

Extracts from Our Revolution by L.T. 1904-17

Coll. and Tr. by Olin, 1918

"The Proletariat and the Revolution" - End of 1904

"We ought to take hold of the current of popular excitement; we ought to turn the attention of numerous dissatisfied social groups to one colossal undertaking headed by the proletariat - to the NATIONAL REVOLUTION."

"We have got to summon all revolutionary forces to simultaneous action. How can we do it?"

"A political strike, however, not a local, but a general political strike all over Russia - ought to have a general political slogan. This slogan is: to stop the war and call a National Constituent Assembly."

"The Events in Petersburg" - January 20, 1905

"Our fight for a revolution, our preparatory work for a revolution must also be our merciless fight against liberalism for influence over the masses, for a leading role in the revolution."

"The organization of the revolution becomes at present the axis of the political leadership of the revolving masses."

"What are the requirements for this leadership? A few very simple things: freedom from routine in matters of organization; freedom from miserable traditions of underground conspiracy; a broad view; courageous initiative; ability to gauge situations; courageous initiative once more."

"...the thing now needed is not an illusion, but clear revolutionary thinking, a decisive plan of action, a flexible revolutionary organization which would be able to give the masses a slogan, to lead them into the field of battle, to launch an attack all along the line and bring the revolution to a victorious conclusion."

"Such an organization can be the work of Social-Democracy only. No other party is able to create it. No other party can give the masses a revolutionary slogan, as no one outside our Party has freed himself from all considerations not pertaining to the interests of the revolution. No other party is able to organize the action of the masses, as no one but our Party is closely connected with the masses."

"Our Party has committed many blunders, almost crimes. It wavered, evaded, hesitated, it showed inertia and lack of pluck. At times it hampered the revolutionary movement. However, there is no revolutionary party but the S-D Party. Our organizations are imperfect. Our connections with the masses are insufficient. Our technique is primitive."

"Let us close our ranks, comrades! Let us unite, and unite the masses! Let us prepare and prepare the masses for the day of decisive actions! Let us overlook nothing. Let us leave no power unused for the Cause."

"Sum Total and Perspectives" - written at beginning of 1906

"The labor government, impelled by immediate needs and requirements, will have to look into all kinds of relations and activities among the people. It will have to throw out of the army and the administration all those who had stained their hands with the blood of the people; it will have to disband all the regiments that had polluted themselves with crimes against the people. This work will have to be done immediately, long before the establishment of an elective responsible administration and before the organization of a popular militia. This, however, will be only a beginning. Labor democracy will soon be confronted with

2.

the problems of a normal workday, the agrarian relations and unemployment... Antagonism between the component parts of the nation will grow step by step as the policies of the labor government become more outspoken, lose their general democratic character and become class policies."

"The very fact of bourgeois rule eliminates from our minimum program all demands incompatible with private ownership of the means of production. Those demands form the substance of a Socialist revolution, and they presuppose a dictatorship of the proletariat."

"The first prerequisite of socialism ~~is~~ (well-organized production) has been in existence for many years. ~~Ever since division of labor has been established in manufactories; ever since manufactories have been superseded by factories employing a system of machines - large undertakings become more and more profitable, and consequently their socialization would make the people more prosperous...~~

"It is hardly conceivable that Socialist production would content itself with the area of the state. Economic and political motives would impel it to overstep the boundaries of individual states."

"Cooperation in the struggle of the prol. against exploitation has developed in the soul of the workingmen beautiful sprouts of idealism, brotherly solidarity, a spirit of self-sacrifice. ~~Yet those sprouts cannot grow and blossom freely within capitalist society; individual struggle for existence, the yawning abyss of poverty, differentiations among the workingmen themselves, the corrupting influence of the bourgeois parties all this interferes with the growth of idealism among the masses.~~

"It will be comparatively easy to introduce the 8 hr workingday and progressive taxation, though even here the center of gravity is not the issuance of a 'decree' but the organization of its practical application..... Greater than all the other difficulties, however, will be those of an economic nature, the difficulties of organization."

"To be, however, the inheritor of capital invested in land and industry, would mean for a labor govt to organize economic life on a public basis."

"Without direct political aid from the European proletariat the working class of Russia will not be able to retain its power and to turn its temporary supremacy into a permanent Socialist dictatorship. We cannot doubt this for a moment. On the other hand, there is no doubt that a Socialist revolution in the West would allow us to turn the temporary supremacy of the working class directly into a socialist dictatorship." (all except intermediate sentence is. incorp)

"This (international capital) gives events an int'l character and opens a magnificent perspective; political emancipation, headed by the w.c. of Russia, will elevate its leader to a height unparalleled in history, it will give Russian prol. colossal power and make it the initiator of world-wide ~~the~~ liquidation of capitalism, to which the objective prerequisites have been created by history."

"It is the purpose of every Socialist party to revolutionize the minds of the working class in the same way as development of capitalism has revolutionized social relations. The work of prop. and organiz. among the prol. however, has its own intrinsic ~~inertia~~. The Socialist parties of Europe - in the first place, the most powerful of them, the German Socialist Party - have developed

The first essay, "The events in St. Petersburg", written on January 20, 1905, eleven days after "bloody Sunday":

The formula of the democratic dictatorship of proletariat and peasantry in large measure bore an intentionally algebraic character. . . He did not exclude the possibility that the

"What are the requirements for this leadership? very few simple things: Freedom from routine in matters organization; Freedom from miserable traditions of underground conspiracy; a broad view; courageous initiative; ability to gauge situations; courageous initiative."

The formula of the democratic dictatorship of proletariat and peasantry in large measure bore an intentionally algebraic character. . . . He did not exclude the possibility that the peasantry would be represented in the revolution by an independent party. . . . In the question of the decisive significance of the agrarian revolution of the fate of bourgeois revolution. I was, at least since the autumn of 1902, that is from the moment of my flight abroad, a pupil of Lenin. Yet I came out against the formula "democratic dictatorship" of proletariat peasantry because I saw its shortcoming in the fact that it left open the question of what class the real dictator would belong to. I endeavored to show that in spite of its enormous social and revolutionary weightiness the peasantry was incapable of creating a really independent party and still more incapable of concentrating the revolutionary power in its hands.

12663