, but Vladimir soon died.⁴⁵³

(viii) Burtsev

Vladimir Burtsev had been born in the small city of Birsk in Ufa province, Western Siberia, in 1862. He entered St. Petersburg University in 1880 and was briefly detained after a student demonstration in 1882. In 1884 he was imprisoned for a year, then exiled to Siberia, but escaped in 1888 and went to Geneva. By spring 1889 he was an editor of the liberal periodical, *Svobodnaya Rossya (Free Russia)*, but the other editors refused to let him publish articles favouring terrorism, so he travelled across Eastern and Western Europe, and by 1894 he had settled in London and worked in the British Museum. By 1897 he had published anthology of Russian political life, *Za sto let (For a Hundred Years)*, and *Narodovolets (The People's Will)*. In 1898 the Russian government pressured the British government to put him on trial for sending inflammatory material through the post, and he was sentenced to 18 months in prison, though in 1902 he published *Byloe (The Past)* which glorified early SR terrorists. Early in 1905 he returned to Russia and published a more moderate version of *Byloe*. He held long conversations with leaders of St. Petersburg Okhrana, and the head of Warszawa Okhrana showed him documents which incriminated several agents. Burtsev paid someone at St. Petersburg's police headquarters to copy them, and exposed spies and informers in *Byloe*. He subsequently published them in Paris, and by late October he had a false passport, and Arkady Harting, the director of the Okhrana's Paris Agentura, reported that he left the city early in November. He crossed the Russian border at Kybartai, southwest of Kaunas in the Pale, and reached St. Petersburg, where he attended a factory workers' mass meeting and was 'totally overwhelmed' when an old friend began his speech with the words, 'We, Socialist-Revolutionaries!' He asked the young Bolshevik Dmitry Sverchkov 'can these really be Russians?' He thought that people would avoid him 'like the plague', but they 'vied with one another in offering me a flat for the night' and 'everybody talked as openly' as in Paris. The 'revolutionary atmosphere smelled of gunpowder', yet he believed that Russia was 'not ready for social revolution and the introduction of socialism'. The 'few revolutionaries did not have sufficient strength even to defend our gains', and 'we could only do this in alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie'. Late that year Burtsev opposed the general strike and the soviet decrees.⁴⁵⁴

The censors gave him permission to publish *Byloe* in St. Petersburg, and it appeared in January 1906, yet he was astonished to see Azev and his wife riding in an open carriage. In February a second *Byloe* listed the persecutions of newspapers and editors, and the numbers of political prisoners condemned to death. Burtsev left for Paris, then went to Geneva, with a spy tracking him, and he was briefly detained. In summer Mikhail Bakai, a young police employee in St. Petersburg told staff in the *Byloe* office that he was an SR, and he had seen people being tortured and murdered in Warszawa police stations when Zavarzin was head of Okhrana. He named spies, and his information proved to be accurate. When *Byloe* published an article about the long dead terrorist Nechaev, the Russian censors were alarmed, and in autumn it included an article by Abram Gots of the VPSR, which was highly critical of the disgraced Okhrana leader Zubatov. After an article in *Byloe* recommended terror to overthrow the state, Burtsev was deported and went to Russia. In December Bakai resigned from the police with a pension of 1,000 rubles a year, and told Burtsev there was a 'super-spy' in the senior ranks of the VPSR.

In spring 1907, after Burtsev published more of Bakai's information in *Byloe*, Bakai was arrested. (He spent six months in St. Petersburg Fortress before being exiled to Siberia for three years without trial.) Burtsev threw the police off the scent, crossed the border and settled in Paris; but by May he had moved to Terijoki in Finland. In autumn he told the VPSR's Savinkov that he suspected Azev, but Savinkov told Azev, who complained to his Okhrana handler. After Zubatov wrote to Burtsev to correct some of Gots' claims, *Byloe* was closed, and warrants were issued for the editors, but Burtsev escaped abroad. The director of the Okhrana, Alexey Lopukhin, had often visited the *Byloe* offices and corresponded with Burtsev. Bakai escaped from Siberia,⁴⁵⁵ and Burtsev helped him to publish his memoirs in Paris. He gave Burtsev dozens of names of agents for a 'modest reward' and Burtsev published 50 or so,⁴⁵⁶ including 23 in the VPSR.⁴⁵⁷ Police informants usually lasted three years before they were killed and Burtsev had the names of between 50 and 75.⁴⁵⁸ He established a network of spies 'to wage a campaign against provocation' and the Department of Police, and gave around of his 12,000 ruble earnings to revolutionaries.

In spring 1908 the VPSR CC invited Azev to attend a commission of enquiry.⁴⁵⁹ The new combat organisation had not carried out a successful attack, including two attempts on the tsar's life, and though a third attempt was planned, Azev stopped working for the Okhrana.⁴⁶⁰ Burtsev's Paris apartment at 116 rue de la Glacière housed his files and library. It became the editorial office of *Byloe*, and subsequently for *Budushchee (The Future)*, and he met informants there.⁴⁶¹ Nikolai Morozov, a leading former member of Narodnaya volya, gave Burtsev information about Azev,⁴⁶² and though Burtsev told the VPSR CC that Azev was an *agent provocateur*, they did not believe him.⁴⁶³

At the end of the year a leaflet signed by 'An SR Circle' was aimed at readers of *Byloe* and the Paris VPSR opposition's paper *Revoliutsionnaya mysl (Revolutionary Thought)* published stories about Okhrana agents.⁴⁶⁴

Petr Karpovich had been transferred to Akatui Katorga Prison in Siberia in 1906, and later to Algachi Katorga Prison. In 1907, after being released, he escaped abroad, joined the VPSR combat organisation and became Azev's assistant. In 1908 Karpovich helped to organize an unsuccessful attempt on the tsar's life, but after Azev was denounced as a provocateur Karpovich left the VPSR.⁴⁶⁵

In Russia peasants had burned down the family manor house of the former Narodnaya volya leader Figner in 1906, and in 1907 she was allowed to go abroad,⁴⁶⁶ on account of her poor health.⁴⁶⁷ She and Lopatin, Frolenko and Felix Volkhovskiy were guests at a VPSR council in 1908. Chernov argued that it was 'not as a mass party that we are defeated', but 'as an organisation', and the delegates voted to focus on terror.⁴⁶⁸ Savinkov revealed that Azev knew about one plot that had been betrayed,⁴⁶⁹ and Burtsev circulated his evidence about him, so the CC decided to put him before a court of honour.⁴⁷⁰ Most of the CC were subsequently arrested in Saratov, thanks to Azev,⁴⁷¹ while he summered in the south of France.⁴⁷² Spies in the VPSR reported that it was in 'desperate' straits since it had no serious or active organisations, and lacked people and material means.⁴⁷³ An 'autonomous group' of SRs in St. Petersburg avoided all but the most necessary contact with émigrés, and rejected 'bureaucratic intermediaries',⁴⁷⁴ but the police arrested 200, leaving only two groups of SR workers at large.⁴⁷⁵ A VPSR council in London attracted 74 delegates, including 48 from Russia. Eight of the 13 voting delegates represented regional organisations,⁴⁷⁶ 61 had experienced 228 police searches, 146 prison terms lasting a total of 104 years, 88 of katorga, and 121 of exile.⁴⁷⁷

The SR Spiridonova's 'commune' at Maltsev Katorga Prison in Siberia read Dostoevsky's novels, the Bible, Indian philosophy, Nietzsche, Mach and Avernarius.⁴⁷⁸ The VPSR claimed 350 local organisations.⁴⁷⁹ Since 1905 around 18 out of 192 full delegates to VPSR Congresses and conferences had been women, as were eight of the 66 with a consultative vote.⁴⁸⁰ In autumn the police arrested around 800 PPS members. Martial law was lifted in Poland, except in Piotrków province,⁴⁸¹ though revolutionaries were discovered in the Warszawa garrison, where most artillerymen were members of the VPSR.⁴⁸²

Yisroel Kaplinsky had been recruited as an Okhrana spy in 1899.⁴⁸³ He was a founder of the Bund's underground press, and had been close to its CC for many years, but Burtsev unmasked him in 1908.⁴⁸⁴ In autumn he heard that Lopukhin was about to return to Russia and met him in Cologne, where they boarded a train to Berlin. Lopukhin had not heard the pseudonym Burtsev mentioned, but he had met Azev several times. Burtsev reported this to the VPSR and threatened to publish it unless they began work. In autumn they examined Azev and several witnesses for a month,⁴⁸⁵ and Chernov, Savinkov, Figner, Lopatin and other veterans agreed that Azev was guilty. Andrei Argunov met Lopukhin,⁴⁸⁶ who told him that Azev had visited him in Russia to receive his last payment, a small bonus and safe passports.⁴⁸⁷ Soon after Chernov, Savinkov and Argunov confronted Azev in London.⁴⁸⁸ He vehemently protested, and they gave him until next day to prepare his defence.⁴⁸⁹ At 5.00am Azev left his wife and took the first train to Germany.⁴⁹⁰ The CC released a list of the terrorist acts in which he had allegedly played a leading role.⁴⁹¹ He had masterminded 28 attacks on government officials,⁴⁹² and the expropriation of the equivalent of between 200,000 to 250,000 marks.⁴⁹³ The Okhrana arrested his accomplices and hanged them immediately.⁴⁹⁴

(ix) Signs of an economic upturn

During 1908 508,000 out of 840,100 heads of peasant households had successfully applied for hereditary tenure,⁴⁹⁵ and 385,000 had successfully applied for grants of land.⁴⁹⁶ Over 1,178,000 acres had been converted into private property.⁴⁹⁷ Peasants had invested over 61 million rubles in agricultural machinery,⁴⁹⁸ and 38.3 millions' worth had been domestically-produced.⁴⁹⁹ That year almost 759,000 European Russians migrated to Siberia legally and 48,000 illegally, though 121,200 returned.⁵⁰⁰ Since 1906 over 1.5 million people, half of them paupers, had gone there voluntarily. Around 560,000 had stayed, though 285,000 had returned and over 700,000 were unaccounted for.⁵⁰¹ During 1908 the United Creamery Association in Siberia had sold almost five million pounds of butter.

Since 1905 over 370 million rubles of foreign capital had been invested in Russia,⁵⁰² and 37 percent had come from abroad since 1906.⁵⁰³ Industry was reviving,⁵⁰⁴ and the largest Russian banks led the investment.⁵⁰⁵ The industrial workforce included 823,000 textile workers, 529,000 metalworkers and 901,000 others, including miners.⁵⁰⁶ Textile mills employed 26.5 percent of the factory labour force and produced almost 30 percent of the value of industrial output. Factory inspectors reported only about workforces of 67 or over,⁵⁰⁷ which included almost 1.56 million workers,⁵⁰⁸ in almost 20,000 plants. They earned an average of 246 rubles a year and made their employers or investors over 250 rubles apiece. Almost 60 percent of the 307,000 workers in Moscow province had a nine-hour day, but 16,500 worked over the 10.5 hour legal maximum.⁵⁰⁹ Since 1901 inspected factories and workshops employing up to 100 had decreased by 16 percent, and those between 100 and 500 by five percent, but those with

500 to 1,000 had increased by five percent and those with over 1,000 by 25 percent.⁵¹⁰ Textile mill managers had replaced 7,000 males with females,⁵¹¹ and 31 percent of other workforces were women.⁵¹² A quarter of urban women went out to work and formed 171,000 of 201,000 cotton workers.⁵¹³

Nationally there had been over 30,000 cases of cholera in summer, and 3,533 of the 8,763 cases between September and December died.⁵¹⁴ Over 18 million suffered from contagious diseases.⁵¹⁵ In St. Petersburg contagious diseases had accounted for 47 percent of deaths, since the water supply was contaminated and the River Neva was heavily polluted.⁵¹⁶ Over 14,000 died from cholera.⁵¹⁷ Around 95 percent of workers' families had a whole room, 30 percent rented a whole house, and around 15 percent shared a house with lodgers, though 70 percent of unmarried workers had a corner or a cot.⁵¹⁸ According to a survey of 570 mainly skilled metalworkers, around a quarter rented a flat with one or two rooms, but usually sub-let part of it, while 40 percent of workers' families lived in shared rooms, as did 70 percent of single workers. A small proportion lived in factory barracks, though peasants often lived in an artel. Half of the single workers and 33 percent of married workers owned land, but only 32 percent and 12 percent respectively farmed it, though 42 percent of married workers and 67 percent of single workers sent money to the countryside. A survey of 5,702 workers showed that 28 percent had spent less than two years in industry, 34 percent between two and five years and 39 percent five years or more, though in workforces of above 1,000 the proportion was 53 percent.⁵¹⁹ The average wage was 28 rubles a month. Men in mechanical plants earned almost 31, though men in cotton and weaving mills just over 20, and women almost 15.5, but adolescents aged 15 to 20 earned 62 percent of the average adult wage and those aged 12 to 15 earned 39 percent. Another source put the average wage at over 29 rubles a month and almost 24.5 in the surrounding district. Married men spent an average of 7.5 rubles a month on clothes for their families, and a third bought them second-hand, while single men spent five rubles. Most men spent over 20 percent of their pay on alcohol, though 18 percent did not drink. Most married men ate at home and spent almost 49 percent of their income on food, while almost half of bachelors spent just over 37 percent on meals in taverns or cooperative dining-rooms.⁵²⁰ Sackings of metalworkers for striking, lockouts and political convictions accounted for 27 percent of the national total, and cut-backs in production, incentive schemes and new technology for 69 percent.⁵²¹ St. Petersburg's unions had declined from 44 to 28, and overall membership from 51,000 to 29,000.⁵²²

The largest banks led the investment in Ukrainian industry.⁵²³ Enterprises employing as many as 1,000 workers ignored the law on medical assistance,⁵²⁴ though soda workers' houses in Bakhmut were clean, and had a water supply, electric light and indoor toilets, and a doctor sent to Luzovka during a typhus epidemic reported that the New Russia Company's houses were 'well-lit, airy and dry', though other housing was filthy. Almost 53 percent of the 102 people who contracted cholera in Luzovka died, including almost 39 percent of the 18 women. During 1908 the turnover at Donbass mines and factories had been enormous, and around 2.89 miners out of every 1,000 had been killed since 1904, compared to 1.29 in Britain, but 52 percent of claims for compensation were rejected.⁵²⁵ The government had previously banned coal and iron cartels,⁵²⁶ but industry had revived,⁵²⁷ and the Prodamenta cartel controlled 60 percent of Russian metal production. Luzovka ironworks provided around one-eighth of the national demand for steel rails, and smaller shares of other iron and steel products. Coalmines had been closed, coal, iron and steel production had halved, 13,878 people had contracted cholera and around 40,000 had left.⁵²⁸ Grain exports from Odesa were over 733,500 tons.⁵²⁹

Nationally, the annual average factory wage had risen from 213 to 242 rubles since 1907,⁵³⁰ and the level of unionisation in metalworks was highest in those which employed 50 to 500 workers, and lowest in those employing over 1,000.⁵³¹ There were 419 trade unions,⁵³² though 101 had been closed.⁵³³ Servants' unions had been established, including in Katerynoslav in Ukraine, which had a special section for servants in restaurants, hotels and taverns, though all servants' unions were subsequently closed. Moscow's tailors' union had been suppressed in 1907, but was revived in 1908. Moscow servants' union had appealed to the Duma to limit the working day to ten hours, employ females to inspect living accommodation along with union representatives, establish free employment agencies, unemployment and sickness insurance, secure equal rights for women, plus six weeks' maternity leave before giving birth and four weeks afterwards, and provide a work book recording wages, conditions, and reasons for leaving a job.⁵³⁴ The city's print workers' union had reappeared.⁵³⁵ A survey of around 4,000 typographical workers found that 38 occupied a cot or a corner, 41 percent a whole room and 15 percent rented a house and kept lodgers. One worker in 15 rented a whole house.⁵³⁶ A survey of metalworkers found that they had lived there, on average, for over five years. Over half of married men and over a third of bachelors had no ties to their village.⁵³⁷ Under nine percent of men, mostly bachelors, lived in factory barracks.⁵³⁸ Almost 52 percent of workers' families occupied part of a room,⁵³⁹ and one room in a working-class district might house 20 people.⁵⁴⁰ After Anna Ivanova married Alexey Phillipov, a metalworker at the Bromley factory, she left her job as a needlewoman and they lived in one room in a small wooden house. His mother and brother occupied another room and a lodger rented a third. Maria Vasileva earned 20 rubles a month in a factory and quit two days before the

birth of her fourth child, since childcare would take all of her wages.⁵⁴¹ In Moscow province, 92,000 inspected workers had a nine-hour day or less, 94,000 worked nine or ten hours and 33,000 for longer. A survey of 35,000 found that those in mechanical plants earned almost 31 rubles a month, though male cotton spinners and weavers averaged around 20 and women 15. Those aged 15 to 20 earned 52 percent of adult pay and those aged 12 to 15 39 percent.⁵⁴² An inspector noted that women making wallpaper and boxes used mechanised lathes, so the owner could 'economise on wages',⁵⁴³ and teenagers formed 8.6 percent of the workforce.⁵⁴⁴ There was one legal and one illegal union in the region.⁵⁴⁵

That year, officially, there had been 767 strikes in cities and 125 in non-urban areas, involving 9.7 percent of workers. There had been 69,000 strikers in Kyiv, Kharkiv and the Volga region, 47,000 in Baki, 44,000 in St. Petersburg, 35,000 in Warszawa and 28,000 in Moscow.⁵⁴⁶ In St. Petersburg province 58 strikes had involved over 17,000 workers,⁵⁴⁷ though 44 strikes were near the city. There had been 28 strikes in and around Moscow and 35 in and around Warszawa, and around 48 percent of strikers were in St. Petersburg, Moscow and Vladimir, Warszawa and Piotrków provinces in Poland and Livonia province in Latvia. The 892 strikes had involved 176,000 inspected workers for 864,000 days,⁵⁴⁸ in 5.9 percent of workplaces. There were 428 economic strikes and 83,000 economic strikers,⁵⁴⁹ though 93,000 were deemed political,⁵⁵⁰ as were over 89,000 strike days. The average number of strikers per plant was 179, and the average length of strikes was 4.9 days,⁵⁵¹ though two-thirds lasted two days or less, and while 14 percent were victorious, 17 percent ended in compromise and 69 percent in defeat.⁵⁵² Nationally a quarter of strikes were repeated, and 11.9 percent of workers were at strike-hit enterprises. Baki accounted for well over a quarter of strikes,⁵⁵³ and though there had been one political strike, 72 percent of workers had reportedly come out.⁵⁵⁴ Saratov province revolutionaries had been driven underground,⁵⁵⁵ and though 6.5 percent of Saratov workers had gone on strike, barely ten percent of the number of two years earlier,⁵⁵⁶ the RSDRP committee had demanded the recall of SD Duma deputies.⁵⁵⁷

In Finland the 80 SDs among the 200 parliamentary deputies had won a vote of no confidence in the government early in 1908, and it resigned. In summer SD candidates won 38 percent of the deputies, and three more seats, and challenged the tsar's policy. He dissolved the parliament, but SDs gained another seat in the next election. In autumn the Russian transport minister was authorised to use Finnish railways. The tsar relieved Finns of the obligation of serving in the armed forces, but required payments for the Russian armed forces. When parliament refused, the tsar dissolved it, appointed a new governor-general,⁵⁵⁸ sent Finns in the Russian army to the senate which conducted its business in Russian,⁵⁵⁹ and the Russian prime minister insisted that Finnish issues intended for the tsar had first to go to the council of ministers.⁵⁶⁰ That year there had been 128 serious labour disputes.⁵⁶¹

The government had decided to introduce compulsory, free education for all children aged from eight to 11 in 14 years,⁵⁶² and had allocated eight million rubles,⁵⁶³ while zemstvos allocated 22.3 million.⁵⁶⁴ Across Russia 21 percent of people were literate, and over seven million children and young adults were in formal education. Nationally there were almost 7.1 million school pupils and students, or less than one-fifth of all school-age children and young adults.⁵⁶⁵ Municipal duma and zemstva supported 69 boys' gymnasias, and 67 others were private,⁵⁶⁶ though the police had 'ransacked' secondary schools. Oppositionist university professors had been sacked, and the government had appointed their replacements,⁵⁶⁷ and though higher courses for women had opened in Tbilisi and Iuriev,⁵⁶⁸ the maximum number of Jews remained the same.⁵⁶⁹ Late that year universities were made accountable to the Education Ministry,⁵⁷⁰ though there were 450 Russians in Swiss higher educational institutions.⁵⁷¹

During 1908 23,852 books and pamphlets had been published in Russia,⁵⁷² but 259 of the 278 new periodicals were closed,⁵⁷³ including 42 in St. Petersburg, as were 73 mostly union and leftist journals. Fines on 120 newspapers totalled 82,200 rubles,⁵⁷⁴ while 72 were suspended and 101 editors imprisoned.⁵⁷⁵ Tiny quantities of illegal literature arrived irregularly from abroad,⁵⁷⁶ and though eight RSDRP papers had been published in the Urals,⁵⁷⁷ the police had made 108 raids on SD organisations across Russia.⁵⁷⁸

The SDKPiL had reportedly benefited from the Schmidt inheritance.⁵⁷⁹ During 1908 1,168 Poles had been tried by courts martial, though only 40 percent were charged with terrorism, armed expropriations or political assassinations. They included 167 from the PPS, 101 from the SDKPiL, 63 from anarchist groups, 22 Bundists and 13 Zionists. Of the 885 verdicts which survive, 391 were death sentences, though 171 were subsequently commuted to life in katorga prisons.⁵⁸⁰ Piłsudski, the head of PPS-Prawica's combat organisation, had led an attack on a train near Vilnius, and got away with 100,000 rubles.⁵⁸¹ In three years expropriators had got away with over five million rubles.⁵⁸²

Transcaucasia produced 22 percent of world's oil and Poti and Batumi also exported coal and manganese,⁵⁸³ though it was cheaper to import manganese ore from India.⁵⁸⁴ In the Caucasus Hummut had gone underground in 1907. Early in 1908 representatives of the Dashnaks and other revolutionary organisations in the Ottoman Empire met in Paris. In summer several Muslim parties, led by Hummut and Armenians (mainly Dashnaks), fought Ottoman troops, and Georgians joined in. Cossacks and Russian-trained Persian troops helped the Ottoman troops to defeat

them; but the Sultan subsequently reopened the parliament, and from July almost 50,000 Armenians moved back to Western Armenia. Since 1904 Dashnaks had killed or seriously wounded almost 250 officials, but late in 1908 the police had recruited a Dashnak informer and arrests increased.⁵⁸⁵

There had been 1,150 robberies in the Caucasus, and much of the proceeds had gone to the Bolsheviks.⁵⁸⁶ Some south-west Russian courts acknowledged that police chiefs were complicit in robberies,⁵⁸⁷ and police had reportedly taken one million rubles in bribes, while St. Petersburg police had taken six million.⁵⁸⁸ The head of Vladimir Okhrana had sent threatening letters, revolutionary leaflets and bombs to officials, including himself, then claimed credit for preventing bloodshed,⁵⁸⁹ while others encouraged or created RSDRP cells to claim credit for their discovery.⁵⁹⁰

Since 1905, nationally, 24.2 percent of those charged with political crimes had been peasants, 28.4 percent intelligently and 47.4 percent workers.⁵⁹¹ Since 1906, officially, around 20,000 people had been convicted for political offences, and 2,000 of the 3,000 death sentences had been carried out, including 697 in 1908. That year, officially, 365 officials were assassinated and 571 injured in 9,424 incidents, along with 1,349 others killed and 1,384 injured.⁵⁹² In 1907-1908 military courts martial had reportedly sentenced 73 to death, 62 to katorga and four to exile; yet almost 5,000 had been exiled without trial from Tbilisi and Kutaisi provinces alone.⁵⁹³ During 1908 there had been 7,593 political trials. District courts martial had sentenced 7,016 civilians,⁵⁹⁴ though 25 were executed without trial,⁵⁹⁵ and field and ordinary courts martial executed 515 and exiled around 8,000 to northernmost Russia and Siberia.⁵⁹⁶ The students Lidya Sture and Anna Shuliatikova had been hanged for attempting to assassinate the justice minister,⁵⁹⁷ and 32 percent of 'politicals' were professionals, students, or gentry.⁵⁹⁸ Since early 1906 550 people in Latvia had been executed, punitive expeditions had killed 2,556, 8,000 had been exiled to northern Russia or Siberia and over 5,000 had gone abroad, mostly to the USA.⁵⁹⁹ The Okhrana knew of 404,500 Black Hundreds.⁶⁰⁰

(x) Pandora's box

During 1908 the government's income had been 2.44 billion rubles,⁶⁰¹ including a French loan of 300 million.⁶⁰² It invested 60 million rubles in new railways and 74 million to improve the network,⁶⁰³ but had lost over 42 million on some lines.⁶⁰⁴ In 20 years the number of railway workers had risen from 432,000 to 844,000, and annual wages ranged from 325 to 380 rubles, though real wages were as low as in 1892. During the construction of the Amur line in the Far East 14 companies of regular troops had reinforced railway gendarmes.⁶⁰⁵ In ten years government debt had grown by an average of 19 percent a year, and stood at nine billion rubles in 1908, so interest payments absorbed around one third of its income, while over one billion went to repay costs associated with the war with Japan and new military expenditure,⁶⁰⁶ and its debt for ordinary purposes was 2.46 billion.⁶⁰⁷ Over 38,000 overwhelmingly peasant troops, or 9.2 percent of those conscripted, had been sent home because of their poor health, and official attempts to prevent Jews from joining the armed forces were unsuccessful.⁶⁰⁸ Gerasim Sokolov had been born in 1890. He joined the RSDRP Congress 'majority in 1903 and was active in Kokhma in in the Ivanovo region in 1905. He was conscripted into the army in 1906 and propagandised troops until 1908.⁶⁰⁹ Early in 1908, when the government had asked the Duma for 30 million rubles a year for four years to construct dreadnoughts, deputies had cut that to 21.5 million and called for the reorganisation of the Navy Ministry.⁶¹⁰ The State Council ordered three dreadnoughts,⁶¹¹ to be built in St. Petersburg,⁶¹² while the Duma increased officers' pay and paid for railway lines towards Germany.⁶¹³ In October the Austro-Hungarian government had informed the Turkish government that it had annexed Bosnia and Hercegovina, which it had previously administered,⁶¹⁴ and the Russian foreign minister dissuaded the Serbian government from declaring war.⁶¹⁵ The Austro-Hungarian government promised Russian ships free passage through the Bosphorus Straits,⁶¹⁶ and Bronstein commented in November. 'The Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, two sea-gates effectively guarded with artillery. If Russian warships cannot leave the Black Sea, neither can warships of another nation enter it. Tsarist diplomacy wants to have the gate unlocked for its own warships only.' 'Only a single state of all the Balkan nationalities, with a democratic, federal basis, on the pattern of Switzerland or the U.S.A., can bring internal peace' and 'create the conditions for a mighty development of productive forces', but the Balkan Peninsula was a 'Pandora's box'.⁶¹⁷

In Germany, in 1906-1907 SPD membership had risen by 38 percent to over 530,000, and it had officials in 324 of the 397 electoral districts, but then the trade depression in the USA affected Germany. In 1908 SPD membership had risen to over 587,000, with 31 more district officials, and only 22 lacked similar organisations. While 281,030 workers had gone on strike in 1907, 126,883 did so in 1908,⁶¹⁸ though SD workers were barred from many jobs.⁶¹⁹ In summer the highest tax-payers in Prussia won 293,402 votes (3.8 percent) in the Landtag election, middle tax-payers 1,063,240 (almost 14 percent) and the lowest tax-payers 6,324,029 (82 percent), while SDs won 1.6 percent.⁶²⁰ Nationally the landed interest effectively opposed a property tax.⁶²¹ By October the SPD had 70 daily newspapers.⁶²² The SPD had introduced a lower membership fee for women, since their wages were less than

men's, and insisted that there should be at least one woman on all district committees to be responsible for agitation and organisation among women workers. There were almost 29,500 women members;⁶²³ yet some male leaders wanted to close the women's bureau.⁶²⁴ When Kollontai joined the SPD, the head of Berlin's Okhrana Agentura informed St. Petersburg. That year over one million workers had gone on strike in Germany, though Kollontai saw the SPD leaders pressurising union leaders to curb them.⁶²⁵ Over a third of workers in industry and handicrafts were self-employed or had no more than four colleagues,⁶²⁶ though there were 1.8 million members of Free Trade Unions, which were close to the SPD.⁶²⁷ In the four years to the end of 1908 it was estimated that the income of a worker's family was twice that of a Russian worker's.⁶²⁸ Britain had a slight lead in terms of *Dreadnoughts*, and planned seven more, though the German government planned 14.⁶²⁹

9. A year of Party driftage lies behind us

(i) Decadent party elements

Mikhail Shulyatnikov had been born in Moscow in 1872. He graduated from Moscow University in 1898, and was a member of the RSDRP committee from 1902 to 1905. He and others sometimes attended the Literary Wednesday group,¹ during 1905–1907. By 1908 he was a member of the Moscow region bureau, and early in 1909 he attended the extended editorial board of *Proletary* in Paris,² as a Moscow delegate.³ Others arrived from St. Petersburg, the Moscow region, the Urals, the Caucasus, the SDKPiL, the Bund,⁴ and the LSD, which claimed 3,500 members, including 2,500 in Rīga, and led legal unions with 9,000 members.⁵ Their legal *Arodnieks (Craftsman)* was for trade unionists,⁶ and after it was banned they changed its name.⁷

On 3 January an RSDRP conference opened in Paris and Ulyanov paid the travel expenses of the Poles. Eight CC members had a voice, but no vote. The 16 with a vote included the Poles Jogisches, Marchlewski, Fürstenberg, and 28-year-old Władysław Feinstein and 22-year-old Władysław Stein, the Bolsheviks Malinovsky, Ulyanov, Mandelshtam, Baturin and the Putilov metalworker Alexandr Buiko. The Mensheviks were Axelrod, Gurvich and Ramishvili, and the Bundists were Aizenshtadt, Koigen and A.I. Vainshtein. Ulyanov favoured taking part in Duma elections, Malinovsky wanted the SD deputies to be monitored and Mandelshtam and Buiko wanted to recall them; but a majority wanted them to conduct propaganda and agitation.⁸ Ulyanov argued for a ‘fight against deviations from revolutionary marxism’ and the ‘attempts to belittle the slogans of the RSDRP’ by ‘decadent party elements’. The CC had to make the SD Duma fraction abide by the London Congress decisions and ‘take steps to unify local organisations’ who were ignoring Stockholm Congress decisions. It was agreed that the Bolsheviks Ulyanov, Apfelbaum and Rosenfeld, the Menshevik Tsederbaum and the Pole Marchlewski would edit *Sotsial-Democrat*.⁹ The Mensheviks and some Bundists favoured liquidating underground organisations, though the other Bundists disagreed,¹⁰ and a majority voted for legal, semi-legal and illegal local organisations and illegal and legal trade unions, plus ‘a workers’ committees consisting solely of party members even if they are few in number’ in each industrial enterprise.¹¹

The intelligent Alexinsky proposed having a ‘higher party school’ abroad to train workers in the Russian underground. Alexandr Malinovsky and others at the Paris conference had supported the idea, and Malinovsky reported this to Gorky.¹² Gorky hated individualism and saw the basis of socialism as ‘man’s consciousness of his connection with the masses’ - a ‘joyful, active feeling of kinship of all and each with everyone else’. He wanted to produce a Russian encyclopaedia and books on Russian culture, beginning with one on ‘the organisation of human experience’ by Malinovsky and Lunacharsky, who would get half the proceeds.¹³ Vilonov suggested that they should learn from German, French and Belgian SDs and organise a ‘Party university’ in France or Italy to train future leaders.¹⁴ Gorky offered to teach philosophy, politics and how to work underground,¹⁵ and when Alexinsky arrived they formed an organising committee.¹⁶

According to Apfelbaum the struggle for the ‘ideological rebirth’ of the RSDRP was ‘incredibly tough’. ‘Many comrades lost any revolutionary physiognomy and turned into god knows what. The whole of our party was fragmented into groups and factions’.¹⁷ Krupskaya told the surviving Odesa Bolsheviks: ‘We have no people at all’. ‘All are scattered in prisons and places of exile’.¹⁸

Soon after the Menshevik *Golos sotsial-demokrata* opposed independent activity by women workers, though the Bolsheviks approved women’s political and union organisations. *Sotsial-demokrat* included a letter from St. Petersburg which complained that the ‘general flight of the intelligentsia has had an especially serious effect’, since workers were ‘incapable of conducting independent work well’. ‘We need organisers and propagandists.’ A letter from Katerynoslav noted that if ‘one experienced comrade took on the work here of implementing political leadership, arranging leaflets, contacting surrounding organisations’, ‘the influence of our party would be quickly restored’.¹⁹ On 19 January Ulyanov told the International that the ‘entire organisation’ of the RSDRP was ‘(at last!) in Paris’.²⁰

Ulyanov hid documents and important letters on onion-skin paper in children’s books, and Krupskaya handled the ‘small transport’. A Paris postmark was suspect in Russia, so she posted *Sotsial-Democrat* to Kobetsky in Copenhagen, and he posted copies to 23 European destinations,²¹ though this was slow, expensive and ill-suited to bulk distribution.²² The Okhrana Paris Agentura’s 40 male and female agents included some in the RSDRP;²³ but two Bolshevik writers managed to reach the city.

(ii) Literary men

In 1907, in Moscow, 16-year-old Ilya Ehrenburg had befriended a schoolgirl whose brother was a Bolshevik. Ilya joined the RSDRP and told her about the London Congress. He was tasked with contacting soldiers and setting up an organisation in the barracks, and received a party seal and two receipt books with stamped counterfoils to collect money. A clerk brought three machine gunners to meet him, then a volunteer and another soldier. In autumn police raided Ilya's room at night and found nothing 'prohibited', but took a musical score of the Russian *Marseillaise* and postcards. Over winter Ehrenburg and his comrades 'often met in cafes and threw pennies into the bellies of noisy automatic barrel organs' to drown their discussions. Early in 1908 police raided Ilya's room at 2.00am, searched for hours and found three notebooks. They contained 'statistical information relating to Russian finance, public education, industry and agriculture', strikes and lockouts in Germany, and notes such as 'have a word with Boris', 'flat', 'buy books', 'legal newspapers', 'pass on rubber stamp', 'tell Timofey about contact and have a word about lectures', 'inform Khamovniki comrades about print' and 'phone the Weaver'. One note stated that the RSDRP should intensify its illegal activities' but 'not neglect all aspects of legal work'. Ehrenburg spent a week in a police cell, because the prisons were full, and the police took his photograph, though when he was taken to a prison the warder could not distinguish legal from illegal books in the library. In spring a gendarme agreed to take a letter, but the police found it, and Ehrenburg was moved to a different prison, where the chief warder allowed prisoners to receive anything for three rubles, but 'took whatever he particularly fancied'. When an SR awaiting execution for taking part in an expropriation 'went off his head', screaming, laughing and talking incoherently day and night, Ehrenburg and his cellmates elected a 'bespectacled Menshevik' as an 'elder'. He forbade noise between 9.00am and noon, but three anarchists began 'bawling hoarsely' at 9.00am.

Ehrenburg and other youngsters were charged with being members of the RSDRP. Four escaped, but Ehrenburg was also charged with belonging to a military organisation and was transferred to a solitary cell in Butyrka Transit Prison. In summer he was released on bail, pending trial, and sent to Kyiv, but was later expelled from the province. He got a temporary permit to live in Poltava, where his uncle was a liberal lawyer, and he lodged with a tailor, but had to report to the police every week and one policeman knocked on his window at dawn. Once he woke to find a policeman sitting on his bed complaining that he was always out. He took all of his books and told his landlord he would be in trouble if he let him stay any longer. Ilya had the address of one worker, met two more at the railway workshops and wrote two leaflets. In autumn he told a comrade that 'Two to three groups are in existence', but 'To speak of a conference under such circumstances is ridiculous to say the least. For a long time they would not admit me, being a Bolshevik', and 'I remain on an "exceptional basis"'. He asked for 'several dozen copies' of *Iuzhny rabochy* (*Southern Worker*) and news, but the Okhrana intercepted the letter and deported him. He said he would go to Smolensk, but spent a week underground in Kyiv until he ran out of places to sleep, then took a train to France. He arrived in Paris early in 1909. He went to the Latin Quarter, waited until he heard Russian speakers and asked them about the émigrés' library in 'a half-lit barn' in avenue des Gobelins. The Menshevik librarian, Miron Chernomazov, told him that some Bolsheviks would soon arrive and knew where his friends lived.²⁴ Two hours later he was in their flat, and later they took him a Bolshevik meeting in the upstairs room of a café in avenue d'Orléans. There were 30 people present. Ulyanov wore a dark suit with a stiff white collar and looked 'very respectable'. He drank beer, while everybody else drank grenadine and soda. Afterwards Ulyanov invited Ehrenburg to his home in rue Beaunier. He was 'amazed at the orderliness everywhere' and the books ranged neatly on Ulyanov's writing desk. Ehrenburg reported about the failure of the student organisation and Poltava and Krupskaya wrote down addresses. He later heard Ulyanov speak 'calmly, without affectation, without eloquences and sometimes smiling', though his speeches 'resembled a spiral'. He 'used to return to an idea already expressed, never repeating it, but always adding something new'.²⁵ Ehrenburg's parents sent him 50 rubles a month. Other relatives subsidised the SR canteen in rue de la Glacière and there was a non-party canteen in rue Pascal. Both were 'cheap, dirty and crowded, with nasty food,' and a Bolshevik was outraged when he saw Tserderbaum in the fashionable Café d'Harcourt. Ehrenburg heard Lunacharsky speak about the sculptor Auguste Rodin in avenue de Choisy, and Kollontai speak about 'bourgeois morality', though sometimes 'anarchists would break in and it came to blows'. Ehrenburg attended lectures at the Haute Ecole, wrote poems, got Russian books from the public Turgenev Library and visited the party library where comrades 'argued for hours on end', ignoring Chernomazov, who protested: "But, comrades, this is a library!" The émigrés bombarded arrivals from Russia with questions and they learned that the police were 'excelling themselves' and 'one "pinch" followed another'. Ehrenburg considered returning, but 'one of Ulyanov's closest collaborators' asked him to stay, since the party needed 'literary men'.²⁶

Solomon Abramovich had been born into a poor Jewish teacher's family in the village of Danilovka, Katerynoslav province, in 1878, though they later moved to Tsaredarovsk and then to near Lozova station in Kharkiv province. When Solomon was eight he sold matches, tobacco, lemons and other things at fairs and in bazaars, where his

mother ran a haberdashery stall. He attended a kheder school which taught basic Judaism and Hebrew, became a butcher's errand boy when he was 11 and later a grocer's assistant. At 14 he was apprenticed to a blacksmith, and at 17 he worked in Lozova, then Pavlograd and Melitopol. When he was 20 his brother helped him to attend a gymnasium; but in 1899 he volunteered to serve in a reserve army battalion. He stored SD literature, but could not attend RSDRP meetings, though students coached him for the school-leaving certificate and he passed the examination in 1901.²⁷ He joined the RSDRP,²⁸ and late that year he led SD *kruzhki* and linked them to a railway workers' *kruzhok* at nearby Panyutino station and then others in Kharkiv and Katerynoslav. In 1903 he moved to St. Petersburg and registered as a medical student under a pseudonym, but did not study. He organised on Vasilievsky Island and then beyond the Nevsky Gate, but was soon arrested, detained for a year, then deported to Kazan without trial. He joined the Bolsheviks and became an 'unofficial' member of the committee in summer 1905. He spoke to factory workers and was arrested, but the workers threatened to wreck the factory and he was released that evening. He participated in a Bolshevik conference, and in autumn, in Kazan, he led demonstrators who disarmed police and distributed weapons at the university. He was briefly detained, then freed on condition that he left the city. He attended the RSDRP's Tampere conference, and later became active in St. Petersburg's Vasilievsky Island and Port districts. Early in 1906 he was arrested in a Baltic shipyard worker's flat, but escaped. The CC sent him to Kharkiv, where he propagandised in factories, but was arrested in spring. He was released in summer, but arrested and imprisoned. In summer 1908 he was convicted of belonging to the armed section of the Kharkiv Bolshevik committee, and spent three months in Alexandrov Katorga Prison in Irkutsk province, Siberia, but escaped and arrived in Geneva in autumn. Early in 1909 he moved to Paris, and wrote for *Proletary* and *Sotsial-Democrat*. (He later joined the French Socialist Party, became secretary of the labour movement bureau for Russian émigrés and held various trade union posts.)²⁹

(iii) Party committees consisting of workers

By 1909 Pokrovsky was in Geneva,³⁰ and had joined the Vypered group,³¹ as had Shanster,³² who told Alexandr Malinovsky about an 'Anti-Bolshevik Centre' with a 'distinct organisation' in the *Proletary* board.³³ On 4 February Malinovsky complained to the Bolshevik Centre in Paris that Ulyanov, Apfelbaum and Rosenfeld had formed a separate organisation within the Centre and had sent agents to Russia using Bolshevik funds. Ulyanov broke off comradesly relations with him. Krasin suspected that Taratuta had betrayed the Bolsheviks who had been arrested for trying to change the 500-ruble banknotes, so he moved the rest to another location unknown to Taratuta.³⁴ On the 6th Ulyanov sent his sister Anna in St. Petersburg a list of corrections to the proofs of his book about empiriomism.³⁵ On the 10th Apfelbaum, Taratuta and Rosenfeld accused Malinovsky and Krasin of misappropriating Bolshevik funds and slander, and proposed that the extended editorial board should expel them.³⁶ *Sotsial-Democrat* acknowledged the desperate state of the party in Russia. 'A year of disintegration, a year of ideological and political disunity, a year of Party driftage lies behind us. The membership of all our Party organisations has dropped. Some of them – namely, those whose membership was least proletarian – has fallen to pieces. The Party's semi-legal institutions created by the revolution have been broken.' The 'extreme Right (the liquidationist trend, so called)' argued that it was necessary to legalise ourselves at all costs, even at the price of an open renunciation of the Party's programme, tactics and organisation'. Some workers had left the RSDRP, but it was necessary to strengthen the illegal Party organisation by establishing 'Party committees consisting of workers, even if their number be small, in each industrial enterprise', then concentrate the functions of leadership in their hands. The 'tasks of these cells and committees must be to utilise all the semi-legal and, as far as possible, legal organisations, to maintain 'close contact with the masses'. Every Party cell and workers' committee must become 'a base for agitation, propaganda and practical organising work among the masses',

go where the masses go, and try at every step to push the consciousness of the masses in the direction of socialism, to link up every specific question with the general tasks of the proletariat, to transform every act of organisation into one of *class* consolidation, to win by dint of energy and ideological influence (not by their ranks and titles, of course), the leading role in all the proletarian legal organisations. Even if these cells and committees be very small at times, they will be linked together by Party tradition and Party organisation, by a definite class programme; and two or three Social-Democratic members of the Party will thus be able to avoid becoming submerged in an amorphous mass legal organisation and to pursue their *Party* line under all conditions, in all circumstances, and in all kinds of situations, to influence their environment in the spirit of the whole Party, and not allow the environment to swallow them up.³⁷

On the 14th Ulyanov demanded that *Proletary* oppose 'god-building'.³⁸ Malinovsky broke off personal relations with him and told Gorky about it, and about the end of the subsidy to party organisations in the Moscow region.³⁹ On

the 21st Ulyanov, Apfelbaum, Shanster, Rosenfeld, Malinovsky and 'Sergeev' issued a receipt for Elizaveta Schmidt's money,⁴⁰ and on the 23rd the Bolshevik Centre accused Krasin and Malinovsky of seizing 500-ruble notes and refusing hand them over to Zhitomirsky.⁴¹ On the 26th Ulyanov and Krupskaya travelled to Nice to meet Elizarov.⁴² They spent a few days in a hotel to recuperate,⁴³ and returned to Paris on 8 March.⁴⁴

In Russia the Bolshevik rabochy-intelligent Efremov had been sentenced to a year in a fortress in summer 1908, but was released on bail. He was denounced by a spy in November, and was in a solitary cell until spring 1909, but was released and went to Paris.⁴⁵ He joined the *Proletary* editorial board, which included Alexandr Malinovsky, Taratuta, Rykov and Shulyatikov, a hereditary alcoholic.⁴⁶

Maria Ulyanova wrote to her sister Anna in Moscow that the 'war' with Malinovsky had begun, and the main reason for Plekhanov's departure from the Menshevik *Golos* had been its 'over-indulgent' attitude to 'liquidationism'. Elizarova suggested changes to Ulyanov's book so it could pass the censor, and wanted to 'soften some of the abuse',⁴⁷ but he insisted that his criticisms of these 'dishonest' and 'cowardly enemies of Marxism in philosophy' should not be toned down.⁴⁸ In April the head of the Paris Agentura reported to St. Petersburg Okhrana about Ulyanov's activities.⁴⁹ In May he wrote to his sister Elizarova in Moscow. 'Things are bad here – *Spaltung* [split], or rather, there will be one'. Krupskaya added: 'All this winter I have been in a state of utter melancholy'.⁵⁰ Malinovsky tried to call a meeting of the *Proletary* editorial board without Ulyanov, but Ulyanov, Apfelbaum and Taratuta prevented him,⁵¹ and *Proletary* attacked him.⁵²

Nikifor Vilonov had been born into a worker's family in Morshansk in Tambov province in 1883.⁵³ He later became a lathe-operator,⁵⁴ joined the RSDRP in 1902 and worked in Kyiv, Katerynoslav, Kazan, Ekaterinburg, Moscow and Samara.⁵⁵ He joined the Bolsheviks,⁵⁶ and late in 1905 he chaired the Samara sovet. He was arrested, sent to Orlov Prison, north of Kazan, and then to a prison in the Urals. In 1906 jailors beat him senseless and poured salt water over his bleeding body. He lay on a cold cement floor for eight days,⁵⁷ and developed tuberculosis.⁵⁸ After he was freed he contacted dissident Bolsheviks,⁵⁹ and at the end of 1908 he visited Alexandr Malinovsky in Geneva and suggested that he transform the language of his publications so his ideas would be accessible to more workers. At the beginning of 1909 Malinovsky sent Vilonov to Capri where Gorky warmly welcomed him, and Vilonov asked Bronstein to publish his article on the need for an RSDRP school.⁶⁰ Bronstein had written in *Kyivskaya mys'* that a Russian solicitor 'sank his teeth in the town governor's belly during the party held for his name-day' and asked 'what good is there in such national originality?' 'In our tundra, where roman cucumber could be growing, because of their hunger the exiles are hunting police inspectors.' It was 'high time we got rid of this Scythian-ness!' '*Russia needs culture*'. Bronstein would not accept the 'unanimity without thought' which reinforced émigré intelligenty's political abstentionism,⁶¹ and since 'terror introduces disorganisation and demoralisation into the ranks of the Government (at the price of disorganising and demoralising the ranks of the revolutionaries)', it 'plays into the hands of none other than the liberals'. The VPSR's elitist substitutionism was based on a 'lack of confidence in the revolutionary masses', but 1905 had 'disclosed the vast strength of the proletariat' and 'put an end to the romanticism of the single combat between a handful of intellectuals and Tsarism'.⁶² Bolshevik workers 'accustomed to reading newspapers' had 'entered political life under the leadership of intellectuals', but those who remained felt 'left on their own', had become 'petrified and marked time'.⁶³ *Pravda* published a letter calling RSDRP members 'urchins playing at revolution'.⁶⁴ In March a correspondent of the Menshevik *Golos* noted that workers thought *Pravda* 'the most readable' SD paper.⁶⁵

Across Russia, factory workers' real wages had fallen since 1906, thanks to closer supervision, piece rates and new machinery, though food prices had risen.⁶⁶ There were around 130,000 industrial workers in St. Petersburg.⁶⁷ Close to 40 percent were female,⁶⁸ and 74 percent of women textile workers aged 20 to 30 were married.⁶⁹ A city worker needed over 33 rubles a month to marry, and over 50 if children went to school, though annual infant mortality was about 25 percent, or twice as high as in Western Europe.⁷⁰ The metalworkers' union had 3,500 paid-up members and one paid official, Roman Malinovsky. Many of those who had left were politically unaligned, so the proportion of SDs had risen. The Bolshevik Kanatchikov tried to refound and radicalise other unions, and *Professionalny vestnik* reappeared with contributions from himself, Goldenberg and Malinovsky, whose sister offered the RSDRP CC bureau the use of her flat.⁷¹ The RSDRP reportedly had 400 members;⁷² but the Bolsheviks Bonch-Bruevich and Knipovich, who worked with the Duma deputy Poletaev, were arrested,⁷³ and 15 workers' educational societies with 5,000 members were barred from hearing lectures on socio-economics, law and labour issues.⁷⁴ In February Serova betrayed the RSDRP press and passport office.⁷⁵

A Moscow SD reported to Paris that 'since the mass arrests and exiling of our most active comrades, organisational work has been almost completely disrupted. The sick and weak remain – work is temporarily suspended'. Another correspondent wrote that if 'one experienced comrade took on the work of implementing political leadership, arranging leaflets, contacting surrounding organisations' and so on', the 'influence of our party would be quickly restored'.⁷⁶ Moscow Okhrana sent St. Petersburg Okhrana the addresses of 30 SDs in the central

provinces and several were arrested.⁷⁷ In St. Petersburg the SD Duma deputies challenged the illegal closure of trade unions, but to no effect.⁷⁸ The city's central trade union's EC was composed entirely of SDs, including the Menshevik Kolokolnikov, B.I. Magidov of the gold and silversmiths' union, Vladimir Lebedev of the textile workers' union, Pireiko of the confectioners' union, plus Kanatchikov and Malinovsky. The police arrested Pireiko, and layoffs at the Nevsky, Baltic and Siemens plants cost the metalworkers' union many members.⁷⁹

(iv) Signposts

Late in March 1909 seven prominent authors, including some SDs, published *Vekhi (Signposts)*, in St. Petersburg. It criticised Russia's lack of a constitution, but condemned revolutionaries.⁸⁰ The editor was the Kadet Petr Struve. One contributor argued that the 'intelligentsia should stop dreaming of the liberation of the people – we should fear the people more than all the executions carried out by the government, and hail this government which alone, with its bayonets and its prisons, still protects us from the fury of the masses'.⁸¹ Others attacked the 'spiritual bourgeoisie' and the misplaced 'omniscience' of most intelligently. The poet 'Andrei Byely' (Boris Bugaev's pseudonym had stuck) noted that intelligently considered themselves 'the bearer of the freedom-loving idea', yet often had 'an attitude of intolerable barbarity towards cultural values'. 'Above all we do not know what our interest in questions of theoretical philosophy is, and we have no idea of what art is'. 'Culture and freedom are synonymous', so 'We must raise the level of Russian culture'. Packed halls packed debated the book, and not only in the great cities, and it subsequently went through five editions in 12 months.⁸²

In St. Petersburg Znanie published *Ocherki filosofy kollektivizma (Essays on the Philosophy of Collectivism)* by Alexandr Malinovsky, Lunacharsky, Gorky and Rudnev. Malinovsky defined 'collectivism' as 'the world view of the proletarian class' and the 'embryo of a universal ideology for a future society' in which scientific and technical intelligently with a 'collectivist conception of experience' organised nature. Gorky invited him to Capri to 'complete his system', away from 'individualists with the psychology of police agents', like Ulyanov.⁸³ Gorky returned to Russia,⁸⁴ though the Znanie publisher, Konstantin Tarshis faced prosecution, and escaped abroad.⁸⁵

On 17 April a supplement to *Proletary* had recently argued that recallists 'misrepresented the future' to 'cover up their failure to understand the present'. In May it noted a 'new distortion of Marxism' in 'the direction of opportunism', since religion had 'penetrated into the ranks of intellectuals standing close to the working-class movement' and 'certain circles of workers', and quoted Marx and Engels to support the view that religion's role was to 'defend exploitation and befuddle the working class'. Religious belief was 'a private matter in relation to the state', though 'not in relation to the workers' party, which should eliminate it' through patient explanation and struggle. A priest could join the RSDRP if he 'conscientiously performs Party duties, without opposing the programme', and the party should recruit workers who believed in God. The difficulty was how to distinguish those who used 'socialism is my religion' for the transition from religion to socialism and those who meant the opposite. The SD Duma deputies should develop their understanding of Marxism beyond the level of 'an infant school materialist' and differentiate 'between anarchism and opportunism'.⁸⁶ There were arrests on May Day, and the Bolshevik's St. Petersburg Centre collapsed.⁸⁷ During April the Ufa deputy V.E. Kosorotov was excluded from the Duma for calling on troops not to fire on workers, and F.A. Kuzmo, the Kovno province deputy, left the SD group over its regional policy.⁸⁸

In Paris the émigré VPSR leaders proposed that fighting squads should have autonomy in technique and organisation, but had to submit detailed reports to the CC, who would have the final say and the right to have a representative involved in operations. The CC would provide financial and technical support, but would assess squads on the basis of their value to the party and the movement. In April a special committee at the VPSR Congress formally approved the resumption of terror by 12 votes to four, with three abstentions, and earmarked 200,000 rubles.⁸⁹ In Siberia an SR subsequently assassinated the new governor of Tobolsk Katorga Prison.⁹⁰ The VPSR had a few isolated members in St. Petersburg,⁹¹ and overall membership in Russia had shrunk to 1,200.⁹² The leaders decided to meet in Paris, but two delegates were arrested at the border and the meeting was inquorate, since only ten arrived.⁹³ From January to the end of April there had been 65 assassinations and 117 woundings in Russia.⁹⁴ In May the émigré leaders resigned, and the new CC was to be based in Russia,⁹⁵ where they were to form trade unions, and St. Petersburg SRs subsequently established a 'workers' bureau' to coordinate their work.⁹⁶ The CC confirmed Savinkov as leader of the combat organisation, but decided to end agrarian and factory terror.⁹⁷ When the Okhrana's Paris Agentura understood that Savinkov was to perpetrate a spectacular terrorist act, they stationed eight of their 12 detectives outside his house day and night, and sent the others to every likely border crossing.⁹⁸ In Russia the government decreed that peasants' holdings in communes which had not been repartitioned for 24 years would automatically become their private property,⁹⁹ and thereby further undermined the VPSR.

In May a Paris policeman reported that Bronstein, the 'well known revolutionist' and 'an excellent orator', who had 'not been seen here for a year and a half, spoke about international politics in general, and the Young Turks in particular' to about 600 émigré Russian revolutionaries.¹⁰⁰ The retired senior Okhrana official Leonid Menshchikov met Burtsev in Brussels and denounced Harting.¹⁰¹ In St. Petersburg Serova betrayed the RSDRP committee,¹⁰² and the CC member Teodorowicz was arrested.¹⁰³

(v) Materialism and Empirio-Criticism

Ulyanov had spent four months correcting the proofs of his book against Alexandr Malinovsky.¹⁰⁴ Moscow police had briefly detained Skvortsov early in 1909;¹⁰⁵ but in May he and Elizarova got the Moscow SR printers, Zveno, (Link),¹⁰⁶ to publish *Materializm i empiriokrititsizm, Kriticheskie zametki ob odnoy reaktsionnoy filosofii (Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, Critical Comments on a Reactionary Philosophy)* by 'V.I. Lenin' with a Preface dated September 1908.¹⁰⁷ It did not fully explain 'empirio-criticism', or the views of Avernarius or Mach,¹⁰⁸ but accused Mach of plagiarising the early 18th century Irish bishop George Berkeley's theory that 'we sense only our sensations'. 'Are we to proceed from things to sensation and thought? Or are we to proceed from thought and sensation to things?' The 'essence of idealism' was that 'the psychical is taken as the starting-point; from it external nature is deduced, and only then is the ordinary human consciousness deduced from nature'; so the 'psychical' was always 'a lifeless abstraction concealing a diluted theology'. Marx and Engels had put 'practice at the basis of the materialist theory of knowledge', and had recognised 'the relativity of all our knowledge, not in the sense of denying objective truth, but in the sense that the limits of approximation of our knowledge to this truth are historically conditional'. 'Social consciousness reflects social being.' 'A reflection may be an approximately true copy of the reflected, but to speak of identity is absurd'. The crux was Engels' distinction between materialism and 'subjective idealism'.

The materialists, we are told, recognise something unthinkable and unknowable – 'things in themselves' – matter 'outside of experience' and outside of knowledge. They lapse into genuine mysticism by admitting the existence of something beyond, something transcending the bounds of 'experience' and knowledge. When they say that matter, by acting upon our sense-organs, produces sensations, the materialists take as their basis the 'unknown', nothingness; for do they not declare our sensations to be the only source of knowledge? The materialists lapse into 'Kantianism' ... [and] hold that beyond the appearance there is the thing-in-itself; beyond the immediate sense data there is something else, some fetish, an 'idol', an absolute, a source of 'metaphysics', a double of religion ...

Malinovsky had been a 'semi-materialist' a decade earlier, but he was now 'wavering between materialism and idealism', and, with Lunacharsky and others, he was 'devoted mainly and almost exclusively to attacks on dialectical materialism', but they did not define their attitude to Marx and Engels and substituted 'fideism' for knowledge. Malinovsky wished 'to be regarded as a Marxist in philosophy', but his philosophy was a 'muddle' of 'vulgarised' 'historical materialism', 'much corrupted by idealism', and 'disguised by Marxist terminology and counterfeiting Marxist language'. He acknowledged that 'there cannot be any room' for God or 'immortality of the soul', and 'repudiates all religion', so he was a 'relativist' with 'one serious step to make in order to return once more to materialism, namely, universally to discard his whole universal substitution'. Malinovsky '*minus* "empirio-monism" (or, rather, *minus* Machism)' would be a Marxist. Ulyanov could not call him an idealist, but while 'Machists' 'pretend that it is only Plekhanov they are fighting', they were really fighting materialism. 'The objective, class role of empirio-criticism consists entirely in rendering faithful service to the fideists in their struggle against materialism in general and historical materialism in particular'. It was 'refuse fit only for the garbage-heap'.¹⁰⁹

The print run of the book had been 2,000 and a copy cost 2.6 rubles.¹¹⁰ Gorky was shocked the price and asked 'who will read it?' It was like 'the sound of a hooligan' yelling 'I am the best Marxist of all'. Ulyanov was an 'individualist', a 'hopeless case', and a publicist, not a philosopher.¹¹¹ From Paris Malinovsky told Gorky that the book was 'nothing but arrogance and ignorance'. Malinovsky knew that the RSDRP's Moscow region bureau and four other organisations, including those of Moscow, Sormovo and Kineshma, supported a party school.¹¹² In Russia Ulyanov's book reportedly 'evoked Homeric laughter' from professional philosophers for its 'backwardness, lack of culture and stupidity';¹¹³ but the Bolsheviks Buiko and Liudvinskaya later recalled that it 'exploded on his adversaries like a bomb' in St. Petersburg. Bublev from the Semmianikov shipyard, Polia from Pal Mill, Ksouchia from the Thornton Wool Works and others studied it seriously. The 'groups of four' in the Nevsky district included two Bolsheviks and two Mensheviks who wanted to retain the underground organisation, and groups on Vasilevsky Island and in other districts tried to stop workers being influenced by Mensheviks by chasing them away from the party and the metalworkers' union.¹¹⁴ Ulyanov had sent a copy of his book on empiriomonism to Luxemburg in

Germany. She asked Kautsky to list it in the 'Books Received' column of *Die Neue Zeit*, but not to assign a reviewer until she suggested one.¹¹⁵ The Baltic shipyard had laid off 1,000 workers; but the Navy established mutual aid funds there and at its Obukhov metalworks.¹¹⁶ By June the metalworkers' union had a sizeable membership,¹¹⁷ though 40 percent paid no dues.¹¹⁸ Recallists controlled the restored RSDRP committee, though district committees distrusted 'school teacher intellectuals',¹¹⁹ and the committee had 'not a single tie', though an intelligent took over as secretary from his wife, who was a spy.¹²⁰

Mosei Frumkin had been born into a Gomel merchant's family in 1878. He had joined the movement in 1894 and the RSDRP in 1898. He was a member of the St. Petersburg committee in 1903 and the north western committee in 1905 and 1906. In 1907 he worked in Baki trade unions, and in 1909 he chaired Moscow's central trade union bureau.¹²¹ There were 130,000 inspected workers in the city,¹²² though eight of the 16 largest unions had a combined dues-paying membership of 1,231.¹²³ After the police confiscated the RSDRP's Moscow region organisation's press they asked the finance commission for 500 rubles for a new one, and stressed that they did not support recalling the Duma deputies or presenting them with an ultimatum. The commission restored the subsidy and added 300 rubles for a new press.¹²⁴

(vi) Deviations from the path of revolutionary Marxism

On 14 June 1909 Alexandr Malinovsky and Shanster protested to the Bolshevik Centre. During June, the editors of *Proletary* accepted an article by Malinovsky about boycotters and recallists, but insisted that it appeared under his pseudonym, and claimed that he agreed with the other editors about boycotting. Malinovsky resigned from the board, and asked the editors to include a notice of his resignation in the next *Proletary*.¹²⁵ That month *Sotsial-Democrat* reported that there were 'only tens of independent workers' left in Russia.¹²⁶

In Paris, in *La République*,¹²⁷ Burtsev revealed that the Okhrana operated in Western Europe and harassed Russians in Paris.¹²⁸ The Russian government issued denials, but ordered Harting to leave France immediately. He settled in Belgium under another pseudonym, and his name disappeared from the Okhrana's files. Burtsev's agents failed to find him, since he knew they were coming before they left Paris.¹²⁹

In Leipzig, the Bolshevik Tarshis had struggled with the 'badly organised' transport of illegal literature since early that year. It was difficult to get it from the border to organisations across Russia and a delayed *Proletary* lost its 'news value'. By summer, when the arrangements 'worked without a hitch', and literature reached Russia 'regularly and in great quantities', Tarshis was 'summoned' to Paris. He was among a few 'specially-invited comrades' who attended the editorial board of *Proletary*, though he did not attend the extended editorial board.¹³⁰

On 4 July the extended editorial board of *Proletary* included the Duma deputies Poletaev and Goldenberg, Nikolai Nakoryakov from the Urals, the RSDRP CC members Dubrovinsky, Taratuta, Shanster, 'Davydov' from Moscow and Alexey Lyubimov.¹³¹ (He had become a revolutionary in 1898, aged 19, was co-opted onto the RSDRP CC in 1904, became a Party Council delegate to the 1905 London Congress, and was a conciliationist by 1909.¹³²) Zhitomirsky was also present,¹³³ as was Skrypnik from the Urals, though Krasin did not attend, since he was making arrangements for the RSDRP school. Krupskaya and Lyubimov took the minutes. Shanster supported Malinovsky consistently and Shulyatikov did so intermittently, though the majority demanded ideological conformity. Rykov accused the school organisers of wishing to secede from the Bolsheviks. A majority disowned both the school and Malinovsky's political actions, and authorised Ulyanov to destroy his correspondence with him.¹³⁴ Malinovsky argued that *Proletary* ignored the need for 'widening and deepening of fully socialist propaganda'. Intelligentsy were leaving the party, so there was a lack of 'conscious individuals' in workers' organisations, so a party school was needed.¹³⁵ Rosenfeld abstained and Efremov voted against. A majority resolved to 'take a definite stand for the dialectical materialism of Marx and Engels on philosophical questions'. Malinovsky wanted a 'purely Bolshevik' RSDRP Congress,¹³⁶ and supported Ulyanov's criticism of 'god-builders', but abstained when he and his supporters denounced them as 'pseudo-revolutionary, unreliable un-Marxist elements' whose deviations were grounds for expulsion.¹³⁷ Ulyanov denounced Malinovsky as one of the 'present-day opportunists' and he and his fellow-thinkers as a 'liquidationist trend' which issued 'anti-Marxist propaganda'.¹³⁸ Malinovsky protested that there were no 'principled differences' between him and Ulyanov on the Duma deputies.¹³⁹ Malinovsky and Shanster acknowledged that the Paris Centre had condemned 'ultimatism', and that the campaign to recall the deputies was 'divisive',¹⁴⁰ but they defended their other perspectives, and Shulyatikov supported them, while Rosenfeld, Apfelbaum, Rykov and Efremov took a conciliationist position,¹⁴¹ as did Shanster. Goldenberg abstained, though a majority supported Ulyanov,¹⁴² and disclaimed all responsibility for Malinovsky's political activities, including the school. Ulyanov noted that Malinovsky had refused to write a pamphlet or 'fight openly' for almost a year and challenged him. 'Say in print that we are "neo-Bolsheviks", "neo-Proletary-ists" "in the new *Iskra* sense", i.e.,

virtually Mensheviks, that we “have made two steps back”, and were ‘destroying the most precious heritage of the Russian revolution – Bolshevism.’ The party had ‘nothing in common’ with those who wanted to recall or deliver ultimatums to Duma deputies, and members ‘must most resolutely combat these deviations from the path of revolutionary Marxism’. Shanster submitted, though Malinovsky did not, and Ulyanov proposed his expulsion.¹⁴³ He had been elected to the CC at the London Congress, and Ulyanov feared that he might win the argument at the next one,¹⁴⁴ yet a majority agreed to expel him and Krasin as ‘Left Bolsheviks’,¹⁴⁵ with Lunacharsky, Pokrovsky and others.¹⁴⁶ Malinovsky had to hand over the Schmidt inheritance and money from expropriations.¹⁴⁷ After he walked out,¹⁴⁸ a majority decided to make *Proletary* a monthly, support the Vienna *Pravda*,¹⁴⁹ make it the central organ and print it in Paris;¹⁵⁰ but they stopped the subsidy to St. Petersburg and Moscow RSDRP committees.¹⁵¹ They resolved that recallism was ‘to a significant degree the reverse side of the constitutional illusions which are connected with the hopes that the Duma’ could ‘satisfy this or that substantial demand of the people, and recallists represented ‘the reverse side of Menshevism’, since they favoured ‘participation in all representative institutions, independently of the given stage of development of the revolution’. This would lead to ‘anarchist deviations’; but they wanted to make peace with Krasin.¹⁵² Skrypnik was convinced that the party’s future lay in building workers’ organisations,¹⁵³ but when he got back to St. Petersburg Serova betrayed him. (He was later exiled to Yakutsk for three years without trial.)¹⁵⁴ Rykov became the spokesperson of Bolshevik ‘conciliators’,¹⁵⁵ who included Nogin, Dubrovinsky and Frumkin.¹⁵⁶

On 16 July Krasin, Malinovsky, Shanster and Pokrovsky published a pamphlet analysing the extended editorial board’s decisions and their consequences, and declared that Malinovsky’s expulsion was illegal.¹⁵⁷ That same day an account of the meeting appeared in the *Proletary*. It insisted that a party ‘can contain a whole gamut of opinions and shades of opinions,’ and while a faction was ‘a group of *like-minded persons* formed for the purpose primarily of influencing the party in a definite direction’, ‘a faction is not a party’. Bolsheviks must seek ‘*rapprochement*’ with Mensheviks ‘fighting against liquidationism from the right’, since ‘in this hour of adversity it would be truly a crime on our part not to extend our hand to partyists in other factions who are coming out in defence of Marxism’. On the 24th *Proletary* reported about the extended editorial board.

During the revolution we learned ... to introduce into the movement the greatest number of rousing slogans, to raise the energy of the direct struggle of the masses and extend its scope. Now, in this time of stagnation, reaction and disintegration, we must learn to ‘speak German’, i.e. to work slowly (there is nothing else for it, until things revive), systematically, steadily, advancing step by step, winning inch by inch. Whoever finds this work tedious, whoever does not understand the need for preserving and developing the revolutionary principles of Social-Democratic tactics, *in this phase too, on the bend of the road*, is taking the name of Marxist in vain.¹⁵⁸

Apfelbaum later acknowledged that expelling ‘God’s slaves’ was ‘incredibly hard’ since ‘everyone knew them and many supported them’, yet Bolshevism ‘took its final shape only through waging this struggle “on the left”’.¹⁵⁹ A spy told the Okhrana that the RSDRP’s ‘true governing body’ was the ‘extended editorial board’ of *Proletary*, which was the Bolshevik Centre, ‘whose real name was known to only a few comrades’.¹⁶⁰ Ulyanov, Krupskaya and her mother had moved to 4 rue Marie Rose.¹⁶¹ It was cheaper and had two small rooms, a kitchenette and a tiny hall,¹⁶² and Armand lived next door.¹⁶³ Ulyanova was studying at the Sorbonne,¹⁶⁴ to qualify as a teacher, but she maintained contact with comrades in Russia. When St. Petersburg’s Vasilievsky Island district Bolsheviks censured E. Adamovich for saying that, given the pressure they were under, it was alright to ally with the Kadets on ‘technical’ and ‘material’ matters, Ulyanova wrote to defend her, and the Bolsheviks backed off. When Ulyanova moved to Moscow she was briefly detained.¹⁶⁵

Harting had been sentenced to five years in prison in Paris, in absentia, for his role in a dynamite plot in 1890, and in July 1909 Burtsev reminded the French minister of justice of this sentence and *Le Journal* published the revelation. *Le Matin* published Burtsev’s accusations against Harting’s agent, Henri Bint, and the National Assembly voted to expel all foreign policemen.¹⁶⁶

Charles Rappaport had been born into Jewish family in a *shtetl* (a small town) in Kovno province, in 1865. He later attended Vilnius gymnasium, joined Narodnaya volya and then the SR Maximalists. He went to Paris and became a French citizen in 1899. In 1901 he founded a club for Jewish socialists in the Jewish Pletzl district, and later joined the RSDRP.¹⁶⁷ By summer 1909 he lived at 39 boulevard de Port-Royal and managed the Bolshevik paper at 110 avenue d’Orleans. They worked on the ground floor and the CC met in the room above. Letters were to be sent to Maria Ulyanova at 4 rue-Marie-Rose, as were the proofs of the paper.¹⁶⁸

Across Russia five or six Bolshevik-led committees still functioned.¹⁶⁹ Governors and courts martial were told to punish offenders sparingly, and the level of siege in Moscow and 120 other places, including 27 whole provinces, was reduced.¹⁷⁰ The SDKPiL leader Dzierżyński had been exiled to Siberia for life in May,¹⁷¹ but soon escaped to

Kraków in Galicia,¹⁷² and in June martial law was lifted in Piotrków province.¹⁷³ Dzierżyński went to Finland and on 8 July an RSDRP conference included nine Bolsheviks, five Mensheviks, five Bundists, five from the SDKPiL and two from the LSD. They included Dzierżyński, Ulyanov, Lunacharsky and other members and alternate members of the CC, plus Luxemburg. Alexandr Malinovsky lost the vote to boycott Duma elections, but while the conference decided not to bloc with non-SDs at the first stage, they would work with leftist groups in later stages.¹⁷⁴

During July the veteran anarchist Kropotkin published *The Terror in Russia: An Appeal to the British Nation* in London. It was sponsored by the parliamentary Russian committee, and used official data and undenied reports in liberal and conservative Russian papers. It noted that around two-thirds of Russia was under the control of governors with the power to execute people without trial. In 1905 32 of the 96 civilians sentenced to death had been executed; in 1906 280 out of 773, and in 1907 508 out of 1,432. The prime minister claimed there had been 15 executions a month in the first half of 1908, but the real figure could well have been 90. By the end of October 802 of the 1,835 sentenced to death had gone to the gallows; as had 235 out of 396 in the first three months of 1909. These figures did not include those shot on Bloody Sunday in 1905 and afterwards, or while allegedly attempting to escape, or the 376 sentenced to execution by military commanders in 1905, the 864 in 1906, the 59 in 1907 and the 32 in the first ten months of 1908, including a man with typhus and others who had been savagely beaten beforehand. In Tbilisi Prison four men had been killed after the governor ordered guards to 'Shoot without warning at the slightest uproar, and as soon as a prisoner approached the window aim at the head so as to occasion death'. In Kostroma Prison a man who threw breadcrumbs out of a window had been put in a straitjacket and beaten to death. Across Russia over 181,000 people were in prisons intended for 107,000 and 1,317 in Katernoslav Prison were in cells designed for 300. Typhus was raging and cholera had appeared among the 130 in the hospital. Ekaterinodar Prison, intended for 360, held 1,200, and 500 had typhus, which was spreading in overcrowded prisons in 65 out of 100 provinces. In Viatka Prison most inmates had no beds or bedding, except for their verminous clothing. In a Moscow prison 65 percent of those suffering from scurvy were kept chains and regularly beaten. Torture was commonplace. Nationally, around 100,000 were in police station cells, and there had been 30 prison suicides in 1906, 70 in 1907, and 60 in the first ten months of 1908. People who had organised armed resistance to pogroms had been imprisoned, and those who acted in line with the tsar's October 1905 ukase, and published books legally in 1905-1907, had been sent to a fortress for up to two years. The prime minister claimed that about 12,000 had been deported without trial, but not including those who escaped or died, the police's figure was 74,000. The Interior Ministry had deported at least 15,500, including 10,000 workers and peasants. Deportees had formerly received 3.3 rubles a month, but in January 1908 that had been reduced to 1.8, and those convicted by ordinary courts got nothing. Exiles found paid work hard to find, and those who needed warm clothes spent most of their money on food. St. Petersburg police had given revolvers to Black Hundreds, whose president had been charged with funding the murder of a Duma deputy. Kropotkin's booklet was reprinted four times in 17 days.¹⁷⁵

(vii) The Caucasus

After the Bolshevik Jughashvili was arrested in spring 1908 he had spent almost eight months in prison and was then sentenced to exile in northernmost Russia for two years.¹⁷⁶ Early in February 1909, in Viatka, he fell ill and was taken to hospital, but arrived in Solvychegodsk in Arkhangelsk province late that month.¹⁷⁷ He joined 450 other exiles,¹⁷⁸ and wrote to Bobrovskaya in Baki, claiming that exiled party workers thought most intelligently 'foreigners' should be 'left to stew in their own juice'.¹⁷⁹ Only Ulyanov, the 'shrewd peasant', could lead the Bolsheviks effectively, and the Ulyanov-Plekhanov bloc was the 'only correct one'. Ulyanov's materialism was 'in many ways different from Plekhanov's, which Ulyanov 'tries to bury', probably 'in the interests of diplomacy', though Malinovsky had 'significantly and correctly noted' Ulyanov's 'blunders'.¹⁸⁰

In Azerbaijan the Menshevik-led engineers' union in Baki had 450 members and the Bolsheviks' union may have been a little larger, though the Mensheviks refused to amalgamate.¹⁸¹ In Georgia the membership of Tbilisi RSDRP had fallen to 2,000,¹⁸² but the Okhrana's new black cabinet was based in a 'conspiratorial flat', not the post office, and its chief used a pseudonym.¹⁸³ On May Day Baki police arrested Shahumyan, but a wealthy sympathiser bribed the police and he went free.¹⁸⁴ The Menshevik Ramishvili was exiled in May.¹⁸⁵ Jughashvili hated Mensheviks and had argued that '*All means are justified against them*'. Reportedly several workers suspected that Jughashvili had betrayed him, and 'wanted to bring him up before a Party tribunal'.¹⁸⁶

In June Jibladze argued in *Golos Sotsial-demokrata* that RSDRP life had 'left the party cell' and had entered workers' clubs trades unions and cooperatives, so SDs should follow 'the living forces of the working class' to create an 'advanced workers' stratum capable of leading the various forms of working life', including RSDRP 'party groups'

in legal organisations which would pursue 'class aims'. He was against liquidating illegal organisations, though he was concerned that they might 'turn us into a Social Democratic sect' or 'secret circle'.¹⁸⁷

On 24 June Jughashvili escaped,¹⁸⁸ reached St. Petersburg by train, and was in Baki by early July. Two spies in the Bolshevik organisation spotted him, but the police left him alone, and when Bolsheviks charged him with being a spy, gendarmes arrested them.¹⁸⁹ By summer over 8,000 people had been tried for political offences and 13,000 had been exiled without trial in Caucasia.¹⁹⁰

On 1 August an anonymous article in *Bakinsky proletary* noted that RSDRP organisations had formerly had 'thousands in their ranks' and 'led hundreds of thousands', and the party had 'firm roots among the masses', but 'tens and at best, hundreds, have remained'. In St. Petersburg in 1907 'we had about 8,000 members', but 'can now scarcely muster 300 to 400', while the Moscow, Urals and Polish organisations were not linked or 'living the same Party life'. Papers published abroad arrived in 'extremely limited quantities' and correspondence was at nothing like a 'desirable level'. The only solution was 'all-Russian newspapers' published in Russia. Next day *Bakinsky proletary* published an article from the Baki RSDRP committee. It condemned Malinovsky for indiscipline, but was against his 'ejection from our ranks'. Soon after the paper acknowledged that 'We have few workers who possess knowledge', and 'advanced workers' needed 'discussion groups' and 'lectures at their works and factories'. This turned out to be the paper's last issue.¹⁹¹

In Moscow legal and underground RSDRP members had met six times to discuss a mass workers' movement. The Vienna *Pravda* noted that while there had never been more party workers, many disdained intelligenty-dominated committees.¹⁹² *Sotsial-Democrat* published a letter from a Russian worker who noted that 'one lives from one number of the illegal paper to another just as in 1904'.¹⁹³ In August Ulyanov told Lyubimov that Bronstein had refused equal representation for the Bolsheviks on the editorial board of *Pravda*.

[T]he Economic Committee is entitled to agree to the printing of *Pravda* at the *Proletary* printing-press only if this will not be a help for a new faction (for Bronstein is founding a new faction, whereas the Bolshevik C.C. member proposed to him *instead* that he should come into the Party) but a *strictly* commercial deal, for payment, as with any other person, provided the compositors are disengaged, etc. I insist most categorically that the question of the attitude to *Pravda* shall still be decided by the *Executive Committee of the Bolshevik Centre* and that pending this decision not a single step in the way of *help* shall be taken, nor shall we bind ourselves *in any way*.¹⁹⁴

Ulyanov told Efremov about his offer to Bronstein.

We offered him ideal conditions, *sincerely* wishing to enter into a bloc with him: a salary, payment of the *Pravda* deficit, equal rights on the editorial Board, transfer here; he does not agree, but wants a majority on the editorial Board (two Bronsteinites and one Bolshevik!). Clearly we cannot maintain in another city a Bronsteinite, not a Party, paper. What Bronstein wants is not to build the Party together with the Bolsheviks, but to create *his own* faction. Very well, let him try! By means of 'his' faction he will win over some people from the Mensheviks, a few from us, and in the long run will inevitably lead the workers to Bolshevism.¹⁹⁵

From Bombon, Seine et Marne, Ulyanov wrote to Apfelbaum in Paris that Bronstein was behaving 'like a despicable careerist and factionalist' and the 'scoundrel' wanted to "'fix up the *whole* rascally crew of *Pravda* at our expense!' Ulyanov intended to 'break with this swindler' and 'expose' him in *Sotsial-demokrat*.¹⁹⁶

Menshchikov began visiting Paris with a large number of important Okhrana documents.¹⁹⁷ The VPSR leaders suspected Zhuchenko, and Burtsev visited her in Berlin.¹⁹⁸ He tried to recruit her, but she was a convinced monarchist.¹⁹⁹ She confessed to being a spy, but the German police left her alone.²⁰⁰ In autumn Burtsev published a list of spies,²⁰¹ including Zhuchenko,²⁰² who received a government pension of 3,000 rubles a year.²⁰³ After she was exposed she received 200 rubles a month.²⁰⁴ Burtsev also exposed Serebriakova,²⁰⁵ who had betrayed hundreds of SDs, though the Okhrana gave her a pension of 1,200 rubles a year,²⁰⁶ and she escaped.²⁰⁷ Azev had settled in Berlin,²⁰⁸ where he ran a lucrative import business.²⁰⁹ He and his lover led a luxurious life. He was reportedly worth at least one million francs and could afford to travel extensively and gamble away 75,000 francs a year.²¹⁰

10. Proletarian culture

(i) The Capri School

In spring 1909 Gorky had told Ladyzhnikov in Berlin that Alexandr Malinovsky, Lunacharsky and a 'worker from the Urals' wanted to establish a 'broad course for training organisers and propagandists'. Russian RSDRP organisations would 'select the most able workers' and send them to Capri for three or four months. Only workers would be sent, including 'weavers from the Moscow region' and Spilka farmers from Ukraine. Gorky financed the school,¹ and Vilonov drafted an appeal to Russian organisations and sent it to *Proletary*, though the editors asked the organisers to hand over their funds for a school in Paris. When the Capri organisers appealed to the Moscow organisation for support, *Proletary* damned the school as neither Marxist nor Bolshevik, and after the Moscow region organisation supported it, the police arrested its secretary. Vilonov went to Moscow to present the case to the RSDRP, which agreed to support the school on condition that the Paris centre had ideological leadership. Vilonov went to Paris to talk with Ulyanov, who sent him back to Capri,² though in July Vilonov left for Russia to recruit students.³

Fyodor Kalinin, Mikhail's younger brother, had been born into a weavers' family in the village of Shiklovo, Vladimir province, in 1882 or 1883. They lived in a factory barracks, and Fyodor subsequently attended the factory school, but his father had died by 1894. Around 1897 Fyodor became an apprentice woodworker, then left for Moscow to train as a compositor, but returned home after his mother died and worked as a factory weaver. He later moved to Yaroslavl province, joined a workers' *kruzhok* and met radical students. In 1901 he was charged with planning to assassinate the provincial governor, and after 15 months in solitary he was deported to Arkhangelsk province. He returned home under surveillance in 1904, and late that year he went to Alexandrovsk in Ukraine, where he worked as a weaver and became politically active. Late in 1905 he became president of the 'Alexandrovsk Republic', but was arrested and spent the next two and a half years in Moscow's Butyrka Transit Prison. In spring 1908 he was deported, but got a false passport, returned to Moscow and worked with the Bolshevik committee, and in summer 1909 they sent him to Capri.⁴ Plekhanov had not replied to an invitation, and Kautsky, Tserdobaum and Gurchich had declined, as had Luxemburg, though she wished them 'much success'.⁵ Bronstein had agreed, then changed his mind.⁶ He called Bolshevism a 'sectarian' perspective, and told Gorky it was 'impossible to make leaders in a laboratory'; but as the students passed through Vienna he showed them around museums and agreed to lecture on Capri.⁷ He argued that the Mensheviks had 'never clearly defined their attitude towards the Russian Revolution' and he did not believe their 'middle-class democracy' had any 'definite, tangible, and actually existing force', and a 'permanent revolution' would be 'necessary in order that Russian proletariat may defend itself as a class' after an insurrection.⁸ Pokrovsky had left the Vypered group and was invited to lecture on Capri.⁹

In August 12 students from Russia arrived on Capri, and three more and 13 émigrés followed.¹⁰ The school aimed to train workers to take over from intelligenty,¹¹ and three students and two lecturers took key decisions by a majority vote. Gorky wrote to Ladyzhnikov. 'The people from Russia are wonderful. All of them are "centralists" – conciliationists – and disliked *Proletary* and Ulyanov's book attacking Malinovsky. The mornings were for assignments, followed by two two-hour lectures in the afternoon and the evenings were for practical work. Malinovsky lectured on political economy and the history of social thought; Alexinsky on finance and the history of the labour movement in France and Belgium; Lunacharsky on the history of trade unions, international, and especially German, social democracy, and the history of art; Desnitsky on church-state relations; Pokrovsky on Russian history, and Gorky on the history of Russian literature and Western European culture. Some students had had only a primary education, but they all prepared reports, delivered speeches and wrote newspaper articles,¹² and Krasin taught them about underground presses.¹³ On Sundays Lunacharsky took them to museums on the mainland,¹⁴ and to churches in Rome.¹⁵

Ulyanov and Krupskaya returned to Paris in mid-August. One day the concierge told them that a man had arrived who did not speak a word of French and it turned out to be Ordzhonikidze.¹⁶ The Bolshevik Dubrovinsky had escaped from exile and also arrived in Paris. Iron fetters had caused deep wounds in his legs,¹⁷ and Ulyanov begged him to stay in the sanatorium: 'we are terribly short of people and if you don't recover your health ... we may go under'. Rykov was 'deciding the future' in Russia. 'If he goes with the stupid, the philistines and Machists, then, evidently, there will be a split and a *stubborn struggle*. If he goes with us, then perhaps it will be possible to confine things to the dropping out of a couple of philistines who are nil in the Party'. 'Things in Russia are bad: the whole Urals organisation has been arrested.' Ulyanov told the International bureau that 'tens of thousands of our comrades are paying for their striving for freedom and for having fought for the workers' cause and socialism' in Russian prisons,¹⁸ then he left for Copenhagen on the 26th.¹⁹

On Capri Vilonov proposed that the students should ask the Bolshevik Centre in Paris to provide literary and financial assistance, assume ideological leadership and send Ulyanov and two other lecturers,²⁰ but on 31 August Ulyanov accused the school of being a factional enterprise,²¹ though he offered to send a run of *Proletary* and invited the students to Paris on their way home.²² Seven assured him that the school was not factional, but he insisted that it was organised by a 'new faction'. Malinovsky, Lunacharsky, Alexinsky, Mandelshtam and the student 'Stanislav' had 'formed an opposition' to *Proletary* since spring 1908, agitated in Russia and abroad, displayed or supported tendencies to form a faction at the conference late that year, and then broke away.²³ Eight students wrote to Ulyanov in the name of the Moscow committee, and threatened him with being disciplined if he did not come to Capri, but he refused, and he also refused to pay for their travel to Paris.²⁴ 'I should advise everyone either not to go to Malinovsky's lecture – or to answer him in such a way as once and for all to kill the desire to butt in.' It was 'base cowardice to go gate-crashing on a faction from which he has already been ejected'. What was needed was a 'complete break and war, more determined than that against the Mensheviks'. Malinovsky and his supporters were 'canaille' (scoundrels).²⁵ Ulyanov asked a bank to sell stock in his name and issue a cheque for 25,000 francs to Lyubimov,²⁶ yet the Capri School had Bolshevik supporters.

A Bolshevik fighting squad had attacked a mail train at Miass in the Urals. They killed seven guards and policemen, got away with about 60,000 rubles in notes and over 50 pounds of gold,²⁷ and sent the money to Gorky in Capri.²⁸ Several expropriators were arrested, but they paid the radical lawyer Alexandr Kerensky 10,000 rubles to represent them.²⁹ When another lawyer asked how they operated without party consent, they told him that about two weeks before the expropriation 'we resign from the Party saying that we disagree with its policy'. 'Two weeks later we apply for readmission', "'deploring" our errors, and we are immediately readmitted'.³⁰

Proletary accused Malinovsky of having forming an 'official opposition' in summer 1908, based on the RSDRP Moscow region organisation, and since then, with 'the help of several bourgeois publishers', a 'literary clique' had been 'flooding our legal literature with systematic propaganda of god-building', while hiding their real 'platform'.

The general staff of the faction of godly otzovists [boycotters] consists of unrecognised philosophers, ridiculed god-builders, otzovists convicted of anarchistic nonsense and reckless revolutionary phrase-mongering, muddled ultimacists and, lastly, those *boyeviks* [fighters] (fortunately few in the Bolshevik faction) who considered it below their dignity to come down from the outwardly showy and 'spectacular' to obscure, modest revolutionary Social-Democratic work corresponding to the conditions and tasks of the 'inter-revolutionary' period ... The only thing that holds these diverse elements so strongly together ... is a burning hatred to *Proletary*, a hatred it has quite properly incurred, because *not a single* attempt by these elements to obtain self-expression in *Proletary*, or even indirect recognition or the slightest defence and condonation, *has ever failed to encounter the most strenuous opposition*.

The RSDRP Moscow region organisation had opposed boycotting Duma elections, and Malinovsky's faction and the Mensheviks were 'equally limited, petty-bourgeois trends in the Social-Democratic movement'. In St. Petersburg the Trudoviki Duma deputies had supported an SD by-election candidate. The RSDRP committee EC barely existed, but took part in the election 'to gather the Social-Democratic votes'; yet after the Bolsheviks protested against these 'splitting actions' the EC reversed its decision. Ulyanov's supporters were in a minority on the Bolshevik committee,³¹ and Rykov invited other Bolsheviks to join the by-election campaign and he, Goldenberg, and the Menshevik Nikolai Iordansky took over the financially precarious legal weekly *Novyi den* (*New Day*) and made it a daily. They closed it after the SD candidate failed to win, but refused to refund Iordansky's wife a 400 ruble loan.³²

In Switzerland a well-capitalised company had threatened the Menshevik Axelrod's income; so he sold his business, paid off over 15,000 francs of debt and bought an annuity to provide 2,000 to 3,000 francs for ten years. In spring 1909 he moved to France and by summer he lived with the Mensheviks Gurvich and Martynov in a cottage near Bordeaux, but they later moved to Paris.³³ The Bolsheviks Nogin, Goldenberg and Dubrovinsky moved to Paris late in summer,³⁴ and met the Menshevik Tserderbaum, who called for a conference of legal activists in Russia.³⁵

Ulyanov summoned Rykov to Paris to report about the conflict between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks,³⁶ and the Russian Bolshevik Centre sent Serova abroad to report about Rykov.³⁷ When he returned to Moscow he was arrested and imprisoned.³⁸

In September, in Paris, Ulyanov and Krupskaya moved into a less expensive flat costing 700 francs a year, though they hired a young woman as a servant.³⁹ Since June the émigré Bolshevik Centre had paid out an average of 18,940 rubles a month, including 1,762 rubles for Party workers, while postage cost 1,522, transport 1,292 and old debts 1,078, while 4,552 rubles were sent to Russia.⁴⁰ Ulyanov, Apfelbaum, Dubrovinsky and Taratuta had around 300,000 francs, and earmarked 20,000 for a history of the 1905 revolution, 20,000 for an RSDRP Congress and 20,000 for repaying debts and emergency expenses. They agreed to give the RSDRP CC between 750 and 1,000 francs a month, but reserved the right to end that payment if the CC deviated from party policy. The rest of the cash would support the Bolsheviks for around four years if they cut outgoings to 5,000 francs a month. If the Vienna *Pravda* editors

agreed to include a member of the CC, it would become the CC's organ, though it would receive no funds except through the CC.⁴¹ *Proletary* claimed that Alexandr Malinovsky and his supporters had accused the paper of following a Menshevik policy, and argued that the 'taking part in a pseudo-parliamentary institution' like the Duma was 'doubtful and disputable', and the St. Petersburg RSDRP committee had decided to boycott the Duma elections.⁴² When Apfelbaum, Rosenfeld and Warszawski refused to publish Ulyanov's article about a determined fight against liquidationism in *Sotsial-Democrat*, he resigned,⁴³ though he believed that "'Left" liquidationism, being already routed', was 'a lesser danger',⁴⁴ and he withdrew his resignation two days later.⁴⁵

On Capri Gorky noted that Vilonov had 'an ardent nature, a clear mind and an unshakeable faith in the validity' of Ulyanov's attitude to the school,⁴⁶ and after Malinovsky suggested that the students should have a political platform,⁴⁷ Gorky realised that he and other intelligenty were 'attempting to use it for the purposes of factional struggle'. Vilonov 'spoke out resolutely against them', and argued that 'the revolutionary proletariat must be guided by hatred, not anger'. The students Vilonov, I.I. Pankratov, N.I. Ustinov, V.E. Lyushvin, N.I. Kozyrev and A.S. Romanov supported Ulyanov,⁴⁸ and wrote to him, disowning the school, and he asked them to try to win over the other students. The Moscow region RSDRP organisation withdrew its support for the school and told the students to go to Paris. After the correspondence appeared in *Proletary*, the six students were expelled for writing to the Bolshevik Centre,⁴⁹ and they left for Paris, where Ulyanov, Rosenfeld, Lyubimov,⁵⁰ and five other Bolshevik intelligenty gave them two dozen lectures.⁵¹ Ulyanov spoke about the prime minister's reforms, Dubrovinsky on organisational questions in the RSDRP, Apfelbaum on the trade union movement, Rosenfeld on the RSDRP in 1905 and Vladimirov on the national question. The students published a report on the Capri School as a supplement of *Proletary* and denounced the lecturers for turning it into the nucleus of a new faction.⁵² Ulyanov told Gorky they were 'real front-rankers from real working-class life'. 'We have been marking time for almost two years now, torturing questions which still seem "disputable"' to Malinovsky, but 'which events decided long ago'.⁵³ *Proletary* noted that Lunacharsky had replaced the term 'god-building' with 'culture', and Malinovsky had denied supporting a boycott of Duma elections. On Capri 'about half' of the students were 'in revolt against the "bad shepherds"' and had called on all 'Mensheviks capable of openly combating liquidationism', and 'Menshevik workers above all', to begin a 'rapprochement' with the Bolsheviks.⁵⁴ Gorky was annoyed that Ulyanov refused to come to Capri. 'It seems to me, at times, that everybody is for you no more than a flute that you can play on it one time or another', and *Proletary* was 'a dull, illiterate paper, written by people who deep down did not believe in the proletariat or in socialism'.⁵⁵

In October Bronstein published *1905* in German in Dresden.⁵⁶ He argued that the proletariat had 'foundered, not on its own mistakes', but on 'the bayonets of the peasant army', though the revolution had 'destroyed the myth' of Russian 'uniqueness'. Peasants now used 'striker' as a synonym for 'revolutionary' and went on 'strike' against police or gentry. A future insurrection would be 'not so much a struggle against the army as a struggle for the army', but after taking power, the proletariat would 'have to find support in the antagonism' between 'the agricultural proletariat and the agricultural bourgeoisie'. Otherwise, kulaki would weld the peasantry together against them. Carrying the class struggle into the villages would result in a 'temporary domination', at best, since while the proletariat was immensely creative organisationally, it had 'received no cultural or political heritage from bourgeois society other than the internal cohesion which results from the production process'.⁵⁷

(ii) Even some Bolsheviks had begun to vacillate

During 1909 Novgorodtseva had worked in the Moscow and Baki RSDRP organisations,⁵⁸ and had heard from Sverdlov regularly up to autumn, but then lost touch.

Fearing that he had been arrested, I took a week's leave and went to Moscow, where I met his sister, Sara, who confirmed my suspicions. Sverdlov was in the police cells on Arbat street. ...

I asked to see him, if only briefly, but was refused. Even close relatives needed official permission and we were not even legally married. I persisted in going to the police station, and standing in the yard for hours in the snow, not really knowing what I was hoping for. But one day my patience was rewarded - Sverdlov saw me and had time to shout that he was going to be exiled, that I was to keep calm and wait for news. Then they dragged him away from the window.

She later learned that he had been released with no money, 'the clothes he had on, a change of linen and a bundle of books. He had nowhere to live; he did not even have a coat to protect him from the autumn chill'. Ekaterinburg comrades 'scraped some money together and begged a second-hand coat from a rich liberal sympathiser', though 'it had to be taken up, for it reached to Sverdlov's heels'. He 'went back into the thick of things without delay', but 'the situation in the country and in the Party had changed beyond recognition'. The police had 'ruthlessly crushed

the Party, arresting the local leaders and destroying the workers' newspapers. Underground work was even more difficult than before', and the Mensheviks 'were urging the working class to compromise with the bourgeoisie'.

They had taken a liquidationist position, openly insisting on the abolition of our underground network. Meanwhile Trotsky [Bronstein] and his followers were sitting on the fence, recommending conciliation with the liquidationists ... Even some Bolsheviks had begun to vacillate, advising us to stop using legal methods of furthering the class struggle. ...

Although he [Sverdlov] could have stayed in Ekaterinburg for a while, living with his colleagues, he had definitely decided in prison that he could no longer work there; reaction was rife and almost every policeman, every spy, knew his face. Besides, he felt unprepared – he needed to study the latest Party literature, to find out from the Central Committee where they felt he would be most useful. So he stayed only long enough to collect his fare for Petersburg, which seemed the best place to contact the Central Committee. He knew that I was waiting for him there. ...

A number of colleagues in Petersburg advised him to go to Finland and meet Sergei Gusev [Drabkin], who was in close touch with Lenin and the Central Committee.

Sverdlov did not hesitate. His reputation had preceded him, and Gusev welcomed him with open arms, immediately invited him to stay and produced the most recent Party magazines and newspapers. He also brought him up to date with developments within the Party. He was a particularly useful informant because he had recently visited a number of Party organisations at Lenin's request and was well acquainted with the situation at the grass roots.

Sverdlov stayed there for about a week. On the first Sunday I went to Finland ... to spend a few hours with him. As I had suspected, he was deep in study and working between 16 and 18 hours a day, hurrying to make up for lost time. ...

In the late autumn he suddenly received orders from the Central Committee to go to Moscow, where the Party was in disarray, having suffered several major setbacks of late. Sverdlov's assignment was to set things right.

He left for Petersburg without delay, with a passport in the name of Ivan Ivanovich Smirnov. We had one more day together and parted, not knowing what the future would bring. A day later he was in Moscow and set to work to re-establish broken contacts, bring the more politically conscious workers into the Party and give new life to the Moscow area RSDRP committee and Party bureau. His experience and energy brought rapid results.

But Moscow was teeming with informers (or, as the Moscow Bolsheviks put it, completely 'spyified') and it was not long before he was betrayed to the secret police. He was arrested on 13 December 1909 at a meeting of the Moscow Party Committee, only three months after his release from prison.

When the gendarmes arrested the Moscow committee they did not find any incriminating documents nor did their search of Sverdlov's flat or their interrogations reveal anything. ...

Sverdlov was in custody for the seventh time, at the age of 25, and the record of one of his interrogations was brief. 'I hereby refuse to testify, Yakov Sverdlov.' The charges were based on the informers' reports, which no court would accept as sufficient evidence, so the police had to content themselves with exile by administrative order; but he 'wanted to go abroad, if only for a month or two, to meet Lenin'.⁵⁹

In October St. Petersburg police had estimated that 4,000 or so members of the metalworkers' union represented about five percent of the city's industrial workforce, and the average attendance at general meetings was 840, while 70 percent were also members of workers' clubs. Half of them earned less than 1.5 rubles a day: 38 percent earned from 1.75 to two; while the highly-skilled 11 percent earned from 2.75 to five. Managers of larger plants discouraged workers from joining the union, which had no contacts in smaller plants. The print workers' union had 1,500 members and the textile workers', leather workers' and woodworkers' unions had 500 between them. The police believed there were around 500 RSDRP members in underground *kruzhki*.⁶⁰

Efremov had gone to Moscow to lead the Bolshevik organisation that summer. He joined the RSDRP regional bureau, organised an underground press and edited the revived *Rabocheye znamya* (*Workers' Banner*).⁶¹ The RSDRP organisation had 150 members,⁶² but only 14 percent of trade unionists remained.⁶³ Efremov dissolved the *Literaturnaya Sreda*,⁶⁴ but was arrested when he visited St. Petersburg. (He was later sentenced to seven years in prison followed by exile to Siberia for life.⁶⁵)

In Georgia the leading Menshevik Zhordania was arrested, charged with calling for political and social disorder, and sentenced to three years in Kutaisi Prison. His bail was 3,000 rubles,⁶⁶ but a brandy distiller paid it.⁶⁷ Jughashvili deprecated the 'ultramilitarism' in *Proletary* and criticised the 'incorrect policy' of expelling Krasin and Alexandr Malinovsky, since 'joint work is both permissible and necessary'.⁶⁸ He sent 'ardent greetings' to Ulyanov and Rosenfeld in Paris, and paraphrased Ulyanov's arguments against conciliators; but he repeated conciliators' arguments against Ulyanov to other comrades in Paris.⁶⁹ Jughashvili told *Sotsial-Democrat* that 'owing to the shortage of funds (and forces)', Baku RSDRP committee had been 'obliged to confine ourselves to the Russian language' in its publications, though the Tbilisi committee proposed publishing a joint organ in more languages. Party membership '(in the strict sense of the term) does not exceed 300', but the amalgamation with about 100 Mensheviks had failed since they feared being 'submerged'. Bolsheviks influenced the Baku oil workers' union, which

had about 900 members. The Mensheviks influenced the mechanical workers' union, which had about 300, and the VPSR influenced the seamen's union which had about 200. (His article appear in *Sotsial-Democrat* in February.)⁷⁰

Ivan Dementev had been born in St. Petersburg in 1877. He had some schooling, became a compositor and joined the RSDRP in 1902. He supported the Congress 'minority' in 1903, and from 1905 he published articles on literary matters in the printers' union journal, other union journals and the Menshevik press. He became the union's chair in 1909, but was arrested late that year and sentenced to several months in prison.⁷¹ Nationally the Okhrana had 19 agents among SDs,⁷² and the assistant interior minister justified liquidating unions by claiming that SDs led 18 of the 34 largest and SRs nine.⁷³ In November 35 to 40 St. Petersburg RSDRP district committee members and legal activists heard a call for uniting illegal and legal comrades in an illegal SD party. By December the metalworkers' union had recruited 600 new members, mainly from plants with between 50 and 1,000 workers, and the police arrested the leaders.⁷⁴ A 'comrade who had long worked in the Party, an old Iskrist and old Bolshevik', who had been imprisoned and exiled since early 1906, wrote to the émigré Centre.

In all the Petersburg work one feels the absence of a single guiding structure, indiscipline, lack of order, the absence of connection between the separate parts, the absence of unity and plan in the work. Each one works on his own account. Otzovist [recallist] tendencies are strong in the illegal organisation, they affect even anti-otzovists. ... Wherever the spirit of otzovism prevails, it is strikingly evident that the illegal organisations are doing nothing. One or two propagandist circles, a struggle against legal opportunities – that is the total activity ... As regard legal possibilities, their utilisation lacks a consistent Social-Democratic line. In the darkness of the reaction, the opportunists in the Social-Democratic movement have raised their heads and 'brazen it out'. Knowing that it is not dangerous now to go against the fundamental principles of Social-Democracy. One encounters here such a thoroughgoing revision of revolutionary Social-Democracy, of its programme and tactics, that in comparison with it Bernstein's revisionism seems child's play.

The RSDRP did not understand Marx and had an 'incorrect analysis of the tendencies of Russian economic development'.

[T]here was never any feudal system in Russia, there was a feudalistic-trading system; there were not and are not any contradictions between the interests of the bourgeoisie and those of the landed nobility, nor is there an alliance between them, for these two classes invented by Russian Social-Democracy constitute a single bourgeois class ... and the aristocracy is the organisation of this class. The weakness of the Russian bourgeoisie, on which was based the slogan of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry' is imaginary, and this slogan was and remains utopian. It should be discarded, together with the democratic republic, for the Russian train has gone onto the German lines.⁷⁵

An Odesa SD told the Menshevik *Golos* that 'there does not remain a single old comrade' and 'intellectuals sleep and wish to do nothing'.⁷⁶

Sokolnikov had left Moscow's Butyrka Transit Prison for Siberia early in 1909, and in spring he met fellow Bolshevik Ordjonikidze in Krasnoyarsk and told him about an 'organisational meetings of exiles'. Sokolnikov escaped and reached Paris by autumn. He met Krupskaya in the *Sotsial-Democrat* office, where she collected information from new arrivals from Russia. Sokolnikov ran the Proletary workers' club, and met émigré comrades at the Russian library, where Ulyanov 'fulminated' against liquidators and boycotters. After three months in prison, Rykov had been sentenced to exile in Ust-Tsilma in Arkhangelsk province, but the police allowed him to stay in Pinega to recover from illness. He escaped and Ulyanov summoned him to Paris.⁷⁷ The SDKPiL's Jogiches and Warszawski wanted an RSDRP CC plenum,⁷⁸ and Rykov, Sokolnikov, Rosenfeld and Abramovich agreed.⁷⁹

Roman Malinovsky had been detained three times that year, but was freed for lack of evidence;⁸⁰ and he was released in December, though others were exiled.⁸¹

(iii) Vypered

On 2 December 1909 Ulyanov told Skvortsov in St. Petersburg that there 'we are now terribly isolated here'. There had been 'a complete split' with Alexandr Malinovsky and his supporters, who were 'stirring things up' in St. Petersburg and Odesa, 'but they cannot become a force'. The Bolsheviks were 'moving towards an alignment with Plekhanovite Mensheviks'. The split had 'cost us no little energy and time', but it was 'inevitable and will be useful in the long run'. Contacting old friends was 'ten times more valuable' in these 'hellishly difficult years'.⁸²

Émigré Mensheviks who favoured party unity had formed groups in Geneva, San Remo and Nice,⁸³ though some of Malinovsky's supporters in Geneva were refusing to obey the Bolshevik Centre.⁸⁴ On 28 December Malinovsky, Shanster, Lunacharsky, Alexinsky, Pokrovsky, Mandelshstam, Andrey Sokolov, Fyodor Kalinin and other Capri

students sent the RSDRP CC a document setting out their position, and published it in Paris.⁸⁵ The 'Group of Bolsheviks' had adopted the name of 'the Literary group, Vypered'. 'The present Moment and the "Tasks of the Party"' formulated the slogan of 'Proletarian Culture' for the first time.⁸⁶ It was reportedly based on a lecture that Malinovsky had given on Capri, edited by Gorky, Alexinsky, Lunacharsky, Mandelshtam, Pokrovsky, Desnitsky and Sokolov.⁸⁷ The émigré Bolshevik leaders had 'surrendered every Bolshevik position, one after the other'. 'Accountable management by material means' had 'changed into the unbecoming freewheeling of irresponsible people'. They had 'become ideologically Menshevik', 'assumed the right of disbanding the Bolshevik faction' and 'altered in its composition'. They had 'become a private circle of Bolsheviks', got rid of the 'inconvenient' members who refused to abandon the position of Bolshevism. The émigrés were 'completely cut off from Russia' and had 'ceased to take account of the opinions and inclinations of the organisation in Russia'. The Vyperedists intended to organise conferences 'on as large a scale as possible', and would insist

on the reconstruction of the Bolshevik faction on new foundations so that its ideological solidarity will be achieved not through formal centralisation, but through the living ideological link, and so that these *ideological* centres which will be created for this will be under real control by the local organisations. This will prevent the possibility of such a political degeneration of the 'higher-ups', of such abuses and corruption we have witnessed.

Bolshevism continued to exist.

Comrades, a glorious cause – political, cultural, social – stands before us. It would be shameful for us if leaders who have outlived their times, overcome by adversity, should prevent us from fulfilling it. But this is an impossible, absurd suggestion. We will proceed on our way according to the old slogan – with our leaders, if they wish, without them, if they do not wish; against them, if they oppose us. Our cause is the cause of the collective, not of individual personalities.⁸⁸

Krasin later claimed that he had not supported the Vyperedists,⁸⁹ but according to Malinovsky he had.⁹⁰

Ulyanov denounced the Vyperedists as 'anti-Marxists' hiding under the collectivist labels of 'proletarian philosophy and proletarian culture',⁹¹ and he had also attacked *Vekhi*.

This *encyclopaedia of liberal renegacy* embraces three main subjects: 1) the struggle against the ideological principles of the whole world outlook of Russian (and international) democracy; 2) repudiation and vilification of the liberation movement of recent years; 3) an open proclamation of its 'flunkey' sentiments (and a corresponding 'flunkey' policy) in relation to the Octobrist bourgeoisie, the old regime and the entire old Russia in general.

Their politics were like those of the Kadets, and ignored 'the necessity of building a new type of illegal Party organisation surrounded by a network of legal organisations' and 'utilising every legal opportunity'. *Sotsial-Democrat* argued that the autocracy had taken a step 'along the path towards transformation into a bourgeois monarchy', and the prime minister had acknowledged that it would not come about '*without a new movement of the masses*', so the RSDRP's task was to 'survive this period'.⁹²

In November Ulyanov had told Gorky that Vilonov was 'the guarantee for the success of revolutionary social democracy in Russia'.⁹³ Malinovsky denounced Ulyanov's 'authoritarianism', resigned from the Capri school committee and left for Paris.⁹⁴ The remaining students followed and heard the same lectures as the others.⁹⁵ When Zalkind met Ulyanov he looked prematurely aged.⁹⁶ The last *Proletary*, printed in Finland,⁹⁷ noted the 'absence of a single leading centre, the lack of discipline and order, or unity and planned work' in St. Petersburg.⁹⁸ The students returned to Russia in December.⁹⁹ During 1909 Ulyanov had met 22 Russian committeemen in Paris, though his *Collected Works* contain nine letters to Russia that year.¹⁰⁰

(iv) Nine-tenths of the illegal organisations had been shattered

According to Apfelbaum the 'struggle for the ideological rebirth of the party' had been 'incredibly tough', since it was 'fragmented into groups, sub-groups and factions'.¹⁰¹ The CC had met only twice since May 1907 and the Okhrana had arrested members of subordinate bodies,¹⁰² while underground papers had almost disappeared,¹⁰³ and 'nine-tenths of the illegal organisations had been shattered'.¹⁰⁴

In Latvia the LSD had claimed 5,000 members at the beginning of 1909 and 4,000 at the end.¹⁰⁵ Its illegal central trade union bureau led 2,500 Riga workers. It had stopped publishing *Borba*, but after the authorities closed its legal union paper, *Arodnieks*, they changed its name.¹⁰⁶ Paole Zion's membership was down to 400,¹⁰⁷ but the Bundist Grinberg acknowledged that 'all attempts to combat nationalism' by 'ignoring and hushing up the very facts

of national differences have proved to be useless'.¹⁰⁸ Military rule in some parts of Poland had lasted until summer.¹⁰⁹ Rubinstein had represented the SDKPiL at the International Congress in Stuttgart in 1907, but during 1909 he resigned from the Main Directorate and joined the opposition.¹¹⁰ *Czerwony sztandar* appeared nine times that year. Dzierżyński had reached Berlin; but his tuberculosis was worse and he accepted Gorky's invitation to Capri.¹¹¹

Fyodor Samoilov had been born into a peasant family but had been a textile worker for 17 years before he became an SD Duma deputy, but had to leave St. Petersburg to look after his sickly wife in Ivanovo in 1909. He found that 'the blood of my ancestors, father, grandfathers and great-grandfathers began to boil wildly in my veins' and he 'spent all my free hours from work at the mill' working on his plot of land.¹¹²

G.I. Lomov had often travelled from Moscow and St. Petersburg to his home city of Saratov to argue for the recall of Duma deputies in 1908, and he eventually convinced the RSDRP committee, but Saratov province SDs lacked regular contact with the committee or party centre, and in 1909 a wave of arrests destroyed it. Intelligently focused on literary activity, though workers discussed the Duma, distributed émigré papers and hectographed non-factional leaflets. There were seven legal unions in the province, but strikes were rare,¹¹³ though the Bolsheviks Elizarova and Elizarov had settled in Saratov in August.¹¹⁴

In Ukraine luzovka's population of 48,000 included 6,052 ironworkers and there were 7,918 miners nearby. The New Russia Company owned 481 dwellings out of 1,278. One room might cost 75 kopeks a month to rent, but some four-room houses cost 4.5 rubles. The 196 private apartments housed 2,100 people and two thirds cost between eight and 20 rubles a month to rent. Two-thirds had earth floors, only 55 had more than one room and a kitchen, while 40 were single-person dwellings and 49 were 'dugouts'. A dugout was usually made of board or canvass, and might house a miner's family or an artel, while in summer two or three single miners often lived in dugouts seven feet long by 4.5 feet wide, and five to six feet high, which they had to enter on their knees. Most occupants were miners, and 1.4 percent were not yet 15. The Company's two baths accommodated 375, and there were two others, plus a public bath for Jews, but the zemstvo Typhus hospital had room for 51 patients. During 1909 the workers' cooperative collapsed with a deficit of 15,000 rubles.¹¹⁵ Thanks to spies, membership of the luzovka-Petrovsky RSDRP organisation had shrunk to 100.¹¹⁶ Two Katerynoslav RSDRP members had been freed in summer, but the printer was sentenced to three years in prison, and the rest, including the Bolshevik Woytinsky, to four years' katorga followed by exile to Siberia for life. He was in court again in November regarding the Horlivka rising. Other defendants had died in Katerynoslav Castle, and some had been shot while allegedly trying to escape, so only 132 stood trial in December, and after 60 were sentenced to katorga and 32 to death, two took cyanide. (A year later ten who refused to ask for pardon were hanged.)¹¹⁷ In December the Vienna *Pravda* reported that Katerynoslav workers 'complained that for more than a year not a living soul, who should know anything about the party or about what the proletariat should be doing, has shown his face in this town'. 'No wonder ties with neighbouring factories and with the Donets Basin are nearly severed and that there are no kopeks in the treasury'.¹¹⁸ In Transcaucasia there had been 30 strikes and 9,771 strikers that year.¹¹⁹

Nikolai Sukhanov had been born into a railway official's family in Moscow in 1882. He attended a gymnasium, but when he was 14, his mother, a factory worker, was arrested. He supported himself by tutoring and joined illegal pupils' circles. In 1903 he entered the University and became active in the VPSR organisation, but was arrested in 1904 for running an illegal print shop. He was released in 1905, and was active in the VPSR during the revolution. From 1906 he worked for the Finance Ministry, and studied, and around 1909 he joined the Mensheviks,¹²⁰ who claimed that the RSDRP did not exist,¹²¹ though some Menshevik workers in Baki, Kyiv, Katerynoslav, Kharkiv, Moscow and St. Petersburg, opposed liquidating the underground network.¹²²

During 1909 the police had raided RSDRP print shops in Rostov-na-Donu, Tyumen, St. Petersburg and elsewhere, plus the CC archives in St. Petersburg and literature stores in Białystok and Moscow. Moscow RSDRP had claimed 500 members at the end of 1908, 250 by summer 1909, but no more than 150 by the end of the year.¹²³ St. Petersburg RSDRP had claimed 1,000 members earlier that year,¹²⁴ but 400 by the end,¹²⁵ and national membership was 30,000 at most.¹²⁶ Drabkin had returned to St. Petersburg, but soon fled to Terijoki in Finland to escape arrest and suffered a nervous breakdown which would keep him out of political activity for eight years.¹²⁷

In November the VPSR CC commission declared that the Azev affair had been 'an irreparable blow' to its 'moral authority'. After the director of St. Petersburg Okhrana was assassinated in December,¹²⁸ the police exiled some SRs to Siberia,¹²⁹ and Argunov, Breshkovskaya and other leaders argued for a focus on legal work.¹³⁰ Some SRs worked in zemstva and cooperatives, though others kept their heads down.¹³¹ That year assassinations had dropped to about 100, since would-be killers were often untrained young amateurs and could not shoot straight;¹³² though after one governor was warned about a plan to assassinate him he died of a heart attack.¹³³

In 1908-1909, officially, 16,440 civilian and military defendants had been convicted of state crimes, 4,517 had been sentenced to katorga and 717 of the 3,682 sentenced to death had been executed.¹³⁴ From January to October

1909 32 civilians were executed without a trial,¹³⁵ 26,000 political prisoners had been sentenced to death and 3,000 had been executed,¹³⁶ while around 38,000 others had been imprisoned, deported or exiled.¹³⁷ That year there had been 4,616 state crime trials. Okhrana security sections had opened in Tomsk, Irkutsk, Turkestan, Perm, Poland, the Caucasus and Sevastopol, which were the VPSR's main regions of activity.¹³⁸ St. Petersburg Okhrana sacked superfluous agents, 'in view of the absence' of 'organised groups' of revolutionaries; but in December the police registered 3,599 people along the route the tsar was to take in St. Petersburg, checked 1,651 passports, searched 14 suspects and arrested six.¹³⁹ Reportedly 170,000 'politicals' were in prison.¹⁴⁰ In six years thousands of suspects had been exiled to avoid overcrowding the prisons even more.¹⁴¹ St. Petersburg Okhrana reportedly had up to 200 agents, and there were around 1,000 nationally, including 20 in the VPSR, 19 in SD organisations and seven among anarchists, yet Burtsev had the names of 90 spies among SDs, 75 in Polish organisations, 28 among SRs, and 21 in the Bund. During 1909 five agents among SRs had been exposed, but none of the seven among anarchists or SDs.¹⁴²

(v) As much as the foreman orders

During 1909 the Empire's population had been estimated at 157.1 million.¹⁴³ In European Russia 711,000 heads of peasant households had successfully applied for grants of land,¹⁴⁴ as had 579,400 of the 649,900 who applied to convert communal allotments into private holdings.¹⁴⁵ In two years the Peasants' Land Bank had acquired over 24 million acres from landowners,¹⁴⁶ though the average size of plots it sold was around 40 acres.¹⁴⁷ Over 3.3 million acres had become private property.¹⁴⁸ Around 2.5 million households had bought communal land, but about one million had sold it. In three years there had been over 2,500 peasant disturbances,¹⁴⁹ and agricultural labourers' wages had risen by five percent.¹⁵⁰ In four years 2.3 million peasants had migrated to Asiatic Russia.¹⁵¹ During 1909 707,400 legally migrated, and slightly more illegally, though 139,900 returned.¹⁵²

The government had invested 60 million rubles in new railways and 71 million in improving the network.¹⁵³ Applicants for railway jobs had to register with the police. Jews, Catholics, Lutherans and 'persons of Polish and German origin' were banned in December, but those who had served in the military got bonuses.¹⁵⁴ The State Bank had provided almost 300 million rubles of credit for industry, mostly for textile, sugar and metalworking plants,¹⁵⁵ and foreign capital had flowed in.¹⁵⁶ The Prodigol coal cartel controlled about 60 percent of national output.¹⁵⁷ Donbass ironworks had produced 38 percent of their capacity of sheet iron and 47 percent of that of rails since 1904.¹⁵⁸ Prodamenta cartel blast furnaces operated at just over two-thirds capacity in 1909, and it fixed prices.¹⁵⁹ For two years, nationally, up to 15 percent of metalworkers had been unemployed, and wages had fallen.¹⁶⁰ By the end of the year St. Petersburg's Putilov metalworks had sacked 1,000 workers, and temporarily ceased production, while some other metalworks introduced the 'American system' of payments by results.¹⁶¹ P. Timofeev asked another worker how many hours he worked: 'as much as the foreman orders'.¹⁶²

Factory inspectors examined plants with 20 or more workers.¹⁶³ Nationally the inspected workforce numbered 1,793,000,¹⁶⁴ and 30.9 percent were women,¹⁶⁵ including 101,400 of the 117,000 in textile mills.¹⁶⁶ Officially, the average annual wage varied from 164 rubles in plants employing 20 or less to 219 for workforces of over 1,000.¹⁶⁷ The average was 14.6 rubles a month in the Kyiv region, 15.6 in Vladimir province, 16.8 in Moscow, 17.1 in the Volga region, 19 in Moscow province, 20.7 in Kharkiv, 25.2 in St. Petersburg, 25.3 in Warszawa and 28.5 in Petersburg province. Since 1901 average wages had risen by 18 percent, but the cost of staple foods by 37.6 percent, rye bread by 57 percent, wheat bread by 66 percent and rye flour by 72 percent.¹⁶⁸ Moscow region textile mills worked a four-day week,¹⁶⁹ and though the city's workers earned 73 million rubles that year, they spent 7.2 million in factory shops. Textile workers had earned 28.8 million rubles, but had to spend 5.9 million in mill shops.¹⁷⁰ In Moscow province average factory wages had increased from 201 to 237 rubles in eight years. In plants employing 20 or less the average rise was 14 percent, but in those employing 500 to 1,000 it was 26 percent.¹⁷¹

Nationally 12 percent of strikes by inspected workers had ended in victory, 37 percent in compromise and 52 percent in defeat.¹⁷² Officially, 64,369 workers were involved in 349 strikes which lasted 418,000 days, at an average of 6.5 days.¹⁷³ Around 290 strikes and 55,800 strikers were deemed economic,¹⁷⁴ and 8,000 political.¹⁷⁵ There had been around 10,000 strikers in the Donbass.¹⁷⁶ Nationally, 41.7 percent of strikes by metalworkers were deemed political, and while 83 percent were unsuccessful, 4.3 percent ended in compromise and 12.7 percent were successful. Among textile workers 94.2 percent of strikers were deemed economic, and 5.8 percent political, but 35.8 percent of strikes were defeated, 45.3 percent ended in compromise and 3.9 percent were successful.¹⁷⁷ In St. Petersburg almost 39 percent of strikes were defensive, though almost 16 percent were for better pay and conditions.¹⁷⁸ In St. Petersburg province nine strikes had involved over 4,000, though up to 24 percent of electro-mechanical workers, 26 percent of machine-builders, 11 percent of shipbuilders, seven percent of metal rollers and three percent of nail-makers were unionised,¹⁷⁹ and 90 percent of recent recruits were skilled.¹⁸⁰ Nationally, 96

unions had been closed,¹⁸¹ and 304 reportedly had 14,000 members between them.¹⁸² Late that year the beginning of economic revival gave workers greater leverage with employers.¹⁸³

During 1909 189 of the 299 new publications had been closed,¹⁸⁴ 34 suspended and 65 editors imprisoned,¹⁸⁵ but the St. Petersburg *Gazeta Kopeika* (*Kopek Gazette*) had a circulation of 250,000.¹⁸⁶ Itinerant peddlers sold literature in towns and villages, but one politicised worker noted that 'Good books enter the village not from the book market, but from city workers or those who go off for a month or two to work in the city'.¹⁸⁷

The Duma had appropriated over eight million rubles over and above the usual annual budget for public education,¹⁸⁸ and gave primary schools 30 million,¹⁸⁹ though 20,000 schoolteachers had been deported since 1906,¹⁹⁰ and lower and middle school pupils in the Caucasus now spent part of their summer learning gymnastics under the supervision of army officers.¹⁹¹ Saratov University had been founded in summer, but had only a medical faculty,¹⁹² though Kyiv University had reopened in September.¹⁹³ There were over 50,000 male students at higher educational institutions,¹⁹⁴ and university enrolments had reached 38,600, but 77 of the 115 legal Moscow University student associations were for mutual aid, and a medical school for women had opened in the city.¹⁹⁵ Higher courses for women had opened in Warszawa and Novocherkassk in Rostov province, as had a Women's Medical Institute in Odesa.¹⁹⁶ When asked which sociologist most influenced their philosophical outlook, 18 percent of Bestuzhev Course students in St. Petersburg, including 26 percent of seniors, said Marx;¹⁹⁷ and between 700 and 800 Russian students had joined SD groups in Munich.¹⁹⁸

The Turkish government had ceded all rights in Bosnia to Austria-Hungary in February.¹⁹⁹ The German government undertook to support Bosnia if Russia intervened militarily,²⁰⁰ and when Austria-Hungary successfully demanded that the Russian government accept the annexation,²⁰¹ and this drew Russia closer to France and Britain.²⁰² During 1909 the Russian government had borrowed the equivalent of 525 million rubles at 4.5 percent interest over 40 years, but 17 percent had been taken by intermediaries, and paying off loans had cost 300 million rubles by spring.²⁰³ Altogether debt-repayment cost 422 million rubles that year. The armed forces took 570 million of the budget, and state plants, most of which supplied the armed forces, took 830 million. The government's annual income was 2.54 billion rubles,²⁰⁴ but its debt for ordinary purposes was 2.63 billion, plus 160 million of 'extraordinary' expenditure.²⁰⁵ It had restricted the Duma's right to discuss military budgets; yet it agreed to increase military expenditure by 40 million rubles.²⁰⁶ During 1909 58 percent of conscripts were fit for service, and the rest were placed in non-combatant positions, re-examined, deferred for a year to get healthier or completely exempted, but attempts to stop Jews joining the armed forces had been unsuccessful.²⁰⁷

In Germany the SPD's Reichstag election candidates had received 4,250,000 votes, or 34.8 percent of those cast, in the first ballot in January,²⁰⁸ and won 64 seats outright.²⁰⁹ In the second ballot the SPD honoured an agreement with the liberals, but they failed to reciprocate,²¹⁰ and the SPD won 46 of the 124 contested seats.²¹¹ Trade union officials won a third of the total.²¹² Thanks to the gerrymandered electoral districts, right-wing candidates received 3,992,000 votes, and though left-wingers won 6,984,000, they won fewer seats.²¹³ Kautsky's *Der Weg zur Macht* (*The Road to Power*) had been published in Berlin. He argued that the concentration of capital had led to the decline of handicrafts, but increased the proletariat. He predicted wars and revolutions, but did not suggest any tactics for the SPD,²¹⁴ and argued that Austrian SDs led the International.²¹⁵ SPD Reichstag deputies voted to improve military training in schools and agreed that SPD cooperatives should tender for army supplies.²¹⁶ Luxemburg stressed the need to 'work systematically against parliamentary cretinism',²¹⁷ and by summer she had become disillusioned with Kautsky.²¹⁸ In a letter to Jogisches, she criticised Ulyanov's 'Tartar-Mongolian savagery'.²¹⁹

The Dutch SD Anton Pannekoek had been invited to lecture at the SPD School in 1906, but was threatened with expulsion, so he settled in Bremen, but kept in touch with his Dutch comrades, who broke away from the Sociaal Democratische Partij during 1909. Pannekoek's *Die taktischen Differenzen in der Arbeiterbewegung* (*Tactical Differences in the Workers' Movement*) pointed out the different strata in the working class and the effects of petit-bourgeois and bourgeois influence.²²⁰ Luxemburg did not agree with the split, since she believed that 'the worst working-class party is better than none';²²¹ though she failed to gain a mandate for the SPD Congress in Leipzig in September.²²² There were well over 62,000 women members of the SPD,²²³ and 633,000 men. Around 131,000 workers went on strike that year; but after large increases in the military budgets, government debt had reached five billion marks.²²⁴ It was rumoured to be planning more *Dreadnought*-class battleships, and the British government decided to build another eight.²²⁵

11. Proletarian science

(i) Proletarian peasants

By 1910 the annual death rate in Russia had fallen by 22.3 percent since 1881,¹ and the population had grown by a third since 1900.² It was estimated at over 160 million,³ with 130 million in the European provinces.⁴ Around 26 percent were under 16, 38 percent 16 to 30, 17 percent 30 to 40, 15 percent 41 to 60 and three percent 61 or over.⁵

Nationally, landowners had disposed of 30 million acres since 1905.⁶ Almost 4.6 million iron ploughs were in use in rural areas, but there were 6.5 million wooden ploughs,⁷ including 90 percent in Ukraine and the northern Caucasus.⁸ Cottage industry employed at least seven million.⁹ Since 1900 the authorities had issued an annual average of 8.87 million internal passports, including many in in Riazan, Tula and Tambov provinces.¹⁰ Over 2.5 million peasants had left their villages.¹¹ Around 21 percent of adults, 27 percent of those aged nine and over,¹² and around 46 percent of soldiers were literate, and 22 percent of others could probably read.¹³

Five of the largest cities were home to three percent of the population.¹⁴ Those with populations of over 30,000 had 110,622 enterprises employing one to 15 workers.¹⁵ Nationally male employment in industry had increased by eight percent since 1901, but female employment by 33 percent;¹⁶ and women formed almost half of all industrial workers. Women formed 62.9 percent of the textile workforce, 14 percent in the printing and chemical industries, 31 percent in the cotton industry and 48 percent in the garment and shoe industries.¹⁷

The population of St. Petersburg was estimated at 1,566,000, and it was second in size in Europe only to London. Only 32 percent had been born there.¹⁸ The population of the city and its suburbs was estimated at 1,881,000 and over 68 percent were registered peasants. There were about 260,000 servants in private or public employment, 234,000 factory workers, 77,000 white collar workers in commercial and industrial enterprises, 58,000 artisans, 52,000 transport workers, 41,000 in public utilities and city organisations, 25,000 in the catering trades and 21,000 owners of small businesses,¹⁹ 70,000 members of the state bureaucracy and 138,000 members of the nobility. One aristocratic family owned 17.6 million acres, but most were far less affluent.²⁰ In a decade Vasilievsky Island's population had risen by 45 percent to 190,000, Narva's by 47 percent to almost 192,000, Nevsky's by almost 48 percent to 172,000, Vyborg's by 48 percent to 97,000, and Petersburg's by 79 percent to 212,000. Nearby Tsarskoe Selo was home to 30,000 and Kronstadt to almost 68,000, including 15,700 troops.²¹ Only 25 percent of peasants had been born in the city. Around nine percent had come from Petersburg province,²² 165,000 from Tver province, 106,000 from Yaroslavl province, 69,500 from Novgorod province and 67,000 from Pskov province, and 42 percent of the total of 1.3 million were female. Around 125,000 returned to their villages for harvest, but 100,000 others visited the city in summer.²³ Just over 160,000 residents had lived there for one year or less, almost 240,000 for two to five, almost 160,000 for six to ten, approaching 120,000 for 11 to 15, over 70,000 for 16 to 20, roughly 80,000 for 21 to 30, and almost 60,000 for 31 years or more, and females formed 48 percent.²⁴ Almost 95 percent of peasants were aged from 12 to 19,²⁵ and peasants formed 200,000 of the 700,000 factory workers. Around 170,000 worked in commerce, 154,000 in shops and street trade and 80,000 in construction.²⁶ Approaching 180,000 of almost 295,000 registered townspeople had lived there for a year or less, over 290,000 for two to five, over 160,000 for six to ten, over 160,000 for 11 to 15, around 120,000 for 16 to 20, around 170,000 for 21 to 30, and over 200,000 for 31 years or more.²⁷ Around 85 percent of all men and 65 percent of all women were literate, including 75 percent of peasant men and 46 percent of peasant women,²⁸ and 87 percent of recently-arrived peasant men and 60 percent of peasant women.²⁹ Metalworkers' wages were rising,³⁰ and more married workers lived with their families.³¹ About half the buildings were of brick,³² though an average of 52 occupied each one,³³ and 7.2 each flat, though 8.6 in one district. In spite of its 'eternal splendour' it was 'the unhealthiest and most expensive capital in Europe'.³⁴ The higher educational institutions had 40,000 students, including 35.4 percent from the noble families, 19.1 from those of honorary citizens or merchants and 10.4 percent from those of peasants.³⁵

Moscow's population was estimated over 1,481,000, and it was among the ten largest cities in Europe. The death rate had declined by 17.1 percent since 1881.³⁶ Around 15 percent had lived there less than a year, but five percent for 20. Half of the 335,000 factory workers were in 66 of the 400 plants, and larger workforces averaged around 230, though most had 30 or less. In general the larger the factory, and the longer the working year, the more permanent the workforce.³⁷ An average of 38 people occupied each building,³⁸ and literacy among those aged 12 to 19 was over 93 percent.³⁹ In Moscow province over 58 percent of men and almost 26 percent of women were literate, as were 51 and 18.5 percent in Tver province, 46.3 and 11 percent in Tula province, 39.3 and 5.3 percent in Vologda province, 31.1 and 8.1 percent in Samara province, 25.9 and 3.8 percent in Penza province and 27.6 and

3.8 percent in Simbirsk province on the Volga.⁴⁰ Simbirsk's population was 55,200, Tsaritsyn's 100,000, Samara's 143,800, Astrakhan's 162,400, Kazan's 194,200 and Saratov's 235,300.⁴¹

In Latvia the population of Riga was 370,000, and it was the seventh largest city in the Empire. In Lithuania Vilnius was the 14th largest city, and had a population of over 192,700,⁴² which included over 45,000 Jews.⁴³ In Poland Warszawa's population was over 781,000. It was the third largest city, and among the ten largest in Europe. An average of 116 lived in each building. Most were made of stone or brick,⁴⁴ 87 percent were linked to water mains and 61 percent to sewers.⁴⁵ The city had the second highest number of paved streets in the Empire and the highest per capita number of doctors. Łódź's population was 415,600, and it was the sixth largest city. It had the highest percentage of brick and stone building, and an average of 40 lived in each one. It had the second-highest percentage of paved streets and the highest number of doctors and telephones.⁴⁶ Over 85,000 Polish children were at school.

Ukraine was home to 15 percent of the Empire's population, though its density was 46 per square mile. Ethnic Poles formed 58 percent of the population and Ukrainians 40 percent.⁴⁷ Odesa's population was over 620,000, and it was the fourth largest city in the Empire. Kyiv's population was over 527,000, and it was the fifth largest city. There were 58,000 Jews. About five percent of merchants could vote in дума elections and 3,757 altogether. About 25 percent of school-age children did not attend school, and 1,180 were denied enrolment because of lack of space. The 128 enterprises employed 10,300 workers, whose annual output was worth 28.3 million rubles. Kharkiv's population was over 244,500 and it was the ninth largest city. Katerynoslav's population was almost 212,000, and it was the 12th largest settlement in the Empire, but it did not have the status of a city. The population of Kazan was over 184,400 and it was the 15th largest. Tashkent's population was over 200,000, and it was the largest city in Siberia. In Georgia the population of Tbilisi was over 303,000, and it was the eighth largest city, though only 35.5 percent of inhabitants had been born there. In Azerbaijan the population of Baki was over 232,000 and it was the tenth largest city.⁴⁸

The Bolsheviks claimed a few hundred members, though many groups were heavily infiltrated by police agents, and there was hardly any contact between them, or with the émigré Centre.⁴⁹

(ii) Three weeks of hell

On 15 January 1910, in Paris, an RSDRP CC plenum met at the Café d'Arcourt. Present were 14 voting members of the CC, including the Bolsheviks Dubrovinsky, Meshkovsky, Apfelbaum and Nogin, the Mensheviks Zhordania, Martynov, Boris Goldman, Ramishvili, Jogisches and Warszawski from the SDKPiL, the Bundists Aizenshtadt and F.M. Koigen, M.V. Ozoliņš from the LSD and Vypered's Shanster. A majority deprived Alexandr Malinovsky of his place on the émigré RSDRP CC, but aimed to make the existence of Vypered unnecessary. Future party schools should not be organised only by the Vyperedists, and the plenum formed an émigré CC bureau to dispense funds.⁵⁰ Two Bolsheviks, two Mensheviks, two Vyperedists, a Bundist, a Pole and a Latvian would organise a school abroad. Rosenfeld, Ulyanov, Tsederbaum, Bronstein and Malinovsky from the émigré papers,⁵¹ and the Duma deputies Chkheidze and Poletaev, had a voice but no vote, and three of the four Bolsheviks with a vote were 'conciliationists'.⁵² Only two voting delegates represented authentic underground organisations in Russia. The plenum agreed that a majority of émigré CC members had to live in the same city. The Bolsheviks agreed to disband their Centre and close *Proletary*, and the Mensheviks agreed to close *Golos*. The plenum recognised the Vypered literary group as 'a publishing group of the party',⁵³ and *Vypered* as part of the 'general system of literary activity abroad'.⁵⁴ They agreed to give the Vienna *Pravda* 150 rubles a month,⁵⁵ and Rosenfeld would go to Vienna to join the editors.⁵⁶ The Bolsheviks Ulyanov and Apfelbaum, the Mensheviks Tsederbaum and Gurvich, and the Pole Warszawski would edit *Sotsial-Democrat*. The plenum acknowledged the 'extreme difficulty of convening extensive regional conferences' in Russia, but delegates should be elected where possible and 'party groups in the legal workers movement should be included on the same basis as all other party cells'. The plenum agreed that

[I]n many places a section of the party intelligentsia is attempting to liquidate the existing organisation of the RSDRP and to replace it by a shapeless ambulation [wandering about] within the framework of legality ... even at the price of the open rejection of the Programme, tactics, and traditions of the Party ... [It] was essential to conduct the most resolute ideological and organisational struggle against these liquidationist efforts and appeal to all true party workers, regardless of faction or tendency, to offer the most energetic resistance to these attempts.

Chicherin, who was the secretary of the émigré Mensheviks in Paris, and hated the Bolsheviks,⁵⁷ read out a list of expropriations and financial manipulations.⁵⁸ Zhordania rejected other Mensheviks' call for the Bolsheviks' expulsion,⁵⁹ though they were required to burn the remaining 500-ruble banknotes.⁶⁰ Ulyanov had to hand over

75,000 francs immediately, and 400,000 more in two years,⁶¹ to the SPD trustees Kautsky, Zetkin and Mehring. The CC would control Bolshevik property,⁶² though they reserved the right to demand its return if the Mensheviks failed to cooperate or published *Golos*.⁶³ The plenum agreed to publish the internal *Diskussiony Listok (Discussion Bulletin)* with an equal number of editors from the existing trends and national organisations.⁶⁴

Malinovsky proposed boycotting Duma elections,⁶⁵ though Ulyanov opposed him.⁶⁶

The historical situation of the Social-Democratic movement in the period of the bourgeois counter-revolution inevitably gives rise, as a manifestation of bourgeois influence over the proletariat, on the one hand, to the renunciation of the illegal Social-Democratic Party, the belittling of its role and importance, attempts to curtail the programmatic and tactical tasks and slogans of consistent Social-Democracy; on the other hand, it gives rise to the renunciation of Social-Democratic activities in the Duma and of the utilisation of legal possibilities, to failure to understand the importance of both, to inability to adapt consistent Social-Democratic tactics to the peculiar historical conditions of the given moment. ...

It is an integral part of Social-Democratic tactics under such conditions to overcome both deviations by broadening and deepening Social-Democratic work in all spheres of proletarian class struggle and to explain the danger of such deviations.⁶⁷

A majority voted to participate in Duma elections.⁶⁸

The Russian RSDRP CC would include the four members elected at the London Congress, plus Iusev, Petr Bronstein, Konstantin Ermolaev and two other Mensheviks, and three non-Russians.⁶⁹ The émigré CC would include the Bolsheviks Lyubimov and Boris Goldman, the Mensheviks Tserderbaum and Gurvich, Kuzis from the LSD, the Bundist Koigen and the SDKPiL's Jogiches.⁷⁰ The RSDRP would claim a second seat on the International bureau and Ulyanov and Plekhanov would be the delegates.⁷¹ The CC would invite comrades from legal and illegal organisations to meet in six months, though this did not appear in the minutes.⁷² 'Liquidationists' now controlled the émigré RSDRP CC bureau.⁷³ The plenum ended on 23 January.⁷⁴

Ulyanov had found it 'three weeks of hell'.⁷⁵ He believed that the 'sharp crisis' in the party corresponded to the 'decline of mass struggle' and the 'flight of the intelligentsia';⁷⁶ though 'work on a local level has passed to a remarkable degree' to a 'new generation of party workers', and he looked forward to the development of the 'Bolshevik mass worker' with roots in the workplace.⁷⁷ Apfelbaum became his most trusted lieutenant.⁷⁸ Tarshis distributed only Bolshevik publications from Leipzig.⁷⁹ In February, after Ulyanov refused to include Tserderbaum's article on the way ahead in *Sotsial-Democrat*,⁸⁰ and published his own view as an editorial.⁸¹

(iii) Clericalism, dogmatism, intolerance, fanaticism and authoritarianism

Alexandr Malinovsky reviewed Ulyanov's pseudonymous critique of empiriocriticism in a Moscow publication. He claimed not to know which RSDRP faction 'V. Ilin' belonged to, though he exhibited 'fetishes of power' and idealism. The real criterion of truth was not theoretical dogma, but practice, so struggling workers should decide RSDRP policy.⁸² 'Ilin' sought to conceal 'the true meaning of the opinions of the opponent', and the heart of his perspective was the 'cult of the "absolute"'. His and Plekhanov's 'religion' involved clericalism, dogmatism, intolerance, fanaticism and authoritarianism, and though Engels was an authority, he was not infallible. To Malinovsky, Lunacharsky, Gorky and others 'religion' represented the submerging of individualism in collectivism in the struggle for a better world', and 'God-building' represented hope.⁸³

In spring seven workers and eight Vyperedist intelligentsy published their platform in Paris.

Bolshevism first appeared on the scene in the period when the organisational construction of our party was going through its first and most difficult stages. This construction was a very challenging affair not only because it was carried out in the underground, but for other, internal reasons. The party was created by uniting previously scattered and isolated *kruzhki* that carried out artisan-level work in the localities. But the habits of the *kruzhok* stubbornly refused to die and continued to interfere with the consolidation of the party - all the more because at that time there was a predominance of intelligentsia elements over proletarian ones in the personnel of these organisations.

By their very nature, these intelligentsia elements experience difficulties in submitting to organisational discipline and were less capable of close party unity. And when the party programme was worked out and when by this means a strong basis for general party life was laid, the same *kruzhki* that had led the task of organisational unity - especially the émigré *kruzhki* - revealed, on the one hand, a disinclination to dissolve into the overall life of the newly established whole, and, on the other hand, a striving to retain for themselves the same leadership status in the future. ...

It was then that Bolshevism stepped forward with its organisational slogans. It demanded that the interests of the cause should be put higher than any authorities, that *partiinnost* [party spirit] should be placed higher than *kruzhki* relations, and also that the Russian section of the party should receive a predominating influence over the sections outside the border. ...

Naturally, just as soon as the possibility opened up of moving the establishment of party organisations themselves away from the previous closed forms of the underground to more democratic forms, Bolshevism immediately made the move: in 1905 the Bolsheviks were the first to call an all-Russian conference, in which a significant majority of delegates was elected directly by the organised workers. ...

Another very important aspect of the organisational question was an object of internal struggle within our party: should the basis of the party be the purposive, advanced elements of the fighting proletariat, or, for the sake of a broader development, should we construct the party directly out of the spontaneous mass worker movement? The supporters of this second possibility believe that we should adapt the organisation as a whole to the aspirations and the understanding of the proletarian mass, that even the party programme should be worked out at a general worker Congress, etc. ...

Bolsheviks claim that social democracy is first of all the party of the *purposive* revolutionary proletariat, one that relies on the whole experience of international socialism. Social democracy should raise the worker masses up from the spontaneous movement to the level of higher socialist purposiveness - *not* lower its own organisation and tasks to this spontaneous movement. ...

Since 1906 our party has been built up on the principle of democratic centralism: that is, the leading collectives - starting with factory committees and ending with the central committee - are elected by assemblies of the organised workers. Since we find this principle to be completely correct, we think it should be carried out in future as widely as possible. Since 1907, however, when the reaction became dominant in the country, the implementation of democratic centralism has lost momentum. Police repression and the use of provocateurs has created enormous difficulties in setting up assemblies of organised workers of any size at all, so that, for example, city committees have begun to keep up their membership, not by elections by the members at conferences, but by election by district committees, and sometimes even by way of cooption.

... [The] ties between the 'lower' levels of the organisation with the 'higher' levels have been weakened: the 'lower' levels are cut off from general party life, and the life of the 'higher' levels has been extraordinarily weakened ...

Various ideological tendencies exist in any strong and viable party; they are the guarantee of its growth and development. They find their expression in specific literary groups, in freely created associations of fellow thinkers at congresses, conferences, etc. But in our party today they have taken on another and completely abnormal form: parties within the party, a situation that destroys the general unity of our work. Indeed, under present circumstances, they interfere with the free development even of the ideological tendencies themselves.

This state of affairs came about due to the fact that in our case the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks arose on the ground of an organisational split. This split was completed even before the ideological distinction of the two sides became fully defined. The factions became fortified in separate organisations that the party to this day has not been able to dissolve. ...

All the Dumas have hitherto been institutions devoid of real power and authority, and did not express the real relations of social forces in the country. The government convened them under the pressure of the popular movement in order, on the one hand, to turn the indignation of the masses from the direct path of struggle into peaceful electoral channels, and, on the other hand, in order to come to terms in these Dumas with those social groups which could support the government in its struggle against the revolution. ...

Prior to the consummation of the revolution, no semi-legal or legal methods and means of struggle of the working class, including also participation in the Duma, can have any independent or decisive importance, but only serve as a means of gathering and preparing the forces for the direct, open, revolutionary mass struggle.

The Vyperedists' 'Bolshevism' was 'the strictest and most consistent application of the ideas of scientific socialism to Russian realities', and the RSDRP should be 'disseminating among the masses' both 'proletarian philosophy' and 'proletarian science'.⁸⁴ *Vypered* argued that 'the struggle for socialism' was not 'to be equated with an exclusive war against capitalism', since it involved 'the creation of new elements of socialism in the proletariat itself, in its internal relations, and in its conditions of everyday life', including 'the development of socialist proletarian culture'.

Lunacharsky was in Paris,⁸⁵ but the second volume of *Religiya i sotsializm* appeared in St. Petersburg. He was sure Christianity had a communist element that was relevant to contemporary socialism. Malinovsky was 'the only Marxist philosopher continuing the pure philosophical tradition of Marx', and empiriomonism was 'for the most part a return' to 'a genuine unvulgarised, unplekhanovised Marx', since it addressed 'the relationship between existence and consciousness' and demonstrated that thinking was determined by the social environment. 'For Marxism this is not primarily a question of the relationship between physical and psychological', but of 'social existence'; so 'realistic religious principles within proletarian socialism' would 'powerfully facilitate the development among the proletariat of the mighty rudiments of psychological collectivism'.⁸⁶ Proletarians could not grasp 'cold and impersonal' Marxist doctrine and needed a 'godless' 'religion of labour'.⁸⁷

(iv) Party Mensheviks

Early in 1910 Gorky had told Andreev that democracy was 'faith in the potential, creative strength of the mass of the people'.⁸⁸ After the Vyperedists attempted to separate him from Andreeva, he invited Ulyanov to Capri.⁸⁹

In Paris Ulyanov had drafted a letter to the SPD trustees. It noted the 'tremendous decline' among Russian RSDRP organisations 'everywhere, almost their cessation in many localities', and 'all that is left are workers' circles and isolated individuals', and 'the young, inexperienced worker is making his way forward with difficulty'.⁹⁰ On the 19th 'N. Lenin' published an article in *Discussionny listok*. 'The "old" generation of revolutionaries is leaving the stage.' 'Prison, exile, penal servitude and emigration constantly increase the number of those withdrawn from the ranks, while the new generation grows slowly,' and 'the longer the counter-revolutionary period lasts the more difficult will our fight for the Party become'. The term 'proletarian culture' was 'a screen for the *struggle against Marxism*'.

Gorky is undoubtedly the greatest representative of proletarian art, one who has done a great deal for his art and is capable of doing still more in the future. Any faction of the Social-Democratic Party would be proud of having Gorky as a member, but to introduce 'proletarian art' into the *platform* on this ground means giving this platform a certificate of poverty, means reducing one's group to a literary *circle*, which exposes itself as being purely 'authoritarian' ...⁹¹

Next day, at a meeting of Bolsheviks in Paris, Ulyanov argued they should unite with the émigré 'Party' Mensheviks around Plekhanov.⁹² On the 27th he told Vilonov that there were 'few forces' in Russia, and wished 'we could send from here a good Party worker' to the CC, since everyone in Paris was a 'has-been'.⁹³ Sokolnikov helped to produce *Za partiya (For the Party)*. It argued that while Plekhanov was rallying Menshevik 'anti-liquidators', his arrogance 'could not hide the fact that he had already lost the ability to understand Russian affairs'.⁹⁴ On 2 April Plekhanov told Ulyanov that he favoured cooperation with the Bolsheviks.⁹⁵

A French charwoman from Alsace helped Krupskaya and her mother with the housework for an hour or two each day. She sang a song by 'Montéhus' (Gaston Brunswick) about the regiment which refused to fire on Communards in 1871, and Ulyanov learned the words.⁹⁶ He frequented cafes and theatres in working-class suburbs to hear 'revolutionary chansonniers', joined in the choruses of Polish revolutionary songs sung by Montéhus and frequently sang his *Salutations au 17e regiment (Greetings to the 17th Regiment)*.⁹⁷ Montéhus, the son of a Communard, wrote 'good verses' about the life in the suburbs. Once he and Ulyanov 'conversed long after midnight about the revolution, the workers' movement and how socialism could create a new, socialist way of life'.⁹⁸

The Paris Vyperedists accused Bolsheviks in Russia of 'uncontrolled bossing' and 'surrendering all Bolshevik positions' to 'ideological Mensheviks',⁹⁹ and Krupskaya recalled that Vyperedists were sometimes violent.

Alexinsky's group once broke into a meeting of the Bolshevik group, who had gathered in a café in Avenue D'Orleans. Alexinsky sat down at the table with an insolent air and demanded to be given the floor. When this was refused he gave a whistle, and the *Vyperedists* who had come with him attacked our comrades. Two members of our group, Abram Skovno and Isaac Krivoi, were about to hurl themselves into the fray, but Nikolai Saposhkov (Kuznetsov), a man of tremendous strength, snatched Abram up by one arm and Isaac under the other, while the proprietor of the café, an experienced man in the matter of brawls, turned off the lights. The fight was thus nipped in the bud.¹⁰⁰

Ulyanov, who had been sitting in a corner and feared mayhem, left rapidly and walked for two hours to calm himself.¹⁰¹ When he came home he could not sleep.¹⁰²

During April the émigré Mensheviks closed *Golos* and Alexinsky resigned from *Diskussionny Listok*. Ulyanov thought him 'a mere babe-in-arms in politics', since he was 'committing one stupidity after another'.¹⁰³ Plekhanov had dissociated himself from the émigré Menshevik leaders and urged party unity on the basis of excluding all liquidators and expropriators.¹⁰⁴ *Sotsial-Demokrat* complained that the émigré Mensheviks were not abiding by plenum decisions, and only by uniting 'Menshevik pro-Party elements with the Bolsheviks and the non-factional Party members who are opposed to liquidationism' could the émigré CC help the work in Russia. Ulyanov told the émigré CC that it was 'quite *impossible* for us to carry out the Party line' unless the composition of the editorial board of *Sotsial-demokrat* was changed. 'Steps are being taken abroad to unite the Bolshevik groups and pro-Party Mensheviks', and the same should happen in Russia, though *Pravda* was 'acting evasively'.¹⁰⁵

Alexey Alin had spent 18 months in a Russian prison and when he got off a train at the Gare du Nord in Paris he visited the Bolshevik Vladimirsky, who took him to meet Ulyanov in rue Marie-Rose. His lodgings consisted of two rooms and a kitchen. One room with two windows was Ulyanov's study. There was a large table made of bare wood covered with black oil cloth, a chair and a quite large divan with a gray cover that was covered with books, and a chess-board by its side. Behind a glass door was an alcove with two iron bedsteads, one for Krupskaya and the other for her mother. The kitchen served as a dining room and contained some ordinary casseroles, an aluminium pan to warm water for tea, two or three tea-pots and some glasses, which had been left by comrades who had left the city. Alin described the situation in Russia, and especially in Moscow, where the organisation had been ravaged by arrests, thanks to provocateurs, and the factions were at each other's throats. Ulyanov described the situation in Paris and asked Alin for an article for *Sotsial-demokrat*. In May Ulyanov showed Alin a letter from SD sailors on a

Russian cruiser being repaired in Toulon, and asked him to go there.¹⁰⁶ Ulyanov had arranged for Vilonov to go to a Davos sanatorium in Switzerland early in 1910, but he died of tuberculosis, aged 27.¹⁰⁷

Alexandr Malinovsky, Lunacharsky and Rudnev reached Capri by early June,¹⁰⁸ and Ulyanov arrived in July.¹⁰⁹ He claimed that the Vyperedists were 'a group with a separate ideology and policy', though 'with the present dearth of experienced Party workers a properly constituted and genuinely party school' might help local organisations to train 'useful Party functionaries from among the workers'.¹¹⁰ Ulyanov called Menshevism 'semi-liberalism' and boycottism 'semi-anarchism',¹¹¹ though Gorky promised to donate money and write for Bolshevik publications,¹¹² and he and Ulyanov left Capri together.¹¹³ By the 20th Ulyanov had written to Jogisches in Berlin.

I have just learned from Warski [Warszawski] that two of the golos people (who were at the plenum) are *already* in Russia. The situation is critical. Since the plenum, we have lost three Bolsheviks. We can't afford any more. It's all up, unless the Poles come to our rescue. It's all over, unless you get a second Polish C.C. man, and send him along with Hanecki [Fürstenberg] for 2-3 weeks, in order to convoke the collegium at all costs only to carry through the 'measures' and for co-opting purposes.¹¹⁴

The Polish working class had grown to 400,000,¹¹⁵ though three-quarters of the population lived in the countryside, and the SDKPiL had under 1,000 members in Łódź. Early that year Dzierżyński had visited Capri, left in February, and stopped off in Berlin to consult Jogiches, Luxemburg, Warszawski and Marchlewski, before settling in Kraków in Galicia. Jogiches agreed that *Sotsial-Democrat* should condemn the RSDRP Menshevik liquidators, and when they published *Golos* again,¹¹⁶ the SDKPiL and LSD withdrew their *Sotsial-Democrat* editors in May.¹¹⁷

Vypered appeared as a 'popular workers' journal' in Paris. It called for working-class solidarity and attacked Ulyanov for giving money to the SPD trustees.¹¹⁸ Intelligently who could 'develop ideologists from within the proletariat' were as rare as 'white crows', and Vyperedists aimed to prepare workers to seize power by educating them in 'proletarian universities',¹¹⁹ so that the 'liberation of the working class – materially and culturally – will be the cause of the workers themselves', led by a 'purely proletarian intelligentsia'.¹²⁰ Malinovsky denied he was a Marxist, and Lunacharsky denied he was a 'god-builder',¹²¹ though they did not want to recall SD Duma deputies.¹²²

(v) The Life of a Useless Man

In St. Petersburg the Bolshevik Kanatchikov was a leading member of the tanners' union,¹²³ and at the All-Russian Congress on Combating Alcoholism, from December 1909 to January 1910, he spoke about 'The Workers and the Temperance Society' to a largely middle-class, professional audience.¹²⁴ The Bolsheviks claimed 600 members in the city,¹²⁵ though the police arrested RSDRP conciliators, including Kanatchikov.¹²⁶ (Almost two years later he was exiled to near Lake Baikal in Siberia under surveillance.¹²⁷) The police also arrested Magidov, the leading Menshevik union organiser and secretary of the gold and silversmiths' union, Lebedev, the secretary of the textile workers' union, and the Menshevik CC member Kolokolnikov. They deported Magidov, but released Lebedev. Over a third of the members of the metalworkers' union attended general meetings, and the RSDRP committee focussed on it and the print and textile workers' unions,¹²⁸ but the police liquidated the metalworkers' leading committee,¹²⁹ and deported Roman Malinovsky to Moscow.¹³⁰

Menshchikov had defected from the Okhrana and gone abroad in 1909, and by January 1910 he had provided Burtsev with a list of 90 agents among SDs, 75 in Polish revolutionary organisations, 28 among SRs, including Zhuchenko, and 21 among Bundists. The Okhrana took a decisive step.

No more liquidation by means of searches and arrests in the wake of insufficiently processed reports, but following a thorough and absolutely secret study of the strikes being staged in two or three of the largest plants. In addition, we must make it our sole aim to spotlight the movement's intellectual leaders and activists ... so we can try to recruit agents from them even without liquidation.¹³¹

The Mensheviks Potresov, Petr Bronstein, Osip Kogan and Vladimir Tserderbaum edited the first legal monthly *Nasha zarya* (*Our Dawn*) in St. Petersburg.¹³² It argued that there was 'nothing to liquidate' in the RSDRP, and 'the dream of re-establishing it in its old, underground form was a 'harmful, reactionary utopia'.¹³³ The Bolsheviks Nogin and Goldenberg asked to meet the Mensheviks Bronstein, Ermolaev and Iusev,¹³⁴ but they refused.¹³⁵

In February many isolated Bolsheviks agreed with Alexandr Malinovsky's *Ko vsem tovarishcham* (*To All Comrades*) which had a print-run of 5,000. The police estimated that there were 506 RSDRP members in the city,¹³⁶ and the Bolshevik Dubrovinsky reported to Paris that they shadowed the Russian CC.¹³⁷ The RSDRP claimed a national membership of 3,000. Since 1908 33 of the 74 new members of the St. Petersburg committee had been

workers, 32 were intelligently and the social origin of nine is unknown.¹³⁸ The committee had a recallist majority, and the new Moscow committee called on St. Petersburg's Narva and Nevsky district committees to ignore the city committee and build links with other districts.¹³⁹ There were 29 police agents among Moscow SDs, and seven in the Bolsheviks' organisation,¹⁴⁰ including its leader S.K. Kukushkin.¹⁴¹

Gorky had written *Zizhn Nenuznogo Cheloveka* (*The Life of a Useless Man*) in 1907. The story began before 1905, when an apprentice in a second-hand bookshop noted that one man regularly brought books and parcels. A student took some away, but was never seen again. After another customer asked for 'prohibited books' the owner told the apprentice to find out where he lived, and he discovered that his employer and the regular visitor were police informers. He got a clerk's job at the police station, and saw men 'bound with ropes, beaten up and bellowing with pain', though suspected 'political offenders' came in 'carrying their heads high'. They 'argued and shouted' and 'behaved with quiet contempt or pronounced hostility', while informers feared for their lives. The young man was promoted to the 'Security Department', but after the bookshop owner was murdered he was accused of complicity and taken to the 'corner room'. The price of his freedom was to become a spy. In January 1905 he was horrified by the violence on Bloody Sunday; but in spring he was ordered to work as an agent in a workers' *kruzhok* and offer them type for their illegal press, though he was paid a lot less than other spies. After the October manifesto, workers organised openly, and strikes paralysed the city. Cossacks killed people on the streets. The young man failed to hang himself, so he lay down on a railway track and 'the harsh iron rumble deadened his feeble screams'. The first part of the novel had appeared in St. Petersburg in 1908, but the government banned the rest, though it appeared in Russian in France and Germany early in 1910, without a date.¹⁴² Late in February St. Petersburg police reported about a lecture on the novel. 'The author sets out to contrast the nastiness of the spies and provocateurs on the one hand with the nobility of the revolutionaries on the other. He 'frequently mentions the Tsar and the revolutionaries' intentions regarding his person, and makes it clear that every bad thing that is done in Russia is done for the glory of the Tsar and at his command'. The censors classified the novel as 'not to be distributed'.¹⁴³ By now all the illegal papers in Russia had been closed.¹⁴⁴

By spring the Capri School students were back in Russia, but the police arrested Romanov, promised to reduce his sentence if he gave them all the students' names, and when he did they were promptly arrested.¹⁴⁵ Roman Malinovsky may have been a Menshevik, but in April, after the Bolshevik Nogin proposed co-opting him onto the Russian CC,¹⁴⁶ the police arrested the RSDRP committee.¹⁴⁷ The Okhrana had previously paid Malinovsky for anonymous tip-offs on a one-off basis,¹⁴⁸ though Moscow police arrested him at an RSDRP meeting,¹⁴⁹ and charged him with being a member of the CC.¹⁵⁰ In prison he told the Bolshevik Sverchkov that he would soon be released, and he was.¹⁵¹ St. Petersburg Okhrana promised him 100 rubles a month,¹⁵² and he began working for them on a regular basis.¹⁵³ In May, as 'Portnoy the Tailor', he became an Okhrana agent for 1,200 rubles a year, which rapidly rose to 5,000 and then to 7,000, and he had a direct telephone line to Okhrana headquarters.¹⁵⁴ After the prime minister rode roughshod over the Duma he lost the support of Kadets and Octobrists.¹⁵⁵ A Black Hundred deputy demanded that the education minister purge universities of undesirable students, and when Moscow University students protested, many were sent to prison.¹⁵⁶

After touring Russia, Nogin called a CC plenum in Moscow, Sverchkov, Dubrovinsky, Fürstenberg,¹⁵⁷ and Roman Malinovsky arrived.¹⁵⁸ A delegate from the LSD and a Bundist were expected to follow, but the police arrested all those present before the plenum began,¹⁵⁹ including Malinovsky.¹⁶⁰ (Nogin was later deported to Tula.¹⁶¹) The Menshevik Gurvich attacked the émigré Iuly Tsederbaum as an opportunist in *Proletary*, and leading Mensheviks in Russia treated pro-Party Mensheviks as 'canaille' (scoundrels). Skvortsov edited *Nash put* (*Our Path*), a semi-legal Moscow paper supported by the Bolsheviks.¹⁶² Malinovsky was the official publisher.¹⁶³ Gurvich accepted 'Party Mensheviks' who wanted the RSDRP CC to be based in Russia, though Dubrovinsky refused to recognise two Mensheviks as candidates for co-option onto the CC, because he doubted their loyalty, and he was arrested in June.¹⁶⁴ The Okhrana sometimes released prisoners, then rearrested all except Malinovsky. He had good relations with Mensheviks and Bolsheviks, but supplied the Okhrana with information that led to arrests, including those in the arms-manufacturing town of Tula south of Moscow.¹⁶⁵ He provided numbers of forged passports, pseudonyms, and the location of literature stores and meeting places.¹⁶⁶ There were four other spies in the Bolshevik leadership, and Malinovsky's main task was to betray anyone who stood in their way.¹⁶⁷

(vi) The first step is always the hardest

Viktor Kopp had been born into a middle-class family in Yalta in 1880. He later joined revolutionary *kruzhki* as a student at Kharkov Technological Institute, and after being expelled in 1900 he became a professional revolutionary. He was a Menshevik in 1908,¹⁶⁸ but by 1910 he a member of neither faction,¹⁶⁹ and after being briefly

detained for writing for *Pravda*, he left to be its secretary.¹⁷⁰ Up 1,000 of its 40,000 copies reached St. Petersburg.¹⁷¹ By April the Bolshevik Rosenfeld was an editor of *Pravda*,¹⁷² and noted Bronstein's 'colossal arrogance' and his 'inability or unwillingness to show any human kindness or to be attentive to people'.¹⁷³ Bronstein knew that the Mensheviks had refused to disband, but 'suspended judgment', and refused when Rosenfeld urged him to take a firmer attitude.¹⁷⁴ Rosenfeld wanted to resign, but Ulyanov asked if it was really necessary, though he complained about *Pravda*'s 'toothless, colourless and verbose' articles. He aimed to 'build the *Party* core not on the cheap *phrases* of Bronstein and Co. but on *genuine* ideological rapprochement between the Plekhanovites and the Bolsheviks. Whether this will *work out* I do not know. If it doesn't, then back to the Bolshevik Centre. If it does, it will be a substantial step forward'. He would ask the CC to replace the Mensheviks Tserderbaum and Gurvich and the Bundist Goldman as editors of *Sotsial-Democrat* with Plekhanovites: 'it isn't so much a matter of numbers as of the *beginning of a break*. The first step is always the hardest'.¹⁷⁵

In May *Pravda* published a letter from an Odesa comrade who claimed to speak on behalf of 'every conscious worker'. The Paris plenum had been good, because 'in unity there is strength',¹⁷⁶ though he had reservations.

Every common worker was astonished at this fight between the two factions; astonished and alienated, since as workers we thirsted for active work but were forced to waste our energies on endless and useless polemics ... [T]he first and essential condition of the struggle – of the victorious struggle – is the absence of any discord and unity. Thus I, like many others ... am not a Bolshevik, I am not a Menshevik, I am not an Otzovist, I am not a Liquidator – I am only a Social Democrat.¹⁷⁷

In Ukraine Donbass industry had recovered,¹⁷⁸ though an Katerynoslav correspondent of *Golos sotsial-demokrata* reported that RSDRP organisation had only one intelligent, and a correspondent from Lugansk wrote that 'there does not remain a single old comrade' and the intelligenty' sleep and wish to do nothing'.¹⁷⁹ A Katerynoslav worker wrote to *Pravda*: 'absolutely nothing remains of the legal organisations. There are no workers clubs here; the trade unions which once functioned have without exception recently closed', as had the last workers' co-operative. RSDRP membership in the region had fallen from 10,000 to 220 in three years, but the 'insignificant group' of Katerynoslav Bolsheviks cooperated with Mensheviks and others, and asked *Pravda* and *Proletary* to refrain from 'boring subjects' like ultimatism, boycottism and liquidationism. Another correspondent suggested that workers' interest in émigré papers was declining because of the polemics. Mykolaiv comrades had published 14 leaflets and three issues of *Borba (Struggle)*, and though most were arrested, they wrote the fourth in jail, and Mykolaiv, Katerynoslav and Kharkiv comrades sent experienced workers to revive the Odesa organisation. Vorovsky had written over 300 articles for liberal papers, and used their offices for sending money and receiving correspondence from abroad, but distanced himself from the RSDRP to avoid arrest. Only seven leaflets had been produced in the region and there were no May Day strikes. SDs had ordered ten copies of *Sotsial-Democrat* and 15 of *Golos*, but 75 of *Pravda*.¹⁸⁰ Since early 1908, nationally, 7,600 people had been killed or injured in terrorist attacks.¹⁸¹ In summer ten men in Katerynoslav Castle found guilty of taking part in the Horlivka armed rising in 1905 were hanged.¹⁸²

Bronstein asked the RSDRP CC to replace Rosenfeld,¹⁸³ but after he resigned in August,¹⁸⁴ Bronstein lost the subsidy.¹⁸⁵ He had issued a questionnaire to members of the RSDRP via *Pravda*, to 'ascertain the actual condition of our party, the mood of the working masses' and 'the strengths and resources of the party at local level'. The economy was reviving and the number of strikes was increasing, but there was no sign of that in the responses Bronstein received.¹⁸⁶ In September he wrote about RSDRP factional intelligenty in the SPD's *Die Neue Zeit*.¹⁸⁷ 'By joining the workers party they introduced ... all their social traits: a sectarian spirit, intellectual individualism, and ideological fetishism' and 'adapted and distorted Marxism'.¹⁸⁸ By late that month he had received 50 responses to his questionnaire. A Vologda Vyperedist wrote that 'the workers are opposed to a factional fight', and while many understood the issues, they 'cannot bear the polemics which they view as mainly personal affairs which disrupt comradely solidarity'. A Moscow Bolshevik reported that 'sharp disagreements among the factional groups are few', and there was 'a sincere desire for joint work', so the workers' attitude to 'factional feuds' was 'strongly negative'. A Ukrainian comrade wrote that nobody was confident enough to write propaganda or operate the presses, or risk being exiled to Siberia for printing 'seditious pamphlets'.¹⁸⁹ A Volga comrade noted that 'it is not the party that needs the masses, but the masses than need the party'. Bronstein felt that 'little is being done and what is being done is carried out poorly, even wretchedly'. Many young and inexperienced workers lacked confidence and 'performed better with a hammer than a pen'.¹⁹⁰ He estimated RSDRP membership at 10,000, which represented a loss of almost 140,000 in three years. The survivors were almost all workers, compared to 40 percent in 1907, and their average age of 24 was four years younger, while 20 of his 37 correspondents who listed an occupation were skilled workers, ten were unskilled and seven were factory deputies. They had joined the RSDRP, on average, aged 19, two-thirds of them in 1905, though older intelligenty had left. Four years earlier there had been 22 SD periodicals, but no legal party papers had appeared for well over a year. Across Russia illegal presses

were hidden in dachas, peasant huts, mineshafts and monasteries. Printers were isolated, but if they were arrested it was difficult to find the press. Those who Ulyanov reached by correspondence or agents 'numbered about thirty or forty at most'.¹⁹¹

The teenage SD Denike had been released from a jail in Luhansk in 1907, but 'all hopes and expectations had collapsed' and he had 'an aversion to illegal forms of operation'. He later realised that a small group of 'very young Bolsheviks' and a few older ones had 'an abstract notion of the proletariat as a permanently and continuously revolutionary element' and an 'even more profound' 'misunderstanding of peasant psychology'. The dominant RSDRP view was that 'no revolution could be expected in the near future, but the country couldn't avoid a revolution in the long run', and he became an 'adherent' of the French reformist socialist leader, Jean Jaurès. He wanted to enter Kazan University, but had no 'certificate of trustworthiness'. In autumn 1910, after two years of 'good behaviour', he was allowed to study at Moscow University. His stipend was 25-30 rubles a month, but he got up to 89 as a tutor, and 300 when he taught the nephews of the theatre producer Konstantin Alexeyev, better-known as 'Stanislavsky', which was equivalent to a judge's salary. Denike was a 'heretical Marxist' and a liquidator, but no longer a Menshevik,¹⁹² so he found no RSDRP organisation to join,¹⁹³ and nobody tried to recruit him.¹⁹⁴

Ulyanov summoned Rosenfeld to Paris.¹⁹⁵ The transporter Tarshis also arrived.¹⁹⁶ Ulyanov met Lunacharsky for the first time since 1907, and they had a 'hearty talk' about the SD Duma deputies and philosophy.¹⁹⁷

(vii) Tatar-Mongol savagery

Alexandr Malinovsky and Krasin's report on the January 1910 Paris plenum noted that the RSDRP could not 'obtain worth-while parliamentary representation'.

The mechanical force of reaction severs the connection of the already existing Party faction with the masses and makes it terribly difficult for the Party to influence them, with the result that this representative body is unable to conduct sufficiently broad and deep organisational and propaganda work in the interests of the Party. If the Party itself is weakened there is not excluded even the danger of degeneration of the faction and its deviation from the main line of Social-Democracy.

Proletary had tried to control the Capri School by 'spreading false information', and was going away from the 'entire political line of Bolshevism',¹⁹⁸ to parliamentarianism at any price'.¹⁹⁹

After reading the report Luxemburg described Ulyanov's behaviour as 'Tatar-Mongol savagery'.²⁰⁰ 'Marx never claimed to be infallible, and nothing' was 'so contrary to the spirit of his science as "infallible" historical judgments'. The 'modern development of capitalism' did 'not tend to return to each nationality its independent existence, but moves rather in the opposite direction', while the 'development of *world powers*' 'condemns all small nations to political impotence'. 'In a class society, "the nation" as a homogeneous socio-political entity does not exist'. Instead there were 'classes with antagonistic interests and "rights"', so while SDs had 'a democratic duty to support the self-determination of nations', they should also focus on 'the right of the working class' to 'self-determination'. Federalism was 'a pseudo-revolutionary sign of petit bourgeois nationalism'. Poland contained over 6.75 million Poles and 2.65 million non-Poles, mainly Jews, Germans and Russians; so how could they be separated then federated again? The only way of settling the national question in Poland, Latvia and the Caucasus was 'broad, local self-government' that protected the rights of minorities.²⁰¹

The German government introduced an electoral law which entrenched the privileges of capitalists and landowners. On 6 March Berlin socialists organised a walk by 150,000 protesters in the city's Treptow Park, but secretly changed the venue to Tiergarten Park and outwitted the police.²⁰² Kautsky argued that Germany might 'grow over' into socialism peacefully by 'wearing down' the class enemy by 'attrition'. Luxemburg thought this was a 'despicable' perspective. From 3 April Luxemburg spoke all over Germany,²⁰³ 'stoking the fires'.²⁰⁴ On the 13th she reported to Luise Kautsky that everywhere 'comrades agree unconditionally and enthusiastically' with her perspectives.²⁰⁵ At the end of April Bronstein visited her in Berlin and complained that Warszawski supported the Bolsheviks, but asked her to send his regards to Dubrovinsky and the Kautskys.²⁰⁶ On 18 June, after Luxemburg criticised Kautsky's theory that that it would be possible for Germany to 'grow over' into socialism, she told a friend that she hoped that 'our people will learn to think for themselves more and to parrot the authorities less'.²⁰⁷

The Bolshevik Helphand had wandered around Germany in 1908 and 1909, but early in 1910 an SPD commission of Bebel, Kautsky and Zetkin found him guilty of spending Gorky's royalties. In summer Helphand sent his manuscript of *Der Staat, die Industrie und der Sozialismus (The State, Industry and Socialism)* to a Dresden publisher. It argued that the greatest danger to the capitalist system was war between imperialist states, which could be

'concluded only by a world revolution'. Helphand went to Vienna, and often visited Constantinople, and Rakovsky introduced him to meet leading Balkan socialists. Luxemburg believed that Helphand was 'slowly going mad'.²⁰⁸

Luxemburg's articles had occupied 20 percent of the space in *Die Neue Zeit*,²⁰⁹ but by early August, after she accused the SPD EC of theorising about revolution rather than working towards it, *Vorwärts* and *Die Neue Zeit* refused to publish her articles,²¹⁰ though her friend Zetkin was the undisputed leader of the International's women's movement and edited *Gleichheit*.²¹¹ Luxemburg had followed Pannekoek, Mehring and Marchlewski and broken off relations with Kautsky, accusing him of opening the road to a new kind of revisionism.²¹² According to Kautsky he had broken with Luxemburg since she was unpopular with SPD union officials, and he had refused to publish her article advocating a general strike to win universal suffrage and a Prussian republic.²¹³ At the end of August Luxemburg wrote to Kautsky that Rosenfeld had visited from Paris, where the Bolsheviks thought she might be useful for Germany,²¹⁴ though she did not want the SDKPIL or the Bolsheviks to split from the RSDRP, since the Mensheviks were the 'most dangerous plague'.²¹⁵ By September another Bolshevik member of the Russian RSDRP CC had been arrested.²¹⁶

On 29 August the second International Women's Congress in Copenhagen attracted over 100 delegates from 17 nations, including 17 from Germany.²¹⁷ Zetkin successfully proposed that in 'agreement with the class-conscious, political and trade union organisations of the proletariat of their respective countries, the Socialist women of all countries will hold each year a Women's Day, whose fundamental purpose it must be to aid the attainment of women's suffrage'.²¹⁸ Luxemburg and Kollontai supported the motion.²¹⁹

Bronstein had sent an article to the SPD's *Vorwärts* which argued that expropriations harmed the RSDRP, and when he met Ulyanov on the train to the International Congress they strongly disagreed.²²⁰ The Congress opened in Copenhagen on 10 September. Half of the 39 Russian delegates dithered between the factions, but ten supported the Bolsheviks, including Plekhanov, who had only a consultative vote.²²¹ Lunacharsky represented some Vyperedists, but agreed with the Bolsheviks on major issues.²²² He was a non-voting representative of the RSDRP, and he and Ulyanov sat in on a commission which examined the relations between socialist parties and workers' cooperatives.²²³ They complained to the SPD EC that *Vorwärts* had published an anonymous and libellous article, agreed to struggle against liquidators and that Plekhanov should contribute to a paper for workers.²²⁴

Zetkin introduced a motion on behalf of the commission established at the International Women's Congress.

The Socialist women do not consider the women's right to vote as the most significant question, whose solution will remove all social obstacles which exist in the path of the free and harmonious development and activity of the female sex. That is because it does not touch upon the deepest cause: Private property in which is rooted the exploitation and suppression of one human being by another.

She acknowledged that 'all the exploited without differences against all exploiters no matter what sex they belong to', though socialist and bourgeois women should 'march separately but fight together'. The key was to 'enlighten the proletarian women'. The motion was passed.²²⁵

The Rumanian authorities had charged the SD intelligent Rakovsky in his absence in 1908 on made-up 'evidence', but did not want to try him, and denied that he had been arrested. In Paris he published *Les Persecutions Politiques en Roumanie (Political Persecutions in Rumania)*. He returned Rumania secretly in 1909, but was arrested. In October the prime minister said he would 'rather destroy' Rakovsky 'than let him in', though there was a bloody street battle between workers and the police in Bucharest. Dozens of workers were injured, and around 30, including leading trade unionists and political figures, were beaten up in police stations cellars that night. Rakovsky was deported without trial, but the Austro-Hungarian authorities refused to let him in, and he was shuttled back and forth between the two countries. There was an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the Rumanian prime minister, in which some policemen were implicated, and there were repressions of workers and emergency laws banning strikes and suspending the right to join trade unions. In February 1910 Rakovsky returned secretly to Bucharest, and, after contacting his comrades, he gave himself up. To avoid a trial the authorities twice tried to hustle him across the Austro-Hungarian border, but they eventually gave him a passport and put him on a steamship bound for Constantinople. He was arrested, but socialists secured his release, and he went to Sofia in Bulgaria, and published the daily newspaper *Napred (Forwards)*. After the liberal government in Austro-Hungary was replaced by conservatives, they let Rakovsky in.²²⁶ In August Dimitar Blagoev, the leader of the Bulgarian 'narrow' socialists, who still used small hand-presses, stopped off in Berlin on his way to Copenhagen, and visited the *Vorwärts* press.²²⁷ At the International Congress the 'narrow' socialists demanded the expulsion of the 'Broad' socialists'.²²⁸

The Turkish government had forced the Ottoman sultan to abdicate in 1909 and promised free elections, freedom of religion and equality. Extremists wanted to avoid the decline of the Empire with a dictatorial regime and military modernisation. In April 200 Armenians were massacred in Cilicia in southern Turkey.²²⁹ In 1910

Dashnaksutiun's Congress in Varna in Bulgaria voted to launch an insurrection in 'Russian and Turkish Armenia' in August. They had supporters among Armenians in the Russian Caucasus; but police raids, arrests and interrogations continued, and by autumn over 1,000 suspected members were in prison. Hummut had been suppressed, and though the Dashnaks were now full members of the International. At the Copenhagen Congress they called for an all-out war against the autocracy and were supported by the VPSR and Kadets.²³⁰

Ulyanov had discussed transport routes with Yrjö Sirola, a leading Finnish socialist, and after the Congress Ulyanov went to Stockholm and met the young socialist Zeth Höglund. Branting had introduced Fredrik Ström, the secretary of the Swedish SDs, to underground work and, along with other Finnish socialists, he helped to smuggle comrades and illegal literature to St. Petersburg.²³¹ Ulyanov met his mother for what turned out to be the last time, and he would not see any close relative for almost six years.²³²

There were meetings of women all over Germany, including 42 in Greater Berlin, which were attended by over 30,000.²³³ The SPD vote had risen slowly in Hamburg, a bit quicker in Baden and Mecklenburg-Schwerin and by a significant amount in Brunswick, Württemberg and Saxony.²³⁴ Luxemburg's appearance at the SPD Congress in Magdeburg on 18 September was challenged,²³⁵ but she argued that 'As soon as we call mighty masses into action in the struggle for suffrage reform' and 'organise powerful demonstrations', 'the masses themselves will ask what more shall we do?'²³⁶ After her key supporters changed their minds about her proposal to use the mass strike as a weapon in the struggle she was forced to withdraw it,²³⁷ and although 211 delegates signed a motion proposing automatic expulsion for those who voted in favour of government proposals, the EC refused a debate.²³⁸

(viii) No one trusted the closest comrade

In January 1910 Baki RSDRP committee had called for the transfer of the 'practical centre' to Russia and the publication of a central organ,²³⁹ but there was no May Day strike for the first time in a decade.²⁴⁰ The Bolshevik Bogdan Knuniants had escaped from exile in 1908 and returned to Baki.²⁴¹ He was arrested in September 1910, and sentenced to katorga. (He later died of typhus.²⁴²) Exiles were transferred from Moscow to Irkutsk by train, then had to walk.²⁴³ In northernmost Russia inmates of Vologda Prison were starved and tortured, even though SD Duma deputies had managed to get the administrators replaced.²⁴⁴

Mikhail Frunze had co-founded the RSDRP Ivanovo Union and attended the Stockholm Congress in 1906,²⁴⁵ and in 1907 he and Pavel Gusev assassinated a police sergeant in Kazakhstan.²⁴⁶ Frunze was later arrested in Shuya in the central industrial region,²⁴⁷ and sentenced to death in 1909.²⁴⁸ He escaped,²⁴⁹ but was recaptured. At his retrial in 1910 he was sentenced to four years in prison for membership of the RSDRP and distributing revolutionary literature.²⁵⁰ He was subsequently tried five times for armed resistance to policemen, and was twice sentenced to death, but later that year that was commuted to six years' in Alexandrov Katorga Prison in Siberia,²⁵¹ and Gusev's death sentence was commuted to eight years' katorga.²⁵²

Sofia Smidovich (as she became) had been born into a lawyer and teacher's family in Tula in 1872. After she graduated from secondary school she taught peasants on the family estate, but went to Moscow in the 1890s to continue her education. She married Platon Lunacharsky, Anatoly's brother, and they lived in France. They returned to Russia in 1898, and Sofia joined the RSDRP, but in 1901 the couple were arrested and imprisoned. They were released after Platon had a stroke, but he died in 1904. Sofia worked for the Moscow RSDRP committee and married Petr Smidovich in 1906. They were often arrested,²⁵³ and Sofia was exiled to Siberia in 1910.²⁵⁴

Georgi Piatakov, the son of a Kyiv province sugar refinery director, had been born in 1890. In 1902 he attended a Modern School and joined a kruzhok of a 'vaguely social democratic nature' in 1904. In 1905 he was charged with having 'instigated a student "disturbance".' He joined the 'student liaison committee' and 'participated in street demonstrations and meetings'. He was expelled for leading a 'school revolution', yet by 1906 he led 50 young anarchists who carried out 'expropriations'. In 1907 he returned to school, but was expelled for being 'insolent' to the chaplain, though he was allowed to take his final examinations. In autumn he joined 'a completely autonomous terrorist group' which aimed to assassinate the Kyiv military governor, but their practices 'sickened' him and their ideology no longer satisfied him. When he entered St. Petersburg University he studied revolutionary literature, plus Ricardo, Smith and Quesnay on political economy, Baruch Spinoza, Fichte, Kant and Hegel on philosophy, and Marx on both. He became a materialist and a Darwinist, and was impressed by the works of Plekhanov and Ulyanov. In 1910 he joined the RSDRP, but the police deported him to Kyiv,²⁵⁵ where the Mensheviks were influential.²⁵⁶ Alexandr Rosnovsky later recalled that the Kyiv RSDRP had 'dwindled away before our eyes'. 'New factions, groups, tendencies arose every day. There weren't any people, there wasn't any faith, there wasn't any desire to work. The Okhrana was working at top speed: searches, arrests, exiles every day. The poison of provocation decomposed every beginning in embryo. No one trusted the closest comrade.'²⁵⁷

In Moscow a special court found the publisher Kedrov guilty of being a member of the RSDRP and sentenced him to two and a half years in a fortress, less 12 of the 18 months he had spent in detention. The police burned cartloads of books, not all of which were banned, and confiscated cash and money orders on the grounds that they were intended for the RSDRP.²⁵⁸ Vasily Emelianov had been born in 1885. He joined the RSDRP in 1904 and led a fighting detachment in Moscow in 1905. In autumn he met Ulyanov, but was arrested several times. In 1910 he resumed revolutionary activity at the Sestroretsk armoury near St. Petersburg. Nikolai Emelianov had been born in 1871. By 1899 he worked at the Sestoresk armoury. He joined the RSDRP in 1904, organised a combat detachment in 1905 and smuggled illegal literature from Finland. He was arrested in December and sentenced to deportation to Nizhni Novgorod for five years. After that ended he agitated and propagandised at Sestoresk armoury.²⁵⁹

Alexandr Kesküla, a student at Tartu University in Estonia, had joined the Bolsheviks at the beginning of 1905. He was imprisoned later that year, but was released after three months and became a leading Bolshevik underground organiser. In 1907 he moved to Moscow, lived illegally, and in 1908 he left for Germany. He attended the universities of Berlin and Leipzig, and in 1910 he went to Switzerland and studied in Zurich and Bern.²⁶⁰

The Bolshevik intelligent Podvoysky had been arrested in St. Petersburg in 1908, but in 1910 he was released and allowed to go to a hospital.²⁶¹ He understood that almost no RSDRP organisations existed, and that the party 'had no connections with the masses and the new worker movement';²⁶² but in October he managed to get to Paris to help to organise a Bolshevik paper.²⁶³

(ix) *Rabochaya gazeta*

Nikolai Semashko had been born in 1874. He joined the revolutionary movement in 1893 and was active during the 1905 revolution, but was arrested in Switzerland in 1907. On his release he moved to Paris where he became the secretary of the émigré Bolshevik bureau,²⁶⁴ and joined the émigré RSDRP CC.²⁶⁵ He organised a debate with anarchists, though Ulyanov found their ideas stupid and harmful.²⁶⁶ On 3 October 1910 Ulyanov and Plekhanov agreed to co-edit *Sotsial-Demokrat*.²⁶⁷ Next day Ulyanov told Semashko that they 'must meet as soon as possible to talk about the speediest convocation of a meeting of Bolsheviks' who were 'anti-Vyperedists'. On the 14th Ulyanov told Gorky that they had raised 400 francs with 'difficulty' to for a Bolshevik paper, but there was a 'terrible shortage of the right people, and the old ones have disappeared'.²⁶⁸ Ulyanov reportedly held around 100,000 rubles,²⁶⁹ which he had deposited in a Paris bank account in his own name.²⁷⁰

The veteran Jewish SD David Goldendakh had supported the RSDRP Congress 'minority' in 1903. He later went abroad, but returned to Russia in 1905 and worked in trade unions. He was briefly detained in 1907, then went to Germany, where the SPD asked him to write for *Die Neue Zeit*, edit Marx and Engels' works and write a history of the First International.²⁷¹ He worked in the SPD archives and the British Museum in London, collected Marx and Engel's articles,²⁷² edited their 1850s and 1860s writings and sorted the Lafargues' papers.²⁷³ In 1909 he wrote for the Vienna *Pravda*, and lectured at the Capri School.²⁷⁴ On 15 October 1910 he told Kautsky he was sure that Ulyanov wanted to destroy *Pravda*. 'It is his *métier*. He has destroyed everything since 1900. First, *Rabochee delo* (*Workers' Cause*), then my humble self, then Plekhanov and Tserdbaum, then Luxemburg, then Bronstein, etc.' 'Unfortunately Ulyanov will always be Ulyanov.'²⁷⁵

Grigory Shklovsky had been born in 1875. He joined the RSDRP in 1898 and worked in Bietaruś, but from 1909 he lived in Bern in Switzerland.²⁷⁶ By 1910 there were about 8,500 Russians in the city and more in Zurich and Geneva.²⁷⁷ In October Ulyanov told him that 'Since 1909 I have been *wholly* in favour of a *rapprochement* with the Plekhanovites. And even more so now'. 'I am deeply convinced that nine-tenths of the Menshevik *workers* in Russia are Plekhanovites', and 'Plekhanov and I fully agree that nothing can be done with Bronstein. We shall either establish a popular newspaper under the C.O [Central Organ], or 'separately by the Bolsheviks'. 'Money will be needed. We have exceedingly little. I am hoping for every assistance from you.' Ulyanov noted the state of RSDRP.

Disintegration of the Party organisations, an almost universal exodus of the intellectuals from them, confusion and wavering among the Social-Democrats who have remained loyal, dejection and apathy among fairly wide sections of this the advanced proletariat, uncertainty as to the way out of this situation – such are the distinguishing features of the present position.

On the other hand Bolshevik and Party-Menshevik workers were replacing intelligenty and needed a paper. On the 29th *Sotsial-Demokrat* noted the student demonstrations in Russia five days earlier, though it had to rely on legal newspaper reports. One had noted that 'not less than 10,000 people' had demonstrated on Nevsky Prospekt in St.

Petersburg and 'large numbers of works joined the procession'. Only when they reached the University were the police able to disperse them. The article was headed 'Is this the turning of the tide?'

The first issue of *Rabochaya gazeta* (*Workers' Newspaper*), with the subtitle *Journal Ouvrier*, appeared in Paris on the 30th, as the organ of the émigré Bolshevik Centre.²⁷⁸ Ulyanov considered it their 'first factional step'.²⁷⁹

The Party's position is a very difficult one, but the chief difficulty is not that the Party has been terribly weakened and its organisations often completely shattered, nor that inner-Party factional struggle has become acute, but that the advanced section of the Social-Democratic workers has not realised clearly enough the nature and significance of this struggle, has not rallied sufficiently for waging it successfully, has not intervened in it with sufficient independence and energy for creating, supporting and consolidating that *core of the Party*...

Rabochaya gazeta argued that if three million factory workers had shown the same combativity as those in Rīga in 1905 they would have been able to 'turn out an army of 15 million strikers'. Ulyanov believed that 'orthodox Bolsheviks' and 'Party Mensheviks' would support the paper, and was 'counting on the assistance of the Central Committee', even though it had 'not succeeded in arranging its work correctly in Russia' for months, because of the 'direct opposition of the other factions'.²⁸⁰

Serafima Gopner contributed an autobiography to the new paper. She had been born in Kherson in 1880, later studied at Odesa University and Paris University, joined the RSDRP in 1903 and the Katerynoslav committee in 1905, but was arrested. In 1907 she propagandised in Mykolaiv, Kyiv and Odesa,²⁸¹ and met Ulyanov in Finland; but in September 1910, after arrests, she bribed a policeman for a foreign passport and went to Paris. A comrade told her that Ulyanov 'threw himself on each comrade arriving from Russia like a famished man pounced on food', and gave her the details of the next meeting. Menshevik liquidators and recallists discussed *Rabochaya gazeta* at a stormy meeting, and two conciliators objected to the exclusion of other groups and the break with *Pravda*.

The Bolsheviks tutored, translated, typed, moved furniture and washed cars to make ends meet, and Vladimirsky and Semashko delivered milk from 5.00am because their doctor's diplomas were not recognised in France. Bolshevik workers who knew no French had a difficult time, though Gopner and others put on Gorky's new play, *Ekstsentriki* (*The Eccentrics*) as a fund-raiser.²⁸² Ulyanov wrote to Bonch-Bruевич in St. Petersburg about 'the new literary child', but a typed copy joined his other letters in the Okhrana files.²⁸³ The Okhrana noted that the surveillance of Krupskaya and Olga Rosenfeld produced more information than that on their husbands.²⁸⁴

12. It was a time to stand up and be counted

(i) The Bologna School

Some former Capri School students had robbed a post office at Miass station in the Urals in summer 1909,¹ and donated 16,000 French francs for a school to teach paramilitary techniques. In March 1910 the Menshevik intelligentsy Alexinsky and Pokrovsky left the émigré organising committee after they lost the vote for students and lecturers to have a decisive voice. In summer the Vyperedists appealed to local organisations in Russia to elect experienced comrades to attend a 'party but not an all-party school', and sent their secretary and the former Capri student, Fyodor Kalinin, to Russia, with instructions that 'only in rare cases' should he recruit members of other factions. Local organisations wanted an all-party school, but he appointed 20 students.²

Alexandr Malinovsky reached Bologna 10 October and heard that Gorky had 'definitively broken' with Vypered.³ Gorky had declined an invitation to Bologna, as had Kautsky,⁴ though Gorky notified Kollontai in Berlin.⁵ When she visited Paris, about half of the 40 or so Bolsheviks she met were women,⁶ but they 'did not attach sufficient importance to the development of the working-class movement'.⁷ The Okhrana considered her 'one of the most prominent and active members' of the RSDRP, and she agreed to speak at Bologna.⁸

On 21 November nine émigrés attended the opening of the School in the Garibaldi Peoples University. They all lived in a four-room flat,⁹ and while most students and lecturers worked in the kitchen, Alexandr Malinovsky left that to his wife.¹⁰ Malinovsky, Lunacharsky, Mandelshtam and Savelev were the first lecturers, and the 17 students including Lunacharskaya and Malinovskya. The joint council of lecturers and students invited other lecturers, including Valentinov, Maslov, Alexinsky, Pokrovsky and Vyacheslav Menzhinsky.¹¹ He had been born into a Polish-Russian family, graduated from the Law Faculty at St. Petersburg University in 1898 and joined RSDRP in 1902. In 1905 he became a member of the military organization of the Petersburg committee. He was arrested in 1906, but managed to escape to Belgium, then Switzerland, France and United States, where he worked in émigré branches of the RSDRP. He later joined the editorial board of *Vpered*, aligning himself with Alexinsky and Pokrovsky, but rejected Malinovsky and Lunacharsky's concept of proletarian culture.

The Bologna students included four Vyperedist expropriators,¹² and a spy.¹³ Alexinsky and Lunacharsky were the administrators,¹⁴ and the curriculum focussed on teaching 'conscious socialists' to analyse problems and disseminate knowledge.¹⁵ On weekdays there were two lectures, and some sessions were devoted to using codes and combatting anarchist arguments.¹⁶ In the evenings they practised agitational speeches and setting up *kruzhki*.¹⁷ Sokolov, a former Ivanovo worker, taught ethics, Pokrovsky, who was now a Duma deputy, taught history, the psychologist Pavel Polonsky lectured on education, Menzhinsky on law and Kollontai on sexual relations and the Finnish movement. Lunacharsky lectured on philosophy and took students to museums on the mainland.¹⁸ Bronstein lectured on German and Austrian SD tactics and RSDRP history,¹⁹ and how to write articles and edit letters for illegal papers, set type and print copies. The students produced two papers, constructed *kruzhok* programmes and practiced talking about theory and speaking at May Day events, while the lecturers heckled like Kadets and SRs. Students wrote about 'How I Became a Social-Democrat', Kautsky's views, 'legal possibilities', and the Duma,²⁰ but Menzhinsky and Pokrovsky left after Malinovsky attacked Ulyanov.²¹

From Paris Ulyanov told the Bologna students that the organisers had ignored the Paris plenum's decisions and broken with its organising committee, while their 'trend and methods' were 'harmful to the Party and un-Social-Democratic'. He invited them to Paris, suggested lecture topics and offered financial assistance,²² and asked the sole Bolshevik student, I.K. Vulpe, to disorganise the School. Ulyanov, Rosenfeld and Apfelbaum asked the émigré CC to convene a plenum, but a majority refused because there were too few members abroad and members of the Russian CC dared not travel.²³ In Russia two Bolsheviks and candidate CC members who tried to convene a plenum were arrested and others were doing nothing,²⁴ so Leitesen tried to re-establish the CC.²⁵

After the Vyperedists 'began to move over from cultural-propagandist work to émigré-style politics', Malinovsky 'left the group and left politics as well', though he wrote propaganda pieces for workers' organs.²⁶ There were over 60 Okhrana security sections across the Empire,²⁷ and one agent was convinced that Ulyanov and Plekhanov would

bring their opponents to heel, particularly the most stubborn ones, whom they will try to neutralise or altogether exclude from the party. Moreover the industrial upsurge has caused a new wave of strikes, and that will certainly stimulate as well some degree of revival of the party's underground activity, and this is no weak card to play in the struggle with the liquidators, who thrived only during a period of disintegration in the party and a lessening of the proletariat's energy.²⁸

Ulyanov asked the Duma deputy Poletaev to 'keep out the liquidators' from *Rabochaya gazeta* and to send regular reports.²⁹ He described Bronstein as someone who 'unites all to whom ideological decay is dear' and 'all who are not concerned with the defence of Marxism'. He was 'basely deceiving himself, deceiving the Party, and deceiving the proletariat', and trying to organise a split by allying with the Vyperedists and Potresov's group of Mensheviks.³⁰

(ii) The death of Tolstoy

On 20 November, Lev Tolstoy died of pneumonia at Astapovo station, 250 miles or so south of Moscow,³¹ but the Orthodox Church refused to bury an excommunicated man. A Moscow University professor resigned in protest,³² while a student meeting bitterly attacked the government's educational policies.³³

In St. Petersburg V.D. Rubtsov, the secretary of the Vasilevsky Island and Vyborg branches of the metalworkers' union, opposed factionalism, and helped to organise demonstrations in Tolstoy's honour,³⁴ though RSDRP district committees advised members to stay away.³⁵ Nevertheless 18,000 metalworkers and 3,500 textile workers went on strike,³⁶ and 16 factory workforces petitioned the Duma to honour Tolstoy by abolishing capital punishment.³⁷ Tens of thousands of university students,³⁸ in St. Petersburg and Moscow, demonstrated against the death penalty,³⁹ though Cossacks dispersed them.⁴⁰ In St. Petersburg 24 University students were expelled and five were deported for up to five years.⁴¹ In Moscow over 100 University teachers resigned.⁴²

From abroad *Sotsial-Democrat* acknowledged Tolstoy's ability 'in conveying with remarkable force the moods of the large masses that are oppressed by the present system' and 'depicting their condition and expressing their spontaneous feelings of protest and anger'. 'His unbending opposition to private property in land conveys the psychology of the peasant masses' and his works 'express both the strengths and the weakness, the might and the limitations, of the peasant mass movement'. 'His unremitting accusations against capitalism' conveyed 'all the horror felt by the patriarchal peasant', but 'led to a doctrine of "non-resistance to evil"'.⁴³

His heated, passionate, and often ruthlessly sharp protest against the state and the official church that was in alliance with the police conveys the sentiments of the primitive peasant democratic masses, among whom centuries of serfdom, of official tyranny and robbery, and of church Jesuitism, deception and chicanery had piled up a mountain of anger and hatred.

He belonged 'primarily to the era of 1861-1904', and had shown an 'aloofness from the revolutionary struggle of the masses in 1905-1907'. He had had 'a wholly apathetic attitude to the world-wide struggle for emancipation waged by the international socialist proletariat', yet his work was 'a slap in the face of bourgeois liberalism'. His funeral in St. Petersburg had attracted over 10,000 mourners, including many workers, and the police were 'powerless to stop' them before they reached the University. According to a Moscow paper, St. Petersburg students had suggested a joint demonstration to workers on the 27th, and next day Paris papers reported the arrest of 13 of the city's trade union bureau for trying to organise a workers' demonstration.⁴³

The Vienna *Pravda* noted that Tolstoy hated the Orthodox Church and the state, but was unable to relate to industrialisation, the growth of cities and of the proletariat. His works had a 'deep moral affinity' with socialism on account of their 'honesty and fearlessness of their renunciation of oppression and slavery' and 'their indomitable striving for the brotherhood of man', but he 'did not show or know the way out of the hell of bourgeois culture'. The political rallies with Tolstoyan slogans of 'Down with capital punishment' and 'Down with the priests' had received a 'baptism of fire' from the army. *Pravda* welcomed the 'student light cavalry', but focussed on the workers' 'Tolstoy Fund', and the strikers who would form the 'heavy reserves' of the revolution.⁴⁴

Alexandr Malinovsky's *Sovremenny mir (Modern World)* appeared in St. Petersburg,⁴⁵ and carried Bronstein's review of the Austrian Max Adler's *Der Sozialismus und die Intellektuellen (Socialism and the Intelligentsia)*. Bronstein dismissed most Russian SD intelligentsy and noted that many had been recruited in the early stages of the movement. The need for collective discipline meant that potential recruits had fewer career opportunities. An intellectual was 'compelled to sell not his mere labour power, not just the tension of his muscles, but his entire personality as a human being – and not through fear but through conscientiousness', yet intelligentsy 'cannot see that their professional frock-coat is nothing but a prisoner's uniform of better cut than ordinary'. There was no trace of a 'mass move by the intelligentsia towards Social-Democracy' in any Western European country, and he doubted that SDs offered 'anything more convincing or more attractive than what it has offered up to now', 'theoretically and morally'. The 'pure cultural requirements (development of technique, science, art)' were less powerful than 'class suggestions radiating from family, school, church or state' or 'the voice of material interests'. 'There is not one question of social and cultural life (marriage, the family, upbringing, the school, the church, the army, patriotism, social hygiene, prostitution) on which socialism has not counterposed its view to the view of

bourgeois society'; but SD attempts to persuade them by literary or theoretical means were hopeless. Gorky was an exception, though 'his inability to adapt himself to the anti-revolutionary degeneration of the intelligentsia' had 'rapidly deprived him of his "popularity"'. Bronstein had more hopes in a student who was

to a certain extent freed from his family, and when he has not yet become the captive of his position in society, fulfils no social function, does not feel direct dependence on capital or the state, is not bound by any responsibilities, and – at least objectively, if not subjectively – is free in his judgment of right and wrong. At this period everything within him is fermenting, his class prejudices are as formless as his ideological interests, questions of conscience matter very strongly to him, his mind opening for the first time to great scientific generalisations, the extraordinary is almost a physiological need for him. If collectivism is at all capable of mastering his mind, now is the moment. ...

Students were not attracted to socialism since the 'bridges between the classes are broken', and a student had 'to leap across an abyss which gets deeper with each passing day', 'breaking his umbilical cord'; but after a revolution, in 'an epoch of great social reconstruction', students 'sooner, probably, than the other intermediate classes', would 'go over to the side of the defenders of the new society' and the new conditions would offer 'unlimited possibilities of the application of technical, organisational and scientific forces'.⁴⁶

Bronstein now had 76 responses to his questionnaire about the RSDRP, though 20 did not indicate if they paid attention to the SD Duma fraction, others were 'indifferent' and some thought the deputies were 'only interested in scandals'. Vyperedists viewed the Duma favourably, but Mensheviks claimed that workers had little faith in it.⁴⁷

(iii) Our links expand, grow stronger and more stable

Glafira Okulova, the daughter of a goldmine entrepreneur, had been born in the village of Shoshino, near Krasnoyarsk in Siberia, in 1878. In 1896 she was arrested for taking part in a student demonstration and was exiled to Yenisei Province in Siberia. She considered herself a revolutionary by 1899, attended teacher training courses in Moscow, and then moved to Kyiv, where she propagandised for the RSDRP in workers' *kruzhki*. From 1900 she was a member of the Ivanovo committee and later worked as a representative of *Iskra* in Moscow and Samara. She was active in the organising committee for the party Congress in 1903, but was exiled to Yakutsk for three years. After her release she worked in St. Petersburg in 1908,⁴⁸ but had given up party work by 1910.⁴⁹

Novgorodtseva later recalled that in spring 1910 Sverdlov had asked to be allowed to emigrate on the grounds of ill-health, but was exiled to Narym for three years; yet in four months they escaped. They stayed with his father in Nizhni Novgorod, but failed to contact the RSDRP,⁵⁰ so they went to St. Petersburg. In summer Sverdlov worked underground,⁵¹ while Novgorodtseva got a job to earn money. They lived with Okulova in a small flat and late in October Sverdlov wrote to friends in Narym.

It gets better every day – our links expand, grow stronger and more stable. And there has been a noticeable change in the atmosphere during the last couple of weeks. A number of comrades have returned to us and the organisation is heaving, if you'll pardon the expression, with young workers and the formerly benighted masses. Groups are springing up in the colleges and institutes to discuss social issues. There are more strikes ...

Novgorodtseva recalled that 'the growing revolutionary mood among the people prompted the Central Committee to increase their demands on the Petersburg Bolsheviks'.

It was a time to stand up and be counted, to come out into the open, to abandon the hints and innuendoes that we had used when writing for the legal liberal press. The Bolsheviks should speak to the workers again through their own newspaper. ... The cream of the Party should be united and a militant monolithic organisation created, capable of leading the working class in its mood of mounting revolutionary enthusiasm.

The Central Committee heard that Sverdlov was back in Petersburg and looked to him to restore the local organisation, which had suffered at the hands of the secret police. ...

On their advice he proceeded with extreme caution; it was known that the organisation in Petersburg, like its Moscow counterpart, was rotten with informers. The Central Committee itself arranged his first secret appointments with Bolshevik workers from the local factories ...

He also gave detailed advice to the workers when they began to set up their own Bolshevik groups, explaining the importance of a broad base and helping them to establish efficient communications and plan their public addresses. He was in close contact with the Bolshevik deputies in the Duma.

... I checked all his contacts in advance, as a security measure. In the evening after work I would go to the working class districts on the city limits, give the password and question the person I found there closely on his political background and

role in the Party. Only when I was convinced of his reliability would I arrange the meeting with Sverdlov. If the flat seemed totally secure Sverdlov would go there; otherwise they would meet at the house of some comrade already known to be trustworthy. Of course I named no names; I spoke only of Comrade Andrei, a Party worker, which gave Sverdlov some measure of security against betrayal. Through each of these individuals he made further contacts among the Petersburg factory workers.

Early in November Sverdlov reported to the CC about the new paper. 'A group of objectors invited me, as you said they would, to a meeting to elect a candidate for the editorship. It pains me to report that there was absolutely no one in any way suitable.' 'Baturin would have been more or less adequate and I wanted to put his name forward but was not sure that he would want me to.' On the evening of the 14th Novgorodtseva came home from work and 'settled to the arduous task' of encoding a letter, but 'was not even half finished when there was a hammering on the door and the gendarmes burst in'.

I managed to destroy the half-coded letter and the code itself. ... The police discovered the original, written in Sverdlov's hand but it had no address and no signature. They turned the place upside down, broke the furniture, tore the paper off the walls and slit open the mattresses, but found nothing else – not for the first time – because we had been expecting a raid since 9 November, when Sverdlov noticed that he was being followed. At first he eluded them with his usual skill but he knew that he was a marked man; the remarkably zealous informers soon put the police on to his trail again. At that stage we began the essential business of passing everything we could to our colleagues.

One would have thought that, once his whereabouts were known, arrest would follow shortly. We were sufficiently familiar with the gendarme mentality, however, that we were not surprised when they held back. They thought he did not suspect he was being followed and were waiting for him to betray his contacts to them first.

... After first arresting him not far from our flat, they came and took me.⁵²

Late in 1910 Mensheviks worked in unions, cooperatives, workers' educational and insurance organisations and clubs,⁵³ and they claimed that Ulyanov was finished.⁵⁴

Two years earlier St. Petersburg police had briefly arrested the spy Shornikova for participating in a delegation to the SD deputies. She moved to Samara, then Ufa, but by November 1910 she was ill from anxiety, and went to police headquarters in St. Petersburg to beg for 300 rubles to pay the deposit to work in a government wine shop. She got the money, but became a lawyer's secretary and married a machinist.⁵⁵ Serova had married a Bolshevik Duma deputy,⁵⁶ and when he found her copying his notes of a confidential meeting with other deputies he beat her, chased her out of the house and told her not to return.⁵⁷

(iv) Sobelsohn

Karl Sobelsohn had been born into a Jewish family in Lviv, Galicia, in 1885,⁵⁸ where 28 percent of the population of 128,000 were Jews.⁵⁹ His father worked in the post office,⁶⁰ and his mother was a primary school teacher. She was attracted by avant-garde tendencies in Jewish culture, and especially the Haskalah (Knowledge) movement, which urged supporters to take pride in their Jewish heritage and restore Hebrew as a living language;⁶¹ yet both parents were strongly influenced by German culture.⁶² Karl's father died in 1890, and his widow took Karl and his sister to Tarnow, a small city 130 miles west of Lviv, where Jews formed 42 percent of the population, yet Karl grew up in virtual ignorance of Yiddish, and Haskalah's heroes left him cold, but instead of going out to play he read voraciously. When he was ten, and on holiday, an old farmhand told him about when peasants had massacred Polish gentry. When he was 13 an illiterate labourer asked him to read a newspaper, which turned out to be *Naprzód* (*Forward*), a Kraków paper which advocated an independent Poland. The labourer told him that there was a hatters' union, a textile workers' union, and efforts were underway to organize construction workers. Karl began to receive SD pamphlets, international socialist publications,⁶³ and *Naprzód*.⁶⁴ He spoke and read German fluently,⁶⁵ but when he entered a gymnasium he was captivated by Polish literature and history and became a nationalist. He felt 'compelled to study social questions' and 'discover the reasons for the division of Poland and the means of reuniting it'. He joined the unionised hatters who distributed SPD literature, which they kept in a cupboard in the Jewish baker's room where they met, and Karl read the SPD's *Erfurt Programme*, Bebel's *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* (*Woman and Socialism*), Mehring's *Die Geschichte der deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (*The History of German Social Democracy*) and Ferdinand Lassalle's speeches. By 1899 he had 'assimilated the rudiments of socialism',⁶⁶ and organised a conspiratorial kruzhek, but neglected his school work. In summer 1901 he attended a peasant demonstration, and was expelled, but would be able to take his final examinations in another city. He went to Kraków late that year,⁶⁷ enrolled at a gymnasium, and a classmate introduced him local socialists.⁶⁸ He formed

workers' kruzki, distributed socialist literature and was expelled again, though he invited the editor of *Napród* to Tarnow and he gave his version of Luxemburg's perspective. Karl met Zygmunt Zulawski, a young SD who was secretary of the growing trade union movement, who gave him the SDKPiL's *Przegląd Socjaldemokratyczny* (*The Social Democratic Review*), which persuaded him to abandon nationalism. He read some of Marx's early works, organised with hatters, bakers and construction workers, and passed the school-leaving examination in 1902. He published an article about Marxism in the Lviv socialist youth magazine *Promien* (*Ray of Light*), and others about the Tarnow bakers' union and Max Schippel's history of sugar production in *Napród*, and read a complete run of *Die Neue Zeit* in a lawyer's library.⁶⁹

In autumn he entered Kraków University and met Dzierżyński in 1903.⁷⁰ He wanted to learn how to 'win over Galician social democrats to a consistently Marxist policy,' though he lived in 'dire poverty'. He propagandised workers and joined the editorial board of *Napród*, but clashed with the chief editor, who chaired the central commission of trade unions and was a PPS deputy in the Sejm. In autumn Sobelsohn left Kraków with no money and many unpaid debts. He went to Bern in Switzerland, threw himself into study, was active in the labour movement, joined an SDKPiL cell and met Russian SDs, including the Bolshevik Apfelbaum, the Bundist Grinberg, and Plekhanov, who 'made little impression', and he 'did not understand a word' of what Ulyanov said in Russian. He corresponded with Luxemburg, visited Berlin and met Kautsky. In 1904 he published an article in the SDKPiL's *Warszawa Głos* (*The Voice*), and they began appearing every week. He contributed to Luxemburg's *Poznań Volkszeitung* (*People's Paper*) and argued that the SDKPiL should work in legal trade unions and merge with PPS-Lewica. Warszawski entrusted him with translating Kautsky's introduction to the new edition of Marx and Engels' *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*. He wanted to be cleared of the charge of stealing books in Kraków, but the SDKPiL leaders did not help him.⁷¹

When the Russian revolution broke out in 1905, Luxemburg suggested that Sobelsohn should work abroad for the RSDRP. He was invited to Berlin, worked in the libraries, observed SDP meetings and organisations and strengthened his links with the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* (*Leipzig People's Paper*). He later crossed the border with a false passport and met Dzierżyński and Jogiches in Warszawa. They assigned him to the editorial staff of *Czerwony sztandar*, and later to the legal daily *Trybuna* (*Tribune*). He spoke to up to 1,000 factory workers at a time, 'saw how the masses were thriving on the revolutionary struggle, and shook off the dust of SPD traditions'. When Jogiches and Luxemburg were arrested, Sobelsohn and Warszawski brought out *Czerwony sztandar*.

Early in 1906, when the electoral campaign for the Russian Duma began, Warszawski, Luxemburg and Jogiches were arrested, though Sobelsohn, Marchlewski and Rubinstein survived. Sobelsohn and a group of workers had to 'borrow' the printing presses of bourgeois papers. He spoke at legal meetings organised by bourgeois parties, and he and others sought to break them up, 'often by force of arms'. In spring he was arrested because the police 'didn't like the look of him', and though comrades paid bribes to free him, he was soon re-arrested. He spent six months 'quite agreeably' in Pawiak Prison, reading Marx's *Theorie des Mehrwerts* (*Theory of Surplus Value*), and works by Ulyanov and Plekhanov. He wrote about the problems of Polish trade unions for the SPD's *Die Neue Zeit*.

When he was released early in 1907 he was assigned to the central commission of trade unions, edited its paper and helped to lead strikes. He was arrested in Łódź, sent to Warszawa Citadel and deported to Galicia in winter, but the SDKPiL CC managed to send him to Terijoki in Finland. Warszawski and Jogiches had escaped from prison, and after Dzierżyński arrived they edited *Czerwony sztandar*. Sobelsohn met several RSDRP CC members, but police pressure forced the SDKPiL CC to send him and Jogiches abroad. They set off via Sweden for Berlin, where Sobelsohn helped to edit *Czerwony sztandar*, *Przegląd Socjaldemokratyczny* and other SDKPiL publications. He studied the Balkan crisis, the Turkish revolution and imperialism, and wrote about international politics for the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, the Frankfurt *Volkstimme* (*People's Voice*), the Bremen *Vorwärts* and the Berlin *Die Neue Zeit*.⁷² He spent most of the winter of 1907-1908 in Terijoki in Finland, but during 1908 he was accused of stealing 300 rubles from a trade union, and could not provide a receipt; yet he continued to contribute to SPD journals.⁷³ His relationship with Luxemburg deteriorated, even though he had supported her policies, but he contributed to the *Bremer Bürgerzeitung* (*The Bremen Citizens' Newspaper*).⁷⁴ In 1909 he accepted a position on the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*, and began a relationship with a Polish-Jewish woman who had a medical degree.

The SDKPiL leader Fürstenberg had distanced himself from Jogisches,⁷⁵ and in September 1910 Sobelsohn attended the International Congress in Copenhagen as an SDKPiL delegate, and furiously attacked a resolution urging socialists to work for arms reduction agreements, but lost the vote. Even though the SDKPiL leaders defended him against allegations made by an anti-Semite, he decided to join the Warszawa opposition.⁷⁶ Ulyanov asked him to help get his articles into German publications, and Sobelsohn paid a brief visit to Berlin, before returning to Bremen.⁷⁷ Dzierżyński suggested putting dissidents before a tribunal, and in November he won a veto over decisions taken in Berlin until the Main Directorate met. Dzierżyński had married Sofia Muszkat, the daughter of a polonised intellectual, and she soon became pregnant. In December, when she went to Warszawa with smuggled literature,

the police put her and other leading activists in the Citadel. She was later transferred to Pawiak Prison, where she gave birth to a premature unhealthy baby.⁷⁸ The CC recalled Warszawski from Paris and replaced him with Feinstein. Late that year Jogisches attended meetings with Ulyanov and his closest supporters in Paris.⁷⁹

The Polish trade unions had doubled in strength in the 25 years,⁸⁰ though none of the 160 cooperative stores in Łódź remained open.⁸¹ During 1910 *Czerwony sztandar* had appeared seven times, but though the Vilnius, Bialystok, Lublin, Kielce and other SDKPiL organisations had ceased to function,⁸² Sobelsohn believed that the threat of imperialist war meant that protests had to be replaced by preparations for revolutionary struggle.⁸³

(v) *Zvezda*

By late 1910 the émigré Menshevik Potresov's negative description of Plekhanov's role in the movement had ended their friendship.⁸⁴ Tsederbaum had argued in *Die Neue Zeit* that the factional struggle in the RSDRP had arisen when the 'Blanquist and anarchist lack of culture triumphed over Marxist culture'. Bronstein argued that the 'struggle for influence over the politically immature proletariat' had led to the 'adaptation of the Marxist intelligentsia to the class movement of the proletariat', 'Sectarianism, intellectualist individualism' and 'ideological fetishism'; yet neither Bolsheviks nor Mensheviks had 'struck deep roots in the depths of the proletariat'. Ulyanov sent a rebuttal to Kautsky, but he refused to print it in *Die Neue Zeit*.⁸⁵

It had taken Ordjonikidze four months to get to the village of Rybnoye in Yenisei province in Siberia in 1909, but he escaped, made his way to Persia and formed and led guerrilla groups. He corresponded with Krupskaya, and arrived in Paris late in 1910.⁸⁶ Ulyanov complained that the Russian CC had not met once that year. He called Bronstein 'Judas' for attending the Bologna School,⁸⁷ and the Bolshevik Centre refused to fund 'the bloc of liquidators + anarchists + Bronstein' which had 'grown many times stronger'.⁸⁸ The monthly circulation of the Mensheviks' St. Petersburg *Nasha zarya* was 3,000,⁸⁹ though Ulyanov called its editors the 'Stolypin Workers' Party' - supporters of the prime minister.⁹⁰ After Taratuta's wife died he had married Elizaveta Schmidt and they lived in Paris.⁹¹ In December Alexandr Malinovsky went there to find out if Taratuta was a spy.⁹²

The émigré Bolsheviks' *Rabochaya gazeta* noted that the police had raided universities, beaten and arrested students and closed newspapers which had reported these events, and were 'aggravating the unrest', while peasants had attacked kulaks; but the summer strikes and recent demonstrations following Tolstoy's death might signal the end of three years of counter-revolution. 'This upsurge may be rapid, or it may be slow and fitful, but in any case it is leading to a revolution'. By studying Tolstoy's works the working class 'will learn to know its enemies better, but in examining the *doctrine* of Tolstoy, the whole Russian people will have to understand' the 'weakness which did not allow them to carry the cause of their emancipation to its conclusion'. The paper included an obituary for the 'worker-Iskraist' Ivan Babushkin, who had been killed by a punitive detachment early in 1906. It praised his 'tireless, heroically persistent work' and stressed that he and others like him had been pivotal to building the party, which 'could not have existed ten months' without them.

They are the people who, not for a year or two but for a whole decade before the revolution, whole-heartedly devoted themselves to the struggle for the emancipation of the working class. They are people who did not dissipate their energies on the futile terrorist acts of individuals, but who worked persistently and unswervingly among the proletarian masses, helping to develop *their* consciousness, *their* organisation and *their* revolutionary initiative ... Everything won from the tsarist autocracy was won *exclusively* by the struggle of the masses led by such people as Babushkin.

The paper wanted information about peredovyye rabochiye (advanced workers) killed in 1905 and early 1906.⁹³

Large quantities of *Vypered* reached St. Petersburg, though RSDRP members outside the major Russian centres did not receive enough literature. Tarshis had shipped around 880 pounds of Bolshevik literature, including 20,000 copies of émigré papers, from Leipzig to A.S. Moiseev, but the police arrested him. His replacement, Matvei Brendinsky, was a spy,⁹⁴ but allowed some illegal literature through to maintain his cover.⁹⁵ Tarshis reached Paris by the end of December. Some Russian SD exiles had given up looking for work, and 'not a single evening arranged by the Russian colony in aid of the *émigrés*' fund passed off without scandals or brawls'. 'Isolation from Russia' and 'the engulfing atmosphere of the accursed *émigré* slough,' meant that 'living contact with Russia' was 'our only salvation'.⁹⁶ He delivered manuscripts 'regularly and punctually', but 'disputes in the Party grew sharp', and he argued for 'sending leaflets, either ready-printed or in manuscript form, to the few active Party organisations in time for the First of May, the Ninth of January, and other appropriate occasions'.⁹⁷

In Russia the Bolshevik Bonch-Bruевич was helping to organise the new legal paper in St. Petersburg,⁹⁸ with the support of his wife Vera Velichkina, who worked for the SD Duma fraction and wrote for *Vypered* and *Proletary*.⁹⁹

Others involved included Poletaev,¹⁰⁰ two other Duma deputies, the Bolshevik sympathiser I. P. Pokrovsky, the Party Menshevik Iordansky,¹⁰¹ and other Party Mensheviks and Bolsheviks,¹⁰² including the veteran intelligently Vinokurov and Vasily Shelgunov.¹⁰³ The city's Bolsheviks had suffered 15 mass arrests and the entire committee had been arrested six times. Most replacements were workers,¹⁰⁴ though the intelligent Nogin had escaped.¹⁰⁵ Since 1907 RSDRP membership in the city had fallen by almost 7,800,¹⁰⁶ and only around 600 survived. There were similar drops in cities elsewhere, since literate skilled workers were leaving.¹⁰⁷ On 14 December the St. Petersburg print workers' union was closed for giving strike pay, letting the strike committee use its typewriter and allowing non-members to attend a delegate meeting.¹⁰⁸ The surviving unions had 12,000 members,¹⁰⁹ but 40 percent of metalworkers' union 'members' paid no dues.¹¹⁰

On 16 December the first *Zvezda (The Star)* appeared in St. Petersburg and called for an increase in the 'old forms of social contact between fellow thinkers'.¹¹¹ Days later Moscow Bolsheviks published the legal monthly *Mysl (Thought)*.¹¹² SD Duma deputies raised money, solicited subscriptions and articles, and distributed *Zvezda* and other publications; though the articles by Gorky, Plekhanov, Rosenfeld and Ulyanov were often long and abstract, and sometimes lacked political direction, so its circulation rarely exceeded 1,000 and it did not reach south Russia.¹¹³ Novgorodtseva recalled that émigré Mensheviks tried to take over *Zvezda*, but Sverdlov, Poletaev and Alexandrov 'did their best to ensure that the paper would be truly Bolshevik'.¹¹⁴ By the 20th the Okhrana understood that an RSDRP school was being planned, with one Bolshevik, two Vyperedists, one Bundist, one member of the SDKPIL and another from the LSD as lecturers.¹¹⁵

After the Bolshevik Bubnov left jail, early in 1909, the RSDRP CC had co-opted him as an agent. He worked in Nizhni Novgorod and Sormovo, but when he tried to go abroad he was arrested,¹¹⁶ for the 13th time.¹¹⁷ In May 1910 he was co-opted onto the Bolshevik Centre, but was in a Moscow prison by December,¹¹⁸ along with the committee, which had almost ceased to exist.¹¹⁹

Saratov was the 11th largest city in the Empire.¹²⁰ The situation of SDs had begun to improve slightly, and underground groups occasionally distributed hectographed non-factional leaflets by early 1910. In November University students, teachers and other professionals took part in illegal events to mark the death of Leo Tolstoy, though students who demanded that his portrait be hung in the University library were conscripted. Alexandr Voronsky, who had joined the RSDRP in 1904, was an active Bolshevik, and by December, together with Maria Ulyanova and Stanislav Krzizanovsky, he established three new *kruzhki* with 30 members. One consisted of railway workers, another was probably made up of Gantke metalworkers and the third was for secondary school pupils.¹²¹

After the Bolshevik Kostrikov was released from Tomsk Prison in Siberia he went to Irkutsk, where the RSDRP had been 'smashed'. After police discovered the press, he escaped to Vladikavkaz in the Caucasus. There was 'no organisation, only individual comrades,' but he worked underground and helped to produce a legal paper.¹²²

Jughashvili had arrived in Solvychevodsk in Siberia in autumn.¹²³ Grigor Uratadze told Ulyanov about his brutal methods, but he replied: 'That is exactly the sort of person I need'. He sent Jughashvili 70 rubles, but they did not reach him, and though he escaped to St. Petersburg,¹²⁴ he was arrested and sent back to Siberia. 'K.S.' wrote to the RSDRP CC about the 'rank unprincipledness' of the 'Bronstein bloc' and insisted that the 'Ulyanov-Plekhanov' perspective would succeed in 'digging a gulf between the Menshevik workers and the Liquidators'. 'I have another six months to go. When the term expires I shall be entirely at your service. If the need for Party workers is really acute, I could get away at once.' By late 1910 he had read *Mysl*, but he and the 'decent crowd' of exiles would welcome *Golos*, *Sotsial-Democrat*, *Rabochaya gazeta* and *Zvezda*.¹²⁵ On 31 December Jughashvili supported the cooperation between Ulyanov and Plekhanov and condemned Bronstein's efforts to form a bloc.¹²⁶

(vi) Famine, financial dependency and vulnerable exports

In summer 1910 the Russian government had abolished peasant village communes where the land had not been redistributed since 1861, allowed householders to apply for ownership of the land they held,¹²⁷ and let village assemblies consolidate landholdings by a majority vote,¹²⁸ rather than two-thirds.¹²⁹ Zemstva gave eight million households around 30 pounds of grain a month, at a cost of over 120 million rubles,¹³⁰ yet 101,000 died of cholera.¹³¹ During 1910 peasants had bought over 17 million acres, including three-quarters in the fertile central provinces,¹³² but the average purchase through the Peasants Land Bank was around 43 acres.¹³³ All the 341,900 heads of peasant households who applied for hereditary tenure of their communally-held land were successful,¹³⁴ as were the 651,000 applicants for grants of land.¹³⁵ Over almost 8.66 million acres had been converted into private property owned by 319,000 households.¹³⁶ Thanks to sharply rising grants from the Ministry of Agriculture, zemstvos had established a loan fund of 20.5 million rubles for agricultural improvements, and imports of agricultural machinery had cost an average of 30.7 million rubles a year since 1906,¹³⁷ yet a third of peasant

households lacked basic equipment.¹³⁸ Even so the sown area of grain had increased by 17 percent since 1906, yields by 22 percent and production by 42 percent. The area sown with rye had dipped slightly, and yields had risen by 13 percent and production by nine percent;¹³⁹ though the harvest was a disaster,¹⁴⁰ and around 25 million peasants were starving in 20 provinces.¹⁴¹ The price of land had almost doubled in 20 years, though labourers' wages had slightly outpaced the rate of inflation.¹⁴² In 1910 the value of domestic production was 46 million rubles. There were peasant organisations in ten provinces in Ukraine, the Volga basin and the Urals.¹⁴³ Around 1,000 of the officially-recorded 6,275 peasant outbreaks that year were on a large scale. The property of 647 gentry had been burned, as had the homes of 2,993 owners of peasants' former cultivated plots in the Moscow region.¹⁴⁴

Since 1906 over 680,000 miles of railway had been built,¹⁴⁵ though military 'flying squads' supported the civil authorities.¹⁴⁶ During 1910 the government had invested 63 million rubles in new railways, 65 million in the network,¹⁴⁷ and subsidised travel on the Trans-Siberian line,¹⁴⁸ and 353,000 people had legally migrated,¹⁴⁹ in cattle trucks, but many did not have the equipment to uproot trees or break virgin soil. The government gave them little support, the death-rate was very high,¹⁵⁰ and 75,000 returned.¹⁵¹ Over 433,300 people had now migrated to Siberia, mostly from the central provinces, though around 56,000 had returned. Ukrainian peasants had formed well over half of all migrants.¹⁵² The government had given the best land in Trans-Baikal and central Asia to migrants,¹⁵³ as had the governor-general in Samarkand, Syr Darya and Fergana which he considered to be not needed by the nomad population.¹⁵⁴ The amount of cultivated land in Asiatic Russia had increased to 294 million acres.¹⁵⁵

There were almost 90,000 primary schools in European Russia,¹⁵⁶ and though over a million children did not attend,¹⁵⁷ over 90,000 were in trade schools.¹⁵⁸ Zemstvos had spent almost 42.9 million rubles on schools.¹⁵⁹ Gymnasiums had enrolled over 204,000 girls and almost 85,000 boys,¹⁶⁰ and 72 percent of secondary pupils were non-gentry and 25 percent were peasants.¹⁶¹ The army had closed its politics courses because they were counterproductive,¹⁶² but secondary pupils in Central Asia, except for Slav boys and a few girls, received a military education,¹⁶³ and 21 headmasters, 32 inspectors and 1,054 urban teachers had been sacked since 1906 and 870 teachers had been transferred from in and around Kazan.¹⁶⁴ The government insisted that teachers had to earn 360 rubles a year, rising annually by 60 rubles up to a maximum of 600.¹⁶⁵ There were 20 higher schools for women in 11 cities,¹⁶⁶ including one in Tomsk in Siberia, plus a Women's Medical Institute in Kharkiv, and those in Moscow and Kyiv ran medical courses.¹⁶⁷ There were around over 20,000 women auditors and 100,000 male students in higher educational institutes.¹⁶⁸ Almost 70 percent of male university undergraduates were not from gentry families and 13.5 percent had peasant origins.¹⁶⁹ Reportedly 12 percent were affiliated to the VPSR and ten percent to SD organisations and other left-wing groups.¹⁷⁰ During 1910 2,391 periodicals had been published,¹⁷¹ though 195 of the 282 new ones had been closed.¹⁷²

There were 5.6 million Jews in the Empire, though by 1910 over 704,000 had left for the USA since 1901.¹⁷³ By autumn 1910 the Bundist Novomirsky had returned to the Pale from Heidelberg University,¹⁷⁴ and wrote and edited labour movement and revolutionary literature.¹⁷⁵ In Lviv, at the first Bund conference for four years, 12 of the 25 delegates were from local organisations. Yiddish was the official language, and delegates called for it to be part of the struggle for national-cultural autonomy. The Bund had lost two-thirds of its income since 1908: its financial support for full-timers had more than halved; and its membership was no more than 2,000.¹⁷⁶ Vladimir Grinberg had been among the first to call for an active interest in the Jewish *kehillah* (community organization). He demanded Yiddish schools, the rights of employment for Jews and rest on the Sabbath.¹⁷⁷ Jewish schools had 115,575 pupils, though almost 127,000 attended Orthodox schools.¹⁷⁸ In Switzerland there were 300 Russian Jewish students at Zurich University and Jews formed 80 percent of the 400 students at Bern University.¹⁷⁹

Foreigners had invested 1.358 billion rubles in Russian industry and banking, and owned 38 percent of joint-stock capital,¹⁸⁰ including 22 percent of investment in railways, industry and commerce.¹⁸¹ Over 15,000 inspected factories employed 1.9 million workers at an average of 111. Over 9,900 employed up to 50 (totalling 220,000), 2,200 51 to 100 (159,000), over 2,200 101 to 500 (508,000), 433 501 to 1,000 (303,000) and 324 over 1,001 (713,000). Around 1,440 inspected plants employed 335,190 workers, and 66 employed 167,199, though 69 employed 18,277.¹⁸² There were 280,000 inspected metalworkers, and 840,000 textile workers.¹⁸³ Metalworking plants employed over 530,000, cotton mills 470,000, mines 150,000, wool mills 134,000 and other textile mills 95,000.¹⁸⁴ Women formed 31 percent of the workforce in cotton mills, 48 percent in the garment and shoe industries and 14 percent in printing and chemicals.¹⁸⁵ The building industry had begun to recover, and metal and textile industries had followed,¹⁸⁶ though almost 40,000 tons of raw cotton had been imported.¹⁸⁷ During 1910, officially, industrial employment had risen to almost 2.4 million.¹⁸⁸

Russian banks had invested heavily in southern industry. Early in 1910 two of Produgol's 24 associated coal firms had left the cartel,¹⁸⁹ though annual production was almost 27.5 million tons and pig-iron production 3.3 million tons.¹⁹⁰ There were 28 Donbass metallurgical plants and investment had almost doubled to 224 million rubles.¹⁹¹ Nearly 40 percent of pig-iron was produced in three huge southern plants, and the Prodamenta cartel produced 74

percent of it, plus 78 percent of sheet iron and 46 percent of rails.¹⁹² French capital dominated the cartel.¹⁹³ The New Russia Company employed 6,171 ironworkers in Luzovka and 7,891 miners in nearby collieries, but only two of the town's 14 *arteli* included workers from outside the region. In Luzovka 1,642 of the Company's 9,103 workers lived in factory housing, and they and their families formed 6,000 of the town's 50,000 population. A few apartments were rent-free, 207 cost between 75 kopeks and 1.1 rubles a month to rent, 87 four to eight rubles, and 23 eight to 16, though most water came from wells and hand pumps. The Company's hospital had 153 beds, an X-ray unit and an operating theatre. In June 40,000 people had left the Donbass because of the cholera outbreak. The five libraries in Luzovka were financed by public subscriptions. During 1910 there was a monthly average of 111,400 Donbass miners,¹⁹⁴ though the only illegal union was at the Zhilov mine.¹⁹⁵

Almost all of the Caucasus remained under martial law. In Tbilisi unions had almost disappeared,¹⁹⁶ though Georgia produced 50 million litres of wine.¹⁹⁷ The Okhrana believed the circulation of the Mensheviks' Georgian-language *akhali azri* (*New Viewpoint*) had fallen from 9,000 to 2,000. The number of manufacturing workers in Tbilisi province had fallen from around 12,000 in 1907 to 10,600, and the number of Batumi oil drum workers had fallen from 3,300 in 1903 to 290, while the workforces of the largest factories had fallen from 4,900 to under 1,100.¹⁹⁸ In Azerbaijan the value of goods passing through Baku was higher than any European Russian city, and 85 percent was petroleum products.¹⁹⁹ A British engineer had surveyed a route for a 50-mile oil pipeline from Shirvansky to Touapse on the Black Sea coast, which he estimated would cost the equivalent of £230,000 and carry 375,000 tons, at 2s per ton, compared to £15s 9d per ton on the 550-mile pipeline from Baku to Batum.²⁰⁰ In 1910 there had been 13 strikes with 1,006 participants in Transcaucasia, though five of the 11 which won were in Baku.²⁰¹

Nationally the annual average industrial wage was 244 rubles,²⁰² but it was 179 in the Kyiv region, 186 in Vladimir province, 204 in the Volga region, 209 in Moscow, 243 in Moscow province, 249 in Kharkiv, 300 in Warszawa, 309 in St. Petersburg and 355 in St. Petersburg province.²⁰³ The bigger the textile mill, the higher the pay,²⁰⁴ but only workers earning 400 rubles a year in St. Petersburg could afford to live with their families.²⁰⁵ Union membership had fallen to 12,000,²⁰⁶ or 1.6 percent of the workforce, including five percent of manufacturing workers.²⁰⁷ Nationally the government had closed 88 unions,²⁰⁸ and the 720 survivors had 35,000 members between them.²⁰⁹

During 1910 around 46,000 inspected workers, or 2.4 percent of the total, were involved in 222 strikes at 1.4 percent of workplaces,²¹⁰ for a total of 256,000 days,²¹¹ and an average of 5.5;²¹² but while 42,846 workers took part in 214 economic strikes, only 3,777 were involved in eight political strikes.²¹³ Nine percent of strikes ended in victory, 35 ended in compromise and 56 percent in defeat.²¹⁴ There were two strikes in metalworking plants,²¹⁵ and the city's workers formed three percent of all strikers,²¹⁶ as did those in 11 strikes in St. Petersburg province, while those in the Moscow industrial region accounted for 56 percent.²¹⁷ Moscow employers believed there had been 96,750 strikers, and only 4,000 were political.²¹⁸ There had been 63 strikes and just over 4,500 strikers in Poland, though only 231 textile workers were unionised in Łódź.²¹⁹ Ukraine accounted for 27 percent of all strikers,²²⁰ and around 12,000 were in the Donbass.²²¹ Nationally there were at least 75,000 strikers, and while many strikes began as economic disputes, when delegates were arrested the strikes often became political.²²²

In Galicia, Piłsudski, the leader of PPS-Prawica's combat organisation, argued that 'the revolution for which we are preparing is the armed struggle of a people's army with the army of the tsar'.²²³ The VPSR's Savinkov could not account for 30,000 of the 200,000 rubles he had received from the CC, and three recent recruits to the combat organisation were spies.²²⁴ Twelve Okhrana spies, in addition to informers, were assigned to watch Savinkov.²²⁵ The 25 spies in the VPSR reported that it was in 'desperate' straits since it had no serious or active organisations, and lacked people and material means.²²⁶ An 'autonomous group' of SRs in St. Petersburg avoided all but the most necessary contact with the émigrés and rejected 'bureaucratic intermediaries',²²⁷ but the police arrested 200, leaving only two groups of SR workers at large.²²⁸ That year four agents among SRs had been exposed, but none of the seven among anarchists or the 29 among SDs, and the Okhrana had infiltrated seven agents into the Bolsheviks' Moscow cells.²²⁹ Around 28,500 people had been sentenced to *katorga* and 30,000 were exiled,²³⁰ and courts martial of railway activists arrested in 1905-1906 continued.²³¹ The annual budget for the Okhrana was three million rubles,²³² and 61 million the regular police. In December Zavarzin was transferred from Warszawa to Moscow. That year there had been 2,231 state crime cases.²³³ The Okhrana's alphabetical list of 'persons under investigation' held 13,000 names and reportedly included 'almost any intelligent person who at one time in life had ever thought about politics'. Suspects' political affiliations and the houses visited by revolutionaries were colour-coded,²³⁴ and staff had photographed suspicious documents. The Okhrana had bases in Italy, Switzerland and the USA, and the Paris Agentura was known as the 'Police internationale autonome'.²³⁵ In summer its staff had left the Russian embassy, and its head banned agents from sending or receiving communications that way, but he hired a French-run agency with 28 detectives to conduct surveillance.²³⁶

Government officials had estimated that the number of people with annual incomes equivalent to between \$500 and \$1,000 was less than 400,000,²³⁷ and 16,000 men in St. Petersburg, 8,000 in Moscow, 3,761 in Kyiv, 1,884

in Saratov, 1,501 in Kazan and 1,418 in Samara would be able to vote in the upcoming Duma elections.²³⁸ The current Duma had extended Russian legislation to Finland,²³⁹ and the prime minister had restricted the Finnish legislature to internal matters.²⁴⁰ It could not legislate the status of the Russian language, the basis of the administration and the rights of Russians in various military matters in Finland.²⁴¹ It would have no say in taxation, military service, security, commercial policy, railways, education and language. It had been empowered to elect two deputies to the Russian State Council and four to the Duma, but did not do so. Proposed laws and administrative matters of 'general significance' had to be sent to the governor-general to pass on to ministers in St. Petersburg.²⁴²

The government's monopoly sales on 986 million litres of vodka had made a profit equivalent to £58.5 million; yet the government owed the equivalent of around £319 million.²⁴³ Direct taxes formed 12 percent and indirect taxes 80 percent of income,²⁴⁴ and the trade balance was 450 million rubles.²⁴⁵ The total income was less than 2.8 billion rubles.²⁴⁶ Over 43 percent of grain went by rail to Black Sea ports, since land carriage cost 25 times as much.²⁴⁷ The military budget was 647 million rubles,²⁴⁸ though the government spent 680 million, and the Duma had approved spending 715 million on armaments over ten years.²⁴⁹ Since 1908 the War Ministry had spent an average of 576 million a year on espionage.²⁵⁰ In 1909-1910 41.7 percent of tons of merchant vessels which entered Constantinople harbour carried the British flag, but only seven percent were Russian.²⁵¹ In November negotiations between Russian and Turkish representatives failed to reach agreement about spheres of influence in Persia.²⁵²

In Germany 40 percent of the population lived in villages and small towns and 20 percent in cities with populations of over 100,000.²⁵³ That year the mining and transport industries had received 51 percent of capital investment,²⁵⁴ and metal plants produced 14.8 million tons of pig-iron.²⁵⁵ In spring troops had attacked striking Mansfeld coal miners. Two thirds of the 369,000 industrial workers had been locked out, including 175,000 building workers. One third of unionised workers had gone on strike and strike pay had cost 11.9 million marks.²⁵⁶ The SPD had 720,000 members,²⁵⁷ including almost 83,000 women, though SPD deputies in the Baden Landtag had voted for a conservative budget.²⁵⁸ A member of the general staff who had argued that Germany was dangerously exposed to foreign attack was demoted,²⁵⁹ but the Navy commissioned its first submarines.²⁶⁰

13. *Saviours or Destroyers?*

(i) Armed police in the lecture halls

On 9 January 1911, after the eighth *Nash put* appeared in Moscow, Roman Malinovsky and another spy betrayed the main contributors and the police closed the paper.¹ On the 11th the government banned meetings on university premises,² ordered professors to call the police if they took place,³ call troops if necessary and expel students guilty of disorderly conduct. After the Moscow rektor and two assistants resigned the government sacked the staff council.⁴ By the 20th several professors and 74 junior staff had resigned and tens of thousands of students had enrolled at 'people's universities' in Moscow, St. Petersburg and other cities.⁵ In Siberia Tomsk police arrested 373 Technological Institute students.⁶ The St. Petersburg University student council led protests,⁷ and by the 23rd it included representatives from all the capital's higher educational institutions, and one from Moscow. On the 26th they urged students to 'fight for the overthrow of the whole system'.⁸ Bestuzhev course students voted 2,329 to 1,174 to strike, though a majority of Technological Institute students voted against.⁹ More professors resigned and over 410 students had been arrested by the 31st,¹⁰ including 392 from the University. By 1 February 535 police were stationed there,¹¹ and a newspaper reported that there were 'many police with rifles and fixed bayonets ranged along the long corridors' and small numbers of students were 'escorted by armed police' to lectures. There were armed police in the lecture halls, but students 'storm in, trying to interrupt the lectures with whistles, noxious gases, and the singing of revolutionary songs.' In days there was a national student strike,¹² and 1,430 professors and instructors had resigned or been sacked.¹³ Reportedly 1,201 St. Petersburg University students had been expelled or suspended and the Education Ministry refused to readmit 35 of the 73 Jewish students, some of whom were in their final year. Between 800 and 1,300 students attended lectures, though fewer than 20 Bestuzhev students did so. Women's Medical Institute students boycotted lectures and the government announced that those who did not attend when it reopened would be expelled, yet all but 24 stayed away.¹⁴ Reportedly there were 109 local RSDRP organisations in Russia,¹⁵ and there were 600 members in St. Petersburg.¹⁶ The committee welcomed the student activity, but discouraged workers from getting involved. The government had expelled 1,871 students, suspended 4,406, and warned them that they would lose state aid for not attending; yet the strike stayed solid until April.¹⁷

The average daily wage at the Baltic shipyard had fallen from 2.32 to 2.04 rubles in two years.¹⁸ The workers had gone on strike and the SD Duma deputies helped to prevent a cut in overtime rates. In March Poletaev contacted the RSDRP City district, tried to contact others, and established a group to support *Pravda*. The émigré RSDRP CC had tasked the Bolshevik conciliationist Nogin with implementing the Paris plenum decisions,¹⁹ but Knipovich, Bonch-Bruevich, Liubov Radchenko and other veteran Bolshevik intelligenty were arrested on the 9th.²⁰ Roman Malinovsky betrayed the CC members Leiteisen and Aizenshtat.²¹ In Moscow Bolsheviks published the second *Mysl* in which 'V. Ilyin' set out the history of the split.²² The Party Mensheviks Skvortsov, Vorovsky, Alexandrov and the émigré Plekhanov also contributed, though the police confiscated the fifth and last issue in April.²³

Sergey Minin had been born into a priest's family in Dubovka north of Tsaritsyn on the Volga in 1882. He joined the RSDRP in 1905,²⁴ and in 1911 he produced a journal which attacked Mensheviks, Bolsheviks and SRs who wanted to liquidate the underground.²⁵ Saratov RSDRP organisation had been re-established, though the Bolshevik intelligenty Elizarova and Elizarov were under surveillance.²⁶ Elizarova and a Menshevik intelligent produced *Privolzhskaya gazeta* (the *Volga Region Newspaper*),²⁷ which appeared twice daily in runs of 3,000. She tried to convert it into a Bolshevik organ, and though the police could not find evidence to close it,²⁸ they arrested her.²⁹ A factory inspector censured the food factories for lack of sanitation and workers' poor conditions, diet and housing. The police regarded Ulyanova as the 'central figure among the local Bolsheviks', and she worked on *Privolzhskaya gazeta*, which used Aesopian language. The paper was popular with workers and gendarmes arrested Elizarova and Ulyanova in May.³⁰ Pelageia Poldushkinai had joined the RSDRP in 1905, aged 20, and smuggled party literature from abroad to Riga. She was deported to Saratov in 1909, but later worked in Samara and joined the Bolsheviks in 1911.³¹

In Georgia around 25 percent of Tbilisi's population of 303,000 were Georgian, and the proportion of Russians had declined from 28.8 to 21.5 percent, while that of Armenians had risen from 29.5 to 41.2 percent. The 99 factories employed 3,874 workers,³² though the railway workshops employed 3,500, a few other plants employed 100 to 200,³³ and 1,165 artisans had 1,002 workshops.³⁴ The circulation of the Armenian SDs' *akhali azri* (*New Opinion*) had fallen from 9,000 to 2,000. There were fewer than 100 Bolsheviks, though they cooperated with Mensheviks.³⁵ After a wave of arrests the SDs transferred their headquarters to Kutaisi. The Okhrana claimed that the Tbilisi organisation was almost 'invisible', though it met under the cover of an employees' organisation. The trade unions had almost disappeared. SDs were limited to their semi-legal press and election campaigns, and the

Mensheviks allied with liberals to elect the city's mayor. Ramishvili was hiding and Zhordania and other Mensheviks had fled abroad,³⁶ though Zhordania supported the call by the Caucasian joint committee, Bund and LSD for an RSDRP unity conference. After Jughashvili refused to join the Russian CC, Baki police arrested him,³⁷ and other Bolsheviks, and exiled the Menshevik Jibladze.³⁸

Baki RSDRP committee noted that 'depression and torpor' was 'beginning to pass', but

the isolation of our organisations from one another and the absence of a (leading) practical centre regularly functioning in Russia and actually uniting the local organisations in a single Party, preclude the possibility of conducting genuinely Party (and not amateurish group) political agitation, make it impossible for the Party effectively to counteract the systematic campaign of slander conducted by the 'liberals', and so discredit the Party in the eyes of the workers.

The committee wanted the party leaders to be in Russia, with 'an all-Russian leading newspaper connected with the local organisations', and 'local organs' in 'the most important centres of the labour movement', including Baki, the Donbass, St. Petersburg, Moscow, the Urals, and 'other big centres' The Russian CC should organise a party conference, but not invite legal organisations.³⁹ Georgian Pro-party Mensheviks and Bolsheviks collaborated.⁴⁰

(ii) It is war!

By 1911 there were 35,000 Russians in Paris.⁴¹ On 3 January Ulyanov acknowledged that the RSDRP had split irreversibly,⁴² and he wrote to Gorky. 'That rascal Trotsky is uniting the Golosists and Vyperedists against us. It is war!'⁴³ Soon after Gorky arrived in Paris.⁴⁴ He was about close his publishing house Znanie, but wanted to open another to 'unite all our literary men'.⁴⁵ He would write about 'the history of Western and Russian literature' and 'the history of culture, offering workers extensive factual material for self-education and propaganda', but Ulyanov pointed out that most SDs were 'engaged in practical party work, and had no time to write'.

This was no time for bulky books; these were devoured by the intelligentsia who were clearly retreating from socialism to liberalism and we could not move them from their chosen path. What we needed was a newspaper, pamphlets. It would be good to resume publication of the Znaniye series, but that was impossible because of the Russian censorship, and impossible because of the transportation difficulties. We had to get scores and hundreds of thousands of leaflets to the people, but such quantities could not be taken into the country, illegally.⁴⁶

By the 6th a *Sotsial-Democrat* supplement accused Bronstein of supporting attempts to '*destroy the central bodies so detested by liquidators*' and '*the Party as an organisation*'. He was 'embarking on the path of *adventurism* and a *split*'. The Paris plenum decisions had not been honoured and the Bolsheviks wanted their money back.⁴⁷

By the end of January, in Vienna, Bronstein had received 92 responses to his questionnaire from SD workers in 27 Russian cities. Their average age was 24 and they had been SDs on average for less than five years. They included 43 'nonfactionalists' or 'antifactionalists', 17 Bolsheviks, 12 Mensheviks, seven Vyperedists and one Party Menshevik, while 12 thought factional affiliation was irrelevant or ignored the question. Bronstein estimated that RSDRP membership was around 10,000, though 'formal organisations at a local level' were rare, so an all-party conference was needed to revive the underground network, strengthen Duma operations and unify the émigrés.⁴⁸

Rykov, the RSDRP CC member and conciliationist,⁴⁹ was in Berlin. In February Ulyanov wrote to him about the 85,000 rubles which the Vyperedists had used to fund the Bologna School. Rykov did not want to expel the Vyperedists, but Ulyanov argued that they '(1) do not publish a new platform, (2) do not make pro-Party statements, (3) do not dissolve their factional school' and '(4) do not hand over their factional funds to the Party', so they were an 'anti-Party faction'. 'If you do not say this, you will lose our co-operation without gaining that of the Vyperedists'. Rykov had to '*condemn*' their 'factionalism' or face a party committee of enquiry.⁵⁰ Ulyanov insisted that 'the crisis is coming to a head', and demanded that Rykov, Leitesen, Sammer and Dmitry Postolovsky leave Russia 'at all costs'. If male comrades refused to be couriers, Nina Marshak had the 'proper papers' and had used the escape network.⁵¹ Ulyanov invited Rykov, Jogiches and Warszawski of the SDKPiL to meet himself and Apfelbaum in Paris.⁵² He told Gorky that the Paris Bolsheviks had to 'transfer the whole business to St. Petersburg', though 'we have no legal and reliable people', 'except workmen (and they won't do)'.⁵³ *Sotsial-Democrat* insisted that a conference '*must be called by the Central Committee of the party*. But there is no Central Committee, the Liquidators cry joyfully from all sides. We say this to Social Democratic workers: if there is no Central Committee, *work to construct one*'.⁵⁴

Rykov, Mandelshtam and Alexey Aline lived at 110 avenue d'Orleans, the home of the press and circulation departments of *Sotsial-demokrat*. One day Aline found Ulyanov tearing old letters manuscripts and piles of other documents into small pieces. Krupskaya deciphered letters and they both worked incessantly. Their friends had

given them both a bicycle, and Ulyanov looked after them meticulously. One day he arrived on his bicycle at 110 avenue d'Orleans, where the printers Vladimir and Riskine worked on the ground floor. On the first floor there was an office with two locked cupboards, and Aline broke them open. Vladimirsky and Semashko led the Mensheviks, and the CC accountant Mark Lioubriov and Vladimirov the 'conciliators'. One day when Vladimirov arrived at the press and found two pamphlets being printed that had not been approved by Ulyanov and Apfelbaum, but not the CC, he was outraged, but the printer Abram le Letton, who had been tortured in a Riga Prison, carried on printing. The émigré CC made Aline responsible for the printing and distribution of *Sotsial-demokrat* instead of Vladimirsky. The émigré CC members received 50 francs a week. In spring Loubriov proposed to cut the typographers' pay of 57 francs to 50, but Ulyanov opposed him. Some printers had worked for the RSDRP since 1902.⁵⁵

The Bologna School had cost 20,587 francs,⁵⁶ and though Lunacharsky had paid most of that from Vypered's funds,⁵⁷ the school commission requested 3,000 francs from the émigré RSDRP CC for travelling and living expenses, and an invitation to Paris, though the CC agreed to pay only their expenses. In Bologna the Vyperedists had demanded that the students should decide the curriculum in Paris, and though the Bolsheviks had sent Semashko to divide them, he had failed. When the students and lecturers reached Paris the commission refused to pay for their board and lodgings, but they demanded all their costs, and after they threatened to publicise their case to the 'international socialist proletariat' they got their living expenses, though not the lectures.⁵⁸ The Bolshevik intelligent Adoratsky arrived in Paris and met 'N', a young Sormovo worker who knew no foreign languages and wanted to return to Russia. Alexandr Malinovsky had convinced him in Bologna and he was sceptical about Ulyanov, but after an hour with him he told Adoratsky he had learned things he had not been told in Bologna.⁵⁹ Most Vyperedists rejected Malinovsky's programme and Alexinsky questioned the use of the proceeds of the Tbilisi expropriation and resigned, as did Mandelshtam, Menzhinsky,⁶⁰ and Pokrovsky.⁶¹ Other Vyperedists had begun 'to go over from cultural and propaganda work to politics in the émigré style', and in spring Malinovsky 'abandoned politics' and wrote 'propaganda pieces' for the Vienna *Pravda*.⁶²

In Paris Rosenfeld lived on the second floor of a building near Montsouris Park, along with Malinovsky, Alexinsky and some Bolsheviks, while Lunacharsky, who had organised a 'circle of proletarian culture', lived on the third floor next to the *Vypered* office. Every morning five, six or more people visited him to read their literary productions. He praised them all, and one worker gave up his job to be a professional writer, but could not find a publisher and became hard-up. Almost every day Lunacharsky pushed his son's pram in the park. It was full of books, journals and reviews, and both of Lunacharsky's hands held a journal or a book, so he pushed the pram with his stomach.⁶³

In spring Semashko, the only Bolshevik on the RSDRP émigré CC, demanded a plenum. After the others refused, he took the records and money. Rykov, the only Bolshevik member of the Russian CC, invited the émigré CC to meet at 110 avenue d'Orleans in Paris without the three Menshevik. The Bundist Koigen claimed he was ill,⁶⁴ though nine of the 15 CC members were émigrés and had the right to hold a plenum.⁶⁵ On 1 April Ulyanov visited Luxemburg in Berlin for the fourth time. She recalled: 'I enjoy talking with him, he's clever and well educated, and has such an ugly mug, the kind I like to look at'. By mid-April Ulyanov had visited Plekhanov in San Remo and they had formally agreed to cooperate.⁶⁶ The former Bolshevik Mandelshtam had joined the Vyperedists in Paris, but returned to Russia and worked in legal workers' organisations in Baki,⁶⁷ though the police detained him and Nogin in April. It cost over 100 rubles to smuggle 35 pounds of Bolshevik literature into Russia. Brendinsky forwarded about 100 pounds from Dvinsk each month, though Tarshis threatened to sack him if 5,000 May Day leaflets failed to arrive.⁶⁸ In 17 European provinces,⁶⁹ on May Day, 400,000 workers struck for all or part of the day.⁷⁰

(iii) The Paris coup

Ulyanov had planned an RSDRP school for 40 students in Paris as far back as spring 1910.⁷¹ Its organisation commission collected 1,500 francs and raised about 1,500 more from a musical evening. It issued a leaflet, but after the Menshevik members left the commission Ulyanov released 10,000 francs from the funds which should have gone to the SPD trustees. Two Bolsheviks and V.L. Leder of the SDKPIL drafted a curriculum and sent agents to Russia early in 1911. The commission sent Fyodor Kalinin to choose members of other factions 'only in rare cases'. Local organisations wanted an 'all-party school', so he appointed most of 20 students himself, and all the recruits received 150 francs to get to Paris. S.M. Semkov went to St. Petersburg, though comrades refused to discuss the school, and while an informal meeting of party workers approved, they declined to send students, so Semkov chose them himself.⁷² The Putilov turner, Ivan Belostovsky, was a conciliator, and another metalworker was a Vyperedist. Three districts condemned the school as schismatic, but Poletaev selected three students.⁷³ Semkov went to Moscow and chose Prisyagin, a tanner who edited an illegal trade union journal, plus S. Iskryanistov from Ivanovo-Voznesensk, the Pole Prukhnyak, the worker Andreyev, who had been deported from Mykolaiv, Roman Malinovsky,

'Pavel' from Baki, and the Sormovo worker Chugurin, who had served a long prison sentence and supported Plekhanov. The Katerynoslav organisation refused to send anyone, so Semkov chose Vera Vasilyeva, a young rubber worker,⁷⁴ who supported the Bolsheviks.⁷⁵

In Paris Armand had joined the Bolsheviks,⁷⁶ and had been elected to the presidium. She had taken over the dealing with correspondence with Western European Bolsheviks from Krupskaya and attended lectures at the Sorbonne. Her husband in Russia had a factory,⁷⁷ with an annual turnover of 200,000 rubles,⁷⁸ and sent her large amounts of money.⁷⁹ The Bolshevik Liudvinskaya's imprisonment in the Lithuanian Castle near Kolomna in Moscow province had exacerbated her tuberculosis.⁸⁰ She arrived in Paris in spring, though Ulyanov told her that her unfashionable clothes would make it easy for the police to spot her.⁸¹ She became the Bolsheviks' secretary,⁸² and worked with Armand, Krupskaya, Gopner and other Bolshevik intelligentki in workers' organisations. They organising meetings, lotteries and concerts to raise money for publications, and weeded out conciliators.⁸³

In May, in Paris, Tsederbaum published the 'toned down' *Spasiteli Hi uprazdniteli? kto I kak razrushal RSDRP? (Saviours or Destroyers. Who Destroyed the RSDRP and How?)* It argued that the Bolshevik 'camarilla' had to be destroyed before it destroyed the RSDRP.⁸⁴ He called the Bolsheviks 'party Jacobins' with a 'Nechaev type of policy',⁸⁵ and though he excluded material which might be useful to the police, he denounced the Bolsheviks' methods of fund-raising, and the way they broke agreements. (Ulyanov never challenged any of this.)⁸⁶ Half of the 5,000 copies were smuggled into Russia.⁸⁷

Ulyanov told émigré CC members that the Mensheviks knew leading Bolsheviks in Russia could not go abroad.

[A]most everywhere in the localities there are informal, extremely small and tiny party workers' groups and nuclei that meet irregularly. Everywhere they are combating liquidator-legalists in the unions, clubs, etc. They are not connected with each other. Very rarely do they see any literature. They enjoy prestige among workers. In these groups Bolsheviks and Plekhanov's supporters unite, and to some extent those *Vypered* 'supporters' who have read *Vypered* literature or have heard *Vypered* speakers, but have not yet been dragged into the isolated *Vypered* faction set up abroad.

... A far more serious anti-Party and anti-Social-Democratic force is the faction of the *independent legalists (Nasha Zarya + Dyelo Zhizn + Golos Sotsial-Demokrata)* ... [who] publicly ridicule Central Committee Decisions.⁸⁸

Ulyanov told Gorky that 'a union of the Plekhanovites + our people+ the Duma group threatens to give Plekhanov a preponderance', and asked his opinion.⁸⁹ Ulyanov had met no Russian committee members for 15 months.⁹⁰

The first students arrived in Paris in May and went to rue Marie Rose, where Ulyanov interrogated them about conditions in Russia. Ulyanov and Apfelbaum gave the less advanced ones some preparatory instruction in political theory, and the students constructed a trade union journal.⁹¹ There were 30 or so Bolshevik émigrés associated with *Rabochaya gazeta* in Paris,⁹² and two intelligently agreed to lecture at the school. Several Okhrana spies were active in Paris, so the school was to be held in Longjumeau, a village 10 miles or so to the south. In Russia one women student was having a baby, another was recovering from typhus, and a third was collecting information for the Okhrana.⁹³ The interior minister had known that Ulyanov had earmarked 10,000 francs for a school for 40 students for over a month, and by June the Okhrana knew that the lecturers came from several RSDRP factions.⁹⁴

On 10 June eight RSDRP CC members, 37 alternates and others met in Paris.⁹⁵ The CC members included three Bolsheviks,⁹⁶ and SDKPIL's Jogiches and Dzierżyński. Ozoliņš of the LSD arrived in a private capacity,⁹⁷ and announced that he would abstain on most issues and decisions would not bind the LSD. Boris Goldman, who 'represented only himself', and not the Bund, clashed with Ulyanov about the 'attempt by a private group of individuals to seize power in the name of the party', and left, and the rest considered themselves a 'meeting of CC members presently living abroad'.⁹⁸ They discussed how to call an all-Party conference,⁹⁹ though the Mensheviks protested.¹⁰⁰ Ulyanov argued that the Russian CC had been 'violating decisions' and had refused to convene a plenum. Four Bolshevik CC members had been arrested, but no Mensheviks. 'Letters were not written to us' for 'reasons of secrecy'.¹⁰¹ Given the 'intra-party situation', the impending Duma elections and the 'resurgence of the labour movement', a party conference was 'urgently necessary'. The meeting agreed that the émigré organisation commission would invite émigré organisations to send a representative, while a Russian organisation commission, under its supervision, would encourage local organisations to elect delegates and negotiate with workers' associations and the SD Duma fraction. The meeting appointed the Bolsheviks Shaya Itsikovich, Ulyanov, Apfelbaum, Ordjonikidze, Spandarian and plus David Shvartsman, a Party Menshevik, as CC members, and Shahumyan, Fyodor Kalinin, Stasova, Bubnov and Alexandr Smirnov as candidate members.¹⁰² Itsikovich had been born into a family of Jewish contractors in Nevel in Pskov province in 1876. After graduating from a dental school in Riga, he worked as a dental technician. In 1903 he joined the RSDRP and worked in St. Petersburg, Kronstadt, Sestroretsk, Moscow and other cities. He took part in the revolution in 1905,¹⁰³ and joined the St. Petersburg committee in 1906, and later the EC. In 1909 he joined *Proletary's* editorial board in Paris,¹⁰⁴ returned to Russia and led the Moscow Committee. He was soon

arrested and exiled to the Narym region, but escaped in 1910.¹⁰⁵ Smirnov had been born into a peasant family in the village of Nikola, Tver province, in 1877. He became a revolutionary in 1896, and joined the RSDRP in 1898, became a full-timer in St. Petersburg and elsewhere, and later joined the Bolsheviks.¹⁰⁶

In June 1911 five Bolsheviks and one Party Menshevik authorised Ordjonikidze and Spandarian to organise a Russian CC, with Jughashvili as a travelling agent when he was free for 50 rubles a month,¹⁰⁷ and Shvartsman as chair. The meeting called on 'party organisations and groups *without distinction as to faction or direction*' to 'tie yourselves to the Organisation' and 'quickly begin practical work'.¹⁰⁸ 'The invitation must be sent to Party Mensheviks, Vyperedists, *Pravda*, the Bund and the LSDP, and a suggestion by other SD groups 'would be sufficient for their representatives to be invited'.¹⁰⁹ The meeting established a technical commission and an organising commission, which included Bolshevik conciliators and members of the SDKPiL.¹¹⁰ The meeting planned to confer with regional groups before the conference and discussed making permanent connections with revolutionaries in the SPD.¹¹¹ They expelled the CC members Petr Bronstein, Iosef Iusev and Skrypnik, and agreed that Semashko, Jogiches, Rykov, Rosenfeld and Lyubimov would organise the RSDRP conference, and Jogiches, Sheinfinkel and Vladimirsky would procure arms and organise military training. The conference ended on 17 June.¹¹² Ulyanov transferred money to a Berlin bank, and Jogisches persuaded the SPD trustees to give the technical commission 30,000 rubles,¹¹³ but had decided provisionally not to give money to the émigré trade union bureau.¹¹⁴

The Mensheviks Tsederbaum and Gurvich had declined to lecture at the Longjumeau School,¹¹⁵ as had Gorky.¹¹⁶ Plekhanov claimed he was deterred by the 'Paris heat' and Luxemburg was busy with the Reichstag elections.¹¹⁷ Feinsein of the SDKPiL had been invited,¹¹⁸ but only 13 of the 25 invited lecturers turned up sooner or later.

The school opened on 20 June, when two-thirds of the students, including ten of the 13 from Russia, had arrived. A majority were Russians, and all but one was a worker or an artisan. There were 12 Bolsheviks, three Mensheviks, one Plekhanov supporter, one Vyperedist and one who was unaligned. The Mensheviks and Vyperedist demanded a lecturers' 'college', but backed off after Ulyanov threatened to resign. Five auditors who were slightly older and more experienced were co-opted onto the school commission and negotiated with the others about the courses. I.V. Prisyagin arranged the lectures and I.D. Chugurin was the librarian,¹¹⁹ while Belostovsky, a metalworker and workers' insurance clerk,¹²⁰ presided over student meetings and gave out pocket money.¹²¹ Other workers included A.I. Dogadov,¹²² and Manstev, who arrived late.¹²³ Five more were allowed to attend on the understanding that they would return to Russia to work underground. The students' average age was 26, and most had joined the RSDRP in 1905-1906. Almost all were men,¹²⁴ though Katya Mazonov, the wife of a worker who had been exiled to Siberia, was the Apfelbaums' housekeeper. Ordjonikidze, Solomon Schwartz and Boris Breslav stayed with Armand. (Breslav had known Krupskaya since 1905 and Schwartz had known her for some time. He had distributed leaflets in a Mykolaiv factory when he was 19, while pretending to be drunk.)¹²⁵ Armand rented a house and set up a canteen, and Ulyanov and Krupskaya rented an apartment at the other end of the village. Krupskaya cycled to meet comrades in Paris since it was dangerous for them to visit Longjumeau.¹²⁶

Ulyanov began lecturing at 8.00am, spoke for 90 minutes,¹²⁷ then asked questions. 'After the revolution, what would you do with the banks if you were leading the nation?'¹²⁸ One student later recalled that he behaved like a 'blinded, medieval fanatical cardinal, who burns in the name of Christ all heretics, even when they are not heretics'.¹²⁹ Ulyanov then cycled to Paris, while Armand led a discussion. After lunch two lecturers both spoke for two hours,¹³⁰ and there was sometimes an evening lecture. Sokolov lectured on journalism, Rappoport on the French labour movement,¹³¹ and Sheinfinkel on the national question.¹³² Goldendakh spoke in a 'dry, scholarly and hard to understand' manner about trade unions in Russia and Western Europe. Rosenfeld gave a 'clear and systematic' history of the RSDRP, though 'nothing was gained' from Armand's talks on Belgian socialism.¹³³

Alexandr Finn-Yenotayevsky had been born in 1872. He later became a member of the Moscow SD organisation and was arrested in 1896. Ulyanov had known him at least since 1901,¹³⁴ and had suggested publishing an article of his in *Zarya* though Plekhanov persuaded him not to.¹³⁵ In 1903 Finn-Yenotayevsky supported the Congress 'majority',¹³⁶ and in January 1905 he contributed to Bolshevik publications.¹³⁷ In 1906 he rejected the nationalisation of gentry land and favoured splitting up estates among the peasantry,¹³⁸ and he wrote about Marx in 1908.¹³⁹ He had lectured at the Capri School in 1909, and in 1911 he and Yuri Nakhamkes spoke on public law and finance at Longjumeau.¹⁴⁰ Lunacharsky gave four lectures on Russian culture and conducted tours of the Louvre, and Krupskaya gave classes on illegal papers. Students learned how to write articles, conduct correspondence and speak in public,¹⁴¹ and produced a trade union journal. A. Ivanovna was reportedly excluded from some sessions. One student reported that most of the course was difficult for those who had attended 'a few classes of parish church school',¹⁴² and three complained about the lack of practical training.¹⁴³ Late in June, after the Russian RSDRP CC co-opted the Bundist Aizenshtadt and the Menshevik Zhordania, Ulyanov complained.

[W]e regard all attempts to revive the Central Committee in Russia with the old C.C. members, elected in London, *as playing right into Stolypin's hands*. We warn the Party against those who are angling for uninformed people, who send Central Committee members where conditions are *impossible*, who send them on jobs that *cannot be done*, straight into the hands of the police ...

Since the Plenary Meeting, *four* Bolshevik members of the Central Committee ... have been lost *while engaged in the Central Committee work*. The Mensheviks have not lost *one member*, for not one of them has been working!!

On 1 July Ulyanov argued in an internal party publication that to be 'a *real* Party member it is not enough to call oneself such, nor is it enough to carry on propaganda 'in the spirit' of the party programme. It was necessary to 'carry out the *entire* practical work in conformity with the *tactical* decisions of the Party'.¹⁴⁴ That day, at a meeting of Bolsheviks in Paris, ten of the 27 present were conciliationists.¹⁴⁵ The technical commission suggested that émigré organisations and newspaper editors should meet. Plekhanov refused to get involved in 'intra-party squabbles',¹⁴⁶ and on behalf of Party Mensheviks. Lunacharsky declined for the Vyperedists, while Ulyanov and the Poles did not respond.¹⁴⁷ In August Ulyanov argued in a pamphlet that the RSDRP had to be 'reconstructed and to a certain extent built anew', since the Mensheviks had effectively formed a rival party.¹⁴⁸

In St. Petersburg some RSDRP members and trade unionists wanted a daily paper, and a *Zvezda* commission carried on extensive correspondence about it.¹⁴⁹ Workers told the SD Duma deputies that workers should write it,¹⁵⁰ and the editors agreed that it should use reasonably simple language and avoid factional squabbles. At Longjumeau the students supported the idea. On 30 August each one received 200 francs, the address of an underground organisation in Russia and instructions to work to convene a party conference and become delegates.¹⁵¹ Ulyanov had given 30 lectures on political economy, ten on the agrarian question and five on the theory and practice of socialism,¹⁵² out of the total of 147.¹⁵³

(iv) A state of complete collapse

In August 1911 émigré Mensheviks met near Lucerne in Switzerland, and Tserderbaum told them that their comrades in Russia were influential in Riga, Vilnius, Voronezh, Kharkiv, Odesa, Kyiv, Baki, Tbilisi and other cities. In St. Petersburg they influenced 11 workers' clubs with over 3,000 members and five trade unions with over 7,000 members. They published *Nashe zaria* (*Our Dawn*), *Delo zhizni* (*The Business of Life*) and seven trade union papers, including one with a circulation of over 6,000.¹⁵⁴ Privately Tserderbaum believed Menshevism in Russia was in 'a state of complete collapse'.¹⁵⁵

On 3 September Gurvich, K.I. Elias, Boris Goldman, Mikhail Goldman, Bronstein and 'Judas' from Latvia, plus two non-voting delegates, met in the Café Bubenberg in Bern in Switzerland. They accused the Bolsheviks of an 'intra-party coup',¹⁵⁶ and appointed Goldman, Uratadze from the Caucasian joint committee and 'Alfred' from Latvia to convene a conference.¹⁵⁷ (They later co-opted several Mensheviks, but evidently did nothing else.¹⁵⁸)

SRs had largely supplanted Mensheviks as leaders of unions, clubs and cooperatives in St. Petersburg and elsewhere, and the police arrested more SR editors and staff than they did those of Bolshevik or Menshevik papers.¹⁵⁹ St. Petersburg police had over 300 staff, including 246 detectives, and though revolutionaries got hold of a staff photograph,¹⁶⁰ the VPSR was on its last legs. The veterans Breshkovskaya and Chaikovsky had spent two years and eight months in St. Petersburg Fortress. Her son would not apply for her release until he was pressured to do so, but it was refused, and though Chaikovsky was released, she was exiled to Siberia for life. She went by boat and cart to Kirensk, and arrived on an island in the Lena River in summer 1910. A young male SD acted as her 'nurse', but a 'gloomy figure shrouded in black furs from head to foot' watched her when she went outdoors. In spring 1911 90 percent of 1,000 or so exiled young men and eight or so young women in the district had no resources, and Breshkovskaya helped some of them, though others were sent over 400 miles north to Yakutsk.¹⁶¹ The SR assassin Spiridonova was due for release into 'free' banishment in Siberia, though she and 27 other women were transferred to Akatui Katorga Prison. Some escaped, but help did not arrive, and Spiridonova threw away her revolver. In summer an SR shot the Nerchinsk Katorga Prison governor, but he survived. The would-be assassin was sentenced to hang, though that was commuted to 20 years' katorga in Siberia.¹⁶² The VPSR had been involved in 205 attempted assassinations of government officials since 1902,¹⁶³ though only eight since 1908.¹⁶⁴ Reportedly, the combat organisation had had fewer than 100 different members over the years and 44 were women,¹⁶⁵ but the CC now acknowledged that it was defunct.¹⁶⁶

Mordecha Bogrov had been born in Kyiv in 1887,¹⁶⁷ into the family of a wealthy Jewish lawyer. He later converted to Orthodoxy,¹⁶⁸ and in 1906 he joined an anarchist-communist group; but from 1907 to 1910 he supplied the Okhrana with information about anarchists, SRs and SDs for 100 to 150 rubles a month. In summer 1911 he learned

that anarchists were going to assassinate him, so he told the Okhrana about a fictional plot against the prime minister and demanded a ticket for a performance at the Municipal Theatre on 1 September.¹⁶⁹ The Okhrana director gave him a ticket, with the approval of the assistant interior minister,¹⁷⁰ and Bogrov got a police pass to enter the building.¹⁷¹ Right-wing elements in the Okhrana detested the prime minister for his agrarian reforms and his positive attitude to the Duma, and assigned no police to protect him.¹⁷² He sat close to the tsar,¹⁷³ and during the interval Bogrov fired two shots at the prime minister, who died on the 5th. A court martial sentenced Bogrov to death on the 9th and he was hanged the following night,¹⁷⁴ before the St. Petersburg investigators reached Kyiv.¹⁷⁵ Hundreds of Jews fled the city, fearing a pogrom.¹⁷⁶ An investigation found evidence implicating the director of the Okhrana and the assistant interior minister, yet the tsar prevented further action,¹⁷⁷ and relations between ministers and the Duma and deteriorated.¹⁷⁸ During the prime minister's years of office almost 60,000 people had been sentenced to *katorga*, exiled or executed without trial.¹⁷⁹

The RSDRP's *Diskussiony Listok* acknowledged that Russian organisations were 'shattered' and the crisis was 'very grave'. A 'large number of veteran leaders (especially among the intellectuals) have been arrested', and the RSDRP was 'losing many of its "fellow-travellers"', yet the party was not completely 'falling to pieces' or absolutely 'demoralised'. A 'new type of Social-Democratic worker' was 'taking the affairs of the party in hand', and though they had to 'overcome extraordinary difficulties', the 'working masses' did not believe that the party 'stands *outside* their circle', as 'Social-Democrats' without 'Social-Democracy'. The factions were not 'altogether incapable' of working together in legal organisations, and with groups 'outside the factions', though Bronstein 'presents only his own personal vacillations' and he and Tserdobaum 'presented *liberal views* with a Marxist coating'.¹⁸⁰

(v) Asiatic-kalmyk politics

In January 1911, in Germany, Reichstag delegates represented districts with from as few as 57 voters to as many as 5,700, yet those representing an average of 245,000 had a majority of seats. The SPD had over 836,000 members.¹⁸¹ The 8,659 in Stuttgart were almost all workers, and they were allowed to elect 43 delegates at the Württemberg Landtag Congress, while the 723 members in small towns and villages elected 49.¹⁸² There were about 107,000 women members of the SPD.¹⁸³ Kollontai had helped to organise a miners' strike in Belgium, but by January 1911 she was in Berlin, where she helped to organise the International Day of Working Women.¹⁸⁴ On 8 March a million demonstrated against the threat of war in Germany, Denmark, Switzerland and Austria. In Berlin the police seized their banners, but the women fought back, and only the arrival of the SPD Duma deputies prevented bloodshed.¹⁸⁵ The day was celebrated elsewhere in Germany with the slogan of 'Voting rights for women workers so as to unite forces in the struggle for socialism'. The Swedish League of Socialist Youth and the left wing of the Swedish SDP invited her to address a May Day meeting. She argued that capitalists 'call for war in order to free themselves from the spectre of social revolution', and ended with the slogans 'Down with war! Long live the social revolution!'¹⁸⁶

Tserdobaum had sent a German translation of his anti-Bolshevik pamphlet to the SPD leaders.¹⁸⁷ Kautsky and Zetkin were outraged,¹⁸⁸ and Luxemburg noted that Ulyanov's conduct 'surpasses anything that has ever existed in point of meanness and baseness and which evidently aims at splitting the party', yet Bronstein had '*not one syllable* to utter' against it. She told Kautsky that 'the only way to preserve unity' in the RSDRP was 'a general conference with delegates *from Russia*' to 'bring the fighting cocks living abroad to reason'.¹⁸⁹ *Die Neue Zeit* refused to publish Ulyanov's response to the attacks by Tserdobaum and Bronstein.

When Kautsky found out that the Longjumeau School organising commission had claimed the SPD's support he demanded the transfer of all the Schmidt money to the trustee Zetkin. Ulyanov sent 25,000 marks, but Goldendakh wrote to Kautsky that it was impossible to reconcile Tserdobaum and Gurvich with Ulyanov, whose asiatic-kalmyk politics' were 'repelling many orthodox elements, giving the Mensheviks the opportunity to carry out their usual politics, covering up opportunism with 'democratic' phrases and ethical' indignation. Nothing is more characteristic of these hypocrites that they concentrate the whole struggle against Ulyanov personally and do not direct it against the system.¹⁹⁰ In May Luxemburg criticised the pacifist illusions at the International's 1910 Copenhagen Congress.¹⁹¹ The SPD had failed to respond to the request speak out against imperialism.¹⁹²

By summer the Reichstag had voted more funds for the Navy,¹⁹³ which wanted a base in Morocco.¹⁹⁴ On 1 July a German gunboat hove to outside the port of Agadir, and was followed by a cruiser. French investors called in short-term loans to Germany, which caused a financial crisis.¹⁹⁵ The British government wanted to stop the naval arms race with Germany,¹⁹⁶ and told the ambassador that it would support the French in the event of a war.¹⁹⁷ On 3 September, over 200,000 people took part in a protest rally in Berlin against the government's aggressive policy in Morocco.¹⁹⁸ Before the SPD's Jena Congress opened on the 15th, Bebel arranged for a circular about Luxemburg

to go to delegates. It accused her of indiscretion, disloyalty and a breach of party discipline over her defiance of the EC's attitude on the Agadir incident, and publishing private SPD correspondence at the international bureau.¹⁹⁹ Mehring was ill and resigned as a trustee of the RSDRP money. Bolshevik and Menshevik leaders declined Kautsky's proposal for binding arbitration, and he resigned. Ulyanov demanded that Zetkin return the money. She insisted on keeping it until an RSDRP CC plenum. Ulyanov threatened legal proceedings, and she resigned as a trustee.²⁰⁰

Sobelsohn had moved to Bremen early in 1911.²⁰¹ In spring he and other left-wingers struggled to control the SDKPiL's foreign sections, and Ulyanov met Fürstenberg and other left-wing leaders in Paris. In summer Dzierżyński visited Dąbrowa Górnicza in southern Poland and agreed with Jogiches that the editors of the Menshevik *Golos* should be expelled from the RSDRP, though Dzierżyński reported that 'the majority of Bolsheviks here are against Ulyanov and are prepared to come out publicly'. In December the SDKPiL Main Directorate found Sobelsohn guilty of theft and expelled him; but the Warszawa inter-district committee met without informing them,²⁰² demanded an explanation for Sobelsohn's expulsion,²⁰³ accused the Main Directorate of riding roughshod over party statutes, and being infiltrated by Okhrana spies, and formed Rozłomowcy (the Splinter Group).²⁰⁴ Meanwhile Sobelsohn's left-wing supporters in the SPD had made him an editor of the *Bremer Bürgerzeitung*, and he attacked the revisionists.²⁰⁵ The SDKPiL Main Directorate dug up old charges against him and established an examining commission,²⁰⁶ and supporters of the Main Directorate attacked him, but he proved that their accusations were baseless. The Main Directorate asked the SPD leaders to expel him,²⁰⁷ but the SPD Congress declined to do so. The Rozłomowcy insisted on autonomy within the SDKPiL, but severed ties with the Bolsheviks.²⁰⁸ Fürstenberg and Rubinstein had previously resigned from the Main Directorate, on account of Jogiches' high-handedness, and Feinstein did so in 1911.²⁰⁹ In August the Main Directorate failed to dissolve the Rozłomowcy,²¹⁰ and by the end of the month the party had split.²¹¹ In December the Rozłomowcy organised a conference in Berlin, and the CC tried to dissolve their Berlin and Warszawa organisations, though the Berlin organisation subsequently repented. The Rozłomowcy included some older oppositionists, and were led by Fürstenberg, who kept the Bolsheviks informed, and though Dzierżyński agreed with SDKPiL policy on the Polish question, he supported the Bolsheviks' splitting tactics. After two SDKPiL oppositionists visited Berlin they were handed over to a party court, but the Berlin and Warszawa sections challenged the party leaders.²¹²

(vi) The RSDRP organising commission

Early in September 1911 the Bolshevik Rykov had travelled to Leipzig, where Tarshis had complete confidence in Brendinsky, who coded Russian addresses.²¹³ Rykov wanted to check up on the Longjumeau students,²¹⁴ but he was arrested as soon as he arrived at a Moscow station, and later summarised his experience since 1899.

No sooner had I taken my seat on the students' bench than I found myself in clink. 12 years have passed since then, but roughly five and a half of them were spent inside. In addition, three years of my life were filled by three journeys into exile. During my brief glimpses of 'freedom', villages, towns, people and events flashed before my eyes as in a cinema, and I was constantly on the move, either by coach, horse or boat. In no room did I spend more than two months. I have reached the age of 30 and I still do not know how to obtain a passport.

(After nine months in prison he was sent to Pinega in the north of Arkhangelsk province.)²¹⁵

Breslav was in St. Petersburg.²¹⁶ He selected himself and three other Bolsheviks as conference delegates. At the Nevsky shipyard 13 Bolshevik workers elected a worker to the organising commission, and mandated him to press for the CC to be in Russia, because it was 'completely cut off from the local organisations', though he was arrested before he got to Baki.²¹⁷ Ordjonikidze told Krupskaya that the émigré organising commission had not responded to ten or more letters, and money and literature were running out. In the Caucasus Shahumyan complained about her silence and Shvartsman needed money.²¹⁸ Schwartz had gone to the Urals and then Katerynoslav in Ukraine.²¹⁹

The Bolshevik Enukidze had been arrested in Baki in 1907. He was deported, but escaped on the way to Voronezh and reached St. Petersburg. He was arrested on his way to the Tampere conference and imprisoned, but declined an offer to emigrate and was deported to Arkhangelsk province in 1908. In 1910, after he completed his sentence, he returned to Baki and joined the RSDRP organising commission.²²⁰ Vladimir Kaspariants had been born in Khankendy in Azerbaijan in 1884. He supported the RSDRP Congress 'majority' in 1903, and studied law at St. Petersburg University and the Higher Commercial School in Berlin. From 1907 he was successively a member of the RSDRP's Baki, St. Petersburg and Rostov-on Don committees.²²¹ In September 1911 Kaspariants, Enukidze, Shahumyan and Chernomazov were co-opted onto the organising commission, but were soon arrested.²²² By the end of the month a new organising commission was established,²²³ and met in Baki.²²⁴

Earlier that year, in St. Petersburg, the Bolshevik intelligentka Stasova had suffered from tuberculosis and was depressed by the political situation. She stopped being the RSDRP committee's technical secretary and went to Tbilisi to nurse her husband, who also had tuberculosis. They later separated, and she taught in a girls' gymnasium,²²⁵ and early in October 1911 the organising commission met in her flat.²²⁶ Ordjonikidze, Schwartz, Shahumyan, Spandarian and Shvartsman were joined by I. Sokolin, who claimed to represent Kyiv and Katerynoslav, and three others who claimed to represent four other RSDRP organisations, though seven others had no mandate. The organising commission claimed the support of the Baki, Tbilisi, Katerynoslav, Kyiv and Ekaterinburg RSDRP organisations, and had been promised delegates from Nizhni Novgorod and Sormovo. Police raids forced the commission to go to Tbilisi,²²⁷ where Spandarian and Ordjonikidze persuaded Stasova to deal with 'technical matters',²²⁸ though Chernomazov betrayed Shahumyan,²²⁹ and the police arrested him and several other party workers.²³⁰ Party Mensheviks dominated the Kyiv organisation,²³¹ and were influenced by *Pravda*,²³² but worked with Bolsheviks, and campaigned for a party conference, as did the joint Menshevik-Bolshevik Baki committee.²³³

(vii) Will we be able to live until the next revolution?

In September 1911 Armand rented a flat for herself and her children, near Krupskaya and Ulyanov in rue Marie Rose in Paris.²³⁴ Mensheviks outnumbered Bolsheviks by nine to one in émigré circles.²³⁵ Elena Rozmirovich had been arrested in 1909 and deported in 1910, then lived in Austria and France, where she worked for the émigré RSDRP CC.²³⁶ Rozmirovich, Krupskaya and Armand formed the émigré conference organising commission, and invited Bolsheviks in 24 Western European cities, but while 188 Bolsheviks and sympathisers in 18 cities were supportive, only seven groups in France, Belgium and Switzerland had the inclination and money to do so.²³⁷ Only Bolsheviks who had not criticised Ulyanov or Party Mensheviks had been invited.²³⁸ On 31 October *Sotsial-Demokrat* acknowledged that in most places in Russia 'there are no strictly defined Party organisations' and 'the working-class vanguard' were 'isolated individuals' and 'small groups'.²³⁹ Ulyanov spoke on 'Stolypin and the revolution' at 8 rue Danton in Paris. The tickets were printed in Russian, and the prices varied from one to 50 centimes. Montéhus sang in the interval, and Ulyanov sang along gently from time to time, and later engaged in conversation with the singer about the future world revolution. Liudvinskaya had never seen Ulyanov so full of humour, gaiety and animation.²⁴⁰

In Leipzig Tarshis was producing leaflets against the émigré Mensheviks,²⁴¹ and Ulyanov and Krupskaya visited him. He defended the SPD 'wholeheartedly' and hoped that he 'might witness a similarly strong Labour movement in Russia'. He particularly admired the SPD's house to house distribution of literature, though Ulyanov regarded the SPD with 'great scepticism' and told him to 'leave for Prague immediately and prepare everything there for a conference'.²⁴² Ulyanov refused to send money to Russia so Schwartz could escape, though Ordjonikidze arrived in Paris. The émigré organising commission complained that the Russian organising commission had called the conference too soon, ignored representatives in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Poland and Latvia, and co-opted only Ulyanov's supporters. The Okhrana knew it would be a 'strictly Ulyanovist conference'.²⁴³ The émigré conference organising commission refused to merge with the Russian commission, but agreed to be guided by its decisions and hand over 80 percent of its money.²⁴⁴ The émigré technical commission included one Bolshevik, one conciliator and one Pole, but delayed handing over any money.²⁴⁵ After Jogisches, the chair of the technical commission, refused to finance the November *Sotsial-demokrat*, the Bolshevik members left.²⁴⁶ Apfelbaum seized the commission's press and money and borrowed more, and Jogiches publicly broke with Ulyanov,²⁴⁷ who edited *Sotsial-Democrat* alone,²⁴⁸ and accused Jogisches of 'agitating for non-participation in the Russian commission'. He argued that the SPD trustees had failed to abide by agreements so they had released the Bolsheviks from their obligations.²⁴⁹

Antonin Němec had been born in 1858. He later became a right-wing SD and by 1897 he led the Czech SDs, and represented the party in the International bureau, and from 1906 he was a deputy in the Vienna Imperial Council.²⁵⁰ Sociálně Demokratická strana Československá v Rakousku (the Czech Social Democratic Party) was officially founded that summer,²⁵¹ after 40,000 members left the Austrian SD party.²⁵² Ulyanov had passed through Prague, but not lived there,²⁵³ and there was no Russian colony;²⁵⁴ so on 1 November he wrote to Němec.

A number of organisations of our Party intend to call a conference (abroad – of course). The number of members of this conference will be about 20-25. Is there a possibility of organising this conference in Prague (to last about a week)?

The most important thing for us is the possibility of organising it in extreme secrecy. No person, no organisation, should know about it. (It is a *Social-Democratic* conference, hence legal according to European laws, but the majority of the delegates *do not have passports* and cannot use their own names.)²⁵⁵

That same day, when Elizarova visited Paris, Ulyanov asked her 'Will we be able to live until the next revolution?'²⁵⁶

14. There isn't enough bread to last until Christmas

(i) I was sure of it after my first interrogation

A tailors' union had been established in Moscow in 1905. The intelligentki K.M. Kolokolnikova and E.A. Oliunina, who was probably a Menshevik sympathiser, had helped to organise it, though they had little success in recruiting poor tailors. The union achieved legal status in 1906, and though it was closed in 1907, it was later re-legalised. In 1910 Oliunina attended the Higher Women's Courses and studied 3,709 garment firms. By 1911 she had found that one in five firms had electric sewing machines. One of the largest firms employed ten workers and 200 subcontractors. Another firm employed 30, but hundreds of peasants in the countryside. Another employed 230 workers, 600 subcontractors, and 2,000 peasants. Another employed 2,050 workers, who got up to two weeks' training, and generally sewed one part of a garment. Another employed 300 adults and 150 apprentices who worked for nothing for two years, then got a ruble a month in the third year and three rubles in the fourth and fifth. Some received nothing for up to three and a half years. Employment was seasonal, and many tailors spent up to four months in their villages, mainly over Christmas and Easter, and in summer. High season lasted from mid-September to mid-December, slow season from April to May, and off-season from December to January and June to mid-August. Off-season wages were often two-thirds of the high season rate, but in subcontracting shops there was seasonal work in March, October and November. The working day was nominally 9.5 hours, but while the largest shops averaged 9.4, the smallest averaged 14.1, and those making ready-made clothing averaged 15.6. Over 70 percent of workers were paid in cash, but many others in food and lodging. In subcontracting workshops the monthly wage averaged 23.1 rubles for men and 19.1 for women. Around 45 percent of women were single, though 53 percent had relations in the city. In subcontracting shops 52 percent of women were single, but 42 percent had relations in the city. Wages in medium and larger shops were higher and overtime pay was 20 to 30 kopeks an hour. Skilled male tailors averaged 37.2 rubles, and females 23.1. Around 60 percent of males spent 3.5 rubles a month on vodka, but some spent 15. Almost all tailors with ties to the village sent money home. Three-fifths of men had strong ties, but 31 percent did not, and eight percent were in transition. One man described his family of eight in the village. 'Our plot of land is so small that there isn't enough bread to last until Christmas.' 'You send everything back to the village and only spend the bare minimum yourself. So you go around half naked ... don't drink, and still you can never get ahead.' In Moscow from three to six male tailors shared a room, while women lived two to a room, though they were vulnerable to sexual abuse at work and some became prostitutes to make ends meet. By autumn 1911 the Moscow tailors' union had about 900 members and they went on strike.¹ Around 75 percent of working men in the city supported village households,² but close to 40 percent of factory workers were female.³ There were four police spies in the Moscow Bolsheviks' organisation.⁴ Itsikovich returned to Russia in December and formed a new RSDRP committee. The five other members chose him and a woman newspaper owner as conference delegates, but the woman returned her mandate, and Itsikovich gave his to Apfelbaum.⁵

Bobrovskaya had been deported to a small Vologda province town where Bolsheviks led railway workshop *kruzhki*. She hectographed a manifesto, got literature from abroad, studied SD theory and was 'in very good spirits'. They sent the press to Moscow, but when she completed her sentence and arrived there she found no RSDRP organisation, but only isolated groups and individuals,⁶ so she contacted individual workers.⁷ Her brother arrived from abroad with instructions to send representatives from Moscow and its region to the conference, and 'strict instructions' to include Roman Malinovsky, and a small group of Bolsheviks agreed. Soon after Bobrovskaya's brother was arrested and imprisoned,⁸ and when she visited him he whispered that someone in Moscow was a spy. 'I was sure of it after my first interrogation by the police. They know absolutely everything.'⁹

Marta-Ella Lepon had been born into a carpenter's family in Ruine, Latvia, in 1892. She trained to be a seamstress, joined the RSDRP in Moscow in 1911 and smuggled illegal literature.¹⁰ The Bolshevik worker S.S. Leshkovtsev recalled that 'we were driven deeply underground', but copies of Malinovsky's *Krasnaya zvezda* 'passed around from hand to hand until it became impossible to read them because of mud', since 'we had concealed them in our pockets'. I.F. Toptof, a Guzhon metalworker, had felt 'suppressed' for three years and 'it seemed that no kind of revolutionary work was conducted'. The SR worker Kochergin 'did not hear anything about the Bolsheviks', but another SR joined a *kruzhok* led by students who had SR and SD literature, and workers distributed leaflets in the workshops.¹¹ Vera Lobova proposed Malinovsky as a candidate for the CC,¹² and V.P. Milyutin, who had written for the printers' union journal, and the RSDRP conciliator Frumkin, nominated Malinovsky and Jughashvili as prospective CC members. Frumkin organised a Duma by-election campaign, but was briefly detained. In December he suggested that the paper that was now called *Krasnaya zvezda* (*Red Star*) should organise

a fund for a workers' daily paper, and it soon received over 3,000 rubles,¹³ though he was exiled to Yenisei province in Siberia.¹⁴ The Okhrana gave Malinovsky a 100 ruble bonus and paid for his train ticket to Prague.¹⁵ The police put Bobrovskaya and Bobrovsky under surveillance, then arrested Bobrovskaya.¹⁶

Mikhail Lurye had been born into a middle-class family in Simferópol, Crimea, in 1882. He joined the RSDRP in 1900,¹⁷ but was arrested and exiled to Siberia in 1902.¹⁸ He supported the Congress 'minority' in 1903,¹⁹ and escaped abroad in 1904, but returned to Russia in 1905 and was active in Crimea, the Ukraine and the Caucasus.²⁰ Lurye and Sergey Tserderbaum built a Menshevik 'initiative group'. Hundreds of workers did legal and illegal work and similar groups were formed in Kharkiv, Kyiv and St. Petersburg.²¹

Evgenia Bosch had divorced her husband and contacted Kyiv Bolsheviks in 1907, and she and her sister Elena worked underground. The police exiled many RSDRP members, though Evgenia escaped.²² By autumn 1911 Evgenia had become the technical secretary and Piatakov was the organisational secretary of Kyiv committee. They tried to unite Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, though only single copies of émigré SD papers arrived by post, and the printer David Shvarts blamed the factional struggles on the émigrés.²³ Around 20 SD *kruzhki* each had seven or eight members, and they and sympathisers donated one percent of their wages to needy families. The RSDRP had no press, and used commercial print shops. Bakers were among the most active supporters and they had contact with Spilka in Berdychev, Zhitomir and other places. Kyiv's factory district workers' club had 600 members and was always crowded, and when clubs were closed, they reopened under different names. There were five Ukrainian journals and seven daily or weekly newspapers, and all but two were published in the city, which had 139 primary schools. Around 2,000 Jews reportedly had educational permits and there were 4,000 students.²⁴

In St. Petersburg K.A. Gvozdev, a Putilov worker, had been elected to the metalworkers' union board in spring 1910, and was its president by summer 1911, but the police arrested him, the treasurer and assistant treasurer. After the Duma deputies went on holiday *Zvezda* ceased publication for the summer, but when the Duma reopened in autumn, *Zvezda* carried a metalworkers' union advertisement, though it did not speak for the SD Duma deputies.²⁵ Some Bolsheviks and Vyperedists had formed the Central Group of Social Democratic Workers.²⁶ In December a letter from St. Petersburg in *Rabochaya gazeta* claimed that the RSDRP committee had contacts in the Narva, Vyborg, Petersburg, Gorodsky and Vasilievsky districts.²⁷ That year Bolsheviks had issued 2,500 hectographed leaflets,²⁸ and isolated individuals and groups were active elsewhere.

(ii) I do not know where my comrades are or what they are doing

The 22-year-old St. Petersburg Bolshevik Voronsky had been arrested in 1906. He spent three hours a day in a solitary cell learning German and reading works by Tolstoy and the radical Norwegian dramatist Henrik Ibsen. He was released in 1907, but rearrested and deported to Vologda province for two years. He argued with Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, SRs and anarchists, and studied better-off comrades' works by Marx, Kropotkin, Balzac, Flaubert and Dostoyevsky. Illegal literature arrived regularly, but while most new arrivals 'talked about nothing but arrests and executions, the disintegration of the movement, betrayals, backsliding, and weak leadership', one worker took organisational questions seriously. Late in 1909, after Voronsky was released, he wanted to show workers that he knew the works of Kant, Hegel, Marx, Plekhanov and Ulyanov. His hometown of Tambov was unpromising, but he got an internal passport and went to Saratov. 'Theory for theory's sake had no interest' for socialist workers, who wanted to know its 'human significance', since for them socialism was a '*tool*'. Voronsky felt he was part of a 'special corps' to select and train revolutionary cadre,²⁹ and during 1911 his *kruzhok* co-opted six workers.³⁰ Ulyanova had been deported to Vologda for three years in May;³¹ but escaped to Paris in summer and sent 'pedagogical books' to her sister Elizarova in Saratov.³² In November, when Voronsky was in Mykolaiv, Ulyanova invited him to be a conference delegate from Saratov, and sent him money. He got a legal foreign passport easily,³³ since the police knew about the conference.³⁴

In Samara Boris Nicolaevsky had given leaflets to soldiers in spring 1906 and was arrested, but managed to destroy the remaining leaflets and refused to give his name and address. In summer there was unrest in the garrison.³⁵ Nicolaevsky was under 21,³⁶ and the time he had already spent in prison was taken into account. In prison he became an 'elder' with the right to walk about and meet others, who included many who had taken part in combat. He was released in summer 1907 and went to Ufa. Almost all the members of his former school *kruzhok* had joined the VPSR combat organisation, and they told him about train robberies of tens of thousands of rubles, but he was 'strongly repelled' by 'fighting operations', and rejected the Bolshevik concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat.³⁷ When he went to St. Petersburg the RSDRP organisation was split along factional lines, but early in autumn he published an account of his conversations with soldiers who had returned from the Far East in the Bolshevik *Vypered*. When Ulyanov asked to meet him they argued, and Nicolaevsky joined the Mensheviks, became

the secretary of a district organisation, and joined the Unemployed Council, but was arrested in 1908. After four months in jail he was sentenced to exile in the White Sea region. He arrived late that year and lived quite comfortably with a peasant family on the government's 13.5 ruble monthly allowance. Early in 1910 he had to report for conscription in Ufa, but an official knew about his political unreliability, and a doctor found some 'heart noises' and granted an exemption. In summer he was jailed for two months for contacting revolutionaries, and returned to Samara where he worked on a local paper, but was soon arrested and sent back to the White Sea region for three years. In spring 1911 he disguised himself as a fisherman, smuggled himself onto a small steamer, landed in Arkhangelsk and took a train to Ukraine and then Baki and worked as a journalist. The Bolshevik Erukidze took him to a bar where he met SDs, including Georgians with false identities, and told him that 'Peter the Caucasian' (Jughashvili) 'had a long memory and was 'very vengeful'. In September many party members, mostly Bolsheviks, were arrested in Tbilisi. Nicolaevsky rose to a leading position.³⁸ Late that year the Bolshevik *Sovremennaya zhizn* (*Contemporary Life*) appeared in Baki.³⁹ The SD intelligent Uratadze later recalled the state of the RSDRP in Georgia. 'A fiercer struggle blazed up around "liquidationism" than around Bolshevism and Mensheviks. The party lexicon was enriched by new terms: 'liquidator', 'anti-liquidator', 'partyist', 'Ulyanovist partyist', 'Bolshevik partyists', 'Menshevik partyists', 'liquidator undergrounders', 'Bronsteinist-partyist', 'Bronsteinist liquidators', 'Plekhanov liquidators', and so on; yet all the 'partyists' claimed that they were defending the RSDRP.⁴⁰

The Tbilisi Bolshevik engineer Sergey Alliluev had been deported to Arkhangelsk province in autumn 1906. He escaped to Tbilisi in spring 1907, but the police searched for him and the news spread 'from house to house as if carried by wireless' (radio). He went to Baki,⁴¹ where the Bolsheviks had a base among the oil workers,⁴² and managed an electricity plant. In spring 1911 Krasin and others arranged for his bail, and he went to St. Petersburg, where he led some workers at an electricity station. When his family joined him his daughters collected money from Bolshevik sympathisers and their mother sent food and clothes to Jughashvili.⁴³ He was freed from exile in summer, and was allowed to live anywhere except Caucasia, St. Petersburg, Moscow and some provincial capitals.⁴⁴ He went to Vologda, then visited St. Petersburg and met Ordjonikidze, who passed on an order to Jughashvili to go abroad, and set off for St. Petersburg.⁴⁵ Vologda Okhrana told St. Petersburg Okhrana that a spy was accompanying him and they should not arrest him, since 'in the near future' he would 'be participating in a meeting of the Central Committee'.⁴⁶ Early in September, when Jughashvili arrived at Alliluev's home, two spies were prowling around the yard.⁴⁷ Days later gendarmes raided his room and found maps, photographs, letters, a false passport and German phrasebook. They detained him, and recommended five years' deportation in Eastern Siberia, but the interior minister cut it to three.⁴⁸ Late that year Jughashvili's landlady in Siberia gave birth.⁴⁹ He escaped, and described himself as a 'peasant'. He reached Vologda by New Year's Eve,⁵⁰ but did not get to Prague.

Since spring 1907 the Bolshevik intelligent Preobrazhensky had worked in Ufa and Zlatoust factories, and helped to rebuild the Urals RSDRP organisation, which published *Uralsky rabochy* (*The Ural Worker*) and *Krestyanskaya gazeta* (*The Peasants' Gazette*). In summer he represented the organisation at the conference in Finland, but when he returned he had to work 'under steadily-deteriorating conditions, with an increasing number of failures and continuously growing reaction'. In autumn he reported the results of the local Duma elections in *Uralsky rabochy*. All three Ufa electors were SDs, and all five in Perm and all four in Viatka were members of the RSDRP. Preobrazhensky criticised government policy. 'The development of industry cannot make any advance without an increase in the purchasing power of the rural population', and that 'cannot move ahead without an increase in the area of peasant land-holdings,' though not through the Peasant Bank, and when that policy failed there would be an 'intensive industrial crisis'. He was arrested at a Chelyabinsk conference in spring 1908, but swallowed the agenda and addresses and escaped that night. He fled to Ufa, dressed as a typesetter, and his article about Urals land-ownership appeared in *Proletary*. He drafted a letter criticising the Bolshevik Duma deputies' decision to secede from the SD fraction without issuing an ultimatum, but soon after a plain-clothes detective stopped him in the street, searched him, found the draft and briefly detained him. In May he chaired a meeting of the Urals RSDRP committee, and the police arrested everyone present. After some time in Ufa Prison he was transferred to Chelyabinsk Prison, but failed to escape and was badly beaten. At their trial in autumn 1909 he and his comrades got fairly light sentences of exile, but Preobrazhensky was tried again in Perm for another offence and received another sentence of exile in Alexandrov Katorga Prison in Irkutsk province. Early in 1910 he met Bolshevik cadres and Party Mensheviks, and in summer he was sent to the rural settlement of Vorobyevo, where over 100 'politicals' were assembling resources for those who wanted to escape.⁵¹ Late in 1911 he received a letter from Krupskaya, and a brief coded letter from Ulyanov.⁵² Krupskaya invited him to attend the forthcoming conference, but Ulyanov insisted that he had to agree to exclude 'compromisers'. Just before he was about to leave, the police discovered that his passport had belonged a soldier killed in the war with Japan, and took him to Tomsk Prison and then Ekaterinburg Prison. On 1 December an anonymous article in *Uralsky rabochy* acknowledged that the RSDRP's influence was 'very weak', but argued that its ideological influence on the proletariat was considerable, and with

universal suffrage it would receive about three million votes, or almost as many as the SPD in Germany. It claimed that the RSDRP had 150,000 members and 250,000 supporters in trade unions. The main task was 'the creation of strong, mass proletarian organisations', and 'it makes no difference whether it is trade-union or political'. There were approaching 5,000 workers at a Zlatoust armaments factory and blast furnace, 600 at the railway depot and station and 900 at the railway workshop and in other factories. Preobrazhensky noted that some SD workers had propagandised for the Duma elections separately from the RSDRP.

A large number of lower-level circles have begun to function, three more advanced circles have been organised for the preparation of propagandists, lectures are being given and discussions have begun with the S-Rs. The committee has a print works in which leaflets are published on the topic of the day. The newspaper *Zlatoustovskii rabochii* [Zlatoust Worker] will soon begin to appear. In the factory there is an effort to organise a trade-union, which, unfortunately, can only be illegal since the factory is owned by the state.

In Zlatoust there is a small district ... where the Miass group is located, and there are also links with the Satkinsk and Kusinsk factories. The Zatkinst organisation has requested a full-time worker, promising to maintain him, but the Zlatoust organisation cannot send such a worker because it has a need for such workers itself.

... Despite opposition and strong counter-agitation from the S-Rs, the elections took place in the factory and all three Social Democrats were chosen as representatives. In the second election curia the organisation also had its own candidate.

Late in December Preobrazhensky escaped, and Marusya Cherepanova, the secretary of the Ekaterinburg organisation, suggested that he represent them at the party conference; but soon after police raided the organisation and discovered his telegram. A Nizhneilinsk comrade rushed over 50 miles to warn him, and he left without a passport, money or a fur coat. He rode to meet a contact, who agreed to get a sleigh and driver, but a policeman asked to join them. They travelled 300 miles or so, not stopping to sleep, until they reached Tulun station. Preobrazhensky contacted Arseny Zaikov, and went on to Novonikolaevsk, where he worked on *Obskaya zhizn* (*Ob Life*), a 'semi-Marxist and semi-philistine newspaper'. His articles were 'Bolshevik in character', and the paper included one by Apfelbaum, but though Ulyanov had promised one it did not arrive.⁵³ Preobrazhensky did not get to the Prague Conference.

In February Novgorodtseva had been sent to Ekaterinburg in the Urals under surveillance.

I had got off so lightly because they could hardly detain a woman in an advanced state of pregnancy, as I then was, especially as there was little material evidence against me. ...

Sverdlov had no regular source of income and depended, when driven to it, on tiny and erratic sums made over to him as a professional revolutionary by the Party from its own meagre reserves. My income was less than generous and it was hard to make ends meet.

... I got a little money together and sent it to him, insisting that he spend it primarily on food, as I was concerned for his health. He reassured me but once admitted: 'Not scrimp on food? I confess - through scrimping I have bought over eight roubles' worth of books, including the fourth volume of Marx's *Theories of Surplus Value*, and a change of linen.' ...

In almost every letter he asked for more books and reported on those he had read. In his first letter to me, dated 1 March 1911, he asked for Bebel's *Aus meinem Leben* [From My Life], Spinoza's *Ethica*, Marx's letters to Sorge and of Lassalle to Marx. ...

Later he asked me to send a one-volume edition of Heine in German, and 'as many German books as you can', then Finn's *Industrial Development in Russia in the Past 20 Years*, Marx's *Theory of Surplus Value*, Parvus' [Helphand's] *Der Weltmarkt und die Agrarkrisis* [The World Market and the Agrarian Crisis], Bernstein's *Historical Materialism*, and the third volume of *Capital*.

He wrote: 'There is not much change here. I am working an average of ten hours a day... I am still reading a lot, though at times my brain refuses to come to grips with a complicated concept and then I take up a more mechanical task, such as making notes. I can hardly wait for some maths books to arrive.' ...

Sverdlov was exiled to Narym territory by order of the Ministry of Internal Affairs for four years, as from 5 May 1911. It was not forgotten that he had already escaped from there once; the Tomsk district police officer was sternly enjoined to keep him under the strictest possible surveillance.

... Narym was like a huge open prison, surrounded by boundless virgin taiga, by impassable bogs which swarmed with virulent mosquitoes in summer. In winter it was bitterly cold and the snow lay deep everywhere; in spring and autumn the area was cut off by a sea of mud. Nature had made it an ideal place for the autocracy to confine its political prisoners without need for walls or bars and to make their lives a misery.

Before long the local officials sent Sverdlov even further from civilization - to settlement called Maksimkin Yar. He was the only exile there but, though he frankly admitted to me that at times life weighed heavy, he never let depression or despair get the better of him. Between the lines of every letter I saw his determination not to give in.

... [H]e was cut off from the world, from his comrades and family in that remote place, where mail came only once in two or three months; he often went hungry and lacked warm clothes and other basic necessities; his guards were constantly at his heels and the drunken priest harried him incessantly. But he would not break. ...

I have an earlier letter from September 1911, consisting of densely crowded lines of miniscule script on a scrap of thin grey cigarette paper. It no doubt evaded the tsarist censorship by travelling inside someone's clothing. It reads:

'The weather has changed. We have had several falls of powdery snow and the river is beginning to freeze. The long, cold Siberian winter is coming and I am so unprepared that I hardly dare think about it. I have no warm clothes or underwear, I am short of books, there is no paper... But I should not complain. After all, I will not be going anywhere this winter. Where would I go? The taiga will be deep in snow. I'd go in up to my neck and never get out. It will be unpleasant without books, if none come on the next boat in four or five days time, which is highly likely. I feel I can take almost anything but how it will be when the post, which is reliable although infrequent, stops coming I dare not think...

'Bad news from all around. I do not know where my comrades are or what they are doing...

'And yet I am not disconsolate. I assure you again that I have not lost my good spirits nor even my zest for life. A contradiction, if you like, but it is so. ... and if it is a fact that I have to spend the winter here, then so be it. And it is not too bad: I will survive and retain my good spirits and my vigour. ...

On 25 September he wrote to me that he had 'no intention of falling seriously ill; it would be worse than dangerous because there's no medical treatment available here'.

In October Novgorodtseva received another letter.

'It will soon be time to go out with the nets again and check the "garrets" (a special kind of fish trap) ... The yard has to be cleared of snow, the horses cared for... It leaves little time for study. I am also coaching my landlady and another girl to become teachers, which takes up two hours every evening.'

'And besides all this,' he wrote two months later, 'I have patients to visit sometimes. I am their doctor since my comrades sent me some medical supplies - for my own use, it is true, but I hand them out.' He became more involved, helping people from all over the area to compose official petitions, giving them advice and writing letters for the illiterate. 'I have doctored almost everyone here, or done them some other favour...'

A group of young people gathered around him. He got them to stage Chekhov's play *The Bear*, communicating his enthusiasm to his hesitant troupe - hesitant with good reason, as none of them had even seen a theatre, much less been in a play - until everyone was so inspired that he had more volunteers than he needed.

The interests of this group, first confined to the play, began to extend and Sverdlov formed a circle to study various topics of general interest. All this intense activity deeply disturbed the guards and the priest, and together they decided what to do. One evening, when the young people were gathered in Sverdlov's room, both guards ... suddenly appeared. In a fit of official fervour they tipped up all the exile's poor belongings, ransacked his bed, desk and trunk - and ... discovered the group drawing mysterious signs and diagrams on pieces of paper, which they confiscated as clear evidence of Sverdlov's seditious dealings - though quite what it all meant they did not think to find out.

They sent the papers off and waited in pleasurable anticipation of congratulations for their diligence. However, what they finally received was not congratulations but a ticking off from their superior, who called them blockheads and clowns. Those seditious symbols were geometrical diagrams and the most terrible of all was a Pythagorean triangle. ...

In December Novgorodtseva heard from Sverdlov again.

[H]e reported that he was sleeping badly, that 'my brains are in such a state that I could not do a simple little problem that I had set my students. I had to call off the lesson. Yesterday I felt so bad: I wanted to cry, I could not sleep, I really had to pull myself together. Well, now I have told you how awful it all is and I feel better for it... Darling, don't be upset. I will not break down, I will not come out of this a physical or emotional cripple. I will still be a whole person when they release me'.

... The Bolsheviks throughout the area realised that it was a matter of life and death and decided on a united course of action. The rule in Narym was that each exile had the right to an audience with Ovsyanikov, the local police officer, once a week and now they gave him not a moment's peace. Personal needs were forgotten - an unending stream of exiles went to him with one request: bring back Sverdlov. ...

Novgorodtseva took their baby and ran away to Moscow.

While in Moscow, without papers or permission, I stayed with a friend, Sanya Anisimova. The idea of going to Sverdlov came to me there but, as a boat put in at Maksimkin Yar only twice a year, I knew that it was impossible, especially as the baby was less than a year old then. ...

Sverdlov had intended to escape since his first days in exile - this I know because at the end of 1911 I was thinking of going with the baby to join him, but when I wrote to him about it, I received this reply:

'Of course I want to be with you soon ... It's my dream but dreaming and doing cannot always go together... There is a feeling of animation in the air. I am ready for action, and if my dream comes true it will *not* be because you come to me... Please don't make arrangements to come this way just yet.'⁵⁴

Sverdlov failed to get to Prague, and Bolsheviks in European Russia were losing cadre.

(iii) Too flowery and incomprehensible to the masses

Early in 1911, in Latvia, 1,153 of the LSD's 2,000 claimed members were in Rīga and the party claimed to lead 3,700 trade unionists. Menshevik supporters controlled the committee, four of the five district committees and the board of propagandists, a branch of the CC. It supported the Vienna *Pravda* because it 'made efforts to stand apart from factional strife' and replaced the Bolshevik on the RSDRP émigré bureau with a Menshevik. *Cīņa* had two Menshevik-inclined editors out of three, and was transferred to Brussels. Voldis Rikveilis had been born in Latvia in 1872. He later became a painter, joined the LSD and became an excellent organiser and underground activist. In autumn the LSD Congress in Helsinki elected a CC of Menshevik workers with Rikveilis as its secretary. They published *Laika Bâlss (The Voice of the Time)*, and when the authorities closed it, the CC changed its name. In November Ordzhonikidze of the RSDRP conference organising commission asked the LSD to send delegates. Spandarian visited Rīga and, with the help of Bolshevik supporters, he joined the propaganda committee. In December Ordzhonikidze invited the LSD to send conference delegates again, but they declined.⁵⁵

Ivan Smilga had been born into a farmer's family in the Baltic region in 1892. His parents were 'extremely liberal and free-thinking', and when the education minister was assassinated in 1901 it was 'like a holiday'. In 1905 Ivan met SD students, read pamphlets and considered himself a revolutionary. Late that year his father was elected as chair of the revolutionary committee, but a punitive expedition executed him in 1906. In January 1907 Ivan entered the Modern School, joined the RSDRP, fought with police on May Day and was arrested. In 1909 he worked in Moscow, but was arrested at the committee's bookshop, charged with distributing banned literature and deported without trial, but he managed to escape to St. Petersburg and worked in the Petersburg district. Early in 1911 he was briefly arrested, and in spring he worked underground in Moscow, but in summer he was exiled to Vologda province for three years.⁵⁶ Timofei Krivov had been born in 1886. He joined the RSDRP in 1905, but was exiled. In 1910 he emigrated, but returned in 1911 and was sentenced to katorga for life.⁵⁷ That year Okulova joined her husband Teodorowicz in Eastern Siberia.⁵⁸ Pavel Bessalko had been born into a peasant's family in 1880. He had no formal education but trained to be a fitter. He was arrested in 1907 for revolutionary activity, imprisoned for two years and sentenced to exile, but escaped to France in 1911 and worked in an aircraft factory.⁵⁹ Boris Voline also left for France. Alexandr Afanassiev had been born in 1869. He later became a worker at Sestroretsk arms factory and joined the RSDRP in 1905. He joined the regional committee and a fighting detachment, went on strike, and attended demonstrations there and in St. Petersburg. From 1907 to 1911 he worked underground, but was arrested.⁶⁰ Moisei Goldshtein had been born into a poor Jewish family in Ostropol, Volhynia province, in 1891. He attended a primary school and a gymnasium, and worked underground for the Bund and Ukrainian SDs. He was arrested in 1908 and in 1911 he was deported to Arkhangelsk province. He completed his gymnasium exams, but on his release he left for the USA.⁶¹ After serving a term of exile in Siberia, the Bolshevik Nikolai Nakoriakov also left for the USA.⁶² Fyodor Sergeev had been born into a kulak family in a Kursk province village in 1883. They later moved Katerynoslav in Ukraine, where his father worked as a building contractor. Fyodor went to a private primary school and then a Modern School. After he graduated in 1900 he entered the Higher Technical School in Moscow and became an active SD, but spent four months in Voronezh Prison. In 1901 he went to Paris to study, but in 1903 he returned to Katerynoslav province and worked in factories and as a locomotive fireman, as well as for the RSDRP. In 1905 he became a full-time RSDRP organiser in a large working class district of Kharkiv. He led an armed struggle at the gates of a factory, and though the police arrested many leaders, he escaped. Once he was carried through police lines in a nailed-down coffin. In 1906 the police jailed him, but he soon escaped. The CC sent him to Perm, but he fell ill. Police exiled him elsewhere in Siberia. He escaped, but was captured, and sentenced to katorga.⁶³ In 1910 The Bolsheviks gave him 'a small sum of money, a very poorly-forged passport and letters to comrades' in prison, and he escaped.⁶⁴ He went via Korea and Japan and arrived in Australia in 1911.⁶⁵

Viktor Kurnatovsky had been sentenced to death in 1906, though that was commuted to exile for life in Siberia. He soon escaped, but his health had suffered. He arrived in Paris in autumn 1910 and Ulyanov and Krupskaya visited him in hospital,⁶⁶ arranged to have him taken to a better one, and asked Gopner to consult an eminent surgeon.⁶⁷ (Kurnatovsky was discharged in 1911,⁶⁸ but he died the following year.⁶⁹)

The Bolshevik intelligent Rozhkov had been sentenced to exile for life in Siberia in spring 1909 on account of his involvement with *Svetch*. He was kept in a Moscow prison for a year, and in spring 1910, after a journey of 28 days, he arrived in Alexandrov Katorga Prison, and his wife Zinaida followed. Rozhkov was moved to the village of Malyshevka and studied assiduously. He concluded that the 'subjective and objective conditions for social revolution did not exist in Russia', and would not do so before capitalism developed further, so it was necessary to help it to happen by working for a parliament, and he criticised Ulyanov's attack on Alexandr Malinovsky. The CC found Ulyanov's writing 'too flowery and incomprehensible to the masses' and encouraged Rozhkov to escape; but surveillance was stepped up and he was sent to Kirensk, 600 miles or so north east of Irkutsk in Siberia. In autumn

he was allowed to return to Malyshevka, and in December to Irkutsk, where he edited the Menshevik-oriented *Irkutskoe slovo (Irkutsk Word)*.⁷⁰ Late that year Ulyanov attacked Rozhkov in a lecture in Paris.⁷¹

Evgeny Onufriev had been born in 1884. In 1904 when he worked at the Obukhov metalworks near St. Petersburg, and was a member of the RSDRP Nevsky district committee, he joined the RSDRP Congress 'majority'. In 1905 he took part in the factory's combat squads, and by late that year he had built a kruzhok and represented the Nevsky district on the Bolshevik committee.⁷² He led a fighting squad at least up to 1907.⁷³ Late in 1911 Breslav told him and a few other Bolsheviks about the party conference,⁷⁴ and Spandarian selected a Bolshevik supporter who had been inactive since 1906 as a delegate.⁷⁵ Tsaplin, the secretary of the textile workers' union, was proposed, but was soon arrested, and though 15 delegates from four districts elected Onufriev as a delegate, Poletaev declined.⁷⁶ P.A. Zaludsky was elected by an RSDRP committee which then passed out of existence, and the police arrested Shvartsman,⁷⁷ and Breslav.⁷⁸

Leonid Serebryakov had been born into a Samara engineer's family in 1890. His father wandered from town to town in search of work, and around 1899, when the family lived in Ufa, nine-year-old Leonid worked in a brewery for 1.2 rubles a week. His father and two older brothers later worked at a locomotive plant in Luhansk in Ukraine, and Leonid attend primary school for a while, but had to leave, and educated himself. In 1904 his father worked in Baki, but the rest of the family stayed in Luhansk, and since Leonid's birth certificate was wrongly dated 1887 he got a job working a lathe. He read the illegal literature his brothers hid in lofts and sheds, and they let him distribute it. By 1905 the 15-year-old had joined the RSDRP committee, and was arrested, but was freed by the October amnesty. In 1906 and 1907 the police made frequent searches and arrests, and he was often sacked. In 1908 he was deported to Ust-Sysolsk in Vologda province for two years with a government grant of 6.2 rubles a month. He continued his education, and early in 1911, after his release, the party sent him to propagandise in factories, but he did not stay long in any one place except for Mykolaiv.⁷⁹ According to Bronstein Serebryakov was elected as a conference delegate by 'a circle of Ulyanovists without the knowledge of the other members'. Another delegate later acknowledged that he had 'held himself aloof from any definite part in local work' and 'two or three bakers and four or six young fellows from the shipbuilding yards' elected him. Across Ukraine Party Mensheviks and Bronstein's supporters recruited workers. Katerynoslav comrades had been among the first to agree to the conference, but could not get an assurance that all the party would be represented, so they dissociated themselves from its decisions and ignored Semkov, Ulyanov's 'lackey'. Ten of the 150 comrades were 'steadfast Bolsheviks', though the Party Menshevik Zeven was sent to the party conference to argue for unity,⁸⁰ and Serebryakov helped Ordjonikidze and Abramovich to get there.⁸¹

(iv) The 'official' Bolsheviks

By 1 October 1911 Ulyanov knew that St. Petersburg province workers would elect six electors in the Duma elections, and it was vital that they were all 'steadfast, consistent working-class democrats and opponents of liquidationism'.⁸² When he spoke in Geneva,⁸³ the Bolshevik intelligentka Maria Essen was struck by his optimism.⁸⁴ He asked the SPD's Zetkin for '10,000 francs of Party money' for the RSDRP conference,⁸⁵ and attended the International bureau in Zurich. He spoke to RSDRP émigrés in the city about the assassinated prime minister, and did so again in Bern.⁸⁶ Back in Paris he wrote in *Sotsial-Democrat* that the term 'Ulyanovist' was 'a clumsy attempt to insinuate that it is only a question of the supporters of a *single* person', though he was 'fully conscious' of his responsibility for the 'official Bolsheviks'. 'Bronstein – who at one moment has wavered more to the side of the Bolsheviks and at another more to that of the Mensheviks – has been persistently carrying on propaganda for an agreement (or compromise) between *all* and sundry factions'; yet the party had 'two election platforms' for the Duma and one was '*the platform of liberal labour policy*'. Russia was 'heading for a *revolutionary* crisis', so SDs had to 'prove that revolution is necessary' and 'legitimate', yet there were 'no strictly defined Party organisations' in most of Russia. The election campaign had to begin '*at once*' with three slogans: '(1) a republic, (2) confiscation of all landed estates, and (3) the eight-hour day'.⁸⁷ In November Ulyanov spoke about the assassinated prime minister in Antwerp, Brussels Liège and London.⁸⁸ Invitations to the conference had gone to Bolsheviks in Saratov, Vilnius, Kazan, Dvinsk, Nizhni-Novgorod, Sormovo, Samara, Tyumen,⁸⁹ underground groups in St. Petersburg, Moscow, the Volga region, the Urals, Rostov-na-Donu, Mykolaiv, the Caucasus, Toulouse, Lausanne, London, Bremen, Brussels, Antwerp, Copenhagen, Nice and Berlin, and those were unable to send delegates sent detailed reports.⁹⁰

Bronstein published an article in the Austrian SDs' *Der Kampf (The Struggle)* and argued that the 'state apparatus with its laws, police, and army is nothing but an apparatus for capitalist terror!' Yet it was 'absolutely harmless as far as the social system goes', since the state 'does not base itself on capitalist ministers and cannot be eliminated with them', so 'the wheel of capitalist exploitation turns as before', 'police repression becomes more savage and

brazen' and in place of 'kindled hopes and artificially aroused excitement come disillusion and apathy'. Terrorism 'belittles the role of the masses in their own consciousness, reconciles them to their powerlessness', 'turns their eyes and hopes toward a great avenger and liberator' and discourages 'self-organisation and self-education'. 'Social Democracy rejects all methods and means' that aim 'to artificially force the development of society and to substitute chemical preparations for the insufficient revolutionary strength of the proletariat'.⁹¹ The Bolsheviks' transporter Brendinsky had allowed Bronstein's publications to reach St. Petersburg, along with 300 copies of Menshevik papers, but only 12 copies of two Bolshevik papers.⁹²

In November Kollontai spoke to a 90,000 anti-war demonstration in Basel, Switzerland.⁹³ Paul and Laura Lafargue. Marx's daughter, committed suicide, and on 16 December Kollontai spoke at their graves at Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris.⁹⁴ Rappaport had introduced Ulyanov and Krupskaya to the Lafargue, and his wife Laura, Marx's daughter, at their large house in Draveil, 12 or 15 miles from Paris, a year or two earlier,⁹⁵ and he also spoke at their graves. Armand corrected his French notes.⁹⁶ He argued that the 1905 revolution in Russia had 'ushered in an era of democratic revolutions throughout Asia, and 800 million people are now joining in the democratic movement of the whole of the civilised world',⁹⁷ but *L'Humanité* criticised his references to colonial revolutionaries.⁹⁸ The International bureau published his pamphlet about the second Duma deputies in Siberia. 'Many have already died there'. One had 'lost his reason', and 'the health of many others, as a result of unendurable living conditions, has been impaired and they may die any day'.⁹⁹

Rosenfeld wrote a pamphlet,¹⁰⁰ *Dve storony (The Two Parties)*, which argued that since 1909 the idea of reaching out to Party Mensheviks had 'determined the whole internal party course of the Bolsheviks'.

As firm proponents of the most merciless ideological struggle against groups and grouplets that are nourished by the counterrevolutionary atmosphere, we are also equally firm proponents of the unity under the banner of the party of all revolutionary Marxists – irrespective of faction and tendency and in spite of these or those differences on concrete questions of current politics.

The RSDRP 'must apply its energy and all its strength toward helping and serving in a comprehensive way, irrespective of faction of tendency, all worker circles, groups and associations, legally or illegally working towards the resurrection and strengthening of the proletarian organisation in Russia'.¹⁰¹

By early December RSDRP organisations in Kyiv, Baki, Katerynoslav, Ekaterinburg, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Mykolaiv, Saratov, Kazan, Vilnius, Dvinsk, Nizhni Novgorod, Sormovo, Samara, Tyumen, Rostov and elsewhere had formed local conference organising commissions,¹⁰² and Apfelbaum produced a manifesto.

In the localities all social democratic workers – Bolsheviks as well as Mensheviks, and also workers connected to the *Vypered* Group and to *Pravda* – harmoniously carry out party work together and together fight against the liquidators-legalists, who almost everywhere separate themselves from party groups and work independently of our party. All these social democratic workers will never refuse to take part in an all-party enterprise due to considerations of a narrow factional nature or those arising out of the competition of small émigré circles.¹⁰³

Rabochaya gazeta called for a meeting of émigré Bolsheviks and it took place on 27 December,¹⁰⁴ upstairs at the Russian Library in avenue D'Orleans in Paris.¹⁰⁵ The 11 delegates from Paris, Nancy, Zurich, Davos, Geneva, Liege, Bern and Bremen had votes and they aimed to unify émigré Bolsheviks.¹⁰⁶ Ulyanov, Apfelbaum and Rosenfeld were non-voting representatives of *Rabochaya gazeta*, as were six members of the organising commission, and two guests, Krupskaya and Zhitomirsky. Seven of those present had attended the Longjumeau School. Most émigré Bolsheviks were in three cities, but in a 'chaotic condition'. The commission to draft a motion for the conference included Armand, though she was not a delegate.¹⁰⁷ The Paris conference elected a new émigré organising commission, which included Semashko and Vladimirsky. On the 30th the delegates asked comrades in Russia to give 'energetic support' to the organising commission and the conference,¹⁰⁸ and this was printed soon after.¹⁰⁹

Maximilian Savelev had been born into a family of gentry in Nizhny Novgorod in 1884. He studied at the universities of Moscow and Leipzig, then worked in the RSDRP in Nizhny Novgorod, Katerynoslav, Moscow, St. Petersburg and other cities, but was often arrested. From 1907 he lived in Germany and joined the Bolsheviks and the SPD. He returned to St. Petersburg in 1910, and in December 1911 he became an editor of the legal socio-political and literary monthly *Prosveshcheniye (Education)*,¹¹⁰ which had replaced *Mysl*.¹¹¹ The Bolshevik Bonch-Bruевич, who had established the publishing house of *Zhizn i znanie (Life and Knowledge)*, also wrote for *Prosveshcheniye*,¹¹² as did Vinokurov.¹¹³ Gorky had been convinced that a general European war was inevitable since summer,¹¹⁴ and in autumn he wrote from Capri to Andreev in Terijoki in Finland.

The misfortune of our country undoubtedly lies in the fact that we have been poisoned by the thick, heavy blood of the East; this is what inclines us to reflect our own vileness and powerlessness passively, to gossip about eternity, space, and any other higher materials for 'self-perfection' and other lengthy trifles. In addition, we as a nation have been tormented by our clumsy history, and incapable of continuous and steady effort, because we are wearing from disillusion; we have lost hope, we don't know who to believe, and waver from fanaticism to nihilism.¹¹⁵

Gorky edited the literary section of *Prosveshcheniye*, and its circulation reached 5,000,¹¹⁶ but Gorky declined an invitation to Prague.¹¹⁷ By the end of the year invitations had gone to all the national SD parties, and the editors of *Pravda*, *Vypered*, and *Dnevnik Sotsial-demokrata*, though most arrived too late.¹¹⁸ Plekhanov claimed he was too ill,¹¹⁹ and broke from the Bolsheviks because of their 'factionalism'.¹²⁰ Krupskaya screened each delegate, and sent Brendinsky, who she suspected was a spy, on a wild goose chase to Brittany.¹²¹

(v) Education was beginning to spread

During 1911 145,600 of 242,300 peasant heads of households successfully had applied for permission to convert their communal allotments into private holdings,¹²² as had 683,000 of those who applied for grants of land.¹²³ In six years the average wheat harvest in Cossack territory had been two-thirds of the national average. Only large farmers would afford modern machinery, and some Cossacks had to sell oxen or land to prepare themselves for military service;¹²⁴ yet a British merchant who visited Kuban Cossack territory found that the inhabitants looked 'well-to-do'. 'The land was rich black earth and they grew wheat on it year after year and sold it abroad through the Black Sea ports. They paid no taxes or rent, but were under permanent obligation of military service'. They had always been loyal to the tsar and the government, though 'education was beginning to spread among them' and they had begun to 'show signs of kicking over the traces'.¹²⁵ Around ten million *kustari* worked in cottage industry.¹²⁶

In European Russia government-appointed administrators had formerly controlled 37 whole provinces and 21 districts in others,¹²⁷ but the number of jurisdictions under a state of emergency had been reduced to 25.¹²⁸ Government shops sold almost two billion litres of alcohol,¹²⁹ but it had had to build grain elevators because of a lack of private investment.¹³⁰ Taxes were slightly lower than 20 years earlier,¹³¹ but officially there had been 4,567 peasant disturbances.¹³² The government had invested 96 million rubles in new railways and 68 million to improve the network,¹³³ and there were more branch lines in Siberia,¹³⁴ where farmers supplied half the meat sold in St. Petersburg and Moscow.¹³⁵ Over 226,000 had legally migrated to Siberia, though 64,000 returned.¹³⁶ Migrants formed 40 percent of the population in Siberia,¹³⁷ and around 80 percent of over 1.5 million in the Steppes.¹³⁸

Foreigners owned 45 percent of the chemical industry, 54 percent of heavy industry and 62 percent of construction and civic enterprises,¹³⁹ and the number of cotton spindles had tripled to 75,000 since 1905.¹⁴⁰ The 309 plants with a capital of over two million rubles had two-thirds of the total investment.¹⁴¹ Factory output was worth almost 4.9 billion rubles,¹⁴² out of gross output worth 5.5 billion rubles.¹⁴³ Nationally around 54 percent of industrial workers were in workforces of over 500, compared to 31 percent in the USA.¹⁴⁴ Employment had risen by 14 percent in the iron trades and 21 percent in machine building,¹⁴⁵ though gains in real wages since 1905 had been wiped out.¹⁴⁶ Nationally the average wage was 251 rubles, or 8.2 percent higher than in 1910,¹⁴⁷ but it varied from 191 in the Kyiv region, to 192 in Vladimir province, 213 in Moscow, 216 in the Volga region, 241 in Moscow province, 268 in Kharkiv, 307 in Warszawa, 316 in St. Petersburg and 365 in Petersburg province.¹⁴⁸ Prices were rising. Sunflower oil cost 15 kopeks a pound, suet 14, meat 13, wheat bread 3.5, black bread 2.5 one and potatoes 0.8. The lowest paid Moscow workers earned 10 rubles a month and spent 3.3 rubles on food. This bought 65 pounds of black bread, 11 of potatoes, five of wheat, four of sauerkraut, 3.3 of meat, one of sunflower oil and half a pound of suet.¹⁴⁹

Over half of the dwellings in 1,082 Russian towns and cities were made of wood, and only 74 of the 886 those with street lighting had electricity, while 35 had gas, 38 had some piped sewage and 192 had piped water.¹⁵⁰ In the Donbass six of the 44 large mining settlements and metallurgical plants had piped water. A doctor visiting Russia's largest coal producer, the South Russian Coal Company at Gorlovka, noted that almost half of the 1,638 dwellings were dugouts or shanties. Only 16.7 percent of the 9,658 workers, many with their families, had uncrowded quarters, though 18,264 people shared 3,253 sleeping places. Over two thirds had less than 4.8 square yards of floor space per person, while 809 dwellings had a leaky roof, 541 a smoky chimney and 951 were cold. Miners had formerly earned an average of 294 rubles a year for working 260 days a year, though that had fallen to 213, and an explosion killed 300 at the Rykovsky mine. The New Russia Company produced over 1.39 million tons of coal, approaching 236,500 tons of pig iron, almost 500,000 tons of rails, and over 43,000 tons of other iron goods. Government orders for Donbass iron and steel represented 15 percent of national output.¹⁵¹

Nationally there were 216 trade unions,¹⁵² and 95 percent of members in St. Petersburg were skilled workers.¹⁵³ Striking in defence of agreements had been legalised, but not striking to improve living or working conditions.¹⁵⁴ Officially, the number of strikers was double that in 1910.¹⁵⁵ During 1911 466 strikes involved 105,110 strikers, and 5.1 percent of strikes and eight percent of strikers were deemed political.¹⁵⁶ On average strikes lasted 8.2 days, though textile workers' averaged 9.2 days and metalworkers' ten. There were 442 economic strikes and 96,000 economic strikers, of whom 60 percent were textile workers,¹⁵⁷ though 98 percent of their strikes were deemed economic, and two percent political. Just over 45 percent of strikes ended in defeat, over 34 percent in compromise, while over 20 percent were successful. Around 74 percent of metalworker strikers were deemed economic, and 26 percent political, but 71 percent of their strikes were defeated, almost 27 percent ended in compromise and just over two percent were successful.¹⁵⁸ Altogether over 8,380 political strikers and 96,730 economic strikers included almost 60,000 textile workers and over 17,900 metalworkers.¹⁵⁹ After five virtually strike-free years, at least eight Donbass mine workforces had struck for more pay,¹⁶⁰ and Ukraine accounted for 14 percent of officially-recorded strikers.¹⁶¹ Azerbaijan's economy had begun to recover and the Musavat (Equality) party had been founded. It soon became a mass organisation and played a key role in the struggle against the autocracy,¹⁶² and published *Ishiq (Light)* for women;¹⁶³ but by late that year foreign forces, including those of Russia and Britain, defeated the Azerbaijan revolution.¹⁶⁴ Oil output had fallen by 11.1 percent compared to 1910,¹⁶⁵ but a large new reserve of oil had been discovered.¹⁶⁶ Ten strikes, six of them in Baki, had involved 434 workers,¹⁶⁷

The Education Ministry wanted children to have 'a religious and moral education', fostering a 'love of Russia', improving 'basic knowledge' and 'enabling their mental development',¹⁶⁸ and insisted that teachers should earn a minimum of 390 rubles a year.¹⁶⁹ The government had allocated grants to 398 of the 441 zemstva and 218 urban authorities, and there were over 80,000 primary schools in European Russia and almost 20,000 in the Asiatic provinces.¹⁷⁰ The Duma gave zemstva over ten million rubles for primary schools.¹⁷¹ Almost 90 percent were in rural areas, and there were also 4,000 independent free schools,¹⁷² and 100,295 lay and church primary schools had 153,360 teachers and 6,180,510 pupils.¹⁷³ Most school-age children,¹⁷⁴ aged eight to 11, lived less than a mile and a half from a school, though one million had been refused admission and 4.4 million may not have applied.¹⁷⁵ The 44,607 teachers from peasant families,¹⁷⁶ or 36 percent of the total,¹⁷⁷ taught 75 percent of boys and 59 percent of girls in towns and cities and 58 percent of boys and 24 percent of girls in the countryside. An average of over 53 percent of pupils attended in the 34 provinces which had zemstva, though average attendance was 152 days a year and around 90 percent did not stay for three years. In Moscow province 84 percent of children attended, as did almost 80 percent in parts of the Baltic region, but only 2.4 percent in Samarkand and 1.6 percent in Fergana in central Asia.¹⁷⁸ Altogether a third of Russian boys and 14 percent of girls aged 7 to 14 attended a school,¹⁷⁹ and a quarter of 120,000 secondary pupils were from peasants families.¹⁸⁰ Almost half of university students had modest backgrounds.¹⁸¹ The maximum number of Jews taking only examinations at Russian universities had been brought into line with other limitations on Jews;¹⁸² though Kyiv University ignored the quota. The education minister had sacked three university deans, but there had been mass resignations by professors.¹⁸³ Late that year the government allowed graduates of women's higher courses to take the same state examination as men, and receive degrees, but without any automatic right to civil service posts.¹⁸⁴

Sytin & Co had published almost 15 million copies of 815 books,¹⁸⁵ and there were 29 one kopek daily newspapers;¹⁸⁶ but 239 of the 247 new periodicals had been closed.¹⁸⁷ When Kedrov was released in December he offered most copies of the first volume part one of the second volume of Ulyanov's articles to the St. Petersburg RSDRP committee, but they could not store or distribute them, so Kedrov had them pulped.¹⁸⁸ After 18 months of deliberations, the VPSR commission into the Azev affair published its findings. Four of the Okhrana's 29 agents among SRs had been exposed, as had one of the three among anarchists and two of the 32 among SDs, though four had managed to enter the Bolsheviks' Moscow cell.¹⁸⁹ Publication of the Mensheviks' *Golos sotsial-demokrata* had been suspended,¹⁹⁰ yet 69 Menshevik periodicals, 35 Polish, 20 in Latvian, seven in Russian, five in Yiddish and two in Bielarusian, had appeared in Vilnius.¹⁹¹ Between 18 to 20 percent of men and 12 to 17 percent of women who had been RSDRP members in 1905 had left the party by 1911,¹⁹² though Ulyanov's *Collected Works* contain seven letters to Russia that year.¹⁹³

Reformers had argued that 'the primary reason for the bad physical shape' of military conscripts included poor nutrition and unhygienic living conditions,¹⁹⁴ and the government had planned to introduce physical education and classes on military affairs in schools. There was another unsuccessful attempt to prevent Jews enlisting.¹⁹⁵ Polish shoe workers expelled Jews from factories, and they were not allowed to work in mechanized workshops,¹⁹⁶ but agricultural settlements of Jewish workers had been established in Palestine.¹⁹⁷

Late in 1911 the French ceded land in the Congo to Germany, whose government relinquished its claims in Morocco.¹⁹⁸ There were 2,000 or so miles of railway lines in Poland,¹⁹⁹ whose western border faced Germany.

15. Do you suppose I will live to see another revolution?

(i) The Prague coup

On 12 January 1912 the émigré RSDRP conference organising commission announced its existence and claimed it had the support of organisations in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Nizhni Novgorod, Sormovo, Tyumen, Vilnius, Dvinsk, Samara, Saratov, Kazan, Mykolaiv, Rostov-na-Donu, Kyiv, Katerynoslav, Tbilisi, Bakı, and elsewhere.¹ Only 'moderate' delegates were arrested,² including Schwartz, who was detained before he crossed the border.³ Others travelled by rail in different coaches and compartments.⁴ On the 14th Ulyanov wrote from Paris to his sister Anna in Saratov: 'Do you suppose I will live to see another revolution?'⁵ When Voronsky reached Prague he went to the Czech SD party office where a comrade told him that people wearing galoshes were suspected of being Russian revolutionaries. He gave him boots and clothes, took him to dinner, then to his lodgings and on to the theatre.⁶

On the 18th the conference convened in the Czech SDs' Workers' House,⁷ and there was a little parcel of literature printed in Paris on each seat. The city was flooded with spies, so delegates did not use their real names.⁸ Ulyanov, Rosenfeld, Semashko and Tarshis attended in a non-voting capacity,⁹ as the editors of *Sotsial-Democrat*, *Rabochaya gazeta*, the émigré organisation commission and the Leipzig transport group respectively,¹⁰ as did the SD Duma deputies Poletayev and the Menshevik V.I. Shurkanov.¹¹ There were no female delegates from Russia,¹² though almost two-thirds of the men were Russian workers,¹³ and the 14 with a vote claimed to represent ten RSDRP committees.¹⁴ The meeting now claimed to represent the Lugansk organisation, groups in Ufa, a number of places in the Moscow region and others associated with the organising commission.¹⁵ Eight delegates had been Longjumeau students, including M.I. Gurovich from Vilnius and Dvinsk and A.I. Dogadov from Kazan, whose organisation had been dormant for some time. Ordjonikidze claimed to represent four Georgian organisations and Spandarian to have been elected by 200 Bakı workers. Others had been elected by groups which had existed for two months, though ten other organisations had expressed solidarity with the aims of the conference.¹⁶ Gurovich later recalled that the delegates 'represented the sole authentic representatives of the revolutionary Russian workers' from 'small, dispersed, loosely connected, illegal groups and circles'. The Odesa, Kyiv, and Katerynoslav organisations 'numbered only thirty, forty, or sometimes fifty people'. They had 'no public journal and no money'. They were 'short of workers' and had had no intelligent.¹⁷ Altogether there were 16 Bolsheviks and two Party Mensheviks. The workers averaged 26-years-of-age and most had joined the RSDRP in 1905. There were five CC members, so it was not a legal RSDRP plenum.¹⁸ Kyiv RSDRP committee had convened the meeting,¹⁹ and the Party Mensheviks Schwartsman from Kyiv, and Zevin from Katerynoslav,²⁰ queried whether it was really an 'all-party' conference. Ulyanov proposed calling it a 'general Party Conference', but also the 'supreme Party authority' which would 'establish competent central bodies'. The delegates agreed,²¹ though Ulyanov announced that he would leave if Plekhanov, Bronstein, any Vyperedist, Pole, Bundist or someone from the Caucasian bureau arrived.²²

Ordjonikidze reported that the Russian organising commission had 'approached national parties' and the Caucasian joint committee and 'conducted energetic work towards the re-establishment of local organisations' with 'well-known comrades', so as to 'work towards the calling of an *all-party* conference'.²³ In Siberia the Urals organisation claimed up to 50 members who were mostly Bolsheviks and Party Mensheviks. In Georgia Tbilisi RSDRP claimed 100 members,²⁴ though Ordjonikidze noted that there had been 'no organisation of any kind' and no leaflets in Tbilisi, Chiatury or Batumi for years.²⁵ Spandarian acknowledged that 'not one pamphlet has been produced; there is no kind of illegal work, no membership subscriptions, and no reports of the organisations or of their activities'.²⁶ He condemned 'squabbling' émigrés for exposing workers in Russia to arrest.²⁷ Three delegates, including Ordjonikidze, proposed that the Bolsheviks' émigré groups be dissolved,²⁸ and a majority agreed.²⁹ They also criticised the Bund, SDKPiL and LSD for collaborating with 'liquidators'.³⁰ (The Bund had established close links with the Mensheviks.³¹) No detailed minutes were kept,³² though Romanov from Tula kept the Okhrana informed.³³

Petr Zalutsky had been born into a peasant family in Krucha in the Mogilev province of Bielarusia in 1887. He joined the revolutionary movement in 1904, took part in the 1905 revolution, and joined the RSDRP in 1907. He worked illegally in Vladivostok in Eastern Siberia before moving to St. Petersburg in 1911, where he worked in a factory, and helped to organise the distribution of *Zvezda* and the Vienna *Pravda*.³⁴ In January 1912, in Prague, he reported that there were 109 Bolsheviks in the capital,³⁵ and Onufriev added that since the previous summer the Nevsky district organisation had printed many leaflets, mainly on economic issues, as well as organising an educational society and many mass and flying meetings.

Ulyanov argued that Kautsky's 'centrism' was more dangerous than Bernstein's 'revisionism',³⁶ though the RSDRP was like the SPD during the anti-socialist laws and there were 'legal possibilities'. 'Wherever possible the

political struggle is frequently also conducted by the Duma group, and if we had more legal societies built on these lines, the revolution would be invincible.' Illegal cells 'surrounded by a network of legal cells will give us a new basis. All contacts should be reduced to a minimum, as though the organisation is and is not there'. 'We have not done enough in the legal societies. We must wrest them from the hands of the liberals' ... and control 'the entire legal movement'.³⁷ Bolsheviks should 'participate actively in the leadership of the *economic struggle*' and try to ensure that 'nuclei' in trade unions 'organised on an *industrial* basis', 'function in conjunction with party branches organised on a *territorial* basis', show 'maximum possible initiative' in reading rooms, libraries and workers' leisure activities, and develop them with 'the greatest possible flexibility'. Underground kruzhki should take part in 'everyday *practical work*' as part of 'systematic agitation'. Others stressed the importance of 'socialist education, organisation' and the 'unification of the politically-conscious masses', so as to 'give wholehearted support to the incipient mass movement and secure its development under the banner of full implementation of the Party slogans'.³⁸ RSDRP candidates in workers' curiae in the Duma elections should use the slogans of '*a democratic republic*', '*an eight hour day*' and the '*confiscation of landed estates*'. There would be no agreements with other parties in the first stage, though tactical agreements with those to the left of the liberals were permissible in the second stage, and, if necessary, with them and the liberals against 'governmental parties'. SD deputies 'must conduct a merciless struggle against the tsarist monarchy and the parties of the capitalists and the landowning nobility which support it', while 'steadfastly unmasking the counter-revolutionary and pseudo-democratic views of the liberals'.³⁹ The rest of the RSDRP minimum programme, including universal suffrage, freedom of association, the election of judges and officials and the substitution of an armed people for a standing army should be 'brought up in our propaganda' by 'revealing the petty-bourgeois nature of the pseudo-socialism of the Trudoviki, Popular Socialists and SRs, and 'exposing the harm done to the cause of democracy by their vacillations on questions of mass revolutionary struggle'.⁴⁰ Party work was to be 'conducted jointly and amiably' with Party Mensheviks and Vyperedists, even though separate groups had sometimes existed in Moscow, St. Petersburg and the Caucasus, and émigré groups could 'communicate with Russian organisations' only through the CC. The economy was improving, thanks to the government's increased military spending, the level of class struggle was rising, and the delegates applauded news of clashes between Riga workers and police.

Tarshis criticised SD newspapers for focussing on an émigré audience.⁴¹ *Sotsial-Democrat* had failed to deal with Russian issues and was preoccupied with factional matters, and it was not written by workers or in their idiom. Delegates instructed the editors 'to give more attention to articles of a propagandist nature' and publish 'stories that will be more popular and readable' for workers.⁴² The 'regular distribution of a regularly and frequently published illegal Social-Democratic newspaper' was 'of especial importance for political agitation, for directing the revolutionary struggle, and for linking up all the illegal organisations and illegal cells'.⁴³ *Rabochaya gazeta* was less pedantic and targeted at underground workers and would be the RSDRP's 'official organ'. Ulyanov, Rosenfeld and Apfelbaum would edit it for 200 French francs a month,⁴⁴ though the delegates ended the subsidy to the Vienna *Pravda*,⁴⁵ and condemned the Menshevik *Golos sotsial-demokrata*.⁴⁶ *Nashe zaria* had supported 'tendencies acknowledged by the entire party to be the products of bourgeois influences on the proletariat',⁴⁷ and had '*once and for all placed itself outside the party*', as had the Mensheviks who published *Delo zhizni*.⁴⁸ Voronsky proposed launching a legal Bolshevik daily.⁴⁹ A majority agreed in principle,⁵⁰ and some workers wrote to ask Gorky for money and assistance to set up a daily SD one-kopek paper.⁵¹

Jughashvili would complete his sentence in summer, but Ulyanov's proposal for him to be on the CC 'met with indignation'.⁵² Tarshis was also proposed for the CC, though he could not go to Russia immediately, so his candidature was dropped,⁵³ though he was confirmed as head of the transport group in Leipzig.⁵⁴ Roman Malinovsky arrived late,⁵⁵ and was welcomed 'with open arms',⁵⁶ though Tarshis raised his suspicions about him with Ulyanov privately, since he was 'remote from Party work', had not been elected by the Moscow organisation and 'we knew very little about him'. Ulyanov insisted that he was 'a very capable and clever worker' and Tarshis acknowledged that he worked hard.⁵⁷ Malinovsky did not have enough support to be elected to the CC, so after a second vote Ulyanov collected the slips and whispered to some delegates, and when news leaked out that Malinovsky had been elected, 'Everyone was astonished'. At Ulyanov's suggestion delegates agreed that he would be the Moscow province Duma candidate,⁵⁸ but would 'lie low for a year' in a factory to avoid arrest.⁵⁹

The delegates declared that the Russian CC no longer existed, but confirmed the legitimacy of the émigré CC and the alternates elected at the 1911 Paris meeting. Previously a unanimous vote of CC members had been needed to co-opt, and Congresses had been formed on the basis of one delegate per 1,000 members; but the Prague delegates agreed that a majority of CC members could co-opt and the CC would decide representation at future Congresses in consultation with local representatives. Ulyanov noted that 30 to 50 members per delegate would be enough. Itsikovich, Ordjonikidze, Spandarian and Malinovsky were to form the Russian CC,⁶⁰ while Stasova, Spandarian, Alexandr Smirnov and Mikhail Kalinin were elected as alternates,⁶¹ with Sverdlov,⁶² and Bubnov.⁶³ The

delegates agreed to ask Burtsev about provocateurs,⁶⁴ and establish a 'provocation commission'.⁶⁵ Ordjonikidze, who had a life sentence hanging over him, would organise the next Congress.⁶⁶ An enlarged organisation commission would be set up in St. Petersburg,⁶⁷ while Ordjonikidze, Itsikovich,⁶⁸ and Shvartsman would convene a conference in south Russia,⁶⁹ and Armand would lead the émigré organising commission.⁷⁰ Ulyanov would be the delegate to the International bureau.⁷¹ He still controlled half of the Schmidt legacy.⁷² The conference cost 10,000 francs, and delegates approved spending 12,000 abroad and 18,000 in Russia.⁷³ The conference ended on 30 January.⁷⁴ Plekhanov refused to accept the Prague decisions and disavowed the Party Mensheviks who attended.⁷⁵

The tsar had decreed that large working class constituencies in the Urals, Poland and Caucasus would elect no Duma deputies and St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kharkiv, Kostroma, Vladimir and Katerynoslav provinces would elect one. Only workers aged 25 or over who had worked at the same factory for six months and paid house tax would vote in the first stage and outdoor meetings would be illegal.⁷⁶ The SPD's vote in the Reichstag elections had risen by one million to 4.25 million and its candidates won 110 seats, making it the largest single party; but while the Catholic Centre party received less than half that number of votes it won 93 seats. The SPD had made a pact with the Progressive Party in run-off elections, but while the SPD stuck to it and voted for Progressive Party candidates when their own candidates did not expect to win, the Progressive Party reciprocated in less than a quarter of such cases.⁷⁷ Nevertheless the SPD and other socialist deputies represented one in three citizens.⁷⁸ Only 19 percent of SPD supporters lived in villages, just under 36 percent in small towns and over 49 percent in large towns and cities.⁷⁹ SPD radicals were marginalised and the Reichstag deputies became more influential.⁸⁰ The EC abolished the women's bureau.⁸¹ Luxemburg told Kostya Zetkin to 'work systematically against parliamentary cretinism'.⁸²

Ulyanov visited Berlin to try to get money from the SPD,⁸³ but *Vorwärts* described the Conference as unrepresentative.⁸⁴ Ulyanov returned to Paris,⁸⁵ then went to Leipzig.⁸⁶ The SPD refused to publish his response to *Vorwärts*, so he published a pamphlet which stressed that Bundists, Mensheviks and the editors of *Vypered*, *Golos* and *Pravda* were planning a new party. Two of the 13 SD Duma deputies had contributed to a 'liquidationist' periodical, eight to *Zvezda*, one to both and two to neither.⁸⁷

Gorky had written from Capri to Andreev in Russia that if he were a governor general he 'wouldn't hang revolutionists', though 'these tongue-lechers are more harmful for our country than plague rats';⁸⁸ yet by February Ulyanov told Gorky that he was 'very, very glad' of his support. 'We are having a devilish hard job' and 'financial difficulties are immense – but we are managing so far'. Gorky agreed to write a May Day leaflet to be published in 'tens of thousands of copies'.⁸⁹ Ulyanov wrote to Rykov in Russia. 'The Vyperedists are very strong. They had a school = a conference = agents. We (and the Central Committee) *have not*. They have money, some 80,000 rubles. Do you think they will give it to you? Are you really so naïve?'⁹⁰

Early in March Ulyanov told the editors of *Zvezda* not to interfere with the Duma election platform.⁹¹ On the 12th he wrote from Paris to Shklovsky in Bern that Bronstein had acknowledged that the Prague Conference had established a '*bona fide* organisation'. 'Now 12 delegates are in Russia, making reports everywhere. *There are already letters* about this from St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kyiv, Samara, Mykolaiv and Tbilisi,' and *Zvezda* had nine SD Duma deputies on its list of contributors.⁹² By late that month Ulyanov had not heard from Katerynoslav. Krupskaya noted that 'transport has been liquidated; we need secret addresses, secret addresses, and more secret addresses', and money for leaflets. Ulyanov asked about 'Ivanovich' (Jughashvili). 'What is he doing?' 'The breakdown is complete!'⁹³ Ulyanov wrote to his sister Anna in Saratov that 'all the groups and sub-groups have joined forces against the last conference and those who organised it' and 'matters even went as far as fisticuffs'.⁹⁴ He told Ordjonikidze, Spandarian and Stasova that he was '*terribly* upset' by 'the *complete* disorganisation of our (and your) relations and contacts'. He needed the Russian CC's approval to take the SPD trustees to court, or 'we shall have a complete break down in three or four months'. There had been no 'sensible' resolutions from anywhere, and he wanted resolutions to enable him to sue the SPD trustees. If the agents had no money then the budget had to be 'radically reviewed', since they were 'approaching bankruptcy'.⁹⁵

In Vienna Bronstein was very grateful for the Mensheviks' financial support to help pay for medical treatment, and Bronstein's father paid some medical bills.⁹⁶ A visitor found Bronstein's family in 'a poor man's house' in a working-class suburb. The three rooms 'contained less furniture than was necessary for comfort', and Bronstein's clothes were too cheap to make him 'decent' in 'the eyes of middle-class'. The two boys helped Sedova with the housework, but the 'only thing that cheered the house were loads of books in every corner'.⁹⁷ Bronstein believed that the Prague organising commission had consisted of 'two or three agents from Ulyanov's émigré circle', though Shvartsman had had an 'unquestioned mandate' and Zevin probably did. *Pravda* noted that Ordjonikidze had written to 'one of his followers' that they should elect a delegate quickly and 'make every effort to elect a Bolshevik, but in no event elect a Menshevik'.⁹⁸ Bronstein dismissed the 'study-circle Messianism' of Russian émigrés, whose newspapers, almanacs, satires, literary tavern and coffee house debates' aspired to 'culture' as 'unbridled individualism, crude anarchism' or 'unprincipled satirical mockery'. 'Real history' did not rely on the 'poverty of

bourgeois-democratic traditions', but on the proletariat, even though it suffered from 'cultural pauperism'. Intelligently 'whose consciousness has been shaped by European influences' could play a significant role, not by substituting for political parties, classes, and the people, but by playing a 'subordinate role' in the proletarian struggle.⁹⁹ The veteran SD Ekaterina Alexandrova cooperated with Bronstein.¹⁰⁰ In *Pravda* he called the Prague Conference 'a symptom of émigré malaise' representing the 'opportunistic and unprincipled subordination of the needs of the movement to the needs of the self-preservation of a circle', yet it also demonstrated Ulyanov's isolation and impotence. He probably had fewer than 500 supporters in Russia,¹⁰¹ out of 10,000 RSDRP members.¹⁰²

(ii) Deliberately leading the party towards a split

By 1912, across European Russia, over 63 million people were subject to 'reinforced protection', the strictest form martial law.¹⁰³ Around 62 percent of the population occupied half a room or less, while 31 percent occupied between half a room and a whole one, and one percent occupied more than one room.¹⁰⁴

The population of St. Petersburg was over two million,¹⁰⁵ and it had grown by almost 82,000 in a year.¹⁰⁶ Around 150,000 workers had a 'corner' or a 'cot'.¹⁰⁷ About 60 percent of a married male textile worker's income went on food, and 52 percent if his wife worked outside the home, though in poorer families the proportion was as much as two-thirds. Single women textile workers sent 6.5 percent of their earnings to their villages, as did eight percent of single men, though some unskilled men reportedly starved themselves to send 20 to 25 percent.¹⁰⁸ Around 61 percent of factories employed over 500 workers and 43 percent 1,000 or more.¹⁰⁹ A bank now owned the huge Putilov metalworks,¹¹⁰ which produced 43 percent of the Empire's armaments,¹¹¹ while semi-skilled workers at other metalworks assembled parts, and membership of the metalworkers' union had fallen from 13.2 percent to 4.2 percent of the trade in five years.¹¹² V.M. Abrosimov, who had claimed to have been a Bolshevik member of St. Petersburg RSDRP committee in 1909-1910 had joined the Mensheviks late in 1911. By 1912 he led an initiative group and was secretary of the union. When the police demanded to see its books, the leaders refused, and though the police closed the union for hindering their enquiries and giving strike pay the 1,500 members transferred to the legal society formed in 1908, and 1,000 more joined.¹¹³ Factory inspectors recorded 21 strikes in January,¹¹⁴ but Putilov managers imposed fines for lateness,¹¹⁵ and the police arrested student SDs. Nine of the ten members of the city's Bolshevik committee were engineers, including six from the Putilov works, and they were not sectarian.¹¹⁶ *Zvezda* had appeared twice weekly from 21 January. Half a dozen writers, led by Poletaev and Party Mensheviks, agreed to give the Bolsheviks a seat on the editorial board.¹¹⁷ *Zvezda's* circulation was between 7,000 and 10,000,¹¹⁸ and it called for cooperation between SDs during the Duma elections.¹¹⁹

On 10 February Poletaev got permission to publish a legal daily paper.¹²⁰ Gorky donated 2,000 rubles, but 10,000 to 12,000 more were needed. By the end of February the fund had received 3,858 rubles, including four donations of 100, though only 600 rubles was from workers. Ordjonikidze told Krupskaya that Poletaev was 'threatening to turn to our competitors' unless more money was forthcoming immediately. Viktor Tikhomirov, 'the heir of a certain factory owner', had inherited 300,000 rubles,¹²¹ and promised 3,000 rubles for the new paper.¹²² The Menshevik Duma deputy T.O. Belousov from Irkutsk province had resigned from the SD group.¹²³ RSDRP CC members and functionaries attracted five members of illegal organisations in St. Petersburg, two from the Moscow region, two from the south, and one each from the Urals and the Caucasus.¹²⁴ Reportedly, the Putilov turner and conciliator Belostovsky had been co-opted onto the Bolsheviks' Russian Centre, but evidently did not last very long.¹²⁵

In Siberia Preobrazhensky knew of over 30 strikes across Russia during February, including a large one at a Polish coalmine, and 11 by metalworkers. At least six were successful and there were probably over 20,000 strikers.¹²⁶ *Zvezda* appeared three times a week and sold around 30,000 copies.¹²⁷ On 8 March a large 'Scientific Morning Devoted to the Woman Question' took place in St. Petersburg, and the police made a few arrests.¹²⁸

Ordjonikidze had visited Jughashvili in Vologda,¹²⁹ though the police knew he had been co-opted onto the Bolshevik Centre. He agreed to use a Gorky poem as the basis of the code for correspondence with Krupskaya, and reportedly bribed policemen with five rubles and boarded a train for Moscow, though spies noted his departure. He went on to St. Petersburg, where he stayed with comrade,¹³⁰ and drafted a CC leaflet.

First of all, the local party organisations must be strengthened. Broken up into small and tiny groups, surrounded by a slough of despondency and lack of confidence in the cause, destitute of intellectual forces and not infrequently disrupted by provocateurs – is this not a dismal picture of the life of the local organisations familiar to all?

... There is no need to strive after large membership: under present conditions of work this may even be dangerous. The whole point is the quality of the comrades ... [and] they must maintain the most lively connections with the open mass organisations of the workers, with the unions and clubs, and facilitate their development in every way.

Reportedly 6,000 copies circulated with the Bolshevik Duma candidates' election platform,¹³¹ and it appeared in *Sotsial-Democrat*. Bolsheviks distributed it,¹³² with the Prague decisions, to 18 main working-class centres.¹³³

In Latvia the LSD claimed 2,500 members and its CC called the Prague Conference a meeting of 'Ulyanov's group' and convened a meeting in Paris. Delegates arrived from the Caucasian joint committee, which claimed 1,300 members, the Bund, which claimed 475,¹³⁴ two Bolsheviks, and others associated with the Vienna *Pravda*, *Golos sotsial-demokrata* and *Vypered*.¹³⁵ They agreed that since the Conference had not included non-Russian delegates, and had 'antagonised every national organisation and party except the Ulyanovist', it was 'a clear attempt at usurping the party banner by a group of persons who are deliberately leading the party towards a split'.¹³⁶ The conference invited SDs who agreed to meet in Vienna in August.¹³⁷ Zevin had returned to Katerynoslav disheartened. The local RSDRP organisation, and those in Mykolaiv, Kharkiv and Odesa, agreed to send delegates to the Vienna conference. Reportedly 'only personal hatred for the scoundrel Ulyanov' kept them together, and those that failed to change their minds after being addressed by Bolshevik agents were raided by police.¹³⁸

In the Moscow region around 83 percent of 61,000 Kostroma province workers were in plants outside towns.¹³⁹ In Moscow province 70 percent of men and ten percent of women aged 35 to 40 were literate, as were 93 percent of male factory workers and 75 percent of women under 18.¹⁴⁰ Half the province's population lived in Moscow, where over one million workers had 565,100 economic dependents. Over 165,000 men and almost 50,000 women worked in factories, over 126,800 men and 29,300 women in other manufactories. Only 10.8 percent of females and 8.9 percent of males had been born in the city,¹⁴¹ and women formed 21 percent of wage-earners.¹⁴² There were 839 females for every 1,000 males. Migrants had lived there on average for around seven years.¹⁴³ In a decade there had been a 43 percent rise in the available housing, but most dwellings were made of wood.¹⁴⁴ Most city centre flats had indoor plumbing, but only 18 percent in some working-class suburbs,¹⁴⁵ and the death rate was almost as high as 50 years earlier.¹⁴⁶ Most people lived three in a room,¹⁴⁷ and 8.7 in an apartment, and about 250,000 in factory barracks.¹⁴⁸ Around 900 Bolshevik and Menshevik women and men belonged to the 'Third Women's Club' and they celebrated International Women's Day on 8 March, but the police closed the Club. (Reportedly similar events took place in Kyiv, Samara and Tbilisi.)¹⁴⁹ During March, in Siberia, Preobrazhensky knew of 34 strikes across Russia in March, including 11 in St. Petersburg, seven in the Baltic region and four in Poland, and over 15,700 workers had participated in 19 of the strikes.¹⁵⁰ Since January 18,167 inspected workers had taken part in 69 economic strikes and 1,622 in one political strike.¹⁵¹

By April Moscow Okhrana had 159 informants inside political organisations,¹⁵² and 27 agents among SRs, 20 among SDs, 11 among school students, three among anarchists, two in philanthropic institutions and one each in scientific societies and zemstvos. The Okhrana kept watch on the Octobrists, Kadets, the extreme right, the Jesuits, the Armenians, the press and Burtsev's agents. A senior officer described one of their agents. 'Social-Democratic Party, Bolshevik faction. *Portnoi (the Tailor)*, a wood-turner, intelligent. In the service since 1910. Gets 100 roubles a month. Very well-informed collaborator. Will be candidate to the Duma. Took part in the Prague Bolshevik conference. Out of 5 revolutionaries from Russia to this conference, 3 were arrested.' One agent, an RSDRP CC member, had been 'commissioned by the party to smuggle literature into Russia'. 'This way we have the whole propaganda supply in our hands',¹⁵³ but events in Siberia galvanised the political movement.

(iii) The Lena massacre

In 1910 a British company had owned 70 percent of a gold-mining company in Irkutsk province, Siberia, and the mines officially produced almost 35 tons, or 75 percent of national output that year, though not all was recorded,¹⁵⁴ and shareholders, including members of the imperial family and government officials, received seven million rubles in dividends.¹⁵⁵ The mines were over 1,400 miles from the nearest railway and the company controlled the branch line and the boats on the Lena River. Winter lasted from late September to the end of June,¹⁵⁶ and 5,000 miners worked from 5.00am to 7.00pm,¹⁵⁷ up to their knees in icy water,¹⁵⁸ for 35 to 50 rubles a month, while their wives often worked for nothing. The miners were paid irregularly and half was in coupons redeemable at the company's stores, which was illegal. The company illegally retained a quarter of wages until the end of the contracts in October, when it was almost impossible to find another job. It ignored official reprimands about inadequate medical facilities and ventilation,¹⁵⁹ and living conditions were atrocious. By autumn 1911 some exiled Bolsheviks had arrived.¹⁶⁰

By February 1912 the Bodaybo miners' grievances included low pay, the ban on private trade and poor quality food at exorbitant prices from the company's store,¹⁶¹ and the final straw was spoiled meat. On 3 March they elected a strike committee which included SDs.¹⁶² Their demands included an eight-hour day, a rise of up to 30 percent, medical aid, better food and living quarters, the end of fines,¹⁶³ and the sacking of 35 obnoxious supervisors. The managers refused to agree to an eight-hour day and a pay rise or sack supervisors, and the strike

committee ensured that 7,000 strikers damaged no equipment or property or attacked other workers,¹⁶⁴ but the managers sacked them all, stopped giving food on credit and ordered evictions from the barracks. When strikers refused to let the police carry out evictions there were arrests.¹⁶⁵ On the 19th a gendarme officer arrived with troops, a court official and a magistrate, who insisted it was lawful to evict strikers. On the evening of 3 April the police arrested the strike committee. Early next day 1,000 strikers demanded their release, but this was refused,¹⁶⁶ so around 2,000 strikers and their wives walked peacefully to protest at the company's offices.¹⁶⁷ The crowd grew to 3,000, and some carried sticks, bricks and stones. Troops reportedly shot 107 and wounded 83. Another report gave 150 killed, including some shot in the back, and over 150 wounded,¹⁶⁸ and another gave at least 170 killed and 372 wounded;¹⁶⁹ but according to an exiled SR 800 men, women and children were shot.¹⁷⁰ The survivors went back to work,¹⁷¹ all the 1,500 'politicals' in the district were transferred, and since Jews were not allowed passports, they were left to starve.¹⁷² A protest strike took place in Irkutsk,¹⁷³ and news of the massacre spread to European Russia.

On 1 April Jughashvili had met Ordjonikidze in Moscow,¹⁷⁴ and they both met Roman Malinovsky on the 7th.¹⁷⁵ Across Russia there were 39,000 students in 30 higher education institutions.¹⁷⁶ Ordjonikidze was arrested on the 14th.¹⁷⁷ (After six months in prison he was sentenced to three years' katorga in Shlisselburg Fortress, followed by exile to Yakutsk.¹⁷⁸) On the 14th Moscow students distributed leaflets in working class districts and some were arrested. Next day there was a heavy police presence in the city centre, but up to 1,000 people, mainly students, some of them armed, made four attempts to demonstrate.¹⁷⁹ The Moscow police arrested 19 RSDRP members, including most of the committee. Ten percent of the Bolsheviks worked at Moscow Metalworks, and the Okhrana reported that their protests 'displayed a negative attitude' to the government, the clergy, the death sentence and the interior minister,¹⁸⁰ who had commented about the Lena massacre: 'so it was, and so it shall be in the future'.¹⁸¹

On the 6th St. Petersburg University student SDs, SRs and workers had protested at the Lena massacre.¹⁸² Since 1910 30 of the 60 issues of *Zvezda* had been confiscated,¹⁸³ and the Senate decided to close it and banned the use of its name, though it continued to appear. Poletaev had noticed that the option to publish a 'religious-moralistic' paper had lapsed, and by the 10th, when *Zvezda* had received 12,000 rubles, he received permission to use the other paper's name. Jughashvili arrived in the city that day,¹⁸⁴ and stayed with Poletaev.¹⁸⁵ On the 11th the police noted that 90 percent of workers had been 'shaken quite sincerely' by the Lena events, since they feared a repetition. Next day students and revolutionaries agitated, and on the 14th leaflets called for a demonstration the following day. SR students issued an agitational leaflet and a non-party group joined in. On the 15th 600 students from the University, Polytechnical Institute, Psychoneurological Institute and Bestuzhev courses assembled, and the Okhrana learned that Vyborg district workers intended to demonstrate at Kazan Cathedral. Over 1,000 Cossacks, gendarmes and police with drawn bayonets were deployed. Around 1,000 demonstrators, including a few workers, assembled in Nevsky Prospekt, 15 minutes after the Cathedral service began, and sang a funeral hymn, though they were dispersed, as were a few hundred workers elsewhere. Next morning 4,000 workers at St. Petersburg metalworks downed tools at 9.00am and marched out singing the funeral hymn and the *Marseillaise*. Rosenkrants plant workers came out and others followed. By the evening of the 18th official reports recorded 100,000 strikers, mainly from engineering and printing plants, and 70 of the 500 arrested were women.¹⁸⁶

Ulyanov wrote from Paris to Poletaev about progress with the new daily paper and how long articles could be, but Poletaev attacked the Prague Conference in *Zvezda*,¹⁸⁷ and Ulyanov threatened to break off relations if he was not allowed to respond.¹⁸⁸ Eight groups of workers supported the Mensheviks' weekly *Zhivoye delo* (*Living Cause*), though 227 supported *Zvezda*,¹⁸⁹ and its circulation was between 50,000 and 60,000.¹⁹⁰ Around 40 of the 500 to 600 members of the St. Petersburg metalworkers' union wanted a daily paper, since they had no representative on the editorial board of *Zvezda*, and some accused the editors of pocketing contributions, but the Bolshevik Mikhail Kalinin claimed that the new paper would try to unite all SDs, including Menshevik 'liquidators'.¹⁹¹ By 17 April *Zvezda* had published articles signed 'K.S.', 'S.', 'K. S-n', 'K. Salin' and 'K. Solin',¹⁹² though 39 issues had been confiscated and ten been fined,¹⁹³ but noted over 200 protests at the Lena massacre.¹⁹⁴

Early in April the Menshevik Duma deputy G.S. Kuznetsov and students had called for a May Day demonstration, but Baltic shipyard and United Cables workers called one the day before. Menshevik and Bolshevik workers in two districts made similar appeals, but conducted little agitation.¹⁹⁵ The Bolsheviks sought to explain the Prague Conference decisions in factories and hundreds of meetings,¹⁹⁶ argued for strikes and made political demands. Some students had joined the central bureau of May Day committees, which circulated 19,000 strike appeals, but warned 'Do not bring weapons'. The police made arrests,¹⁹⁷ though a leaflet signed by a 'Meeting of Representatives of all Organised Workers of St. Petersburg', the 'Social-Democratic "Unity" Group', the 'City Central Social-Democratic Group', the 'Group of Worker Social-Revolutionaries', the 'Group of Worker Social-Democrats' and representatives of May Day committees called for meetings and demonstrations, a constituent assembly, an eight-hour day and the confiscation of gentry estates, and used the slogans 'Down with the tsar's government! Down with the autocratic Constitution of June 31' and 'Long live a democratic republic! Long live socialism!'¹⁹⁸ The RSDRP

committee had issued no leaflets since January 1910, but produced one for May Day 1912.¹⁹⁹ On the day there were over 1,000 strikes in and around the city,²⁰⁰ and the police estimated that almost 300,000 workers were out, more than the national total from 1909 to 1911.²⁰¹ Hundreds celebrated in several districts and some sang the revolutionary *Varshavianka*. Thousands, including many metalworkers, demonstrated in Vyborg district, and the Okhrana noted that over 8,000 listened to SD speakers in woods outside the city. Rusvum plant and Erikson plant workers went on strike, but ten Erikson workers were subsequently deported, seven were imprisoned without trial, and managers refused to re-employ 200. Managers at the Siemens plant tried to fine strikers 25 kopeks, but they came out again.²⁰² Workers at the Franco-Russian works protested at managers laying off the night shift, and ‘the debasement of our dignity, the swaying of our foremen, the bowing and scraping to the lackeys of capital, who understand nothing of our work and who serve only as informers and heartless slave-drivers’. They pledged ‘to fight our oppressors for the freedom to form unions’ for invalidity benefits and old age pensions, and for ‘equal rights for all citizens’.²⁰³ Seven groups of workers supported the Menshevik paper,²⁰⁴ *Listok Golosa sotsial-demokrata* (*Leaflet of the Voice of the Social-Democrat*), but it was reportedly ‘little read’.²⁰⁵ *Zvezda*’s circulation was between 15,000 and 20,000,²⁰⁶ and 108 groups of workers supported it.²⁰⁷ On 22 April the *Zvezda* was closed,²⁰⁸ and banned ‘for ever’, but *Nevskaya zvezda* (*The Nevsky Star*) appeared on the 26th.²⁰⁹ The print workers’ union leaders ignored the statutory policeman and discussed issuing strike pay, and the authorities closed the union on the 29th.²¹⁰

In Moscow up to 150,000 strikers reportedly demonstrated on May Day. The police arrested Navy sailors who were spreading revolutionary propaganda,²¹¹ but estimated that 120,000 workers went on strike,²¹² and chased men without shirt collars from the main streets,²¹³ but up to 400 reached the city centre.²¹⁴ Around 200 mainly young workers from Moscow Metalworks condemned the Lena massacre, sang the *Marseillaise* and carried a red flag. The Bolsheviks sent a petition protesting about the massacre with 400 signatures to the Duma deputies in St. Petersburg. On the 23rd about 38,000 Moscow workers were still on strike,²¹⁵ and stayed out for three more days. After arrests in Nizhni Novgorod, there had been no demonstration on May Day, but though the Okhrana was sure that revolutionary agitators had been ‘liquidated in good time’, there were strikes.²¹⁶

In Saratov on the Volga Elizarova and Elizarov had circulated *Zvezda*, though the police had noted that Maria Ulyanova received letters from the ‘Ulyanovist centre abroad’. Bolsheviks organised kruzhski and mass meetings.²¹⁷ A factory inspector noted the gap between unskilled and skilled workers’ living standards, and especially their diets. Railway and lumberyard workers, dockers and tailors tried to organise a May Day demonstration,²¹⁸ and 2,000 workers from 24 plants struck on May Day. Some, including those from the Bering metalworks, protested at the Lena massacre.²¹⁹ The governor noted that some professional workers were moving leftwards,²²⁰ and the police arrested Ulyanova, Krzhizhanovsky,²²¹ and Elizarova.²²² A new insurance law had not included injury, occupational disease, old age or unemployment, but allowed workers to build insurance funds,²²³ and more and more had done so.²²⁴ The Duma debated making industrial employers responsible for accident insurance, medical aid and sick pay,²²⁵ but only for 23 percent of workers.²²⁶ Elizarov, the chief inspector of a transport workers’ insurance society, was away on business on May Day, but his mother-in-law warned him not to return. Elizarova was soon freed, though Ulyanova was deported to Vologda.²²⁷ There were also May Day strikes in Samara.²²⁸

In Latvia 25,000 Rīga workers had gone on strike on May Day and protested at the Lena massacre and tsarist brutality.²²⁹ The 21,800 industrial workers in Lithuania were concentrated in Vilnius, Kaunas and Suvalkija, though only three of the 3,143 plants employed more than 100. The overwhelming majority of the populations of Vilnius and Kaunas consisted of Jews, Poles and Russians, while between two and six percent were Lithuanians.²³⁰ There were May Day strikes in Panevėžys, Šiauliai and Vilnius.²³¹ In Poland, on May Day, the first mass demonstrations of Jewish workers since 1905 took place in Warszawa, Minsk and Bobriusk.²³²

By 1912 the six-person Kyiv RSDRP committee led three district committees and 12 or 13 workers’ kruzhski, though Evgenia Bosch was under surveillance. When she attended a Party meeting, ‘the workers, especially the youth, addressed themselves to business seriously’. She ‘was not a lover of long conversations, arguments, and discussions. But every word of hers was imbued with true belief and deep revolutionary spirit’, and ‘it was hard to raise an objection’.²³³ Kyiv’s rate of apartment-building had been half of that of the rise in population since 1910, and rooms in the city centre cost 300 to 400 rubles a year to rent, while those in the suburbs averaged 180 and the most primitive cost 100.²³⁴ On 9 April,²³⁵ at the South Russian Machine Works, workers led a two-day strike which involved 28 plants, and there was a two-day university student protest at the Lena massacre.²³⁶ The RSDRP had 200 members and had produced ten leaflets so far that year.²³⁷ Bosch, Piatakov, Shvarts and three others led three district committees and the 12 or 13 workers’ kruzhski, though the police arrested ten committee members, including Bosch.²³⁸ The Mensheviks strengthened their hold on the RSDRP, though 14 workforces struck on May Day.²³⁹ Katerynoslav police had arrested most of the RSDRP organisation and there was no response to the Lena massacre,²⁴⁰ but May Day events took place in Odesa, Kyiv and Kharkiv reportedly involved over 100,000 workers.²⁴¹

In Georgia Party Mensheviks and Bolsheviks collaborated on the Kutaisi committee. In March, at a meeting of Baki Bolsheviks, Jughashvili had argued for conciliating with 'liquidationists' and cooperating with all those opposed to the autocracy. In April a few activists distributed leaflets about the Lena massacre, but were arrested, though a greater number walked the streets on May Day, and more Tbilisi workers demonstrated than during the entire previous year.²⁴² A few Baki workers protested at the Lena massacre, and 360 went on strike on May Day.²⁴³

In Siberia Preobrazhensky knew about 288,000 strikers in 15 industrial centres across Russia during April, and that 10,300 had participated in 18 of the 37 the strikes in protest at the Lena events. There had been strikes in the Baltic region, seven in the 'Western Territory' and in 20 cities and industrial centres. Eight of the 12 strikes involving a total of over 250,000 workers were successful.²⁴⁴ Officially, 68 strikes and almost 15,000 inspected strikers were deemed economic, and 591 strikes and almost 231,500 strikers were deemed political, including those by 132,000 metalworkers.²⁴⁵ Nationally at least 400,000 inspected workers had gone on strike,²⁴⁶ and the police estimated that almost a million had demonstrated in 50 provinces,²⁴⁷ peasant troops had played almost no role in suppressing them;²⁴⁸ *Pravda*, *Vypered*, *Golos sotsial-demokrata*, *Dnevnik sotsial demokrata* and *Delo zhizni* ceased publication,²⁴⁹ yet the Bolsheviks lacked cadre.

(iv) The St. Petersburg *Pravda*

Vyacheslav Skryabin had been born in the town of Kukarka, Viatka province, in 1890. His mother was from a wealthy merchant family who owned the business which employed her husband as a salesman. Vyacheslav was the ninth of ten children,²⁵⁰ but their father drank and beat them all. Vyacheslav attended a village primary school, and in 1897, when the family moved to nearby Nerchinsk, he attended another. In 1898 he entered the pro-gymnasium, but failed the examination for the gymnasium in 1902 and entered a realschule in Kazan on the Volga, 4,400 or so miles to the west. In 1903 he and three older brothers rented a room from their cousin, a midwife who had married a Ukrainian who supported the RSDRP Congress 'majority'. There were many political exiles, and early in 1905 Vyacheslav studied radical literature and befriended a young SR. In summer he went to Nolinsk, 620 or so miles east of Moscow, where there were more political exiles, and tried to organise a strike in his grandfather's tobacco factory. In autumn a man gave him an SD perspective on events and got him to perform revolutionary tasks, including manufacturing explosives.²⁵¹ By 1906 the teenager was one of ten SDs, including one Menshevik, who met in the woods outside town. He dithered about boycotting the Duma elections, though the police briefly detained him for writing and distributing a leaflet. He read some of Plekhanov's works, and in 1907 he tried to organise a 'revolutionary organisation of students' which included SRs and anarchists, though the Okhrana thought he was an SD. In 1908 he met the Bolshevik Tikhomirov and distributed a May Day leaflet at school. The Okhrana put him under surveillance, but he got very good marks in his sixth year. Late that year he joined the Bolsheviks, though the Okhrana believed that he also contacted SRs. By 1909 there was a spy in his kruzhek, and in spring Tikhomirov and the students were arrested. Police raided Skryabin's flat and found a considerable amount of SR, SD and anarchist literature, and lottery tickets to raise funds for Krasny Krest. In summer he and others were sentenced to two years' deportation, and the interior minister rejected an appeal. 'Had they been workers I would have let them go abroad because it is hopeless to try to reform workers.' 'But since they are students, members of the intelligentsia, exile, the quiet North, pure air, etc., may cure them, and they may still be of use to the state.' Tikhomirov was allowed to go abroad, but Skryabin was exiled to Totma in Vologda province, 230 miles or so north of Moscow, and shared a room with an SR. He rarely saw an illegal newspaper, but read works by the 1860s radicals Belinsky and Chernyshevsky.²⁵² He propagandised Solvychevodsk railway workers via others deported from Moscow and built a small RSDRP kruzhek.²⁵³ In spring 1910 he was allowed to go to Vologda to take his final realschule examination, and did very well. He studied Marx and read works by Gorky, and when two Kazan friends arrived they all propagandised railway workers. The Okhrana knew about their activities, including their contacts with SRs, but by summer the kruzhek had seven members.²⁵⁴ After his exile ended in spring 1911 Skryabin went to Paris and met Ulyanov,²⁵⁵ then returned to Totma, where he and his comrades pasted May Day leaflets on walls.²⁵⁶ The Okhrana regarded him as a 'serious party worker and organiser' who was 'struggling to establish and unite around himself all the criminal element' in the province, and when he went to Nolinsk they informed local gendarmes. Skryabin went to Saratov, met Tikhomirov,²⁵⁷ and attended a conference that discussed the legal Bolshevik daily paper. He entered St. Petersburg Polytechnical Institute and helped to produce *Nevskaya zvezda*.²⁵⁸

Mikhail Alexandrov had been born into a noble Voronezh family in 1863. He later attended St. Petersburg University and joined Narodnaya volya in 1885. He was sentenced to eight years in prison for distributing a workers' paper in 1894, and spent the first three in solitary. When he returned from exile in 1905 he considered himself a Bolshevik. He went to Switzerland and helped to finance the legal Bolshevik daily paper in 1912.²⁵⁹

Fyodor Ilyin had been born in a St. Petersburg suburb in 1892. By 1900 he boarded at an orphanage which had the status of a Modern School. It was 'a ghastly institution, with the customs of an old-fashioned seminary', including humiliations and beatings. By 1905 he considered himself a socialist and sympathised with revolutionaries, though he could not understand the disagreements between the parties. In 1906 he was elected to take a demand for improved conditions to the headmaster and was involved in two strikes. In 1907 his father died leaving his widow with two sons. She received a pension of 60 rubles a month, and went into debt so Fyodor could complete his education. He read works by Gorky and other radicals, and when he left school he was an atheist. In autumn his mother went further into debt so he could study at St. Petersburg Polytechnical Institute, which exempted him from fees, and he recalled that reading works by Plekhanov 'made me a Marxist'. In 1910 he made a 'thorough study' of *Kapital* and joined the RSDRP. He worked with Skryabin to link the Institute Bolsheviks to the committee. In autumn he went to the *Zvezda* offices, declared his 'full agreement with the paper's line'. His first article appeared in April 1911, and in April 1912 he became joint secretary of the new Bolshevik daily paper.

Fredrik Ström had become the secretary of the Swedish socialist party in 1911. He and the veteran party leader, Branting, together with Finnish socialists, soldiers and sailors, forwarded illegal literature through Finland to St. Petersburg. In 1912 Ström met the Menshevik Duma deputy Chkheidze in Finland, and the Russian Boris Mehr helped to run a joint Menshevik-Bolshevik smuggling operation from Stockholm to Russia.²⁶⁰

The Bolshevik Podvoysky had returned to St. Petersburg by April 1912. He settled in a northern suburb, helped to smuggle Bolshevik literature across Russia and to establish the legal Bolshevik daily paper.²⁶¹

Nikolai Krylenko had been born in Bekhteyevo, in the Sychyovsky district of Smolensk province, into the family of a revolutionary populist in 1885. His father needed to support his growing family, and became a government tax collector. Nikolai joined the Bolsheviks at St. Petersburg University in 1904. During 1905 he was a member of the Bolshevik St. Petersburg Committee and the city's sovet. He fled abroad in June 1906, but returned later that year. He was arrested by the Okhrana in 1907, and though he was released for lack of evidence he was exiled to Lublin without a trial. He returned to St. Petersburg in 1909 and finished his degree. He left the RSDLP in 1911, but soon rejoined it.²⁶² He later worked on *Zvezda*.²⁶³ In mid-April 1912 Krylenko, Pokrovsky, Alexandrov and Jughashvili edited the first issue of the new paper in Poletaev's St. Petersburg flat.²⁶⁴ On the night of 21st Ilyin was arrested,²⁶⁵ and Tikhomirov pushed for Skryabin to be a paper's secretary, in spite of his conciliationist views.²⁶⁶

Pravda (Truth) appeared in on 22 April and had a print-run of 60,000.²⁶⁷ It cost two kopeks and had four pages. Poletaev was the official publisher and M.E. Egorov the 'sitting editor', while Ulyanov, Rosenfeld, Apfelbaum, Luxemburg and Plekhanov were named as contributors under pseudonyms. Five articles were mainly about economic issues, and there were two workers' poems, plus 'Duma Affairs', 'In the Workers' Movement' and 'Strikes in Progress',²⁶⁸ which was written by workers.²⁶⁹ The anonymous editorial insisted that the editors 'do not in the least intend to gloss over the disagreements that exist among the Social-Democratic workers'.

More than that: in our opinion, a powerful and virile movement is inconceivable without disagreements – 'complete identity of views' can exist only in the graveyard! But that does not mean that points of disagreement outweigh points of agreement. Far from it! Much as the advanced workers may disagree among themselves, they cannot forget that all of them, irrespective of faction, are equally exploited, that all of them, irrespective of faction, are equally without rights.

Hence, *Pravda* will call, firstly and mainly, for unity in the proletarian struggle, for unity at all costs. Just as we must be uncompromising towards our enemies, so we must yield to one another. War upon the enemies of the labour movement, peace and co-operation within the movement – that is what *Pravda* will be guided by in its daily activities.²⁷⁰

The police arrested Jughashvili. Next day Stasova rushed from Tbilisi to replace him, but the police arrested her,²⁷¹ and the central bureau of May Day committees.²⁷²

Pravda appeared every day except Monday.²⁷³ Matvei, a 70-year-old watchman, took a copy to the censor, but walked as slowly as possible, often taking up to two hours for a third of a mile. He watched the censor read it and left if nothing happened. If the censor telephoned the police, Matvei took a cab to the press,²⁷⁴ and copies were rushed to newsvendors before the police arrived. The official editors, the veterans Shelgunov and Savinov, worked in a repair shop in Alliluev's flat, and money and strikers arrived there.²⁷⁵ The paper soon sold between 40,000 and 50,000 copies and made hundreds of rubles by advertising beer, cigarettes and books.²⁷⁶ Plekhanov protested that he had not given permission to use his name as a contributor. Tsederbaum told Axelrod that *Pravda* had 'a very moderate tone and even spouts unity phrases'.²⁷⁷

In Vologda Maria Ulyanova had become 'the centre of the community of exiles' and not only among the Bolsheviks. She led a railway workers' kruzhek and contacted deported Saratov comrades and her brother Vladimir. Elizarova contributed to *Pravda* and *Prosveshcheniye*,²⁷⁸ and sent her sister *Pravda* and other newspapers, books,

food and clothes.²⁷⁹ Saratov SDs petitioned *Pravda* and the Menshevik *Luch* to end their bickering.²⁸⁰ On 7 May the police arrested Elizarova and Ulyanova.²⁸¹

Spandarian had been arrested in Baki early in May.²⁸² Voronsky had gone to Mykolaiv, Odesa and Saratov to report about the Prague Conference, but he had told Roman Malinowsky his itinerary,²⁸³ and he was arrested on 8 May.²⁸⁴ (He spent six months in prison and was then exiled for three years.²⁸⁵)

In Ukraine about 13,000 Donbass workers had taken part in 29 strikes in April and May, and while 12 involving 8,200 inspected workers were deemed economic, 17 involving 17,600 were deemed political.²⁸⁶ Strikes about pay and workshop control followed.²⁸⁷ Nationally 132 strikes and 46,000 inspected strikers were deemed economic, and 492 strikes and almost 171,000 strikers, including over 77,500 metalworkers, were deemed political during May.²⁸⁸ In Siberia Preobrazhensky knew about 124 economic strikes, including 72 in St. Petersburg, 15 in the Baltic region and eight in Poland. Workers had won fully or partly in 45 out of 62 of these strikes, and since 85 strikes had involved 72,230 workers he estimated that altogether there had been over 100,000 strikers.²⁸⁹

The St. Petersburg factory and mill owners association decided 'not to allow permanent representation of the workers in the form of deputies, elders', or any 'intervention and mediating participation on the part of trade unions, societies' and any 'organisations outside the factory'. 'Especially impermissible is interference in the hiring and firing of workers, in the establishment of wages and conditions of hiring and in the working out of rules of internal order', and they would refuse to negotiate wages and conditions.²⁹⁰

By June the police had arrested Piatakov and the rest of the Kyiv RSDRP committee,²⁹¹ and seven of the 11 elected and co-opted members of the Russian RSDRP CC. The underground organisations were uncoordinated and the transport network was broken.²⁹² In April and May the circulation of *Pravda* had been around 60,000, but it dropped to 20,000 in June. In the first six months of the year 504 workers' groups had contributed to *Zvezda and Pravda*, including 415 in St. Petersburg and its surroundings. There had been 51 donations from the south, 13 from the Moscow region, 12 from the north and west, seven each from Caucasus, Finland and Siberia and six from the Volga region and the Urals; but only 26 groups had contributed to *Pravda* in June. In six months Menshevik newspapers had received 15 donations from workers, and almost all of their income came from sympathisers.²⁹³

Half the workers in Russian textile mills were women.²⁹⁴ They were entitled to two weeks off before childbirth, and a month afterwards, but most employers ignored the law, so women often worked during labour and some reportedly gave birth at work.²⁹⁵ *Pravda* published a letter from a woman in a mainly female workforce.

If a woman workers' appearance does not please a machinist, she ... can just sit and wait until he comes to fix her machine, and if she complains, then – even worse – he will dismantle the machine and give the parts to the workshop or keep them at his bench. ... It is not unusual for the machinist to make obscene propositions. In most cases the woman submits to them because she is afraid that he will not repair her machine.

In Moscow male members of the tea-packer's union refused to let women work overtime, alleging that they were unfair competition, and many St. Petersburg weavers called female apprentices scabs and refused to teach them.²⁹⁶ During May there was a series of lengthy articles in *Pravda* about the exploitation of women's labour.²⁹⁷

(v) Kraków

In April 1912 Krupskaya had written to the Russian RSDRP CC bureau on behalf of Ulyanov, via the Kyiv committee.

For god's sake give us more contacts. Contacts, contacts, contacts, that's what we haven't got. Without this everything is unstable. Remember that two have already left the scene, there are no replacements for them. Without contact everything will fall to pieces after one or two further arrests. You must without fail set up regional committees (or simply groups of trusted agents), linked up with this, for every region.²⁹⁸

Almost 5,000 Russian students attended German technical schools and universities,²⁹⁹ and the Bolshevik transporter Tarshis and his comrades worked with an 'auxiliary' group in Leipzig. They

arranged meetings of all Social-Democrats for the First of May, the Ninth of January, etc., and sold Party literature published abroad among the students and, through the German Social-Democrats, in bookshops, pamphlets and the newspapers, the *Proletary*, and the *Social-Democrat* and the St. Petersburg *Zvyesda (The Star)*. Finally it organised entertainments which always helped to swell the Party funds ... [and] money for the emigrants and political prisoners.

The publications had 'a great ideological influence on Russian students' who wore 'breast plates' full of leaflets when they went home; but after *Pravda* appeared the transport of émigré literature declined considerably. Tarshis moved to Paris, where *Vypered* appeared irregularly, though he regularly sold 100 copies of *Pravda* and developed a 'veritable circulation department' in the suburbs.³⁰⁰ All but seven of the 20 émigré Bolshevik groups in 37 Western European cities affiliated to the émigré organisation commission were tiny, but in Paris Armand was the Bolshevik delegate to the French Socialist Party,³⁰¹ and Mensheviks and Bolsheviks published *Za partiia* (*For the Party*).³⁰²

When the first *Pravda* reached Paris Ulyanov demanded a detailed report on subscriptions to identify regular supporters, and he dealt with arrangements for smuggling illegal literature, letters and weapons into Russia.³⁰³

In *May Sotsial-Democrat* noted the 'democratic upswing' in Russia, so it was vital to strengthen the illegal party organisation, intensify work among the proletariat, 'organise the revolutionary democrats' and 'forge a republican peasant party' by 'ruthless criticism' of the VPSR.³⁰⁴ Ulyanov's first article in *Pravda* appeared, pseudonymously,³⁰⁵ and he noted that two million peasants worked as wage-labourers for wealthy peasants.³⁰⁶ He consulted a lawyer about suing the SPD trustee Zetkin,³⁰⁷ and asked Fürstenberg, who had travelled to Finland illegally for meetings of the Bolshevik Centre,³⁰⁸ if the police in Kraków in Galicia would hand him over to the Russians. Fürstenberg consulted SD parliamentary deputies and assured him that they wouldn't.³⁰⁹ The previous year 950 Russians had been expelled from Kraków and 114 from Lviv, though many were tsarist agents,³¹⁰ since the police did not like the Okhrana.³¹¹ Kraków's population of 150,000 included up to 12,000 Russian émigrés, and there was a regular rail service to Warszawa,³¹² which was 12 hours from St. Petersburg by express train,³¹³ and a day closer than Paris.³¹⁴ Newspapers arrived from St. Petersburg in three days and the post was not tampered with.³¹⁵ The border was around two miles away and Varvara Yakovleva got illegal literature across from Lublin,³¹⁶ as did Krylenko.³¹⁷

On 2 June, in Paris, Krupskaya bought two large suitcases, and Ulyanov, in his shirtsleeves, filled them with books,³¹⁸ and next day she asked Karpinsky about living conditions in Kraków.³¹⁹ Alin met Brendinsky, who greeted him warmly, though Alin did not know that he had betrayed him in Moscow. Brendinsky knew about the impending Kraków conference and demanded to see Ulyanov, but Alin refused to take him. He told Krupskaya, and she told him to keep Brendinsky in the dark. Soon after he disappeared and was not seen again.³²⁰ (According to Krupskaya the Russian government paid 40,000 francs to buy him a villa in a Paris suburb.³²¹) By 1.00am on the 4th the premises at rue Marie-Rose and avenue d'Orleans were deserted and the typographers Riskine and Vladimir had moved the press to a room in rue Barrault.³²² Ulyanov had got the Austrian Interior Ministry's consent to go to Kraków,³²³ and he, Krupskaya and her mother had left Paris.³²⁴ They understood that someone would meet them in Kraków.

Sergey Bagotsky had been born in OPOCHKA, Pskov province, in 1879.³²⁵ His father was a merchant and his mother was Polish.³²⁶ He began training as a doctor and from 1900 he was a revolutionary in St. Petersburg and Kyiv.³²⁷ He joined the RSDRP in 1902, supported the Congress 'majority' in 1903, and became an agent in Moscow and St. Petersburg.³²⁸ In 1904 he was a member of the Warszawa revolutionary military committee, but was arrested in 1905. He was sentenced to katorga in the Irkutsk region of Siberia, but later escaped to Warszawa and joined the SDKPiL.³²⁹ He supported Ulyanov in 1908 and voted to expel Alexandr Malinovsky in 1909. He attended the 1910 Paris conference,³³⁰ but was arrested and sentenced to katorga,³³¹ in Irkutsk province.³³² He escaped to Kraków, where he joined the local SDKPiL,³³³ and continued his medical studies at the University. He knew no Russian émigrés, though there were left-leaning intellectuals, and he knew a little Polish. The SDKPiL published *Przeglad* and *Czerwony Sztandar* in the city and the CCs of several Polish socialist groups spent a lot of time there. Most citizens wanted an independent Poland, hated the tsar and supported those fighting the autocracy, and the police were considerate to political émigrés.³³⁴ With the Menshevik Chicherin,³³⁵ Bagotsky formed an organisation to support political prisoners, and became its secretary,³³⁶ and by 1912 he was in touch with his counterpart in Paris.

Ludmila Stahl had been born into the family of an owner of a small cast iron foundry in Katerynoslav in Ukraine in 1872. She was later expelled from her gymnasium for distributing illegal literature,³³⁷ became a revolutionary by 1890,³³⁸ was an SD by 1897,³³⁹ and joined the RSDRP in 1898.³⁴⁰ She attended the St. Petersburg Bestuzhev courses, but did not complete her studies, since she worked for the party, and later did so in Odesa, Kursk, Katerynoslav and Moscow. She was arrested three times and spent time in St. Petersburg Fortress. Once she and her three sisters were in the same prison. When she was deported, she worked as a feldsher and a journalist.³⁴¹ In 1899 police searched her home and comrades advised her to leave for France to continue her education. In Paris she met SDs associated with *Iskra*, and in 1901 she returned to Russia with a shipment, but was arrested at the border and taken to Taganka Transit Prison in Moscow. After a year she was exiled to Eastern Siberia for three years, but soon managed to escape and went to St. Petersburg. She propagandised at the Obukhov works but was arrested in 1902 and taken to the House of Preliminary Detention, but on account of her 'harmful influence' she was transferred to the Fortress where she stayed for 17 months without revealing her name. In 1906 she was charged with belonging to the military organisation, but was released on bail before her trial and escaped to Paris,

where she was active with émigré Bolsheviks and in the French Socialist Party.³⁴² In summer 1912 Stahl asked Bagotsky to meet Ulyanov and Krupskaya in Kraków.

On 9 June Bagotsky arrived at Kraków University, but after half an hour the only people he could see were an older man with a small moustache and a bowler hat, and a modestly dressed woman who eventually came over to ask if he was Bagotsky.³⁴³ He found them a modest flat in a workers' district, and Krupskaya, who had learned some Polish as a child in Warszawa, bought 'two narrow iron bedsteads, two plain tables, a bookcase and some chairs', 'a small table and some stools'.³⁴⁴ Ulyanov knew five Polish words,³⁴⁵ and Bagotsky recalled that

Literary work was the main source of their income – a very irregular one. Tsarist censorship made the publishing of Ulyanov's writings in Russia difficult. He refused his mother's offer of financial help (she was receiving a widow's pension) and was even embarrassed by the small food parcels which his family was sending ... In extreme circumstances, and for a short time only, did he agree to receive funds from the party ...³⁴⁶

Some Russian newspapers arrived at around 10.00am and others at 7.00pm, and Ulyanov had to get to the station by 11.00pm to post his daily letters to St. Petersburg. His and Krupskaya's lodgings were too far from the station, so Bagotsky found them somewhere nearer. Bagotsky crossed the border to post letters and his friends posted others for a modest fee. Ulyanov learned that the Russian and Austrian governments allowed people living within 20 miles of the border to cross with a pass without a photograph and inspections were superficial.³⁴⁷ He taught letter-carriers to use this 'semi-passport',³⁴⁸ and Russian peasant women often took letters when they returned from the city's market.³⁴⁹ Ulyanov's *Collected Works* contain eight letters to Russia from January to June.³⁵⁰

Zlata Lilina had heard Ulyanov speak in a Bern café, and in 1902 she joined the RSDRP.³⁵¹ She later married Apfelbaum, and they moved to Kraków,³⁵² and lived with Ulyanov and Krupskaya in 1912.³⁵³ The men functioned as the Bolshevik Centre,³⁵⁴ and Zina helped Krupskaya with the secret correspondence.³⁵⁵

On 17 June *Sotsial-Democrat* acknowledged that the St. Petersburg RSDRP committee had been 'wiped out'.

As a result of the arrests, there happens to be no hierarchic body able to decree the advancing of particular slogans. Hence the proletarian masses, the worker Social-Democrats and even some of the Socialist-Revolutionaries can be united *only* by slogans that are really indisputable for the masses, only by slogans that derive their strength not from a 'decree from above' (as demagogues and liquidators put it), but from the *conviction* of the revolutionary workers themselves.

The 'revolutionary upswing' was at a higher level and more political than in 1905, and the 'prevailing tendency' in the RSDRP was 'towards agreement'.³⁵⁶ During June the RSDRP and LSDP established bases in Kraków.³⁵⁷

(vi) Workers' organisations did not need 'sermons from abroad'

Alexandr Blok's father was a law professor in Warszawa, but Alexandr had been born in St. Petersburg in 1880. After his parents separated, Andrey lived with aristocratic relatives on the estate of Shakhmatovo near Moscow, and in 1903 he married the actress Lyubov Mendeleeva. In 1905 Blok welcome the revolution,³⁵⁸ and his mother, who had seen troops cut down workers in St. Petersburg, considered herself a revolutionary. Reportedly, Blok followed the course of the revolution and the mood of the workers, took part in demonstrations, and once carried a red flag at the head of one. He told a friend he was an SD, but soon 'politics and parties as before were alien to him'. In 1906 he published a mystical anarchist work, yet by 1908 he was beginning to think that writers had a 'duty', and might be able to achieve a union between beauty and utility that he perceived in 'folk art.' Late that year, he spoke to a religious philosophical society on the theme of 'The people and the intelligentsia.'

The educated and spiteful intelligenty, going grey in arguments about Christ and anti-Christ, ladies, wives, daughters, sisters-in-law in decorous blouses, thinkers of many thoughts, priests shining from self-satisfied grease – all this inconceivable and disgraceful jumble is an idiotic, scintillation of words. And here a slender little priest in a poor cassock calls on Jesus and all are uncomfortable. One honest social democrat with a knobbly forehead, spitefully hurls dozens of questions but the bald man, gleaming with unction, replies only that it is impossible to answer so many questions at once. All this remains in fashion; so fashionable that it is acceptable to the wives of assistant professors and to philanthropic ladies. But meanwhile on the streets there is a wind, the prostitutes freeze, people are hungry, people hang, in the country there is reaction, and life in Russia is difficult, cold and vile.

'On the one hand a hundred and fifty million, on the other a few hundred thousands, unable to understand each other in the most fundamental things.' The intelligentsia was in 'a state of hasty ferment' while 'sleep and silence reign' among the people,³⁵⁹ though some workers were writers.

Alexey Bibik had been born into a Kharkiv metalworkers' family in 1878. In 1887 he began learning to read and write at a private school, then transferred to a city primary school, but after his father fell ill Alexey lied about his age to become an apprentice metal-turner in the railway workshops. He later moved to Taganrog railway workshops, but after his father died in 1898 he returned to Kharkiv railway workshops. He joined an SD kruzhok and then the RSDRP, but was arrested in 1900 for organising a strike and was deported to Viatka for three years, though from 1901 his stories appeared in socialist periodicals and Menshevik and provincial newspapers. On his release he was arrested for propagandising peasants and exiled to Arkhangelsk for five years. After the October 1905 amnesty he returned to Kharkiv railway workshops, supported the Mensheviks and was a delegate to the 1906 Stockholm Congress. He became an organiser and changed jobs many times, but was imprisoned twice. In 1910 he was a draftsman in a Voronezh factory, and his novel, *K shiroki doroge (Toward the Open Road)*, was serialised in the socialist magazine *Sovremennyy mir* during 1912.³⁶⁰

In summer *Pravda* had invited workers to write about their grievances, and rudeness, including the familiar form address, was a very common complaint. Girls were verbally abused, and some were punched and had their teeth knocked out. Some boys were also verbally abused and brutally beaten. At one St. Petersburg bakery apprentices were 'beaten at every turn', as other workers stood by and watched.³⁶¹ RSDRP membership had begun to recover, and the majority of the members of St. Petersburg RSDRP committee were workers. A member of the metalworkers' union argued that 'Lenin and Plekhanov are good so long as they confine themselves to the realm of political economy and philosophy', but 'workers' organisations do not need 'sermons from abroad'.³⁶²

In St. Petersburg Siemens had opened another factory, where the workers were 'predominantly non-local, less skilled and younger' and 'more mobile and more active'. At the original factory 'long-time settled, highly-skilled workers, predominated', but the workers followed the lead of those at the new factory.³⁶³ The Okhrana had spotted the former leading Bolshevik Krasin when he visited St. Petersburg late in 1911, but he returned to Berlin, where he was an assistant to the head of the Siemens Company. It asked St. Petersburg police if they could post him to Moscow, and in June 1912 a minister told him there were no legal obstacles, though the police put him under surveillance when he arrived.³⁶⁴ After his family joined him,³⁶⁵ they lived in Kuokkala in Finland,³⁶⁶ where many locals were hostile to the autocracy.³⁶⁷ The tsar had nominated the first Russian members of the Finnish Senate,³⁶⁸ and given Russians in Finland the same rights as Finns.³⁶⁹ Finnish railways were placed under Russian control,³⁷⁰ and the Russian government rejected the establishment of a Finnish army and barred Finns from joining the Russian army, but required Finns to make a financial contribution to its upkeep.³⁷¹

The Finnish-born Bolshevik worker Alexandr Shotman had joined the Finnish SDP's Helsinki committee in 1911.³⁷² In spring 1912 Russian Navy sailors were arrested,³⁷³ and there were other flare-ups in the armed forces.³⁷⁴ In summer Shotman reported to Ulyanov that everything was ready for a rising in the Baltic Fleet and the seizure of the fortresses on Viapori and Kronstadt, but Ulyanov doubted that St. Petersburg workers would support them.³⁷⁵ On 27 June a Sevastopol Navy court sentenced three sailors to death for writing and circulating an appeal for an armed revolt, and on 2 July the court sentenced ten sailors to death and five to katorga, though the ten appealed.³⁷⁶

Preobrazhensky knew of 32 strikes in metalworks, 17 in manufacturing plants and 13 in construction during June. Of the strikes whose outcome was known, 35 were successful, fully or in part, though 24 were defeated. There had been only one arguably political strike, but 27 of the 130 economic strikes were in St. Petersburg, 25 in the Moscow region, 17 in the Baltic region, 16 in Poland, six in Siberia and two in the Urals, while most others were in south Russia. Officially, 30,801 inspected workers had taken part in 68 economic strikes, and 46 involved almost 52,500 workers, but the real total was probably over 100,000.³⁷⁷ According to employers there had been 515,000 political strikers across Russia since January.

On 1 July 'F. F.' wrote in *Nevskaya zvezda* that 'Only in Petersburg is there even a tolerably well-organised working-class press' that was 'able to reflect, however faintly, the views of 'worker democrats'.³⁷⁸ Skryabin's job on *Pravda* included corresponding with Ulyanov, and he told him that too many articles criticising the Kadets were 'monotonous reading'.³⁷⁹ Ulyanov complained that he 'stubbornly and systematically cut out any mention of the liquidators' in my articles and in the articles of other colleagues', and he received *Pravda* and *Nevskaya zvezda* irregularly. He asked the editors to return his unpublished articles, but they said they had lost them. He complained that he had received a book two and a half weeks after publication, for the sake of five kopeks postage. *Pravda* and *Nevskaya zvezda* were 'dry and monotonous, uninteresting, uncombative organs' and avoided 'painful questions'.³⁸⁰ Soon after two articles signed 'B. Z.' and 'V.' appeared in *Pravda*.³⁸¹

Early in July over 100 sappers in Tashkent killed three junior officers and two privates and wounded five officers and 12 privates, though riflemen and Cossacks arrested over 380 and a court martial sentenced ten to death and

five to six years' katorga. In Sevastopol three sailors were tried behind closed doors for circulating an appeal for an armed revolt in the Black Sea Fleet and shot.³⁸² At Kronstadt 65 sailors from a training ship, a cruiser and a battleship were charged with being members of the VPSR and planning a revolt and the assassination of senior officers.³⁸³ Officially 2,313 inspected workers had taken part in 15 economic strikes in July, and 859 in two political strikes, and they were all metalworkers.³⁸⁴ Pokrovsky had left *Pravda*, which was losing 1,500 rubles a month,³⁸⁵ and only 21 workers' groups contributed to the paper. The St. Petersburg Mensheviks' *Nevsky golos* had been closed, but soon reappeared. It received money from 50 individuals, but none from workers' groups.

On 2 August part of an article by 'A Statistician' appeared in *Pravda*.

[It] is much more important to have 100 rubles collected by, say, 30 groups of workers than 1,000 rubles collected by some dozens of 'sympathisers'. A newspaper founded on the basis of *five-kopek pieces* collected by small factory circles of workers is a far more dependable, solid and *serious* undertaking (both financially and, *most important of all*, from the standpoint of the development of the workers' democratic movement) than a newspaper founded with tens and hundreds of rubles contributed by sympathising intellectuals.³⁸⁶

Ulyanov was allowed to mention 'so-called Liquidators' in *Pravda*; but Alexandrov told him that 'the tone should be mocking or regretful condescension' when 'explaining the facts to the public'.³⁸⁷

In St. Petersburg 48 blacklegs were back at work at the Siemens plant, and though another plant workforce refused to handle diverted orders. At the Erikson factory 20 workers had been deported and 60 were in prison. Managers brought in 299 blacklegs, but 800 strikers refused to go back until only 12 voted to stay out. Managers used any excuse to sack the blacklegs,³⁸⁸ and trebled the number of supervisors to one to 20 workers.³⁸⁹ (Weeks later 120 strikers, including the Erikson leaders, were deported without trial.³⁹⁰)

The police were afraid to go beyond the outskirts, for fear of an ambush, so SDs organised 'picnic-parties' in a forest,³⁹¹ on Sundays. Sometimes, if police arrived, over 100 pretended to pick mushrooms;³⁹² and though the police arrested kruzhok leaders in the city,³⁹³ where the RSDRP claimed 400 members,³⁹⁴ there was a viable Bolshevik committee.³⁹⁵ A survey of textile workers showed that they all bribed supervisors or quality inspectors. Two of those who paid most were SDs, one was a member of the union's inspection commission and the other was a mill delegate.³⁹⁶ Officially, 871 workers had taken part in seven economic strikes during August, and though the number of political strikes and strikers was not recorded,³⁹⁷ the Okhrana noted that the 'Bolshevik-Ulyanov faction' was 'the only well-organised and cohesive' one in the RSDRP'.³⁹⁸

Gorky and an SR were hoping to publish a book for the benefit of the Lena strikers, but it did not appear.³⁹⁹ Ulyanov, Krupskaya and her mother lived at Zwierzyniec 28 in Kraków.⁴⁰⁰ Ulyanov wrote to Gorky. 'Things are warming up in the Baltic Fleet! I had a visit in Paris ... by a special delegate sent by a meeting of the sailors and Social-Democrats. What's lacking is organisation – it's enough to make one weep! If you have any officer contacts, you should make every effort to arrange something. The sailors are in a fighting mood, but they may all perish again in vain.'⁴⁰¹ Ulyanov told Rosenfeld in Paris that Bronstein had invited him to Vienna, though he would not be going.⁴⁰² Neither would Plekhanov,⁴⁰³ or representatives from the Party Mensheviks and the SDKPiL.⁴⁰⁴

(vii) The Accumulation of Capital

In January 1913 Luxemburg's *Die Akkumulation von Kapital. Ein Beitrag zu einer wirtschaftlichen Erklärung des Imperialismus* (*The Accumulation of Capital. A Contribution to an Economic Explanation of Imperialism*), had appeared from the SPD's *Vorwärts* publishing house in Berlin. It argued that products which could not be marketed in capitalist countries had to find an outlet in non-capitalist ones, and this required the export of capital. In turn, the import of cheap raw materials and food from the colonies, while dampening the rise of capitalism, involved a serious risk of wage-cuts, unemployment and a tendency to over-production and economic depression in the imperial centres.⁴⁰⁵ Since Marx had used a theoretical model of a worldwide capitalist system in *Das Kapital* volume II it was necessary to apply his theory to a world where capitalist development was uneven. To ensure that capitalists could trade without interference from rulers, and secure raw materials in exchange for commodities, they needed the support of troops. This had given rise to imperialism and competition between rival imperialist states. In spite of the German government's imperialist activity *Vorwärts* reviewed the work with hostility.⁴⁰⁶ The leader of the Dutch SDs, Pannekoek, sharply critiqued the book and Ulyanov thought it was 'fundamentally incorrect';⁴⁰⁷ yet the German government's deficit on its colonies had reached over a billion marks.⁴⁰⁸ The real income of industrial and commercial workers in Germany had risen very unevenly. In Prussia over half of the 15.7

million taxpayers were in the lowest income bracket, and nationally about 30 percent of families were destitute, and the rest spent over half of their income on food.⁴⁰⁹

In spring the Reichstag voted to raise the army's strength from 663,000 to 761,000 men, and aimed to raise it to 800,000 the following year.⁴¹⁰ There was a debate and the SPD deputies were opposed.⁴¹¹ There were 150,000 women members of the SPD and 830,000 men,⁴¹² but total membership rose to 2.5 million by summer.⁴¹³ The government proposed a direct income tax to pay for the military expenditure, and 52 SPD deputies supported it at a caucus, while 37 opposed and seven abstained, but they had to vote with the majority.⁴¹⁴ In July, when Hamburg shipyard workers went on strike in spite of union officials' opposition, employers imposed lockouts and refused to re-employ over 1,000. Troops quelled a Ruhr miners' strike. Those arrested faced 1,500 charges and many were imprisoned for minor 'personal insults' to scabs. SPD membership was over 970,000,⁴¹⁵ and it had 231 deputies in provincial Landtags,⁴¹⁶ The 17,000 members in Stuttgart and Cannstadt were almost all workers, and elected 90 delegates to the Württemberg Landtag congress, while 5,000 members in smaller Landtags elected 224.⁴¹⁷ The Free Trade unions had 2,530,000 members, but the economy was going into recession.⁴¹⁸ The government published a new Navy programme.⁴¹⁹ In April the British Navy minister proposed pausing building warships to the German government, but the emperor insisted that would be possible only between allies,⁴²⁰ The British Mediterranean fleet was moved to the North Sea,⁴²¹ and the German government added 29,000 men to the army; but the general staff demanded 300,000 in two years. The government imposed a tax on inherited land to pay for that, with the support of socialist Reichstag deputies, though one politician felt that Germany had to rely on a revolution in Russia.⁴²²

Vincas Mickevičius had been born into a peasant's family in Latvia in 1880.⁴²³ By 1903 he was a liberal, with a leaning towards the VPSR, but subsequently he joined the Lithuanian SDP. In 1904 he was the managing editor of the socialist periodical *Draugas (The Friend)* and then spent some time at Bern University in Switzerland.⁴²⁴ He took part in the revolution in Russia in 1905, but was arrested early in 1906 and again in spring 1907. By 1908 he favoured the Bolsheviks, but was deported.⁴²⁵ He was in a Warszawa prison in 1910-1911, where the SDKPiL prisoners impressed him, and in 1912 he ran the LSD's émigré bureau.⁴²⁶ Mickevičius returned to Riga and edited a legal journal,⁴²⁷ but was exiled to Siberia. He met Sverdlov in Krasnoyarsk and his Bolshevik perspective impressed him.⁴²⁸

Luxemburg asked Jogisches for a loan because she would soon be 'penniless'.⁴²⁹ Kautsky removed Mehring from the editorial board of *Die Neue Zeit*,⁴³⁰ for opposing the EC's policy in the Reichstag elections.⁴³¹ Luxemburg told Mehring that Kautsky was 'disgusting' and Bebel's statement on the matter was 'senile drivel'.⁴³² She advised friends to steer clear of Sobelsohn who was 'in the whore category'.⁴³³ In May he was invited to edit the SPD radicals' *Göppingen Freie Volkszeitung (Göppingen Free People's Newspaper)*. He accused the SPD of attempting to eliminate the local left-wing organisation, and repeated the accusation in the *Leipziger Volkszeitung*.⁴³⁴ In July he sent an article which refuted Kautsky's theories about imperialism to *Die Neue Zeit*, but though the editors deferred publication,⁴³⁵ the commission examining him was closed on the 30th.⁴³⁶ Luxemburg had written a study of the relationship of capitalism and imperialism to clarify aspects of Marx's economics,⁴³⁷ and her manuscript was in the hands of a publisher.⁴³⁸ In August she asked Jogisches for a loan of 150-200 marks from the SDKPiL.⁴³⁹ In April Swedish socialists had invited Kollontai to do a month-long speaking tour which ended with a 60,000-strong rally in Stockholm. Her *Vokrug rabochey Yevropy (Around Workers' Europe)* was published in Russia. It described her travels in Denmark, England, Germany, Belgium, France, Italy and Switzerland, and sharply criticised the rightward-moving SPD leaders, and especially the majority of Reichstag deputies who had voted in favour of 125 million marks for the army.⁴⁴⁰ Her friends took offence, so she moved to a small metal-working town,⁴⁴¹ and left for Vienna in August.⁴⁴²

On 25 August the Vienna conference attracted delegates from several SD organisations.⁴⁴³ Only 18 of the 33 delegates had votes,⁴⁴⁴ though almost 60 percent were from non-Russian organisations and 15 others had failed to turn up.⁴⁴⁵ Many delegates had become revolutionaries in the mid-1890s and their average age was 36. Most were émigré intelligenty,⁴⁴⁶ though 30 percent were workers,⁴⁴⁷ including the St. Petersburg metalworkers' union secretary, the Menshevik Abrosimov, who was a police spy,⁴⁴⁸ and a Moscow Bolshevik had instructions to break up the conference.⁴⁴⁹ The Menshevik-led Tbilisi RSDRP committee sent two delegates,⁴⁵⁰ and four from the LSD had votes. One CC member had a consultative vote,⁴⁵¹ as had four from PPS-Lewitsa. The conference elected the Mensheviks Uritsky, Uratadze, Petr Bronstein, Boris Goldman, and Alexandr Smirnov,⁴⁵² as an organisational commission based in St. Petersburg,⁴⁵³ and left two places for the Bund and LSD to fill. The commission was to organise an RSDRP conference or congress, and invite other organisations, including the 'CC' elected at the 'Ulyanovist conference' in Prague. The conference accepted the International bureau's offer of mediation between the RSDRP factions, and saluted the 'heroism and selflessness' of the Kronstadt mutineers, but noted 'the inadvisability and extreme danger of outbreaks in the army or Navy, or of attempts at military risings, which are isolated from the national movement'.⁴⁵⁴ Bronstein was delighted that Tsederbaum had funded the meeting, but insisted that 'Our old party was a dictatorship of the democratic intelligentsia, standing on the viewpoint of

Marxism, over the labour movement'.⁴⁵⁵ As a result of pressure from Georgians and Bundists, the Mensheviks became more flexible about the national question,⁴⁵⁶ and the conference agreed that 'cultural-national autonomy' was compatible with the party programme.⁴⁵⁷ Alexinsky was a Vypered delegate, but could not accept the perspectives of the Menshevik majority and walked out.⁴⁵⁸ So did other Vyperedists and some from the LSD.⁴⁵⁹

Kollontai became one of the leaders of the 'August bloc'.⁴⁶⁰ Bronstein found being among disparate groups of Bolshevik dissenters' who had 'no common political basis' uncomfortable, and 'in all important matters I disagreed with the Mensheviks', so he resumed his 'struggle against them'.⁴⁶¹ He decided to establish an organisation of Party Bolsheviks, Party Mensheviks and supporters of *Vypered*, *Golos* and the Vienna *Pravda*.⁴⁶² In Paris émigré Mensheviks and other non-Bolsheviks formed an organising commission.⁴⁶³ *Rabochaya gazeta* appeared for the first (and last) time that year,⁴⁶⁴ and argued that the sailors' rising had been 'premature'.⁴⁶⁵

Ulyanov, Krupskaya and her mother moved at Ulica Lubomirskiego 47 in Kraków, and the Apfelbaums lived nearby.⁴⁶⁶ Ulyanov noted that a man from 'an insignificant section of the Party' had claimed to represent the Moscow organisation in Vienna, and a Menshevik had claimed to represent St. Petersburg, while the Krasnoyarsk and Sevastopol delegates probably represented nobody.⁴⁶⁷

16. Swimming against the stream

(i) Sverdlov first laid eyes on his eighteen-month-old son

By summer 1912 the Bolshevik Sverdlov was in Narym in Siberia, a settlement of 1,000 people,¹ who included around 300 'politicals'.² Novgorodtseva received a letter in St. Petersburg telling her that they 'would meet soon, though not in Siberia'; but he did not come, so she raised some money from comrades and set off.

Having reached Tomsk with no problem, I sailed down the Ob to Kolpashevo, where I judged Sverdlov to be from his last letter. I was warmly greeted by the Bolsheviks there but they had bad news for me; a day or two before Sverdlov had been sent to Tomsk Prison. ...

The exiles ... gave me what they could in the way of clothes and other essentials and put me on the steamer. I would have had a bad time in Tomsk, alone in an unfamiliar town, with a baby and almost destitute, if it had not been for the Naumovs, whom I had known as a girl in Ekaterinburg. ...

I went to make enquiries and try to arrange a meeting with Sverdlov. A gendarme colonel agreed to speak to me, and when I told him I was Sverdlov's wife and had come with our baby to be near my husband, he began to behave with uncommon courtesy. Accepting that I was Sverdlov's wife without any documentary proof, he arranged a meeting, and what a meeting - not in the office in front of everybody, with a grille between us, but in Sverdlov's cell, alone together. ...

In the morning I set out with the drowsy baby in my arms. The prison gate creaked open but the office was deserted because I had come so early. As the minutes passed Andrei began to whimper with hunger. At last someone came, I went through the final formalities and found myself in a dark corridor. The keys rattled in the lock; the door swung open...

Sverdlov was taking his 'morning constitutional', striding rapidly from corner to corner of his cell – six paces each way – unaware that I was even in Tomsk. At the sound of the key he turned his head, expecting to see the warder's tiresomely familiar features. Instead he saw me and little Andrei, and froze in his tracks. The door closed behind me. We were alone.

... I no longer know which of us did more talking, who asked the most questions, who replied. Andrei did not let us forget that he was there too; in the gloom of that Tomsk solitary confinement cell Sverdlov first laid eyes on his eighteen-month-old son.

The key sounded again in the lock all too soon. I took Andrei to the Naumovs' and fed him quickly, then went straight to the gendarme office. I spoke to the same colonel, who was again considerate and kind. He said that he would try to have Sverdlov sent from prison back to exile if I would go with him, taking the baby.

That explained everything! The 'kind and considerate' gendarmes had read Sverdlov's letters, knew that he was boundlessly devoted to us, longed to be with us, and calculated that we would be more effective in holding him there than any guard - which only shows how little they understood the Bolshevik mentality. ...

... They sent us to a godforsaken hamlet of four or five houses called Kostyrevaya.

We rented a room in a peasant's house and, although there were problems and money was very short, we did not do badly. Sverdlov took over the housework, always doing the cooking and usually the washing, and I had to fight to be allowed even to help. ...

Sverdlov spent a lot of time with our son. It was as if he wanted to make up to him for the years they had been apart and also to store up fond memories for the future.

He rarely left Kostyrevaya, even to go to Parabel; he seemed to be quietly contented with his lot, having dismissed once and for all the idea of escape. At first his guards looked in on us two or three times a day but they always found him at home playing with the baby or doing the housework, and began to relax. Appearances were deceptive, of course; Sverdlov had started to plan his escape almost as soon as we arrived...

Sverdlov was to leave Kolpashevo in a small boat, go up the Ob River to a nearby landing stage and there meet the *Tyumen*, a steamer from Tomsk, which would be taking on wood. Some of the engineers, trustworthy men, had already agreed to hide him until the steamer reached Tobolsk along the Ob and Irtysh rivers. Kapiton Kaplatadze, an excellent oarsman, was to accompany him to help handle the small boat. ...

After three or four days the steamer arrived in Kolpashevo. The exiles hurried to contact their engineer ally, only to receive the staggering reply that the fugitives had not appeared, though the steamer had spent a day at the landing stage.

Sverdlov and Kaplatadze turned the boat around, and fought the current.

They had by then been over 24 hours in a flimsy boat that was now racing downstream despite their failing efforts. If they laid down the oars to straighten up for a few minutes the icy wind would freeze their soaked clothing to their skin, and their arms and legs would stiffen with cramp. They simply could not allow their exhausted bodies to stop rowing. Then one of them made a false move which he was unable to correct and the boat capsized, tipping them into the freezing water.

Sverdlov was an excellent swimmer; he could probably have reached the bank in spite of his terrible fatigue and waterlogged clothing. But Kaplatadze could not swim. Clutching the boat, Sverdlov feebly tried to save his helpless comrade. Death was closing in.

They had covered about 80 miles in their desperate battle with the elements, and capsized not far from Parabel, where their friends were on constant look-out for the *Tyumen*.

Vanya Chugurin remembers that he was talking with some peasants when they noticed a boat, some two miles away, coming towards them from the far bank. When one of the sharp-eyed peasants said that it had disappeared, they thought that it must have landed on a small island in midstream. Then they heard a resonant cry for help.

They had no life-saving equipment but went out in one of the half-finished but usable boats that were beached nearby, got as close as they could, and threw the drowning men an oar tied to a rope. Even then it was touch and go, for Sverdlov and Kaplatadze were stiff with cold. After a long fight with the current they were all driven to shore. The poor creatures lay motionless while the peasants built a fire; they were revived and taken indoors, at which point the police appeared.

Early next day, 31 August 1912, Sverdlov was returned to Narym and imprisoned again. The police could relax at last—there was not much to be feared from a man of weak constitution who was now half dead from his dreadful experience on the river and a long soaking in icy water.

A delegation of exiles petitioned the Narym police officer to allow their sick and exhausted comrade to rest for a few days in their care; knowing what Sverdlov had been through, the official agreed. Yet no sooner had the prison gates closed behind him than Sverdlov disappeared and a day later was back in Parabel, preparing to escape to Tomsk. Vanya Chugurin had contacts among the crew of the steamer *Sukhotin*.

Sverdlov was re-outfitted by a group effort and slipped into a first-class cabin late one evening, just as the steamer was leaving. When it reached Kolpashevo the next day, all the village came out as usual, for this was an event which brightened their monotonous days. Some of the crowd seemed more than normally agitated – the Bolsheviks had already heard the news and were willing the *Sukhotin* to leave quickly.

Everything seemed to be going normally until a large group of guards appeared and made their way through the crowds. They boarded the steamer and headed straight for the first-class cabins. They knew what they were about; it was clearly an informer's doing.

They searched two cabins thoroughly but to no purpose, and went on to the third, which looked empty until one of them glanced under a bunk and let out a joyful bellow. Sverdlov emerged and asked with an unruffled air: Is this Kolpashevo? Thank you so much for waking me, gentlemen. Just fancy - I almost missed my stop!' And he strolled past the stunned guards, leaving those seasoned veterans with their mouths open as he went ashore and melted into the crowd of exiles on the wharf.

He was tracked down the same day and taken to Tomsk Prison.³

Jughashvili had been sentenced to three years exile in Siberia on 2 July. He reached Tomsk by steamer, then boarded another for Narym, where he stayed with Sverdlov. On 1 September they escaped and reached St. Petersburg by the 12th. Jughashvili got money from Stasova's brother and edited *Pravda* with Skryabin.

In Berlin a member of the Outfit betrayed Ter-Petrosian.⁴ In June he was moved to the Bach Home for 'mental defectives' near Berlin, in June, and was put in a ward with ten 'violent maniacs'.⁵ He was accused of being a terrorist and an anarchist, and threatened with deportation, but continued to feign insanity.⁶ Krasin and Alexandr Malinovsky wanted to free him, but Ulyanov would not provide the necessary money.⁷ In March 1909 Ter-Petrosian was sent back to Alt Moabit Prison, where he continued to feign madness, and was returned to the Bach Home on 16 April. The doctors stuck pins under his nails and burnt his body with red-hot irons. In May 1910 the Russian government insisted on his extradition, but Ter-Petrosian was taken to Tbilisi and put in the Fortress. Kohn wrote to *Vorwärts* and his letter also appeared in all the liberal German papers. The editor of *Humanité* in Paris accused the German government of handing over a sick man to Russia, and the court martial received testimony from German experts. Ter-Petrosian was taken to the hospital attached to the Fortress, and was subsequently diagnosed as incurable and was transferred to an asylum. In August 1911 he received a pie containing a 'sleeping powder' to give the guards. He escaped and went to Batumi, where some comrades and sailors hid him between bales and boxes in the hold of a ship. In a few months he returned to the Caucasus.⁸ An arrest for possessing RSDRP literature usually resulted in four to six years in jail, but some SDs published police agents' names and descriptions and one portrait appeared in papers printed abroad. Some were assassinated, and Ter-Petrosian wanted to do that full-time, but Ulyanov sent him to Bulgaria to transport literature.⁹ He was soon exiled to Vologda province, but escaped, stowed away on a ship bound for France and went to Paris.¹⁰ In November he agreed not to discuss the Outfit with RSDRP committees,¹¹ but was later arrested and taken back to Tbilisi Fortress. In 1912 the Outfit helped him to escape, and he went to Brussels for surgery, then returned to Tbilisi. Jughashvili arrived there around 22 September,¹² and on the 24th the Outfit attempted a robbery near the city,¹³ but four were killed, and Ter-Petrosian was injured, taken to the Fortress and subsequently sentenced to death on each of four charges.¹⁴

(ii) The Duma elections

Georgi Safarov had been born in Armenia in 1891. He later entered St. Petersburg University, joined the RSDRP in 1908 and supported the Bolsheviks. He was arrested in 1910, but went to Paris,¹⁵ and was a Longjumeau student in 1911.¹⁶ In spring he joined Krupskaya and Ulyanov in Kraków,¹⁷ as did Armand in summer. Ulyanov asked Krupskaya to translate a document for Paris lawyers to get money from Zetkin,¹⁸ then 'pumped' Armand and Safarov 'full of instructions' for two days.¹⁹ He wanted them to rebuild the St. Petersburg RSDRP committee and they met émigrés from the city. Armand dressed as a peasant and took Ulyanov's hand-drawn map, and he sent a copy to Rosenfeld for the new organising commission and others coming to Kraków. When Armand and Safarov reached St. Petersburg the RSDRP organisation was in a 'wretched shape'. They spoke to Putilov workers about the Duma elections and made contacts in the Narva district.²⁰ The RSDRP claimed 250 to 300 members in the city,²¹ compared to 300 to 500 early that year. Some Bolsheviks were enthusiastic about the Prague Conference, but most wanted to work with Mensheviks. Armand, Safarov and the Vyperedist A.M. Korelkov organised kruzhs in three districts. At the Putilov works about 100 members issued 1,000 leaflets calling for illegal kruzhs,²² though Korelkov was a spy. Armand and Safarov based themselves in the Narva district, where they and three workers formed a bureau.²³ The Bolshevik Manuilsky had completed his studies at the Sorbonne in Paris and joined the Vyperedists. He was strongly opposed to the Bolsheviks and left to work underground in Moscow;²⁴ but then went to St. Petersburg. He debated with Safarov and won workers' support for the Prague Conference.²⁵ Roman Malinovsky chaired the six Bolshevik Duma deputies,²⁶ but relied on Ulyanov for his speeches and failed to read a lengthy passage which criticised the Duma and demanded the sovereignty of the people. The SD deputies had originally met in the Duma building, but now rented a flat, yet it was 'immediately surrounded by the police, who kept continuous watch on the entrance and windows'. On 14 September some St. Petersburg workers learned that the first stage of the elections would be two days later,²⁷ and Armand summoned 13 Bolshevik members of trade unions and workers' societies, but the police arrested them all,²⁸ including Armand and Safarov.²⁹

In Moscow the Okhrana had arrested 22 members of the RSDRP; yet 14,000 workers from 82 factories, including nine in the Lefortovo district,³⁰ demonstrated in support of the Sevastopol sailors with slogans including 'Down with the death penalty! Down with war!' and 'Long live the revolutionary working class and the revolutionary army!' Police and gendarmes quickly dispersed them,³¹ and arrested 17 SRs.³²

Across Russia police and officials obstructed workers' registration and disenfranchised 95 percent of Jews. The RSDRP stood candidates in workers' curiae in Moscow, Riga, Odesa, Kyiv and St. Petersburg, where some workers did not know about the election until the 15th, and the managers of the International Sleeping Car Company, Siemens and many other plants had not registered their workforces to vote and notices were posted during a three-day holiday. The Nevsky shipyard and the Obukhov plant was closed, though workers at the Izhorsky factory in Kolpino were allowed to use a hall for 15 minutes. When workers complained to the electoral commission, they were told it was too late. Gurvich, Potresov and other leading Mensheviks lived legally in the city, and their election slogans were 'sovereignty of the people's representatives' and 'a revision of agrarian legislation'. The Menshevik and Bolshevik committees met in woods outside the city and the Bolsheviks won the vote to choose candidates, though the Mensheviks refused to accept the result. The RSDRP committee met in the *Pravda* offices to discuss the elections, though the candidates' names were kept secret until just before the election, to prevent arrests.³³ The Mensheviks were arrested, but *Luch* appeared on the 16th.³⁴ The government feared that SD candidates would win the elections and cancelled the elections in 21 factories, but backed down after 10,000 workers went on strike.³⁵ *Pravda* had 25,000 readers on the 26th,³⁶ and four days later it claimed that 'hundreds and thousands of workers' groups' were 'springing up spontaneously'.³⁷ In September, officially, 10,784 inspected workers had taken part in 26 economic strikes and 8,734 in 30 political strikes.³⁸ Since January there had been 700,000 political strikers,³⁹ and the director of the Department of Police wanted an agent in every trade union, educational institution and prison.⁴⁰

The SPD had funded all the Menshevik, Bundist, Caucasian joint committee and LSD candidates, but given the Bolsheviks nothing.⁴¹ Only 20 to 30 percent of enfranchised workers in six provinces voted for electors, and in order to get an RSDRP deputy elected in the second stage all the candidates at the workers' electors' assemblies had to be RSDRP members and then all except one had to stand down.⁴² On the evening of 4 October the authorities announced that the second stage of the elections would take place next day, but 'interpreted' (disqualified) 21 workers' electors,⁴³ including some from the largest plants.⁴⁴ Next day they closed *Nevskaya zvezda*,⁴⁵ and a large proportion of the 14,000 Putilov workers marched out of the plant, singing revolutionary songs, though the police dispersed them. At Nevsky shipyard 6,500 workers organised a political demonstration and were joined by workers from Pal and Maxwell mills, Alexeyev joinery works and others. On the 6th the Erikson, Lessner, Heisler, Vulcan, Dufon, Phoenix, Cheshire, Lebedev and other workforces came out. The city governor 'interpreted' eight more workers' electors, including those from the Putilov works and Nevsky shipyard. Five or six of the 50 others were

unaligned, but four from the *Pravda* list and two Mensheviks won in the secret ballot.⁴⁶ Three Bolsheviks and three Mensheviks were elected as electors for St. Petersburg province. The Bolsheviks proposed that lots be cast for the election of deputies, but the Mensheviks refused.⁴⁷ On the 7th the SD kruzhok at Nevsky shipyard in St. Petersburg decided to support the Putilov strikers, and the workforce went on strike next day, as did those at Pal Mill and other 'interpreted' plants.⁴⁸ By the 11th 50,000 were out,⁴⁹ and the authorities announced that the second stage of the elections would be on the 14th.⁵⁰ They took place in 21 plants.⁵¹ By the 15th over 70,000 were on strike and workers' electors elected deputies on the 17th.⁵² The Menshevik vote fell from 11 to six percent and they won three seats, while Bolsheviks won 67 percent, 20 percent more than in 1907, and six seats.⁵³

Alexey Badayev had been born in Yuryevo, Orel province, in 1883.⁵⁴ He had a primary education,⁵⁵ trained as a locksmith, then worked at the Mykolaiv railway repair shops in St. Petersburg,⁵⁶ and joined the RSDRP in 1904.⁵⁷ By autumn 1912 the works employed 3,000,⁵⁸ and Bolsheviks and Mensheviks drew up separate lists for the Duma election. Badayev was politically inactive, and unknown to many Bolsheviks,⁵⁹ but he became a Bolshevik candidate,⁶⁰ and, thanks to two non-worker electors,⁶¹ he beat a Menshevik,⁶² and was elected as a deputy, as were the Bolshevik Kostyukov and the Mensheviks Gudkov, Petrov and Sudakov. On the 18th the Bolsheviks Ignatyev and Zaitsev won on a second ballot. Matvei Muranov had been born into a peasant family in Rybsty, near Poltava, in 1873. In 1900 he became a railway worker in Kharkiv. He joined the Bolsheviks in 1904, and the RSDRP committee in 1907, and was elected as a Duma deputy in 1912.⁶³

Fyodor Samoiloov had been born into a weaver's family in a village near Ivanovo in Vladimir province in 1884. Almost every village family had at least one member working in Ivanovo, and Fyodor's father returned only for holidays; but his wife 'suffered a lot from the despotism' of his family so the couple set up a separate household. By 1895 they could not live on their tiny plot of land, so they gave it up, sold their livestock, became weavers in Ivanovo and Fyodor joined them. His parents were reluctant to send their children to school, and could not feed them on 33 rubles a month, so they later they took their younger children back to the village and reclaimed their land.⁶⁴ Fyodor stayed in Ivanovo, and was a strike leader and a member of the RSDRP northern committee in 1905. From 1906 to 1908 he chaired the textile workers' union, and was elected as a deputy in Vladimir province in 1912.⁶⁵

Grigory Petrovsky had led the Katerynoslav sovet in 1905 and escaped to Germany. In 1907 he returned to Mariupol, worked as a turner and continued his revolutionary activity,⁶⁶ and was elected as a deputy in Katerynoslav province in 1912.⁶⁷ Nikolai Shagov had been born into a weaver's family in the village of Klintsovo, Kostroma province, in 1882. He joined the RSDRP in 1905, was active in Ivanovo until 1907 and was elected as a deputy in Kostroma in 1912.⁶⁸ A.F. Buryanov was elected in Taurida province and I.N. Tulyakov in the Don region. In Siberia only 12 of the 20 Irkutsk electors voted, since eight had been 'interpreted', though V.I. Khaustov from Ufa province and I.N. Mankov from Irkutsk province became deputies.

Roman Malinovsky's criminal record had debarred him from being a candidate, so he had gone to Poland and bribed officials for a certificate that he had not been convicted. He worked at a small factory near Moscow, but quarrelled with his foreman, who threatened to sack him. To ensure that he had a six months' work record the police detained the foreman until after the elections, though Malinovsky was sacked, so he bribed a clerk to certify that he was 'on leave'.⁶⁹ The Okhrana spent 14,505 rubles on his campaign, including 1,500 for himself.⁷⁰ His conciliationist reputation attracted Menshevik votes,⁷¹ and he was elected as a deputy in Moscow province.⁷² *Luch* welcomed his success,⁷³ and his Okhrana wages rose to 500 rubles a month.⁷⁴

The number of Polish voters had been reduced yet again, and PPS-Lewica's Congress in Opawa in April had focussed on underground organisation.⁷⁵ Its position on Polish autonomy and much else was barely different to that of the SDKPiL.⁷⁶ In Warszawa Christian factory owners rarely employed Jews;⁷⁷ and when Jewish owners of shoe workshops bought machinery they replaced Jewish workers with Christians.⁷⁸ Jews formed 36 percent of the city's population and 45,000 had votes in city duma elections. The Bund appealed for solidarity, but while PPS-Lewica agreed, the SDKPiL refused,⁷⁹ and ran a rival campaign. They called for Polish autonomy, wider democracy, civil rights, freedom for unions to organise, an eight-hour day, the end of discrimination against Poles and Jews,⁸⁰ abolition of restrictions on non-Russian nationalities, legal guarantees for the use of mother tongues and the abolition of the Pale.⁸¹ Only half of eligible workers voted in the Duma elections, though two of the three electors were SDs.⁸² The Bund-PPS bloc won in the first stage, and the PPS's Eugeniusz Jagiello, the only one who favoured equal rights for Jews, was elected as a deputy,⁸³ though PPS-Lewica accepted his election with 'great reserve'.⁸⁴

The VPSR had boycotted the elections,⁸⁵ though the SR-inclined lawyer Alexandr Kerensky was a Trudoviki candidate in Saratov, and after 14 others were disqualified he was elected unopposed and joined the freemasons.⁸⁶ Political meetings in Armenian churches had been banned in 1910, and by 1911 Armenian parish schools taught children the Russian language, history and geography. Many Dashnak prisoners were released, but in January 1912 the trial of 159 had begun in St. Petersburg. Most were acquitted in March, though 52 were sentenced to a few years in prison or exile, and four to katorga, and the organisation had been eliminated in the southern Caucasus.⁸⁷

Ten Duma seats were allocated to Caucasia.⁸⁸ The lawyer Akaki Chkhenkeli and the engineer Matvei Skobolev became deputies.⁸⁹ The Menshevik freemason Chkheidze retained his seat, thanks to Dashnak votes.⁹⁰ SD candidates had stood in 53 places and won the support of 54 percent of the 3,500 worker electors, and up to 26 percent more were reportedly sympathisers.⁹¹ In European Russia many workers had lost the franchise, small landowners' votes had been virtually eliminated, pre-election meetings had been banned, land captains had been present at elections and results that were unacceptable to the authorities had been annulled. Out of 8,764 electors, 7,142 clergymen had elected 150 government candidates as Duma deputies.⁹²

Voronezh, Katerynoslav, Kursk, Moscow, St. Petersburg, Samara, Saratov, Kharkiv and Chernihiv provinces, and four others in Poland, remained under reinforced security. Nationally, between 20,000 and 30,000 political suspects were under surveillance, including around 3,000 in Moscow, where the Okhrana's 55 informants included 20 among SDs, 17 among SRs,⁹³ three among anarchists, 11 among students and others among liberals.⁹⁴ On the 24th 'K.S.' described Bronstein in *Pravda* as a 'champion with fake muscles'.⁹⁵ That day courts martial sentenced 17 Black Sea Fleet sailors to death and 106 Sevastopol sailors to katorga, for conspiring to mutiny.⁹⁶ Between the 29th and 1 November at least 72,000 St. Petersburg workers downed tools in protest.⁹⁷

In St. Petersburg Badayev gave in his notice at work and moved to near the *Pravda* offices. Spies began 'watching my every step and following all my visitors'. He did not know the other SD deputies until they met at the *Pravda* offices, and the Mensheviks 'tried to establish "friendly" relations'. They formed an SD *fraction*, though Mensheviks took the chair, the treasurership and another member of the presidium, while Roman Malinovsky was elected as deputy chair and Petrovsky as a member of the presidium. The Mensheviks let Jagiello join, though the Bolsheviks insisted that he had no vote on party matters. The Menshevik deputies and Jagiello represented 214,000 workers, though Bolshevik deputies represented 1,008,000.⁹⁸ During October, officially, 6,329 inspected workers had taken part in 70 economic strikes and 52,470 in 72 political strikes.⁹⁹

Late in October the émigré Bolshevik Centre decided there would be one 'troika' for editorial matters in *Pravda* and another for business. Both would be accountable to the Centre, and Jughashvili, the only RSDRP CC member in St. Petersburg, would vet each article. On 1 November Skryabin reported to Kraków that there had been 'a more correct distribution of editorial functions'.¹⁰⁰ In Rīga, on the 11th, 1,500 workers marched through the streets to protest at the death sentences on the Navy sailors, the torture of political prisoners and the war in the Balkans, and carried red flags and sang revolutionary songs. Next day many more large workforces went on strike.¹⁰¹ There were protests in Tallin, Mykolaiv, Nizhni Novgorod, and other working class centres across Russia,¹⁰² involving 250,000 workers, and in St. Petersburg three *kruzhki* organised strikes and demonstrations, without informing the RSDRP CC. Their leaflet argued for a 'non-factional spirit' and 'unity' and used Bolshevik and Menshevik slogans. The SD Duma deputies met representatives of the Bolshevik and Menshevik committees and the editors of *Pravda* and *Luch*. The Mensheviks opposed the 'strike fever' and the Bolsheviks agreed to issue a leaflet that stressed the strikes' 'unofficial' character, though most of the organisers had been Bolsheviks.¹⁰³ The Mensheviks pledged to work for unity,¹⁰⁴ and *Pravda* insisted that the SD deputies 'must be united'.¹⁰⁵ Skryabin worked to unite Bolshevik students, and joined the Bolshevik committee.¹⁰⁶ On the 14th the police arrested Krylov,¹⁰⁷ though Skryabin jumped out of a window and went underground.¹⁰⁸ Conciliators now controlled the paper.¹⁰⁹

The Duma opened in St. Petersburg on the 15th. According to the police around 30,000 workers went on strike,¹¹⁰ and about 100 students and young workers demonstrated.¹¹¹ It required 33 deputies to put an urgent question to a minister. The liberals rarely cooperated with the SDs, and when they did the chairman often handed the request to a commission which sat on it for months; but if the chair ruled that a request was not urgent it allowed SDs to make key points. According to Badayev the police failed to mention that one demonstration had been 'dispersed by police with drawn swords', who drove workers into a factory courtyard and 'attacked them savagely with poles and iron bars'. Ulyanov gave the deputies 'literature, theses for speeches' and 'instructions' when they visited Kraków. 'Names were never mentioned in correspondence'. For example, Badayev was 'No. 1', Roman Malinovsky 'No.3' Jughashvili 'No. 5', Petrovsky 'No. 6' and Samoilov 'No. 7'; though the numbers were changed whenever it was suspected that the Okhrana had guessed their identity. They rarely used the post, though they sent a few letters to what they mistakenly thought were safe addresses.¹¹² On the 20th, the anniversary of Tolstoy's death, there was a strike in St. Petersburg.¹¹³ On the 24th *Pravda* argued that 'we must show goodwill towards one another',¹¹⁴ and included a letter from Moscow workers asking for collections to finance a workers' paper.¹¹⁵ During November Moscow Okhrana had arrested six members of the RSDRP,¹¹⁶ but the Bolsheviks' legal Pribol publishing house was established in St. Petersburg and produced literature about workers' insurance.¹¹⁷ That month, officially, 9,796 inspected workers had taken part in 46 economic strikes across Russia and 65,853 in 99 political strikes.¹¹⁸

The *Pravda* editors had turned down some of Ulyanov's articles and he summoned people to Kraków. Jughashvili left St. Petersburg in a covered cart with Valentina Lobova, who was married to a Bolshevik who was a spy. They took a train at Levashovo and crossed into Finland, where Eino Rakhia gave them Finnish passports and took them

to Turku. The police let them board the ferry to Germany, where they took a train to Kraków.¹¹⁹ From Kraków Ulyanov complained that *Pravda* was like 'a sleepy old maid'. It does not attack, it does not persecute either the Cadet or the Liquidator'. 'Does this look like Marxism?'¹²⁰ Ulyanov told Gorky that *Pravda* paid two kopeks a line.¹²¹

Late in November, after the Duma deputies Muranov and Malinovsky arrived in Kraków, Ulyanov reported to Rosenfeld in Paris: 'Impression excellent'. Ulyanov told Rosenfeld that 'No. 5' suspected 'a criminal act' in *Pravda's* finances. 'We shall be finished if we do not turn over the whole business (i.e. the publishing and the funds) to No. 5'.¹²² Next day Krupskaya wrote to 'K. St.' in St. Petersburg,¹²³ and Ulyanov sent a 'tentative draft' article arguing for a strike and demonstration on the anniversary of Bloody Sunday the following January, and a protest at the 300th anniversary of the Romanov dynasty in March; but the police copied his letter before forwarding it.¹²⁴ Ulyanov told his sister Maria in Saratov that Kraków was 'full of rumours of war'.¹²⁵

(iii) Salin frequently does us dirt

Moscow police had arrested the 21-year-old SD intelligent Bukharin in 1909, released him, arrested him again, but freed him on bail. In 1910 he worked legally, but was imprisoned for months, then sentenced to katorga in the remote Onega region of Arkhangelsk province. He later escaped,¹²⁶ wrote for a legal union paper and taught in SD schools and clubs. He disagreed with liquidating the underground organisation, and was convinced that Roman Malinovsky had betrayed him.¹²⁷ Bukharin went to Vienna and had established a 'close connection' with Ulyanov by autumn 1912.¹²⁸ By December *Luch's* circulation was 8,000 to 9,000. Bukharin contributed to *Pravda*. Ulyanov told Shklovsky in Bern that '*nothing* is being done in the other cities! No one writes regular reports. No one makes *collections*. No one collects local books and pamphlets' or sends 'material for interesting articles'. *Pravda's* circulation was 'about 23,000'. 'It's rising *very* slowly. *Without help it won't pull through*'. 'If we get help, we shall publish *Rabochaya gazeta*'.¹²⁹ He told Gorky that *Pravda* was 'having a hard passage: since the summer decline in circulation, the rise has been *very* slow, and the deficit remains. They have even temporarily stopped payment to two permanent contributors, which has made our position exceptionally difficult'. 'We propose to develop intensive agitation among the workers for subscriptions, and to use the money collected to strengthen the paper and expand it'. 'One has now to fight for revolutionary agitation among the masses against very many "would-be revolutionaries"'. 'Among the mass of the workers there is unquestionably a revolutionary mood, but the new democratic intelligentsia (including the workers' intelligentsia) with a revolutionary ideology is growing up slowly, lagging behind' and 'can't yet catch up'. 'We are swimming against the stream.'¹³⁰

Jughashvili reportedly first used the pseudonym 'K. Stalin' in *Pravda* on 1 December, and the name stuck.¹³¹ On the 13th the Russian RSDRP CC appealed for a strike to support the SD Duma deputies, and next day several workforces came out and others followed suit, so up to 60,000 were out.¹³² All the SD deputies agreed to be named as editors of both *Pravda* and *Luch*,¹³³ but on the 15th, while 11 agreed to be 'correspondents', Roman Malinovsky and Muranov demurred.¹³⁴ The 3,000 workers at two Maxwell plants went on strike, but next day the managers announced that they would lay off all their workers and refuse to re-employ 'unreliables'.¹³⁵

In spring Alexandr Malinovsky had declined an invitation to rejoin Vypered and intended to found a Soyuz Sotsialisticheskoy Kultury (Union of Socialist Culture).¹³⁶ He returned to St. Petersburg early that year, where he led the 'central group' of SDs and was secretary of the woodworkers' union for a time.¹³⁷ On 11 December *Pravda* listed 'Bogdanov' as a contributor,¹³⁸ and on the 15th 11 SD Duma deputies voted to merge *Luch* and *Pravda*.¹³⁹ Safarov was arrested, and went abroad. (He subsequently returned to St. Petersburg and joined the Bolshevik committee, but was briefly arrested, then left for Switzerland.)¹⁴⁰ On the 18th *Luch* and *Pravda* published the names of all the Menshevik and Bolshevik Duma deputies as contributors.¹⁴¹

On the 14th Ulyanov had written to Jughashvili, using his new pseudonym, about the SD Duma group.

We learned today that the board of the co-operative is, to be dissolved within a week. There is therefore very little time left. We earnestly ask you to take all steps to: 1) transfer *Dyen* [*Pravda*] in good time to No. 5 or at any rate make certain, concretely and with full guarantees, that the funds are in his hands. The financial crisis is terribly acute. Subscription money is now all we have. To leave this in unreliable hands would be a crime! 2) It is necessary at once to prepare (or to take those already prepared by us and sent long ago) articles and statements by the six co-operators for *Dyen* and publish them without delay. If we do not launch an energetic campaign for subscriptions, for donations, for support, we are lost. 3) Get Misha's collegium [probably the St. Petersburg RSDRP committee] to pass a resolution against No. 16 [Jagiello] to counteract the liquidators' resolutions. 4) See to it that the gathering of all (without exception) which has been finally decided upon is held - this is now trebly important. We are dragging Spitsa in too. 5) Get Vasilyev out as soon as possible, otherwise you won't be able to save him, and he is needed and has already accomplished the main thing.¹⁴²

'Spitsa' was Feodosy Krivobokov. He had been born into a wealthy family of Old Believers in Rostov-na Donu in 1876. He became a revolutionary in 1895, helped to organise an SD kruzhok in 1897 and studied at Moscow University. He joined the RSDRP in 1898, and was expelled from the University in 1899 for revolutionary activity, but carried on. He was deported to Voronezh in 1901 and helped to form an *Iskra* organisation. In 1904 he went to Geneva and met Ulyanov and in 1905 he became a Bolshevik agent and a delegate to the Tampere RSDRP conference. He was a member of the St. Petersburg committee EC in 1906 and a delegate to the London Bolshevik conference in 1907. From 1910 he worked in Rostov-na-Donu, then Kharkiv, graduated from the University in 1911 and contributed to *Zvezda* and the various incarnations of *Pravda*.¹⁴³ He organised workers and soldiers, and considered himself an 'ordinary party worker',¹⁴⁴ but late in 1912 he joined the Bolshevik Centre.¹⁴⁵

In St. Petersburg the War Ministry's Okhta explosives factory employed inexperienced peasant men and women. They received 65 to 75 kopeks for a ten-hour day with no break, and had to do up to nine hours' overtime a week, but were not given wage books and were subject to abuse, fines and arbitrary dismissal. Managers kept thousands of fuse-caps on the premises, rather than the legal maximum of ten, and on the 20th a worker handled one carelessly and it exploded. Five workers died, and one corpse had to be identified by a rag torn from his clothes, while over 50 others, mainly women, were injured. The plant had no doctor and when one arrived an hour later he could do nothing. Next day over 10,000 workers and the SD Duma deputies followed the coffins with a wreath reading 'To the victims of capital'.¹⁴⁶ The Bolshevik committee decided not to agitate for strikes and demonstrations on the anniversary of Bloody Sunday the following January, but to hold factory meetings instead.¹⁴⁷ The SD deputies received collections for strikers from workers and others in Moscow, Riga, Łódź and Warszawa; but the St. Petersburg strikers were soon forced back.¹⁴⁸ Petrovsky dissociated himself from the attacks on the Mensheviks in *Pravda* and doubted that 'liquidationism' existed.¹⁴⁹

Roman Malinovsky went to Kraków,¹⁵⁰ and told Ulyanov that he could split the SD Duma fraction.¹⁵¹ Badayev, Petrovsky and Shagov arrived,¹⁵² as did Alexandr Lobov, the worker Medvedev,¹⁵³ and the wealthy Vienna couple Troyanovsky and Rozmirovich.¹⁵⁴ They agreed to call a conference of CC members and party workers.¹⁵⁵ Ulyanov told Gorky that the battle with the Mensheviks was not over. He would welcome the Vyperedists 'if your suspicion is justified that "Machism, god-building and all that nonsense has been dumped for ever"'. 'I am very glad it is through *Pravda*', that 'a way has been found for the gradual return of the Vypered people. Very glad. But for the sake of a lasting rapprochement, we must now move towards it slowly and *cautiously*'. Alexandr Malinovsky and Badayev were 'good fellows, really', and it would be 'possible to build a workers' party with such people'; but if 'we can't find some cash to expand and strengthen *Pravda*, it will perish'. 'The deficit is now 50-60 rubles a day. We have to increase the circulation, reduce costs, expand the paper. We have held out for 200 issues' and 'are influencing 20 to 30,000 worker-readers systematically in a Marxist spirit'.¹⁵⁶ Gorky replied that several hundred rubles had been collected for a Moscow paper and 'we'll get hold of some more money in February'. Meanwhile a St. Petersburg publisher would produce 'miscellanies of contemporary literature' for 25 to 35 kopeks, and 'we will offer them to *Pravda*' to 'go with the subscription'.¹⁵⁷ Ulyanov wrote to Rosenfeld in Paris. 'We are terribly sorry that you are not here. On the whole things seem to be on the upgrade. Three Party workers from St. Petersburg, two from Moscow and two from the south', plus 'a number of prominent legal functionaries' were in Kraków, and 11 others were 'sitting in'. The meeting was 'in full swing'. The Duma deputies had shown 'vacillations', but were 'coming to terms' with the 'chief conciliator', Petrovsky. '*Pravda* is hard up, but we pin our hopes now on Gorky'.¹⁵⁸

In Kraków Ulyanov argued that Russia had 'entered a period of the growth of a *new revolution*' with '*revolutionary* mass strikes', and the delegates agreed to 'use every legal possibility for gradually grouping all live elements around the illegal Party' and aim for the '*fusion of all worker members*' into an 'integral illegal organisation' of 'factory nuclei and committees, district groups, town centres, Social-Democratic groups in *all kinds* of legal institutions, etc'. The door would be open to all SDs who agreed to work on this basis, irrespective of previous factional loyalties. A 'system of authorised nominees' would be the 'most important practical factor in establishing a permanent living link between the Central Committee and local Social-Democratic groups', and 'in devising flexible forms of directing local work in the major centres of the working-class movement'. It was essential to organise 'revolutionary street demonstrations', preferably in association with political strikes, and to find 'new forms of struggle', like 'stay-in strikes', to defeat lockouts.¹⁵⁹ The Bolshevik Duma deputies should demand equality in voting and representation with the seven Mensheviks, work more actively outside the Duma and stop contributing to *Luch*.¹⁶⁰ *Pravda* had been 'insufficiently firm in its party spirit' and responded 'weakly to the party life of the Petersburg Social Democratic Workers', so the editors had to 'devote more attention to explaining the incorrectness and harmfulness of liquidationism'.¹⁶¹ Jughashvili agreed to step down as an editor, though he and Sverdlov would form the Bolshevik Russian CC for 60 rubles a month, with Lobova as secretary, while Ulyanov and Apfelbaum would form the émigré Bolshevik Centre, with Krupskaya as secretary.¹⁶² Skryabin was sacked as *Pravda*'s secretary for objecting to CC control, and Gromova would take his place.¹⁶³ (She had been imprisoned and

deported several times since 1908.¹⁶⁴ From spring 1909 she had been detained for a year, but was eventually acquitted and held an important position in the combat organisation.¹⁶⁵ Stefania Malinowskaya, Roman's wife, was the official publisher of *Pravda*,¹⁶⁶ but Badayev would take over that role.¹⁶⁷ Roman Malinovsky would be the official publisher of *Nash put*,¹⁶⁸ the legal Moscow daily, which would be a 'branch' of *Pravda* and accountable to SD Duma deputies from the Moscow region. The conference criticised the Bund for supporting Jagiello in the elections, and regretted the split in the SDKPiL, but supported the Warszawa dissidents. Ulyanov had supplied all the resolutions for the conference, which were accepted unanimously, and after it ended the Centre co-opted Sverdlov and Petrovsky.¹⁶⁹ Krupskaya acknowledged to Shklovsky that *Pravda* had been 'badly managed' and most staff were not 'literals'. They had failed to publish workers' protests against *Luch*, and there would be 'substantial reforms'.¹⁷⁰ There were 'undesirable elements', including 'Salin', who was 'completely reconciled' with the Bund's 'centre'. He was 'serving on *Pravda* only to earn a living, and frequently does us dirt'.¹⁷¹

(iv) Most of the time she simply was not there

Alexandr Pravdin had been born in 1879, into a worker's family in the village of Annenkovo in Kursk province. He became a worker, joined the RSDRP in 1899 and then the Odesa committee. He was a delegate to the Stockholm Congress in 1906 and had joined St. Petersburg committee by 1908. In 1912 he was a member of the RSDRP northern region bureau and worked on *Pravda*, but was repeatedly arrested and then exiled.¹⁷² Ilya Borissov had been born in 1890. He became a revolutionary in 1905 and joined the RSDRP in 1912.¹⁷³ Vorovsky had worked underground since 1907, especially in Odesa, but was deported in 1912.¹⁷⁴ Petr Krasikov had spent two spells in prison between 1905 and 1907, but on his release he became an influential Bolshevik. He completed his law studies in 1908,¹⁷⁵ worked as a barrister in St. Petersburg and contributed to *Pravda* in 1912.¹⁷⁶ Abram Ginzburg had been born into a timber merchant's family in Vitebsk province in 1878. He later attended Kharkiv University, but left after a year. He was active in the workers' movement, but was arrested and exiled. He joined the Mensheviks in 1905, then abandoned underground work and became the leader of the metalworkers' union in 1906. He studied economics, and from 1912 he worked in cooperatives and local government in Kyiv.¹⁷⁷

E. Alekseeva had been born into a family of textile workers in St. Petersburg in 1895. She began work in a mill at the age of ten, and joined the Bolsheviks in 1909. She distributed party leaflets, joined demonstrations and strikes, and collected money for the press and to support exiled comrades. She was sacked in 1912 for her political activities, but found a job in a metal factory which had a poor conditions and a poor record of health and safety, but in spite of ill-health she continued her revolutionary activity.¹⁷⁸ Nina Aladzhlova had helped to set up an underground press for the Caucasian joint committee in 1906, then moved abroad for health reasons, but continued party work and returned in 1912.¹⁷⁹ From April to December that year 620 workers' groups had contributed to the various incarnations of *Pravda*, but the police had confiscated 41 issues. Its official editors had been fined 36 times and imprisoned for a total of almost four years.¹⁸⁰ At one point finding a proof-reader was impossible.¹⁸¹ Only six articles in the 204 issues had been about women workers.¹⁸²

The Menshevik intelligentska Eva Broido had borne her fourth child in St. Petersburg in 1907 when her husband Mark was hiding in Finland. In 1908 Eva organised a May Day celebration at the dispensary where she worked, and though she stayed away to avoid arrest, she was sacked. Mark was later arrested and sentenced to two years in solitary, because of his part in the shoot-out with police in Siberia four years earlier. He was allowed only the Bible to read, so he asked for French, Italian, German and English editions to learn the languages. In 1910 Eva worked 'to re-establish the destroyed party' in the Nevsky district, but police arrested her and 12 others. The prison was worse than on her last visit and she could not get new books every day, but only three a week, so she chose them 'mainly by their thickness'. That, and the lack of opportunities for exercise, encouraged her to write an autobiography, and she focussed on what she had learned in Baki.¹⁸³ She was freed in 1912, but her daughter later recalled that

Most of the time she simply was not there, nor was Father. Even when they were at home, they were both frantically busy trying to earn. They worked at translating from English and German into Russian. That was their sole source of income and though it was comparatively well paid, it did not bring in enough. Often our grandmother had to help out by cooking meals, inexpensive and healthy, for students.¹⁸⁴

Eva ran the Mensheviks' central initiative group with five other intelligentsky and eight workers. They led seven district groups with around 100 members, and 12 workers' education societies with 1,800 by the end of the year.¹⁸⁵

The Bolshevik Woytinsky had completed his exile by December, but had to live near Irkutsk, where he met many people he had known in St. Petersburg. Some SDs regarded the Prague Conference as a 'bluff' and the Bolshevik

Centre as a 'fraud'. He visited an SD lawyer in Irkutsk, and left with a bundle of books and magazines. He hiked around the district, and warned politicised peasants not to talk too much with people they did not know, keep books and documents which could be used against them as evidence safely at home and be careful with their correspondence. Woytinsky received permission to live in Irkutsk, where he met people who had read his publications, though the struggle between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks had reduced the RSDRP to a 'shambles'.¹⁸⁶

Novgorodtseva recalled that she and Sverdlov had 'agreed that if he got away safely, he would let me know. I would go to Tomsk with Andrei', their baby, and 'wait to hear from him again'. He had gone to St. Petersburg.

On 23 December he wrote to Narym. The best he could say was that he was alive, achieving nothing, sleeping in a different place every night and seeing only those people that he absolutely had to, who were few indeed. ...

Our comrades again gave my son and myself some basic necessities and we left for Kolpashevo, where we spent two days with the Dilevsky sisters. A letter reached us in Tomsk and we went to join Sverdlov in Petersburg.

Sverdlov supervised what had become *Proletskaya pravda*.

To comply with the law a copy of the newspaper was sent from the printing shop to the Press Committee at the same time as the paper was issued for sale. As the Committee usually issued an order immediately for the confiscation of the issue we had to utilise the short interval between the dispatch of the paper from the printing shop and its receipt by the Committee for the distribution to our vendors.

Representatives from factories and works gathered in the courtyard outside the printing office in the early dawn to receive the paper straight from the press and dash off to their districts.¹⁸⁷

The SD Duma deputies had toured their constituencies, but men in 'pea-coloured overcoats' met them at stations and shadowed them, though they returned via Kraków to St. Petersburg,¹⁸⁸ where Alexandrov put Sverdlov in touch with leading Bolsheviks and Duma deputies.¹⁸⁹

Roman Malinovsky had given the names of contributors and subscribers to *Pravda* to the Okhrana.¹⁹⁰ He was paid 8,000 rubles a year, 1,000 more than the director of the Police Department.¹⁹¹ The Okhrana had 12,000 agents, though most did not receive a regular salary. Moscow Okhrana had 12 case officers, 25 clerks, 100 detectives, 60 supervisors, plus 10 watchmen and other ancillaries.¹⁹² Serova had received 743 rubles in three payments in 1911. In August 1912 she told the Okhrana that if she received no more money she would commit suicide and they sent her 150 rubles. In September she wrote again, enclosing a letter to her husband, to be posted separately, which indicated that she was contemplating suicide. Days later she denounced an old man who was concealing arms.¹⁹³ She had received 1,800 rubles and received one last payment of 300 rubles, but had to leave St. Petersburg.¹⁹⁴

Azev had been a merchant in Berlin and was a member of the Stock Exchange in 1911.¹⁹⁵ Burtsev had corresponded with him, and in August they met in Frankfurt-am-Main. The Paris *Le Matin* reported about it three days later. Gorky invited Burtsev to Capri to meet the former Narodnaya volya EC member Lopatin, and Azev arrived in November, but left the following day.¹⁹⁶ From late that year Savinkov kept a low profile.¹⁹⁷ Azev contacted comrades and offered to stand trial if they would guarantee his safety pending the outcome. During 1912, after the head of the Okhrana's Paris Agentura was publicly identified, he had been ordered to transfer his agents to another case officer.¹⁹⁸ Zhitomirsky had stayed in Paris and stuck like glue to Tarshis, who handled the distribution of Bolshevik literature. After business meetings comrades went for a beer in a nearby café, and whenever Zhitomirsky was present, he paid the bill. One day he proposed having a photograph taken of all the Paris comrades, and one of Tarshis alone. (The photographs reached all the Okhrana offices across Russia.)¹⁹⁹ A senior Okhrana official had left St. Petersburg for Paris,²⁰⁰ and told Burtsev that he suspected that Zhitomirsky worked for the Okhrana, though he did not have sufficient evidence to publicise it. Zhitomirsky was popular with the Bolsheviks and Ulyanov needed proof, and Burtsev would not tell him the name of his informant,²⁰¹ though the Okhrana official told Ulyanov that someone very close to him was a spy.²⁰² Only five people knew about the investigative commission that included Burtsev, Vladimirsky and Nikolai Kuznetskov, and Ulyanov did not tell Rosenfeld or Tarshis.²⁰³

Gorky's partner, Andreeva, had been betrayed, arrested, released, and put under surveillance,²⁰⁴ and left Capri and Gorky for good, though they remained on 'friendly terms'.²⁰⁵ By the end of 1912 all the Longjumeau students who were not spies were in jail.²⁰⁶ From July to December Ulyanov's *Collected Works* contain 31 letters to Russia.²⁰⁷

(v) Education, agriculture and industry

From 1907 to 1912 the proportion of the Education Ministry's budget for primary schools had doubled from 20 to 40 percent, and though spending on secondary schools had fallen from 30 to 21 percent, it had doubled in real

terms. By 1912 there were three vocational schools in St. Petersburg,²⁰⁸ and the government had secularised Orthodox Church schools and placed them under the authority of zemstva. For the first two years Russian was on the curriculum, though lessons would be mainly in the pupil's native language, but they would be in Russian thereafter.²⁰⁹ The government had given zemstva 13.1 million rubles,²¹⁰ but they had spent over 220 million, including almost 66.5 million on schools, and municipal councils had spent over 33.5 million.²¹¹ Nationally, there were ten literate females to every 24 literate males.²¹²

There was one government official for every 60 town-dwellers and one for every 700 rural inhabitants.²¹³ There was one doctor for every 13,000 townspeople but one for every 21,900 villagers, and 82 percent of people in Russia suffered from an ailment.²¹⁴ Thanks to rising grants from the Ministry of Agriculture, zemstvos had spent 13.1 million rubles for agricultural improvements,²¹⁵ though the government and the Church held half the fertile land,²¹⁶ together 6,411 wealthy individuals. Over 122,300 of the 152,400 heads of peasant households who had applied to convert their communal allotments into private holdings were successful,²¹⁷ as were over 1.18 million who applied for grants of land. Around 2.9 percent of households owned farmsteads:²¹⁸ and around 6.5 percent held their land in one piece, though 90.6 percent had scattered strips.²¹⁹ Over 3.9 million households held between 21.6 and 28.9 acres of allotment land, over 3.31 million held between and 13.5 and 21.6, and over 2.85 million held less than 13.5, and almost 410,000 held less than four.²²⁰ There were an estimated 17 million horses in Russia,²²¹ though around 74 percent of households had no horse.²²² Eight million divided their time between agriculture and craft work. Four million were full-time craft workers and 1.5 million were factory workers.²²³ By 6 May famine affected 30 million peasants,²²⁴ yet the government opposed famine relief by other than official bodies.²²⁵ On 20 December the Georgian viceroy got the Duma to end the 'temporary obligation' of Caucasian serfs to landlords, though they had to pay the government for the privilege.²²⁶

The government had invested 121 million rubles in new railways and 68 million in improving the network.²²⁷ It had sanctioned the movement of peasant without land to Siberia.²²⁸ Almost 259,600 had migrated legally, and perhaps 34,000 had returned,²²⁹ though around 1.5 million had settled in Turkestan.²³⁰ Up to 800,000 had migrated to Western Europe. In Germany 274,000 of around 308,000 Russian migrants worked in agriculture,²³¹ since average annual wages were equivalent to 180 rubles compared to 108 in Russia.²³²

Russia's annual industrial output was worth six billion rubles,²³³ and stocks were valued at 17 billion.²³⁴ Half the new joint-stock capital invested since 1909 had been by foreigners.²³⁵ By 1912 a joint-stock company controlled coal production in Kuznetz Basin in Siberia, which produced eight percent of national output, and a cartel had been established.²³⁶ By 1912 the cartels' high prices, and restrictions of output, led to a 'coal and pig iron famine'.²³⁷ Oil output in Azerbaijan had fallen by 1.5 percent compared to 1911,²³⁸ and overall production had decreased significantly since 1902, yet the price had risen by around 630 percent.²³⁹ Dashnaks had been rounded up since 1907, and during 1912 there were mass trials, though many had left for Persia and Turkey.²⁴⁰ Officially the national industrial workforce numbered 2.9 million,²⁴¹ and 76 percent of chemical workers, 64 percent of cotton workers, 58 percent of textile workers and 51 percent of metal and machine workers were in workforces of 1,000 or more, including 34,000 in St. Petersburg province. There were 189,000 inspected workers in St. Petersburg, but its factories lacked skilled workers.²⁴² The north-west region was home to 9.9 percent of the inspected workforce who produced 11.8 percent of the value of national output. Factories in the central industrial region employed over 42 percent and produced almost 36 percent. In Ukraine 16.8 percent produced 18.3 percent and 5.5 percent produced 3.9 percent in the Urals.²⁴³ In the Baltic region Vilnius, Kaunas and Šiauliai provinces 3,143 plants employed 21,800 workers, but only seven had over 100.²⁴⁴ Almost 150,000 workshops, factories and other plants which accounted for 54 percent of national production were financed by 1,281 corporations.²⁴⁵

Since 1911 the price of animal products had risen by six percent, other produce by an average of seven percent and cereals by 14 percent, but workers' wages by two percent. In 1912, nationally, average annual wages were 255 rubles, but varied from 190 in Vladimir province, to 191 in the Kyiv region, 216 in Moscow, 221 in the Volga region, 248 in Moscow province, 271 in Kharkiv, 304 in Warszawa, 323 in St. Petersburg and 375 in Petersburg province.²⁴⁶ The national average monthly factory wage was 25 rubles, ranging from 17 rubles a month for textile workers to 35 for metalworkers,²⁴⁷ though St. Petersburg metalworkers averaged 510.²⁴⁸ 'Raw immigrant labour' earned around 18 percent of similar workers in the USA, while fines on workers in 4,245 plants amounted to four million rubles.²⁴⁹

Since 1907 604 trade unions had been denied registration, 206 union activists had been imprisoned and 357 deported without trial,²⁵⁰ but 208 unions survived in 1912.²⁵¹ The 862 members of the Moscow typographers' union members had paid 32,280 rubles into a mutual aid fund, which had grown to 160,000 rubles, and the union owned property worth 148,000 rubles.²⁵² Around 45 percent of inspected industrial workforces across Russia were women,²⁵³ and women formed six percent of union members.²⁵⁴

During 1912 2,404 strikes had involved 725,491 strikers in inspected workplaces, and 64 percent of strikes,²⁵⁵ and 550,000 strikers, were deemed politically-motivated.²⁵⁶ In the first five months of the year 89,771 workers had

struck for a total of 1,214,881 days,²⁵⁷ but in the last seven months there had been over 131,000 economic strikes, including 930,000 out of 1,025,000 textile workers' strike days and 763,000 of metalworkers' 807,000. Most strikes averaged 16 days, but metalworkers' averaged 18.8 and St. Petersburg strikers stayed out longest.²⁵⁸ In December 8,418 inspected workers took part in 21 economic strikes, and 17,919 in 13 political strikes. That year, nationally, 175,678 inspected workers had taken part in 732 economic strikes and 549,813 in 1,300 political strikes.²⁵⁹ Almost half of economic strikers were textile workers and a third were metalworkers. Altogether around 90,000 textile workers had gone on strike (half as many again as in 1911), over 78,000 metalworkers (four times as many), and almost 44,000 others (2.3 times as many), while there had been 215,000 strikers in uninspected workplaces.²⁶⁰ Officially, 96,730 strikers had come out for a total of 768,556 days,²⁶¹ though according to another account almost 725,500 had been involved in 2,032 strikes which lasted 2,378,000 days.²⁶² Yet another report claimed that over 3,000 strikes had involved 1.46 million workers, of whom over 1.1 million were politically motivated.²⁶³ Officially, almost 800,000 economic strike days had been recorded in Moscow, over 700,000 in St. Petersburg, 430,000 in the south, over 295,000 in Poland and over 190,000 in Baltic provinces,²⁶⁴ including 63,000 in Latvia, out of 138,000 industrial workers.²⁶⁵ In reality there had been over 855,000 political and 207,720 economic strikers, including 60,070 in Moscow, 56,890 in St. Petersburg, 23,350 in the south, 21,120 in Poland and 18,950 in the Baltic provinces. They included 85,550 textile workers and 57,000 metalworkers, and 131,625 out of 180,389 had come out after the Lena massacre. Nationally 41 percent of strikes were successful, including 720 out of 1,020 in the Baltic provinces, 2,890 out of 3,790 in Poland, and 67 percent in southern European Russia; but 63 percent in St. Petersburg were defeated and 75 percent in Moscow;²⁶⁶ though inspectors noted that the 'first place in the revival of the city's industry must be accorded to state plants'.²⁶⁷

Nationally 16.2 percent of inspected metalworker strikers were deemed economically motivated, and 83.8 percent politically motivated; but 56.7 percent of their strikes were defeated, 38.5 percent ended in compromise and 4.8 percent were successful. Almost 33 percent of inspected textile strikers were deemed economically motivated, and 67 percent were deemed politically motivated, but 63.4 percent of strikes were defeated, 30.9 percent ended in compromise and 5.7 percent were successful.²⁶⁸ Over 1.7 million strikers had lost three million rubles in wages in two years, though 125,000 had won around three million, and employers had lost 19 million.²⁶⁹

There were 60 mechanised drills in Russian coal mines,²⁷⁰ though the Briansk Ironworks Company had acquired the Rutchenko Coal Company in the Donbass.²⁷¹ An average of 2,300 new residents a year had arrived in Luzovka in 15 years. The population was 57,834 and 64 percent were Russian and 24 percent Jewish. They lived in 4,525 dwellings, at an average of 12.78. There were 246 dugouts, 300 made of straw, 490 of wood, 900 of half-stone and 2,589 of stone or brick. Most had iron roofs, though 1,000 were tiled and 700 shingled. A journalist reported: Everything dark, evil and criminal – thieves, hooligans, all such are drawn here. You can't go out at night'. By the end of the year over 1,000 Donbass miners had been killed in 11 years, and there had been over 40 explosions at one mine, but the New Russia Company's miners had produced 1.45 million tons of coal, while its Luzovka ironworks produced 285,000 tons of pig iron, 92,000 tons of rails and over 45,000 tons of other iron products,²⁷² since 27 ironworks with a total capital of 87.4 million rubles, had been liquidated since 1900, and dividends had fallen from 7.7 percent to 2.68 percent.²⁷³ Donbass SDs had published nothing for two years.²⁷⁴

Since 1902 there had been 218 attempted assassinations on tsarist officials. Two ministers, 33 provincial governors, governors-general and vice-governors, 16 city governors, heads of Okhrana sections, chiefs of city police, procurators and their deputies, and heads of criminal investigation departments had been killed, as had 24 prison and hard-labour prison chiefs, heads of prison departments, chief wardens and police inspectors, 26 police officers and deputies, seven generals and admirals, 15 colonels, eight barristers and 26 spies and provocateurs.²⁷⁵ SRs were involved in legal operations and especially in the cooperative movement.²⁷⁶ The St. Petersburg SR worker, V. Buzinov, later recalled that there were few SDs in his factory, though each one was 'capable of understanding all that surrounded him', and other socialist workers supported them

They all, to a greater or less degree, understood the situation of the workers and their relations with the factory owners. Life itself transformed them into the vanguard of the worker masses. Their native keen wit and worker sensitivity did not fail them when they exposed the hidden ends behind this or that manoeuvre of management. And they were no longer silent. Somehow in their midst, a special type of agitator was created, a man always hammering away at the same point of class isolation from the exploiters.

They 'spoke of that which each worker had in his head but, being less developed, was unable to verbalise. After each of his words, the workers would exclaim; "That's it! That just what I wanted to say!" They 'hammered a wedge between workers and owners that no party agitator, not so closely tied to the masses as they, could have done'.²⁷⁷

There were two separate RSDRP organizations in St. Petersburg - the committee of the RSDRP (Bolsheviks) and the August Bloc's Initiative Group. Some SDs were unhappy with this split and created an alternative organization that they hoped would eventually unite all fragments of revolutionary social democracy in Russia, except for the Mensheviks who concentrated on legal forms of activity at the expense of revolutionary activities.²⁷⁸

There were 32 spies in the VPSR,²⁷⁹ and Moscow and St. Petersburg Okhrana argued about whether VPSR still existed, but 2,942 police, 400 gendarmes and 33,000 volunteers had been mobilised when the tsar visited Moscow. Surveillants were drafted from all over the Empire and 26,000 people's documents were checked. The Okhrana regarded Mensheviks as a greater threat than Bolsheviks.²⁸⁰ One Okhrana agent in SR organisations had been exposed, as had one of the two among anarchists, but none of the 37 among SDs, and Moscow Okhrana had infiltrated three agents into Bolshevik cells.²⁸¹

(vi) War was almost inevitable

The Bosphorus Straits had been temporarily closed in autumn 1911,²⁸² and in spring 1912 the Russian war minister had announced that the Military-Medical Academy was to be militarised, though over 100,000 students participated in short protest strikes.²⁸³ During the war between Ottoman and Italian forces, the Straits were closed again. The Russian government announced that it could not tolerate the dominance of another great power in the region, or the closure of the Straits,²⁸⁴ which stopped grain exports, though the British government insisted that every nation's ships or none should be able to pass through the Straits.²⁸⁵ An Okhrana Agentura had been opened in Constantinople.²⁸⁶ During 1912 90 percent of over 20 million tons of grain left Russia's Black Sea ports, though that had fallen by around a third and customs revenues had dropped from almost 800 million rubles to 600 million,²⁸⁷ which yielded around 20 percent of customs revenue.²⁸⁸ Since 1908 the value of agricultural exports had risen from one billion rubles to 1.5 billion.²⁸⁹

In five years the government had borrowed 339.5 billion rubles and paid off 252.1 billion rubles of debt.²⁹⁰ The average annual interest on loans since 1908 had been 180 million rubles, and tourist expenditure abroad amounted to 135 million rubles.²⁹¹ Parts of Siedlce and Lublin provinces in eastern Poland had been absorbed into Russia,²⁹² and the government reinforced its troops in Poland. The Austro-Hungarian government was anxious that Serbia might gain access to the Adriatic, and reinforced its troops in Galicia.²⁹³ In October a coalition of troops from Serbia, Greece, Montenegro and Bulgaria attacked Turkey,²⁹⁴ and drove its army from Kosovo and Macedonia.²⁹⁵ The French government had encouraged the Russians to take a stronger stand on the Balkans, strengthen and reorganise their armed forces and build strategic railways.²⁹⁶

A new conscription law had required 30 percent of men of military age to join the armed forces, but about half of the 13.7 million exempted were in Turkestan and Kyrgyzstan, as were millions of members of ethnic groups, including the Kirghiz in Central Asia, Caucasians and Finns who paid the military tax. Elsewhere only sons who were the sole support for orphans, sons whose father was able-bodied but whose younger brothers were under 18, and sons whose closest sibling was on active duty or who had been killed in combat were exempt. Most professionals, academics and Orthodox priests were exempt, and schoolteachers were to be enrolled in the reserves, while students could defer their service for three years and serve for as little as three months. Nationally 4.55 percent of Orthodox conscripts failed to turn up as did 33 percent of Jews, even though Jewish families were liable to a 300 ruble fine, and photographs were taken to prevent the use of substitutes. Over half of the conscripts who reported for duty were unfit to serve.²⁹⁷ Over 55 percent of conscripts were literate; over 11 percent could read but not write,²⁹⁸ and another quarter were minimally literate,²⁹⁹ though troops had rioted in Vladimir province.³⁰⁰ In December the war minister ordered St. Petersburg Medical-Military Academy students to salute officers in the street. Most refused to do so, and when an officer struck one with a sabre, the student committed suicide and 400 resigned.³⁰¹ Each soldier's family was entitled to an allowance, though it could be withdrawn if he deserted or became a 'voluntary' prisoner.³⁰² The government had authorised 150 million rubles to improve Navy facilities on the Black Sea coast, and to build three dreadnoughts for the fleet,³⁰³ The Navy was establishing a base in Tallin,³⁰⁴ and the government authorised 502 million for dreadnoughts for the Baltic fleet.³⁰⁵ Altogether the government had agreed to build 16 dreadnoughts, 8 battle cruisers, 16 smaller cruisers, 64 destroyers and 24 submarines costing 900 million rubles.³⁰⁶ The government hoped to acquire Constantinople and the Bosphorus Straits,³⁰⁷ and had taken over the strategically important Warszawa-Vienna railway.³⁰⁸ The 'Great Military Programme' envisaged significant improvements to the network to enable the army to mobilise in 18 days. It was supposed to be completed in two years, yet little had been built.³⁰⁹ The security budget for 1913 reportedly amounted to five million rubles, including 1.5 million from the tsar's discretionary fund of 10 million.³¹⁰ The military budget was 861 million rubles, or over 21 percent of total expenditure,³¹¹ which assumed receipts of 821 million rubles from 1,174,000 litres of vodka.³¹²

17. The organisation is now working at full swing

(i) The workers came in streams

By 1913 foreigners owned half of the joint-stock capital invested in industry since 1909,¹ though mining and manufacture employed barely five percent of the population and accounted for no more than 20 percent of national income.² Real factory wages had risen by 15 percent since 1900, though the cost of living had risen by 35 percent,³ and one in three workers was a woman.⁴ Towns and cities with over 100,000 inhabitants accounted for no more than six percent of the population.⁵

St. Petersburg's population was probably over 2.1 million,⁶ though three-quarters had not been born there,⁷ and the average level of annual inward migration had almost tripled to 125,000 since 1908. Just under 20 percent of total foreign investment in the city's factories and the value of their annual output had increased by almost 250 million rubles since 1908.⁸ There were 216,000 factory workers,⁹ and 77,816 were in metalworks. Two plants employed around 5,000 and the Putilov works over 13,000. Over half of metalworkers were employed by 23 joint-stock enterprises, which accounted for 77 percent of the city's output and 18 percent of national production. There were 43,931 workers in textile mills and the average workforce was 511.¹⁰ There were 956 factories in the urban area and 48 in the suburbs. Nevsky shipyard employed 3,500. The average workforce in metal plants was 274, while two-thirds of other workers were in plants employing 750 or more, including 84 percent of textile workers. Five railway lines brought grain, meat and dairy products from Siberia, oil from the Caucasus, iron and steel from the Urals and iron, steel and coal from Ukraine, though imported British coal was cheaper. Workers' living costs had risen faster than wages, and it cost 50 rubles a month to maintain a family,¹¹ so almost 30 percent worked overtime.¹² German capital was important in several large plants, including Siemens and Allgemeine Elektrizität Gesellschaft. Around 24,000 worked in the cotton industry, and eight large mills, seven of which were part of large corporations, had virtually eliminated smaller ones. Most food and tobacco plants employed over 750, though the Laferme cigarette factory employed 2,500 and their annual production was worth 12 million rubles. About 500,000 workers were involved in construction and 80,000 in transport. Altogether over one million people worked for wages. The average annual wage in major industries had risen from 355 to 384 rubles since 1910, but while printers averaged 416 rubles and metalworkers 516, the lowest-paid male casual workers got 80 kopeks a day, women 60, and juveniles and children 30 to 45.¹³ Around 80 percent of inhabitants could read and write.¹⁴

By 1913 the St. Petersburg RSDRP committee had been formed by election and co-option,¹⁵ and 24 of the 36 members were workers with an average age of 28, and 19 were metalworkers.¹⁶ Early in January the Bolsheviks Bobrovskaya and Bobrovsky arrived in the city.¹⁷ Bobrovskaya later recalled that Sverdlov lived in Badayev's flat, 'never leaving it day or night, looking through manuscripts, writing extensively himself, instructing the deputies who came to see him, directing their speeches', and 'organising the struggle against Menshevik liquidators'.¹⁸ Gromova's colleagues on what was now *Proletskaya pravda* (*Proletarian Truth*) valued her as 'a tireless, energetic worker'. She wrote many articles, and though her style was 'somewhat monotonous', they were 'easily understood by the rank and file reader and answered the very questions which proletarian life and struggle brought forward'.

The workers came in streams: representatives from factories on strike arrived to describe the course of the strike, representatives of trade unions, benefit societies and workers' clubs also came to relate the conditions of their life and work. Meetings of workers in factories collected money in small sums for '*our beloved Pravda*'.

Worker-poets waited with impatience for a review of their verse, and the reply as to whether it would be published. Workers often came ... to tell of a bullying foreman, director or manager, or to ask advice on how to defend the rights of the workers against the bosses. They brought their family troubles and the disputes of their native villages.

They knew that it was to their own paper that they were coming, where they would be welcomed, listened to and given satisfaction in some way or other. ... Often there were three or four hundred visitors in one day.

They came in the lunch interval, they came after work, in the evening, or they slipped out of the factory during working hours – fitters, turners, blacksmiths, mechanics, carpenters, bricklayers, decorators, workers in oily clothes, smelling of paint, oil, tobacco, the sweat of toil. ... The articles which were published, uncouthly written in strong but direct workers' language on the subject of the system in some workshop, would sound like an alarm bell to the whole factory, bringing new visitors and helpers to the editorial office.

Often a washerwoman or cook, a blacksmith or an unskilled worker came simply to 'tell the paper' of their troubles. Then the workers of the paper and the secretary herself sat down beside them and wrote what they said, trying to get the actual words of the speaker.

Gromova 'was especially glad when women came. Every woman worker who came with correspondence or the story of her life interested her tremendously'. Strike-breakers came to ask her for forgiveness so they could be readmitted into 'the workers' family', so she was known as the 'scabs' mammy' and her office as the 'house of repentance'. She later recalled that she dealt with the official editors. 'Not all of them were fully class conscious or thoroughly understood the reason why they were going to prison. Some of them came because they were unemployed and had nowhere to go, for we paid them 25 to 30 rubles a month, and somewhat more while they were in jail', though some received long sentences.¹⁹ *Proletskaya pravda* and the Menshevik *Luch* were printed on the same press.²⁰ On 30 January *Luch* published a resignation letter from Badayev and three other SD Duma deputies, because of its 'constant and rabid opposition to anti-liquidationism', 'attacks on the underground' and 'advocacy of an "open" workers' party'.²¹ Skryabin asked Tikhomirov to stiffen the paper's line on liquidators.²² It took Sverdlov weeks to overcome opposition on the editorial board.²³ Novgorodtseva later recalled that

In early February the caretaker approached Fyodor Samoilov to say that he knew there was an unregistered person living in his room; he had seen secret police in the yard, assumed they were watching Sverdlov and was worried that when the arrest finally came both he and Samoilov would have some explaining to do. Samoilov seemed to dismiss the matter but let Sverdlov know immediately and called together the Duma deputies, with [Roman] Malinovsky, of course, among them. It was agreed that Sverdlov should quickly move to a safer place.

When darkness fell, the deputies, with Sverdlov hidden in their midst, went into the yard and helped him to climb the fence that backed on to the River Neva. Malinovsky was waiting there with a cab and they made their 'get-away' together to Malinovsky's flat.

Novgorodtseva and their baby arrived in St. Petersburg on the 8th.

As I had been corresponding with Sara, Sverdlov's younger sister, I went directly to her, leaving my things at the station. Since Sara had links with Central Committee's Bureau and the Petersburg committee and often helped Sverdlov, she knew where he might be. Moving around so much, he had been unable to let me know where he could be found.

The next morning Sara took me to the Petrovskys but Sverdlov had not yet arrived. They made me welcome, though, and I met there an old comrade from the Perm committee, Bina Lobova, who was on the *Pravda* editorial staff and acting as secretary for the Bolshevik Duma faction.

The Petrovskys unhesitatingly invited me to stay in their large flat. ... Domna and Bina insisted that my things remain in the left luggage office overnight; they said they would go with me the next day and help me carry them...

It was late in the evening when Sverdlov came. Although he was as cheerful as ever and bubbling over with plans, he was taking his situation seriously and frankly admitted that having the police on his heels was unpleasant. He assumed that the police had been looking for him at Samoilov's, which meant that they had somehow managed to track him down but he could not see how. He knew, however, that he would now have no peace from them.

He felt he must move as soon as possible. Samoilov and Petrovsky were both Bolshevik Duma deputies; the police would probably draw the obvious conclusions. I agreed with him, but Petrovsky only laughed: 'Have you forgotten, old chap, that I'm a deputy and we have official immunity, even in this country. Relax—no one's going to touch you in my flat.'

... Just as we were settling down to sleep, there was a piercing, insistent ring at the door. Sverdlov listened a while, then said calmly: Now we'll see who was right. So much for official immunity! Looks like they've come for me. Goodbye, darling, be strong. Look after yourself and Andrei. You're on your own again, love, and I think it will be for a long time...'

The police were already bursting into the room. There was a gendarme officer, several police officers and a number of underlings, including some civilians. The baby woke up and began to sob. Petrovsky complained loudly and demanded respect for his official immunity, and much good it did – they even forcibly prevented him from telephoning the police department. They took Sverdlov to the Crosses, a notorious Petersburg prison, and sent me and the baby to the preliminary detention cells, where I had been two years previously.²⁴

The police made many arrests in working-class districts that day.

On the 9th mounted and foot police guarded bridges and roads leading to the city centre and reserves hid behind closed courtyard gates. About 80,000 workers came out and many poured into the streets, singing revolutionary songs. In Vyborg, Nevsky and other districts, they carried red flags edged with black, but while the police moved them off Nevsky Prospekt, some made collections to build a permanent memorial to the victims of Bloody Sunday and assist workers being prosecuted by the police. Some workforces contributed a day's pay and took it to the SD Duma deputies. Meetings protested about the persecution of trade unions and insurance commissions, and the '52 points' across Russia where political deportees were not allowed to settle.²⁵

Jughashvili was responsible for the 'direction' of the Bolshevik Duma deputies.²⁶ On the 15th *Proletskaya pravda* published a letter from the Duma deputy Jagiello and two days later it carried a front-page advertisement for the Bund's *Di Tsayt (The Times)*,²⁷ whose first issue had appeared on New Year's Day.²⁸ Alexandr Malinovsky criticised *Luch* for supporting rival candidates in the Duma elections and agreed to write for *Proletskaya pravda*.²⁹

On the 21st the Duma reopened, and the tsar appeared in public for the first time since 1905,³⁰ but Rossisskaya cotton mill workers were told that their pay was to be cut by ten kopeks a day. Next day they went on strike, but that evening the managers cut off the power for the lights and told the next shift that all 1,200 workers were laid-off.³¹ Twelve Bolsheviks met in Pokrovsky's room and agreed to reorganise *Proletskaya pravda*. Sverdlov was confirmed as editor-in-chief, while Petrovsky would lead a 'troika' for editorial matters and Badayev a 'troika' for business affairs.³² He would replace Poletaev as publisher, while Gromova would replace Skryabin as secretary.³³ Two days later the new team produced hundreds of printed appeals supporting the Rossisskaya strikers, though police dispersed their meetings. Managers at another mill locked out 2,000 workers, and the factory inspector refused to meet trade unionists, but there were collections in factories and workshops.

Workers in state-owned railway workshops had a 12-hour day and were subject to arbitrary dismissals. At Mykolaiv railway works in southern Ukraine police accompanied workers when they moved from one workshop to another, and four men, including Melnikov of the metalworkers' union presidium, were sacked and deported. The railway workers were released by March, and though the manager refused to reinstate them before consulting the police, he caved in after the entire workforce demanded it. In St. Petersburg Badayev praised this solidarity in *Proletskaya pravda*, though the city governor fined the paper 500 rubles. The police tried to 'eliminate' activists by arrests and deportations, hoping to prevent demonstrations on the anniversary of the Romanov dynasty, and detained workers from Badayev's workplace.³⁴ Some Mensheviks had joined Bolshevik kruzhki, and after the police liquidated Bolshevik district committees and the RSDRP city committee called for 'revolutionary demonstrations'.³⁵ *Proletskaya pravda* complained that the seven Menshevik Duma deputies were trying to force the six Bolsheviks to collaborate on *Luch*.³⁶ On 6 March, the 300th anniversary of the Romanov dynasty, the tsar amnestied prisoners convicted of violating press laws, but not political criminals, including those deported or exiled without trial.³⁷ In St. Petersburg 1,252 out of 3,074 violators and 6,185 of those exiled without trial were freed.³⁸

Ilyin, a former editor of *Zvezda*, had spent four months in solitary in 1912 before being exiled to Arkhangelsk province for three years;³⁹ but his mother appealed and the sentence was changed to deportation.⁴⁰ When he was offered a foreign visa he took it and went to Germany in autumn, but the police briefly detained him as a spy because he had a map of the émigré districts of Paris. He reached Paris, then tried to return to Russia, but gendarmes arrested him at the border and deported him to Arkhangelsk. He was freed by the amnesty in 1913, returned to St. Petersburg,⁴¹ and became the secretary of *Proletskaya pravda*.⁴² Around 400 metalworkers could not get into a meeting hall, but 800 elected a temporary leading body.⁴³ The Bolsheviks won 13 of the 26 seats, and three on the presidium, while the Mensheviks won two.⁴⁴ Ten had been on the *Proletskaya pravda* list.⁴⁵ It had received 5,000 letters from workers in a year.⁴⁶ St. Petersburg Pipe Works employed 7,000 and took 400 copies of *Proletskaya pravda* and 25 of *Luch* each day, but the police arrested the RSDRP committee.⁴⁷

Gromova had begun a series of regular columns on 'Women's Work' in *Proletskaya pravda*. She published a reading list and urged workers' societies and trade unions to investigate women's working conditions. The responses to her questionnaire included pay cuts and lockouts in textile mills, and some women had been told to 'make up the extra money on the streets'. Gromova's articles described how factory work affected family budgets, and encouraged women workers to see themselves as part of a movement. Women RSDRP members agitated in clubs, societies and unions, and among textile workers, needle-makers, laundry women, milliners and others.⁴⁸ The Bolshevik intelligentka Kudelli worked on *Proletskaya pravda*,⁴⁹ and was a governor of the Sampsoniev Educational Society in the Vyborg district, where she and Gromova taught workers at Sunday and evening schools.⁵⁰

The leading Menshevik Gurvich had mostly lived abroad since 1907. He had favoured an electoral alliance with liberal deputies in the Duma, but opposed breaking with the Bolsheviks in 1908. By February 1913 he had returned to St. Petersburg and wrote for Menshevik publications,⁵¹ though *Novaya rabochaya (New Worker)* was closed.⁵²

The government put St. Petersburg's Military-Medical-Surgical Academy under the control of the War Ministry, and when students and professors protested the Academy was temporarily closed.⁵³ A 'Group of Communists' organised a demonstration to support the students, and Skryabin addressed a crowd of 1,200; but the police arrested him and barred him from the city and other towns and cities for three months. They also broke up the United Social Democratic Student Committee.⁵⁴ The tsar approved the expenditure of 225 million rubles on armaments, and an increase of almost 500,000 in the army, including just under 11,800 officers;⁵⁵ though the Okhrana stopped employing informers in military and secondary schools.⁵⁶ The Duma chairman organised a secret conference,⁵⁷ which allocated an additional 102 million rubles for the Black Sea fleet, though no new warships could be ready for two years. The war minister wanted to annexe Galicia by May,⁵⁸ and a closed session of the Duma budget committee agreed to the War Ministry's request for 500 million rubles extra over three years.⁵⁹ The SD Duma deputies won the support of liberals to have their interpellation concerning the Okhta explosions heard, though they got nowhere. (The War Ministry did not respond for six months, during the Duma's summer break, and the issue could not be discussed for a further six months.)⁶⁰

Bills were posted in St. Petersburg. 'Wanted: the Nizhni Novgorod member of the dyers' guild, Alexey Maximovich Peshkov, indicted under articles 1 and 4 of statutes 129, 73, and 132 of the Criminal code'.⁶¹

(ii) Wretched wet-rags and wreckers of the cause

By 8 January 1913 Ulyanov had written to Gorky on Capri that he had 'excellent connections' with Sergey Moiseyev in Paris, but there were 'damnably few' like him left. 'Some more good workers from Russia have gathered here' and were organising a conference. A fortnight or so later Ulyanov told Gorky that he 'should talk *only* to Badayev and [Roman] Malinovsky', but 'he must talk with them'. A war between Russia and Austria would be very useful for Eastern Europe, but he did not believe that the tsar and the emperor 'would give us this pleasure'.⁶² Ulyanov's salary was considerably higher than other contributors to *Proletkaya pravda*.⁶³ On 9 February he wrote to Sverdlov that 'things are bad in Petersburg because *Dyen* [*Proletkaya pravda*] is bad, and we are unable to make, or the board of "editors" there prevents us making use of *Dyen*'. 'At one kopek a month' from 25,000 workers would 'provide 250 rubles. Remember without fail that there are no other sources'. The editors were 'wretched wet-rags and wreckers of the cause'. 'You must put an end to the so-called autonomy of these editorial failures' and 'install yourself in "sanctuary" with No. 1. [Badayev]. Install a telephone. Take the editorial board into your own hands. Draw in assistants. You on your own – with some of these people as pure executives – given our work from here, can fully cope with the job'. On the 14th Ulyanov complained to the editors about publishing 'Mr. Bogdanov's' (Alexandr Malinovsky's) 'stupid and impudent letter' in the paper, and the editors' 'senseless note', since it had been 'clearly laid down' that 'such things should not be printed without consultation'.⁶⁴

Some RSDRP organisations in Russia had called for support for 'national-cultural autonomy'.⁶⁵ Ulyanov had sent Jughashvili to get to know about the apparent split between the August bloc and the Mensheviks,⁶⁶ and research the national question in Vienna.⁶⁷ He stayed with Troyanovsky who financed and helped to edit *Prosveshcheniye*. Jughashvili could not read German, but the children's nanny helped him. He sent a draft of his lengthy article on the national question and Marxism to Roman Malinovsky,⁶⁸ made amendments,⁶⁹ and took his manuscript to Kraków. Ulyanov told him that it was 'really splendid'. Jughashvili returned to St. Petersburg as 'Koba Stalin'.⁷⁰ The cost of a railway ticket from St. Petersburg to Kraków was 12 rubles,⁷¹ and in mid-February Jughashvili and the SD Duma deputies travelled there to meet the émigré Bolshevik Centre.⁷² Jughashvili wanted Shahumyan to edit *Proletkaya pravda*,⁷³ though he had been deported to Astrakhan without trial the previous summer.⁷⁴ Ulyanov preferred Chernomazov,⁷⁵ who had helped to produce *Sotsial-Demokrat* in Paris.⁷⁶ Krupskaya wrote to Gorky.

[W]e were all simply dizzy with joy, for it was evident from the reports that our work has not been in vain – that the masses of workers had grown politically during these difficult years, that there are Social-Democratic workers' organisations even in the most remote areas of the country, organisations that may not be connected with the party centres, but that are Party in spirit and have carried on Party work all the time. The elections helped enormously. The feeling of isolation that formerly oppressed the workers is now gone.

The organisation is now working at full swing and only now is a real workers' party beginning to take shape.⁷⁷

Letters were insecure and she relied on agents like Ordjonikidze for reliable information about Russia.⁷⁸

All the unsold copies of Ulyanov's *Twelve Years* had been confiscated,⁷⁹ and he told Poletaev that the plan for a 'big newspaper' for five kopeks was 'excellent', though there should also be a one-kopek paper.⁸⁰ *Sotsial-Demokrat* argued that Russia was nearing 'her next *bourgeois-democratic* revolution'.⁸¹

In St. Petersburg Jughashvili had told Roman Malinovsky that was going to a concert to raise money for *Proletkaya pravda* on the 13th.⁸² Malinovsky assured him that it would be safe,⁸³ and sat next to him. Jughashvili spotted gendarmes and tried to escape, but they arrested him, and left Malinovsky alone,⁸⁴ and police stopped SD Duma deputies addressing meetings in five cities.⁸⁵

By the 25th Ulyanov had told Gorky that his willingness to write for *Prosveshcheniye* was 'a great joy', and that a 'marvellous Georgian' had written a big article. 'In Russia and in the Caucasus the Georgian + Armenian + Tartar + Russian Social-Democrats have worked *together*' in 'a *single* Social-Democratic organisation *for more than ten years*', and this was 'the proletarian solution of the problem of nationalities'. Alexandr Malinovsky was 'making a row' and 'we shall never get anywhere with him'. His novel *Inzhener Menni* (*Engineer Menni*) was 'the same old Machism = idealism, so concealed that neither the workers not the stupid editors of *Pravda* understood it'. 'If only Lunacharsky could be separated from Malinovsky in aesthetics, as Alexinsky has begun to draw apart from him in politics'. Ulyanov wrote to Rosenfeld in Paris. 'Good news from Petersburg, Moscow Region and the South. The *workers'* illegal organisation is growing and taking shape. A reform of *Pravda* has begun', and '*We have decided* to

attack the Vyperedists'. On 15 March Ulyanov told the SPD that the Mensheviks were divided 'above all on the question of another revolution in Russia'.⁸⁶ He suggested to Gorky that he should return to Russia, but he stayed on Capri. By the 29th Ulyanov had written to Rosenfeld again.

It is strange, very strange indeed, about Dan [Gurvich]! He lives quite freely, goes to the group, is the editor of *Luch*, etc!! The secret police are playing some *big* game here!

There are heavy arrests at home. Koba [Jughashvili] has been arrested. We have discussed with [Roman] Malinovsky what measures to take. The circulation of *Pravda* is 30-32,000 on weekdays and 40-42,000 on holidays. There is a general cry that we haven't the people. The liquidators have a mass of intellectuals, while all ours get arrested. ...

All the 'intelligentsia' are with the liquidators. The mass of the workers are with us (40,000 *Pravda*, against 12,000 *Luch*) but the workers are producing their *own* intelligentsia with the greatest difficulty. Slowly and with difficulty.

Party affairs in Russia in general are obviously improving. Workers' circles, groups and organisations are obviously developing everywhere and growing stronger. Expanding. And in the Urals and the South and Moscow Region (particularly). In the Caucasus there is an improvement (latest information is that there are arrests again).

... There are signs of a revival of revolutionary organisations in the forces. But the tempo of the movement is different somehow, new in some way.

There was 'a certain moving of the waters towards Russia' and émigrés were returning.⁸⁷

In Paris Armand led 90 Bolsheviks and raised funds from the USA. The Okhrana considered her 'an extremely prominent, popular and active figure in international socialist ranks', and she was 'considered in Russian revolutionary circles to be the right hand of Ulyanov'.⁸⁸ The Okhrana had 29 agents in the city, and up to 11 elsewhere in Europe.⁸⁹ Burtsev exposed the Paris agents,⁹⁰ and the Kraków resolutions appeared there,⁹¹ though Lunacharsky called the conference a 'subterfuge'.⁹²

The Bolshevik Bukharin lived in Vienna.⁹³ Bronstein privately denounced *Luch* for promoting liquidationism, and asked the leading émigré Menshevik Axelrod to oppose it, or he would split from those who had 'usurped' the August bloc.⁹⁴ Bronstein wrote for *Luch*.

The working class needs leaders of different casts of character. Such leaders as those sons of the bourgeois classes who have broken their old social fetters, built themselves internally and who have identified the meaning of their life with the movement and the growth of the working class play a great role in the history of the working class. ...

Through these brilliant dissidents the possessing classes return willy-nilly to the proletariat a particle of that scientific culture which through the efforts of centuries they had amassed amid the gloom of the oppressed popular mass ... But as long as the leadership of the political struggle lies only in the hands of these figures the workers cannot get away from the feeling that they are still under a political tutelage. Confident self-consciousness and class pride can fully penetrate them only when into the first rank of leaders they put forward their known people who have grown up with them and who embody in their personalities all the political and spiritual conquests of the working class. The proletariat can then look into such leaders as into a mirror where it can see the best sides of its own class 'self'.⁹⁵

On 1 April Bronstein described Ulyanov to the Menshevik Duma deputy Chkeidze as a 'professional exploiter of any sort of backwardness in the Russian workers' movement' by using 'lies and falsifications'. He spoke about 'unity from below, while conducting a split from above'.⁹⁶

On the 5th Ulyanov wrote to the editors of *Proletkaya pravda* about the SD Duma deputies.

I fully share your opinion about the importance of the campaign against the Seven, and of the workers displaying initiative in this respect. The Seven are wavering and near-Party, but to a very little extent Party people. One can enter into agreements with them within the Duma, in order to direct them and drag them after oneself, but it would be a crime to gloss over their liquidationism, their lack of character and principle. ... Now that the liquidators' *Luch* is expanding (obviously on liberals' money, because its deficit is 1,000 rubles a month, and its circulation is only 12,000) we must strengthen tenfold the campaign to support the six workers' deputies, to increase *Pravda's* readership, to extend *Pravda*. We must take the struggle for *Pravda* direct into the factories, pressing them to subscribe for more copies, winning away every factory from *Luch*, so that there is a competition between the factories for the largest number of subscribers to *Pravda*. ... We should start this kind of campaign: to increase the circulation of *Pravda* from 30,000 to 50,000-60,000, and the number of subscribers from 5,000 to 20,000 ...

Your remarks about the lack of intellectuals are very true. And we won't have them. *Pravda* and the illegal publications will replace them.⁹⁷

On the 17th Ulyanov wrote to Rosenfeld. 'People now have forgotten everything. The novices know *nothing*'.⁹⁸

(iii) *Rabochy trud*

From January to 9 April 1913, in St. Petersburg, *Proletskaya pravda* had received contributions from 309 workers' groups, compared to *Luch's* 139. In the first ten days of April *Proletskaya pravda* received contributions from 93 workers' groups and *Luch* 28. The police arrested workers,⁹⁹ and five Bolsheviks,¹⁰⁰ including Serebryakov, who had escaped from Siberia,¹⁰¹ and the May Day strike committee. Bolsheviks, Mensheviks and the VPSR had called for strikes and demonstrations on May Day, and though the police saturated working class districts on the day they estimated the number of strikers at 110,000, while *Proletskaya pravda* put it at 250,000,¹⁰² and Petrovsky claimed that virtually all the city's proletarians had taken to the streets.¹⁰³ The police stopped many strikers reaching the city centre and dispersed 1,000 workers and students on Nevsky Prospekt.¹⁰⁴ Maxwell Mill strikers went back next day, and factory managers locked out strikers and threatened to impose longer hours and lower wages. Workers asked Badayev to help and his appeal in *Proletskaya pravda* raised 1,200 rubles in two days.¹⁰⁵

Natsionalnyy vopros i sotsial-demokratiya (The National Question and Social Democracy) appeared in *Prosveshcheniye* in St. Petersburg in March, April and May 1913, as by 'K. Stalin'. It noted that 'Of the five or six million Russian Jews, only three to four percent are connected in any way with agriculture. The remaining ninety-six percent are employed in trade, industry, in urban institutions, and in general are town-dwellers; moreover, they are spread all over Russia and do not constitute a majority in a single gubernia [province]'. Jughashvili acknowledged the right of nations to self-determination in principle, but had reservations.

What sort of nation, for instance, is a Jewish nation which consists of Georgian, Daghestanian, Russian, Armenian and other Jews, the members of which do not understand each other (since they speak different languages), inhabit different parts of the globe, will never see each other, and will never act together, whether in time of peace or in time of war?

There was a danger of 'confusing nation, which is an historical category, with tribe, which is an ethnographical category'. The Bund insisted on 'all the national peculiarities of the Jews, even those that are patently harmful to the proletariat', and its claim that its 'national existence lies in segregation' meant that it was adapting to nationalism. No Russian SD 'ever thought of blaming the Polish Social-Democrats for being opposed to the secession of Poland. These Social-Democrats err only when, like Luxemburg, they try to deny the necessity of including the recognition of the right to self-determination in the Programme of the *Russian Marxists*'.

It is impossible, from the standpoint of Social-Democracy, to issue the slogan of *national* culture either directly or indirectly ... because already under capitalism, all economic, political and spiritual life is becoming more and more international. Socialism will make it completely international. International culture, which is now already being systematically created by the proletariat of all countries, does not absorb 'national culture' (no matter what national group) as a whole, but accepts from *each* national culture *exclusively* those of its elements that are consistently democratic and socialist.

Jughashvili later acknowledged that Ulyanov had edited the final version and it expressed his views.¹⁰⁶ (He reportedly told Rosenfeld that 'we shall not yield one jot of principle to the Bundist scum',¹⁰⁷ and later criticised the Bund's tendency to keep Jewish workers isolated, but believed the slightest hint of anti-semitism proved an organisation's reactionary character.¹⁰⁸)

By 13 May 2,873 workers' groups had contributed to *Proletskaya pravda* and 671 to Menshevik publications since 1 January.¹⁰⁹ On 14 May a village assembly in Voronezh province in central Russia resolved that 'All land should immediately be handed over to the toiling people without any compensation'.¹¹⁰ That day the Department of Police in St. Petersburg ordered security sections to arrest members of revolutionary *kruzhki* in professional unions.¹¹¹ By the 17th commodity prices had risen by 24 percent since 1908,¹¹² and on the 19th 36,000 workers walked out in support of the 52 Baltic Fleet sailors.¹¹³ The Navy's Baltic shipyard workshops were damp, draughty and smoky, and very cold in winter. Most workers earned 12 to 18 kopeks an hour, and had to do so much overtime that it doubled the length of their shifts. On the 20th ten men refused overtime and sent delegates to management, who brought in the police to make arrests. That night they searched the men's homes and arrested others, but next day 2,000 went on strike to demand their release and sent delegates to the SD Duma deputies, who met the assistant minister for the Navy. On the 22nd he closed the workshops and sacked the strikers, but the police released the ten men. Others demanded higher wages, better conditions and civil treatment, and over 3,000 came out briefly.¹¹⁴

Some St. Petersburg Bolsheviks worked in unions, co-operatives, insurance boards and educational societies, and the Duma deputies used their immunity to lead and co-ordinate Bolshevik 'mass workers' who replaced agents from the Centre.¹¹⁵ During May most SDs were 'totally quiet', and the Okhrana closed security sections in Baki, Katerynoslav, Kyiv, Nizhny Novgorod, Łódź, Sevastopol, Tbilisi, Don military district, Nikolaevsk and Yaroslavl.¹¹⁶

(iv) We must go wide and deep, into the masses

By May 1913 Ulyanov, Krupskaya and her mother lived at Villa Terezy Skupień,¹¹⁷ a peasant house between Bialy Dunajec and Poronin in Galicia.¹¹⁸ A local girl did all the household chores, though she could not cook.¹¹⁹ The house was 50 miles south of Kraków, and four to six hours away by train. The post arrived twice daily, and letters to and from St. Petersburg took two days,¹²⁰ and around 7.00pm Ulyanov walked or cycled to Poronin station to post letters. Tikhomirov escaped from Siberia and settled in Bialy Dunajec. Bagotsky lodged nearby,¹²¹ with his wife Natalia,¹²² though he had contracted tuberculosis in exile.¹²³ Krupskaya noted that *Proletskaya pravda* had 5,000 subscribers.¹²⁴ Ulyanov sent 'Duma materials' to Rosenfeld and invited him to Poronin. The deputies had to be 'helped to write their speeches', though it was 'not obligatory' that drafts be sent to Kraków first.¹²⁵ Krupskaya recalled how he encouraged new writers.

[H]e would get right down to the heart of the subject, to the fundamentals and make suggestions for improvement. But he did all this very discreetly. ... If, for example, he wanted someone to write an article but was not sure whether he would be able to do it properly, he would start a discussion with him, expound his ideas and get the prospective writer interested. After he had sounded him on the subject sufficiently, he would say to him: 'Would you like to write an article on this subject?' And the author would not even have noticed that his preliminary discussion with Ilyich had helped him and that in writing his article he had actually used Ilyich's expressions and turns of phrase.¹²⁶

Ulyanov's polemical articles in *Proletskaya pravda* had increased in frequency,¹²⁷ and he claimed in *Sotsial-demokrat* that 250,000 St. Petersburg workers had struck on May Day. 'Everywhere in and around the capital crowds of workers singing revolutionary songs, calling loudly for revolution and carrying red flags fought for several hours against police and security forces frantically mobilised by the government'. It was 'a revolutionary situation' but 'in most cases it is not enough for revolution that *the lower classes should not want to live in the old way*. It is also necessary that *the upper classes should be unable to rule and govern in the old way*.' Revolutionary cells of 'thousands and tens of thousands of workers print and circulate underground leaflets': workers donated to two Bolshevik papers, while *Luch* depended on 'foreign and undefined (bourgeois) support'. After Ulyanov received the enlarged *Pravda* he congratulated the editors, but criticised the 'mendacious letters' from Alexandr Malinovsky and threatened to 'come out in print' unless they stopped appearing, though the editors insisted that he altered the uncomradely reference to 'Mr. Bogdanov'.¹²⁸ Alexinsky had condemned Malinovsky's philosophy and his ideas about 'proletarian culture' and the group was disintegrating. Ulyanov had accused him of lying and had attacked 'the reactionary trash' he 'teaches the workers', though he had left the Vyperedists and Lunacharsky was 'on the point of leaving'. Ulyanov threatened to stop contributing to *Proletskaya pravda*,¹²⁹ but after Malinovsky resigned as a contributor, Ulyanov congratulated Sverdlov on 'the beginning of reform' on *Proletskaya pravda*. 'You cannot imagine to what extent we have been exhausted by working with a sullenly hostile editorial board'. Ulyanov told the editors that the paper had 'undoubtedly found its feet'.

I have recently written in detail to one of the *Prosveshcheniye* people; I hope you also have seen the letter. I, too, am in favour of financial caution: to provide the same six pages (the present extra sheets) in another form, with a different sauce and title and content: 4 pages of Sunday supplement for the advanced workers + 2 pages of a 'workers' kopek' for 1 kopek, for the masses, to win a hundred thousand readers, with an especially popular content. You shouldn't imitate *Luch* but go your own road ... We must go wide and deep, into the masses, and not follow intellectual patterns like *Luch*.

He asked for the return of five unpublished articles, but the editors could not find them.¹³⁰

In Latvia around 76 percent of the 3,000 members of the LSD were aged under 30 and 80 percent had joined after 1905. Two-thirds were in Riga and 97 percent were workers. Police arrested the CC's propaganda board, and most of the Menshevik-inclined CC members.¹³¹ In May 'V.I.' drafted a manifesto for Latvian SDs.¹³² Reportedly the émigré Bolshevik Centre met the St. Petersburg Bolshevik Centre 'before every important meeting of trade unions or other labour organisations'.¹³³ On the 17th Ulyanov told the Bolshevik Duma deputies to 'insist above all on complete equality' with the Mensheviks and sent a 'first rough draft of the theses'.¹³⁴ Ulyanov and Apfelbaum sent articles, and Ulyanov later claimed that they 'entirely determined' its policy.¹³⁵

(v) Imaginary leaders of the working masses

By May 1913 Chernomazov had arrived in St. Petersburg as editor of *Proletskaya pravda*. Gendarmes soon arrested him and threatened him with prison, but he accepted 200 rubles a month to be an agent.¹³⁶ On 12 June Badayev

announced that the Bolshevik Duma deputies would vote 'Not a penny for the war budget'.¹³⁷ Ulyanov had drafted a speech for him on the government's education policy, though he was silenced for speaking from notes. Ulyanov had drafted a speech on agrarian policy for Shagov, and though he was repeatedly warned about using notes he managed to read half of it before he was silenced.¹³⁸

In Moscow 600 workers at Bromley Metalworks and 200 at Moscow Metalworks went on strike in support of the Baltic Fleet sailors, and 48 of the 57 strikes in the city were deemed politically-motivated.¹³⁹ The Bolshevik Rykov noted the flight of intelligenty from the RSDRP, while workers remained 'untouched'; but when he went to Moscow to lead the Bolshevik organisation he was arrested. (He was later sentenced to four years' exile,¹⁴⁰ in Narym.¹⁴¹)

Late in June there was a strike over bad treatment and rate cutting at the Baltic shipyard in St. Petersburg. Workers chased a manager out of the workshop, but others closed it and the police arrested those who they thought were the leaders. The Bolshevik Duma deputies got nowhere with the managers, but published an account in *Proletskaya pravda*. The police had arrested Lessner metalworkers' leaders and deported some of them.¹⁴² *Metallist*, the metalworkers' paper, noted that 17 of the 53 recent conflicts had involved demands for polite address, seven for sacking obnoxious foremen, six were sympathy strikes for apprentices and strikers, five related to blacking work from striking plants and four were about reinstating sacked workers.¹⁴³ Union members had been involved in 142 strikes, but the leaders had negotiated only two satisfactory deals.¹⁴⁴ A workers' meeting criticised *Proletskaya pravda*, which 'often twists the meaning of certain decisions and resolutions of the workers out of internal considerations that in no way corresponded to the interests and attitudes of the workers'. They called on the 'imaginary leaders of the working masses' among Bolsheviks and Mensheviks to end their polemics.¹⁴⁵

The circulation of *Proletskaya pravda* had reached 130,000, and a fund-raising drive had raised over 18,000 rubles,¹⁴⁶ though Badayev recalled that its distribution was under pressure.

[T]he printing establishment was surrounded with spies and the neighbouring streets filled with detachments of mounted and foot police. Often, in contravention of the law, the officials of the Press Committee came to the print shop and confiscated the paper as it came off the press. Then we attempted to conceal a few bundles of the paper in the attic or on the staircase in order to smuggle out at least a few copies after the police had gone.¹⁴⁷

Proletskaya pravda noted that VPSR workers' groups were growing 'very rapidly' in St. Petersburg 'at the expense of the liquidators', and it was a symptom of a 'revival amongst the peasantry';¹⁴⁸ yet the police had arrested VPSR committee members and hundreds of activists and closed presses and papers.¹⁴⁹ The police had confiscated 40 percent of the May and June issues of *Proletskaya pravda*,¹⁵⁰ and the censors closed it by the end of June,¹⁵¹ when it had 11,534 subscribers in 944 places across Russia,¹⁵² and had received donations from 402 workers' groups. The Menshevik *Luch* was running at a loss.¹⁵³

At the beginning of July the St. Petersburg authorities banned *Luch* and *Golos sotsial-demokrata*.¹⁵⁴ On the 5th the censors closed what was now *Rabochaya pravda* (*Workers' Truth*) 'in view of its distinctly party character', and confiscated its deposit.¹⁵⁵ On the 11th the Mensheviks' *Zhivaya zhizn* (*Living Life*) appeared,¹⁵⁶ and the Bolsheviks' *Rabochaya pravda* reappeared on the 13th, with a new publisher, the Duma deputy and police agent Shurakov. Spandarian and Roman Malinovsky met Shurakov and Poletayev, promised them 1,000 rubles for *Zvezda* and suggested that they should ask wealthy sympathisers for more.¹⁵⁷ The Pribol publishing house had become the RSDRP CC's publisher, and Elizarova, Olminsky and Drabkina worked there.¹⁵⁸

The veteran SD Zaslulich had written her memoirs in Tula province and accepted an invitation to live in the Writers Home' in St. Petersburg in 1909. In spring 1911, when the police were rounding up prominent Mensheviks, they left Zaslulich alone. She argued that the only way forward for SDs was to form a temporary alliance with liberals during the Duma elections and in July 1913 she defended liquidationism in *Zhivaya zhizn*.

We have now a broad section of workers who would have every right to join any socialist party in the West. All our forces should be in this rapidly growing section of the workers, who lack only the opportunity of formally joining a party to found one, and no matter what we call this section we shall both think of it and speak of it as the party. A formally disorganised party of workers, strongly tied to the entire working class, is preferable to an organised, underground party distinct from it.¹⁵⁹

In Baki the Menshevik Nicolaevsky had led the RSDRP committee in 1912. It was dominated by Mensheviks and began publishing a small weekly paper called *Nashe slovo* (*Our Word*) in April 1913. Nicolaevsky was arrested in Tbilisi in May, after police found his false identity papers, and he met Jughashvili in Vologda Transit Prison, on the way to Arkhangelsk. In June Nicolaevsky was freed and settled in St. Petersburg and worked as an assistant to the Menshevik Skobelev, who was the secretary of the SD Duma fraction and *Luch*, and Nicolaevsky protested in *Luch* about Ulyanov's questioning Chkheidze's loyalty to the RSDRP.¹⁶⁰ There had been no strikes in Baki early that year,

but on 16 July 774 oil workers in Balakhany went on strike and others joined them. Mensheviks called a general strike for the 25th and by the end of the month over 19,000 workers from 88 different firms were out. Bolsheviks helped them draw up demands, though the Menshevik Duma deputies Chkheidze and Skobelev arrived and prevented a confrontation with the police.¹⁶¹

The Mensheviks' St. Petersburg *Zhivaya zhizn* was closed on 1 August 1913,¹⁶² as was the Bolsheviks' *Rabochaya pravda*, but *Severnaya pravda* (*Northern Truth*) appeared later that day,¹⁶³ and the Menshevik *Novaya rabochaya gazeta* (*New Workers' Newspaper*) appeared on the 8th.¹⁶⁴ A.M. Novoselov had joined the Vasilievsky Island branch of the metalworkers' union by 1907, and was a board member by 1913.¹⁶⁵ Alexey Kiselev had been born near Ivanovo in 1879. By 1893 he was a machinist in a textile factory and joined the RSDRP in 1898. He later worked in Moscow, Kharkiv, Baki and Odesa, and was arrested many times.¹⁶⁶ By summer 1913 he was a Bolshevik conciliator and the chair of St. Petersburg metalworker's union.

The Aivaz factory made industrial machinery and sights for infantry rifles, and around 400 of the 950 men and 400 women were probably members of the metalworkers' union. By spring there had been repeated conflicts over rate cuts, and workers chased a Polytechnic student applying time-study methods out of the plant; but after it became a joint-stock company the managers unilaterally reorganised working practices and replaced highly skilled men with semi-skilled men and women. When the student reappeared in July, young skilled workers carted him out of the factory in a wheelbarrow. Union leaders censured them, and managers demanded to know their names, but workmates refused to betray them and went on strike without consulting the union leaders. Their demands included specific rates of pay for each job, especially piece-work, an agreed procedure for rehiring, the right to elect representatives, an 8½ hour day and an agreement that changes to working practices would not be made without the workers' consent. Managers granted some pay rises, but refused arbitration and brought in Swedish scabs. On 10 August *Metallist* carried no news of the strike, but a week later the leaders called for support for the strikers. On the 24th Kiselev praised them, but criticised the wheelbarrowing. Next day a union meeting applauded the strikers and sent money soon after,¹⁶⁷ though the police arrested the Menshevik union treasurer N. Morozov.¹⁶⁸

The Navy's Obukhov metalworks employees had gone on strike for having to work a 12-hour day without a break in noxious gases for 20 to 40 rubles a month at the end of July, and 8,000 stayed out until the end of August, when 100 were blacklisted, 30 were arrested, 14 were deported and some were tried for leading a strike that 'endangered national interests'.¹⁶⁹ The tsar allowed state plant managers to join employers' associations, and lockouts were becoming increasingly effective, while inflation had cut the real value of wages by up to 50 percent.¹⁷⁰

Fund-raising for a legal Bolshevik paper in Moscow had begun in November 1912 and the first issue of *Nash put* (*Our Path*) appeared on 25 August 1913.¹⁷¹ The contributors included Gorky, Ulyanov, Alexandrov and Skvortsov,¹⁷² though Ulyanov had not received his fee for writing for *Pravda* for three months.¹⁷³ That day the metalworkers' union EC was re-elected.¹⁷⁴ In eight months, nationally, 761 of 1,671 strikes by inspected workers had been deemed politically-motivated.¹⁷⁵ The Okhrana security sections in St. Petersburg, Moscow and Warsaw were very active,¹⁷⁶ and there were reportedly 37 spies among SDs and three of the 20 in Moscow were among the Bolsheviks.¹⁷⁷ There were spies in 'all oppositional and revolutionary spheres' among peasants, railway workers, soldiers and sailors, and in higher educational institutions and prisons.¹⁷⁸ The Okhrana decided that there would be 'No more liquidation by means of searches and arrests in the wake of insufficiently processed reports', but agents would make a 'secret study of the strikes being staged in two or three of the largest plants' to 'spotlight' the 'intellectual leaders and activists'.¹⁷⁹ In early summer, in St. Petersburg, the liberal *Russkoe Slovo* had hinted that Ozoliņš, a SD Duma deputy, was a spy, and the spy Shornikova feared exposure and had gone to St. Petersburg. On 3 July the police arrested her, but the only witness at her trial on the 26th was the director of the Okhrana, and after he lied and she went free. The Okhrana gave her 1,800 rubles and she escaped to Bulgaria early in September.¹⁸⁰

Prosveshcheniye claimed that RSDRP membership may have been between 43,000 and 50,000.¹⁸¹ Contributions to the Aivaz strikers totalled 726 rubles.¹⁸² The metalworkers' union leaders contacted 5,000 members via *Metallist*, and on the 3rd they wanted to discipline the Aivaz strikers, but a meeting of around 2,000 members dismissed them and elected candidates from the Bolshevik list. Most were young skilled men and included revolutionaries who had not abandoned the underground.¹⁸³

Women at the Laferme tobacco factory were on strike in support of 170 sacked workmates. They tried to stop men entering the workshops, publicised the names of those who did and asked other workers to boycott Laferme products.¹⁸⁴ Across the city over 62,000 workers were on strike by the 5th,¹⁸⁵ but *Severnaya pravda* was banned on the 7th.¹⁸⁶ Two men at a military mine works were killed when the cover of a machine blew up and went through the roof. Managers had failed to test it. About 5,000 workers downed tools on the 9th to attend the funerals and sang the revolutionary hymn. Badayev showed the police his Duma credentials, yet they tried to stop him speaking. Workers surrounded him, but mounted police beat them away and arrested Badayev. The governor fined him 200

rubles for 'interfering with the actions of the police' and told him he would be arrested after his immunity expired.¹⁸⁷

Pravda truda (Labour Truth) appeared on the 11th.¹⁸⁸ The Aivaz strikers had issued a leaflet pointing out that it had been the first large factory in the city to use the 'American system' of payments by results. The strike fund had reached 1,378 rubles by the 14th, but the management pressed ahead with the reorganisation and the strike leaders entered negotiations, but all they won was a rise for a few groups, and most strikers returned to work under worse conditions.¹⁸⁹ The revived Bolshevik committee established a strike committee which included representatives from the central trade union bureau and the VPSR, but police raids prevented it from functioning; and though the VPSR and the Bolsheviks formed a joint military organisation, they had no press.¹⁹⁰

In Moscow the circulation of *Nash put* was between 17,000 and 20,000, but the police had closed it on 12 September.¹⁹¹ From the 23rd to the 25th there were protest strikes, and leaders of striking tram drivers went to St. Petersburg to seek support. The metalworkers' union called for a citywide strike, and from the 25th to the 27th around 52,000 downed tools.¹⁹² On the 27th the St. Petersburg *Pravda truda* reported that women at the Laferme tobacco had sent money to the strikers at the Gavanera tobacco factory.¹⁹³ From July to the end of September 80 percent of the issues of the Bolshevik paper had been confiscated and circulation had fallen to 18,000.¹⁹⁴ *Pravda truda* was closed, after 20 issues, but *Za pravdu (For Truth)* appeared on 1 October.¹⁹⁵

(vi) Tektology

In spring 1913 Alexandr Malinovsky had written to *pravda* about Frederick Taylor's time and motion study methods. He downplayed the 'partial strike, which even when prolonged sometimes simply wastes energy', whereas a general strike 'would quickly attain success'. Ulyanov called his views anti-Marxist,¹⁹⁶ though the paper published a letter from Malinovsky which contradicted Ulyanov's assertion that ending work in the Duma and other legal activities was Vypered policy.¹⁹⁷ Malinovsky sent the editors an article on 'Ideology', but they rejected it because it included elements of 'anarchism and syndicalism'. Malinovsky wrote about the Bolsheviks' sources of finance and sent it to the secretary of the International bureau. He told Vyperedists in Geneva that he would refuse to write for the Bolshevik paper if Ulyanov remained its 'émigré overseer'. He argued that by learning from nature, 'the first great organiser', humans could understand 'universal organisational forms'. If workers could rise above narrow sectional interest, avoid authoritarianism and individualism, and form collective associations, the potential was limitless. The 'universal organising class' was the key to his 'utopia of reasonable human relations', but the proletariat had been formed under capitalism and needed to transcend its ideological limitations before the revolution, through the development of a socialist culture, based on a workers' encyclopaedia, a co-operative proletarian university and proletarian art that embodied the collectivist spirit. 'Socialism is to be understood not as the outcome of a victorious battle, as a radical break, or as a result of a huge effort of will by the masses'. Socialism was 'a question of method'. 'If it is to overcome the disorderliness of society the working class must take its own development in hand. It will not be able to give the world something that it does not itself already possess.'

The Capri School student and Bolshevik Fyodor Kalinin had escaped to Paris in 1911 and worked with other rabochy intelligenty, most of whom had fled from exile. He argued that an 'intellectual can still think for the young working class, but he cannot feel for it'.¹⁹⁸ Everyone's life 'passes through the prism of his own philosophy' and the content and meaning of experience was grounded in the struggle for existence, so philosophy was a necessary 'tool'. He agreed with Marx that 'social consciousness is determined by social being', but in a class society the 'most progressive class' possessed that knowledge, though an individual might be a 'codifier' or 'agent'. 'If one takes from scientific philosophy only bits and pieces and masters them, not taking them in systematic union with other parts of socially accumulated experience, then bad, unreliable "private philosophy" is the result'. Kalinin became secretary of Liga proletarskoy kultury.¹⁹⁹ Alexandr Malinovsky's *Filosofiya zhivago optya. Populyarne ocherki (The Philosophy of Living Experience. Popular Essays)* was published in St. Petersburg during 1913.²⁰⁰ It was a synthesis of empiriocriticism and historical materialism, and he quoted the Moscow weaver, Arkady Fedorov, approvingly.

From the time of its conception and over the course of its development, almost right down to our times, systematic philosophy was studied by people who had nothing in common with the work of the people. Free from labour but consuming the products of labour, they had the time and resources to study. It goes without saying that in their hands philosophy developed according to their conditions of life, and therefore the same chasm emerged between practice and philosophy as exists between people who labour and people who only consume the products of other people's labour.

Though ‘everyone has a philosophy, and if most people do not see this, it is only because of a confused and narrow understanding of the term “philosophy”’; yet ‘scientific philosophy consists of experience that is lived by humanity – that is verified by collective forces, and that is formed into a system by those forces’. ‘The basic idea of the proletarian social-historical worldview’ was that of Marx - ‘social being determines social consciousness’ - and that the ‘morals and the entire mentality of the popular masses are based on the means of production, on the organisation of social labour’, as were their ‘customs, institutions, ideas, and important cultural events’, and he quoted the Capri School student and worker Vilonov. ‘It is necessary to do one of two things: either get rid of philosophy itself, or return the right to philosophical language back to the gentlemen-scholars and to study philosophy and give an account of it, ourselves, in completely understandable language’. ‘The development of scientific cognition has led to the conclusion that in experience there is not and cannot be anything absolute – that everything is relative, that everything depends on conditions, and that everything is determined by something else.’ Malinovsky summarised his argument about empiriomonism.

- (1) A new social-technological form of causal relationship. On the basis of machine production with its diverse-transformations of forces, a point of view coalesces according to which any given phenomena can be the *technical source* of other phenomena in the practice of the collective. This correlation becomes the type and model of the relationship of causes with their effects. Cause and effect is the very same sum of energy in two consecutive phases: they are equal and belong to one continuous process in the labour or the experience of the collective.
- (2) A new sensory-labour understanding of the elements of experience. These elements are the product of social effects in work or in thought; they are isolated out depending on practical needs, and they develop and accumulate with the growth and the increase of complexity of the system of labour. As it is with experience as a whole, so also each of the elements of experience is simultaneously a spontaneous resistance to an expedient activity – sensuous material in the crystal of labour.
- (3) The removal of abstract fetishism from the philosophical concepts of objectivity and subjectivity. What appears objective in experience and thinking is socially agreed upon, or, what is the same thing, *socially organised*. Accordingly, objective physical experience is experience that is socially organised, and conversely, subjective psychological experience is experience that is only organised individually. These are different levels of organisation of experience with continuous crossing back and forth between them.
- (4) The doctrine of *sociomorphism of thought*. Practical methods provide the foundation for cognitive methods. The relationship of elements of technology in production and the due relation of people in the economy serve as the source and model for the relationship of ideas in cognition. This fact is usually masked by various forms of fetishism and also by those variations, complications, and simplifications to which practical correlations are subject as they are being transformed into models of cognition. But after sufficient analysis, the social-labour origin of these models can always be discovered.
- (5) The theory of *universal substitution*. The model of substitution originates in the relationship between utterances on the one hand, and the content of these utterances on the other, between symbols and what is symbolised. The model of substitution has been applied very widely but not consciously or systematically until now. In science the general tendency of substitution can be clearly seen in various explanatory theories, aiming at replacing less but more organised material of experience with material that is richer and less organised, i.e. providing a greater sum of combinations that are more readily processed. In its scientific form, substitution must be reduced to social-labour causality. For example, if waves of ether are substituted for the processes of light, the light must be considered as the effect of these waves – as the transformed form of their energy in our immediate experience.
- (6) The same correlation should be established *between physiological processes of the brain and the psychical phenomena* that are substituted for them. The sum of energy that appears (in indirect, extended experience) as the psyche is transformed (in direct, physical experience) for other people into physiological change of the brain. Thus a continuity of substitution along the entire line of experience is created, leading to a monistic picture of the world.
- (7) This picture presents the universe to us as an uninterrupted chain of development of forms that proceed along a path of struggle and reciprocal action from the lowest levels of organisation to the highest. Logically, and in theory, the universal chain of progress would have originated in complete lack of organisation – pure chaos of the elements of the universe. The highest level achieved up to the present is the human collective with its objectively regular organisation of experience, which it works out in its labour – world-building.

Philosophy is already living out its last days. Empiriomonism is already not entirely a philosophy but a transitional form, because it knows where it is going and to what it must give way. The foundation of a universal new science will be laid down in the near future. The blossoming of this science will spring up out of that gigantic, feverish, organisational work which will create the new society and bring the agonising prologue of the history of humanity to its conclusions. That time is not so far off ...²⁰¹

Malinovsky’s *Vseobshchaya organizatsionnaya nauka: Tektologiya* (1) *Universal Organisation Science: Tektology* 1 had also appeared in St. Petersburg in 1913.²⁰² He defined ‘Tektology’ as a ‘universal organisation theory’ based on the processes shared by natural and human phenomena. It aimed to ‘embrace all human experience and assumed

the same structural principles at every level of reality'. It synthesised 'the abstract symbolism of mathematics with the experimental character of the natural sciences', conceptualised a world in which contending forces were overshadowed by a general harmony of universal processes and saw 'disorganisation' as organisation. Malinovsky's group were preparing 'proletarian leaders', to run a future socialist state.²⁰³ The former Capri School student Andrey Sokolov noted that Malinovsky privileged technical forms of social adaptation and argued that every ideology and change in social forms ultimately derived from the advance of technology or socially articulated practical knowledge, though he did not apply his theory to actual societies.²⁰⁴

Alexey Gastev had been born into a schoolteacher's family in the town of Suzdal, Vladimir province, in 1882. In 1884 his father disappeared, so Alexey's mother sewed to make ends meet. He completed a primary school course in Vladimir and took technical courses in Suzdal. He failed the entrance examination for Vladimir Technical Institute, but attended Moscow Teachers' Institute in 1899. He had joined the RSDRP by 1901, but was expelled from the Institute in 1902 for organising a demonstration on the 40th anniversary of the radical writer Dobroluibov's death.²⁰⁵ Revolution for Gastev meant allowing workers to control everyday matters related to their work; but soon after he was arrested for distributing socialist literature among factory workers and was deported to Suzdal and then to small towns in Vologda province. After the RSDRP Congress in 1903 he supported the 'majority', and corresponded with Ulyanov and Krupskaya.²⁰⁶ He became a correspondent of a Vladimir paper, and published a story about life in exile in a Yaroslavl paper in 1904, then escaped to Paris and worked as a metal fitter. Early in 1905 he returned to Russia and became a 'professional revolutionary' in Yaroslavl, Ivanovo and Kostroma, where he agitated textile workers, organised strikes, joined the Bolshevik committee and debated with SRs. He attended the London Bolshevik conference and later that year he became a delegate to the Kostroma sovet and then its chair.²⁰⁷ He led a fighting squad, agitated workers to go on strike in Yaroslavl and Rostov-na-Donu, and reported to Ulyanov on the general strike in Ivanovo.²⁰⁸ From 1905 almost every Russian trade union or socialist paper included at least two workers' poems, but they received many more, and Gorky received hundreds of letters from self-taught writers asking for advice, criticism and money to buy books. In 1906 Gastev attended the RSDRP Stockholm Congress and a Bolshevik conference in Moscow, but was arrested and deported to Arkhangelsk for three years. Within a month he had escaped to Paris and then Geneva, and was smuggled back to St. Petersburg, where he worked as a metalworker and was an underground activist from 1907.²⁰⁹ He distanced himself from the Bolsheviks, but joined the metalworkers' union,²¹⁰ helped to organise workers' clubs and was elected to the union board.²¹¹ In 1908 he worked in a tram depot and thought about a 'science for the social construction of enterprises'. In 1910 he was arrested and exiled to Siberia, but escaped to Paris, where he worked for a motor-car manufacturer.²¹² He joined the metalworkers' union, became secretary of the Russian Workers' Club, and his poems appeared in union journals and the Vienna *Pravda*.²¹³ In 1912 he worked for Citroën, whose assembly line production was based on Ford's methods in the USA. He saw unions as the chief means of confronting capitalism and bringing about improvements for workers,²¹⁴ though he worked with Lunacharsky and other nonconformists.²¹⁵ Early in 1913 Gastev returned to Russia and worked as a metal fitter; but in summer a spy betrayed him and he was sentenced to four years' exile in Narym in Siberia.²¹⁶

(vii) It is essential to *achieve* legality

On 22 June 1913 Ulyanov and Krupskaya had visited Switzerland, where he spoke in various cities and worked in libraries. An expert treated her for a goitre,²¹⁷ and she underwent a three-hour operation without anaesthetic.²¹⁸

Alexandr Ilyin, Fyodor's brother, had been born in St. Petersburg in 1894.²¹⁹ By 1911 he was active in the illegal organisation of gymnasium students in the city and province, and was arrested and deported in 1912, but escaped to Geneva. In summer 1913 Karpinsky told him that Ulyanov had arrived on a flying visit and was at his house in rue Hugo Senger. They met late that day and Ilyin described the activities of St. Petersburg students in 1911-1912. Ulyanov asked about the local leaders, and Ilyin was amazed at how much he knew about party activity in Russia.²²⁰ Ulyanov and Krupskaya had returned to Galicia via Bern and Munich by 9 August.²²¹ Ilyin,²²² and Armand, who had escaped from Russia on the eve of her trial, followed.²²³

Ulyanov told Shklovsky that he 'didn't have a groschen'.²²⁴ Ulyanov told Gorky that in '*democratic* countries' it 'would be *quite* out of place for a proletarian writer to appeal "to democracy, to the people, to public opinion and science"', because of the working class's higher cultural level, but in Russia it 'flatters the prejudices of the philistines'.²²⁵ The Bolshevik Duma deputies arrived in Poronin with an instruction from RSDRP committees to restore unity,²²⁶ and Krivobokov arrived by September.²²⁷ Julian Leszchynski had been born into a worker's family in Płock, Poland, in 1889. He later attended a gymnasium, became a socialist in 1905 and joined the SDKPiL committee by 1906. In 1909 he entered Kraków University, then settled in Warszawa in 1912, joined the SDKPiL

committee and was in Poronin by September 1913.²²⁸ On 30 September Ulyanov asked Gorky if *Pravda truda* was 'dry', though 'it's not easy to correct this defect all at once. We haven't the people. With *great* difficulty, one year after it started, we secured a merely *tolerable* editorial board'. Around this time Ulyanov told the editors that 'they were 'making a gigantic mistake in drifting unconsciously with the stream'. 'Everything suggests that both the tone *and the content* of the news section must be *changed*. It is essential to *achieve* legality' and 'pass the censor'.²²⁹

On 6 October 'party functionaries' met in Poronin.²³⁰ Half of them had attended the Kraków conference.²³¹ The 26 delegates included 17 with a vote, though three Russians.²³² Grigorij Kaminskij had been born into the family of a Jewish blacksmith in Ekaterinoslav, Ukraine, in 1895. He later graduated from Moscow University,²³³ and in 1913 the teenager arrived in Poronin with Fürstenberg of the SDKPiL, and two members of Rozłamowcy, who had a voice but no vote.²³⁴ Troyanovsky represented *Prosveshcheniye* and Ulyanov, Krupskaya and others *Sotsial-Demokrat* and the émigré CC bureau. F.A. Balashov, Y.T. Novozhilov, A.I. Lobov and Roman Malinovsky came from Moscow.²³⁵ Serafima Deryabina had been born into a noble civil servant's family in Ekaterinburg, Siberia, in 1888. She graduated from a gymnasium in 1905 and worked in the revolutionary underground. From 1907 to 1913 the police watched her carefully, but did not arrest her. She became increasingly important in the RSDRP, and attended the Bolshevik Centre meeting in autumn; then worked underground in Moscow and St. Petersburg.²³⁶ In October 1913, in Poronin, Deryabina represented the Urals, Rozmirovich Kyiv, and Shotman St. Petersburg.²³⁷ Armand and Apfelbauma were also present. There was no elected member of a Russian RSDRP organisation,²³⁸ yet the 16 from St. Petersburg, who included all the Bolshevik Duma deputies except for Samoïlov, claimed to represent several provincial committees. There were four RSDRP CC members, so the meeting could not be a legal plenum, and had the status of an unofficial conference. The delegates aimed to consolidate and link committees and confirmed that 'system of confidential agents' agreed in Prague was 'absolutely necessary', though it had barely got going.²³⁹ Badayev reported that the St. Petersburg committee was 'closely connected' to workers in the Narva, Nevsky, Vyborg and Vasilievsky Island districts and two presses had recently issued 20,000 leaflets for unions, appeals for strikers and the Bolshevik paper.

At the factory, Party members form nuclei in the various workshops, and delegates form the nuclei form a factory committee (at small factories, the members themselves form the committee). Every factory committee, or workshop nucleus in large factories, appoints a collector who on each pay-day collects the dues and other funds, books subscriptions for the newspapers, etc. A controller is also appointed to visit the institutions for which the funds were raised, to see that the correct amounts have been received there and collect the money. ...

Each district committee elects by secret voting an executive committee of three, care being taken that the committee as a whole should not know of whom the executive committee actually consist.

The district executive commissions send delegates to the St. Petersburg Committee, again trying to ensure that the names should not be known by the whole district committee. The St. Petersburg committee also elects an executive commission of three. Sometimes, for reasons of secrecy, it was found inadvisable to elect the representatives from the district commission and they were co-opted at the discretion of the St. Petersburg Committee. ...

The workers strongly resented the suppression of *Pravda* and wanted to strike, but the Committee decided that it was necessary first to prepare the action properly and to issue an explanatory leaflet which should reach the masses. Within a few days another paper appeared and as it followed the same policy the workers were somewhat reassured. Although no appeal to strike action was issued, some 30,000 workers left their work.

... The Committee consists entirely of workers, and we write the leaflets ourselves and have difficulty in finding intellectuals to help in correcting them.

When worker delegates asked 'what practical proposals do you make in the Duma?' Ulyanov laughed.

The Black Hundred Duma will never pass any laws which improve the lot of the workers. The task of the workers' deputy is to remind the Black Hundreds, day after day, that the working class is strong and powerful and that the day is not far distant when the revolution will break out and sweep away the Black Hundreds and their government. No doubt it is possible to move amendments and even to introduce bills, but this must only be done in order to expose more effectively the anti-working-class nature of the tsarist regime and to reveal the absolute lack of rights of the exploited workers.²⁴⁰

Apfelbaum recalled this exchange differently. The workers wanted to 'engage in serious legislative work; we want to consult you about the budget, about such and such a Bill, about certain amendments to certain Bills introduced by the Kadets', etc.,' and Ulyanov 'laughed heartily', then replied.

What do you want a budget, an amendment, a Bill for? You are workers, and the Duma exists for the ruling classes. You simply step forward and tell all Russia in simple language about the life and toil of the working class. Describe the horrors of capitalist slavery, summon the workers to make a revolution, and fling into the face of this reactionary Duma that its members are scoundrels and exploiters!

According to Apfelbaum the Bolshevik deputies were 'Simple Petrograd proletarians'.²⁴¹

The conference called for a strike on the anniversary of Bloody Sunday the following January,²⁴² and resolved to 'conduct extensive revolutionary agitation among the masses for the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a democratic republic'. 'Advanced workers' should ensure that 'representatives are appointed in every large centre of the working-class movement, and as many of them as possible'. They should 'develop extensive leaflet propaganda' for a political general strike and establish the 'closest communication possible' between political parties and other working-class organisations, those in St. Petersburg and Moscow above all, so that the strikes were simultaneous. Workers should be encouraged to subscribe to *Prosveshcheniye*, and *Sotsial-Democrat* had to appear regularly.²⁴³ (It had appeared five times since the Prague Conference.²⁴⁴) The *Moscow Nash put* had to be revived and consolidated and a paper had to be produced in south Russia 'at the earliest possible date'.²⁴⁵ 'Trusted agents' would lead local groups and maintain contact with others and the émigré Centre.²⁴⁶

Ulyanov noted that all the Bolsheviks at the recent International Congress had been intelligently, but 'we must take steps to ensure' that future delegates were 'elected directly from the workers' organisations, trades unions, cooperatives, etc'. The Duma deputies had to represent organisations who were unable to send delegates, give the Menshevik deputies an ultimatum requiring 'absolute equality for both sections', and if they refused, break away and 'appeal to the masses'. The Bund, LSD and SDKPiL would be invited to send delegates to the next Bolshevik Congress,²⁴⁷ which would call for an RSDRP Congress to legitimise the Prague Conference decisions. Delegates would be trained in Poronin.²⁴⁸ Krupskaya reportedly spoke about the need to organise working women and the wives of working men, and the émigré Bolshevik Centre approved a paper for women.²⁴⁹ The Bolshevik Duma deputies were to 'take up the systematic organisation of their work outside the Duma' and prioritise the 'strengthening' of the Bolshevik paper, which had been 'severely shaken'. The deputies should establish offices in workers' districts in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Rīga, Kyiv, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav and other major cities. 'Leading local workers must be involved in editorial work' and Bolshevik papers 'must become more varied'. The satirist 'Demyan Bedny' (Yefim Pridvorov's pseudonym had stuck) 'must definitely be brought back', and 'more space devoted to belles-lettres, poetry, satire, etc'.²⁵⁰ There should be an RSDRP Congress 'no later than the summer of 1914', and local organisations should raise 300 rubles to send a delegate, though it would cost only 100-150.²⁵¹ The conference ended on 14 October.²⁵² The minutes of the meeting have not been found.²⁵³ The resolutions were mimeographed, except for references to strikes and the press, though Malinovsky and another spy kept the Okhrana informed.²⁵⁴

On the 20th Ulyanov, Krupskaya and her mother returned to Kraków.²⁵⁵ Krivobokov went to Perm and Ekaterinburg.²⁵⁶ When Leszczyński got back to Warszawa the police detained him for three months.²⁵⁷ After Rozmirovich returned to Kyiv the police arrested her, though Malinovsky advised them to free her since it would raise suspicions in Galicia.²⁵⁸ He chaired the Bolshevik Centre in St. Petersburg,²⁵⁹ and the leader of the tsar's bodyguard noted that he carried out 'the directives of Ulyanov' and the police by splitting the SD Duma deputies.²⁶⁰

(viii) Sprouting up like mushrooms after a downpour

Emmanuel Kvirning had been born into a German-born scribe's family in a village near Samara on the Volga in 1888. He later worked in a chemist's shop, became a revolutionary in 1905,²⁶¹ and joined the VPSR in 1906.²⁶² In 1912 he joined the Bolsheviks and was the secretary of the SD Duma fraction by autumn 1913.²⁶³ The Mensheviks had tried to stop the Bolsheviks speaking for the fraction for an entire year, taken 19 seats on commissions and let the Bolsheviks have seven, and monopolised the seats in the International bureau. The Duma reopened on the 15 October. Next day the Menshevik deputies refused to respond to the Bolsheviks' ultimatum, so they walked out,²⁶⁴ and were recognised as *Sotsial-Demokraticheskaya rabochaya gruppa* (the Social Democratic Labour Group).²⁶⁵

Alexandr Malinovsky visited the *Za pravdu* offices.²⁶⁶ Chernomazov was away, and Savelev was the editor. Confiscations had dropped sharply,²⁶⁷ though he had rejected Ulyanov's articles on trade unions.²⁶⁸ Next day, the anniversary of the tsar's 1905 manifesto, 7,000 workers went on strike.²⁶⁹ The Bolshevik Duma deputies' 'Declaration' regarding equality with the Menshevik deputies appeared in *Za pravdu*, though the police confiscated all the copies.²⁷⁰ The Bolshevik deputies issued an ultimatum to the Mensheviks, who refused on the 25th.²⁷¹ The Bolsheviks were recognised as the *Sotsial-Demokraticheskaya fraktsiya* (the Social Democratic Fraction).²⁷² On the 27th they elected Malinovsky as chair, Petrovsky as vice-chair, Samoilov as treasurer and Rozmirovich as secretary.²⁷³ On the 29th *Za pravdu* claimed that the Bolshevik Duma deputies represented one million workers in major industrial centres while the Mensheviks represented 136,000 in less important ones. *Za pravdu* had received 2,576 workers' donations, compared to the Menshevik paper's 556,²⁷⁴ though sales of *Za pravdu* were around 20,000, and the Bolsheviks had been disrupted and had no money.²⁷⁵ On the 30th, after the Laferme tobacco factory managers in St. Petersburg posted a notice about elections to an insurance committee, *Za pravdu* published a letter

from women in a 'group of conscious workers' which thanked 'those who devised the Insurance Law', because 'almost all the workers have become *politiki*' (politicians). 'We swear on our own heads that not even the best Marxist agitators could have so awakened the mass of two thousand workers to political consciousness.'²⁷⁶

Obukhov metalworks managers had required compulsory overtime with no extra pay and made it impossible to avoid fines, so the workforce went on strike, but the Navy minister made no concessions.²⁷⁷ Four workers had been charged with inciting a strike, and the Bolsheviks planned walkouts and a demonstration outside court. On 6 November, in spite of heavy rain and police cordons,²⁷⁸ over 100,000 workers reportedly came out in sympathy, and over 100 workforces passed resolutions that were 'so sharply worded' that *Za pravdu* could not print extracts without risking closure.²⁷⁹ Four Aivaz strikers received light sentences, but appealed.²⁸⁰ Skryabin was arrested, and charged with being a member of the Bolshevik committee, though the police had insufficient evidence and let him go,²⁸¹ since they were anxious 'to prevent a repetition of the revolution of 1905'.²⁸²

During October Roman Malinovsky had helped to set up a press in Finland to revive the *Moscow Nash put*.²⁸³ Moscow Okhrana had reported that trade unions were 'sprouting up like mushrooms after a downpour',²⁸⁴ and 1,100 Bromley metalworkers had led a solidarity strike wave.²⁸⁵ That autumn 44 percent of striking tailors were women. In November a third tailors' union was registered, and 150 of the 1,648 members were women and 97 were apprentices, including 34 girls.²⁸⁶

(ix) Too close to bourgeois ideals

By autumn 1913 the SPD published 90 newspapers.²⁸⁷ A majority of SPD Reichstag deputies favoured a property tax to finance the expansion of the armed forces, and the whole group had had to vote in favour.²⁸⁸ In the election of Congress delegates 52 percent of members in districts with over 8,000 elected 27 percent, while places with as few as 57 had one each, compared to one to 5,700 in large industrial cities.²⁸⁹ On 16 September, at a mass meeting near Frankfurt, Luxemburg argued that 'if they think that we are going to life the weapons of murder against our French and other brethren, then we shall shout "We will not do it"'.²⁹⁰ The RSDRP, Bund and LSD had investigated Sobelsohn for alleged misdemeanours varying from the theft of a coat to the embezzlement of party funds.²⁹¹ The PPS alleged he had stolen 300 marks from a trade union in his youth, expelled him, and asked the SPD not to accept him as a member, though other Polish SDs called this a frame-up.²⁹² Sobelsohn hated right-wingers and 'centrists', and disagreed with Bebel and Kautsky's reformism. He knew the SPD was not what Russian SDs believed it to be and moved closer to Luxemburg's position on the need to smash the state and Mehring and Liebknecht kept him informed about Luxemburg's group. His article about German imperialism raised the question of revolution,²⁹³ and the editors of *Die Neue Zeit* returned it, but he published it as a supplement to the *Bremer Bürgerzeitung*. Luxemburg published an attack on his SPD Congress credentials as a member of the SPD and SDKPiL and criticised the SPD's Bremen organisation for supporting him. On 15 September the SPD Congress opened in Chemnitz.²⁹⁴ Luxemburg had failed to gain a mandate,²⁹⁵ and an EC member challenged Sobelsohn's credentials, since he had never applied for membership or paid any dues. The Congress appointed a committee to investigate him and report to the next Congress.²⁹⁶ Bebel denounced the government's policy in Morocco,²⁹⁷ and other delegates spoke against imperialism. Only three voted against Bebel's motion.²⁹⁸ Luxemburg had had to ask a Frankfurt suburban organisation for a mandate.²⁹⁹ Bebel criticised her for arguing that the real purpose of involvement in Reichstag elections was to 'spread *Socialist education*',³⁰⁰ and her sharpening amendment to the EC's motion on the mass strike fell by 333 votes to 142.³⁰¹ The committee set up at the previous Congress favoured expelling Sobelsohn, but did not provide sufficient justifications, so the EC raked up his expulsion from the SDKPiL,³⁰² and got a resolution passed that anyone who had been evicted from another socialist party could not be a member of the SPD, and to apply this to Sobelsohn retrospectively. Luxemburg had voted against.³⁰³ One delegate complained that the leaders' politics were 'too close to bourgeois ideals'. Another complained that 'comrades taken individually now don't see the overall picture, and, more and more, it is the full-timer, the secretary, who alone has the power to control the whole mechanism'.³⁰⁴ Congress delegates voted by 336 to 140 to support the Reichstag fraction.³⁰⁵

At the International bureau SPD leaders deplored Luxemburg's 'uncomradely' criticism of the Agadir incident. She got Ulyanov's support, but not Plekhanov's.³⁰⁶ Ulyanov had failed to nominate a substitute for the October International bureau, so nobody represented the Bolsheviks. During 1912 eight socialist publications had appeared in Bulgaria, and a translation of Kautsky's study of socialism in 'backward' countries had appeared in Rumania. In October 1913 the Bulgarian 'Narrow' socialists were firmly opposed to war,³⁰⁷ and called on the International for support. 'Our proletariat is still in the throes of birth.' 'We are extremely backward by comparison with Western socialist organisations, and without their help we will be a voice in the wilderness for many years to come.'³⁰⁸

Kautsky believed that an alliance with the progressive bourgeoisie could end the arms race and the threat of war.³⁰⁹ The SPD Reichstag deputies unsuccessfully proposed improving military training in schools and giving SPD cooperatives contracts to supply the army.³¹⁰ The general staff were worried about Russia's military plans,³¹¹ and the Austro-Hungarian government believed that a war was almost inevitable.³¹² The Reichstag approved 146,000 extra troops and 19,000 officers, and passed its largest peacetime military budget.³¹³

The Warszawa Rozlowmowcy subsequently supported Sobelsohn and his articles began appearing in Polish and Russian periodicals.³¹⁴ Luxemburg and Marchlewski helped his opponents in the SPD, though Pannekoek and Liebknecht in Bremen backed him.³¹⁵ On 20 October Luxemburg told the editors of the Swedish *Sotsial-demokraten* that their information about the SDKPiL was unreliable, since it came from the Bolsheviks who had 'recklessly engaged in faction fighting' for years had 'systematically sought to split the party. The 'fictitious' Bolshevik Centre was 'not recognised by anyone', and had 'stubbornly blocked all efforts towards unification'. The Bolsheviks had 'brought the Russian party movement to the verge of ruin' and had helped to 'cultivate the same kind of split' in the SDKPiL.³¹⁶ Bremen SPD workers supported Sobelsohn,³¹⁷ and Ulyanov offered him paid work on *Sotsial-Democrat*.³¹⁸ (During 1913 he had courted dissident Polish, Ukrainian, Latvian and Estland SDs, since he wanted them to work together in the RSDRP.³¹⁹) At the November International bureau Luxemburg proposed discussing the RSDRP's disunity at its next meeting and at the International's Congress the following August,³²⁰ and an SPD paper attacked the Bolshevik Duma deputies.³²¹

(x) Mendel Beilis and Iakov Strongin

In March 1911 the slashed corpse of 12-year-old Andrey Iushchinsky had been found about four miles from his home near Kyiv in Ukraine, and leaflets called for violence against Jews for a ritual murder. The police arrested one leafletter, but soon released him. By then the Okhrana headquarters in St. Petersburg had a copy of the leaflet.³²² Leaflets circulated at Iushchinsky's funeral alleging that Jews had ritually murdered dozens of Christian boys at Easter. The St. Petersburg monarchist paper, *Zemshchina (The Realm)*, claimed that Jews had ritually murdered Iushchinsky and other papers reprinted the story. The Duma had discussed abolishing restrictions against Jews, but there were calls for the Duma to investigate. In Kyiv there was agitation for a pogrom and one man said the killer was Mendel Beilis, who worked for a wealthy brick-maker near where the body had been found.³²³ A lamplighter testified that a Jew had kidnapped the boy,³²⁴ and the police charged Beilis with ritual murder,³²⁵ even though the forensic examination had shown that the wounds have been inflicted after death.³²⁶ A judicial enquiry found no evidence to charge Beilis, but the justice minister ordered another enquiry and Beilis stayed in prison.³²⁷ In summer 1912 a St. Petersburg police official was sent to Kyiv to examine the evidence and found none that it had been a ritual murder and not enough to convict Beilis. The trial had been scheduled for autumn, but was postponed on account of the Duma elections.³²⁸ In the Pale an estimated 560,000 Jews lived mostly in cities and large towns, and formed around 40 percent of the population of Vilnius in Lithuania;³²⁹ but Jews worked outside the Pale.

In 69 years to 1913 the population of the Pale had increased by 265 percent and the number of Jews by 844 percent,³³⁰ and the number of Jews being deported from St. Petersburg was rising daily.³³¹ In spring Iakov Strongin, a young Jewish worker at the New Lessner works in St. Petersburg was driven to despair by his foreman's threats,³³² and on the morning of 23 April his corpse was found hanging in a workshop. A note indicated that the foreman had recorded the theft of hundreds of brass screws in his workbook and threatened to sack him. Workmates demanded that the foreman be sacked, but managers refused and locked them out. Thousands attended Strongin's funeral, but mounted police let only a few relatives attend his burial. Old Lessner plant workers came out in sympathy. Other metalworkers refused to do their work and made collections: one workforce donated half their overtime pay; married workers offered to feed strikers' children,³³³ and workers across the Empire donated 11,000 rubles.³³⁴

By September Kyiv police knew that robbers had murdered Iushchinsky, but the two policemen who discovered that were fired.³³⁵ Beilis's trial began on the 25th.³³⁶ St. Petersburg workers struck in protest, and at a death sentence on a worker accused of killing a Pipe Works manager.³³⁷ Polytechnical Institute students protested against Beilis's trial, pogroms and government policy. Skryabin spoke to SR and SD students, though Okhrana gendarmes harassed him, so he went underground.³³⁸ Women at the Laferme tobacco factory struck in protest at the trial and the arrest of politically active workers in Moscow.³³⁹ Okhrana gendarmes had conducted 80 searches in Iuzovka in Ukraine, but SDs called for a protest about the trial.³⁴⁰ The Bund organised 20,000 Jewish workers to strike in several cities,³⁴¹ and 40,000 came out.³⁴² The government paid witnesses in Beilis's trial to lie, and the judge urged the mostly peasant jury to convict him.³⁴³ For 34 days newspapers had been penalised 102 times and six editors had been arrested.³⁴⁴ The trial ended on 10 November,³⁴⁵ The jury agreed that it was ritual murder, but cleared Beilis.³⁴⁶

18. The Bolsheviks really are the RSDRP

(i) I did not consider myself sufficiently competent in political questions

Stasova 'did not like to speak at meetings', since 'I did not consider myself sufficiently competent in political questions'.¹ By 1913 she had been arrested several times and was sentenced to exile to Yeniseisk in Siberia.²

Klavidia Kirsanova had been born in Kungara, Nizhni Novgorod province, in 1888. At the age of 15 she became a revolutionary at secondary school and was found to have illegal publications. In 1904 she joined the RSDRP and propagandised pupils and garrison soldiers in Perm, Siberia, but was arrested in 1906 and sentenced to eight months in a fortress. After her release she helped Sverdlov with military matters, but was arrested in 1908 for helping political prisoners escape from Perm Prison and exiled to the Irkutsk region. She escaped but was captured. In 1909 she was sentenced to three years' katorga. She was later tried for involvement in the RSDRP military organisation and sentenced to four more years and exile in Siberia for life in 1913 and sent the Yakutsk region.³

Evgenia Adamovich had been born into a Poltava landowner's family in 1872. She later graduated from Tartu University, joined the revolutionary movement in 1892, but was arrested in 1893.⁴ She was briefly in Kharkiv Prison in 1896, and went to Moscow in 1898. She joined the RSDRP Congress 'majority' in 1903, and was in St. Petersburg during the 1905 revolution, and stayed in the city until 1910. In 1912 she became a secretary of the Kharkiv Bolshevik committee, but was exiled to the Urals and then Irkutsk province in 1913.⁵

Varvara Iakovleva (as she became) had been born into an upper-middle-class Moscow family in 1885. She later attended the Higher Women's Courses and University lectures. She joined the RSDRP in 1904, married Nikolai Iakovlev and they worked with Bukharin during the 1905 revolution. From 1908 she was a teacher, but was arrested in 1910 and sentenced to four years' exile in Narym in Siberia. She escaped in 1912 and joined the Bolshevik Centre, but was arrested late in 1913 and exiled to Astrakhan.⁶

Nina Tretiakova had been born in 1893. She completed a gymnasium course in 1909 and became a village schoolteacher. She joined the RSDRP in 1912, worked in the underground press in Siberia, which was also a safe house for the Barnaul organisation, but was arrested in 1913 and exiled for two and a half years.

Liia Shmiatskaya had become a revolutionary in 1905. She and her husband moved from town to town, setting up printing presses, until 1911, when they left for South America to avoid arrest. They returned illegally in 1913, and though Liia's husband was arrested, she continued her revolutionary work.⁷

E. Alekseeva had been born into a family of textile workers in St. Petersburg in 1895. She began working in a mill at the age of ten, and joined the Bolsheviks in 1909. She distributed illegal party leaflets, joined demonstrations and strikes, and collected money for the press and exiled comrades. She was sacked in 1912 for her political activities, but found a job in a metal factory which had poor conditions and a poor record of health and safety, but in spite of her ill-health she continued her revolutionary activity in 1913.⁸

Maria Skrypnik had been born in 1883. She joined the Bolsheviks in 1905, worked in Krasnoyarsk and St. Petersburg, and in 1913 she was one of the editors of a work about the problems of workers' insurance societies.⁹

Zalkind had been a low-ranking party operative in St. Petersburg until she was imprisoned in 1907, but she was released in 1909 on account of ill-health. She recuperated,¹⁰ and became a secretary of Baki RSDRP committee,¹¹ then left for Switzerland.¹² In 1913 she returned to Moscow and taught on the Prechistinskie workers' courses with the veteran SD Olga Varentsova. Four new workers' clubs had been established and the Bolsheviks helped to set up a press and assisted trade unions. There were three women-only clubs, and Zinaida and Sofia Nevzorov ran one with 900 members. After the leaders of the metalworkers' legal union were briefly arrested in August, they met in the club. It was closed in November, but the women published *Nash pesni (Our Songs)* in December.¹³

Vladimir police had imprisoned the Bolshevik cadre and engineer Alexandr Shlyapnikov on Christmas Eve in 1905, and in January 1907 he was sentenced to two years in a Fortress, but was soon released on 300 rubles' bail,¹⁴ paid by a liberal lawyer. He worked underground in the Lefortovo district of Moscow to get Bolsheviks elected to the Duma,¹⁵ though the police detained him for a month.¹⁶ He went to St. Petersburg, worked at an electric power station,¹⁷ and met Sergey Medvedev, a peasant who had become a skilled metalworker and had also taken part in the Obukhov strike in 1901. He had been recruited by *Iskra* supporters and played a leading role in picking up and distributing bombs and other weapons. Shlyapnikov was invited to join the RSDRP committee,¹⁸ and worked underground in the Peskov district,¹⁹ but the police arrested him several times.²⁰ At the end of the year comrades advised him to go abroad and gave him material to take to Ulyanov in Geneva. He left in January 1908, and travelled via Austria, but his Bolshevik guides mistakenly sent him to Genoa, and he did not reach Geneva until February. He met Ulyanov, and then set off for Paris, and by spring he worked in a car factory in Asnières around five miles from

the centre of Paris. Late that year the police noted that he spoke about and wrote articles on RSDRP matters, but in spite of his ability to speak French and German, his lack of Latin convinced them that he had not had a gymnasium or higher education. He met Ulyanov often, but believed that workers had to emancipate themselves, so he joined the regional committee of the French Socialist Party, and became a leader of the Paris mechanics' union.²¹ He later worked in England,²² and learned a little English.²³

In 1911, in Paris, Stahl had suggested to another Bolshevik intelligentka that they and Armand, Krupskaya and Kollontai should publish a periodical for working-class women in Russia.²⁴ Kollontai had helped to organise a strike of housewives against the high cost of living, but had published an article in a Menshevik paper,²⁵ and the Bolshevik intelligentki refused to work with her.²⁶ Krupskaya and Stahl organised meetings for women workers, but got no support from male Bolsheviks and gave up.²⁷ Armand and Krupskaya wanted to organise a school for working women, but male Bolsheviks accused them of bourgeois feminism, so they gave that up too.²⁸ Kollontai met Krupskaya and Ulyanov at the funerals of the Lafargues in November. Kollontai and Shlyapnikov became lovers, and after she left for Berlin in January 1912 he joined her.²⁹ He was active among Russian émigrés,³⁰ but the SPD impressed him.³¹ On 16 February 1913 Kollontai contributed an article about International Women's Day to *Proletkaya pravda*. A week later 5,000 women occupied the St. Petersburg stock exchange and there were large demonstrations in Moscow, Kyiv, Samara and Tbilisi.³² On 8 March the International Day of Working Women was celebrated in Russia for the first time,³³ and a special edition of *Proletkaya pravda* included letters from female telephone operators, domestic servants, hospital and laundry workers and others, and greetings from several towns. Gromova organised 'scientific matinees' where women spoke about factory conditions, prostitution, peasant life and the 1905 revolution. They attracted a large crowd from all trades and professions to the clubs and societies controlled by the Bolsheviks. A large hall could not hold everyone,³⁴ but the police arrested the speakers,³⁵

Elizarova and her mother had arrived in Vologda in summer, with Elizarova's adopted son, who met leading Bolsheviks and experienced a night-time police raid.³⁶ Elizarova returned to St. Petersburg, where she worked for *Proletarskaya pravda*.³⁷ She was also a joint secretary of *Prosveshcheniye* with Alexandrov and corresponded with émigrés including Ulyanov, Krupskaya and Shlyapnikov.³⁸ Vera Menzhinskaya had been Krupskaya's assistant, and she and her sister Liudmila contributed to *Proletarskaya pravda*.³⁹

Armand had spent six months in solitary and showed signs of tuberculosis; but her husband paid 5,400 rubles bail to guarantee that she would appear at her trial five months later. She went to Paris, attended a Bolshevik meeting as a representative from St. Petersburg,⁴⁰ and spoke at anti-war meetings in Belgium and London.⁴¹

The émigré Bolshevik Centre approved the all-intelligentka editorial board for the woman's paper which included Rozmirovich in Russia. In St. Petersburg Gromova wrote about factory conditions for women in *Proletkaya pravda*, and dozens of women workers wrote to her and visited her office.⁴² She was 'greatly overloaded with work', but she and Menzhinskaya planned a paper for working women on International Women's Day the following year. They published an appeal for funds, though only a few kopeks came in.⁴³ Gromova discussed the idea of organising women with her male comrades, though most refused,⁴⁴ so she contacted Bolshevik women émigrés and received strong support from Stahl, though Krupskaya was concerned about finding the money and the danger of encouraging bourgeois feminism.⁴⁵

Since 1898 13 of the 394 voting delegates at the first four RSDRP Congresses, Bolshevik and other SD conferences, had been women, as had nine of the 96 RSDRP Congress delegates with a consultative vote, while five of the 69 CC members had been women. In 1913 women formed around 13 percent of RSDRP members. Armand had been impressed by International Women's Day and the working women's letters in *Rabochaya pravda*, and in autumn she discussed the idea of a woman's paper with Krupskaya and Apfelbauma in Bialy Dunajec, though Ulyanov refused to provide funds. Armand returned to Paris to revive the conference organising commission, and on the way she spoke on the woman question to Russian émigrés in a number of Western European cities and asked them to raise money. She and Krupskaya decided that they, Apfelbauma and Stahl would be the foreign editors of a Bolshevik paper for women and suggested to Gromova in St. Petersburg that she, Elizarova and Kudelli should be the Russian editors.⁴⁶ Armand and Stahl would send a draft a plan to Krupskaya and she convinced Bolshevik Duma deputies visiting Kraków that they should 'organise a women's movement', publish literature on matters concerning working women and not 'concede to the Mensheviks'. Petrovsky put her in touch with the Bolshevik deputies' wives, so they could tell her about the needs of workers' families, and she asked him how to contact women comrades doing illegal work, since she feared the RSDRP was 'driving away those comrades who will lay the foundation for work among women.'⁴⁷ By the end of the year Kollontai had joined the International women's bureau.⁴⁸ When Kudelli, Elizarova and Rozmirovich met in Gromova's St. Petersburg flat, Kudelli suggested involving Kollontai, but the others refused to work with a Menshevik.⁴⁹

In December an article by Gastev appeared in the metalworker union's *Metallist* in St. Petersburg. He acknowledged that modern machinery, and the employers' appetite for cheap labour, made the employment of

more women inevitable.⁵⁰ Few leading Bolsheviks in Russia took the recruitment of women seriously, and male Bolsheviks in Russia had had mixed fortunes.

Early in 1913 a prosecutor who anticipated the tsar's amnesty had delayed sending the Bolshevik expropriator Ter-Petrosian's death sentence to St. Petersburg for confirmation and it was commuted to 20 years' katorga.⁵¹

Schwartz had been a Bolshevik up to 1907, and worked in Vilnius and St. Petersburg, but then left for Paris to study law. Early in 1913 he returned to Russia and worked in Menshevik-led trade unions.⁵²

Moisei Goldman had been born in 1891 into a poor Jewish family in Volhynia in western Ukraine. He joined the Bund in 1905 and later joined 'Spilka'. He was arrested in 1911 and exiled to Arkhangelsk, but after the February 1913 amnesty he left for the USA.⁵³

The Bolshevik typesetter Mark Khinoy had completed his exile in 1905 and joined the Katerynoslav sovet. In the next three years he was arrested several times, but escaped, and lived illegally in St. Petersburg until he settled in France in 1908. In 1913 he went to live in the USA and contributed to Russian and Yiddish periodicals.⁵⁴

The Bolshevik Eukidze had been deported to Rostov-na-Donu in 1912, then went to Moscow, but the police gave him 24 hours to leave. He was arrested in St. Petersburg in July 1913 and exiled to Yenisei province in Siberia.⁵⁵ In Tsaritsyn on the Volga, 10,000 lumberyard workers went on strike, and revolutionaries infiltrated local trade unions, consumer societies and medical funds.⁵⁶ In autumn, thanks to a reference from Krasin, the Bolshevik Tarshis pretended to be a qualified electrician and got a job at a factory in Volsk on the Volga. He agitated over economic issues at work, contacted 'quite radical' staff at the local paper, who included SDs, kept in touch with Krupskaya,⁵⁷ and joined the RSDRP committee.⁵⁸

The Bolshevik Lalayants had helped to organise the Tammerfors conference of combat squads in 1906. He was subsequently arrested, spent two years in prison and was then deported to Siberia for life with katorga in 1913.⁵⁹

Adolf Joffe had donated his entire inheritance to the RSDRP. He toured Russian organisations in 1910 and joined the Congress organisation commission as a representative of the Vienna *Pravda* in 1912.⁶⁰ He and Bronstein supported the Black Sea merchant sailors' union and had its journal, *Moriak (The Sailor)*, printed in Vienna, and later in Constantinople; though the Okhrana closed it.⁶¹ Joffe returned to Russia,⁶² and was arrested with the entire Odesa party organisation that summer and spent ten months in solitary and was exiled to Tobolsk northwest of Tyumen in Siberia for four years. During 1913 Joffe was arrested for supporting the Black Sea sailors to form a union and was taken to Odesa, where he was sentenced to the loss of civil rights and katorga for life in Siberia.⁶³

Petr Veovodin had been born into a worker's family in Sumy in northeast Ukraine 1884. At the age of 13 he began working in a plant in Katerynoslav, where he joined an SD workers' kruzhok in 1899, and later conducted party work in Katerynoslav, Saratov, Samara, Chita, Tomsk, Omsk, Zlatoust, and other cities. In October 1905 he led the Samara committee's combat detachment,⁶⁴ but was subsequently imprisoned several times. In 1912 he left for the USA, but returned to Baki in 1913, but was arrested and exiled to the Narym region of Siberia.⁶⁵ Spandarian and other leading Caucasian Bolsheviks were exiled to Siberia late that year.⁶⁶

(ii) I have three roubles and 20 kopeks

In spring 1913 the Bolshevik Novgorodtseva had been sentenced to two years' banishment under strict surveillance.

I was not transported with other convicts but had to make my own way. So at the end of April 1913 I was on the streets of Petersburg, destitute, homeless and with a gravely ill child on my hands.

I tried so hard to save him the best food and get him a little milk or fruit but the prison fare finally gave him dysentery. By the time we were released he was seriously ill and I simply did not know what to do. I thought of going to Sara's [Sverdlov's younger sister], but she herself was in hard straits, living in a tiny room and struggling along on bread and water. I decided to go to the Petrovskys. Though I had only been with them for a few hours, I counted on their advice and help, as Bolsheviks and friends of Sverdlov.

Petrovsky's wife opened the door, and gathered me into her arms, sobbing. They understood the problem immediately, and unquestioningly took me in. My being in Petersburg was a problem but Petrovsky willingly went to petition the police for permission to extend my stay at least until the baby was better. Although he was ultimately refused, I had two weeks' respite, during which those kind people surrounded Andrei and myself with tenderness.

Sara was told and came straightaway, followed by Alexandrov and Vladimir and Vera Bonch-Bruevich. Vera and Sara were doctors; for the first few days of our stay they took turns in sitting at Andrei's bedside with me and thanks to their skill he did not die.

I said my goodbyes to the Petrovskys at the beginning of May 1913 and went home to Ekaterinburg, where I was to spend the first part of my exile...

Novgorodtseva later recalled what happened to Sverdlov after he left St. Petersburg.

They kept Sverdlov in the Crosses for about three months before exiling him, in May 1913, to Turukhansk territory, in Northern Siberia. This time they had chosen well – it was practically impossible to escape from there.

It was a wild, harsh land, especially at its northernmost limits; for thousands of miles around there was nothing but endless, trackless taiga, dismal tundra and marshlands. Through the nine-month-long arctic winter the night closed in, blizzards raged and the temperature dropped to minus 60 degr[ees] C. In the brief summers the sun never set but still the ground remained frozen three feet below the surface.

At the confluence of two rivers, the Nizhnaya Tunguska and the Yenisei, several hundred miles from Krasnoyarsk, close to the Arctic Circle, was the village of Monastyrskoye ... which in those days was the territorial administrative centre.

It had a post office with telegraph equipment, a branch of the state bank, two little grocery stores, a school and even a hospital; it also possessed a police department, dozens of guards, a justice of the peace and, of course, a jail. But for all that Monastyrskoye was a tiny backwater, with a few hundred inhabitants, 40 or 50 houses and shacks and, not surprisingly, no theatre or library. All winter it was immersed in six-foot snow-drifts and only the howling blizzard disturbed the deathly silence of the deserted streets. In the gloom of the arctic night, lonely squeaks of footsteps, hastening to escape the bitter cold, were a rare sound indeed.

The only contact with the outside world – Yeniseisk, Krasnoyarsk, Russia itself – was the Yenisei River, which carried steamers and boats in summer and sleds pulled by reindeer, dogs or horses in winter. But it was a long and exhausting journey. For days at a time one encountered no visible sign of life, since the settlements along the river banks were tens or even hundreds of miles apart. It took weeks of rowing upstream against the current, weeks of sledding behind a dog team to reach Krasnoyarsk and the nearest railway station.

At the point where the southern border of the territory and the district of Yeniseisk met there were military posts on both sides of the river, placed there to keep a continuous and close watch on all movement along the river and detain anyone who did not have a special pass.

The isolation was almost incredible. Mail, which took over a month to reach Monastyrskoye and much longer to get to the smaller settlements, was a rare event. ...

In May 1913 Sverdlov was transported to Krasnoyarsk by rail and held there for about a month while some way was found of sending him on to Turukhansk territory. The political prisoners there were a mixed company: Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, anarchists, Socialist Revolutionaries, Bundists, and Polish and Lithuanian Social-Democrats. Many of them had been in detention for years, exchanging a prison cell for a convict convoy, a convoy for another prison, forced labour for exile, and had completely lost touch with Party affairs. They knew nothing about the Prague Conference or the decisive break that had occurred between the Bolsheviks and the doubledealing liquidationists and Trotskyites.

Sverdlov did not allow them to remain in the dark for long. He explained the current political situation to them in detail, helping them to understand its complexities and told them about the cancerous influence of liquidationism and Trotskyism. In early June Sverdlov and a number of others were transported to Yeniseisk on the steamer *Turukhan*. From there he was rowed down the Yenisei in a small boat, under heavy guard, reaching Monastyrskoye at the end of July. Even then they sent him some 20 miles further north, to the village of Selivanikha. ...

Acclimatization to life in the Arctic Circle was hard for Sverdlov, whose health had been undermined by years of prison, convict transports and exile. He fell victim to headaches and a terrible lassitude. Later, when he had recovered from what had proved to be a grave illness, he wrote to me: It was really awful – all mental activity seemed to stop, a kind of suspended animation of the brain – and it made me suffer like the very devil.

The isolation was also hard to bear. Had Sverdlov been a less sociable person, less determined to be interested in people, in the life around him, he would certainly not have found Kureika so repugnant.⁶⁷

By summer Sverdlov had company.

Jughashvili had been arrested in February and sentenced to four years in the Turukhansk region.⁶⁸ It covered 30,000 square miles and had a population of around 10,000 in tiny settlements of no more than ten people, hundreds of miles apart. Winter lasted eight months, and agriculture was non-existent.⁶⁹ Yenisei province was larger than Britain, France and Germany combined and the temperature could reach 60 degrees below. Jughashvili reached Krasnoyarsk in a week, but was sent further north to Turukhansk, which took almost a month. He was taken to the hamlet of Miroedikha, and when the Bolshevik Dubrovinsky drowned in the river Jughashvili appropriated his library. This was against the exile's tradition of sharing and he was moved to the hamlet of Kostino.⁷⁰ When he arrived in summer Sverdlov was already there. Soon after Jughashvili wrote to Alliluev to ask him to hurry Badayev to forward money that Ulyanov had sent from abroad, so he could buy food and kerosene before winter.⁷¹ Political exiles were allowed 15 rubles a month.⁷²

Years later a document on Okhrana notepaper dated 12 July 1913 appeared to have been written in St. Petersburg. It was signed 'Colonel Eremin'. It noted that Jughashvili had provided 'valuable denunciatory information' to the Okhrana after his arrest in Tbilisi in 1906, sent 'intelligence reports' in 1908, then left for St. Petersburg. After the Prague Bolshevik conference he had returned to St. Petersburg and 'went over into open opposition to the Government and completely discontinued his connection with the Okhrana'.⁷³

On 27 July Ulyanov sent Sverdlov and Jughashvili 60 rubles to help them to escape.⁷⁴ They asked Badayev in St. Petersburg for 'food, kerosene and other things' before winter; but Badayev gave the letter to Roman Malinovsky, who passed it to the police.⁷⁵ On 25 August the Department of Police in St. Petersburg warned the Yeniseisk gendarmerie that Jughashvili and Sverdlov might try to escape.⁷⁶ Jughashvili visited Sverdlov for a week in late September, and Ulyanov sent them 100 rubles in October.⁷⁷ Sverdlov told Novgorodtseva how he was living.

'Imagine a narrow room, three paces across and seven long, like a prison cell. One little window on one side, two on the other. A plank bed on the wall nearest the street, like a prison bunk, a trunk, a little table...

'There is a small, dim, kerosene lamp, which I now find more adequate than I had thought I would. It is a low room, lined from top to bottom with my newspapers. All in all it is bearable, even quite comfortable, given that no one here has a better place, except the priest. ...

'You are always concerned about my food. It is not too good – there is simply nothing to buy: no meat, no fish even until the river freezes, no milk, no white bread, no eggs or butter ... [and] for four days we have been living on tea and boiled potatoes with beer. I smoke rough-cut, there is no other tobacco to be found. I could get coarse flour but money is short – I have three roubles and 20 kopeks to last me until 20 November - I had to have a warm shirt made because the one I had was not adequate and I have no winter coat.'

'But it is not too bad. I will survive and emerge in one piece. It seems that the outdoor life has done me good; I have begun to feel a little better over the summer.'

On 23 October 1913 he wrote to Domna Petrovskaya: 'My wife is having a terrible time. ... And the worst thing of all is knowing that I can do nothing to help. But we cannot change the way we are and can hardly hope to escape suffering in the kind of life we have chosen.'

Novgorodtseva was struggling.

I left Petersburg in May 1913, and went to stay on the outskirts of Ekaterinburg, where our daughter, Vera, had been born on 30 July. Shortly after my confinement I received permission to move to Saratov, where Sverdlov's elder sister, Sofya, lived, but within a month I had to leave for my appointed place of exile – the small town of Turinsk in Tobolsk Province. I settled in Fabrichnaya, a nearby village, with the two children.

Our life was awful, especially at first. I went to work in the office of a wood depository for a paltry wage on which I somehow had to feed and clothe the children and keep myself alive.

Thanks to Sverdlov, Novgorodtseva's situation began to get better.

His desperate efforts to help us were, unbelievably enough, successful; his liberal friends managed to get me occasional copying work, which brought in a little more money. My comrades often sent newspapers, magazines, books and even clothes. While I was still in Ekaterinburg I had received money from the Central Committee with a kind letter from Krupskaya; more came when I was in Turinsk. It turned out that Sverdlov had contacted the Central Committee through friends, told them about my plight and asked them to send me any sums that might be intended for him.

Krupskaya had entered 'Money' against Novgorodtseva's address in the CC records.⁷⁸

At the beginning of winter, in St. Petersburg, Alliluev received a second letter from Jughashvili with an article on the national question which he wanted him to forward to Ulyanov, though it was not published,⁷⁹ and has not been found.⁸⁰ Sverdlov and Jughashvili's escape attempt was thwarted in December.⁸¹

(iii) 399 francs and 25 cents

In November 1913, after Roman Malinovsky had demanded the sacking of the director of the Department of Police and his agents, the closure of black cabinets and a cut in funding in the Duma, the Okhrana gave their file on him to the president.⁸² During 1913 Kedrov had been a member of an orchestra which played to raise money for Russian students in Bern. Afterwards Ulyanov asked about publishing, and Kedrov told him that a provocateur had worked as a compositor for *Iskra* abroad and then in St. Petersburg, where he worked for a Black Hundred printer.⁸³

By 1 December the Bolshevik Duma deputies had received support from two and a half times as many workers as the Menshevik deputies, and 1,000 rubles for every 150. The Bolsheviks had previously met in Badayev's flat, but found their own premises, paid 25 to 30 rubles apiece for furniture, hired an 'attendant' and published their address in *Za pravdu*. Groups of ten or more deputies were entitled to representation on Duma commissions, so neither the Bolsheviks nor the Mensheviks could obtain seats independently, or table interpellations to ministers, and their speeches were limited to ten minutes.⁸⁴ Alexandr Malinovsky wrote to *Za pravdu*, demanding an explanation of his

dismissal as a contributor, but Savelev refused to publish his letter.⁸⁵ On the 5th, after 21 of the 52 issues had been confiscated, and two editors had been fined, the paper was banned.⁸⁶ *Proletarskaya pravda* soon appeared but it was 3,000 rubles in the red.⁸⁷ The Bolsheviks' Pribol publishing house issued Ulyanov's *Sputnik Rabochego na 1914 God* (*The Workers' Handbook for 1914*). It contained an analysis of strikes, information about labour laws, the Russian and international working-class movement and political parties, association and unions, and all 5,000 copies sold in one day, before the police could confiscate any,⁸⁸ though the director of the Police Department noted that 'the organisations and persons surrounding Lenin' were 'the most energetic, courageous element' in the RSDRP and 'capable of tireless struggle, resistance and constant organisation'. The 'Leninists' were the 'permanent organisational heart and soul of all Party undertakings of any importance', and were 'always better organised than others, stronger in its singleness of purpose' and 'more resourceful in propagating its ideas among the workers'. 'The Bolshevik circles, nuclei and organisations are now scattered through all the cities. Permanent correspondence and contacts have been established with almost all the factory centres. The Central Committee functions almost regularly and is entirely in the hands of Lenin', and the Bolsheviks 'really are' the RSDRP.⁸⁹

Lunacharsky had maintained relations with Vyperedists in Geneva, but broke with Alexinsky in December.⁹⁰ In Paris émigré Russian Bolsheviks worked at their trades. Others were divers, stevedores, and electricians, and M. Morosov was a chauffeur, though he damaged one car and had to get round on foot for 15 days. The émigrés wages were usually insufficient. Grisha Bielenky looked after the distribution of *Proletarskaya pravda*, and when Ulyanov visited Paris he was very impressed with her.⁹¹

Early in December the editors of *Za pravdu* told Ulyanov that 90 percent of subscribers were workers, and Krupskaya and her mother identified groups that were new to them in large St. Petersburg plants.⁹² Ulyanov sent Shklovsky 120 francs to travel to Germany to meet Bebel and discuss the money held by the SPD trustees.⁹³ During 1912 and 1913 2,801 groups of workers had contributed to the Bolshevik paper and 750 to the Mensheviks'. In 1913 the Bolshevik paper's print run had averaged 240,000 a week, while the Mensheviks' averaged 96,000.⁹⁴ The Bolshevik paper had received contributions from 2,181 groups of workers, while the Menshevik paper had received 661.⁹⁵ Late that year Badayev went to Finland to pick up some money for *Proletarskaya pravda*.⁹⁶

Earlier that year Ulyanov had refused to allow Rozhkov's plan for a legal labour party to appear in *Zvezda*. Rosenfeld had warned Rozhkov that if it appeared elsewhere 'a war of extermination would become inevitable', and *Diskussiony listok* denounced his views.⁹⁷ Rozhkov insisted that he was an SD and in December he wanted to publish an article in *Proletarskaya pravda* and gave a copy to the Menshevik Duma deputy Chkheidze. Rozhkov insisted that RSDRP unification was possible if 'all questions are to be debated in fractions and resolved by a majority vote at the time'. If 'an agreement cannot be reached', 'both sides are required to find a compromise', and there had to be 'representatives of both currents in Duma committees and in the Secretariat'.⁹⁸

An article in *Prosveshcheniye* by 'V. Ilyin' argued, against the Bund, that there was no 'pure' national culture.

The *elements* of democratic and socialist culture are present, if only in rudimentary form, in *every* national culture, since in *every* nation there are toiling and exploited masses, whose conditions of life inevitably give rise to the ideology of democracy and socialism. But *every* nation also possesses a bourgeois culture (and most nations a reactionary and clerical culture as well) in the form, not only of 'elements', but of the *dominant* culture. Therefore the general 'national culture' is the culture of the landlords, the clergy and the bourgeoisie ...

In advancing the slogan of 'the international culture of democracy and the world working-class movement', we take *from each* national culture *only* its democratic and socialist elements; we take them *only* and *absolutely* to the bourgeois culture and bourgeois nationalism of *each* nation. ...

Marxists will never, under any circumstances, advocate either the federal principle or decentralisation. The great centralised state is a tremendous historical step forward from medieval disunity to the future socialist unity of the whole world, and only via such a state (inseparably connected with capitalism), can there be any road to socialism.⁹⁹

At the end of the year Ulyanov wrote to Armand in Paris about complaints from Russia that he had sent agents for confidential tasks.

Comedians! They chase *words*, without thinking about how devilishly complicated and subtle life is, producing *entirely new forms*, which we only partly 'catch on' to.

People for the most part (99 percent of the bourgeoisie, 98 percent of the liquidators, about 60-70 percent of the Bolsheviks) don't know how to *think*, they only *learn words by heart*. They've learnt the word 'underground'. Firmly. They can repeat it. They know it by heart.

But *how* to change *its forms* in a new situation, how to learn and think *anew* for this purpose, this we do not understand.

Those who had “‘taken fright” at trusted agents’ as ‘allegedly “insulting”” to Party cells, were ‘Idiotically stupid’.¹⁰⁰ When Ulyanov visited her brother in Kraków she saw ‘piles of letters’ from ‘practical Party workers in Russia’ and felt that he was ‘always better informed than those who stayed in Russia’.¹⁰¹

A banker whose brother was a member of the VPSR had placed his fortune at Burtsev’s disposal, and he had established a detective agency in Paris and threatened to publicise what he knew about Zhitomirsky.¹⁰² Ulyanov asked Burtsev about him,¹⁰³ and decided that he was loyal,¹⁰⁴ Burtsev gave Malinovsky two or three names to check up on.¹⁰⁵ There had been rumours that he was a spy, but Ulyanov defended him.¹⁰⁶ In December Plekhanov argued at the International bureau that the Mensheviks had caused the Duma split,¹⁰⁷ and when a majority voted for a meeting of ‘all factions of the working-class movement in Russia’, he resigned, and a Menshevik replaced him.¹⁰⁸ Wallach told Ulyanov about Plekhanov’s criticism of Luxemburg.¹⁰⁹ He had been ‘excessively sharp’ and gave ammunition to the ‘Europeans against us’, but most regarded the Bolshevik-Menshevik schism with ‘complete indifference’.¹¹⁰ Ulyanov’s bank account in Paris held 399 francs and 25 cents,¹¹¹ and his *Collected Works* contain 43 letters to Russia that year.¹¹²

(iv) The feminising of factory workforces

During 1913 the agriculture ministry budget had been 146.2 million rubles,¹¹³ and agriculture absorbed around 45 percent of national income.¹¹⁴ Over 87 percent of the Peasant Land Bank’s sales had been to individuals,¹¹⁵ though 828,000 heads of peasant households had successfully applied for land reorganisation,¹¹⁶ as were 134,600 of the 160,300 who applied to convert their communal allotments into private holdings.¹¹⁷ Peasants also leased around a quarter of the gentry’s arable land.¹¹⁸ The domestic production of agricultural machinery was worth 60.5 million rubles, and in many regions iron ploughs had replaced wooden ones.¹¹⁹ Machine threshers were widely in use, and 109 million rubles’ worth had been sold.¹²⁰ Grain formed 90 percent of crops,¹²¹ and the harvest was the best ever.¹²² Peasants produced 78.2 million tons of grain,¹²³ and supplied almost a quarter of the world’s market for wheat, over a third of its barley and half its rye. Around 20 percent came from large farms and 80 percent from peasant holdings,¹²⁴ but only around 12.4 percent reached the internal market.¹²⁵ Since 1909 Russia had exported an average of over 12.1 million tons of grain each year, or around 30 percent of the world’s total.¹²⁶ Russia was the world’s largest exporter of foodstuffs,¹²⁷ and exports were worth 1,520 million rubles.¹²⁸ Agricultural produce accounted for 84 percent of the total,¹²⁹ and contributed around 54 percent of national income.¹³⁰ There were 35.5 million horses, 60.3 million cattle, 121.2 million sheep and goats and 20.3 million pigs;¹³¹ but while peasants consumed an average of 11 pounds of meat a year, urban workers averaged 154 pounds and troops expected 324 pounds.¹³² Agricultural labourers’ daily wages were between 23 to 64 percent higher than in 1901-1905,¹³³ though the ‘surplus’ rural population was 32 million.¹³⁴ Almost 235,000 had migrated to Siberia, and though nearly 43,000 had returned,¹³⁵ 3,461,500 had stayed or returned since 1906.¹³⁶

Excluding Finland, the state owned over 30,000 miles of railways and private companies owned almost 15,000.¹³⁷ During 1913 43,620 miles of railways had been constructed,¹³⁸ and the network had grown by around one third since 1900, though many lines were single-track. Many of the 19,760 locomotives had no automatic brakes, and 25 percent were over 20 years old. Waggon were awkward to load and unload, yet railways accounted for around 60 percent of all freight transport. Around 42,000 miles of waterways carried most of the rest, though not all could carry heavy traffic, and many rivers were frozen for months over winter.¹³⁹ Across European Russia there were only 12,500 miles of metalled roads.¹⁴⁰

By the end of 1913 foreigners owned 40 percent of joint-stock shares and Belgian companies operated 20 of the 41 tram systems. Several St. Petersburg banks, seven Moscow banks and the Merchants’ Society controlled 90 percent of domestic finance, though foreigners owned 44 percent of their capital.¹⁴¹ French capitalists controlled 60 percent of coal and pig iron output and held almost 23 percent of the total capital of the ten largest Russian joint stock banks.¹⁴² Foreign investment amounted to three billion rubles, including 34 percent of investment in railways, industry and commerce.¹⁴³ Russian plants produced almost 197 million tons of cast iron and 246.5 million tons of pig iron.¹⁴⁴ Nationally there were between 150 and 200 cartels, and nine companies accounted for 53 percent of cast iron production.¹⁴⁵ There were 42 joint-stock metalworking companies,¹⁴⁶ and 12 owned over 30 iron ore mines,¹⁴⁷ which produced 80 percent of national output,¹⁴⁸ and Bryansk steelworks’ capital had risen from 24 to 41 million rubles.¹⁴⁹ Coal production was almost 39.5 million tons,¹⁵⁰ though six firms produced 65 percent of the domestic requirement,¹⁵¹ and had raised prices.¹⁵² Pig-iron production was five million tons,¹⁵³ and the production of coal, pig iron and steel was around 40 to 50 percent higher than in 1910.¹⁵⁴ Oil output had fallen to just over nine million tons, but Russia supplied 18 percent of the world market.¹⁵⁵ Nationally, textiles and foodstuffs accounted for half of industrial production, or twice as much as mining, metallurgy and engineering combined,¹⁵⁶ though

mining was the biggest single employer and the most valuable activity. Together with food-processing and textiles it formed 60 percent of the value of production by large enterprises, while a third came from workshops and cottage industry.¹⁵⁷ Asia now provided half of domestic demand for raw cotton,¹⁵⁸ though imports were over 46,000 tons, and mills produced a third of cotton textiles.¹⁵⁹ Cotton mills had a total of just under 3.5 million spindles, and consumed over three times as much raw cotton as in 1890, and produced 3,120 million yards of cotton goods. Other mills produced between 104 and 120 million yards of woollen goods and almost 240 million yards of linen. Russian factories had produced 8.3 million pairs of footwear, though rural and town artisans produced another 57 million or so, and sugar mills produced enough for 19 pounds per capita. The production of large Russian plants amounted to 5,620 million rubles a year and artisan production was valued at 1,395 million; but whereas 54 percent of the production of large plants was capital goods, and 46 percent consumer goods, 90 percent of artisan output was for consumers, and especially peasants. Overall 58.2 percent of production was for consumers. Miners produced almost 35 million tons of coal, though almost 10 million tons were imported. Russia produced almost five million tons of pig-iron, a rise of 50 percent in five years, and 4.2 million tons of cast iron and almost 4.25 million tons of steel. The use of electricity for industrial purposes had increased five-fold since 1905. Russia had imported over 59,000 tons of hides, almost 55,500 tons of wool, 75,800 tons of tea, 78,000 tons of herring, over 134,000 tons of rice, 197,000 tons of raw cotton, 12,587 tons of cotton and wool yarn and 66,782 tons of tanned and undressed hides. The value of imported consumer goods was over 2.5 higher than that of industrial goods,¹⁶⁰ and was 1,374 million rubles,¹⁶¹ though the value of domestically-manufactured capital goods had risen to almost 2.5 billion rubles.¹⁶²

There were 17,580,000 wage-earners, including 4.5 million agricultural labourers, over four million non-agricultural workers including unskilled day labourers, white-collar staff, workers in trade and tourism and domestic servants, three million in cottage industry and urban craft workshops, 1.41 million in railway, waterways, and the postal, telegraph and telephone services, while 1.5 million worked in construction and 3.1 in factories and mines.¹⁶³

The industrial workforce was estimated at 4.3 million, including 3.35 million in large factories and mines,¹⁶⁴ and 92 percent were in European Russia.¹⁶⁵ There were almost 1.6 million male and 724,000 female inspected factory workers,¹⁶⁶ who formed 1.4 percent of the population,¹⁶⁷ and 80 percent were in workforces of over 100,¹⁶⁸ a third were in those between 500 and 1,000,¹⁶⁹ and almost half were in those with more.¹⁷⁰ Enterprises with over 20 workers had an average of 191, and 40 percent of the 2.24 million inspected workers were in plants employing over 1,000.¹⁷¹ Average monthly factory wages were 32 rubles,¹⁷² but 26 in textile mills, just over 28 in the food industry, 30 in chemical works, 41 in woodworking shops, 42 in metalworks and 56 in print works.¹⁷³ Womens' wages varied from one-fifth to two-thirds of men's, though women formed two-thirds of those employed in the silk industry, 56 percent in cotton mills, 54 percent in linen mills, 41 percent in wool mills, 37 percent in porcelain and ceramic factories, 34 percent in chemical factories, nine percent in printing, eight percent in woodworking and just under five percent in metalworks.¹⁷⁴ Casual male workers might get 80 kopeks a day, women 60, juveniles and children 30 to 35, and some even less, though textile workers averaged 23, printers 34.6 and machine-builders and metalworkers 43.¹⁷⁵ Over 92 percent of workers' wages were in cash and the rest was in the form of company housing, factory-supplied meals or goods on credit from factory stores.¹⁷⁶ Finished manufactured products formed 5.6 percent of exports, and food and semi-manufactured goods over 70 percent.¹⁷⁷ Average production per worker was 101 rubles, compared to 682 in the USA.¹⁷⁸ Nationally, metalworking accounted for 35 percent of the value of production and textiles for 18 percent.¹⁷⁹ The average working day in inspected plants was ten hours.¹⁸⁰ Most metalworkers and machine-builders averaged 33.3 rubles, but 25 percent more in St. Petersburg and printers were also well paid.¹⁸¹ Women formed around 30 percent of the 1,844,000 workers in manufacturing industry, and juveniles 10.6 percent. Factory workers averaged 9.7 hours a day. White-collar employees in large plants averaged 57.5 rubles a month and technical staff 122. Enterprises employed an average of 130, though the average metalworking plant had around 160, and around 13,000 were women. Factory workers averaged 9.7 hours a day. White-collar employees in large plants averaged 57.5 rubles a month and technical staff 122. Nationally workers at large plants had produced goods valued at 6,391,000 rubles that year, and those in small-scale industry 2,040,000 rubles. After-tax profits represented 11 percent of share capital,¹⁸² and the annual income of the 3,500 wealthiest capitalists amounted to around 537 million rubles.¹⁸³

In the five years to the end of 1913 the price of staple foods had risen by an average of 24 percent.¹⁸⁴ In the major industrial centres 2.2 pounds of potatoes cost 1.23 kopeks, sauerkraut 5.49, sour rye bread 6.25, sweet rye bread 7.44, buckwheat 8.92, sunflower oil 26.86, second quality meat 37.77 and melted tallow for candles 55.55.¹⁸⁵

Nationally, there had been 21,873 complaints to factory inspectors about 'bad treatment'.¹⁸⁶ The Morozov family employed 54,000 workers in four plants, but even the most conscientious lost ten percent of their wages in fines.¹⁸⁷ Inspectors had received reports of 14,300 accidents, especially from metalworking plants, and above all from state plants.¹⁸⁸ Around 30 workers had been killed.¹⁸⁹ There had been 234 trade unions at the beginning of

the year,¹⁹⁰ but 114 with 34,000 members by the end.¹⁹¹ Officially there had been 2,404 strikes involving 887,096 inspected workers, and 54 percent and 56 percent of strikers had been deemed 'political'.¹⁹² The 755 strikes included 353,662 strikers who were deemed 'political', and 64 percent were metalworkers, while eight percent were textile workers.¹⁹³ Altogether about two million workers struck and 1.27 million were deemed 'political'.¹⁹⁴ Just over 63 percent of metalworkers' strikes were unsuccessful, 29.1 percent ended in compromise and 7.8 percent were successful; while 56.6 percent of textile strikers were deemed economic and 43.4 percent 'political', 63.6 percent were unsuccessful, 26.4 percent ended in compromise and ten percent were successful.¹⁹⁵

Overall Russian plants made 5.3 percent of global production,¹⁹⁶ and they came fifth behind the USA, Germany, Britain and France.¹⁹⁷ Russia was eighth in the world in terms of foreign trade, with 4.2 percent of exports and 3.5 percent of imports; but in per capita terms it ranked behind Turkey and several small nations. Industry and commerce generated almost 40 percent of national wealth.¹⁹⁸ Output had grown by an average of 3.5 percent per annum since 1885, and by five percent since 1909,¹⁹⁹ while the growth of the mining and manufacturing sectors had averaged 7.5 percent a year since 1910.²⁰⁰ Late in 1913 there was a fuel shortage, and the government allowed imports of oil and coal.²⁰¹ In 50 European provinces over 15 percent of people were urban, but heavy industry was mainly confined to a few cities and regions.²⁰² Only two cities had gas plants, 33 had some sewerage, and 222 had a water supply.²⁰³

(v) The increasing concentration of large-scale industry

By 1913 the population of St. Petersburg had grown by 107,000.²⁰⁴ Roughly 40 percent of Russia's industrial production worth 56 million rubles was made there, and though less than 15 percent of exports and under 20 percent of its imports left St. Petersburg's port, 450 million's worth passed through its customs.²⁰⁵ The Putilov metalworks' capital had risen to 25 million rubles,²⁰⁶ and the city's metalworks produced 18 percent of national output, three quarters by joint stock plants,²⁰⁷ while the 23 joint stock textile mills accounted for 77 percent of output.²⁰⁸ Around 25.7 percent of factory workers were female, including 57 percent of textile and sewing workers and 41.6 percent of chemical workers, while 11 percent were youngsters. Womens' wages at the Putilov works averaged 36 percent of the highest-paid man.²⁰⁹ Men's pay in heavy industry averaged 1.41 rubles a day and women's 72 kopeks,²¹⁰ and cash wages averaged 40 percent above the national average, though the cost of living was considerably higher. The average metalworkers' wage was 42 percent higher than that of chemical workers, 49 percent higher than food workers and 63 higher than textile workers. Factory workers averaged 9.54 rubles a month,²¹¹ and wages had caught up with the cost of living.²¹² Nationally employment in the armaments industry had risen to 120,022, including 47,400 at artillery plants, 16,970 at state shipyards, 13,500 at Putilov metalworks, 11,000 at the Izhevsk plant and 7,000 at the Tula plant. Wages in war-related industries averaged just under 33 rubles a month,²¹³ and the Sestoresk armoury near St. Petersburg had produced 4,530 rifles.²¹⁴

Only 30 percent of women among the 37,000 members of workers' clubs were union members, compared to 70 percent of men.²¹⁵ Over a half of the members of workers' educational societies were under 23, and 'old-timers' arrived 'only in exceptional cases',²¹⁶ though around 88 percent of men and 44 percent of women in the city could read. At least a quarter of flats lacked running water and even more in working-class districts.²¹⁷ Around 95 percent of the 1,025 political strikes included 27 percent on May Day,²¹⁸ and Putilov workers had come out for 102 days, mainly over political issues.²¹⁹ Just over 25 percent of the industrial workforce in and around St. Petersburg were female.²²⁰ The number of factory workers in St. Petersburg province had risen to 218,000,²²¹ including 30,000 taken on that year,²²² and the 315 strikes included 73,182 workers.²²³

In Moscow plants with 1,000 or more employees, the average annual wage had risen from 264 to 304 rubles in seven years, though 33 percent of workers kept lodgers.²²⁴ Factory workers worked for 270 days a year. Inspected workers averaged 257 rubles a year, and workers on war-related contracts 393 rubles, though the average was estimated at 283 rubles in cash and 12 in kind.²²⁵ Around 27 percent of men and 18 percent of women in small tailoring workshops still had much of their wages in kind, usually in the form of board and lodging.²²⁶ Textile mill workers averaged 21.7 rubles and metalworkers 34.²²⁷ That year 268 strikes had involved 94,442 strikers.²²⁸ In Vladimir province the average monthly wage was 15.7 rubles.²²⁹

Around 22 percent of the population of the Baltic region was urban, and over 253,000 were in Estland. The population of Tallin had almost doubled in 16 years to over 116,000. Tartu, with a population of 45,000, had hardly grown at all, though Pärnu and Narva both had around 20,000. Around 31 percent of Estland's population had not been born there. Russians formed almost 12 percent of the population and Germans just over 11 percent.²³⁰ The number of industrial workers had risen from 24,000 to 46,000 since 1910,²³¹ and around 40 percent were in Tallin, the centre of the rapidly growing metalworking and machine industries, and 32 percent were in Narva. There were

13,000 schoolchildren in the Baltic region and 7,000 were in Estland,²³² and over 700 books and pamphlets were published in their language. The number of children in secondary schools had doubled since 1900 and the number of Estland students at Tartu University had quadrupled,²³³ to 434, but they formed one-sixth of the total.²³⁴

The population of Latvia was 517,000,²³⁵ though only 35.3 percent had been born there, while 33 percent were from other Baltic provinces and 29.9 percent from outside the region. Around 39 percent were Latvian, 22 percent Russian, 17 percent German, 6.5 percent Jews and five percent Poles. More Germans than Latvians owned valuable property and Jews owned more than Russians. There were 14 primary schools, one middle school and two secondary schools, where instruction was in German. The 76,280 factory workers were the fourth largest group in Russia, and the value of what they produced had grown by 177 percent in five years. Riga factories had increased their output by 77.1 percent in seven years.²³⁶ Across Latvia there were 138,000 factory workers and 52,000 transport workers and builders. The LSD claimed 3,000 members, and 76 percent were under 30, while just under 20 percent had joined in 1905, though an LSD member had become a police agent in January 1913. In Riga 97 percent of LSD members were workers. There had been 180,000 strikers in the city and 800,000 altogether.²³⁷ On May Day 50,000 workers had demonstrated in Riga.²³⁸

During 1913 the Russian government had annexed Chelm province in Poland as a 'true Russian province'.²³⁹ In Poland average monthly wages were 25 rubles.²⁴⁰ Łódź's population was 459,000.²⁴¹ Warszawa's birth-rate was nine percent higher than its death rate, and the population was approaching 885,000, including over 337,000 Jews. The 31,000 metalworkers had produced goods worth 58 million rubles, and much of this, and especially military equipment, was exported to Russia,²⁴² while Poland took 75 percent of German exports to the Russian Empire.²⁴³

Around 70 percent of Russia's extractive industry was in Ukraine, where French speculators had invested over 180 million rubles in foundries, though only 15 percent of finished goods were made there.²⁴⁴ Almost 60 percent of workers from peasant families had arrived since 1906, and formed 52.4 percent of factory workers.²⁴⁵ The average monthly wage was 22 rubles, but 23.8 in Kharkiv and 16.4 in the Kyiv region.²⁴⁶

Kyiv's population was 520,000,²⁴⁷ though only 3,757 could vote in municipal elections. The 4,022 property owners worth less than 1,500 rubles a year were Orthodox Christians, 209 were Poles, 69 were Jews, 48 were Germans and three were Armenian-Tatars. Among property-owners worth more than 1,500 rubles, 3,730 were Orthodox Christian, 521 were Jews, 474 were Poles, 157 were Germans and one was an Armenian-Tatar. There were around 15,000 inspected factory and railway workers. The Demievka sugar plant employed 1,300, print works employed 1,579, and railways 1,600, though *Kievskaya mysl* criticised Kyiv's enterprises reliance on child labour. The output of the 177 main enterprises was worth 37.5 million rubles.²⁴⁸

Katerynoslav's population was over 200,000,²⁴⁹ though almost 47 percent of Katerynoslav province workers had been born elsewhere.²⁵⁰ Approaching nine percent of Ukrainian coal miners were under the age of 15, and one third were girls. The cost of food had almost doubled in two years. Adult male miners got 24.5 rubles a month for a 260-day year. At mines producing 90,000 tons annually 1.38 percent of workers were women and 6.25 percent were children, and at mines producing 1,760 tons or less the figures were almost 18 percent and three percent. In the pit villages of Horlivka and Shcherbinovka three-fifths of families took in lodgers. Half took in one or two, 27 percent three or four, 9.6 percent seven to ten and one percent 11 to 15. Around 60 percent of the New Russia Company's 9,935 miners lived in Company homes, but while 200 or so luzovka ironworkers lived in barracks, over 5,360 lived with their families and 600 owned their homes, which the town's slum dwellers could only dream of. Almost half of metalworkers had been injured and 1.2 per 1,000 had been killed. The Company employed 43,000 workers, but had opposed at attempt to win municipal status for the luzovka, claiming that 12,000 of the 14,000 inhabitants were Jews. Only two public libraries with reading rooms remained open in luzovka.²⁵¹ Altogether the 168,440 miners produced 87.1 percent of the domestic demand for coal,²⁵² amounting to 1,561,000 tons. Donbass plants had produced just over 2,260,000 tons of pig iron and steel.²⁵³ Since 1906 over 52 percent of Donbass metalworkers and almost 60 percent of miners had come from peasant families, and though 15,000 of the 168,400 metalworkers were under 15,²⁵⁴ they earned an average of 413 rubles a year, a rise of 50 percent in eight years. Since 1912 the workforce at the Nikopol-Mariupol plant had risen from 2,114 to 3,232 rubles. The Prodamenta steel cartel had 15 member companies, and in the first ten months of the year the Prodogol cartel coal output had risen by almost 3.7 million tons, and while that did not meet demand,²⁵⁵ it accounted for 90 percent of domestic production.²⁵⁶ Collieries using French capital accounted for about 51 percent of output and 78 percent of pig-iron production,²⁵⁷ and nine pig-iron plants produced 79 percent of the national total.²⁵⁸ Two-thirds of luzovka's 8,045 ironworkers were family men, and though 2,648 out of 8,045 lived in 778 company-owned houses, and 95 in company barracks. The ten largest Donbass metallurgy plants had barracks able to hold 8,733 workers, but only 3,796 lived there, while 11,936 lived in company apartments, and 16.1 percent of metallurgy workers lived in company houses. By spring 1913 the cost of food at five settlements owned by the South Russian Company had almost doubled. A journalist visiting mining communities noted that it was 'difficult to say where life is worst for

the miners, in the mines or above ground. On the surface he is in a dugout, or in the best case in a barrack with dirt, crowding, poor food, drunkenness, an absence of any spiritual interests', and he had 'nowhere to spend his free moments, no one with whom to converse in a civilised manner', while underground there was 'hard labour, low pay, cave-ins, expulsions, flooding' and other hazards. There were 15,000 children among the average of 168,400 coal miners. There had been 450 accidents per 1,000 workers in Donbass factories, and 1.2 per thousand died. In the coal mines there were 158 accidents per 1,000 workers, and 2.6 per thousand died.²⁵⁹ That year the metallurgical industry produced 4.7 million tons, while Germany's plants produced 19.2 million.²⁶⁰ Around 25,000 Donbass workers had gone on strike,²⁶¹ including 15,000 miners and metalworkers.²⁶² Some managers had made concessions, though others had sent for the Cossacks.²⁶³ In southern Ukraine Odesa was home to almost 500,000.²⁶⁴ Jews formed 35.5 percent of the population and owned 61 percent of artisan workshops, 64 percent of industry and 64 percent of trade and commerce, but could not vote in municipal elections.²⁶⁵

In autumn SDs in the Luzovka district had persuaded a few ironworkers and miners to call for a general strike. The police arrested the leaders and noted that 'a dearth of experienced ideologists' and the 'mistrust engendered' by recent 'liquidations' had led to a fall in SD activity, while the Bolshevik perspective on 'liquidators' was not understood during the Duma elections. The Luzovka-Petrovsky RSDRP committee became the Luzovka-Makeevka committee, which had members in the New Russia Company's factory in Luzovka and its associated coalmines. In November *Za pravdu* claimed that 100 copies had been distributed in the Donbass in one day and some of the 30,000 miners and factory workers had contributed 104 rubles to an appeal to have a miners' page in the paper. SDs wanted 50 more copies. The Bolshevik Veniamin Ermoshenko wrote about the Luzovka metalworks. 'Silence. Not a sound of public activity is to be heard from this giant factory with its 12,000 workers', and SDs were 'blundering in the darkness'. The region's 17 or 18 groups included 16 spies. There were two in the Bund and four among SRs, but Karl Pavolvich, who ran a coffee shop in Luzovka, found their names and told the revolutionaries.²⁶⁶

In the Caucasus Georgia's population was 666,000, mainly because of the increase of unskilled labourers. Tbilisi's population was 344,600, and Batumi's was 28,500.²⁶⁷ Many socialist agitators and trade unionists had been exiled or forced underground in 1912, and though there were strikes,²⁶⁸ the circulation of the Armenian language *akhali azri* had fallen to around 400.²⁶⁹ In spring eight SD Chiatura miners had complained that their letters and articles never appeared in the SD paper *azri (Opinion)* after the RSDRP fell 'into the intelligentsia's hands'. The editors acknowledged that 'conscious and advanced workers' had 'less opportunity to play a clear role in the paper', and it would 'become a real workers' organ when workers are involved in its publication materially and ideologically'.²⁷⁰ In summer Chiatura miners struck for an eight-hour day, an end to night work and a rise. The police left the SD-led strike committee alone, and after the mine-owners agreed to some demands the miners went back. In June, Chiatura manganese workers went on strike again and demanded an eight-hour day, an end to night work and a pay rise. The police allowed the strike committee, which was led by SDs, to operate, and in a month half the employers made concessions. There was a strike by the Tqibuli coal miners. RSDRP activity was at an all-time low. There were three cells in Batumi with around 60 members between them, and the police noted no activity in Poti and Sukhumi, while the Kutaisi organisation was in financial difficulties. Tbilisi SDs were mostly involved in legal work, though some SDs were involved in a tram drivers' strike, and the number of strikes gradually increased in the second half of the year.²⁷¹

In Azerbaijan Baki's population was approaching 214,700, though 65 percent had been born outside the city, and there were 76,288 Russians, 45,962 Azeri Turks, 41,680 Armenians and 25,096 Iranians. There were almost 103,000 wage earners and 37,600 were Russians. The 3,806 oil and chemical workers included 1,381 Russians, 997 Armenians, 439 Iranians and 333 Azeri Turks. In the oilfield there were 34,479 workers and 18 percent were Muslims from Kazan or Daghestan, 17 percent were Armenians, 15 percent were Russians and 12 percent were Azeri Turks. Around 35 percent of Azeri men, but only seven percent of Azeri women, could read and write.²⁷² In February some Dashnak prisoners had been pardoned after the tsar's amnesty.²⁷³ In the first six months of the year Baki had been fairly peaceful, though there were a few scattered strikes in spring. In July over 700 workers struck at the Rothschilds' oilfields in Balakhany, and by the end of the month 19,000 were on strike,²⁷⁴ including 13,000 in Baki.²⁷⁵ Dashnaksutuin suspended its terrorist activities in November.²⁷⁶ There was a skeleton Bolshevik organisation in Baki, and the Menshevik Zhordania worked with his old rival Makharadze on *rodnik (Spring)*, which favoured a synthesis of legal and illegal work.²⁷⁷ By the end of the year 190 strikes had involved 25,852 workers. Around 94 percent of oil was produced by mechanical rigs.²⁷⁸ Since 1910 20 of the 84 refineries had closed, and during 1913 oil output had fallen by 6.8 percent compared to 1912,²⁷⁹ though oil prices had risen.²⁸⁰

In Finland around 51 percent of those enfranchised had voted in the general election. German was the first foreign language taught in secondary schools.²⁸¹

Across Russia more and more young workers had become literate. The Education Ministry had received 14.6 percent of the government's budget,²⁸² and around 30 percent of men and women were deemed literate, including

38 percent of those of school age and above.²⁸³ Most young children in cities learned to read, write and sing in Russian, plus arithmetic, geometry, drawing and drafting. The minimum annual salary for a state school teacher was 360 rubles,²⁸⁴ but Yaroslavl province police banned primary teachers' meetings to discuss new tendencies in grammar and self-expression which 'threatened to disturb public tranquillity'.²⁸⁵ Nationally, 18,000 out of 119,000 gymnasium pupils were from peasant families,²⁸⁶ but 32.5 percent were from noble families. The pay of teachers who taught boys was higher than those who taught 303,700 at girls' gymnasia. The 276 boys' realschulen had about 113,000 pupils.²⁸⁷ The Ministry instructed gymnasium history teachers and textbook compilers to state that the historical development of Russia 'in no way corresponds to the paths of development of western states',²⁸⁸ but in December the Okhrana reported widespread revolutionary sympathies among the delegates at a teachers' Congress.²⁸⁹ Around 84,000 students attended higher educational institutions,²⁹⁰ including 40,000 women, more than anywhere else in the world except the USA.²⁹¹ Kyiv's eight higher educational institutions had 15,000 students.²⁹² There were over 52,000 in civil and private educational institutions and 23,534 at the Higher Women's Courses.²⁹³ Over 3,500 attended German universities, including 1,174 in Berlin, 758 in Leipzig, 552 in Munich, 435 in Königsberg, 317 in Heidelberg and 283 in Halle, and a majority were Jews,²⁹⁴ as were around 320 of the 400 Russian students in Switzerland.²⁹⁵

During 1913 there had been 2,075 journals and magazines and 878 newspapers, plus 468 journals and magazines and 280 newspapers in 25 other languages.²⁹⁶ The 856 daily papers had a circulation of three million. Moscow's *Russkoe slovo* sold over 600,000 on average, St. Petersburg's liberal daily *Russkiya vedemosti* (*Russian Knowledge*) sold over 100,000,²⁹⁷ and the *Gazeta kopeika* sold 220,000. In Moscow province 564 villages and 164 teashops subscribed to 1,395 newspapers and 283 journals. Railway station kiosks had to stock as many right-wing papers as others, but while returns of unsold liberal papers were six to ten percent, those of right-wing papers were 40 to 80 percent. That year 243 of 367 new publications had been closed, and 340 fines amounted 129,775 rubles. The 26,629 books published in Russian and 7,347 in other languages had appeared in 118,836,713 copies.²⁹⁸ Only German publishers produced more.²⁹⁹

The Okhrana had 23 agents in Western Europe,³⁰⁰ including one each in London, Berlin, Nice, Menton, Alassis, Zurich, Grenoble, Corsica and Genoa, two in both Cannes and San Remo, four in both Cap Martin and Paris and five elsewhere.³⁰¹ On 31 October the head of the Paris Agentura had sacked the French detective agency on the grounds that Russian émigrés no longer needed to be watched, but hired one half its size run by two French nationals,³⁰² under the cover of the Agence Bint et Sambain. Bint had previously been an Okhrana detective.³⁰³ Since 1910 14 of the 140 VPSR members in Paris had been spies. In Russia the Okhrana's annual budget included around 600,000 rubles for St. Petersburg, 350,000 for Moscow, 150,000 for Warszawa and 263,000 for the Paris Agentura, whose head had the status of a representative of the Russian government.³⁰⁴ The 1881 'temporary' martial law regulations remained in force in Russia and the ordinary police cost 53 million rubles.³⁰⁵ The security arrangements for the Romanov tercentenary had cost 800,000 rubles and guarding top officials 700,000.³⁰⁶ Total security expenditure that year was almost four million rubles, including almost 690,000 for the Okhrana to secure the tsar's palace and its surroundings, almost 346,500 for the guards of the imperial family, 2,668,000 for domestic political investigations, 1,984,500 for the security divisions, and almost 75,000 for agents. Railway gendarmes had cost 608,500 rubles,³⁰⁷ and most of the 15,000 were stationed at railway stations.³⁰⁸ There were 132 spies in SD organisations,³⁰⁹ including 37 in the RSDRP, four of whom were in the Bolsheviks' Moscow organisation.³¹⁰ The VPSR's 102 groups were mainly in European provinces,³¹¹ and four of the Okhrana's 27 agents among SRs had been exposed, as had one of the three among anarchists, but none of the 29 among SDs.³¹² The Okhrana's budget for 1914 was to be 74 percent of that of the Department of Police.³¹³

In Siberia Lena goldfield workers had rejected a new contract and gone on strike in June, and early in August 9,000 strikers and their families were sent away.³¹⁴ By autumn 2,295 'politicals' had escaped and 1,217 remained,³¹⁵ but by the end of the year that was down to about 1,000.³¹⁶ The veteran SR Ekaterina Breshkovskaya was in Irkutsk Central Prison, Siberia, for attempting to escape. She had 'everything necessary', including money, though 'not so large a choice of reading matter' as before. She could write letters, though not in English, since none of the police could read that language. Friends supplied her with a book of hymns in English, and good food, and asked for English poetry, history books and old magazine so as 'not to forget the English language'. When the war broke out that summer she shared the indignation of those who resented the 'insolence' of Germany, though the prisoners were limited to reading the cablegrams about the conflict. Breshkovskaya sometimes felt that she was going mad, since there were 'so many diseases, insanities and suicides', and spies in two sentry boxes watched her day and night. She escaped, but it took three days to discover she was missing, and the authorities offered a 1,000-ruble reward. Two days later, near Irkutsk, soldiers stopped a coach, arrested a 'well-dressed gentleman,' and put 'him' in solitary in Irkutsk Prison. (About two years later Breshkovskaya was exiled to the far north.)³¹⁷

The Moscow publisher Ivan Sytin had visited Gorky on Capri in spring 1913. He offered him 12,000 rubles to serialise *Detsvo (Childhood)*, the first part of his autobiography, in *Russkoe slovo*, and 1,500 more to publish it as a book.³¹⁸ Late that year Gorky entered Russia illegally,³¹⁹ and arrived in St. Petersburg on 31 December, but was under surveillance, and left for Finland hours later. He settled on Andreeva's family's estate near Mustamäki, but often travelled to St. Petersburg,³²⁰ where he was the literary editor of *Prosveshcheniye*,³²¹ though he showed no eagerness to work for the RSDRP.³²²

(vi) Europe's largest debtor nation

During 1913 the government's income from ordinary sources was almost 3.42 billion rubles, 79 million from postal services, 118.6 million from stamp duty, 272.5 million from direct taxes, 813.6 million from state railways, and 899.3 million from the vodka monopoly,³²³ though costs had reduced that to 664 million,³²⁴ and the government planned to ban its production, even though duties represented around 28 percent of its revenue.³²⁵ Indirect taxes brought in 681 million rubles.³²⁶ About 30 percent of government revenue came from monopolies and 60 percent from indirect taxes.³²⁷ Russia's income was about 75 percent of Germany's, roughly the same as Britain's, though Russia's per capita income was below Austro-Hungary's, roughly 40 percent of that in France, around a third of that in Germany and less than 20 percent of that in Britain.³²⁸

During 1913 13.7 percent of government expenditure went to pay off loans and the foreign deficit was 3.48 billion.³²⁹ The government's ordinary expenditure was almost 3.1 billion rubles.³³⁰ It invested 133 million in new railways and 87 million to improve the network,³³¹ which was roughly the same size as Austro-Hungary's,³³² but one-twelfth the size of Germany's. The track gauge near the German border was similar, though that inland was not.³³³ Russian track density was next to last among 18 European countries,³³⁴ though around 8,000 miles of new lines were under construction. State-owned railways produced a surplus of 307 million rubles on an investment of 5.639 billion rubles, and in 1913 the network had carried 244 million passengers, 176 million tons of goods, including 20 million tons of grain and flour, 15 million tons of timber and 35 million tons of coal, mainly from the Donbass to the larger cities³³⁵ Around 27 percent of government expenditure went on railways and state enterprises, 17 percent for productive purposes, including education and agriculture, 16 percent for administration and 13 percent for debt repayments. It spent around 965 million rubles, or around 30 percent of its revenue, on defence, though defence capability on the western border had been starved of investment.³³⁶ Gold reserves were 1.688 billion rubles, but paper rubles amounted to 1.665 billion and total debt was 3.971 billion.³³⁷ Interest payments were equivalent to a quarter of foreign earnings,³³⁸ and though foreign assets were worth just over one billion, Russia was Europe's most indebted nation.³³⁹

During 1913 cobblers had produced 40 to 50 million boots and the army had bought two million.³⁴⁰ A closed session of the Duma had approved increased investment in artillery.³⁴¹ The Russians had 112 aircraft, while 90 more were ready for deployment and 96 were scheduled for early delivery. From July troops had no longer guarded prisons, and the army had been relieved from guarding branches of the State Bank in October.³⁴² That year around half of conscripts were declared unfit to serve,³⁴³ though around 73 percent of those accepted were literate.³⁴⁴ Sokolov, the Bolshevik agitator and propagandist among troops, had been deported.³⁴⁵ The army reinstated soldiers previously excluded from critical posts on religious grounds,³⁴⁶ though almost 17,000 were excused because they had a valid reason, but over 144,000, or around 9.4 percent, failed to appear,³⁴⁷ and around 127,000 had no valid reason.³⁴⁸ By the end of the year all educationally-qualified applicants could enter officers' training schools.³⁴⁹ The construction of warships would take 55 percent of the Navy's 1914 budget.³⁵⁰

The French government had required Russia to increase its armed forces and its strategic railway network, before it would approve a loan.³⁵¹ In November the Russian government negotiated a loan of half a billion francs a year for five years, to develop railways in western Russia,³⁵² which threatened the German plan to knock out the French army before the Russian army could mobilise.³⁵³ The government bought the Warszawa-Vienna railway for strategic reasons, and replaced 16,000 Polish workers with Russians.³⁵⁴

Russia's imports cost 1.374 billion rubles and its exports brought in 1.52 billion.³⁵⁵ Around 37 percent of technical equipment had been imported,³⁵⁶ as had coal, petroleum, iron lead copper, zinc, wool cotton and flax. Just over 48 percent came in by land via Western Europe, and 38.5 percent via the Baltic,³⁵⁷ but around 73 percent of exports, and 43 percent by value,³⁵⁸ went through the Bosphorus Straits.³⁵⁹ During the reorganisation of the Ottoman army the government appointed a German officer as the army corps commander,³⁶⁰ and the Russian government protested vigorously, since it threatened its exports via the Bosphorus Straits.³⁶¹ The pro-German faction in Turkey had invited a German military mission, headed by a general, to Constantinople, to improve the military arrangements,³⁶² and he and 40 other German officers commanded the Bosphorus Straits.³⁶³

(vii) The Balkans

On 2 May 1913, fearing that a war between Serbia and Austria-Hungary was imminent, the military governor of Bosnia had declared a state of emergency, dissolved parliament, suspended civil courts, closed many Serb institutions and taken over Bosnian schools, and relations between Austria and Serbia were extremely tense. On the 30th the Treaty of London ended the first Balkan war.³⁶⁴ Turkey had to cede large territories in Macedonia and Thrace, which Serbian troops had occupied, but the Serbian government could not agree with those of Bulgaria and Greece about how to share it,³⁶⁵ and in June Bulgarian troops launched a midnight attack on Greek and Serbian forces in Macedonia.³⁶⁶ In autumn Turkey achieved naval superiority in the Black Sea,³⁶⁷ and the Austro-Hungarian government decided to destroy Serbia's independence,³⁶⁸ and deprived it of some of its land.³⁶⁹ The Rumanian army, with support from the Russian government, occupied over 2,300 square miles of Bulgarian territory without a shot being fired, though only 5,000 inhabitants were Rumanian, while 300,000 were Bulgarians and 300,000 were Turks and Tartars. This land-grab provided the Rumanian treasury with a third of its income.³⁷⁰ In November Bulgarian SDs won 20 percent of seats in the general election. The 'broads' took 19 and the 'narrows' 18.³⁷¹ Early in December an armistice gave Serbia access to an Albanian port,³⁷² but Montenegrin troops attacked the Turks. The Balkan League issued an ultimatum and Turkey sued for peace. The major Western European powers organised a conference in London, and the Balkan League demanded the virtual elimination of Turkish power in Europe, but the conference failed to agree.³⁷³ Balkan League troops almost doubled the size of Serbia.³⁷⁴

The Bolshevik Rakovsky had returned to Rumania in 1912, and the government allowed him to appeal against his exile, which was rescinded, and his civil rights were restored. In 1913 Rakovsky campaigned vigorously against the second Balkan war and the Rumanian acquisition of Bulgarian territory.³⁷⁵ The war ended in August and Bulgaria was forced to cede territory to Turkey,³⁷⁶ though the Ottoman Empire had lost all its European territories except for Adrianople, Scutari and Janina.³⁷⁷ Serbia and Greece gained most of Macedonia, including where the majority of the population were Bulgarian, and Romania won territory where almost half the population were Bulgarian.

In Vienna Bronstein had noted in *Kyivskaya mysl* that new borders 'have been drawn across the living bodies of nations that have been lacerated, bled and exhausted'. Over 500,000 men had been killed or wounded, but 'Not a single one of the basic problems of Balkan development has been solved'. In mid-October he reported again.

The abstract humanitarian-humanistic way of looking at the process of history is the most barren of all. I know this very well. But the chaotic mass of material acquisitions, habits, customs, and prejudices that we call civilisation hypnotises us all, inspiring the false confidence that the main thing in human progress has already been achieved – and then war comes, and reveals that we have not yet crept out on all fours from the barbaric period of our history. We have learned how to wear suspenders, to write clever leading articles, and to make milk chocolate, but when we need to reach a serious decision about how a few different tribes are to live together on a well-endowed European peninsula, we are incapable of finding any other method than mutual extermination. ...

But this struggle for the economic and national-cultural self-determination of the Balkan peoples is being waged under enforcedly artificial conditions that have not been created by the Balkan peoples themselves ... [and had] been thrust upon the Balkan peoples by those European Powers which have regarded and still regard this well-endowed but ill-starred peninsula as an hereditary object for their diplomatic experiments. ...

Human blood, a great deal of it, will be shed, freshly formed achievements of culture will be smashed and crushed, the accumulated result of men's labour will be plundered, blown into the air or stamped on the ground – and the consequences of all this cannot be either foreseen or predetermined. ...

Politicians 'on the extreme Left and those who serve the dynasties' had adopted the slogan of '*The Balkans for the Balkan Peoples!*', but Russian SDs should not 'put our own cultural development at risk'. Bronstein and others were 'unable to give Russian diplomacy a mandate for the Balkans precisely because we sincerely and warmly sympathise with the striving of the Balkan peoples for national self-determination'; yet in Russia he soon met 'a rather large number of Socialists who have been seized by the general movement of national patriotism'. In the Balkans 67,000 troops had been killed or wounded and thousands were ill.³⁷⁸ Helphand dealt in corn and other commodities, reportedly including Krupp's military products, but also supplied the Turkish army and government intelligence,³⁷⁹ though the Bolshevik Semashko had participated in the Serbian and Bulgarian SD movement and was interned.³⁸⁰

(viii) Spartakusbriefen

During 1913 risings in Hungary had been bloodily suppressed and the parliament was ringed with troops when it voted to change standing orders.³⁸¹ Six percent of industrial plants employed 500 to 1,000, and eight percent

employed more. Austrian coal production was 44 million tons, and pig iron production 4.7 million tons, though that and cotton production was a quarter of Germany's, and per capita meat consumption was 60 percent.³⁸²

German industry had been responsible for around 15 percent of global production,³⁸³ and had produced almost ten times as much coal and four times as much pig-iron as Russia.³⁸⁴ Around 7.4 million men and women were employed in industry, and though 35 percent of workers were employed in agriculture, though Germany depended on imports of animal feed,³⁸⁵ and for one third of its food.³⁸⁶ For the fourth year in a row 43 percent of imports consisted of raw materials.³⁸⁷ One syndicate controlled 87 per cent of coal production in Rhineland-Westphalia. One huge firm possessed coal and iron ore mines, blast furnaces, rolling mills and metalworking plants, and another employed over 70,000 workers, 41,000 of whom were in Essen, which had its own police force, fire brigade and railway system. One chemical business employed over 10,000 workers in Ludwigshafen, and two other firms owned the rest of that industry. Two huge firms dominated the electrical equipment industry, which employed 71,000 workers in the Berlin region, while five large Berlin banks conducted 74 percent of business, and two shipping companies provided 40 percent of maritime transport. During 1913 around 75,000 heads of households had annual incomes of over 12,500 marks, while 650,000 others received between 600 and 12,000. Together they and their families numbered between 2.2 and 2.75 million people, or around five percent of the population.³⁸⁸ Most trade unionists were craft workers in small and medium sized plants,³⁸⁹ though Germans were 3.14 times as wealthy as Russians on average.³⁹⁰ During 1913 75 percent of exports went to European countries, 17 percent to North America, and eight percent elsewhere,³⁹¹ Exports were worth 10.1 billion marks (equivalent to \$2.4 billion), and almost equalled those of Britain and the USA. Imports were worth 10.8 billion marks (\$1.6 billion, 0.2 billion less than the USA's, and half of Britain's, and 54 percent came from European countries, 17 percent from North America and 29 percent from elsewhere. Germany had taken 40 percent of Russia's exports,³⁹² and provided almost half of its imports. Russian industry produced less than 40 percent of Germany's.³⁹³ Russia's agricultural yields were one-third of those in Germany,³⁹⁴ and Germany's grain exporters had captured some of Russia's markets, though the Germany's colonial budget was over one billion marks.³⁹⁵

Mathilde Jacob had been born into a Berlin family that owned a small meat wholesale business in 1873.³⁹⁶ She had to give up the idea of a higher education to look after her mother,³⁹⁷ and in 1907 she set herself up as a freelance typist and translator. She typed for Marchlewski and Mehring,³⁹⁸ who recommended her to Luxemburg in 1913. On 20 February she was granted a postponement of her prison sentence to 15 March on account of her poor health,³⁹⁹ but in March she was charged with accusing the military authorities of abusing soldiers, physically and psychologically, but over 1,000 troops volunteered to testify in her defence and the trial was postponed.⁴⁰⁰ The SPD chair Bebel had died in August,⁴⁰¹ and his successor tried to mediate between the factions.⁴⁰² Pannekoek had written in his own name, and those of Mehring and Luxemburg, that the SPD was 'passing through an internal crisis which is infinitely more serious than that which it experiences when revisionism first appeared'. It was 'in danger of sinking into complete atrophy if it continues down this road,' and the only remedy was 'the most vigorous and merciless self-criticism'.⁴⁰³ The SPD had 62 printing offices and 90 daily papers which sold an average of 1,353,212 copies.⁴⁰⁴ Mehring, Marchlewski and Luxemburg had left the SPD's *Leipziger Volkszeitung*,⁴⁰⁵ and her articles no longer appeared in *Vorwärts*, though she published what was to be her last article in Polish.⁴⁰⁶ At some point that year she had published *Kak boryutsya rabotnitsy zo svoi prava* (*How female workers fight for their rights*) in Russian,⁴⁰⁷ and a group of left-wing members of the SPD had begun publishing *Lichstralen* (*Rays of Light*).⁴⁰⁸ On 14 December Luxemburg told Jogisches that her motion to call an RSDRP 'unity' conference at the International bureau in London had suffered a 'complete defeat',⁴⁰⁹ but *Sozialdemokratische Korrespondenz* (*Social Democratic Correspondence*) which was put together in Marchlewski's flat, appeared on the 27th. Subsequent issues appeared weekly, often with editorials by Luxemburg and Mehring and an economic survey by Marchlewski.⁴¹⁰ The letters became known as *Spartakusbriefen* (*Spartacus Letters*),⁴¹¹ but few SPD papers republished the articles.⁴¹²

19. A marked revival among the masses

(i) Hardly anyone in our village fed himself

On 1 January 1914 the population of the Empire was estimated at 175,137,800.¹ Around 169 million lived in European Russia,² and 140 million were peasants,³ who mostly lived in one of over 500,000 villages with an average of around 200 inhabitants.⁴ Peasants owned four times as much land as gentry,⁵ including about 20 percent of cultivatable land,⁶ though two-thirds were held by hereditary tenure,⁷ which formed over 75 percent.⁸ Five million owned one-sixth of all agricultural land.⁹ The average holding in 47 provinces was just over 19 acres and the average consolidated holding was almost 26.5 acres. Central and local government owned 37 percent and private proprietors 16 percent,¹⁰ while the Orthodox Church owned 7.4 million acres. Peasants farmed 90 percent of the arable, mostly held from village communes. Altogether around 75 percent of the population made a living from agriculture, animal husbandry or forestry.¹¹ Peasant households in 47 provinces farmed over 25 million acres,¹² though around 14 percent had been privatised,¹³ and 1.2 million had none.¹⁴ Around 90 percent of land was suitable for sowing grain;¹⁵ yet wheat yields were less than a quarter of those in Britain.¹⁶ The 13,615 rural cooperatives had 8.25 million members and 4,685 agricultural societies had improved farming techniques, financed purchases of machinery and helped with bulk purchasing, warehousing and marketing.¹⁷ Up to 90 percent of fertilizer and 80 percent of scythes were imported.¹⁸ Two-thirds of non-agricultural workers in the countryside produced a third of industrial output in 150,000 workshops.¹⁹ Around 20 percent of peasants had no allotment land, 16 percent had no horse, 69 percent no iron plough, while 15 percent, and 38 percent of those who worked away from their villages, did not work the land they held. The Moscow province peasant Sergey Semyenov later recalled that one year in three brought a poor harvest. In a 'good' year he earned 90 rubles, but 60 went on food, 16 on direct taxes and four on other necessary expenditures, which left ten for wood, kerosene, pitch, salt, corn meal, tea, sugar, priest's fees for marriages, baptisms and funerals, renovating and repairing property and replacing household items and implements. In summer 'hardly anyone in our village fed himself'. Five or six households scraped by, some managed until early November, but few until Christmas, and by March they had to buy grain.²⁰ City hospitals had 3.61 beds for every 1,000 people, while rural hospitals had 0.43.²¹ Most peasants' lives resembled 'the slow death of creatures incessantly hungry', and mortality was twice as high as in Norway and Sweden.²²

The state owned over two-thirds of the railway network,²³ which covered around 48,000 miles.²⁴ The fastest train from St. Petersburg to Moscow took ten hours,²⁵ but 36 hours to Odesa, a week to Baki, and three weeks to Harbin in the Far East.²⁶ The central Siberian, Trans-Baikal, Ussuri, and the Amur railway in Eastern Siberia had cost the government 694 million rubles. There were 13 million people in Central Asia and ten million in Siberia and the Far East,²⁷ and a million acres were cultivated in central Siberia and north Kazakhstan.²⁸ Russia's foreign expenditure averaged 300 to 400 million rubles a year, and large amounts of machinery had been imported.²⁹

Only 30 percent of industrial plants were in towns and cities,³⁰ which were concentrated in a few regions.³¹ Foreigners had invested 587 billion rubles,³² or nearly half the total, including in 90 percent of mines, 42 percent of metalworks, 28 percent of textile mills,³³ and all the large power stations.³⁴ Around 47 percent of joint-stock capital was foreign-owned.³⁵ Foreigners, led by the French, had put up over 18 million rubles to construct some of the largest, most technically advanced foundries in the world in Ukraine.³⁶ The aggregate nominal value of French capital investment in Russia was just under two billion francs (almost 750 million rubles), though the market value was about three billion francs.³⁷ French capitalists controlled 60.7 percent of Russia's output of pig-iron and 50.9 percent of its coal, and owned 55 percent of the 8.5 billion rubles capital of St. Petersburg banks.³⁸ They had a major stake many large banks and 150 cartels.³⁹ Foreigners owned almost half of Russian government bonds. The silver coins in circulation were worth 494 million rubles, gold coins 2.28 billion and notes 1.665 billion. Nationally, the largest amount of capital was invested in machine-building, heavy and light metallurgy and metal goods. The textile industry employed 30 percent of the factory labour force and accounted for 28 percent of the value of industrial output. Food processing employed 13 percent who made 22 percent. Mining and metallurgy employed about 21 percent and made 14 percent.⁴⁰ Around 3.75 million factory workers,⁴¹ who generated around 20 percent of national income,⁴² included 2.5 million in inspected plants.⁴³ Over 56 percent of employees were in workforces of over 500 and 41 percent in those of over 1,000,⁴⁴ while 17.8 percent were in workforces of less than 100. Russia and the USA had approximately the same proportion of workers in plants employing between 100 and 1,000, though 17.8 percent of workforces in the USA were over 1,000.⁴⁵ Most Russian enterprises worked a nine or ten-hour day for 267 days a year.⁴⁶ There were 723,000 female workers,⁴⁷ and women and girls constituted one-third of all inspected workers and over 58 percent of all industrial workers.⁴⁸ Women earned an average of three rubles

a week,⁴⁹ or 72 percent of men's wages,⁵⁰ but 64 percent of females in heavy industry got half the pay of males.⁵¹ A pound of rye bread cost around three kopeks, an egg four, a pound of sugar 16, best quality meat 30 and table butter 80.⁵² Central Asia supplied half the domestic demand for raw cotton.⁵³ There were 556,000 workers in in cotton mills,⁵⁴ and 26.6 percent were female.⁵⁵

The 1,108 mutual credit societies accounted for 12.2 percent of the assets of the commercial credit system and 10.8 percent of their liabilities. Cooperatives accounted for 25.5 percent of direct ownership and the government for eight percent.⁵⁶ There were 2,826 local health insurance funds with over two million members in the machine-building industry, and 252 funds with over 587,000 in the mining industry.⁵⁷

The Education Ministry budget for 1914 was 143 million rubles, and zemstva had earmarked around 30 percent of their budgets for education, with an additional one-third from government.⁵⁸ There were around 91,000 state schools,⁵⁹ and 120,000 were run by other bodies,⁶⁰ including around 40,000 by the Orthodox Church,⁶¹ which had around three million pupils.⁶² Over 7.2 million children aged 8 to 11 were at primary school, including over 2.3 million girls, though that was fewer than 60 percent of that age group in European Russia and around 50 percent across the Empire.⁶³ The Ministry employed 128,000 teachers in rural schools and 3,500 in urban schools,⁶⁴ though few had meaningful qualifications. They had to follow prescribed programmes and procedures and most did so without enthusiasm, and they were frequently transferred and were all underpaid.⁶⁵ Nationally almost half of school-age children did not apply, and though around 7.2 percent of primary pupils had gone on to secondary schools,⁶⁶ only two to three percent of their age group attended.⁶⁷ Over 442,000 older children attended a gymnasium, and 70,000 a realschule,⁶⁸ where some studied practical subjects.⁶⁹ There were around 30,000 secondary school teachers, and half of over 21,000 graduates worked in girls' schools.⁷⁰ Almost 92 percent of school-age children were literate,⁷¹ as were around 30 percent of all Russians,⁷² including 40 percent aged 11 or over and two-thirds of army recruits. In rural areas 25 percent of people were literate,⁷³ and many peasants read a newspaper.⁷⁴ The Orthodox Church maintained four theological academies and 58 seminaries for training priests.⁷⁵ Nationally there were over 71,000 students in higher education, and almost 40,000 in universities included over 10,000 women who were allowed to listen to lectures.⁷⁶ The proportion of undergraduates from the families of gentry had declined to 7.6 percent,⁷⁷ while almost 39 percent were from workers' or peasants' families.⁷⁸ There were 24 higher institutes of mining, medicine and forestry,⁷⁹ and five others,⁸⁰ with almost 12,500 students between them,⁸¹ and 64 percent in five of them were from workers' or peasants' families.⁸² About 136,000 people had degrees,⁸³ and over two million well-educated people included about one million professionals.⁸⁴

Almost 12 percent of Siberia's population was urban, which was the lowest proportion in the Empire. In European Russia about 15 percent were urban,⁸⁵ and around 100 towns and cities had populations of over 50,000,⁸⁶ while 35 had over 100,000,⁸⁷ and 13 over 200,000.⁸⁸

Poland's population was 14 million,⁸⁹ and 24 percent were urban,⁹⁰ which was the highest proportion in the Empire. Poland produced 10 percent of the Empire's total output of iron and steel.⁹¹ The population of Warszawa was 883,700,⁹² including 80,000 factory workers, who produced 193 million rubles' worth of goods a year.⁹³ Over 31,000 produced rails and other metalwork at three giant plants, much of it for Russia. There were almost 488,000 Catholics and 337,000 Jews. There were 14 daily papers and 61 weeklies. Warszawa had the highest number of Yiddish papers in Europe, and two dailies had the highest circulation.

In Ukraine Odesa's population was over 655,000. It included 339,600 registered townspeople, 200,000 registered peasants, and 59,500 troops and their families. Over 52 percent of the inhabitants were Orthodox and 33.5 percent were Jews. The number of factories had declined from 477 to 418 since 1901, but the number of workers had increased to 30,000 and 70 percent were engaged in food-processing. Kyiv's population was 626,000, though only 17 percent were ethnic Ukrainians. Around 81,000 Jews lived there legally, but many more illegally, though no Jew could vote in municipal elections, unlike almost 60,000 ethnic Poles. Around 14,000 children attended primary schools, though 11,000 did not, and at least 2,000 dwellings lacked running water.⁹⁴ Across Ukraine there were 96 gymnazia for Polish children and six for Ukrainians.⁹⁵ There were ten higher educational institutions, and Kyiv University was the largest, while the city's Commercial Institute had 4,000 students and the Polytechnical Institute 1,000.⁹⁶ The wheat lands of Ukraine were the second most densely-populated region of the Empire,⁹⁷ and though almost 50,000 Cossacks had moved away from the land, the government had banned the export of agricultural produce from the Don Cossack region.⁹⁸ After false rumours that workers' contributions under the Insurance Act would be back-dated there was a strike in Kharkiv.⁹⁹

In Latvia the population of Riga was over 500,000.¹⁰⁰ Rents had risen by 37.4 percent since 1900, and thousands lived in overcrowded, dilapidated tenements, damp cellars and doss houses, while 20 percent of school-age children did not attend.¹⁰¹ The city was home to around five percent of the Empire's industrial production, and 400 million rubles had been invested there since summer 1913.¹⁰² The largest rubber plant employed 14,000 and the city was the largest manufacturer of rubberware in the Empire and the second-largest manufacturer of car tyres.¹⁰³

Around 40 percent of European Russia's population still lived under martial law,¹⁰⁴ and about 2,000 'politicals' were still in katorga prisons.¹⁰⁵ The police budget was 4.5 million rubles, and 3.3 million, almost 10 percent of which was for St. Petersburg, was for the Okhrana,¹⁰⁶ though there were fewer than 5,000 gendarmes.¹⁰⁷ The St. Petersburg and Moscow headquarters were responsible for European Russia,¹⁰⁸ and there were security sections in Siberia, the Caucasus, Turkestan and Poland.¹⁰⁹ Some full-time agents had complained that they could not afford underclothes, which wore out very quickly, and had demanded a rise of five rubles a month,¹¹⁰ and those among SDs received one third of the pay of those among SRs. The Okhrana's Paris Agentura had one agent among Bundists, nine among SRs and three among SDs and 'Communist-Anarchists'.¹¹¹

There were no more than 10,000 Bolsheviks across Russia.¹¹² Before they met in a refectory or on a staircase they barred the door, and visiting speakers were often disguised in a mask or a cap. They organised 'flying visits' in a ship, on rest days, at an abandoned building site, or in a depot that they could be sure was empty, and for larger meetings they chose a Sunday and had lookouts.¹¹³

(ii) The old passivity was disappearing

By 1914 almost three quarters of St. Petersburg's 2.2 million inhabitants were registered peasants. Around 1.5 million had arrived since 1870, 50,000 each year since 1890,¹¹⁴ and almost 85,000 new workers had entered the city's factories since 1909.¹¹⁵ The city was home to 242,600 factory workers, or 9.1 percent of the national total.¹¹⁶ There were almost 1,000 factories,¹¹⁷ and 242,000 factory workers, compared to 73,000 in 1890, and 24.8 percent of workers were in those employing 101 to 500, 14.8 percent in those employing 501 to 1,000, and 49.2 percent in those employing 1,000 or more,¹¹⁸ including 44 percent of those in the Petersburg district.¹¹⁹ Around 200,000 worked in the suburbs.¹²⁰ The workforce included 158,400 men, 61,600 women, and 22,900 youths.¹²¹ About eight percent were aged between 15 and 17, while about 2,000 children aged from 12 to 15 worked in small manufactories.¹²² Around 42 percent of the workforce were in heavy industry, while 6.1 percent of the 100,000 or so in metalworking plants were youths and 2.7 percent were females.¹²³ There were over 100,000 metalworkers and 40,100 textile workers.¹²⁴ The largest plants' technological sophistication was little lower than those in Western Europe, though machine-tool and machine-building plants lagged somewhat behind compared to electro-technical and engine-building factories. Mass production techniques had been introduced to machine-building and armaments plants, and some private factories focussed on making shells, hand grenades, detonators and mortars, though less on the production of guns,¹²⁵ though the huge Putilov metalworks had government contracts worth 125 million rubles.¹²⁶ St. Petersburg was the foremost financial centre in the Empire. The city's banks controlled the metallurgical and coal industries and sugar plants in Ukraine, Volga steamers, Urals copper mines, Siberian gold mines, Turkestan cotton production and the oil industry in Azerbaijan. Around 22 percent of the city's children had completed primary school, and most factory workers had had two or three years' schooling.¹²⁷ Fokin, an unskilled metalworker, led the RSDRP committee's propaganda board. A young comrade recalled that 'Ignat had an all-round education. He was a widely-read "intellectual proletarian"'. He was the only worker in the factory who could master by himself the literature on the philosophy and economic theory of Marx, which for simple workers was very difficult'.¹²⁸ Over 20,000 inhabitants did not own their homes,¹²⁹ and the poor paid up to two rubles for a 'corner' and lived on herring, black bread and tea. Most dwellings had no proper drainage, and at least a quarter had no water closets or running water,¹³⁰ so outbreaks of cholera occurred regularly.¹³¹ There were 150 secondary schools, though teachers could not live on 100 rubles a month, since at least 20 went on rent and 55 on meals in students' or public dining halls.¹³² In St. Petersburg there were over 10,000 male students at the University and about 6,000 at the Women's Higher Courses, the Women's University College, the Women's Medical Institute and the Polytechnical College. Some professors were women and many male professors taught women.¹³³

The Bolsheviks claimed 6,000 members in St. Petersburg.¹³⁴ On 9 January there were strikes to commemorate Bloody Sunday in 1905.¹³⁵ The police estimated that around 110,000 walked out, but while police and Cossacks prevented a city-centre demonstration.¹³⁶ A total of around 200,000 workers in Tver, Kyiv, Mykolaiv, Warszawa,¹³⁷ and Riga demonstrated.¹³⁸ A British visitor noted that the 'old passivity' was 'disappearing'.¹³⁹ On the 17th French investors accepted a government railway bond for a loan of 665 million francs at 4.5 percent interest.¹⁴⁰ French investors owned over 8.8 billion rubles' worth of government debt, or almost 31 percent of the total, plus over seven billion francs' worth of government bonds and 583 million's worth of municipal bonds, and had invested almost 1.745 billion in joint stock enterprises.¹⁴¹ One Belgian-owned steel firm had paid a dividend of 15 percent.¹⁴² Russia's railway network covered 10,563 miles, though many lines were single-track.¹⁴³ For every 38 or so square miles Russia had a quarter of a mile of railways, though Austro-Hungary had 4.3 and Germany 7.7.¹⁴⁴ There were

19,760 locomotives in Russia, though many had no automatic brakes, and 25 percent were over 20 years old, while waggons were awkward to load and unload.¹⁴⁵

The intelligent Skrypnik had returned,¹⁴⁶ and wrote for *Trudovaya pravda*,¹⁴⁷ though its circulation had fallen from 40,000 to between 20,000 and 25,000.¹⁴⁸ On the 21st the Mensheviks' *Novaya rabochaya gazeta* published Alexandr Malinovsky's reasons for not writing for the Bolshevik press,¹⁴⁹ but then the paper was banned.¹⁵⁰ So was *Trudovaya pravda*. *Put pravdy* (*The Way of Truth*) appeared on the 22nd,¹⁵¹ a pseudonymous article by the police agent Chernomazov put it in danger. Soon after the Bolshevik Duma deputies met a workers' 'commission' to discuss their work and transmit instructions to underground RSDRP organisations. The police arrested some of them, but others took their places.¹⁵² In the three months to the end of January the Bolshevik deputies had received 6,100 rubles from 719 workers' groups, compared to the Mensheviks' 1,446 from 94 and 765 from non-workers, while collections for prisoners and deportees were almost four to one in favour of the Bolsheviks. During January the Bolshevik paper had published 6,722 signatures supporting the six Bolshevik deputies, compared to *Luch's* 2,985. The resolutions and statements supporting the Bolshevik deputies included 5,003 from St. Petersburg, but none from Bundists, while 1,086 favouring the Menshevik deputies from St. Petersburg included 521, plus 1,086 from Bundists.¹⁵³ The St. Petersburg metalworkers' union had 3,500 paid-up members, yet 9,000 claimed membership,¹⁵⁴ and the police searched its headquarters almost daily and arrested officers.¹⁵⁵ Reportedly 2,833 of the 10,283 members were in the Vyborg branch, but the Menshevik Bulkin lamented that while the 'chief culprit in our defeat was the reaction', 'one of the most important was the lack of culture, the class underdevelopment of the mass'. They did not 'comprehend the complex program of political action of "liquidationism"', and he criticised 'hot-headed' youths and 'raw' peasants. Another Menshevik claimed that the Bolsheviks had adapted to the 'primitive understanding by worker youths of class tasks' to gain 'easy "victories"' in workers' organisations.¹⁵⁶ On the 31st *Put pravdy* noted that 'Marxist Mensheviks, in the person of G.V. Plekhanov', were conducting a literary struggle' against Alexandr Malinovsky, and the Vyperedists had 'broken' with him.¹⁵⁷

On 20 February the police arrested eight members of the Bolsheviks' St. Petersburg committee, including E.I. Nekliudov, a St. Petersburg Pipe Works metalworker who was treasurer of the union's Vasilievsky Island branch, 27-year-old V.V. Schmidt, the union's assistant secretary who worked at the New Lessner plant, Iu. Ia. Prafrod, who had been a member of the Vyborg committee EC in 1912-1913, P.I. Ignatiev, an Okhta gunpowder worker who had been a member of the EC in 1912 and had become president of the union in January 1914. He was a spy, as was 37-year-old Shurkanov, who had been a Menshevik deputy in the Third Duma and had become the union president.¹⁵⁸ V.D. Rubstov had returned to St. Petersburg and joined the board of the metalworkers' union. He was central to the 'defactionalising' process in the RSDRP and the union announced that district elections would have a single list of party candidates.¹⁵⁹

The Menshevik Duma deputy Buryanov visited Plekhanov abroad, returned to St. Petersburg and left the SD fraction, but supported both when they followed what he considered to be a 'Marxist line'. After the Mensheviks expelled the deputy Mankov for 'obvious deviations to the right', one of the five remaining Menshevik deputies acknowledged that they had 'forced the most active members to leave', brought work 'to a standstill', 'lost all influence, deserted the political life of the country' and broken their 'connections with the workers'.¹⁶⁰ The SD deputy Samoilov went to Switzerland for treatment,¹⁶¹ but the leadership of the trade unions built up by the Mensheviks since 1912 had passed to the Bolsheviks.¹⁶² There were 48 members of a St. Petersburg workers' insurance board, and 37 supported the Bolsheviks.¹⁶³ The Bolshevik Skrypnik edited their journal.¹⁶⁴ Roman Malinovsky had given the Okhrana the Bolshevik Duma deputies' documents, the address of the *Put pravdy* office, the names of the subscribers,¹⁶⁵ the balance sheet, details of fund-raising meetings and his own donations, which he recouped as expenses. The Okhrana had recouped 500 rubles from a fine on one of his articles and raised his salary to 600 rubles a month, and then to 700. He told the Bolshevik Centre that 'someone close' to the deputies had 'police connections', and he suspected Chernomazov.¹⁶⁶ The *Put pravdy* editor Alexandrov agreed, and though the evidence was inconclusive,¹⁶⁷ Chernomazov was removed as an editor on 1 February,¹⁶⁸ and transferred to the warehouse. Days later the SD Duma deputies sacked him and Rosenfeld edited the paper.¹⁶⁹ During February the Pribol publishing house in St. Petersburg published a second edition of Ulyanov's *Sputnik rabochego na 1914 God*, which included deletions and amendments to avoid censorship, and lists of books for self-education.¹⁷⁰ The Okhrana gave Serova a final payment, and she got a job in the railway administration, but soon lost it for thieving.¹⁷¹ In Tbilisi 13 'Left Bolsheviks' who were 'ideological adherents' of the Vyperedists had suggested that Alexandr Malinovsky should be a correspondent of *Put Pravdy*, but in February the paper announced that he was 'not a Marxist'.¹⁷² Alexandrov had left *Put pravdy* and Skrypnik edited it alone.¹⁷³ At the end of February police smashed their way into the *Put pravdy* office and wrecked it.¹⁷⁴ On 5 March he published an article on the national question which argued that the working class was 'opposed to all privileges; that is why it upholds the right of all nations to self-determination', and 'class-conscious workers do not advocate secession' because they know the advantages of

large states and the amalgamation of large masses of workers, though large states can be democratic only if there is complete equality among the nations' and that 'implies the *right* to secede'.¹⁷⁵

(iii) A considerable thickening of the political atmosphere

By 1914 Moscow's population was approaching 1.76 million,¹⁷⁶ though almost 47 percent had not been born there,¹⁷⁷ 75 percent were registered peasants,¹⁷⁸ and 519,000 lived in the north and east of the city.¹⁷⁹ There were over 180,000 factory workers,¹⁸⁰ and almost 60 percent worked in large plants,¹⁸¹ including ten percent of those employing 500 to 1,000 and 24 percent of those with more.¹⁸² The city's factories employed an average of 147 workers, though metalworking workforces averaged 113, six between 1,000 and 1,500, and the largest employed 2,900. Textile mills employed an average of 270, though nine employed over 1,000 and the Prokhorov Mill 7,400,¹⁸³ while 26 others employed over 500.¹⁸⁴ A third of city centre flats lacked running water and even more in working-class districts.¹⁸⁵ Almost 58 percent of workers were in plants employing over 1,000.¹⁸⁶ There were 248,000 industrial workers in Moscow province,¹⁸⁷ though around 45 percent had been born elsewhere.¹⁸⁸ The region was the largest concentration of industry in the Empire.¹⁸⁹ Around 82 percent of Ivanovo workers were in workforces of 1,000 or more,¹⁹⁰ but the average monthly wage in the region was 21 rubles and 15.6 in Vladimir province.¹⁹¹

On 9 January 1,000 Moscow workers demonstrated on the anniversary of Bloody Sunday.¹⁹² Moscow tailors had set up a 'special commission' to improve women's political awareness,¹⁹³ and on 19 February a strike celebrated the abolition of serfdom in 1861.¹⁹⁴

In January 1914 Gorky wrote from Finland to tell Peshkova that he had arrived safely. The village was a long way from the station, and letters arrived irregularly, though he would probably stay there, since the Finns had given him a warm welcome, rather than in St. Petersburg, where followed him around, 'scrutinising my face with horror'.¹⁹⁵ Sytin had offered Gorky 200,000 rubles for an edition of 400,000 copies of his collected works. He leased an apartment in St. Petersburg,¹⁹⁶ but stayed for a while on Sytin's estate near Moscow, where he was under surveillance, and early in February the Okhrana noted his visit to Sytin & Company's printing plant in Moscow.¹⁹⁷ In February Roman Malinovsky published a union paper, *Rabochy trud (Worker's Toil)*,¹⁹⁸ and the Bolshevik Lossev was an editor.¹⁹⁹ The Bolshevik committee included one engraver, one commercial employee, two students and 11 factory workers, ten of whom were skilled metalworkers.²⁰⁰ In spring the Bolshevik Duma deputy Badayev visited Gorky, who promised to provide contacts and funds for the RSDRP.²⁰¹

Roman Malinovsky visited Moscow and told the Bolshevik Bobrovskaya that he was going to publish a magazine called *Rabochy Trud (Labour's Truth)*. He would be the official publisher, but since he had to be in St. Petersburg as a Duma deputy, he asked her to look after the 'business side',²⁰² and be the labour news editor. Malinovsky had appropriated *Nash put's* resources and he took Bobrovskaya to see the huge rolls of paper in a warehouse. He recruited other Bolsheviks to edit the first issue, and Bobrovskaya recalled that 'many factory workers came to us bringing interesting items of news about what was going on in their factories'. There was 'a marked revival among the masses' and they 'expressed impatience at the slowness' with which the Moscow committee was 'developing its work'. The editors had to send two copies to the censor, but the printers 'would take bundles of the paper out of the office and hand them to waiting comrades who would immediately get them distributed', and 'the office would be crowded with workers coming to get supplies for their own factories'.²⁰³ The Moscow organisation had appointed the principal members of staff including the clerk A.A. Poskrebukhin. They managed to put two prominent Bolshevik agents in touch with factory workers, but the agents were soon arrested. Bobrovskaya later introduced Poskrebukhin to another Bolshevik who had escaped from exile, but when he went to St. Petersburg he was arrested. Poskrebukhin ate expensive lunches and was always 'elegantly attired'. Bobrovskaya wondered how he managed to do this on 60 rubles a month, though he said he was the son of a peasant and not an intelligent like her. He was most active in distributing *Rabochy trud*, though other distributors were arrested. Once, when Malinovsky asked Bobrovskaya to organise a meeting of Bolsheviks in the rooms of the tailors' union, she pointed out that the police would break it up and ban the union. Poskrebukhin backed her up; but by next day he had managed to arrange the meeting. He did not attend, but around 20 Bolsheviks from the metalworkers' and plumbers' unions were arrested, though the police let Malinovsky go, allegedly because he was a Duma deputy. Soon after the police raided the *Rabochy trud* press. They ordered the printer to remove the type, but ignored Poskrebukhin and Bobrovskaya. She wanted to go to the editorial office to remove incriminating material, but he persuaded her not to do so, and he would go instead.²⁰⁴

Moscow's Bolsheviks had about 200 'ties' with workers,²⁰⁵ in 22 *kruzhki*,²⁰⁶ and leaflets called for a demonstration with 'revolutionary demands' on the anniversary of the Lena massacre on 4 April.²⁰⁷ Fewer than 3,000 workers from 11 plants went on strike, but while they included 900 or so of the 1,100 at Bromley Metalworks,

there were none from Moscow Metalworks.²⁰⁸ The Okhrana had 18 informants among the city's SDs,²⁰⁹ and the Bolshevik committee collapsed,²¹⁰ yet by 9 April the fund for a new Bolshevik paper had received 177 donations from workers' groups.²¹¹ The Mensheviks had an extensive underground network,²¹² but while the authorities had legalised the metalworkers' union, it had abolished its delegate council and barred it from 'developing the intellectual and moral standards' of members and having dues-collectors.²¹³ The city's manufacturers' association represented over 600 employers of almost 300,000 workers. They were concerned about demonstrations and strikes 'which happen one after another', with an 'unusual and varied difference in the importance of motives', and they noted 'a considerable thickening of the political atmosphere' and a 'decline in factory discipline', so they adopted 'severe measures', including fines, the withdrawal of bonuses and lockouts. On May Day the police estimated the number of strikers at 33,000, including 800 from Bromley Metalworks, but none from Moscow Metalworks;²¹⁴ though other reports gave a total of 44,000,²¹⁵ and 50,000.²¹⁶

(iv) We have *neither* money nor any printing facilities outside of Paris

In Kraków, Galicia, early in January 1914, Krupskaya had acknowledged that the Bolshevik organisations in Russia had been 'cut to ribbons' and there were 'no solid regional centres'. Most individuals were isolated from each other and from the Centre. 'Almost all of the experienced party workers have been taken out of circulation. Everywhere one finds only workers in the organisation - professional revolutionaries have vanished long ago. There are neither secret addresses nor any kind of conspiratorial work.' The Centre had 200 francs, so it was impossible to support agents or undertake projects. 'All would be hopeless were it not for the colossal growth of the mass movement'.²¹⁷

Ivan Popov had been born in 1886. He joined the RSDRP in 1905, supported the Bolsheviks and settled in Belgium in 1908, but kept in touch with the Bolshevik Centre and wrote for *Pravda* and *Prosveshcheniye*. In January 1914 he contacted Belgian merchant seamen who sailed to southern Russian ports. The 'splendid transportation arrangement' was cheap and carried 72 pounds a month.²¹⁸

On 20 January Ulyanov attended a lecture by Malinovsky in Paris,²¹⁹ and when he defended the Bolshevik Duma deputies the audience booed and reduced him to tears.²²⁰ In the next three days Ulyanov spoke at two meetings to commemorate Bloody Sunday, and on the national question at the Paris Geographical Society, and by the 24th he was in Brussels.²²¹ He was delighted when *Put pravdy* pushed a hard anti-Menshevik line,²²² and continued to try to recruit SD organisations. On the 26th the LSD Congress opened in the People's House on the outskirts of Brussels. Two thirds of its 3,500 members were in Riga, yet all but one of the districts had sent a Menshevik delegate, so they had eight to the Bolsheviks' five. Mensheviks also outnumbered Bolsheviks among the delegates from the countryside; but the 18 delegates with votes included nine Mensheviks and nine Bolsheviks. Ulyanov represented the Bolsheviks, Roman Malinovsky the Bolshevik Duma deputies, Chkhenkeli the Menshevik Duma deputies, Semën Semkovsky the Mensheviks' organisation commission and Aizenshtadt the Bund.

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In February Ulyanov called a court of arbitration about the money in held in trust by the SPD a 'stupid proposal'. In March the SPD and Mensheviks suggested a conference.²³⁰ On 16 March Krupskaya wrote to Ulyanov's mother that she had engaged 'a servant who will live in' to do the housework, so 'we shall be able to go on long outings'.²³¹

In Germany Kautsky argued that the Russian agrarian reforms had resulted in the peasantry gradually ceasing to be a potential revolutionary force and he was convinced that a revolution would start in Western Europe.²³² Approximately one-third of the German population was engaged in agriculture.²³³ Berlin police expelled the Bolshevik Lunacharsky as an 'undesirable foreigner' on account of his inflammatory speeches to Russian students,²³⁴ and the SPD stopped Ulyanov's free copy of *Vorwärts*. Ulyanov asked Armand to get the émigré Bolshevik Centre to discuss 'lambasting' Kautsky: 'if the majority turn it down, I'll come and give that majority a leathering they'll remember for a long time'. He failed to convince conciliators in Brussels, but the Belgian merchant seamen now

carried 144 pounds of literature a month. In St. Petersburg *Put pravdy* had a financial deficit, but Ulyanov stressed that 'We must publish', even though 'we have neither money nor any printing facilities outside of Paris'. On 4 March Ulyanov told Rosenfeld in St. Petersburg that Alexandr Malinovsky influenced the 'soft-hearted muddleheads' among intelligently and some party printers, but dismissed other 'intellectualist riffraff'. He told Armand that the Kraków comrades were 'absolutely moneyless, and haven't a penny for organisational trips and organisational work'. He told the International bureau that he had written the RSDRP CC report, but insisted that the secretary withdrew the insulting remarks in his response. 'Unless you do so, this letter to you will be my last.'²³⁵ He asked Armand to publish the Prague amended RSDRP programme in Paris and ordered Rozmirovich in Russia to recruit for a Bolshevik school. Moscow liberals had given Roman Malinovsky 2,000 rubles for the legal RSDRP press, and Ulyanov ordered him to get 20,000 to 25,000 from Moscow and St. Petersburg liberals to pay for an RSDRP Congress.²³⁶ In Paris Tsederbaum denounced Roman Malinovsky as a spy, but even after a series of suspicious arrests Ulyanov refused to believe it.²³⁷ (Badayev and two other Bolshevik deputies later frustrated the plan for a school.²³⁸)

Early in 1914 the Menshevik Duma deputies Skobelev and Chkheidze had visited Bronstein in London.²³⁹ Spies had broken up Bronstein's smuggling network,²⁴⁰ but he and other disillusioned members of the August bloc had launched *Borba (Struggle)*,²⁴¹ which they published in St. Petersburg. It attacked Bolsheviks and Mensheviks for factionalism, opportunism and legalism,²⁴² and argued for unity.²⁴³ A court of honour including Ulyanov, Bronstein and German and Polish SDs, had decided to refer Sobelsohn's case back to the SPD,²⁴⁴ and Sobelsohn, Lunacharsky, Kollontai and Pokrovsky contributed to *Borba*. The worker V.V. Sher had led Moscow print workers, and been a delegate to the first national trade union conference in 1905. He became a member of the central council of Russian print workers' unions, represented it at the International Congress in Stuttgart, and in 1909 he helped to found the Moscow print workers' union. He had met Roman Malinovsky by 1911 and was arrested that summer. By 1914 Sher had settled in Vienna,²⁴⁵ and acknowledged in *Borba* that appeals in the labour movement press had raised 12,000 rubles to support four strikes in St. Petersburg.²⁴⁶

(v) *Rabotnitsa*

In January 1914 Elizarova had corresponded with émigré Bolsheviks, raised funds and edited and contributed articles to Bolshevik publications, including *Put pravdy*.²⁴⁷ A printer who agreed to produce two issues of a monthly paper for women workers; D.F. Petrovskaya, the wife of the SD Duma deputy Petrovsky, agreed to be the official publisher, and the authorities made no difficulties.²⁴⁸ Krupskaya and Apfelbauma drafted articles for paper in Kraków, as did Armand and Stahl in Paris, and Elizarova, Rozmirovich, Gromova and the worker Klavdia Nikolaeva in St. Petersburg,²⁴⁹ with Menzhinskaya.²⁵⁰ Krupskaya argued that 'the woman question for men and women workers is a question of how to draw the backward masses of women workers into the organisation, how to explain their interests to them better' and 'how to make them comrades in the general struggle sooner'. Gromova argued that the Mensheviks favoured 'feminism',²⁵¹ but others wanted a fight for better working conditions.²⁵²

The Russian editors set up a committee to organise International Women's Day meetings in working-class districts across Russia,²⁵³ but four of the seven members of the St. Petersburg RSDRP committee were spies.²⁵⁴ When most of the Russian editors met in Kudelli's flat,²⁵⁵ on 18 February, the police arrested them,²⁵⁶ though Elizarova arrived late and escaped.²⁵⁷ Rozmirovich, the Bolshevik Duma deputies' secretary,²⁵⁸ lived in Roman Malinovsky's flat, and was convinced that he had betrayed her.²⁵⁹ Bolshevik, Menshevik, VPSR and Black Hundred papers were printed at the same press. A printers' strike prevented publication of the women's paper for 11 days,²⁶⁰ but the type had been set, so Elizarova took it to the offices of the Bolshevik *Voprosy strakhovaniya (Insurance Problems)*, which had been founded the previous October and discussed politics.²⁶¹ Elizarova got 12,000 copies of the 16-page *Rabotnitsa (Woman Worker)* printed, and it sold for four kopeks, or was given away in factories.²⁶²

Elizarova included poetry, short stories and workers' letters in the second *Rabotnitsa*, and argued that women workers wanted 'their own *Pravda*'. She later recalled that 'the response from those whom I met were unanimous: they liked the second edition more than the first; as it was more lively and understandable. This consideration compelled us to retain the fiction section, against which the editorial board also objected'.²⁶³ On 8 March there was large International Women's Day demonstration in St. Petersburg, and 12,000 copies of *Rabotnitsa*, as well *Pravda* and the Bolshevik textile, metalworkers and tailors' papers were distributed.²⁶⁴ Women distributed *Rabotnitsa* at work, collected money and wrote articles, and the paper became 'the sole topic of conversation'. The police had banned women's meetings and arrested speakers, but large numbers assembled outside halls, and in one district there were 1,000 in a hall designed to hold 500. Menzhinskaya and the worker Pavlova spoke, and when police arrived the audience left singing the *Marseillaise*, and a large crowd of women and men marched to Nevsky

Prospekt singing revolutionary songs. Subsequently women workers visited the *Put pravdy* offices, where the Aivaz activist Emily Solnin was Elizarova's assistant,²⁶⁵

Alexandra Artiukhina had been born into a weaver's family in Vychni Volotchek, Tver province, in 1889.²⁶⁶ She completed three years at primary school, learned to be a seamstress and looked after her siblings. In 1903 the police searched the flat, and though her mother had hidden an illegal pamphlet,²⁶⁷ she was briefly detained,²⁶⁸ and blacklisted. She found work in a St. Petersburg textile mill where her brother was an SR and trade unionist. Alexandra later worked in the mill, where she encountered Bolshevik ideas in 1905,²⁶⁹ from a girl who persuaded her to go to night school.²⁷⁰ In 1908, at her mother's suggestion,²⁷¹ she joined the textile workers' union,²⁷² and was detained for a few months, then worked for a printer, joined a women's mutual aid society, and Kollontai tutored her. Artiukhina joined the RSDRP in 1909 and the metalworkers' union's governing board in 1910. She represented it on the central trade union bureau and supported the Bolsheviks.²⁷³ She later worked in the New Aivaz metalworks, was a union leader by 1913,²⁷⁴ and Elizarova co-opted her as an editor of *Rabotnitsa* in 1914.²⁷⁵

The Bolshevik Drabkina was a secretary of the St. Petersburg RSDRP organisation,²⁷⁶ was in prison, yet her 12-year-old daughter took a letter to Elizarova on behalf of the women politicals, saying that *Rabotnitsa* 'expresses our needs'.²⁷⁷ (Drabkina was subsequently deported to Vilnius and then exiled to Ekaterinburg in Western Siberia.²⁷⁸)

The centenary of the birth of the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko had taken place on 25 February. Kyiv students closed almost all the city's higher educational institutions, and Ukrainian-owned shops closed, despite an official order to remain open. Cossacks and thugs tore down portraits of the poet, harassed demonstrators, and embarked on several days of smashing windows and other vandalism.²⁷⁹ On 8 March there were International Women's Day events in a field near Kyiv, and in Saratov, Samara, Ivanovo, though there were 'fleeting gatherings' in Moscow.²⁸⁰

The Russian-French Provodnik Corporation was the largest producer of rubber in the Empire,²⁸¹ and 6,000 of the 11,600 workers at its St. Petersburg factory were women.²⁸² The owners' annual profit was ten million rubles, but women workers earned from 40 to 90 kopeks for a ten-hour day, without a mid-day break, and had to do a great deal of overtime to make a living. On 12 March a new polish gave off poisonous fumes, and 180 women and 20 men bled from the nose and mouth and fainted. Workers telephoned Badayev, asked him to visit, and thousands attended a meeting after work. Police tried to disperse them, but they threw stones and lumps of concrete and injured two of them. Next day about 10,000 workers met in the yard and agreed to go on strike, but mounted police rode into them flourishing whips. Some workers threw stones and bricks, but police reinforcements arrived and charged with drawn sabres. There were casualties on both sides, and many workers were arrested.²⁸³

The Aivaz works managers had cut the workforce to 600 women on 90 kopeks a day, while 650 men earned 1.5 rubles,²⁸⁴ and Badayev recalled that they went on strike early on the 13th.

[T]he night shift left off at 3 a.m. and in the morning they were joined by the other workers. The strike quickly spread through the city and over 60,000 men participated in the movement, 40,000 of whom were metalworkers. Resolutions of protest were carried at the factories, and Party members from amongst the workers spoke reminding the workers of the Lena shootings and explaining the general tasks of the revolutionary struggle.

The workers came out of the factories and works singing revolutionary songs and unfurling their red flags. The Lessner workers advanced towards the Duma from the Vyborg direction but were held up by a police patrol on the Liteiny Bridge. Another crowd managed to cross the Neva on the ice and, carrying a red flag, proceeded to the Duma buildings along the Voskresensky quay. There the demonstrators were attacked by mounted police who started to use their whips; the crowd replied with stones and one of the police was wounded. Encounters with the police occurred in other parts of the city and demonstrations took place in the centre, along the Nevsky prospect.

On the 14th over 65,000 from other factories joined demonstrations.²⁸⁵ At the Russian-American Treugolnik rubber factory, 520 workers had been poisoned by fumes, 70 of them seriously, and 4,000 workmates protested.²⁸⁶ Assaults on police continued and the authorities threatened to use troops.²⁸⁷ In Riga women at the Provodnik Corporation's galoshes factory, who earned 75 kopeks for working up to 13 hours a day, had been poisoned by fumes and some had died. On the 15th the SD Duma deputies heard about poisonings at a St. Petersburg tobacco factory and Badayev addressed 2,000 workers. Their story was similar to what had happened in Riga and it appeared in *Put pravdy* next day. By the 17th around 27,000 workers from 16 St. Petersburg factories were out, though Badayev was prevented from speaking about it in the Duma. The police attacked unarmed workers at 13 demonstrations with whips, sabres and revolvers,²⁸⁸ and 11,000 women workers walked out next day.²⁸⁹

Deryabina was now a St. Petersburg committee EC propagandist, but on 18 March the police raided her flat, found books, leaflets and notes and arrested her.²⁹⁰ Next day there were protests,²⁹¹ in support of the Treugolnik women, and around 84,000 came out the 20th, though electrical and engineering plant managers declared a five-day lock-out.²⁹² The manufacturers' association locked out 70,000 from the biggest works and the assistant Navy minister closed the Baltic shipyard and stationed police at other state plants. Some factory managers threatened

mass sackings if there were further strikes, but there were demonstrations in Narva district. The police made arrests, but over 3,000 workers attended the funeral of those killed by an explosion at an electricity station and placed wreaths with revolutionary inscriptions on their graves. Mounted police rode into them, brandishing whips, but the workers left singing revolutionary songs. Hundreds took the train to the city centre, and carried Badayev on their shoulders, though the police quickly dispersed them. In the Duma a deputy pointed to the SDs and shouted that they 'should be tried by court martial and hanged', but the city дума allocated 100,000 rubles for soup kitchens.²⁹³ Reportedly 156,000 workers had gone on strike, as had 10,000 in Moscow and 60,000 in Riga.²⁹⁴

In St. Petersburg the Bolshevik Fyodor Ilyin wrote for *Prosveshcheniye* and *Put pravdy*,²⁹⁵ and there were 40,000 subscribers to *Put pravdy*.²⁹⁶ During March around 30,000 St. Petersburg workers had gone on strike to protest at the persecution of the labour press, trade unions and educational associations, and the rejection of SD Duma deputies' interpellations,²⁹⁷ though the government had permitted married women to have internal passports without their husband's consent and allowed women to work away from their villages.²⁹⁸ Nationally close to 1.5 million workers had gone on strike so far that year.²⁹⁹

On 4 April St. Petersburg Bolsheviks called for mass meetings and demonstrations on the anniversary of the Lena massacre,³⁰⁰ and 80,000 came out, as did 10,000 in Moscow, and smaller numbers in other cities.³⁰¹ *Rabotnitsa's* editors earned money by working as seamstresses,³⁰² and a week later another edition appeared in St. Petersburg.³⁰³ Its secretary was Nina Agadszanova, who had studied on the Moscow Women's Higher Courses, She had joined the RSDRP in 1907 and later worked in Moscow, Voronezh, Ivanovo and St. Petersburg. The Mensheviks had published *Golos robotnitsy (The Voice of the Woman Worker)*, but the second issue turned out to be the last.³⁰⁴ Rozmirovich, Kudelli and Gromova were arrested at an editorial board of *Rabotnitsa*.³⁰⁵ A friend had tried to warn Rozmirovich, but the police intercepted the letter. Roman Malinovsky insisted that she be released, and she was.³⁰⁶ On the 14th the RSDRP committee called for a demonstration in support of locked-out mill workers.³⁰⁷ The Bolshevik Duma deputies organised demonstrations, and 4,000 workers, mainly printers, went on strike on the 23rd. Next day 55,000 were out, though 16 large plants were closed and 25,000 workers were sacked. The Menshevik Gurvich and the Menshevik Duma deputies agreed that 'it was necessary to refrain from striking now in order to act with increased vigour' on May Day.³⁰⁸ The circulation of the Moscow *Rabochy trud* had reached 130,000.³⁰⁹ In St. Petersburg another *Rabotnitsa* appeared. It noted that women textile workers had an 11-12 hour day and received 'a significantly lower wage' than men. At home, while a husband could 'relax, take part in public life, read and converse with comrades about what he has read', his wife was 'burdened with necessary and heavy housework'. She had to 'give each free minute to the care of the children', and 'goods grow continually dearer and the earnings are so small'.³¹⁰ It quoted one woman who 'would often get angry at my husband when he went off to some meeting or as he rather often sat reading a newspaper. "Is that any business of ours to read a newspaper? It is fine for gentlemen to indulge in that, but what can we get out of reading it?"' The police confiscated *Rabotnitsa* because it contained the worker Ilya Volodinsky's poem about solidarity,³¹¹ but *Put pravdy's* double issue sold 60,000 copies and the paper began a fund-raising drive.³¹²

Shlyapnikov arrived in St. Petersburg, using his French passport, just before May Day,³¹³ and 'felt like a tourist'. The Bolshevik Centre offered him a seat, but he declined.³¹⁴ He avoided RSDRP newspaper offices and other places watched by spies, but visited the metalworkers' union offices, presented his Paris mechanics' union membership card and asked for help to find a job. He visited various factories and spoke in French or German, and a German foreman at the New Lessner works in the Vyborg district gave him a start. He began agitating immediately. His closest mates were a Finn and a Russian, but his relief was a drunk, so Shlyapnikov sometimes worked both shifts. A 'club' formed around his bench and comrades gave him 'a run-down on local life and party work'.

The polemics between *Pravda* and *Luch* had developed such acrimony that workers at the grass roots from both warring factions began to talk of the need for some control over their papers. A gathering of serious-minded workers from the Ericsson and Lessner factories was held in the allotment nearest the works, where we started a discussion not about the tone but about the essence of the differences, and the '*Pravda*-ites' did not have much difficulty in demonstrating to the 'Menshevik' workers the whole hypocrisy of the '*Luch*-ites', the liquidators of the party's revolutionary traditions.

After a speaker addressed New Lessner workers in the yard several hundred went onto the embankment with a red banner, singing the *Marseillaise*, and drove a police patrol away with stones. The streets were crowded, mainly with workers 'with set expressions and on their guard', yet no Cossacks arrived.³¹⁵ Shlyapnikov recalled that metal plants in Vyborg district had large war orders, and 'there was a crying need for working hands, so employers paid higher wages to attract skilled workers,' which 'contributed to the concentration of the most advanced elements in this district. The better condition and the fighting spirit gave the district a certain revolutionary reputation, and the Vyborzhsty maintained it with pride'.³¹⁶ The police estimated that 125,000 were on strike,³¹⁷ but other reports gave

170,000,³¹⁸ 220,000,³¹⁹ and 250,000,³²⁰ though 400 police raids and 100 arrests prevented the Bolsheviks' planned armed clashes.³²¹ Shlyapnikov told workmates he was French, and took part in the demonstration on May Day, but did not speak.³²² The police confiscated *Put pravdy*,³²³ but Bolsheviks and SRs issued a joint leaflet rejecting Menshevik ideas about allying with the liberals.³²⁴ Over 100,000 workers had demonstrated in Moscow,³²⁵ and there were one-day strikes in Tver, Kharkiv, Samara and Rostov-na Donu.³²⁶ On the 22nd the one-kopek *Rabochy* (*The Worker*) appeared in St. Petersburg. It aimed for a circulation of 200,000 to 300,000 'in the very thick of the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses, showing them the light of the world-wide working-class movement, inspiring them with faith in their strength, impelling them towards unity and helping them to rise to full class-consciousness'.³²⁷ The metalworkers' union built a strike fund.³²⁸ Bolsheviks now led 13 of the city's unions,³²⁹ though publication of the Moscow *Rabochy trud* was delayed.³³⁰

In the previous Duma session the Menshevik Chkheidze had referred to the advantages of a republican regime, and when the Duma reopened on 22 April, the prime minister approved a bill to impose penalties for the 'abuse of freedom of speech'.³³¹ SDs and Trudoviki deputies proposed adjourning the budget debate pending the reaffirmation of their freedom of speech, but lost the vote, and when they used 'obstructionist tactics' they were suspended for 15 sessions.³³² Roman Malinovsky had spoken in the Duma on 60 occasions, signed 54 interpellations and made five legislative proposals,³³³ and the chairman received an anonymous tip-off that he was to lead a demonstration against the prime minister. He told Malinovsky's Okhrana contact, who was alarmed,³³⁴ and the assistant interior minister told Malinovsky to go abroad,³³⁵ and promised him a 6,000-ruble annual pension.³³⁶

Shlyapnikov later recalled that all the talk in the New Lessner works was about the demonstration, but while the district had a revolutionary reputation, there were no unions. The 'internal, unwritten but effective regulations on the shop floor' differed from one factory to the next, while highly skilled workers in the same trade and workshop might earn anything from two to six rubles a day. Recently-arrived labourers from the countryside got ten to 13 kopeks an hour, but those with the roughest jobs could get more than skilled men. The manager cut Shlyapnikov's wages, so he left, but he soon found a job for more pay at an Erikson plant.³³⁷ On the 26th the Bolsheviks convened meetings of 800 factory workers,³³⁸ and next day *Put pravdy* supporters won half the seats on the printers' union EC.³³⁹ By the 28th 72,000 were on strike, as were 25,000 in Moscow. Work had resumed in most St. Petersburg plants by the 29th,³⁴⁰ though the Bolsheviks convened meetings of 400 factory workers.³⁴¹ They claimed to lead 44 illegal organisations, while SRs claimed to lead 21.³⁴²

(vi) Unifying work on a nation-wide scale

On 23 April 1914 the Bolshevik Duma deputies had arrived in Kraków. Ulyanov argued that the lack of an underground organisation in Russia hindered the Bolsheviks' ability to capitalise on the workers' unrest, and it was necessary 'to begin immediately preparations for the convocation of a regular Congress'. They agreed that there should be 'commissions' of three elected comrades in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kyiv, Tbilisi, Vologda, Gomel, Samara and the Urals to 'assist in the day-to-day practical work of the local organisations', provide information about the draft Congress agenda and report back. Elected delegates would be required to transfer their mandates to the Duma deputies or the Centre for reassignment. The Centre's Workers Cooperative Commission would be in St. Petersburg and the Duma deputies would choose three to five of the 11 or so cadre in the capital to supervise it, 'linking together the work of all in legal organisations' and 'unifying work on a nation-wide scale'; though they were not to contact the émigré Centre directly. Petrovsky would go to Ukraine and Estland, Muranov to the Urals and Badayev along the Volga and into the Caucasus.³⁴³ 'All Social Democratic underground organisations and party cells and legal organisations' would be invited to the Congress, and an Armenian SD could attend 'in an advisory capacity'.³⁴⁴ The SDKPiL, LSD, LSDP and Bund would be able to send five, one or two, one and no 'guests', respectively, without a vote, though the Bund would be invited 'at the last moment', and though the Mensheviks and Vyperedists would find the conditions completely unacceptable, Plekhanov would be invited.³⁴⁵ Seven or eight of the 68 to 119 anticipated delegates would be from national organisations, and each one's travel would cost about 100 rubles, so workers would need to seek subsidies from unions and clubs.³⁴⁶ The total cost would be between 3,000 and 4,000 rubles, though Ulyanov noted that 'we haven't a kopek for organisational trips or organisational work'.³⁴⁷ The venue would be either Kraków or Poronin during the International's Vienna Congress, which was due to begin on 13 August, to provide cover for a larger number of worker delegates, though the date would be restricted to agents until June.³⁴⁸ Petrovsky or Roman Malinovsky would handle 'serious matters', including Jughashvili and Sverdlov's escapes.³⁴⁹

On 12 May Ulyanov told Armand that Malinovsky's sudden departure 'looks like "flight"'. He told Shklovsky it was 'due to nerves', and that Menshevik 'rumours about provocation' were 'a piece of stupidity'.³⁵⁰ Malinovsky

reached Poronin,³⁵¹ and the Russian police allowed Rozmirovich to go there to testify against him.³⁵² The Bolshevik Centre charged him with being a spy and appointed a commission of Ulyanov, Apfelbaum,³⁵³ and Fürstenberg as chair.³⁵⁴ They were convinced of his political honesty', but his 'scandalous breach of discipline' placed him 'outside the ranks of the organised Marxists'.³⁵⁵ They removed him as the official publisher of *Put pravdy* in St. Petersburg, and ordered the Moscow Bolsheviks to elect a new Duma deputy.³⁵⁶

Moscow Bolsheviks had called for an RSDRP Congress of delegates willing to accept legal and illegal methods of struggle,³⁵⁷ but Krupskaya told them that it had been postponed until after the International Congress in August. In Poronin Ulyanov's only information about struggles in St. Petersburg and elsewhere now came via Stockholm and Berlin.³⁵⁸ Scandinavian, Dutch and French socialist women had planned an anti-war demonstration in Berlin, but the police had a warrant for the arrest of Kollontai,³⁵⁹ so she went to Bavaria.³⁶⁰ Armand refused to attend the International Congress,³⁶¹ so Krupskaya signed Kollontai's mandate to represent *Rabotnitsa* and a fictional 'group of social democratic women taking part in the trade unions and organisations of the RSDRP',³⁶² and the Bolshevik Centre asked her to take Armand's seat on the International's women's bureau.³⁶³ Wallach could not afford to spend three weeks away from work and believed that only Ulyanov could influence the meeting.³⁶⁴ Apfelbaum, Rosenfeld and Bronstein also refused to attend.³⁶⁵ Ulyanov told the International bureau that the RSDRP CC would not send an official representative if the SDKPiL was not invited. By late June he had told Ivan Popov to go there and report 'as accurately as possible everything that goes on, especially the speeches of the Germans', and Kautsky's above all, and he told Armand that she and Popov had been 'endorsed by the Central Committee' of the RSDRP.³⁶⁶ His RSDRP CC report noted that the RSDRP had not included Poles and Latvians from 1898 to 1906, or Bundists from 1903 to 1906. 'We did not exclude the non-Russian nationalities. They left on account of the liquidators'. His 'Notes privés' for Armand insisted that it was 'absolutely impossible' to hold a 'general Congress or federation, or even 'the slightest rapprochement', unless the Mensheviks complied with 'the terms we propose'.³⁶⁷

Nikolai Avilov had been born into a cobbler's family in Kaluga in 1897. He later worked in a print shop and became a Bolshevik in 1904. In 1905 he was active in Moscow, Kaluga and the Urals, working in underground print shops and for the railway workers' union. From 1908 he was an agent in the Urals, and founded the illegal *Kaluzhsky rabochy* (*Kaluga Worker*), but the police infiltrated the Bolshevik committee and he was sentenced to 20 months in a Fortress. In 1910 he moved to Moscow and was a student at the Bologna School. In 1912, back in Russia, he was deported to Tobolsk, but escaped to Ukraine and joined the Kherson organisation. Arrested again, he was deported to Tara in Siberia, but early in 1913 he was released under the amnesty and moved to St Petersburg to work for the illegal Bolshevik paper. In summer 1914 the Bolshevik Duma deputies sent him abroad to help to prepare an RSDRP conference,³⁶⁸ and he arrived in Kraków with Kiselev and A.N. Nikiforov.³⁶⁹

(vii) Based to a large extent on material sent by Ulyanov

The Bolshevik Duma deputies had returned to St. Petersburg on 7 May 1914, and Badayev denounced the government's repression of university staff and students, though his speech was reportedly 'based to a large extent on material sent by Ulyanov'.³⁷⁰ They took orders for *Rabochy trud* and sent copies letters or bundles of up to 100.³⁷¹

Stanislav Kossior had been born into a worker's family in Węgrów, in Poland's Siedlce province, in 1889. He later attended the primary school attached to an engineering works in Russia's Don province and became an apprentice metal-worker when he was 13. The works closed after a strike in 1905, so he moved to Luhansk. His brother was an RSDRP member, and Stanislav carried out 'technical tasks'. He joined in 1907 and became a leader, but was deported to Mariupol without trial. He became an apprentice shoemaker and continued his party work, but left after the police arrested comrades at a nearby factory in 1908. In 1909 he got a clerk's job in a Don factory, but was detained for six months and deported to Mariupol for two years under surveillance. He contacted the RSDRP, but after four months he was deported to Kharkiv. He contacted the party and worked in unions, but in spring 1914, during preparations for a May Day strike, a spy betrayed him and he was deported to Poltava.³⁷²

By early May Roman Malinovsky had submitted 57 reports to the Okhrana which included party pseudonyms, safe houses for meetings and hiding places for propaganda.³⁷³ Newspapers reported that he had been accused of being a provocateur. The émigré Bolshevik Centre warned Badayev that it might be slanderous, but asked him to find a deputy for the Duma fraction and informed him that Moscow comrades would find a 'worthy person'.³⁷⁴ On the 8th Malinovsky resigned as a Duma deputy, 'for reasons of health'.³⁷⁵ The Okhrana gave him 6,000 rubles, a revolver, a railway ticket,³⁷⁶ and a false passport,³⁷⁷ and he left for Kraków that night.³⁷⁸

From January 1913 to 13 May 1914 there had been 2,873 contributions to the St. Petersburg Bolshevik paper amounting to 18,934 rubles from groups of workers and 713 amounting to 2,650 rubles from others. In the same period there had been 671 contributions amounting to 5,296 rubles from groups of workers to Menshevik paper

and 453 from others amounting to 6,670 rubles.³⁷⁹ On the 15th *Put pravdy* noted that the 'rumours about provocation' regarding Malinovsky were 'a piece of stupidity on the part of the liquidators'.³⁸⁰ On the 20th the third *Rabotnitsa* noted that women workers joined unions and attended clubs and lectures less often than men, because they were the 'least conscious group'.³⁸¹ There was an article by Stahl, but none by the other émigré intelligentki, and it included a Menshevik account of events on International Women's Day, not the version in *Put pravdy*, so Armand asked Krupskaya to get control of the paper.³⁸² The police had confiscated many of the first three issues.³⁸³

On 13 May *Put pravdy* noted the 'growth of the strike movement' and 'political strikes', especially on May Day, but believed that the Trudoviki Duma deputies 'deserve support *only insofar* as they oppose serfdom and support democracy'. On the 25th *Rabochy* noted that Plekhanov had denounced *Rabochy* for 'factionalism' and 'usurpation', yet the émigré 'liquidators', who had not published their paper for almost two years, announced that the Bolsheviks would 'accept anybody and everybody who renounces liquidationism'. During May 'V. Ilyin' claimed in *Proveshcheyniye* that young workers 'constituted nine-tenths of the organised Marxists in Russia. They see *three* mass expressions of different views, or trends in the working-class movement: the Pravdists, gathered around a newspaper with a circulation of 40,000; the liquidators (15,000 circulation) and the Left Narodniks (10,000 circulation). The circulation figures tell the reader about the *mass* character of a given tenet'.³⁸⁴

Shlyapnikov did not contact the editor of *Metallist*,³⁸⁵ but contributed articles pseudonymously, and was co-opted onto the editorial board.³⁸⁶ Some Bolshevik, Menshevik and SR workers spoke on political subjects, but the same one did not speak at every meeting and their names were kept secret.

There was so little of the intelligentsia left that it barely sufficed to meet the needs of the Duma faction and the daily paper. The place of the petty-bourgeois intellectuals and student youth was taken by the intellectual proletarian with his calloused hands and highly developed head who had not lost contact with the masses. A favourable impression was made by our insurance organisers G.I. Osipov, G.M. Shkapin, N.I. Ilyin, Dmitryev and others, and also the trade-union activists such as the metalworkers Kisilev, Schmidt and others.

There were collections for political prisoners, exiles and their families.

Propaganda was done in the plants and shops on an individual basis. There were also discussion circles, but they were joined only by the most conscious workers. Legal meetings took place on matters concerning insurance funds, but this activity was skilfully integrated into the general struggle for the liberation of the working class. Illegal meetings were arranged fairly often in the plants during the summer. ... This was usually done on the spur of the moment but in an organised way, during the lunch or evening break in front of the exit, in the yard, or in establishments with several floors, on the stairs. The most alert workers would form a 'plug' in the doorway, and the whole mass piled up in the exit. An agitator would get up right there on the spot, Management would contact the police on the phone, but the speeches would already have been made and the necessary decision taken by the time they arrived. Frequently clashes with the police would ensue, in which the latter would put its 'herrings' into action and the workers nuts and cobblestones. Mass rallies took place all round Petersburg. The Vyborg district gathered mainly at Ozerki, Shuvalov and Grazhdanka. Holidays brought crowds of visitors to these villages on the outskirts. This made it easier for workers to get to mass meetings.

'The atmosphere in the factory districts was tense in the extreme. Every conflict, small or large, irrespective of its origin, provoked a strike or walk-out. Political meetings and skirmishes with the police were everyday occurrences.' Workers contacted soldiers and young women textile workers agitated them.³⁸⁷ By the end of April the Bolsheviks led 16 unions, while the Mensheviks led those of draughtsmen, clerks and chemists.³⁸⁸ Nationally, average money wages had risen by one percent, though food prices by around five percent.³⁸⁹

The director of the Department of Police in St. Petersburg had cut annual expenditure by 500,000 rubles, mainly by closing provincial security sections,³⁹⁰ but not those in the Caucasus, Turkestan and East Siberia.³⁹¹ By summer there were 14,306 gendarmes.³⁹² Gendarmes had raided Skryabin's lodgings in St. Petersburg and imprisoned him in April, but he smuggled out his last article for *Put pravdy* in June. He was deported for several months, but stayed outside the city boundary,³⁹³ and edited the paper alone.³⁹⁴ Kiselev had taken Roman Malinovsky's place in the Bolshevik Centre,³⁹⁵ but he was arrested after he returned from a visit to Galicia.³⁹⁶

The RSDRP factions in St. Petersburg led similar numbers of insurance society boards. Around 40,000 copies of *Put pravdy* and 16,000 of *Luch* appeared six days a week, while 12,000 copies of the VPSR paper appeared three times a week. Workers at the Navy's Izhorsky plant went on strike for an eight-hour day and a rise, though Cossacks were stationed near the works, so delegates asked Badayev to meet them in a cemetery at night. Near the end of the month the managers' concessions included a rise.³⁹⁷ Since January, Bolsheviks had led the Putilov workers who had struck on 145 days, mainly over political issues.³⁹⁸ Nationally, 1,337,458 workers had taken part in 3,534 strikes,³⁹⁹ and two-thirds of the 1.2 million inspected strikers were deemed politically-motivated.⁴⁰⁰

George Romanov had been a spy in the RSDRP for nine years and had given the names of many members to the police.⁴⁰¹ They had arrested hundreds, closed SD presses and legal workers' organisations,⁴⁰² arrested VPSR committee members and hundreds of activists, and closed their presses and papers;⁴⁰³ yet in mid-June *Put pravdy* noted that since 1 January 2,873 groups of workers had contributed over 21,500 rubles to the paper, and 2,999 of the almost 19,000 rubles from St. Petersburg was by workers, while over two-thirds of provincial collections of 555 rubles came from individuals. *Luch* had 671 groups of supporters and received 5,300 of the 12,000 rubles from workers, but while 300 came from St. Petersburg, over 5,700 came from individuals. *Luch* had a deficit, though the *Put pravdy* sold 40,000 copies,⁴⁰⁴ including to 8,858 subscribers in 740 places.⁴⁰⁵ On the 15th the Okhrana reported on the 'growth of a new conciliatory current among RSDRP workers' who were unhappy with factional quarrels.⁴⁰⁶

The Bolshevik praktik Tarshis had returned to St. Petersburg in spring. He met Roman Malinovsky and other SDs, then left for Samara, and asked Apfelbaum and Ulyanov to write to the local non-factional paper to certify his political reliability. The editors included two Mensheviks and two Bolsheviks, and another Bolshevik was secretary. Tarshis joined the legal Society for Sane Recreation. Bolsheviks and Mensheviks used its library and room, and 'had their disputes on the quiet'. He organised the sale of Bolshevik literature, especially in factories,⁴⁰⁷ and its circulation far exceeded that of Menshevik literature.⁴⁰⁸ He joined the RSDRP committee,⁴⁰⁹ and subsequently he, Bobrovskaya, Rozmirovich, Enukidze, Krylenko, Badayev, Muranov and others were ordered to organise an RSDRP Congress.⁴¹⁰ Tarshis was to call a Volga region conference to prepare for the election of Congress delegates and the International Congress. He was to send 'workers who had participated in one way or another in the labour movement', but he could not get away, so other comrades toured the Volga region, though Tarshis was arrested on 16 June. (He was later exiled to Chelyabinsk in Siberia.)⁴¹¹

On the 19th the second trial of the Obukhov strikers' began in St. Petersburg and 88,000 workers struck in solidarity. Only 300 reached the court building,⁴¹² but they appealed for support and over 100,000 came out next day.⁴¹³ During June the Bolshevik Duma deputies had invited the 'Frenchman' Shlyapnikov to speak at a banquet. Badayev, Petrovsky, Chkheidze, Gurvich and Potresov were present, and the president of the International bureau argued that the Menshevik deputies should submit to the Bolsheviks.⁴¹⁴ On the 28th *Put pravdy* noted that VPSR workers' groups were growing 'very rapidly' 'at the expense of the liquidators', and there was a 'revival amongst the peasantry'.⁴¹⁵ Plekhanov's appeal for his new paper had received 1,000 rubles from the Bundist Novomirsky, 207 rubles 52 kopeks from other émigrés and 60 rubles from six groups of workers.⁴¹⁶ The price of *Rabotnitsa* had risen to five kopeks, but the seventh and last appeared on the 26th.⁴¹⁷ Ulyanov had not contributed to the paper.⁴¹⁸

A British journalist noted that, 'in defiance of police restrictions and repression', SDs had carried on 'a persistent agitation amongst the working-men' for the past two years. They had kept 'two little papers going in spite of daily fines', though they were confiscated daily, and their editors fined and imprisoned with monotonous reiteration'.

Words that in 1904 were rigorously banned by the censor are now in daily use in newspapers of all shades. Opinions that until recently were regarded as seditious have now become mere unexciting commonplaces in the articles of hack journalists. Public criticism of the Administration is now permitted within certain limits. The discussion of home and foreign politics is conducted in the capitals with a latitude that renders possible a tolerably accurate statement of the pros and cons.

The courts had widened the definition of 'sedition' and imposed crippling fines, or long terms of imprisonment or deportation, and he believed that the situation was 'infinitely worse' in the provinces.⁴¹⁹

By summer there had been a serious drought and ripening crops had died.⁴²⁰ Around 1.2 million peasant households had sold their allotments and about two million had left their villages.⁴²¹ The gentry's estates accounted for 12 percent of grain production, but 22 percent of the marketable surplus.⁴²²

(viii) The absence of leaders

By summer 1914 14 trade unions in Rīga had 7,800 members and the LSD led consumer and cultural associations and about 25,000 out of 88,661 in 82 health insurance associations. In June 13 Bolshevik supporters and three Menshevik supporters were delegates to the LSD conference in Rīga,⁴²³ which agreed to second Bolshevik motions at the International's planned RSDRP unity conference.⁴²⁴ A police agent was elected to the new CC. The Bolshevik supporters organised to win over the Mensheviks. The police arrested the members of the LSD's propaganda committee and four days later they arrested most of the CC.⁴²⁵

During April Dzierżyński had been sentenced in Warszawa to three years' exile and katorga for his escape from exile in 1909. The court postponed sentencing him for his recent activities, though he was taken to Mtsensk Prison

near Orel, where typhus was rife.⁴²⁶ The creation of an SDKPiL 'Home Directorate' had deepened the split with the dissident Rozłamowcy by summer.⁴²⁷ PPS-Prawica favoured Polish independence, while the Bund supported the struggle for independence within Russia, and the gap between them had widened.⁴²⁸

Ukraine's industrial labour force was increasing at five percent a year, and many were in large factories.⁴²⁹ The RSDRP Iuzovka-Petrovsky committee had become the Iuzovka-Makeeva committee, and claimed 400 members among the 30,000 coalminers at three mines and at the Iuzovka and Petrovsky ironworks.⁴³⁰ In March 6,000 workers at Iurievka ironworks had gone on strike for a day on the centenary of the birth of the Ukrainian nationalist poet Shevchenko.⁴³¹ Many SDs believed that the Mensheviks were too 'ideological' and disunited.⁴³² The Bolshevik Alexandr Maslennikov arrived from St. Petersburg to organise strikes, and the first were at Makeevka and Horlivka mines on 14 April. Next day 60 Petrovsky ironworkers went on strike for higher pay, the reinstatement of free housing, coal and water, improvements in the baths and hospital, the sacking of three obnoxious officials, polite address and no retribution. On the 16th 5,000 workers expected the management's response, but none came. Some workers tried to force their way into the factory yard, throwing stones, firing guns and wounding one of the 18 guards and an engineer; but gendarmes arrested 33 leaders and others. The managers made a few concessions, and 820 Makeevka and Horlivka miners were back to work by the 30th, though 1,100 stayed out. Socialist leaflets called for a strike on May Day, but by then 4,500 were back and the strike ended on 3 May. (Most of those arrested, including two Bolshevik members of the RSDRP committee, were to spend two or three months in prison, but Maslennikov and another SD received long terms of exile.) The Iuzovka-Makeeva Bolshevik committee members were arrested and contact with St. Petersburg Centre was broken. Since January 1912 79 officially-recognised strikes had involved 86,900 Donbass workers. There were 182,000 mineworkers, almost all were men and 57,000 were skilled.⁴³³ By summer there were 203,000 miners,⁴³⁴ though most armaments factories were in the north and relied on British coal imported via Baltic ports.⁴³⁵ Together miners and metalworkers produced almost 70 percent of Russia's coal and 67 percent of its iron.⁴³⁶ By June 207 of Kyiv's 10,000 to 12,000 woodworkers and 331 of its 4,000 to 5,000 factory workers were union members, but union officials could not find new organisers.⁴³⁷

The Bolshevik Centre had ordered Serebryakov to organise a strike in Baki in Azerbaijan in 1913. He left after weeks of 'intensified shadowing', and organised in Tbilisi, Sukhum, Odesa and Samara, but was arrested in Mykolaiv and sent back to Narym in Siberia. Stasova met him, Sverdlov, Abramovich and other Bolsheviks on the way to the village of Rybinskoye in Yenisei province, Siberia, early in 1914.⁴³⁸ During an outbreak of plague in Baki, oil workers established strike committees,⁴³⁹ and demanded a sanitary commission including workers' representatives, radical improvements in housing and the recognition of factory committees.⁴⁴⁰ Six million people lived in Caucasia.⁴⁴¹ The Mensheviks were in much less disarray than in the rest of the Empire, and were dominant in the RSDRP, though the Bolsheviks met them occasionally. On 18 March the Georgian-language *akhali azri* included a letter from eight Chiaturi manganese workers. 'The publication of the paper and the leadership has fallen into the intelligentsia's hands' while 'conscious and advanced workers' had 'less opportunity to play a clear role in the paper, to make it a workers' paper', and it would 'become a real workers organ when workers are involved in its publication materially and ideologically'. They demanded that workers control the editorial board, but the intelligenty argued that the eight were syndicalists, and it did not matter whether the editors were workers or intelligenty, as long as they were SDs, and if 'politics' was dropped the journal would be of interest only in 'academic circles', so the eight should become 'more European', but the dispute rumbled on for months.⁴⁴² The Menshevik Zhordania had criticised 'liquidisationism' and wrote for Bronstein's *Borba*, while Bolshevik conciliators tried to forge RSDRP unity.⁴⁴³

The tsar was told that there had been 'a decline in the activity of the revolutionary organs' in Caucasia 'as a result of the intensive work of the local gendarmerie and administration', they had been 'liquidated, and in part deprived of significance because the activists have been sentenced by courts or by administrative measures'. The Okhrana believed that 'due to the absence of leaders, material means' and an 'adequate base for propaganda, Batumi RSDRP was 'almost completely inactive' and Kutaisi RSDRP had no more than 200 members; while the print run of the RSDRP paper had fallen from 7,000 to 3,600.⁴⁴⁴ During May *Prosveshcheniye* noted that *Borba* claimed to be a 'journal for workers', yet showed 'not a trace' of 'workers' initiative' or any 'connection with working-class organisations'.⁴⁴⁵ The Bolshevik Shahumyan had escaped from exile to Baki in spring,⁴⁴⁶ and reported to Ulyanov about the underdeveloped political consciousness of the workers who focussed on economic issues; yet on May Day there was a political strike in response to the call in *Put pravdy*.⁴⁴⁷ Over 10,000 came out and beat up strike-breakers,⁴⁴⁸ and 20,000 came out across the Caucasus.⁴⁴⁹ About 50,000 oilfield workers made 60 demands and some wanted May Day to be a holiday.⁴⁵⁰ Their representatives and the RSDRP committee decided to organise a strike. On 28 May, beginning in the Balakhany district, 18,917 workers walked out and the strike committee issued a leaflet setting out demands including recognition of factory committees, a contract with oil employers to ensure that gains could be kept, the removal of workers' homes from the oil fields and factory districts, improvements including sanitary arrangements to be inspected by workers', and recognition of the workers' committee to take

part in negotiations. The employers refused to countenance wage rises, pay for strike days or money for housing, and warned the strikers that if they did not return within three days they would be sacked. By the end of the month troops were arriving in Baki. By 2 June 30,000 were on strike, though 3,000 subsequently drifted back to work.⁴⁵¹

The oil industry was dominated by Shell, the Nobel brothers and Oil. Azerbaijan also produced a quarter of all the copper in the Empire, and its cotton mills had moved from producing yarn to weaving.⁴⁵² The government had taken measures to prevent skirmishes between Armenians and Azeris, which were not in its interests,⁴⁵³ but ordered the viceroy to evict striking oil workers from company dwellings.⁴⁵⁴ Cossacks dispersed a demonstration, and the police imprisoned hundreds,⁴⁵⁵ including Shahumyan.⁴⁵⁶ There were outbreaks of violence and attacks on strike-breakers, and SRs on the strike committee argued for terrorising oil industry administrators, but a majority disagreed. From mid-June the district looked like an armed camp with police and Cossack patrols. The workers' union was suppressed and there were arrests. Strikers were driven from company homes, but on the 20th 20,000 demonstrated, though those going to Baki were cut off by Cossacks and dispersed.⁴⁵⁷ During June the number of strikers in the Caucasus had risen to 30,000. Troops had helped the police to evict strikers from company-owned homes, and employers were forbidden to entertain political demands, though workforces refused to make separate deals.⁴⁵⁸

Nationally, during the first half of 1914, officially, there had been 1,337,458 strikers.⁴⁵⁹ Workforces of between 1,000 and 8,000 were the most likely to strike,⁴⁶⁰ and 1,059,000 strikers were deemed politically-motivated.⁴⁶¹ On 29 June a woman stabbed the tsarina's hated advisor in St. Petersburg. His entrails hung out, but he survived.⁴⁶²

In the first six months of 1914 Burtsev had exposed several Okhrana agents, but was losing credibility. After he lost the financial support of revolutionaries his organisation crumbled and he became destitute,⁴⁶³ but he published a call in French, English and Russian émigré papers for all socialists to support the Russian government.⁴⁶⁴

20. The Second International is dead

(i) Real leaders have emerged from the deep cadres of the working class

On 1 July 1914 the Bolsheviks claimed 6,000 members in St. Petersburg,¹ and their leaders acted in the name of the moribund RSDRP committee.² They called for a general strike in solidarity with Baku oil workers with the slogans of 'For the eight-hour day! For a democratic republic and the confiscation of private land! For socialism!' The police estimated that just over 1,000 left work early, though *Put pravdy* put it at over 5,000. At the Putilov works 12,000 of the 13,000 workers had voted for a one-day strike, but the police arrived and killed two workers,³ wounded around 50 and took 60 to police stations and cruelly beat them.⁴ Shlyapnikov, who worked for the Bolshevik Duma deputies,⁵ later recalled that when the workers at the New Lessner plant and a nearby textile mill heard about the attack on the Putilov workers they came out on strike and demanded that workers at the Erikson plant join them. They met in the yard, and police arrived, but the workers broke through the cordon and onto the street. Soon 10,000 strikers were converging on Bolshoi Sampsonievsky Prospekt, carrying red handkerchiefs and banners, singing revolutionary songs and stopping trams. Speakers appealed for an armed struggle and the police locked themselves in their stations, but Cossacks rode into the crowd, lashing out with whips and firing at the windows of workers' flats. Strikers covered their retreat by throwing stones, and the Cossacks withdrew when dusk fell. By then the strike had spread to the Narva and Vasilievsky Island districts, beyond the Nevsky Gate, and out to Kolomna.⁶ Shlyapnikov recalled feeling that the city's proletariat had been 'reborn'. 'Real leaders have emerged from the deep cadres of the working class.'⁷ Next day *Put pravdy* announced that 1,276 groups of workers had donated 10,762 rubles, including 5,304 rubles from 393 groups of metalworkers, 1,014 from 116 groups of woodworkers and 966 from 113 groups of printers.⁸ On the 3rd *Put pravdy* reported that the assistant interior minister had denied that the police fired live ammunition. The police raided its press,⁹ and confiscated all the copies.¹⁰ Bolsheviks called for a three-day strike,¹¹ and they broke out across the city. There were clashes with police in Vyborg and Moscow districts,¹² and police shot at the mass picket at the Skorokhod shoe factory.¹³ Almost 71,000 inspected workers,¹⁴ and up to 90,000 altogether, were out.¹⁵ On the 4th *Put pravdy* called the assistant interior minister a liar.¹⁶

Elizaveta Gavrilova's parents had been driven from their village to St. Petersburg by poverty, and Elizaveta had been born there around 1887. Her father was a fitter in the Russian Diesel Works and her mother worked at the Sampsonievsky textile mill. They lived in damp, dark and congested quarters and ate black bread. At the age of eight Elizaveta's only garment was a long shirt. She did not go to school, but washed floors, ran errands, looked after the new baby and brought it to her mother at the mill three times a day to be fed. She recalled the clatter of Cossack horses' hooves when workers went on strike in 1895 and 1896. At the age of 12 she was one of eight girls who cleaned the mill and carried heavy spools, but she was punished for making dolls out of cotton and was too short to reach up to collect her pay from the cashier. She later became a spinner and took part in demonstrations, and by 1913 she had married and borne a son. She got a job at the Erikson works, where there had been a Bolshevik *kruzhok* for nine years, and in April leaflets circulated about the first anniversary of the Lena massacre. On May Day 1914 the workforce went on strike and marched with New Lessner and Tartshilov mill workers, carrying red banners and singing revolutionary songs; but mounted police charged, whipping and trampling on them. On 5 July Elizaveta joined her workmates on strike,¹⁷ but the number of strikers had fallen to 48,450.¹⁸

The government knew that the city was home to ten percent of the Empire's industrial workforce and the situation was 'a serious threat to the safety of the state'. On the 6th mounted and foot police occupied working-class districts and patrols were strengthened.¹⁹ Newspapers were closed, but there were meetings and demonstrations everywhere, though the police made mass arrests, including many RSDRP activists.²⁰ Next day about 130,000 were out.²¹ Strikers blocked Bolshoi Sampsonievsky Prospekt and sang the revolutionary *Varshavyanka*. Shlyapnikov saw drunken Cossacks running riot in Vyborg district but strikers organised a defence.

Spades, saws, hammers and axes appeared, and they started knocking down telegraph poles and setting up barricades and wire entanglements. All along from the Wylie clinic to the Erwas works, poles were sawn up and the wires removed. All this was done on the instructions of some Moscow metalworkers who had been participants in the December armed rising in Moscow in 1905.

Towards evening the workers headed towards the wire entanglements in groups of several hundred. Near the Landrin factory workers stopped the draymen, unharnessed the horses and returned them to their drivers and then overturned the carts across the streets, making barricades of them and entwining them with wire. Only the odd worker had a revolver, and most were armed only with enthusiasm.

... Collecting stones and pulling them up from the roadway was the children's job, and they carried them to the workers in the folds of their tunics. The police and Cossacks succeeded in taking the barricade and clearing the square with revolver and rifle fire.²²

The Bolsheviks' *Rabochy* was closed.²³

On the 8th 78,500 inspected workers were on strike,²⁴ and around 140,000 altogether. They overturned 200 trams and none ran. Cossacks stopped about 5,000 strikers reaching the city centre, and Cossacks and police broke up barricades of beer barrels and telegraph poles in Vyborg district, but their charges did not disperse the demonstrators. Clashes continued into the evening and shots were fired at troops, who killed five strikers and wounded 18. Some Bolsheviks reportedly drafted a leaflet calling for an orderly return to work, since they lacked 'ties to the masses' and could not 'convert the present strikes into an armed rising due to a lack of weapons';²⁵ but others agitated.²⁶ *Put pravdy* was selling around 30,000 copies and the interior minister tried to prevent its circulation outside the city.²⁷ Malyshev and the other editors found it difficult to manage the paper.

We had never been able to go to school. We were all semi-literate Bolsheviks – we all put off studying until we were imprisoned, as we nearly always were. There, day after day, we wrote our declensions, verbs, subordinate clauses and participles. When we were released from prison, we sat down at a secretary's or editor's desk on party orders.²⁸

By the 9th the level of strikes was comparable with 1905, especially in factories with workforces of between 1,000 and 8,000, and especially in metalworking plants.²⁹ Around 200,000 workers were on strike. Almost all the factories were closed and thousands of strikers clashed with police and Cossacks.³⁰ Next day 135,000 workers from 70 percent of the factories employing over 1,000 were still out. After troops saturated the Vyborg district many strikers who tried to return to work were locked out. Three regiments arrived and a Bolshevik leaflet begged strikers to 'refrain from extreme measures',³¹ because of 'inadequate party organisation' and 'lack of weapons'.³² On the 11th, officially, 111,000 workers were out,³³ and they built barricades of telephone and telegraph poles.³⁴ Next day 130,000 were out,³⁵ though demonstrations ended and the owners of many large plants and most privately-owned metalworking factories sacked their workers.³⁶ According to Badayev 150,000 workers had gone on strike altogether. That evening the police arrested strikers and broke up a crowd of 20,000 trying to stop trams in the Vyborg district.³⁷ The police closed *Voprosy strakhovaniya*.³⁸ They had closed eight incarnations of *Pravda* in 12 months,³⁹ confiscated 155 of its 645 issues and fined 36 editors 16,550 rubles,⁴⁰ jailed some of them and confiscated 190 of the 646 issues.⁴¹ The police closed *Put pravdy*⁴² took the subscription lists and files and imprisoned most of the staff,⁴³ including Malyshev.⁴⁴ Ilyin had left the office early. Rosenfeld made it to Finland, but was arrested (He was later deported to Tambov province for five years.)⁴⁵ The government pressured employers to reopen their factories.⁴⁶

Put pravdy had reportedly reached 1,360 places across the Empire, including 121 in Ukraine. Bolshevik supporters had captured the Kyiv and Odesa 'citadels of Menshevism', though they were mainly Russians who did not speak Ukrainian and were politically isolated from most of the population.⁴⁷ On 7 July 6,717 Kharkiv workers had gone on strike, Mykolaiv shipyard and railway workers came out on the 10th and over 1,000 struck in Kyiv on the 13th.⁴⁸ Across Ukraine 44,625 workers had gone on strike since January,⁴⁹ and there had been more strikers in the Donbass than in 1906.⁵⁰ During early July at least 28,000 workers across Ukraine went on strike in solidarity with the St. Petersburg strikers.⁵¹ In six months 370,000 Riga workers had gone on strike and on 6 July there were sporadic strikes in solidarity with the St. Petersburg strikers. By the 8th 40,000 were out and by next day other Baltic region and Warszawa railway workers were out, though the Riga strikers returned on the 10th.⁵² In Moscow some workers had come out on the 5th, and almost 10,000 were out by the 7th, including 1,500 of the 3,000 at Moscow Metalworks;⁵³ but the strikes had petered out by the 13th.⁵⁴

By the 14th there were 87,000 strikers in St. Petersburg,⁵⁵ though 76,000 were locked out. The authorities closed legal socialist papers and trade unions, authorised police and troops to open fire and confined Baltic Fleet sailors to barracks. On the 16th Vyborg district revolutionaries published a leaflet with the slogan 'war against war', and Shlyapnikov drafted an anti-war leaflet in the name of the RSDRP. Most strikers were back at work by the 17th,⁵⁶ and by then over 1,000 RSDRP members and union activists had been arrested.⁵⁷ After the government closed Mensheviks' *Nashe zaria*, Potresov, Maslow, Zasulich and Zhordania wrote for *Samozashchita (Self-Defence)*.⁵⁸ The Bolshevik and Menshevik Duma deputies signed a declaration, drawn up by a group of Mensheviks headed by Petr Bronstein, called on the international proletariat to repudiate war,⁵⁹ though a Black Hundred newspaper demanded that Badayev be sent to the gallows.⁶⁰ By the 18th over 160,000 workers had gone on strike,⁶¹ and around 11,000 were still out on the 19th,⁶² but 75 workforces were locked-out, including the eight largest plants in Vyborg district,⁶³ though 27,000 reportedly demonstrated against war.⁶⁴

In Azerbaijan 38,830 oilfield workers had initially gone on strike. Newspapers were forbidden to report about it, money collected for strikers elsewhere was confiscated and telegrams from Baki were censored. Only 19,732 were still out on 10 July,⁶⁵ when government officials arrived in Baki, confiscated the strike fund of 300,000 rubles and mobilised police and troops. The strike began to collapse,⁶⁶ and only 9,595 were out by the 20th.⁶⁷

After the St. Petersburg strikes ended the members of the RSDRP Russian CC bureau were deported,⁶⁸ the Bolshevik Duma deputies were arrested, and 1,500 militants were conscripted, and membership in St. Petersburg may have fallen to 100.⁶⁹ The Bolsheviks' *Prosveshcheniye* was banned,⁷⁰ and the police closed the surviving working class papers, and educational and union organisations. Prisoners were later exiled to the northern Russia and Siberia.⁷¹ On the 20th there was a huge anti-war demonstration outside the German embassy in St. Petersburg, and spontaneous demonstrations carried on for a week until the governor banned them. Bolsheviks later recalled that speaking against war was physically dangerous.⁷² Officially there had been strikes in 2,404 workplaces so far that year, and 70 percent, and 75 percent of strikers, were deemed political.⁷³ Officially, 1,327,000 workers had been involved in 3,493 strikes for a total of 5,662,000 days.⁷⁴ An estimated 27,000 workers demonstrated against war in St. Petersburg and there were strikes in Moscow.⁷⁵

(ii) World War looms!

In January 1914 the German general in Constantinople had been promoted to the rank of field marshal, so he had to give up his command,⁷⁶ though the Reichstag agreed to raise the army's strength to 800,000. In May the chancellor announced that the armed forces would be ready for war in three years' time.⁷⁷ The Austro-Hungarian army manoeuvred in Bosnia, and early in June the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne decided to go to Sarajevo on the Serb nationalists' sacred day. The Bosnian press published the archduke's itinerary on the 27th and at least six Serb nationalists were stationed along his route on the 28th. The Serb Dzemaludin and the Yugoslav Gavrilo Princip, who wanted the region to be free from Austro-Hungary, had got bombs from a nationalist officer in military intelligence in Belgrade. The 19-year-old student Nedeljko Čabrinović threw one which bounced off the archduke's car and wounded the army officers in the one behind. The archduke's driver sped off, but a short time later the archduke wanted to visit the wounded in hospital and his car went past where Princip was stationed. His shots fatally wounded the archduke and archduchess, and they both died soon after. There were anti-Serb demonstration in the streets of Sarajevo,⁷⁸ and though the assassins were soon arrested, and Čabrinović was sentenced to 20 years in prison, because he was a minor, Princip was hanged. The Austro-Hungarian government accused the Serbian government of planning the assassination and named 11 others who it believed had been involved.⁷⁹ Its ultimatum to Serbia was delivered on 5 July, and though the prime minister was away, the Austro-Hungarian government decided to declare war on Serbia, against the advice of the prime minister, on the 7th. Next day the emperor was warned that Serbia would invoke the support of Russia and this would unleash a world war.⁸⁰ On 10th the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister reportedly told the German ambassador to Serbia that it 'would be very unpleasant' if the Serbians accepted the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum. 'I am planning to pose such conditions that Serbia's acceptance will be absolutely inconceivable.' On the 17th the German government warned the Russian government that if it did not cease military preparations, Germany 'would have to mobilise' and 'immediately go over to the offensive'. The tsar ordered the army to cancel the general mobilisation that was to take place next day, and to conduct a 'partial' mobilisation instead.⁸¹ Next day the Russian government decided to call up émigré political exiles, hoping to secure their extradition, and after the English and French governments refused, the Russian government wanted political émigrés to sign up for the Allied armies.⁸² The German chancellor had argued that 'The future belongs to Russia'. 'It grows and grows and hangs upon us ever more heavily like a nightmare.'⁸³ The kaiser promised to stand by Austro-Hungary if its army attacked Serbia,⁸⁴ and on the 22nd articles against was were censored from Austro-Hungarian newspapers.⁸⁵ Next day the government complained that the Serbian government had 'tolerated the machinations of various societies and associations' and made ten demands. The Serbian government accepted nine, but rejected one which required Austro-Hungarian police and judges to operate in Serbian territory.⁸⁶ On the 25th the Austro-Hungarian government broke off diplomatic relations with Serbia,⁸⁷ and the German government warned that 'Every delay in military operations runs the risk of intervention by other powers'.⁸⁸ The SPD EC issued a manifesto condemning the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum as 'calculated to provoke war'.⁸⁹ 'World War looms! The ruling classes who muzzle and scorn you and exploit you in peacetime now wish to use you – to abuse you – as cannon fodder. The ears of the powers-that-be must be made to ring with the cry: We don't want war! Down with war! Long live the international brotherhood of peoples!'⁹⁰

The class-conscious proletariat of Germany, in the name of humanity and civilisation, raises a flaming protest against this criminal activity of the warmongers. It insistently demands that the German Government exercise its influence on the Austrian Government to maintain the peace; and, in the event that the shameful war cannot be prevented, that it refrain from belligerent intervention. No drop of blood of a German soldier may be sacrificed to the lust of the Austrian ruling group [or] to the imperialistic profit-interests.⁹¹

On the 26th *Vorwärts* insisted that the SPD was independent of the government.

We are no marionettes, we are fighting with all our might, against a system that makes men the tools of blind circumstances, against this capitalism that is preparing to change Europe, thirsty for peace, into a smoking battlefield. If destruction takes its course, if the determined will for peace of the German, of the international proletariat, that will find expression in the next few days in mighty demonstrations, should not be able to prevent the world war, then it must be, at least, the last war, it must be the *Goetterdammerung* [downfall] of capitalism.⁹²

From the 26th to the 28th mass meetings about the threat of war were held all over Germany.⁹³ The Austro-Hungarian government declared war on Serbia on the 28th,⁹⁴ and its army bombarded Belgrade.⁹⁵ *Vorwärts* argued that 'The German proletariat is not in the least interested in the preservation' of the Austrian 'national chaos'. 'Do not believe these friends of the knout'. 'They are hungry for your souls, and hide their imperialist designs behind liberal-sounding phrases',⁹⁶ and 100,000 people demonstrated against war on the streets of Berlin.⁹⁷

On the 31st the Serbian parliament discussed war credits,⁹⁸ and a socialist announced that socialists could not support them,⁹⁹ though only two SDs voted against.¹⁰⁰

(iii) The International unity congress

By summer 1914 the SPD's membership was over one million.¹⁰¹ By July Luxemburg had 30,000 soldier witnesses.¹⁰² On the 3rd the prosecution lawyer successfully requested that her trial be adjourned, but her trial for an anti-war speech began in Frankfurt on the 14th. She was convicted of calling for public disobedience of the law, though she lodged an appeal. She went on a whirlwind speaking tour of Germany, and the war minister requested that she be tried for claiming that non-commissioned and commissioned army officers were systematically mistreated.¹⁰³ On the 20th she was arrested for inciting German soldiers to mutiny in the event of war for having said 'If they expect us to murder our French or other foreign brothers, then let us tell them: "No, under no circumstances."' ¹⁰⁴ She was sentenced to a year in prison,¹⁰⁵ though after protests in Berlin and Frankfurt and an international outcry the sentence was suspended, and she left for Brussels to attend the International unity conference.¹⁰⁶

The Menshevik Tsederbaum had left St. Petersburg early in July to attend the International congress.¹⁰⁷ In Italy Balabanoff was a member of the PSI CC and was asked to go to Switzerland to be a foreign correspondent for *Avanti*. She became a delegate to the International conference,¹⁰⁸ though delegates had some difficulty in getting there by mid-July, because the railways were clogged with military traffic.¹⁰⁹

From 14 to 16 July the French Socialist Party congress discussed the danger of war but did not reach any operational conclusions.¹¹⁰ It insisted that all branches of the International should pledge themselves to revolutionary action in the event of a war, but the SPD delegates voted against.¹¹¹

On the 16th 28 representatives of ten RSDRP groups turned up in Brussels,¹¹² though only 22 had votes.¹¹³ They included members of Plekhanov's group, the Bund, the Caucasian joint committee, the Bolshevik Duma deputies, the LSD, the Vyperedists, *Borba* and PPS-Lewica, though the members of both factions of the SDKPiL had no vote,¹¹⁴ and neither had Rubinstein from Rozlwmowcy.¹¹⁵ Plekhanov accused Ulyanov of stealing RSDRP funds, and there was talk of expelling him, but when the majority condemned his 'disorganising role',¹¹⁶ Bolshevik and LSD delegates refused to vote.¹¹⁷ Armand gave Ulyanov's report. Basing herself on the number of workers who had voted for them in the Duma elections, workers who had contributed to legal Bolshevik newspapers and the membership of the trade unions that Bolsheviks led, she claimed that 80 percent of 'conscious' Russian workers supported them. The former leader of the St. Petersburg metalworkers claimed that Bolshevik intelligentsy had manipulated the rank and file, taking advantage of their ignorance, inexperience and 'slave mentality'. Tsederbaum insisted that the influence of the Bolshevik 'lumpen proletariat' came from the workers' desire for a 'strong power' to lead them. His brother Vladimir claimed that the Bolsheviks had won adapted themselves to 'the primitive level of consciousness of the masses' and especially young workers, and the worker Sher also blamed inexperienced young Bolsheviks.¹¹⁸ Armand posed Ulyanov's 13 conditions for an RSDRP unity congress, including recognition of the programme as amended at Prague, acceptance of majority decisions, the maintenance of an underground organisation and a ban on agreements with bourgeois parties.¹¹⁹ Spies later reported that when Armand spoke for

the Bolsheviks most delegates were 'greatly disgusted',¹²⁰ but she refused to stop calling Mensheviks 'liquidators'.¹²¹ The International leaders proposed that 'no tactical disagreements' were 'sufficiently important to justify the split', though both factions should 'renounce any bloc with bourgeois parties', agree to participate in an RSDRP Congress,¹²² and report to the International in August.¹²³ The Bolshevik and LSD delegates disagreed,¹²⁴ and though others agreed to open their journals to each other and minimise faction fighting,¹²⁵ Bronstein remained silent.¹²⁶ Luxemburg was too sick at heart to speak, though Balabanoff argued that the only way left to stop the war was a general strike.¹²⁷ Victor Adler declared that the Austrian SDP was unable to prevent war.¹²⁸ They had been 'disarmed', since public opposition would bring about the party's suppression. Tsederbaum was convinced that in Russia 'the masses will rise again' to oppose war. The only action decided upon was to hold an emergency congress in Paris on 9 August.¹²⁹ The conference ended on 29 July and representatives of *Borba*, Vypered, Plekhanov's supporters, the Bund and the Caucasian joint committee formed a 'Third of July Bloc'.¹³⁰

Stučka attended a conference of Bolshevik-inclined Latvian SDs in Berlin,¹³¹ and they agreed to amalgamate, disband the 'Forest Brethren' and expel those who 'discredited the party by their banditry'.¹³² When Luxemburg returned to the city representatives of constituency organisations passed her motion on the mass strike and she warned the SPD leaders to act on the question of war, and not just talk.¹³³

On the 29th the SPD had organised a small anti-war demonstration in the city;¹³⁴ but an SPD leader was granted a private audience with the chancellor who assured him that no action would be taken regarding the SPD in the event of war and asked him to take a message to the EC. On the 30th *Vorwärts* called on the German government to press Austro-Hungary for peace and argued that the kaiser had 'proved himself to be a sincere partisan of international peace'. The chancellor assured ministers that they need not fear SPD anti-war agitation.¹³⁵ The *Vorwärts* editors were divided,¹³⁶ though *Vörwärts* insisted that 'the socialist proletariat rejects all responsibility for the events that are being precipitated by a ruling class that is blinded, and on the verge of madness. We know that for us new life will spring from the ruins. But the responsibility falls on the rulers of today'.¹³⁷ There were anti-war demonstrations across the country, though around a quarter of the SPD's Reichstag deputies were union officials and between 28 and 30 were prepared to ignore anti-war decisions in the caucus,¹³⁸ and two SPD leaders took the party's funds to Zurich.¹³⁹ *Vorwärts* argued that a war would be the greatest of crimes against the workers,¹⁴⁰ and some provincial papers printed anti-war articles on the morning of the 31st.¹⁴¹

Since January there had been an average of 170 strikes a month in Germany.¹⁴² On the night of 31 July the police delivered call-up notices, and the war minister assured the general staff military that the SPD would conduct itself 'in a manner worthy of every German'.¹⁴³ The general staff had contingency plans for war,¹⁴⁴ and noted that the completion of the Russian railway building programme would allow for a full mobilisation in 18 days.¹⁴⁵ The general staff assumed that the war would last no more than two years,¹⁴⁶ though the German and Austro-Hungarian army leaders did not know each other's capacity and had no joint plan.¹⁴⁷

(iv) Down with the war!

In January 1914 a Russian admiral had called the tsar's attention to the lack of strategic railways, industry's technical backwardness and the 'far too great dependence on foreign industry'.¹⁴⁸ The army had not enough heavy artillery, machine guns and fortified positions, and in the event of war most regular officers would soon be killed, and the peasant infantry could not be relied on.¹⁴⁹ 'The peasant dreams of obtaining a gratuitous share of somebody else's land' and 'the workman of getting hold of the entire capital and profits of the manufacturer'; but 'if these slogans are scattered among the populace, and the government permits agitation on these lines, Russia will be flung into anarchy such as she suffered in the unforgettable period of troubles in 1905-6'.¹⁵⁰ Defeat would bring revolution.¹⁵¹

By April there were only 4,590 regular officers in the Russian army.¹⁵² By summer there were 1,423,000 troops,¹⁵³ 3,115,000 reserves and 1,300,000 first-class territorials, 400,000 of whom had served previously. Older reservists, and especially those who had been in the army in 1905, comprised around 1.8 percent of the army.¹⁵⁴ The officer corps was around 40,000.¹⁵⁵ Around half were of non-noble origin,¹⁵⁶ though most were reportedly apathetic, lazy and unenterprising.¹⁵⁷ Just over 51 percent of them, and 87 percent of infantry generals, 63 percent of colonels and 85 percent of cavalry and artillery colonels were from noble families. In wartime commanding officers could order corporal punishment without trial,¹⁵⁸ and officers addressed privates as *ty* (thou), as masters had formerly addressed serfs.¹⁵⁹ Reserve officers had had less than the two years' training deemed necessary,¹⁶⁰ and most others had no scientific training. Infantry training was in drill, basic weaponry and bayonet charges, and each company had two NCOs.¹⁶¹ The tsar appointed a grand duke to head the army, though he had had no previous experience of wartime command.¹⁶²

Russia's population was three times larger than Germany's.¹⁶³ All men aged 21 or over were liable to conscription, though mutinous factory workers and policemen were exempt,¹⁶⁴ as were almost half of the 27 million who were the only adult male worker in their family,¹⁶⁵ Finns and most tribal peoples in the Caucasus, central Asia and Siberia.¹⁶⁶ Almost 18 million men were eligible for service, compared to 13 million in Germany.¹⁶⁷ Russian soldiers had to be mobilised from across eight million square miles of territory, but only one conscript in three could read, so officials sent red placards to tens of thousands of hamlets.¹⁶⁸ The inspected industrial workforce was 2.4 million,¹⁶⁹ but the 85 million peasants provided more conscripts than workers, numerically but proportionally.¹⁷⁰ The mobilisation proceeded smoothly, apart from some disorders on the Volga and in Siberia.¹⁷¹ All the large factories in Riga were strike-bound, and strikes broke out across Bielarus, Ukraine, the Caucasus and the Urals.¹⁷² In Riga around 200 out of 2,000 conscripts failed to turn up, and there were riots in Katerynoslav and Ufa province, where over 100 conscripts were killed.¹⁷³ In Ukraine Katerynoslav SDs issued anti-war leaflets and held peaceful demonstrations, and though police arrested the leaders.¹⁷⁴ Luzovka employers gave drafted workers severance pay and there were no protests. An ironworks foreman organised a patriotic parade of a few hundred, and the Bolsheviks F.I. Zaitsev and Grigory Zinukov and the Menshevik Dolgopol tried to organise a demonstration against it, but police and townspeople chased them away. The mobilisation took away almost half of the region's mineworkers, and over 17 percent of smelters and workers in southern metalworking factories.¹⁷⁵ Around 28,000 men volunteered to join the Austrian army, and though only 2,500 were accepted into the Ukrainian Legion,¹⁷⁶ there was a riot when someone attempted to start a pro-war demonstration. In Birsik near Ufa in Western Siberia army reservists dispersed the police and prevented medical examinations for conscripts,¹⁷⁷ though attempts to resist conscription resulted in woundings and deaths.¹⁷⁸ On the Volga Saratov's population was 225,000 and 14,000 residents owned property, though only 2,415 could vote.¹⁷⁹ The city's workers had 15 medical funds and worked with liberals in cultural and educational clubs.¹⁸⁰ They published a nonfactional paper and agitated in factories and workshops petitioned *Proletarskaya pravda* and *Luch* to end their bickering;¹⁸¹ but during July 1914 the SD Kukushkin was arrested as he was preparing a Volga region conference. In August there were riots at induction centres in Tsaritsyn and Volsk and peasant uprisings in the province. The war and conscription resulted in a reduction in real wages in Tsaritsyn, and workers went on strike.¹⁸²

Conscripts had to travel an average of around 700 miles to deployment depots. The call-up coincided with the harvest, which was vital to the peasantry and to the government's finances,¹⁸³ but it was three percent below the pre-war average, and the north had a deficit of 3.5 million tons of grain.¹⁸⁴ Half the draftees took the medical examination, and less than half of them were deemed fit to serve.¹⁸⁵ Eleven out of 12 conscripts were peasants and 96 percent reported for duty, though often with sullen resignation.¹⁸⁶ The mobilisation deprived large landowners of around 800,000 labourers. Radical peasants demanded land in return for signing up,¹⁸⁷ and attempts to resist mobilisation led to clashes with police and Cossacks. Within weeks 505 draftees and 106 government officials had been killed in 27 provinces.¹⁸⁸ There was considerable disorder at mobilisations in Saratov, Minsk, Tsaritsyn, Perm, Mariney, Kazan, and Siberian towns and cities, and ten men died in Barnaul and seven in Novo-Nikolaevsk,¹⁸⁹ but around 360,000 Cossacks turned up.¹⁹⁰

On 14 July gendarmes and ordinary police had been ordered to arrest suspected spies and empowered to recommend administrative exile. On the 16th the government banned the publication of information on 18 topics, including military issues and foreign spies.¹⁹¹ On the 18th the tsar called up reservists.¹⁹² Martial law was enforced in Kyiv, which was deemed vulnerable to a German attack.¹⁹³ On the 20th Ukrainian socialists called on young men to volunteer for the Austro-Hungarian army, arguing that the defeat of Russia would lead to independence for Ukraine. Over 28,000 responded, though only 2,500 were accepted into the separate Ukrainian legion, and the rest were inducted into regular units.¹⁹⁴ On the 20th 26 of the eastern and western provinces, including St. Petersburg province, were put under martial law, and military commanders were empowered 'in case of necessity' to forbid 'any assemblies whatever and stop periodical publication 'temporarily'. The government issued 'temporary' regulations on military censorship which expanded control over the press, private correspondence and speech. On the 21st governors were ordered to nurture patriotic sentiments and 'crush and annihilate' seditious activity. On the 22nd a crowd looted the German embassy in St. Petersburg and killed one employee. On the 24th a state of extraordinary security was imposed on provinces already under martial law or a state of siege.¹⁹⁵ On the 25th almost all the Kyiv Bolsheviks were arrested, though the Main Railway Shops built three trains for the narrow-gauge Austrian railways. The city attracted runaway troops, who claimed that they were trying to catch up with their units.¹⁹⁶

St. Petersburg Bolsheviks had helped to found workers' insurance organisations since 1912, though in July 1914 their journal, *Voprosy Strakhovania (Insurance Questions)* was closed,¹⁹⁷ as was *Pravda*, and leading activists were arrested.¹⁹⁸ Gendarmes destroyed the RSDRP committee, though their press had been dismantled and moved elsewhere. Workers in Kostroma in the central industrial region asked the Bolshevik Duma deputies what steps they

had taken to prevent the 'fratricidal war with the proletariat of Germany and Austria'. When Badayev was meeting workers, journalists asked him what the deputies intended to do. He answered: 'War against War'. That did not appear in the papers, but the Okhrana found out. Badayev received threats to his life, though workers gave him 'a special guard' at his home. The Trudoviki deputies favoured war, though leading Bolsheviks met Mensheviks and negotiated a draft declaration, which the deputies were to deliver when the Duma reconvened. Badayev put a copy of the draft in his top boot and another in a matchbox which he could burn if the police stopped him, and went to Finland. The final version condemned the war. Next morning he returned to St. Petersburg. Comrades printed copies and distributed them at railway stations and mobilisation depots, where they gave copies to reservists and sometimes pushed them into their pockets. The declaration was delivered in the Duma on 26 July.¹⁹⁹ Five Bolsheviks, six Mensheviks, the Trudoviki and one PPS member refused to vote for war credits,²⁰⁰ though the Trudoviki called on their supporters to defend Russia.²⁰¹ After the one-day sitting, the government closed the Duma and censorship was reintroduced.²⁰² The declaration did not appear in the minutes, and the Mensheviks decided not to actively oppose the war.²⁰³

On the 26th the Duma was recalled for a day and almost all the deputies voted for war credits.²⁰⁴ A handful of SDs voted against, though they hoped that 'Russian culture could be defended against attacks from within and without'.²⁰⁵ On the 27th the government prohibited the conversion of banknotes into gold, and its export, though the issue of banknotes rose by 500 percent.²⁰⁶ By the 29th the tsar had ordered a full mobilisation, but changed his mind that evening.²⁰⁷ On the 30th zemstvo representatives established the All-Russia Union of Zemstvos. Next day Petersburg liberals organised a Provisional Committee for the Relief of the Wounded and Sick Soldiers and War Sufferers, and liberal members of city dumas formed the All-Russian Union of Towns.²⁰⁸ Nationally, 3,915,000 men had been mobilised;²⁰⁹ and the tsar's order for a full mobilisation was announced on the 31st.²¹⁰ Around 138,000 men of all social classes had been conscripted in St. Petersburg and removed from their workplace, though 9,166 were exempted on account of illness, including 5,450 in state and private plants with war-related contracts.²¹¹ Around 27,000 demonstrated against war,²¹² and the RSDRP committee issued a leaflet with the slogans 'A sanguinary war haunts Europe', 'Down with the war! War against war!' and 'Our battle-cry is "Liberty for Russia"'. 'Patriotic pogroms alternated with ceremonies of kneeling before the tsar's palace'.²¹³ Some people called demonstrating workers 'traitors' and new workers' organisations were suppressed. Around 116,000 male workers – 70 percent of the city's total – were of draft age, but while many were exempt,²¹⁴ around 17 percent had been conscripted, including almost all the politically-active younger ones.²¹⁵ Putilov workers who had been shot at by police a fortnight earlier worked around the clock without extra pay and produced orders that normally took 23 days in 11.²¹⁶ Yet about 20 factory workforces went on strike and in other places workers and reservists shouted 'Down with the war'.²¹⁷ There were strikes and demonstrations in the main industrial centres in Biełaruś, Ukraine, the Caucasus and the Urals. Officially, there were anti-war disturbances in 17 provinces and 31 districts including in Mykolaiv,²¹⁸ and Rostov-na Donu.²¹⁹ Older reservists were the most restless.²²⁰ The Ukrainian SDRP right-wing sought to win independence with Austrian arms and money. The police closed Ukrainian newspapers, cultural societies and schools, and arrested a leading historian and the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic church.²²¹

The tsar banned the use of the German language, forbade gatherings of people of German extraction and sacked Germans in the administration.²²² The government banned the sale of alcohol, except for first-class restaurants and clubs,²²³ to avoid a repetition of 1905, when drunken conscripted soldiers and reservists looted alcohol stores.²²⁴ Some Latvian SDs argued that the imperialist war should be turned into a civil war,²²⁵ though 120,000 to 140,000 Latvians and 100,000 Estonians had volunteered.²²⁶ Around 2,000 turned up in one district of Riga, but over 200 did not, and workers and reservists flew banners proclaiming 'Down with the war!' ²²⁷

The government's reserves were over 2.6 billion rubles,²²⁸ and the currency backed by gold amounted to 1.63 billion.²²⁹ The government banned the exchange of banknotes for gold,²³⁰ suspended payments in gold, and permitted the issue of paper currency with a face value of up to 1.5 billion rubles.²³¹ German investment was particularly strong in several key Russian banks. A key financier was in touch with Berlin, via Stockholm, and a Russian minister of finance, who was against a war, argued for closer contact with Germany.²³² So far that year the war ministry had called upon armaments factories to produce 41 rifles. The Tula armoury produced 16, and the Sestoresk armoury had stopped making them, but produced 19.²³³ The generals estimated that 500,000 shells would last at least a month,²³⁴ but they assured the Duma they were prepared and the war would last six months.²³⁵

At 1.00am on 1 August the German ambassador in St. Petersburg handed an ultimatum to the Russian foreign minister, and hours later the German government declared war.²³⁶ Around 40 percent of the population lived under martial law,²³⁷ and the government gave the military authorities dictatorial powers. They banned public meetings and demonstrations,²³⁸ and introduced censorship, while the interior minister barred voluntary organisations from engaging in politics.²³⁹ In St. Petersburg the Kadet paper *Rech* insisted that they would ensure the 'liberation of the

motherland from invasion', but was banned because it had also opposed war, and the government announced that the Duma would reconvene in autumn 1915.²⁴⁰

(v) We were like people lost in a forest

On 2 August 1914 the SPD EC discussed the attitude its Reichstag deputies should take to war credits and right-wingers announced that they would break discipline unless the deputies voted in favour in the caucus.²⁴¹ The SPD had over a million members,²⁴² and SPD-led unions had 2.5 million. Union leaders and representatives of the employers' associations agreed to suspend disputes for the duration.²⁴³ A conference of union delegates called off current or pending strikes and resolved not to issue strike pay, in return for the employers' undertaking to maintain current contracts and ban lockouts for the duration.²⁴⁴ The interior minister assured the union leaders that they would not be molested if they made no difficulties for the government, and the union leaders offered to provide workers to bring in the harvest,²⁴⁵ though they had not consulted the SPD EC.²⁴⁶ In the Reichstag one SPD deputy spoke in favour of approving war credits.²⁴⁷ Berlin's streets were full of soldiers.²⁴⁸ The *Vorwärts* offices displayed a poster exhorting people to catch Russian spies, and the SPD refused to protest against the arrest of Russians. The Bolshevik Buchholz visited the joint chair of the SPD who offered Russians asylum at the party headquarters.²⁴⁹

The major Western European powers had supported the 'Final Reform Plan' between the Russian and Turkish government which provided for the creation of two large *vilayets* (provinces) with an inspector-general for each. In summer the Turkish government had identified the Armenians as the principal threat. Late in July Dashnaksutuin's conference in Erzerum was asked to agree that if Turkey entered the war they would mobilise Armenians in the Caucasus to fight against the Russians. They hoped Turkey would remain neutral, but if it entered the war then Armenians in each Empire should serve their respective governments. Armenians feared attacks on their families if they enlisted, though objectors were threatened with capital punishment. The government's policy was to target the Armenian population, since they believed that they were instruments of foreign subversion. On 2 August the Turkish government concluded a secret military alliance with Germany and commenced a general mobilisation.²⁵⁰

Kollontai was holidaying in Bavaria when newspapers announced that war had been declared she did not believe it.²⁵¹ On the way back to Berlin she noted that the editorial of *Vorwärts* was 'excessively "abstract"' about the war danger.²⁵² She arrived in Berlin on 1 August,²⁵³ and at midnight on the 2nd she saw Russians 'dashing around Berlin cursing the party for not giving the signal for demonstrations'. Not even the most pessimistic believed that the Reichstag deputies would vote for war credits,²⁵⁴ yet *Vorwärts* described the war as one of 'liberation',²⁵⁵ and advocated annexations.²⁵⁶ It did 'not put out one appeal' which 'could rouse the workers to take action', and Kollontai could not understand why women SDs in Russia had not issued a leaflet.²⁵⁷

On 2 August only half the SPD Reichstag deputies turned up for the caucus.²⁵⁸ Kautsky assumed that they would vote against war credits and had drafted an appropriate motion, yet they supported them by 78 to 14.²⁵⁹ According to custom all the deputies would have to vote for war credits of five billion marks.²⁶⁰ They accepted Kautsky's proposal to ask the government to renounce annexations and not invade neutral countries, but the chancellor refused.²⁶¹ He did not tell the SPD leaders that German troops were concentrated on the Belgian border,²⁶² but invited leading representatives of the Reichstag deputies to hear the government's position on the war, and the SPD representatives assured those of the bourgeois parties that they would be shown the SPD's draft position on the war before it was announced in the Reichstag.²⁶³ Kautsky believed there were 'scarcely a dozen' nationalists among the 110 SPD deputies,²⁶⁴ even though they included 46 who were union officials or were associated with the unions.²⁶⁵ Reportedly the SPD declaration in favour of war credits was shown to the chancellor, who insisted on the removal of one sentence. 'From the moment the war becomes one of conquest we will stand up against it with the most decisive measures'.²⁶⁶ SPD right-wingers saw the war as being in the interests of German workers and 'the future interests of international Socialism'.²⁶⁷

At 6.00am on 3 August two policemen took Kollontai and her son to their headquarters and locked them in a cell.²⁶⁸ Next day, when the police found Kollontai's mandate to the International Congress they let her go, though they took her son to prison.²⁶⁹ She went to the Reichstag, where the SPD deputies' co-chair announced that 'We shall not forsake our own fatherland in its hour of danger',²⁷⁰ liberal and conservative deputies applauded loudly.²⁷¹ The leader of the SPD deputies declared that they were 'not called upon to decide for or against the war, but simply to decide about the means necessary for the country's defence,²⁷² against 'Russian despotism'.²⁷³ A mass strike would have made the country even more vulnerable to attack and given the government a pretext to destroy the SPD.²⁷⁴ The Reichstag had to 'ward off' the danger of Russian occupation and 'safeguard the independence of our own country'. One deputy left the chamber before the vote,²⁷⁵ though the 14 dissidents submitted to party discipline.²⁷⁶ There was no vote, and conservative and socialist deputies broke into 'storms of applause'.²⁷⁷ The

Reichstag then adjourned.²⁷⁸ Kollontai thought she was going to faint, but Kautsky was fatalistic. 'The workers are for war, and Germany must defend herself.' The idea of not voting for the credits was 'mere childishness'. Kollontai could not believe what they had done: 'either they had all gone mad or I had lost my mind'.²⁷⁹ She saw 'the whole vile spectacle of the collapse of the leaders of German Social-Democracy'.²⁸⁰ 'I felt utterly alone and found comfort only in the company of the Liebknechts',²⁸¹ who acknowledged that the SPD had destroyed the International.²⁸²

On the 2nd the German envoy in Brussels had delivered a note to the Belgian government demanding passage for its army, in return for substantial compensation. When it refused, the Germans declared war on Belgium.²⁸³ Late on the 3rd the German army had entered Belgium,²⁸⁴ though the Belgian army resisted,²⁸⁵ and Belgian legislators rallied round their government. The Belgian chair of the International bureau accepted a position at the ministry of defence, as did another leading socialist.²⁸⁶ The Austrian legislature voted through war credits with misgivings, though the Hungarian parliament gave unqualified support to the war effort.²⁸⁷ The German government declared war on France.²⁸⁸ On the 4th the leaders of the French Socialist Party wrote the leading article in *L'Humanité* and argued that the chamber of deputies should vote for war credits unanimously.²⁸⁹ Late that day the SPD deputies learned that German troops had entered Belgium,²⁹⁰ yet not one of the 91 socialist papers protested.²⁹¹ At 11.00pm, after the British Liberal government's ultimatum expired, it declared war on Germany.²⁹² Labour MPs supported the government and union leaders promised an industrial truce for the duration.²⁹³

Soon after the fighting began the SPD EC sent representatives to neutral Sweden, Italy, Switzerland, and Denmark, and the Austrian SD party sent three representatives to Italy. Mussolini was a leading member of the PSI and had edited the central organ, *Avanti*, since 1911. He strongly opposed the war,²⁹⁴ and was against Italy joining either side.²⁹⁵

On the 5th the SPD's *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (*Workers' Newspaper*) proclaimed that Germany was 'united in the struggle for her national honour, and will remain united until the last drop of blood'.²⁹⁶ A huge crowd in Berlin's Unter den Linden cheered the kaiser.²⁹⁷ The government confiscated enemy nationals' money, including that which the SPD held in trust for the RSDRP.²⁹⁸ Luxemburg had returned to Berlin and later admitted that she had been 'horrified and appalled, almost broken'.²⁹⁹ 'German Social-Democracy has become a stinking corpse'.³⁰⁰ Kautsky told her that there was 'so much enthusiasm amongst our social democrats' that many had volunteered for the army, and another SPD leader told her that abstaining from the war would mean that the party would 'lose their popularity in the eyes of the workers'. 'Germany had to defend herself' and the 14 SPD deputies who had opposed war credits had exhibited 'childishness'.³⁰¹ The SPD party school was closed for the duration,³⁰² and SPD congresses were postponed indefinitely.³⁰³ Luxemburg planned to agitate against the war, and contacted 20 SPD Reichstag deputies. Liebknecht and Mehring replied, but the only response to 300 telegrams to SPD officials was from Zetkin, who sent a letter of solidarity.³⁰⁴ Seven people attended a meeting in Luxemburg's apartment.³⁰⁵ On the 6th the Austro-Hungarian government declared war on Russia.³⁰⁶ The SD deputies charged it with responsibility for the war, though parliament was not to be reconvened.³⁰⁷

At 6.00am on the 6th the Berlin police had visited Kollontai and half an hour later they returned to tell her that she had to leave Germany immediately.³⁰⁸ Liebknecht helped Kollontai to get her son released,³⁰⁹ and at dawn on the 7th he arrived at his mother's apartment hungry and exhausted. He told her that Russian prisoners had 'slept piled on top of each other on the floor' and many had been beaten.³¹⁰ Next day a friend told Kollontai that her husband in Russia had been sent to the front. Workers in Berlin's Charlottenburg district were ready to strike against mobilisation when the SPD leaders called for it, though regional officials were 'urging them to do their duties as citizens' and turn up at the call-up centres. On the 13th Kollontai heard that workers had unsuccessfully 'besieged' regional committees to protest against the war, yet the Berlin workers she spoke with opposed the war.³¹¹ On the 23rd she acknowledged that the SPD had been 'smashed'.³¹² She believed it was possible to revitalise the International, though neither she nor anyone she knew what to do. 'We were like people lost in a forest.'³¹³

(vi) No enemies on the other side of the border

Konstantin Krotovsky had been born into the family of a railway watchman in Dvinsk in 1888. He later joined the Bolsheviks, became a member of the RSDRP Dvinsk committee in 1906 and the CC's north-western regional bureau in 1908. In 1911 he worked in St. Petersburg and contributed to *Pravda* and *Prosveshchenie*,³¹⁴ and in November 1913 he helped to form an organisation that took a centrist position between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. Reportedly the idea arose as a reaction to the split in the émigré leadership, the Bolshevik Prague conference and the August bloc. The St. Petersburg Bolshevik committee and the Menshevik Initiative Committee were doing nothing to build RSDRP organisations, and the founders of the 'United Bolshevik and Menshevik-partiisty' wanted to end the factional crisis by building the party from 'below' by uniting Bolshevik and Menshevik *partiisty* (party

comrades). The 'Mezhraionka Commission' was result of 'lengthy conversations and discussions' between Krotovsky and the Bolshevik worker A.M. Novoslelov, the Menshevik Duma deputy Nikolai Egorov and the veteran Bolshevik intelligentka Elena Adamovich. According to Krotovsky they basically agreed with the Bolshevik committee, but would not join it, mainly because they rejected the idea that all non-Bolsheviks were 'liquidationists' and the assertion that the Prague Conference represented the whole party. Initially, around 60 percent of the members were Bolsheviks, and the rest were mainly Menshevik workers.³¹⁵ Krotovsky recalled that 'squabbling' between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks had 'reached its apogee'.³¹⁶

P. Nikolaev had been active trade unionist in St. Petersburg since at least 1910 and had joined the metalworkers' union board in 1911. He became its secretary, and late in 1913 he joined Mezhraionka, as did three Bolshevik Duma deputies who led workers' educational societies.³¹⁷ The Bolshevik committee,³¹⁸ which included Mezhraiontsy, condemned the Prague Conference.³¹⁹ The Mezhraiontsy did not attempt to recruit where there were firm Bolshevik or Menshevik organisations, but only where the workers had 'factional loyalties' and there were no factional organisations. They had contacts with workers in the Vasilevsky Island district organisation, thanks to its secretary Nikolaev, and the Menshevik Shevchenko and the Bolshevik Valentina Serikova were supportive in the Petersburg district, where 200 workers in 18 of the largest factories formed a district committee. The Mezhraionka had cells in the Moscow, Good, Narva, Vyborg and Porokhovaia district organisations, where the members were 'overwhelmingly worker-Mensheviks', and carried out 'all responsible work', but there was no regular publication of leaflets and there were evidently no city-wide meetings to explain the programme.

From spring 1914 Mezhraiontsy held conspiratorial meetings in the back of railway stations or in forests near St. Petersburg, where issues were 'hotly debated', and by summer Krotovsky reckoned that there were around 1,000 active members.³²⁰ Plekhanov had recruited two to the board of his new journal, *Yedinstvo (Unity)*, along with the émigré Bolshevik conciliators Frumkin and Lyubimov who wanted to convert the RSDRP to their version of 'Bolshevism'.³²¹ By July Mezhraiontsy had issued four leaflets with print-runs of between 800 and 2,000 in nine months, and two had appeared from Plekhanov's press, though neither mentioned Mezhraionka by name and the 'official' Bolsheviks denied that the Bolshevik-partiisty were either Bolsheviks nor partiisty. Ulyanov had not mentioned the Mezhraiontsy,³²² among the 35 letters to Russia from January to July in his *Collected Works*.³²³ The case against Gorky for *Mat* had been closed 'for lack of evidence of criminal action' in May.³²⁴ By late July the Bolshevik Bonch-Bruевич had been arrested in St. Petersburg, but Gorky returned to the city, and wrote to tell Peshkova that the factory workers were 'terribly interesting' and the women were 'amazing';³²⁵ but Gorky, Alexanderov, Rosenfeld and the satirist Bedny fled to Finland.³²⁶ Since 1907 military courts had sentenced 21,351 civilians, including 5,828 to katorga and 2,468 to death.³²⁷

By 6.00am on 1 August dark-red mobilisation posters appeared all over St. Petersburg and listed the prices of jackboots, linen and other basic items. Shlyapnikov later recalled that the war 'took organised workers by surprise', and 'nobody gave any thought to work'. Up to 40 percent of some workforces were conscripted and over 20 other workforces went on strike in protest. Some shouted 'Down with the war' at passing reservists and sang revolutionary songs, but pro-war crowds called them 'Betrayers' and 'traitors' and beat them up. On the 2nd the SDKPiL opposition, PPS-Left and Bundists issued a joint statement against the war.³²⁸

In St. Petersburg most Mezhraiontsy were in cells in major factories in the Vasilevsky and Petersburg, and Kortovsky, took a position close to Bronstein's. Districts who wanted the Mensheviks and Bolsheviks to unite on the basis of anti-war internationalism propagandised soldiers, and issued a leaflet calling for the overthrow of the tsar,³²⁹ days after the declaration of war. It argued that the 'liberation' slogans of the imperialist powers were 'a smokescreen for rapacious, capitalist and imperialist greed', and the slogan for those called up to fight should be 'war on war'; though several members, including Shevchenko, K. Govozdev and A.F. Burianov backed defencism and left. The district network was largely destroyed by the mobilization, arrests and general confusion, though members in the Vasilevsky district recruited the 'hard Bolshevik' L. Leonteva, who could not 'sit and do nothing', with the argument that RSDRP unity was essential.³³⁰

Petro Zariachny, a turner in his early twenties, had visited Samara in 1903. He was a professional revolutionary and used a pseudonym. He was not a theorist, but he was an excellent organiser. He reorganised the RSDRP committee and groups of workers according to their occupations, though entrusted agitation and propaganda to a separate section. Then he left without notice. The police were after him and he had received orders to change his name and place of work. He moved from town to town, and in 1905, in Ekaterinburg, he was very active, and he fought on the barricades at Gorlovka. By 1906 he was exiled to Siberia, where he married a peasant woman, and worked in the Bolshevik underground, though he managed to avoid them and in 1912 he escaped to London. He became depressed, but began to propagandise the crews of Russian ships and to form Bolshevik cells and get them to send revolutionary literature published abroad to Baltic and Black Sea ports. The outbreak of the war in 1914 put an end to this activity, though he got a job in a munitions factory and propagandised.³³¹

Alexandr Ilyin, a student at Geneva University, had visited St. Petersburg in July. He recalled seeing 'a huge crowd marching along the Sampsionevsky Embankment, carrying red flags and singing revolutionary songs'. Next day 'workers attacked tramcars and turned out the passengers. They then thrust levers under the cars and soon had them lying on their sides' and tram drivers and conductors 'seized the excuse to refuse to continue the service throughout the city and hastened to run their cars back to the car depot'. In some districts 'barricades began to spring up' around overturned tramcars and 'the movement continued to grow', though Ilyin saw 'a tremendous crowd' marching to Nevsky Prospekt, singing the national anthem and carrying national flags and portraits of the tsar.³³² After the war broke out Ilyin was conscripted.³³³

Alexey Mashirov had been born into a St. Petersburg goldsmith's family in 1884, but his father became a drunk, left in 1886 and soon died. His widow took in washing and cleaned apartments to raise three children, and though Alexey complete a four-year primary school course by the age of nine, his mother declined a well-wisher's offer to pay for him to attend a technical school. When he was 12 Alexey became an apprentice fitter in a metal factory, and later met 'conscious' workers. In 1905 he was elected as a member of the Shidlovsky Commission, but was subsequently sacked. He changed jobs often, and set up an illegal library and a press in a laundry. In 1908 he joined the Bolsheviks and in 1909 he enrolled at Ligovsky People's House, where he studied literature, history and science, and led a kruzhek of Bolshevik students. In 1912 he was an active trade unionist and a member of an RSDRP district committee, and by 1914 his poems appeared in Bolshevik periodicals and in Gorky's anthology of proletarian writers. When war broke out Mashirov was a member of the district committee EC and ignored the call-up.³³⁴

The Bolshevik intelligently Krzhizhanovsky, Goldenberg, Troyanovsky and Alexinsky were defencists,³³⁵ and Alexinsky declared that Germany was the enemy of the Russian people and had to be defeated.³³⁶ Krasin had become a managing director of the Siemens plant in St. Petersburg. He showed 'traces of the general feeling of depression',³³⁷ but he supported the war effort. The plant was nationalised, and he reorganised production to supply the army,³³⁸ though he predicted that 'very hard times are coming' and 'there would be days when there will be no bread'.³³⁹ Most Bolsheviks reportedly opposed the war, though many wavered. There was even less unanimity among the Mensheviks, though virtually all of them wanted to re-establish the International.³⁴⁰

Shlyapnikov got contracts to supply illegal literature, though the St. Petersburg RSDRP committee could not afford the 300 to 500 rubles a month he needed.³⁴¹ He reportedly declared that if he had been in France he would have joined the Foreign Legion.³⁴² The first Bolshevik leaflet issued in St. Petersburg asked 'Who are our enemies'.

We are robbed by the landlords, we are robbed by the manufacturers, the houseowners, and the tradesmen, we are robbed by the police, [and] we are robbed by the Tsar and his officials. And when we become tired of this robbery, when we want to protect our interests, when we want to proclaim a strike, the police, the soldiers, and the Cossacks are let loose against us, we are attacked, we are thrown into prison, we are deported to Siberia, and we are hunted down like mad dogs. Those are our real enemies. ... They are placing arms in our hands. Let us be men, let us take the arms in order to conquer for the working class new conditions of life.

Copies 'circulated in tens of thousands' in the capital and then 'throughout the length and breadth of the land'.³⁴³ Another leaflet exhorted workers to remember that they had 'no enemies on the other side of the border'.³⁴⁴ The Okhrana reported that revolutionary youths organised factory meetings and argued against the war and for soldiers to turn their weapons on the autocracy, while workers leaving the New Lessner and Erikson factories had shouted 'Down with the war'. Bolsheviks in the Town district had attempted to organise a demonstration. The Bolsheviks, Mensheviks and SRs had no city or district committees,³⁴⁵ and RSDRP members in St. Petersburg tried to turn patriotic demonstrations into revolutionary ones. Up to 40 percent of the city's male workers were liable to conscription, though thousands were soon sent back to work on military contracts.³⁴⁶ After the French government asked citizens to return Shlyapnikov left for Sweden with mandates from the RSDRP and Bolshevik committees.³⁴⁷

The Bolshevik Bubnov had been a member of the St. Petersburg committee EC and the Duma fraction. He contributed to the Bolshevik press and was briefly detained. He was arrested in Kharkiv after the war broke out.³⁴⁸

The Bolshevik Ivan Smirnov had worked at the Moscow RSDRP bookshop, though he was charged with distributing illegal literature in 1909. He was freed for lack of evidence, but deported, and went to St. Petersburg, where he worked as an organiser in Petersburg district. In 1910 a spy betrayed him and the police exiled him to Narym in Siberia without trial; but after 18 months, fearing he would be moved to the Turukhansk region, he escaped. He worked in Rostov-na-Donu and Kharkiv, where he had united Bolsheviks and Mensheviks by 1913,³⁴⁹ but in 1914 two spies penetrated the organisation. Smirnov was sent to Narym for six months for taking part in a demonstration, but was mistakenly released at the prison gates. He went to Krasnoyarsk, got good identity papers,³⁵⁰ and returned to Moscow in July.³⁵¹ When war broke out almost 600 Moscow Metalworks employees

were mobilised and 2,400 others joined a pro-war demonstration.³⁵² Maria Ulyanova had returned to work in the Bolshevik organisation in Moscow. Her brother Dmitry had become an army doctor.³⁵³

The VPSR veterans Chaikovsky and Breshkovskaya were defencists,³⁵⁴ as were most SR organisations.³⁵⁵ The exiled Breshkovskaya prepared lint and bandages for the wounded in Siberia.³⁵⁶ In Nerchinsk Katorga Prison the SR Spiridonov noticed that the 'chief torturers were sent to the front', and the prisoners were put to war work.³⁵⁷ The veteran SR turned SD Zasluch's health was deteriorating rapidly, but she supported the war.³⁵⁸

The Mensheviks Potresov,³⁵⁹ and Maslow, argued that all classes had a vested interest in a Russian victory.³⁶⁰ Pokrovsky believed that Russia's entry had been dictated to a significant extent by the interests of English and French capitalists, and the main belligerent governments on both sides wanted to defend the capitalists from the proletariat.³⁶¹ The war had come 'like a bolt from the blue', to the leading Menshevik intelligentka, Eva Broido, though she and others wrote a speech for Chkheidze to read out in the Duma. They felt that the SPD had 'dealt a fatal blow to the international solidarity of the proletariat by voting for the war credits, and Broido received 'innumerable notes and messages from various St. Petersburg factories asking her to come after working hours to discuss 'urgent matters'.³⁶² The Menshevik Initiative Group largely agreed with Tserderbaum that the war had been caused by imperialist competition, but rejected defeatism and the idea of a Third International.³⁶³ The old anarchist Kropotkin blamed Germany and urged every man who 'cherishes the ideals of human progress' to help crush the German 'invasion'.³⁶⁴ If 'German imperialism triumphs the work of freeing humanity from capitalist beastliness will be held up for years'.³⁶⁵ Zhordania was a defencist, and though other Caucasian SDs were internationalists they were unwilling to sabotage the war effort.³⁶⁶

Early in August Gorky publicly condemned the war, and did not believe that Russia could beat Germany, but he wanted a speedy end to the fighting without annexations or indemnities.³⁶⁷ He visited Kyiv and met his partner Andreeva and the police reported that members of the tailors' union had visited him.³⁶⁸ He broke off his relationship with his adopted son, who was then in France and had lost an arm in the fighting, for joining an 'imperialist war'.³⁶⁹

Golda Gorbman had been born into a Jewish family in Odesa in 1887. Her father, a practising Jew, ran a grocer's shop. Golda's brother attended a local Jewish school, but though his mother considered that literacy was unnecessary for Golda, though a woman called Goldendakh educated her at home for free, and then the Goldendakhs helped her to enrol on a four-year course at a professional academy. She learned the basics of Yiddish and Russian, Russian history and arithmetic, and was taught the skills required of a seamstress, and she became acquainted with classmates who had links to revolutionaries. She became fond of Russian literature, and particularly works by Gorky. In 1902 she found a job at a woman's dressmakers' for three rubles a month, at a time when a child's wage averaged five, though she soon earned 10 to 12. In 1903 she enrolled on evening classes, and by 1904 she had joined the VPSR, but by 1905 she joined the RSDRP. That summer she found that the city had become a 'military prison', and two of her girlfriends were arrested after the police found a hectograph in their room where they printed revolutionary pamphlets. In October, after the tsar's manifesto and the subsequent pogrom, Golda 'bunkered down' with other Jews in cellars, but the police searched her room and found 256 copies of 'To All Workers', 95 other pamphlets and her forged passport. They detained her and then sentenced her to four days' house arrest before being sent back to Odesa where she was sentenced to six months in the Fortress. On her release she registered legally in Mykolaiv but acquired another illegal passport and went to Sevastopol and Feodosia, where she met an SR she had got to know in Odesa and joined in SR activities. In June she was arrested again but denied belonging to any political party, and told the police that she could not recall at which bookshop in Odesa she had bought legal pamphlets. In November Golda and a girlfriend were exiled to Arkhangelsk for three years, where their government stipend was around the same as her seamstresses' wages, and her girlfriend's contact brought works by Marx and Plekhanov. Golda petitioned to sit gymnasium examinations and was eventually successful. In December 1909 she met the Bolshevik worker Voroshilov and they became partners in 1910, but late that year when she was released from exile she was officially single, and was not allowed to live outside the Pale, so she went back to her parents in Odesa. Voroshilov wrote few letters and was sent back in an Arkhangelsk Prison. In summer 1912 they were able to live as a couple. He worked at a factory in Alchevsk in Luhansk province, but was arrested again in December and spent six months in prison without being allowed to meet her. On his release, in order to leave the Pale, she converted to the Orthodox Church, and the couple married in November 1913. When Voroshilov's exile ended the couple returned to the Donbass.³⁷⁰ He joined a factory workers' cooperative, but was soon deported to Cherdyn in Siberia. He was released early in 1914, worked at Tsaritsyn ordnance factory and 'drew together the old Bolsheviks scattered throughout factories and enterprises in the locality'. When the war began he went to St. Petersburg to avoid conscription, though the police subjected him to searches and surveillance.

When the Duma reopened in St. Petersburg on 8 August the Trudoviki deputies voted for war credits.³⁷¹ Bolshevik and Menshevik deputies announced that the proletariat would 'defend the cultural wealth of the nation

against any attack from whatever quarter', and then walked out, though the Okhrana was alarmed that Trudovik and Menshevik speeches about the 'irresponsible government' 'evoked a warm response among workers'.³⁷² An estimated six million Jews lived in the Russian Empire,³⁷³ though an average of 80,000 had emigrated annually for several years,³⁷⁴ and about 1.2 million had left for the USA.³⁷⁵ A large area of western Russia was under martial law,³⁷⁶ and the military and some civilian authorities arrested Jews or confined them to house arrest,³⁷⁷ yet a huge number of Jews joined the army.³⁷⁸ A Jewish Duma deputy declared that Jews would be the tsar's most loyal subjects.³⁷⁹ The population of Vilnius was over 200,000. Only 14 percent were factory workers,³⁸⁰ but around 60,000 Lithuanians were conscripted.³⁸¹

The leading Bundist Grinberg had written his first article in Yiddish in 1912. In January 1913 *Di Tsayt* (*The Times*) appeared in St. Petersburg, but then the editors left for Vienna.³⁸² Several other Bund leaders had settled there, and they and Grinberg edited *Lebns-frage* (*Life Questions*), which was published legally in Warszawa, but was closed after its second issue.³⁸³ Grinberg returned to the Pale in June, but was soon arrested at his brother's home in Kovno,³⁸⁴ and sentenced to two years in a Warszawa prison.³⁸⁵ After five months he was transferred to the Citadel. His trial was to be in June 1914, but it was postponed, and when the war began in August the political prisoners were moved to a suburban prison.³⁸⁶ Three men were in a one-man cell, five feet long and three feet wide, and if anyone showed their face at the window a guard in the courtyard raised his rifle and threatened to shoot them. When the prisoners were to be shackled, they competed for the lighter chains, then they were marched across the city to the train. Their destination was Orel in mid-Russia. On the first day they received a little bit of black bread and on the second a bit of salty fat, which they could not eat without agonising pain, since they were given little water and suffered from dehydration and had swollen legs. They spent three days and three nights in crowded prison cars, and took turns to sleep on the floor, though there was hardly enough room. Orel province prison was far too small for the influx of prisoners, and the 70 from Warszawa Citadel were put in a cell intended for 30. The food was wretched, there were no drinking cups or mattresses, and when they eventually got straw pallets they were little better than bare boards. Their money had been taken from them in Warszawa, but the promise to return it was not kept. Grinberg had sewn a few rubles into his clothes and shoes, but they were taken away. The windows could be kept open during the day, but it was too cold at night, and the prisoners dreaded winter. (They were to stay there for three winters.)³⁸⁷ Most Bundists were defencists,³⁸⁸ though their leaflets demanded peace without annexations or indemnities.³⁸⁹

(vii) Who was fighting who?

In January 1914 the St. Petersburg police had told the Yeniseisk gendarmes in Siberia that the Bolsheviks Jughashvili and Sverdlov had received 50 rubles and were to receive another 100.³⁹⁰ Jughashvili had had almost enough money to escape from Siberia, but the Okhrana decided sent him further north guarded by two senior policemen.³⁹¹ In February he wrote to Sverdlov that he was working on two articles, 'The National Movement in its Historical Development' and 'War and the National Movement', though he evidently did not complete them.³⁹² On 13th Sverdlov wrote a numbered letter from Turukhansk to his sister Sarah in St. Petersburg to tell her that he and Jughashvili were being transferred over 50 miles north of the Arctic Circle. 'There will only be two of us in the villages and two guards with us. The surveillance is being increased and we are cut off from the post. The latter comes once a month with a messenger on foot, who is generally late. We will get the post approximately eight or nine times a year and not oftener.' 'Please send everything to the old address, the comrades will forward it'. Jughashvili 'had been deprived of his subsidy for four months because he received some money'.

We both need money. But it cannot be sent in our name. Let our friends know of this. I have a debt and the money can be sent not to me but directly to my creditors. Let me know their address. Rom (?) also has an address. Only the coupon must be marked 'on account of Y.M.'s debt.' I am expecting all I asked for. I shall write now from Kurieka. I am not writing to anyone in Petersburg except yourself, assuming they will learn from you.

With Love

Your Yak

Write more, and oftener. I ask all my friends to do the same. I did write to a few friends in Petersburg after all. My address is the same.

Sverdlov kept in touch with Bolshevik exiles in Siberia, organisations in European Russia and the émigré Bolsheviks.³⁹³ He and Jughashvili set off later in February,³⁹⁴ and arrived in Kureika mid-March.³⁹⁵ Its population was 30 or 40.³⁹⁶ Sverdlov told his sister that he and Jughashvili shared one room.

He is a good chap, but too much of an individualist in everyday life, while I believe in at least a semblance of order. That's why I am nervous at times. ... Much worse is the fact that there is no seclusion from our landlord's family. Our room is next to theirs, and has no separate entrance. They have children. Naturally, the youngsters spend many hours with us. Sometimes they are in the way. Besides, grown-ups from the village drop in. They come, sit down, keep quiet for half an hour and suddenly rise: 'Well, I've got to go, good-bye!' No sooner do they leave when someone else comes in, and it's the same thing all over again. They come, as if in spite, at the very best time for study, in the evening. That's understandable: in the daytime they work. ... We had to give up the habit of poring over a book until long after midnight. There is absolutely no kerosene. We use candles. Since that provides too little light for my eyes, I do all my studying in the daytime now. As a matter of fact, I don't study very much. We have virtually no books.

Jughashvili did no intellectual work and Sverdlov requested a transfer,³⁹⁷ though Jughashvili moved out in April.³⁹⁸ The post came via Monastyrskoe where exiles had contact with those in Yeniseisk and corresponded with others in Krasnoyarsk who had contacts in St. Petersburg and Moscow.³⁹⁹ Novgorodtseva recalled that Sverdlov's health 'had been undermined by years of prison, convict transports and exile'.

He fell victim to headaches and a terrible lassitude. Later, when he had recovered from what had proved to be a grave illness, he wrote to me: It was really awful – all mental activity seemed to stop, a kind of suspended animation of the brain – and it made me suffer like the very devil'.

The isolation was also hard to bear. Had Sverdlov been a less sociable person, less determined to be interested in people, in the life around him, he would certainly not have found Kureika so repugnant. ...⁴⁰⁰

The outbreak of the war 'stunned' Bolshevik exiles and many were defensists.⁴⁰¹ The Menshevik Gurchik was exiled to Siberia,⁴⁰² as was Nicolaevsky. He led a fairly comfortable existence in a peasant's house with a bedroom and a study, and wrote historical articles based on material he had previously assembled.⁴⁰³

The Bolshevik Piatakov had been sentenced to prison and then exile to Irkutsk for five years, along with five others, including Bosch, in 1913, and they arrived Irkutsk in April 1914.⁴⁰⁴ The Bolshevik and Menshevik Duma deputies were exiled to Touroukhansk in Northern Siberia for life,⁴⁰⁵ and in May, after the ice melted on the Yenisei River, they and Rosenfeld arrived in Monastyrskoe.⁴⁰⁶ In early summer Spandarian and his partner reached Kureika, and Jughashvili often visited them in Monastyrskoe. He had a table full of books and large packs of newspapers.⁴⁰⁷

Nikolai Krestinsky had been detained in Vitebsk early in 1906. He was released in spring, but banished, and was detained in Vilnius in summer and autumn. He went to St. Petersburg, read Bolshevik literature and supported their perspective. He was arrested, but the police found nothing incriminating in his flat and released him.⁴⁰⁸ In 1907 he got a degree at the University,⁴⁰⁹ and became a barrister's assistant. He worked in unions on Vasilievsky Island and with the SD Duma fraction. In 1912 he took part in the Duma elections, but was charged with working for the Bolshevik paper, and in August 1914 he was exiled to Ekaterinburg in Western Siberia without trial.⁴¹⁰

The Bolshevik Avilov was arrested in Ukraine and exiled. He escaped and returned to Moscow, but was later deported to Narym in Siberia.⁴¹¹ Skrypnik was exiled to the village of Manzurka in Irkutsk province, Siberia. The Bolshevik praktik Boris Shumiatsky had worked on the railway in Chelyabinsk, Kurgan, Irkutsk, Sliudanka, Harbin and Vladivostok in Siberia since 1906. He spent some time in South America, but returned, and in 1914 he was conscripted in Krasnoyarsk Prison in Siberia.⁴¹²

The Bolshevik Sosnovsky had stowed away on a ship in Odesa, late in 1906, and landed in Algiers, where he worked in a tobacco factory and then a pharmacy, before leaving for Paris. He could not find work, and was hungry and often homeless, but attended lectures and debates, studied in libraries and went to trade union meetings and a congress in Amiens. Early in 1907 he went to Tashkent, where he worked as a newspaper typesetter, collaborated with SDs and organised a print workers' union, but was sacked. The members went on strike and Sosnovsky and others were arrested, but the strike continued until they were freed. Sosnovsky left for Orenburg and was there when the second Duma was dissolved. The attacks on revolutionaries increased, so he went to Baki, worked as a hotel clerk, then in a chemists' shop, and contacted the RSDRP through a friend in Paris. Baki trade unions operated openly and there was a workers' press. Sosnovsky worked in legal clubs and cooperatives and became secretary of the joiners' and builders' union. He was arrested, but escaped and worked as a labourer in the oilfield. An engineer later gave him an internal passport and he went to Moscow, where he became the secretary of two unions, agitated at workers' meetings and wrote for the Bolshevik paper. In winter 1909 he was arrested, and when he was released he was conscripted. After a few months under strict surveillance in Ekaterinburg he stole out of the barracks, found two old friends and began to receive *Zvezda* and illegal literature. In 1911 he bribed an army doctor to declare him unfit and was honourably discharged. In 1912 he went to St. Petersburg, but had no contacts, and endured hardship for months, but later worked for the Bolshevik press, undertook semi-legal activity in workers' clubs and trade

unions and helped to 'eradicate Menshevik influence' among unionised metalworkers. He was arrested in spring 1913, but released after several months. He helped to organise *Voprosy Strakhovaniya*, and was its secretary until he was arrested. In winter he was exiled to Chelyabinsk, where he 'spread the influence' of Bolshevism 'among the working masses', 'recruited subscribers and correspondents' to the Bolshevik press, 'joined cooperatives and unions, and exploited all possible opportunities for legal and semi-legal activity'. He was eventually imprisoned, and in August 1914 he was in solitary and for months he did not know who was fighting who.⁴¹³

(viii) After all that he had suffered in Russia

Eugen Levin had been born into a wealthy St. Petersburg Jewish family in 1883. His father had had a good education, but later adopted Italian nationality and changed his surname to Leviné. His wife had been educated at a Königsberg public school, and was a perfect hostess, but almost always invited German guests and the family spoke German at home. When Eugen was three his father died from smallpox and his 27-year-old widow left most of the care of her three children to governesses and servants, though she engaged the best musicians and a Maryinsky Theatre ballet teacher. In a few years she had spent nearly all her fortune and the loans she had made to relatives were difficult to call in, but she lived in a luxurious flat and visited watering places in Western Europe. Eugen became aware of class differences, and in 1898 he wanted to 'denounce the enemies of the people', 'protect the oppressed' and 'help them establish their rights'. His mother rented a villa in Heidelberg, and in 1903 Eugen met Russian SRs and joined the VPSR. During the war with Japan he fell out with his mother and she stopped his allowance; so he returned to Russia and worked as a journalist. In 1905 the VPSR entrusted him with distributing weapons which he carried inside his huge fur coat. He joined the baker's union, in spite of his comrades' mockery, but at the beginning of 1906 the police arrested him and tortured him in prison. He became gravely ill, but was released for lack of evidence after six months. He propagandised in Vitebsk, Smolensk, Minsk and Bryansk. He told a sister it was 'one of the most important economic centres' and 'had a strong organisation', though he was the only 'intellectual'; and since factories were 'scattered between forests and swamps' and hundreds of miles apart, he was 'always on the move. He caught swamp fever, but 'kept going, and got better'. He propagandised peasants. 'In streaming rain, on frosty wet nights' 'hundreds from all the villages' were 'learning to fight for the truth'. He knew comrades were being executed in Kronstadt.

At the end of 1907 he was betrayed, arrested, brutally beaten and taken to Minsk Prison, which swarmed with rats, cockroaches, bugs and lice; but his mother bribed warders and officials and brought him nice food. In spring 1908 the *Frankfurter Zeitung* published an article about him.

During a promenade in the prison courtyard, he noticed an unlocked door. He slipped into the adjoining garden, then into the street. Three policemen rushed out and caught him. He was unarmed, and surrendered without any resistance. The policemen, however, knocked him down, started kicking him with their boots, and beat him brutally with their fists and rifles across the face and head. It was all done in the presence of a huge crowd and in spite of protests against the cruelty.

Back in prison the beatings went on until a woman prisoner who witnessed the scene burst into hysterics. ... Leviné was for a long while dangerously ill, yet he was left in his prison cell without any care, [and] even his wounds were not attended to.

Once, when a revolutionary was facing execution, comrades sent him a letter, but he could not hold it because jailors had broken both his arms. Leviné wrote about executions.

The four prisoners stand erect and bare-headed in the icy-cold wind. The black iron gate opens with a creak. A unit of soldiers with their lieutenant come out. They draw up facing the prisoners. From one window comes the subdued sound of the funeral march of the Russian revolutionaries: 'You have fallen a victim in the fatal struggle'. ... The lieutenant shouts 'Away from the windows, I'm going to shoot'. Fire! The shots ring out. We draw back into the damp cells. From far, far away, we can hear the hearse rumbling down the street. Rest in peace, comrades. Now you are free.

After spending a small fortune his mother secured his release and took him to Heidelberg. He wrote about his experiences, and as soon as he felt fit enough he tried to join the SPD, but was rebuffed until some professors intervened, and was eventually granted German citizenship.

In August 1914, when the German government declared war on Russia, his left-wing friends were carried away by the slogan, 'War Against Czarism', and could not understand why he did not enlist in the army 'after all that he had suffered in Russia'.⁴¹⁴

The SD Sobelsohn was expelled from Germany for anti-militaristic propaganda and went to Zurich.⁴¹⁵

(ix) Émigré 'defencists' and 'internationalists'

At 11.00pm on 31 July 1914, in Paris, émigré Russian revolutionaries met at a restaurant in rue de Glacière and heard that the French socialist leader Jaurès had been assassinated. At 1.00pm on 1 August a little handwritten poster on the wall of the post office in rue Cordelière announced the general mobilisation in Russia, and émigrés met in the restaurant next door to decide what to do. Some favoured enlisting and walked out, and the others called them renegades. Zhitomirsky volunteered for the recruiting committee and as an army doctor.⁴¹⁶

The 23-year-old Bolshevik intelligent Ehrenburg had received payments from two Paris journals and decided to go to Holland by train. At the border nobody asked for his passport, though customs officials entered the compartment. On the day that war was declared he was in Amsterdam. He had 20 rubles, but not enough to pay the hotel, so he left his bag behind and ran to the station. His train reached the last Belgian station before the French border, but 'no trains were going through, and locals insisted that their country would remain neutral at all costs'. Eventually his train reached Paris. A friend told him that foreigners were being enlisted, and thought he was 'cracked' when he decided to volunteer, though he was taken to a police station and had to prove that he was not German. Many Russian émigrés had enlisted. He had no money, since remittances from his parents in Russia did not get through, so he worked night shifts at Montparnasse goods station. In the morning he returned to his hotel and slept the whole day, then went to the café La Rotonde in Montparnasse in the evening, and met many famous writers and artists, and Savinkov, who was no longer an SR.⁴¹⁷ Ehrenburg applied to join the Russian section of the French army, but was rejected.⁴¹⁸

Mikhail Gerasimov had been born in the village of Petrovka in Samara province in 1889. His father was a railway worker and his mother was a peasant from the middle Volga region. From the age of nine Mikhail did odd jobs on the railway, but in winter he attended a two-class primary school in Kinel. After four or five years he got a job on the railway and later attended Samara railway technical school and became a technician. In 1905 he joined a fighting squad of railway workers and worked underground. He was imprisoned in Finland, but met Ulyanov and other leading SDs, then went to France. He loaded blast furnaces in a Nancy arms factory, became a coal miner in Belgium, and then returned to France. He worked as a metal and electrical fitter in locomotive and automobile factories and then as a stoker on ocean liners. In 1913 he attended the proletarian writers' Liga in Paris, and corresponded with Gorky. His poems appeared in *Prosveshcheniye* and *Pravda* in 1914, and when war broke out he volunteered for the French Foreign Legion.⁴¹⁹

The Menshevik Tserderbaum was in Paris. He later recalled that the outbreak of war 'knocked me out completely'. He was politically isolated and without means, and toyed with the idea of a working with Ulyanov, but preferred that the Mensheviks 'declare ourselves in this matter', since the Bolsheviks had few intelligentsia.

[T]heir leaders were a handful of people literally without names or with names that had an unsavoury ring, a group which belonged rather to the intellectual *Lumpenproletariat* than to the intelligentsia. Having taken the baton into their hands, they turned corporals, carrying the name of one intellectual – Lenin – as their ideological banner. If by taking the baton they could turn corporal, this means that in the Bolshevik section of the proletariat there was a demand for such a baton and for such corporals.

After the SPD Reichstag deputies voted for war credits he wrote to Axelrod that they had 'utterly and finally besmeared the Marxist banner and have in a scandalous manner liquidated their hegemony in international socialism'. Mensheviks 'must now *sans scrupules* and with full vigour attack this betrayal'.⁴²⁰ Tserderbaum rejected defencism,⁴²¹ and most émigré Mensheviks agreed with him.⁴²² Axelrod could not believe that the SPD Reichstag deputies had voted for war credits, and 'for a moment' he 'hoped for military successes by the Entente'.⁴²³

In San Remo on the French Riviera Rozalia Plekhanova had considered enlarging her sanatorium in spring 1914, but in summer Plekhanov dissuaded her since he was convinced that war was coming. When war broke out he could not believe that the SPD Reichstag deputies had voted for war credits. He became an ardent proponent of the fight against the Central Powers and approved the French socialists' vote for war credits. He went to Switzerland and asked Balabanoff about the PSI's attitude to the war and was astonished when she said that they would do their utmost to prevent Italy from joining the war.⁴²⁴ Plekhanov replied that 'if I were not old and sick I would join the army. To bayonet your German comrades would give me great pleasure'.⁴²⁵ He broke with the Bolsheviks,⁴²⁶ and gave a rousing pro-war speech to Russian volunteers who were about to join the French.⁴²⁷ He called the SD Duma deputies' refusal to vote for war credits 'treason', since the defeat of German imperialism, the mainstay of European militarism, would help the victory of socialism. Most émigré Menshevik intelligentsia, including some leaders, agreed with him, and though some, including workers, did not,⁴²⁸ hundreds of émigré Mensheviks volunteered for the French army.⁴²⁹ Quite a number of SDs, along with prominent SRs, many of whom had spent a

long time in tsarist prisons, called for the suspension of revolutionary activity in Russia until Prussian militarism had been crushed.⁴³⁰ The Russian volunteers included political émigrés, Jews who had escaped from pogroms and students. They were posted to the Foreign Legion and insisted on serving at the front, though NCOs called them *métèques* (foreigners with only some civic privileges), and most were sent to the colonies to put down rebellions.⁴³¹

Around 1,000 SD émigrés in Paris had been drafted into the Foreign Legion,⁴³² as had 11 of the 94 Bolsheviks.⁴³³ On 22 August the VPSR leaders met at Beaugy near Lausanne in Switzerland and the defencists split from the small group of internationalists led by Chernov.⁴³⁴ Burtsev invited Savinkov to join the staff of *Privyz* (*The Call Up*) and sought volunteers for the French army.⁴³⁵ Late in August some Russians volunteered for the army in Paris's Place des Invalides. Days later the volunteering became more organised and they formed a republican regiment.⁴³⁶ In Orleans the volunteers' ranks included 600 émigré 'politicals'.⁴³⁷

The Okhrana relied more than ever on the interpretive skills of its intelligence staff, whose findings were distributed to departments which specialised in Russian and non-Russian SDs, the Bund and the VPSR.⁴³⁸ In Paris 14 agents had penetrated the VPSR organisation, which had 120 registered members.⁴³⁹ The Paris Agentura decamped to Bordeaux,⁴⁴⁰ and Okhrana detectives left Zurich, Berlin and London.⁴⁴¹

Liudmila Stahl and her husband G.N. Kotov had been co-opted onto the rickety RSDRP émigré organisation committee just before the war, though they failed to pick up the pieces. They asked Armand to join them, or use her influence to get the Paris comrades to back their work, but there is no evidence that she intervened, or, if she did, that she was successful. Three members of the organisation committee volunteered for the French army, and another suggested that the committee be disbanded.⁴⁴² Armand took her children to neutral Italy, and at Genoa the children boarded a ship bound for Arkhangel, while she returned to Lovran on the Adriatic coast.⁴⁴³ Days later she settled in Baugy-sur-Clarens near Montreux in Switzerland, where Nikolai Rubakin allowed revolutionaries to use his large library of Russian books.⁴⁴⁴

Jan Lachowiecki had been born into to a Polish-Jewish family in Kirillov in Vologda province in 1884. In 1902 his revolutionary activities led to his expulsion from St. Petersburg University, and after exile in Siberia he travelled in Western Europe.⁴⁴⁵ He lived in Germany from 1908 and studied economics at Munich University by 1910. He attended the International Congress in Copenhagen and was surprised that 'the fast-approaching danger of war' was not high on the agenda, but referred to a committee, which formed a sub-committee tasked with framing a resolution. Lachowiecki noted that Ulyanov concentrated his attention on the committee on cooperatives, and succeeded in making a bloc with Polish SDs. In 1912 Lachowiecki travelled along the Ruhr, and in November he went to France, then took the ferry to England to learn about its politics and working-class movement. He had a third-class ticket, but when he arrived an official demanded that he showed that he had £5, though he had only £3 15s, and was told he had to board the next ferry back to France. He rummaged in his pocket and found a crumpled piece of paper which comrades in Paris had given him. It was from the central bureau of RSDRP émigrés, bore its seal and the secretary's signature, and certified that he was a political exile. The official let him pass and he soon reached London. He had no idea how to make a living, and his only friend, a bank clerk, let him share his lodgings. The Bolshevik Wallach was in touch with Ulyanov, and led the best-organised group of RSDRP émigrés, though there was not much tension between the factions. Wallach had taken an active role in founding the Herzen Circle at the Communist Working Men's Club and Institute at 107 Charlotte Street. It was a fair-sized house, with a room for conferences that would hold 200 people, smaller rooms for meetings of groups and societies, a library, a billiard-room, a card room, and a cheap restaurant which sold simple but adequate meals and a tankard of genuine German beer for a few pence or a shilling. The Herzen Circle had a separate room for its office and committee meetings and focussed on cultural and artistic activities, not politics, but needy émigrés could get financial assistance. Many German workers and clerks met there, and the place was always full and noisy with evening discussions, amateur dramatics, concerts given by instrumentalists and choirs, classes for foreign languages, including English. Émigré members of the SPD also attended, and left-wing British socialists sometimes looked in. Lachowiecki was a Menshevik, but Wallach became his 'patron and guide'. He told Lachowiecki that if there was a war 'the world will become unrecognizable' and revolution 'will triumph in Russia'. Lachowiecki met Petr Karpovich, who had seriously wounded the minister of education in 1901, and been sentenced to 20 years' *katorga* in Siberia, but had been released for settlement there in 1907, then escaped abroad and joined the VPSR 'Fighting Organisation'. The revelations about Azev had shattered him and he distanced himself from the VPSR. He eventually settled in London and worked as a masseur. He socialised with SR émigrés but understood SD ideas. In the middle of 1913 Karl Liebknecht visited London and was invited to what was known as the Communist Club. Lachowiecki later recalled his 'powerful, stirring and moving speech on a subject which was worrying us most at the time – the ever-growing threat of war'. That summer he had a fortnight's holiday and decided to go to the seaside. He was recommended to go to Dodd's Socialist Camp at Caistor-on-Sea near Great Yarmouth. In autumn he went to the Trade Union Congress in Manchester, then toured Lancashire and Yorkshire. In London he met Zundelevich at the Communist

Club. He had become 'non-party' while remaining 'left-wing', and believed that all the Russian SD organisations were equally valuable, though he was 'unmistakably a typical Labour man'. Wallach's contacts with Ulyanov had become increasingly infrequent and distant, and Wallach was tiring of Ulyanov's doctrinaire ways. In December he told Ulyanov that his 'excessively sharp tone' about Luxemburg had given ammunition to Western European socialists, though after visiting the International bureau others regarded the Bolshevik-Menshevik schism with 'complete indifference'. Early in 1914 he introduced Lachowiecki to George Lansbury, who told him about the 1907 RSDRP Congress in London. By August his beliefs in the International, the SPD, and the French socialists were shattered. Thanks to Zundelevich, Lachowiecki got to know the anarchist Kropotkin. Lachowiecki went to Munich, then left for Lausanne in Switzerland, but was unable to make a living, so he returned to London and worked in the British Museum. Most of the 4,000 to 5,000 political émigrés in England were in London. They were mainly intelligently, though there were a sizeable number of workers. Most were Russians, though there were some from Finland, Estland, Poland, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and Jews from the Pale.⁴⁴⁶

The Menshevik Chicherin had denounced Ulyanov at the International bureau in 1912 and had welcomed the August bloc. Early in 1914 he had opposed a Menshevik-Bolshevik merger,⁴⁴⁷ and was an internationalist;⁴⁴⁸ but he was disheartened when Bronstein left Vienna and depressed by the careerism of French socialists. When the war broke out he was holidaying at a little German spa, but though the German army cut him off from Paris, he caught the last steamer to England. Many Russian exiles and émigrés in London were all over the place.⁴⁴⁹ On the 5th the British Home Secretary was empowered to deport immigrants.⁴⁵⁰ On the 13th the British Socialist Party's *Justice* argued for using 'all our influence to reach a reasonable peace as soon as possible, but 'without thereby impeding the effort of the government to win a speedy victory by energetic measures by land and sea'.⁴⁵¹

The Bolshevik Adoratsky had gone abroad and corresponded with Ulyanov in Galicia until the war began in August 1914.⁴⁵² Ulyanov got much of his news from the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, *Le Temps* of Paris and *The Times* of London.⁴⁵³ The Kraków papers carried the news of the Reichstag vote for war credits on 5 August, but Ulyanov refused to believe it.⁴⁵⁴ 'Those scoundrels, the German bourgeoisie, have specially published such a number of the *Vorwärts* in order to compel us to go against the International'.⁴⁵⁵ Next day a Polish paper confirmed the news, but Ulyanov refused to believe it until a Pole agreed with Krupskaya's translation,⁴⁵⁶ and then announced that 'The International is dead'.⁴⁵⁷ His party salary had not arrived from Russia,⁴⁵⁸ and he had 150 French francs,⁴⁵⁹ though the shopkeeper Mendel Singer loaned him several hundred kroner.⁴⁶⁰ Ulyanov had a huge archive,⁴⁶¹ including 'many hundreds of pages' of Roman Malinovsky's tribunal records, which he had promised to publish,⁴⁶² and he left it with Polish comrades for safe-keeping. Ulyanov, Krupskaya and her mother went to Kraków, and saw the first batches of wounded arrive from the front. Krupskaya's aunt had left 4,000 rubles to her mother, and a banker took half of it,⁴⁶³ in return for transferring the rest to a Swiss bank.⁴⁶⁴ Krupskaya later recalled that 'No one had any clear idea whom the war was against and why it was being fought', though she knew that they had to leave Galicia. While they were away a gendarme and a peasant with a rifle arrived to search their house in Poronin on the 7th.⁴⁶⁵ The gendarme took away a Browning revolver and a manuscript on the agrarian situation in Russia, because he 'thought the statistical tables in it were a secret code', but left the secret correspondence.⁴⁶⁶ When Ulyanov returned the gendarme told him to report in time for the 6.00am train to Nowy Targ next day. Ulyanov telegraphed the chief of police in Kraków and Fürstenberg telegraphed the SD parliamentary deputy Mareck and. On the 8th Fürstenberg and Krupskaya wrote to Victor Adler, an SD deputy in the Austrian parliament in Vienna and a member of the International bureau, and to a well-known Polish writer, while Apfelbaum wrote to other influential people.⁴⁶⁷ The Kraków police told those in Nowy Targ that they did not suspect Ulyanov of being a spy, yet they put him in prison, but when Krupskaya asked Adler to vouch for him, he was released. Ulyanov, Krupskaya and her mother got permission to leave Galicia.⁴⁶⁸ On the 26th they and the Apfelbaums got permission to travel to Vienna,⁴⁶⁹ where Goldendakh actively supported the St. Petersburg Mezhraintsy, who shared the internationalist views of the Bolsheviks on the question of the war, but disagreed with them on organizational matters, and sought unity with revolutionary Mensheviks.⁴⁷⁰ Goldendakh took Ulyanov to see Adler, who told a minister that Ulyanov was 'a more implacable enemy' of the tsar than he was.⁴⁷¹ The minister gave papers to Ulyanov, Krupskaya and her mother to travel to neutral Switzerland,⁴⁷² and they reached Bern on 5 September.⁴⁷³

A working conclusion

By 1906 the Russian government was effectively bankrupt, but it commanded a number of loyal troops, though the surviving RSDRP intelligenty at home and abroad did not hear the screams of tortured workers and peasants or see those forced to dig their own graves before being mowed down. A few leading Bolshevik intelligenty had escaped to Finland and regarded the defeat of the Moscow rising as a temporary setback. They prepared for a nationwide uprising by establishing bomb-making centres and training fighting squads to carry out 'expropriations'. The VPSR split, and though the Bolsheviks supplied the breakaway SR Maximalists with bombs, the government had little difficulty replacing casualties. Three Bolshevik intelligenty formed a 'Small Trinity' which controlled the proceeds of robberies and the supply of arms. One was keen to educate workers systematically to take over from intelligenty, though he and another member focussed on organising expropriations, while the third sometimes refused to finance Menshevik-led RSDRP committees and those led by Bolsheviks who did not adhere to the troika's perspective. The Bolsheviks acknowledged that amalgamation with the Mensheviks was necessary, though some expropriators killed not only police and troops, but civilians, which alienated Menshevik intelligenty who dominated many local committees even further. Menshevik intelligenty believed that a revolution in Western Europe was necessary before one was possible in Russia, and favoured abandoning the underground and working in legal and semi-legal workers' organisations. Politicised workers tended to get involved in economic rather than overtly political struggles, while some looked to the example of the reformist SPD and trade unions in Germany. The Bund was under pressure from Paole Zion which had given up fighting for reforms in Russia, and looked to Palestine, while the SDKPiL was splitting between those who wanted to focus on revolutionary activity and those who favoured reformist methods.

In spring, at the RSDRP Congress in Stockholm, the delegates were almost all intelligenty. The Mensheviks had a majority and formally accepted 'democratic centralism' – the need for a single leading centre, a 'central organ' published abroad and elected local committees in Russia. The delegates to form a joint military organisation to rob government institutions, but not civilians. The Mensheviks and some Bolsheviks opposed transferring land to the peasantry after a revolution. Most Mensheviks favoured taking part in the Duma elections, and some Bolsheviks thought it would test the RSDRP's base among the minority of enfranchised male workers and demonstrate that the tsar was not serious about reforms. The Bund, SDKPiL and LSD were accepted into the RSDRP; yet the delegates left the 'unity' congress as factions. Most SD workers abstained in the Duma elections, which the government had gerrymandered to minimise the representation of workers and poor peasants, though some peasants and liberals took part. When the Duma opened some peasant deputies leaned towards the SRs and SDs, though their attempts to pass legislation got nowhere. Bolsheviks and Mensheviks held back revolutionary sailors from mutiny, though their numbers rose, as did the number of strikers officially deemed 'political'.

By summer all the SD parties were under constant pressure from the Okhrana, which planted spies inside RSDRP organisations, and the intelligenty failed to identify many of them. Male and female SRs continued to assassinate military officers and government officials, which perpetuated the idea that revolution depended on individual heroes and heroines, rather than the working class, and encouraged the government to crack down even further. The Okhrana fostered pogroms, so Bundists and SDs organised fighting squads to counteract them. Bolshevik intelligenty established a factional paper which encouraged them, though loyal troops crushed attempted insurrections in the strategically vital garrisons in the Gulf of Finland. The Duma had made no meaningful reforms and the tsar closed it after 75 days, and though he allowed a Finnish parliament to be elected by universal suffrage, it remained accountable to him through his appointed minister. In European Russia the number of peasant disturbances was rising and the tsar extended and intensified martial law.

In autumn a founder-member of the SDKPiL, who was also an influential member of the SPD, argued that mass strikes fostered workers' political development, but party leaders toned down her pamphlet. In Russia imprisoned SDs and SRs organised education programmes, as did women workers in some key industrial centres. A few RSDRP intelligenty founded a women's section, but male intelligenty were unsupportive, even though the number of women trade unionists was growing. The VPSR claimed tens of thousands of members, but in reality it had begun to decline. Thousands of government officials and police had been assassinated, though government troops had probably killed and wounded as many SRs and SDs. Lithuanian and Latvian SDs conducted terror campaigns and expropriations, and the LSD helped to fund the RSDRP CC, while a famous writer visiting the USA raised a large amount of cash for the Bolsheviks and they formed a separate military organisation. In St. Petersburg the former sovet leaders were deported or exiled, though the former president, who was not a member of either RSDRP

faction, felt closer to the Bolsheviks, though he agreed with the Mensheviks that a revolution depended on one beginning in Western Europe, and he was acutely aware of the need to keep the peasantry on board.

By winter the government had given a few concessions to the peasantry, though they mainly benefitted kulaki. It also established more primary and secondary schools, so more young peasants and workers became literate. It also established more higher education institutions, including some for women, and female and male students were increasingly radical. The Bund's influence was declining and the PPS had split, while the Okhrana carried on imprisoning and torturing suspected 'state criminals', especially in Warszawa Citadel, and sentencing others to long periods of exile, often with katorga. The SD parties claimed that they had 190,000 members between them, though this cannot be confirmed. The Bolsheviks spent much of the proceeds of expropriations on importing arms and their paper for workers, and argued against reformist illusions. The economy was sluggish, trade unions were weaker, and there were fewer strikes. The government was deep in debt, but poured borrowed money into strategic railway lines and the armed forces, and some revolutionaries propagandised troops and sailors.

At the beginning of 1907 the Okhrana was reorganised and the status of political prisoners in Siberia was reduced to that of common criminals. The RSDRP now claimed 60,000 members, though Menshevik intelligenty continued to move out of the underground and Bolshevik-controlled committees. Candidates from both RSDRP factions, the Bund, the SDKPiL, the LSDP and the VPSR, which had reactivated its combat organisation, stood in the Duma elections, which were still rigged against workers and poor peasants. The SDs made an impressive showing, and Bolshevik deputies outnumbered the Mensheviks, but the 'Red Duma' proved toothless. Bolshevik and Menshevik intelligenty focussed on winning intelligenty delegates to the upcoming RSDRP Congress. The Menshevik-led Russian CC failed to discipline the émigré Bolshevik CC member about the factional military organisation, supplying SRs with bombs and expropriations involving the loss of civilian lives; though he defied them and they let the case drop. He later claimed that 'Everything that is done in the interest of the proletarian cause is honest'.

In spring, at the RSDRP Congress in London, the delegates were almost entirely intelligenty, though the Bolsheviks outnumbered the Mensheviks by one. The Mensheviks suspected that the Bolsheviks had included voters in Duma elections and 'ties' with workers as members, though it was impossible to check if the mandates were genuine. The delegates were all men, while women organised the food. Both factions nominated main speakers to orchestrate the voting and few others spoke. The Bolshevik treasury was increasingly healthy, and had given the SDKPiL and LSD money. Their delegates usually voted with the Bolsheviks, though a Pole criticised both factions. The Bolsheviks were split about boycotting the next Duma elections, but some joined the majority who voted to take part. A majority condemned 'anarchist' robberies, but supported those from government institutions. A veteran émigré Menshevik intelligent characterised the RSDRP intelligenty as an 'aristocracy' who treated workers as 'a sort of class of plebeians', though he acknowledged that the workers were 'very backward', and the delegates aimed to politically hegemonise trade unions. The Bolsheviks secured one more seat than the Mensheviks on the CC, though two or three Bolsheviks were conciliationists between the factions. The RSDRP's income was modest, and it could not afford the delegates' travel back to Russia, but British socialists secured a loan from a Jewish industrialist. Bolshevik supporters secured a majority at the subsequent LSD Congress in London. Two spies at the RSDRP Congress had reported to the Okhrana and some delegates were arrested when they returned to Russia. Bolshevik supporters in Britain sent arms, especially to Latvia, and though some were arrested, they received light fines. In Russia there were thousands of members of legal and illegal trade unions, and the Mensheviks led more than the Bolsheviks. The Okhrana recruited a spy who helped to frame SD Duma deputies, and the tsar decreed that the next elections would include a radically reduced number of peasant, worker and non-Russian voters, but he increased the number of those deemed 'Russian in spirit'. The number of strikers officially deemed political was low, and though many peasants were restive, loyal troops defeated a mutiny at Kronstadt. The émigré Bolshevik intelligenty functioned as the extended editorial board of a paper for workers called *Proletary*, and one later recalled that they used 'very indelicate methods' to take the RSDRP apparatus in Russia from the Menshevik intelligenty, though the Okhrana arrested some leading Bolsheviks.

By summer the Menshevik intelligenty were in disarray, and though the leading Bolshevik intelligenty were safely abroad, the 'troika' had begun to fall apart. In Russia the Bolsheviks belatedly made serious efforts to lead trade unions, though there were few workers in the St. Petersburg Bolshevik committee. There were spies in RSDRP organisations, which continued to polarise between the factions. A socialist bookshop opened with a secret warehouse for illegal publications, and was a contact point for provincial RSDRP members.

In autumn far fewer SDs and their peasant supporters became Duma deputies and it became known as the 'Black Duma', though the government made a few more concessions to peasants. More workers had joined trade unions and Bolshevik and Menshevik intelligenty organised women workers in Moscow and St. Petersburg, though one member of the Bolshevik troika focussed on his philosophical interests.

By winter many Russian trade unionists reportedly considered themselves to be SDs, though some youngsters were pulled by terrorism, even though the Okhrana was increasingly effective and the number of executions had risen. The government was preparing for war, though the International hoped to prevent it by 'coordinated action' and tried to unify the RSDRP factions. Russian peasants were restive, and the level of strikes and strikers had risen sharply. At the end of the year the Bolshevik leaders in Finland emigrated. They relied on western newspapers for information and occasionally 'summoned' a few intelligentsy and fewer workers from Russia, so they were always behind events and their analysis was based on incomplete information took weeks to reach intelligentsy in Russia. The Bolshevik émigrés deployed the tactic of pinning 'the convict's badge' on those they disagreed with, such though most SDs acknowledged that the autocracy was victorious

By 1908 the Okhrana had more spies in revolutionary organisations and recruited a leader of the metalworkers' union. The RSDRP claimed to have 260 local organisations, but failed to convince leading trade unionists to accept their political hegemony, and more and more workers favoured imitating the SPD's reformist and syndicalist perspective. Some Bolshevik intelligentsy won leading positions in unions during what one considered to be 'the darkest days of reaction'. Bolshevik fighting squads had almost disappeared, though banknotes were being forged in Finland, and the Bolsheviks' finances were increasingly healthy. Those of the Mensheviks were fragile, and many had given up the underground altogether. Few copies of the Bolshevik émigrés' newspaper reached Russia, and their influence diminished considerably, though an RSDRP intelligent who stood 'above the factions' published a paper in Vienna that was increasingly influential. The former members of the Bolshevik troika grew further apart, especially on the question of abstaining from Duma elections and recalling SD deputies. In Russia local RSDRP organisations lacked intelligentsy, and workers began to give a lead. Former leading Bolshevik intelligentsy who favoured a worker-led party became more influential. The industrial workforce was becoming increasingly feminised, yet the RSDRP factional intelligentsy continued to ignore women workers, RSDRP intelligentki, restive students, peasants and, while acknowledging that it had been a 'year of disintegration, a year of ideological and political disunity' and 'party driftage'. The Bund was considerably weaker and its leaders settled in Western Europe. The Russian government was anxious to control the Bosphorus Straits to facilitate the passage of the economically vital grain exports and continued to prepare for war.

By 1909 almost all RSDRP organisations in Russia had been shattered, and attempts to reunite them failed. In January leading Bolsheviks held a conference in Paris and recruited a few young intelligentsy from Russia. A former member of the troika and his intelligentsy supporters organised a school on Capri to train a small number of male workers to take over from intelligentsy. The intelligentsy formed a rival group and published a paper in Paris, and another former member of the troika evidently supported them, while the surviving member worked with an intelligent who did what he was told. In Russia some former factional workers began to work together. In summer, in London, a veteran anarchist published a summary of the Russian government's attacks on oppositionists, and especially revolutionaries, and listed the huge numbers of those wounded, killed and executed since 1906 and the many thousands in prison and exile. An émigré SR intelligent got former leading members of the Okhrana to reveal the identity of some of the spies in revolutionary organisations in Russia, though not those in the Bolsheviks' transport network in Berlin and the Pale. Russian industry was increasingly owned by foreign speculators, yet the government preparations for war stimulated certain sectors of the economy, particularly the metal trades, especially in and around St Petersburg and Moscow, but also in Ukraine and the Caucasus, where Menshevik intelligentsy were influential. The government was deeper in debt, but its policies trade union organisation, especially among metalworkers, and its education policy ensured that more and more workers' and peasants' children were literate. A former member of the troika defended his theory of 'proletarian culture', rejected the accusation of adapting to parliamentarianism and claimed the title of 'Bolshevik' for himself and fellow dissenters. They invited hand-picked workers in Russia to a school in Bologna to train them to take over from intelligentsy. Meanwhile the 'official' émigré Bolshevik leaders sought a rapprochement with 'Party Mensheviks' in Russia who opposed their leaders' policy of liquidating what was left of the underground, though other Menshevik intelligentsy thought that there was nothing to liquidate. In Germany SPD trade union leaders were increasingly reformist. The SPD and other influential Western SDs distanced themselves from the 'official' Bolshevik intelligentsy, while in Russia the Okhrana continued to recruit spies inside the RSDRP and exile Bolshevik intelligentsy, and workers in their 'periphery' were thoroughly confused by the intelligentsy disputes.

By 1910 the populations of major Russia cities had expanded considerably, though the Bolsheviks claimed only a few hundred members. In January an RSDP plenum in Paris reined in the émigré Bolsheviks. Their relations with dissident intelligentsy worsened. The émigré Bolsheviks' attempts to cooperate with the Vienna paper failed, and the dissident Bolsheviks organised a 'party but not an all-party school' for workers in Bologna, though the 'official' Bolsheviks did their best to take it over or wreck it, and leading Menshevik distanced themselves even further.

During 1911 the Russia government continued to expand primary and secondary education and the pupils, and undergraduates, were less socially exclusive. Restive students demonstrated against government policies, though the RSDRP discouraged workers from joining them. The surviving RSDRP organisations were few and far between, and uncoordinated, and often ignored the 'official' émigré Bolsheviks. The Okhrana arrested members of both factions, and a leading émigré Menshevik intelligent published a devastating critique of the Bolsheviks' methods of fund-raising, though the 'official' Bolsheviks ran a school for workers near Paris. In summer 'official' Bolshevik and SDKPiL CC members carried out a coup that was illegal in party terms. They sidelined the Mensheviks, helped SDKPiL dissidents to split, and organised a conference dominated by their supporters in Paris. When the students returned to Russia many were arrested immediately and the rest within months, as were leading 'official' Bolsheviks. Meanwhile intelligenty in Western European SD parties were polarising between revolutionaries and reformists, as governments continued to prepare for war.

Early in 1912 a number of 'official' Bolshevik intelligenty, including two Okhrana spies, and two Party Mensheviks met in Prague. Hardly any of them represented an RSDRP organisation in Russia, though they claimed to speak for the entire party and decided to take part in Duma elections, and in the event RSDRP candidates and supporters were quite successful. The industrial struggle was at a very low ebb in Russia, but in spring a massacre of workers in Siberia provoked a strong reaction among workers and students across the Empire. May Day was celebrated by hundreds of thousands and strikes were increasingly deemed political. The two intelligenty members of the émigré Bolshevik Centre, and a handful of supporters, moved to Kraków in Galicia. In Russia the editors of the new Bolshevik paper in St. Petersburg sometimes acted unilaterally, though the Okhrana acknowledged that the Bolsheviks were the best-organised faction in the RSDRP. In summer dissident RSDRP and other SD intelligenty, and a few Russian workers met in Vienna, but hardly any represented an organisation in Russia and they got nowhere. In Russia the tsar dissolved the Duma and reduced the number of potential RSDRP deputies and their supporters even further. The Menshevik deputies tried to recruit the Bolsheviks, and the editors of the Bolshevik paper cooperated with Mensheviks and marginalised the émigré Bolshevik intelligenty, who summoned some abroad to try to regain control. The number of strikes deemed political, especially by metalworkers, continued to rise. French investors owned a large part of industry and the government formed an alliance with France.

By 1913 the RSDRP in Russia was more like a workers' party. Some Menshevik workers in St. Petersburg joined Bolshevik kruzhs though the Bolshevik paper easily outpaced the Menshevik paper in terms of workers' contributions and sales, and when it was suppressed a paper with a new title soon appeared. The émigré Bolsheviks tried to stop the Bolshevik Duma deputies collaborating with Mensheviks and Bundists, and in summer a Bolshevik conference of 'party functionaries' in Poronin, in Galicia, noted that the work with trade unionists in Russia had improved and the level of struggle had risen, but both needed to be developed systematically. The Bolshevik Duma deputies were told to give Menshevik deputies an ultimatum about equal representation on committees and ensure that as much Bolshevik activity as possible should be legal. In Paris the dissident Bolshevik intelligenty built an émigré literary organisation consisting partly of workers in Paris. In Russia Bolshevik women continued to organise. The government's finances were in a critical condition, though it was determined to control the Bosphorus Straits. More young peasants who would normally have become infantry were migrating to Siberia, but the government's 'Great Military Programme' clearly targeted Germany.

By 1914 Russia's population was increasingly literate and many urban workers had formed legal educational and mutual aid organisations. The RSDRP still had an extremely poor record in recruiting and retaining female workers, but a few intelligentki produced a successful paper for them. The level of struggle continued to rise, and the Bolsheviks focussed more on workers' legal organisations; yet the Bolshevik Duma deputies remained abjectly dependent on the émigrés for ideas and analysis, and the International's attempt to unite the RSDRP intelligenty factions failed. In summer the assassination of the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne precipitated a Europe-wide crisis. In German SPD trade unionist leaders struck a deal with the government, and SPD papers joined the propaganda war against Russia, and the few internationalist Reichstag deputies had to vote with the majority for war credits. Bolshevik intelligenty still had illusions about the revolutionary character of the SPD, so the vote came as a bombshell. The Russian government successfully whipped up war fever, even among some skilled SD workers and intelligenty, and dozens of Russian émigrés joined the French army. Émigré Bolshevik intelligenty were disoriented, and scattered to safe havens, while RSDRP workers had to stay in Russia and fend for themselves.

The consequences of this situation for RSDRP intelligenty at home and abroad, and for workers in Russia, from summer 1914 to January 1917, will be traced in *Revolutionary Defeatism. The Old Bolsheviks and the 'Great War'*.

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14. There isn't enough bread to last until Christmas

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