

LENIN

A Biography

1955

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This biography of Lenin is translated by Violet Dutt, from the revised and enlarged Russian edition published in the U.S.S.R. in 1955. Explanatory footnotes have been added by the translator. Where books, articles or speeches by Lenin are quoted which have not appeared in current English editions of his works, references are given to the current Russian editions. A bibliography of current English editions of Lenin's works is given at the end of the book.

CHAPTER I

1870-1893

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (Lenin) was born on April 22, 1870, in the town of Simbirsk (now called Ulyanovsk).

Lenin grew up in a Russian intellectual family. Ilya Nikolayevich, his father, was inspector of elementary schools in the Simbirsk Gubernia and later was appointed director of the same schools. He came of a middle-class family but for long years of service he was raised to the nobility. On educational matters his views were advanced for his day. He was industrious, persistent, exacting to himself and others, and tried to instil the same qualities into his children. Maria Alexandrovna, Lenin's mother, was an educated woman of great strength of will and firmness of character. She trained her children to be honest, well-informed and principled.

All the Ulyanov children, with the exception of Olga who died young, became revolutionaries; Alexander, the eldest son, became a member of Narodnaya Volya (People's Will)¹; Anna, Vladimir, Dmitri and Maria became Communists.

As a child Vladimir Ilyich was very lively and gifted. He learned to read when he was five and went into the first class at the Simbirsk high school when he was only nine. He possessed exceptional ability, attended seriously to his lessons, obtained excellent marks and carried off prizes each time he moved from one class up to the next.

Lenin spent his childhood and youth in the Volga region. There he associated with working people, became acquainted with the poverty and darkness of their lives, and came to realise that the peasantry and poor townsfolk enjoyed neither rights nor privileges. He also noticed that it was not only the Russian working masses who were oppressed but also the

¹ A secret society founded in 1879 to wage a revolutionary struggle against the tsarist autocracy. Its members were known as Narodniks.

working people of other nationalities, the Chuvash, Mordva, Tatar and other peoples. When still a youth he witnessed the rising dissatisfaction and indignation of the masses and grew to hate all class and national oppression.

The years of Lenin's youth coincided with one of the darkest periods in Russian history. In 1881 adherents of the Narodnaya Volya assassinated Tsar Alexander II, and thereafter the tsarist government severely suppressed every sign of dissatisfaction with the autocracy and semi-feudal system, and heavily reinforced the police regime.

Early in his life Lenin began to ponder over what was going on around him. He was a great reader and when still young had read the best to be found in Russian revolutionary democratic literature. When he was fourteen or fifteen he read *What is to be Done?*, a novel written by the great Russian revolutionary democrat, Chernyshevsky. Lenin had a good knowledge of the works of Belinsky, Dobrolyubov, Nekrasov and Pisarev, and highly valued them. The advanced ideas of the Russian revolutionary democrats did much to shape the revolutionary convictions of the youthful Lenin.

Vladimir Ilyich and his eldest brother Alexander were very great friends. In 1885 and 1886, when Alexander arrived from St. Petersburg to spend the summer at home, he brought with him Marx's *Capital*. This was Lenin's first introduction to this work.

Already in the senior classes at school, Lenin displayed revolutionary leanings. They even crept into his school essays and, on one occasion, his headmaster reprimanded him in this connection. As he returned the essay to Lenin, he said irritably: "What are these oppressed classes you write about, and what have they to do with the case?"

In the spring of 1887 a terrible calamity befell the Ulyanov family. Lenin's brother Alexander Ulyanov was arrested on March 1 in St. Petersburg for his part in preparing the attempt on the life of Tsar Alexander III. His elder sister Anna, a student in St. Petersburg, was arrested at the same time. Alexander Ulyanov, together with others who had

planned the attempt, was executed on May 8 in Schlussemburg fortress.

His brother's death at the hands of the tsarist police strengthened Lenin's determination to take the revolutionary road. He considered, however, that the road chosen by the Narodnaya Volya for the struggle against the autocracy was not the right one and could never reach the goal. "No, we shall not take that road; that is not the road to follow",¹ he said.

Lenin was awarded a gold medal on leaving school and in August 1887 entered the Law Faculty of Kazan University. He was soon in contact with the progressive students and taking an energetic part in the work of their illegal association. Among them, Lenin rapidly became prominent as the organiser of the revolutionary youth. With enthusiasm and conviction he defended and propagated his revolutionary views.

The tsarist government appointed reactionaries to the university chairs and persecuted the student organisations. The students were kept under strict police surveillance, and protested vehemently against this policy of police persecution. At the end of November 1887 disturbances broke out among the students in Moscow and spread to other towns. Trouble started in Kazan University on December 4 and Lenin was active in organising student meetings. As a protest at police reprisals against students attending meetings and tsarist persecution of revolutionary students, he handed a statement to the Dean of the University, resigning from the faculty.

During the night of December 4, Lenin was arrested for his part in the revolutionary student movement.

"Why must you make trouble, young fellow?" asked the police officer as he accompanied Lenin to the prison. "You're up against a brick wall!"

"A brick wall, but it's rotten; touch it and it will crumble",² replied Lenin.

¹ *Reminiscences of V. I. Lenin's Relatives*, 1955. Russian edition, p. 85.

² *ibid.*, p. 22.

While in prison, the arrested students began asking each other what they would do when released. "What about you, Ulyanov, what do you think of doing?" they asked Vladimir Ilyich. He replied that there was only one road ahead, the road of revolutionary struggle.

And so, in conflicts against the tsarist autocracy, Lenin as a young man of seventeen passed through his revolutionary baptism of fire. It was Lenin's ardent love of the people, the hatred he felt for all oppression and violence against the working people, that made him a revolutionary. From that time onwards he devoted his life to the struggle against the autocracy and capitalism, to the liberation of the working people from oppression and exploitation.

On December 5, Lenin was expelled from the university and, two days later, on December 7, 1887, was exiled to the village of Kokushkino, Kazan province, and put under secret police surveillance. Vladimir Ilyich and the entire Ulyanov family were hounded relentlessly by the police. Everything he did was reported to the police department.

Lenin spent about a year in the tiny, backward village. He read a great deal and studied assiduously to improve his education. Even as a young man he showed great capacity for work and ability to work to a strict plan.

In the beginning of October 1888 Lenin was given permission to return to Kazan. But he was not allowed to enter the university. When he asked for permission to travel abroad to continue his education, the police department advised the governor "not to issue him a passport for travel abroad".

In Kazan Lenin made friends with the members of illegal revolutionary groups. At group meetings they read and heatedly discussed Kark Marx's works in the original and in translation, and also G. V. Plekhanov's writings against Narodism.

In the autumn of 1888, Lenin joined one of the Kazan Marxist groups organised by N. E. Fedoseyev, a talented revolutionary who was devoted to the workers' cause and who later, in 1898, met with a tragic death while in Siberian

exile. Lenin made a deep study of the works of Marx and Engels and became a confirmed Marxist. Marx's *Capital* made a lasting impression on him. "He talked to me with great excitement and enthusiasm about Marx's theory and the new horizons it opened," recalls A. I. Ulyanova-Yelizarova. "A stimulating faith went out from him and was passed on to those with whom he talked. He already knew how to make what he said both convincing and attractive. Already then, after studying a subject, he would always share his discoveries with others and recruit supporters to his side. Thus, in Kazan he quickly found supporters among the young students of Marxism, who had revolutionary leanings."¹

At that time Narodnik views were common among the advanced workers and intellectuals with revolutionary tendencies. The Narodniks did not understand the laws which govern the development of society and considered that capitalism in Russia was an accidental phenomenon. They denied the leading role of the working class in the revolutionary movement and asserted that the transition to socialism in Russia could be brought about through the peasant communes. After the tsarist government had crushed the Narodnaya Volya, the majority of the Narodniks abandoned the revolutionary struggle. They preached conciliation and agreement with the tsarist government and became spokesmen of the kulak interests.

Meanwhile, a mighty vanguard force, capable of organised revolutionary struggle, was beginning to take shape in the form of the proletariat. After the abolition of serfdom in 1861, industrial capitalism began to develop fairly rapidly in Russia. Factories, mills and railways were built and towns sprang up. Inhuman exploitation and arbitrary methods were rife in the factories and mills. The workers took the road of struggle against the capitalists with increasing determination, and the strike movement developed. The advanced workers began to understand that, for successful struggle against the

¹ *Reminiscences of V. I. Lenin's Relatives*, 1955. Russ. ed., p. 25. 2

capitalists, organisation was necessary. The first workers' leagues came into being: the South Russian Workers' League (1875) and the Northern League of Russian Workers (1878). The successful work of the labour movement in Western Europe also had an influence on the revolutionary movement in Russia. In 1883, the first Russian Marxist organisation, the Emancipation of Labour group, was formed abroad; it was headed by G. V. Plekhanov and it marked the beginning of the spread of Marxism in Russia. Following this, Marxist groups made their appearance inside Russia as well.

It was only through tremendous labour that Marxism made headway. It took years of persistent struggle for it to become the ideological basis of the Russian working-class movement. Later, Lenin wrote:

“Russia achieved Marxism, the only correct revolutionary theory, veritably through *suffering*, by a half century of unprecedented torment and sacrifice, of unprecedented revolutionary heroism, incredible energy, devoted searching, study, testing in practice, disappointment, verification, and comparison with European experience.”¹

At that time, there were very few supporters of Marxism in Russia. Vladimir Ilyich was one of the first Russian Marxists. He regarded the Marxist theory as a powerful weapon in the struggle for the victory of the revolution, and the working class as the only force that was consistently revolutionary to the end and capable of freeing itself and the whole of the people from the yoke of the autocracy and capitalism.

The police became alarmed at the increase of revolutionary activity in Kazan and, in July 1889, N. E. Fedoseyev was arrested. The group of which Lenin had been a member was crushed. This time, however, Lenin escaped arrest. The reason was that on May 3, 1889, some two months before

¹ Lenin, *Left-wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder*. Chapter II.

the Marxist groups were broken up, the Ulyanov family had left Kazan and moved to Samara province. At first Lenin and the family lived on a farmstead near Alakayevka village, some 35 miles from Samara (now Kuibyshev). But in the autumn of 1889 they moved to Samara, where Lenin and the entire Ulyanov family were again kept under constant and special police surveillance.

Deprived of any possibility of studying at the university, Lenin sought permission to sit for the examinations for the ex-mural university course. But this, too, the tsarist government denied him. However, in the spring of 1890 he was finally allowed to sit for the examinations for the Law Faculty of St. Petersburg University.

During the winter in Samara and in the summer at the Alakayevka farmstead, Lenin worked tirelessly. He drew up a strict time-table of studies and rigidly adhered to it. In eighteen months of independent study, Vladimir Ilyich covered the whole of the four-year university course. In the spring and autumn of 1891 he went to St. Petersburg to sit for the examinations. Of all the examinees, he alone obtained distinctions in all subjects, for which he was awarded a first-class diploma.

Lenin met the St. Petersburg Marxists. From them he obtained Marxist literature, which he took back with him to Samara.

In January 1892 he was included in the list of junior barristers and in March of the same year was briefed as defence counsel in the Samara regional court. His clients were chiefly poor peasants and factory hands.

By the time Lenin went to live in Samara, a few groups of revolutionary-minded students already existed there; they were under the influence of the Narodniks. In these illegal groups Lenin propagated Marxist theory, and read a paper on Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy*. He strongly criticised the activities of the prominent Narodniks of the time: N. K. Mikhailovsky, V. P. Vorontsov, S. N. Yuzhakov and others, and exposed their mistaken, anti-revolutionary views. By that

time Lenin already possessed a profound knowledge of Marxism. When writing to their friends, the members of the Samara groups informed them that there was a student in Samara named Ulyanov, who was kept under police surveillance, and who was outstanding for his great intelligence and knowledge.

While in Samara Lenin continued to study the works of Marx and Engels, chiefly in German and French, as very few of the works of the founders of scientific Communism were available in Russian. Lenin translated into Russian the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* by Marx and Engels. The manuscript of the translation was read out to the Samara groups, but it was destroyed during a police raid.

Any bookish, abstract conception of Marxist theory was quite foreign to Lenin. For him, Marxism was not a lifeless dogma but a living guide to revolutionary action. Armed with the doctrine of Marx and Engels, Lenin at twenty made a careful study of Russia's economic position. He sifted a vast amount of material on the peasant farms, particularly information obtained from zemstvo¹ statistics. He tested his conclusions in a practical way by getting into direct, personal contact with peasant life.

Lenin expounded the results of this study in an article entitled *New Economic Trends in Peasant Life* (written in the spring of 1893), the first of his writings to be preserved, in which he criticised V. Postnikov's book *South Russian Peasant Economy*.

In his article Lenin showed that, contrary to the theory of the Narodniks, capitalism in Russia was developing with unrestrained force, economic strife had become deeply rooted in the peasant economy, class contradictions had arisen, and the peasantry was breaking up into three main groups—the poor, the middle peasants and the kulaks. The article shows the skill and independence of thought with which

¹ The zemstvos were local government bodies in tsarist Russia established on a restricted franchise by the reform of 1864. They were entirely in the hands of the nobility and landlords.

the young Lenin applied Marxism to the analysis of the very complicated problems of Russian life.

Lenin tried to get this article published in one of the legal magazines of the day. But it was not possible. The article lay in the archives for thirty years and was only found and published in 1923.

For more than four years Lenin lived in Samara. There he conducted the first battles against the Narodniks and organised the Samara Marxist group, which greatly influenced the revolutionary youth. He established "contacts with Marxists in Nizhni-Novgorod, Vladimir and St. Petersburg and corresponded with N. E. Fedoseyev, who was in prison in Vladimir.

Work in provincial Samara, far from the centres of the proletarian movement, did not however satisfy Lenin. He was always drawn towards the heart of the industrial proletariat, towards the arena of broad, revolutionary struggle.

In August 1893 Lenin left Samara for St. Petersburg. He broke his journey at Nizhni-Novgorod where, in the Marxist group, he spoke against Narodism. He also stopped at Moscow and there, too, got into touch with the Marxists.

In August 1893 Vladimir Ilyich arrived in St. Petersburg, Russia's political centre, which, thanks to the supreme struggle of the working class led by the revolutionary Marxist party that Lenin created, became the cradle of the proletarian revolution.

CHAPTER II

1893-1895

Lenin arrived in St. Petersburg in the period immediately preceding the upsurge of the working-class movement. With the development of capitalism in Russia there had been a rapid growth of the working class and an intensification of the proletarian class struggle. The ideas of Marxism had begun to penetrate to the workers.

There were Marxist circles in many large towns, for instance in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kharkov, Kiev, Yekaterinoslav, Nizhni-Novgorod, Kazan, Samara, Odessa, Rostov-on-Don, Tula and Minsk. But they were small, scattered groups which had only very feeble contacts with the working-class movement.

The Marxists of those days did not see that conditions were ripe for bringing socialism into contact with the working-class movement. They did not understand that the task immediately ahead was to unite the scattered Marxist groups into one centralised, disciplined organisation, welded together by a common unity of purpose and common means of struggle, to equip it with a Marxist programme and to make the working class the political leader. The first to understand and to solve this task was Lenin.

On his arrival in St. Petersburg, Lenin immediately began to work for the solution of this historic task. He was then only twenty-three years old, but he was a fully-fledged, extremely well-informed, fearless, revolutionary Marxist, and he was supremely devoted to the working class.

Before Lenin's arrival in St. Petersburg, the Marxist propaganda in the workers' groups had been conducted out of all relation to the political life of the country and the immediate tasks of the working class. The Russian Marxists were unable to apply Marxism to the study and elucidation

of the country's economic and political situation or to draw practical, revolutionary conclusions. Lenin put the St. Petersburg Marxist group on to the road of practical, political work among the proletariat.

Lenin became the recognised leader of the St. Petersburg Marxists, thanks to his profound knowledge of Marxism, his ability to apply Marxism to the Russian economic and political situation at that time, his unswerving faith in the victory of the working class and his outstanding talent as an organiser.

G. V. Plekhanov and his Emancipation of Labour group did much to spread Marxism and, by undermining the influence of Narodism on the revolutionary intelligentsia, struck a blow at the erroneous views of the Narodniks. But the ideological defeat of Narodism was still not by any means accomplished. The task of finishing off Narodism, as the enemy of Marxism, fell to Lenin.

In the autumn of 1893 Lenin read a paper *Concerning the So-Called Question of Markets* to one of the St. Petersburg Marxist groups. In it he gave the Marxist explanation of the rise and development of capitalist relations and showed how necessary it was to apply Marx's economic theory to the study of Russian economy. At the same time he criticised the views about the development of capitalism in Russia held by some of the St. Petersburg Marxists who, while recognising the progressive nature of capitalism, did not take account of its contradictions, the increase under capitalism of the poverty and ruin of the working masses, and failed to understand the importance of active, revolutionary struggle by the proletariat. The paper greatly helped to equip the St. Petersburg Marxists theoretically for the struggle against Narodism. The manuscript of this paper was considered lost, but in 1937, forty-four years later, it was found and published for the first time.

While on a visit to relatives in Moscow in January 1894, Lenin made a speech at an illegal evening gathering, which played an important part in the struggle against Narodism.

Lenin attacked Vorontsov, one of the leaders of liberal Narodism, and made a devastating criticism of his views. Lenin's sister, A. I. Ulyanova-Yelizarova, who was present on that occasion, has given the following account of his speech:

"Boldly and with determination, with all the ardour of youth and strength of conviction, but armed also with knowledge, he began to smash the doctrine of the Narodniks, until nothing of it was left. . . .

"The Marxist section of the youth scored a triumph."

Lenin's arrival in Moscow was of great importance for the consolidation of the Marxists there. From Moscow he went on to Nizhni-Novgorod and there he also read a paper against Narodism.

But speeches alone against individual Narodniks were not enough. Narodism, as a trend, had to be crushed completely. This was all the more necessary because the liberal Narodniks, and particularly Mikhailovsky, who was one of their chief theoreticians and publicists, had started a campaign against Marxism at the end of 1893 in their legal magazine *Russkoye Bogatstvo* (Russian Wealth).

During the spring and summer of 1894, Lenin wrote his famous book *What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*. In it he wrote as an outstanding Marxist theoretician, a fiery revolutionary and passionate fighter for the working-class cause.

The book is a complete and relentless criticism of Narodism, its ideology, economic viewpoint, political platform and tactics.

The Narodniks did not understand the laws governing the development of society and, therefore, assumed that it was possible to direct the course of history at will, according to the desires of "outstanding" individuals. Lenin demolished these subjective views and offered in their place the materialist view of social life. He showed that the course of history is determined by the objective laws of economic development, that the consciousness, ideas and morals of people depend on their material social conditions.

Contrary to the subjectivists, who denied the role in history of the masses of people, Lenin stressed that it is precisely the people who create history, that the actions of outstanding individuals are reducible to the actions of classes, the struggle between which determines the development of society.

While denying the development of capitalism in Russia and failing to attach serious importance to the working-class movement, the Narodniks of the 'nineties at the same time glossed over the impoverishment and ruin of the peasantry, the class struggle in the villages and the kulak exploitation of the poor peasants, and eulogised the kulak farms. Instead of pinning their hopes on the struggle against the bourgeois-landlord system, they relied on the good graces of the tsarist government which, they alleged, was capable of improving the position of the peasants while, at the same time, preserving the autocracy and the big landed estates.

Lenin tore the mask from the liberal Narodniks and showed the true face of these false "friends of the people", who had only made use of the banner of socialism, but were actually hostile to the people. He showed that the Marxists alone were the people's true defenders.

The importance of Lenin's *What the 'Friends of the People' Are* was not merely that it was a criticism of Narodism. It was also a genuine manifesto of the already-existing Russian revolutionary Marxist party.

In it Lenin outlined the basic principles of the Marxist viewpoint. With his tremendous force of revolutionary passion he defended Marxism, as the powerful means for learning about the world and changing the world. He pointed out that Marxism is essentially critical and revolutionary, that its aim is to help the proletariat in its struggle for emancipation. The task of Marxist science, Lenin taught, is to reveal every form of capitalist contradiction and to show the proletariat the way out of the system of capitalist wage slavery. He explained that it is not possible to be an ideological leader of the proletariat without theoretical work, without disseminating the ideas of Marxism among the broad

working masses. Neither is it possible to be one without systematic, organisational work among the working class. Lenin considered that theoretical work and practical activity should go hand in hand, that theory should serve practice, by providing the answers to the problems which practical work presents, and should be verified by the facts discovered in the course of practical work.

Like Marx and Engels, Lenin possessed the qualities of a brilliant scientist, a profound research worker and a revolutionary leader with close contacts with the masses.

In *What the 'Friends of the People' Are*, Lenin showed the historic road of the Russian working class and defined the fundamental tasks of the Russian Marxists. He wrote that the working class is society's vanguard revolutionary force. In the struggle against the autocracy and capitalism, it acts as the leader of all the toiling and exploited people. The first task that the Russian working class has to accomplish on the road to abolishing the capitalist system is to overthrow the autocracy. In the achievement of this goal, the ally of the working class will be the peasantry. Lenin was the first to suggest a revolutionary alliance of workers and peasants as the chief means of overthrowing tsarism, the landlords and the bourgeoisie and establishing communist society. Later, this idea became the most important guiding principle in all the work of the Communist Party which Lenin founded.

The struggle of the working class could be successful, Lenin pointed out, only after the Russian Marxists had solved one of the basic tasks, namely, the organisation of the scattered Marxist groups into a united, revolutionary working-class party.

Lenin's book ends with a prophetic description of the great historic role of the Russian working class:

"It is on the working class that the Social-Democrats concentrate all their attention and all their activities. When the advanced representatives of this class will have mastered the ideas of scientific socialism, the idea of the historical role of the Russian worker, when these ideas become widespread and when durable organisations

arise among the workers which will transform the present sporadic economic war of the workers into a conscious class struggle—then the Russian *workers* will rise at the head of all the democratic elements, overthrow absolutism and lead the *Russian proletariat* (side by side with the proletariat of *all countries*) *along the straight road of open political struggle towards the victorious communist revolution.*"¹

Already in Lenin's lifetime this brilliant forecast was found to be absolutely correct.

Lenin's book was illegally printed on a hectograph and in separate instalments.² The local organisations made copies of it, either typed or handwritten. Two or three hundred copies were distributed and the majority of the Russian Social-Democrats came to know the book.

While combating Narodism, Lenin simultaneously opposed the so-called "legal Marxists". The "legal Marxists" conducted a struggle against Narodism on their own lines. But they tried to use the struggle and the banner of Marxism in order to subordinate the working-class movement to the interests of the bourgeoisie. They rejected what is most important of all in Marx's theory, namely the doctrine of the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. Many of the "legal Marxists" subsequently became Cadets (the Constitutional Democrats, the chief party of the Russian bourgeoisie), and later, after the October Revolution, they became the bitterest opponents of Soviet power.

Immediately "legal Marxism" made its appearance, Lenin recognised its representatives as bourgeois liberals. He began the campaign against the "legal Marxists" with an attack on their chief ideologist, Peter Struve, who proposed "confessing our lack of culture and going to the rescue of capitalism".

In the autumn of 1894, in the presence of representatives of "legal Marxism", Lenin read a paper in the St. Petersburg

¹ Lenin, *What the 'Friends of the People' Are*. Part III.

² The first and third instalments of the book are printed in the collected works of Lenin (Russ. ed.); the second instalment has still not been discovered.

Marxist circle on *The Reflection of Marxism in Bourgeois Literature*. The paper dealt with Struve's *Critical Remarks on the Question of the Economic Development of Russia*, and exposed the bourgeois-liberal nature of the "legal Marxists".

While campaigning against the Narodniks, Lenin considered it permissible to enter into temporary agreement with the "legal Marxists" on condition that there existed complete freedom to criticise these temporary fellow-travellers. As a result of this agreement, a legal magazine entitled *Material on the Economic Development of Russia* appeared in the spring of 1895. It contained an article by Lenin (under the pseudonym K. Tulin) called *The Economic Content of Narodism and the Criticism of it in Mr. Struve's Book* and also contributions from G. V. Plekhanov, P. Struve and others. As soon as the magazine appeared, however, it was confiscated by the tsarist authorities and burned. Only about one hundred copies were saved and distributed among the Social-Democrats.

The chief contribution to the magazine was Lenin's article, the basis of which was the paper he had read in the autumn of 1894. In it he thoroughly criticised Narodism and "legal Marxism", outlined the Marxist view of Russia's economic development, and defended socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship, which constitute the revolutionary essence of Marxism.

In his criticism of the "legal Marxists" Lenin showed that their views were based on bourgeois "neutrality", objectivism, which meant justifying capitalism and glossing over its class contradictions. Lenin taught that the Marxist materialist should boldly expose these contradictions and take his stand on the side of the revolutionary class, the proletariat. He substantiated the principle of partisanship in science and philosophy. "Materialism includes, so to speak, partisanship, which enjoins the direct and open adoption of the standpoint of a definite social group in any judgement of events."¹

Lenin showed that so-called objectivism in science serves merely to cover up the mercenary interests of the ruling,

¹ Lenin, *The Economic Content of Narodism*.

exploiting classes. Marxist science is openly and indissolubly linked with the working class; it is of service in the revolutionary transformation of society, and, therefore, its partisanship coincides with genuine scientific method.

Thus, Lenin strongly resisted every attempt to distort Marxism. He trained the Marxist cadres in Russia to be relentlessly opposed to every distortion of Marxism; he taught them to value Marxism as the greatest ideological possession of the working class and to protect it carefully from all encroachments on its purity and revolutionary spirit.

Besides working out the theoretical views of the Russian Marxists and waging war on Narodism and "legal Marxism", Lenin undertook considerable work of an organisational character to build the party.

Around Lenin there grew up a strong nucleus of leading revolutionary workers: I. V. Babushkin, V. A. Shelgunov, I. I. Yakovlev, V. A. Knyazev and others. From these working cadres Lenin trained the organisers of the proletarian party.

In 1894 Lenin met Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, who taught at an adult Sunday school. She became Lenin's closest friend, his wife and his comrade in revolutionary work.

In the autumn of 1894 Lenin began to teach Marxism in workers' circles beyond the Nevsky Gate district, where the large factories were situated. Then, also, he took charge of a workers' circle in the St. Petersburg district and, some time later, another at the harbour in Vassilyevsky Island district. He also taught in the workers' circle at the Semyannikov (now V. I. Lenin) plant. Here the classes were held at the home of a worker named I. V. Babushkin, one of the prominent leaders of the Russian workers' movement who, in 1906, was shot by a tsarist punitive expedition in Siberia. "I. V. Babushkin", wrote Lenin in 1910, "was one of those advanced workers who, some ten years before the revolution, had begun to form the *workers'* Social-Democratic party. Without the tireless, heroically-stubborn labours of *such* leading workers from the midst of the proletarian masses, the R.S.D.L.P. would never

have existed for ten months, let alone ten years. Thanks alone to the work of *such* leading workers, thanks alone to their support, the R.S.D.L.P. had grown by 1905 into a party closely identified with the proletariat in the great days of October and December, which maintained its connections in the form of the *workers' deputies* not only to the Second, but also to the Third, Black-Hundreds, Duma."¹

Lenin was greatly loved by the workers. Everyone with whom he came into contact in St. Petersburg felt how close he was to them¹ and how considerate and tactful he was as a leader. He would talk in a lively, intelligible way about Marxist theory, about the basis of the bourgeois system, Russia's economic and political situation and the tasks of the working class. Typical of him was his ability to talk clearly and simply on the most complicated questions of theory.

Lenin brought something new to the work of the circles. He linked Marxist propaganda with the study of the urgent problems of Russian economics and politics. "The lecturer used to hand us sheets of paper with questions on them, and we were required to know a great deal about factory and workshop life, and to make our own observations", wrote I. V. Babushkin.² While teaching in the workers' circles, Lenin made a careful study of the position of the workers in the factories, the system of wages and fines, and the rates of pay, and inquired into factory regulations. All this helped him to obtain deep, first-hand knowledge of the workers' conditions, their needs and their problems.

Lenin proved to the St. Petersburg Marxists that it was not enough merely to conduct propaganda in a narrow circle of enlightened proletarians, but that the time had come to pass to agitation among the broad working masses. The transition to topical, political agitation based on defence of the immediate needs of the working class was first brought about by the St. Petersburg Social-Democrats, under Lenin's

¹ Lenin, *Ivan Vassilyevich Babushkin, Obituary Notice*, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 16, p. 333.

² *Recollections of I. V. Babushkin*, 1893-1900. Russ. ed. 1951, p. 56.

guidance, during the strike at the Semyannikov works at the end of 1894.

Lenin responded at once to the strike. He wrote an agitational leaflet which the workers' circle discussed and distributed at the works. The leaflet was very popular among the workers.

Disturbances broke out in February 1895 among the men at the New Port district. Led by Lenin, the St. Petersburg Social-Democrats published the leaflet *What Should the Port Workers Strive For?* which greatly helped to decide the outcome of the struggle. The management was compelled to make concessions and the workers' fight was victorious. In consequence, the Social-Democrats gained considerable prestige.

The transition to mass political agitation was of decisive importance for the further development of the Russian working-class movement.

Lenin's illegal pamphlet *On Fines* was very useful in the political agitation developed by the Marxists. Lenin evidently enjoyed working on this pamphlet, for he wrote some time later: "I wished for nothing better and dreamed of nothing more than the opportunity to write for the workers."¹ In language the workers could understand, the pamphlet explained how the tsarist government and the manufacturers exploited them and how they should fight back.

Bold exposures of capitalist methods and of the arbitrary behaviour of the tsarist autocracy helped wide sections of the workers to assimilate the most important postulates of Marxism and to understand the political tasks of their own class.

Thus, the historic transition from Marxist propaganda in small groups of leading workers to political action among the proletarian masses was accomplished under Lenin's guidance. The agitation which the revolutionary Social-Democrats carried on under his guidance did much to influence the development of the broad strike movement of

¹ Lenin, *Letter to Axelrod*, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 34, p. 4.

the St. Petersburg workers, which was to open up the new period in the history of the Russian working class.

On the instructions of the St. Petersburg Marxists, Lenin went abroad on April 25, 1895, to establish contact with the Emancipation of Labour group. There, in Switzerland, Lenin met G. V. Plekhanov for the first time. The Emancipation of Labour group accepted Lenin's proposal for the publication of a popular magazine for the workers. It was decided to publish the *Rabotnik* (Worker) abroad.

Differences of opinion between Lenin and Plekhanov on a number of questions of principle were revealed during the negotiations. Lenin considered that in the struggle against the tsarist autocracy the proletariat was the main force and their ally was the peasantry. Plekhanov under-estimated the role and importance of the peasantry as the ally of the proletariat and erroneously considered that the liberal bourgeoisie was the driving force in the impending Russian bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Lenin spent about six weeks in Switzerland and some three months in Paris and Berlin attending workers' meetings and making a serious study of the working-class movement and the ways of life of the proletariat of West Europe. In Berlin, Lenin made the acquaintance of Wilhelm Liebknecht, one of the leading figures in German Social-Democracy, and in Paris he met Paul Lafargue, a prominent French Socialist.

When Friedrich Engels died on August 5, 1895, Lenin wrote the obituary, *Friedrich Engels*, which was published anonymously in Nos. 1-2 of the *Rabotnik*. It clearly outlined the great service Engels had rendered to the international proletariat. This short contribution is the finest article in Marxian literature on the life and work of Friedrich Engels, the associate of Marx and one of the founders of scientific socialism.

Lenin returned to Russia on September 7, 1895. The frontier police had been given strict injunctions to examine his luggage thoroughly. Nevertheless, he contrived to carry through the Marxist literature hidden in the false bottom

of his suitcase. He most skilfully evaded the police and, before travelling on to St. Petersburg, spent three weeks touring Russia: he visited Vilna and made arrangements there for deliveries of Marxist literature from abroad, then Moscow and Orekhovo-Zuyevo, where he established contacts with local Social-Democrats.

Lenin was very concerned about the disparity between the magnitude of the historic tasks confronting the Russian working class and the scattered and amateurish nature of the then existing Social-Democratic organisations. Later, in 1902, he wrote about how he felt at that time:

"I used to work in a circle that set itself great and all-embracing tasks; and every member of that circle suffered to the point of torture from the realisation that we were proving ourselves to be amateurs at a moment in history when we might have been able to say, paraphrasing a well-known epigram: 'Give us an organisation of revolutionaries, and we shall overturn the whole of Russia!'"¹

From the very first days of his work in St. Petersburg, Lenin had to build just such an organisation. On his return from abroad he plunged with renewed energy into the work of strengthening and broadening the Social-Democratic organisation. Almost daily he visited the workers' districts, held meetings and talked with the workers.

In the autumn of 1895, Lenin amalgamated all the twenty Marxist workers' circles in St. Petersburg into one organisation which took the name of "The League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class".

Lenin built up the work of the League of Struggle on the principles of centralism and strict discipline. The League of Struggle had a central group at its head and the entire work was personally guided by a few members of this group, headed by Lenin who at the same time was the editor of the League's publications. The organisation was split up into district groups of advanced, class-conscious workers who

¹ Lenin, *What is to be Done?* Chap. IV.

maintained contact between the groups and the factories. There were organisers at the factories whose work was to collect information and distribute literature. Workers' groups were set up at the large factories, and these not only disseminated Marxist theory, but discussed current political questions. These groups were in actual fact the embryo of the young Marxist party.

Led by Lenin, the League of Struggle maintained close contact with the mass working-class movement. With its deep understanding¹ of the situation and the mood of the workers, the League of Struggle was able to give concrete guidance to the strike movement. It issued leaflets which helped to raise the workers' revolutionary consciousness.

In November 1895, the League of Struggle organised a strike at the Thornton textile factory, which was owned by English manufacturers. It issued and distributed the leaflet *What are the Weavers' Demands?* A few days later a second leaflet which Lenin wrote for the working men and women at the Thornton factory was distributed. It explained that only by joint, concerted efforts could the workers obtain an improvement in their position. The strike ended successfully for the workers, and marked the beginning of a new upward swing in the St. Petersburg strike movement.

The work of the League of Struggle was most particularly felt during the summer of 1896, when the great strike of 30,000 textile workers took place in St. Petersburg. The 1896 strikes, Lenin wrote subsequently, "opened up the era of the then steadily rising working-class movement, that most powerful factor of the whole of our revolution."¹

Under Lenin's guidance the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class linked the workers' struggle for economic demands with the political struggle against tsarism and capitalist exploitation and, for the first time in Russia, began to bring socialism into association with the working-class movement.

¹ Lenin, *Preface to the Symposium "After 12 Years"*. Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 13, p. 78.

The St. Petersburg League of Struggle was a mighty stimulus for other Russian towns and regions, which began to unite the workers' groups into similar leagues. Social-Democratic organisations grew up in Moscow, Kiev, Vladimir, Yaroslav, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Orekhovo-Zuyevo, Samara, Saratov, Orel, Tver, Minsk, Vilno. In the middle of the 'nineties, Marxist organisations were established in the Transcaucasus. In Siberia and other localities, Social-Democratic groups and leagues were also founded. The St. Petersburg League of Struggle was the model upon which the Russian Social-Democratic organisations based themselves in their work.

Lenin attached special importance to strengthening the links between the Marxist organisations in Russia. A newspaper which would explain the immediate tasks and the final aims of the working-class struggle was to assist in this. The first issue of such a newspaper, the *Rabochoye Dyelo* (The Workers' Cause) had already been prepared, and Lenin had written a number of articles for it.

The tsarist government, however, succeeded in striking a heavy blow at the newly formed workers' party. On the night of December 9, 1895, police raided the League of Struggle and arrested Lenin, its organiser and leader, and a large number of others. The ready-prepared issue of *Rabochoye Dyelo* was confiscated. As a reprisal against the arrest of Lenin and the other leaders of the League, the workers produced a leaflet of their political demands. It was distributed in factories and mills throughout St. Petersburg.

Lenin spent more than two years among the workers in St. Petersburg. This period of his life and work is of the greatest importance, for it was in St. Petersburg that Lenin formed the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, which was the first real beginning of a Marxist party which had the backing of the working-class movement. In his later work to build the Marxist party in Russia, Lenin proceeded from the revolutionary experience of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle.

In St. Petersburg, Lenin led the first revolutionary battles of the proletariat against its class enemies; he gave the working class political training in preparation for decisive battles against the autocracy and the bourgeoisie. There, he launched the determined and relentless struggle against Narodism and "legal Marxism". In this struggle he trained and rallied together a close group of his own supporters and fighting comrades-in-arms, the builders of the revolutionary Marxist party.

At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, when Lenin was building the revolutionary Marxist party, great changes in the economic and political life of the capitalist countries were taking place. The capitalist world had entered the new epoch of imperialism. All the contradictions of capitalism had intensified in the extreme. The period was approaching of decisive, revolutionary battles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The question of organising the proletarian party, the question of the strategy and tactics of the working-class struggle, now assumed new proportions. The centre of the revolutionary movement had shifted to Russia. Russia had become the pivot of all the contradictions of imperialism. There, a gigantic, popular revolution was maturing. The basic questions of the Russian revolution were, at the same time, the cardinal questions of the world revolution.

It was in this new historical situation that Vladimir Ilyich Lenin raised high and carried forward the militant banner of Marx and Engels, the banner of revolutionary Marxism.

With the name of Lenin, the most faithful and consistent pupil of Marx and Engels and the great perpetuator of their work, is linked the development of Marxism in the new historical epoch, the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. Russia became the birthplace of Leninism, and Lenin, the leader of the Russian proletariat, became the creator of the new theory and tactics of socialist revolution and the leader of the international proletariat.

CHAPTER III

1896-1900

Although the tsarist government had locked Lenin away in prison, it could not interrupt his ardent revolutionary activity. He found ways and means of guiding the League of Struggle from behind prison bars; he sent letters and leaflets in code to people outside; he wrote a pamphlet *On Strikes* and the *Draft and Explanation of the Programme of the Social-Democratic Party*. For conspiratorial purposes, Lenin used milk to write his letters and pamphlets, and wrote between the lines of any available books. To deceive the prison warders, Vladimir Ilyich moulded tiny ink-wells out of bread which, at the first sign of danger, he popped into his mouth. "I ate six ink-wells today," he remarked in one letter.

In the *Draft and Explanation of the Programme of the Social-Democratic Party* Lenin defined the main tasks and aims of the proletarian class struggle: to overthrow the autocracy and obtain political emancipation, then to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie, to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and to build socialist society.

Lenin used his term of imprisonment to continue his research into the economic development of Russia and to begin work on his book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*.

While revealing new phenomena in Russia's social development, Lenin pointed, at the same time, to the increasing domination there of foreign capital. The foreign capitalists, he wrote, hurled themselves greedily on Russia while the tsarist government, ever obsequious towards the bourgeoisie of Western Europe, assisted it to plunder and exploit the country. Lenin was the first to sound the alarm concerning the future of his native land and to point to the danger of colonial enslavement that threatened Russia.

Lenin spent more than fourteen months in prison in

St. Petersburg. On February 13, 1897, sentence was passed in the case of the League of Struggle and Lenin was exiled to Eastern Siberia for three years. Together with the others sentenced in connection with the same case, Lenin managed to spend three days in St. Petersburg before setting out for Siberia, on the pretext of having private affairs to settle. During those days Lenin held a number of conferences with the St. Petersburg Social-Democrats. At one of them there were found to be sharp differences of opinion, and a heated argument ensued between Lenin's supporters, the "old men" so-called, and the "young" members of the League.

The "young" members considered that the main task of the Social-Democrats was to organise the working class to help strikers and for cultural purposes. Setting aside the struggle for political emancipation and socialism, and the work of creating an organisation of revolutionaries to lead the working class, the "young" members put forward the idea of a narrow, trade association of workers. They wanted to limit the working-class movement to economic struggle alone, while the leadership of the political struggle was to be left to the liberal bourgeoisie. Lenin put up a strong fight against this manifestation of "Economism".

On February 17, 1897, Lenin set out for exile in Siberia. His destination was the village of Shushenskoye, in the Minusinsk district, Yenisei province, which was more than 400 miles from the nearest railway. On May 8, he arrived at the village where he was to spend almost three years.

It was not easy having to live far away in exile, isolated from direct revolutionary work. But nothing could break Lenin's courage, energy and buoyant enthusiasm. There, far away from civilisation, he plunged into theoretical work. His relatives helped to obtain the reading matter he required and he continued to study the works of Marx and Engels, to follow the latest Marxist literature in foreign languages, to read Russian and foreign newspapers and magazines, and to translate foreign books. Lenin devoted much time to studying the history of philosophy, particularly the French materialism

of the eighteenth century. Although he worked so hard, Lenin knew also how to spend his leisure time. He took long walks, hunted, enjoyed a game of chess and did some skating. He re-read the works of Pushkin, Lermontov, Nekrasov and other classics of Russian literature, which he already knew well and loved.

Lenin made a close study of the Siberian village, its customs and the life of the peasantry. He won the love and respect of the surrounding peasants to whom he gave advice and whom he helped to defend against the arbitrary behaviour of the local authorities and the rich.

In those years many Social-Democrats were living in exile in Siberia. In Shushenskoye there were only two besides Lenin, but in the other villages of Minusinsk district some of the comrades who had done revolutionary work with him in St. Petersburg were serving terms of exile: G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, A. A. Vaneyev, P. N. Lepeshinsky and others. On various pretexts they succeeded in arranging to meet and confer together.

Lenin established contacts with exiled Social-Democrats scattered in various far-distant parts of the North and Siberia. In spite of difficulties, he also managed to get into contact with the Emancipation of Labour group abroad and with the centres of the working class movement in Russia. He kept up a very extensive correspondence. For him, letters were the most important means of keeping contact, obtaining information and giving leadership. His letters threw light on problems of Marxist theory and policy and outlined the plans for future revolutionary work.

During the years spent in exile Lenin completed a vast amount of scientific work and produced more than thirty written works. In them he elaborated the programme and tactics of the party, completed the ideological defeat of Narodism, opposed the "legal Marxists" and developed the struggle against the "Economists". Lenin skilfully evaded all the obstacles and pitfalls of the tsarist censorship and made good use of the then available legal magazines

for the purpose of disseminating revolutionary Marxism.

At the end of 1897 Lenin wrote *The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats*. In this pamphlet he assembled all the experience of work in the St. Petersburg League of Struggle and outlined the basis of the political programme and tactics of Russian revolutionary Social-Democracy. Lenin pointed to the close link that existed between the socialist and the democratic work of the Marxist party, explained the attitude of the working class to other classes in the bourgeois-democratic revolution and developed the idea of the leading role of the proletariat in that revolution.

Lenin stressed the decisive importance of Marxist theory for the workers' party, and pointed out that "without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement".¹

In this pamphlet Lenin made a strong appeal to the workers' groups and Social-Democratic groups scattered throughout Russia to unite in one single Social-Democratic party.

Lenin's pamphlet was the tactical platform for all revolutionary Social-Democrats working in Russia at that time. It was published in 1898 by the Emancipation of Labour group in Geneva and illegally distributed among Social-Democrats and workers in Russia.

In March 1898 the first congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, organised by Lenin's supporters, took place in Minsk. The fact that the St. Petersburg League of Struggle had been crushed and that Lenin was absent from the congress adversely affected its work. Although it proclaimed the formation of the party, the party was actually not formed. The Manifesto which the congress issued did not reflect the basic points in the programme which Lenin had put forward in his writings: the conquest of political power by the proletariat, the hegemony of the proletariat, the question of the allies of the proletariat in the struggle against tsarism and the bourgeoisie.

Vladimir Ilyich heard about the congress that had taken

¹ Lenin, *What is to be Done?* Chapter I.

place from N. K. Krupskaya who, after being arrested in the League of Struggle case, was also sentenced to three years' exile and arrived in Shushenskoye in May 1898.

With the Marxist party in Russia about to be formed, and with the first cornerstones laid, Lenin considered it highly important to define the attitude of the proletarian party to Russia's revolutionary traditions. He therefore wrote an article at the end of 1897 entitled *What Heritage do we Reject?* The Narodniks had asserted that the Marxists were breaking with the finest traditions, with the ideological "heritage" of the progressive section of Russian society. Lenin refuted these allegations and declared that the Marxists were far more consistent, far more faithful guardians of the heritage than were the Narodniks. He pointed to the Russian revolutionary democrats' deep hatred of all manifestations of serfdom, their ardent championship of the country's progressive development, their supreme struggle in the interests of the people. It was just these features that the Russian Marxists so highly valued.

Lenin regarded the Marxist party as the legal heir of all the progressive achievements and revolutionary-democratic traditions of the Russian people. However, safeguarding that heritage, he pointed out, did not mean restricting oneself to merely accepting it; it was necessary to go farther, to determine the ways and means of revolutionary struggle independently.

While in exile Lenin finished his famous book *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, which completed the ideological defeat of Narodism. At the end of March 1899 the book appeared under the author's pseudonym Vladimir Ilyin.

The Development of Capitalism in Russia was the product of many years of laborious study in the field of Russian economics, which Lenin had begun when he still lived in Samara. The book is a brilliant example of the application of Marxist theory to the analysis of Russia's economic development; it is the ideas of Marx's *Capital* made concrete and developed.

In order to produce it, Lenin made use of a vast amount

of literature (more than 600 books) and statistics, and went deeply into the process of the formation of the internal market for Russia's large-scale industry. He showed how capitalism develops in agriculture and industry and explained the differentiation of the peasantry and the formation of the proletariat.

Lenin gave a profound analysis in this book of the production relations in Russia; he exposed the inhuman system of exploitation of the working people and proved the inevitable destruction of this system through the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and peasantry. He gave reasons why the proletariat should have the leading role in the impending revolution and stressed that the strength of the proletariat in the movement of history was immeasurably greater than its proportion to the total mass of the population. Of all Lenin's conclusions, this is of the greatest importance. Its correctness was confirmed by the revolutionary struggle of the Russian proletariat, which won world historic victories in spite of the fact that it represented a relatively small proportion of the country's total population. The Russian proletariat was able to win these victories because it was led by the Communist Party which had trained it in the revolutionary spirit, and because it was able to win the broad masses of the working peasantry to its side.

On the basis of Lenin's scientific analysis of Russia's social and economic system, the Bolsheviks worked out their tactics in the first Russian revolution.

Although Lenin was thousands of miles from the centres of the working class movement, he closely followed the work of the Social-Democratic parties of Western Europe. At that time, after the death of Friedrich Engels, the opportunists had begun a campaign against revolutionary Marxist theory and tactics. In 1899, Bernstein, a German Social-Democrat, openly revised Marxism, preached reformist views and dragged bourgeois ideology into the working class movement. At the same time, too, Millerand, a French Socialist, joined the reactionary bourgeois government.

These attacks of the revisionists aroused Lenin's strong indignation. He was angry that Bernstein's supporters in Germany were not being repulsed. He also expressed dissatisfaction because G. V. Plekhanov was not strongly opposing the revision of Marxism by Bernstein, Struve and others. A really serious war should be declared on the "critics" of Marxism, wrote Lenin.

Lenin considered particularly dangerous for the Russian working class movement the opportunist activity of the "Economists", who were, in effect, preaching the very same views as Bernstein's supporters abroad. Lenin's struggle against the "Economists", therefore, was at the same time a struggle against international opportunism. He understood better than anyone else that the "Economists" were the main opportunist group in the Russian working class movement, that it was necessary to launch a decisive and relentless struggle against them. And so, in 1899, as soon as he had received a copy of the manifesto of the "Economists", their so-called *Credo*, he lost no time in strongly repulsing them. He wrote the *Protest of the Russian Social-Democrats* which was discussed and adopted at a conference of seventeen exiled Social-Democrats, which Lenin called together in the summer of 1899 at Yermakovsk. Lenin exposed the "Economists" for their departure from Marxism, for denying the need for an independent, political working class party, and for their attempt to transform the working class into an appendage of the bourgeoisie.

The *Protest* was distributed among the exiled Marxists and in the Marxist organisations, and it played a great part in the struggle against the "Economists". It was tremendously important in the development of Marxist thought and the preparations for the Marxist party in Russia.

Lenin considered it absolutely essential for revolutionary Social-Democracy to conduct a relentless struggle against every revision of Marxism and to defend the purity of revolutionary theory. At the same time he indicated the need for a further elaboration of Marxism, for enriching

Marxist theory on the basis of the new experiences of the working class movement.

"We do not regard Marxist theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the cornerstone of the science which Socialists must further advance in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life. We think that an independent elaboration of the Marxist theory is especially essential for Russian Socialists, for this theory provides only general guiding principles, which, in particular, are applied in England differently from France, in France differently from Germany, and in Germany differently from Russia."¹

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all Communist and Workers' Parties are invariably guided by this Leninist directive.

Lenin renewed his work on the draft programme of the party which he had begun while in prison in St. Petersburg. He revised the programme of the Emancipation of Labour group, which had contained serious mistakes. He firmly rejected the tactic of individual terror, which the Emancipation of Labour group had considered permissible.

While in exile, Lenin drew up the plan for the formation of the revolutionary proletarian party. He outlined it in his articles: *Our Programme*, *Our Immediate Task*, and *An Urgent Question*.

Lenin emphasised that the Social-Democratic movement in Russia was weak because it lacked organisation. He explained that all the healthy and progressive sections of the people were in favour of democracy and socialism, but that if the struggle against the autocracy was to be conducted successfully, then revolutionary organisation, discipline and conspiratorial technique had to be brought to the highest possible level.

For the Russian working class to fulfil its historic tasks, it was necessary, in Lenin's opinion, to eliminate the disunity

¹ Lenin, *Our Programme*.

of the Marxist organisations. Lenin considered that a powerful party should be formed, which would be the real leader of the proletariat and boldly and confidently lead the popular masses into the revolutionary struggle against the autocracy and capitalism. But in building such a party it was necessary to follow a new and independent path. There were no ready-made models to hand.

In building the party, the Russian Marxists had two types of organisation before them: the Social-Democratic parties of Western Europe and the Russian revolutionary Narodnik organisations. Neither of these suited either Lenin's views or the tasks of the working class movement. The Social-Democratic parties of Western Europe were adapted to legal parliamentary activity and the parliamentary struggle; they were more and more becoming an appendage of their parliamentary fractions. In these parties the divergence between theory and practice, between words and deeds was increasingly felt; these parties were becoming more and more corroded with the rust of opportunism. The organisations of the Russian revolutionary Narodniks were of a conspiratorial character and were not based on the mass movement. A new type of organisation had to be worked out; a new type of party had to be created. Lenin undertook this work. In his opinion the most important instrument for the ideological and organisational consolidation of the Social-Democrats in the existing conditions should be an illegal, political, all-Russian newspaper.

Lenin's term of exile was coming to an end. "Vladimir Ilyich slept badly and became terribly thin," recalls Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya in connection with his last months of exile. "He spent sleepless nights thinking over his plan down to the last detail. . . . As the days passed Vladimir Ilyich became more and more consumed with impatience and eagerness to begin working."

Lenin's term of exile finally came to an end on January 29, 1900. The same day he left Shushenskoye village.

He spent the whole of 1900 in strenuous work to organise an

all-Russian newspaper. It was not possible to publish such a newspaper in Russia because of police persecution. He therefore decided to have it published abroad. For this purpose contacts had to be established with the Social-Democratic organisations inside Russia, guarantees of support had to be obtained from them, collaborators and correspondents had to be selected for the future newspaper and agreement reached on the work they would do, and the necessary funds had to be obtained.

Lenin was banned from living in either of the capitals or in any industrial centre or university city. In order to be as close as possible to St. Petersburg, he chose Pskov as his place of residence. On his way back from exile, he paid visits to Ufa, Moscow and St. Petersburg, where he met and conducted negotiations with the local Social-Democrats. On February 28, Lenin arrived in Pskov. There, at the end of March and beginning of April, a conference took place which discussed his draft programme statement for the editorial board of the future newspaper. Social-Democrats from different localities visited Vladimir Ilyich there to obtain advice and directives and to talk with him. In the spring and summer of 1900 Lenin visited St. Petersburg, Riga, Podolsk, Nizhni-Novgorod, Ufa and Samara, where he made contacts and recruited supporters for his plan. His personal knowledge of the situation in the different localities convinced him still more of the correctness of the method he had chosen for building the party.

During Lenin's illegal visit to St. Petersburg in May 1900, he was arrested in the street. However, the police did not discover the secret notes which he was carrying of his contacts with revolutionary organisations abroad. After holding him in custody for ten days, they were compelled to release him. To remain in Russia was becoming more and more dangerous. Tsarism recognised in Lenin its most dangerous enemy. Police Colonel Zubatov wrote in a secret communication to his chief in 1900 that "in the revolution today there is no one greater than Ulyanov"; he therefore

proposed that steps should be taken at once to assassinate Lenin.

After preparing the basis in Russia for the newspaper, Lenin went abroad on July 16, 1900. So began his first period of emigration, which lasted for more than five years.

Lenin's years of stubborn and courageous revolutionary work brought him unchallenged prestige among the Russian Social-Democrats. No one was so deeply aware of the state of the Social-Democratic organisations, their requirements and their immediate needs. The finest representatives of the working class rallied to him, inspired by his bold plan to build the party. He emerged as the builder and true leader of the revolutionary Marxist party, the party of a new type.

CHAPTER IV

1900-1904

When Lenin arrived in Europe he took energetic steps to fulfil his plan to build a Marxist revolutionary party. At the back of his plan lay his deep understanding of the new epoch of imperialism, and the revolutionary tasks of the party and the working class which followed from it.

Lenin's great service was that he was the first of the Marxists to see that the epoch of revolutionary storms and upheavals had arrived and taken the place of the period of the "peaceful" smooth development of capitalism, and that this new epoch demanded a new solution of the problems of Marxist theory and policy.

"To ignore the changed circumstances, and to go on advocating the old solution given by Marxism, is to be true to the letter and not to the spirit of the teaching, is to repeat by rote the old conclusions without being able to use the Marxist method in order to analyse the new political situation."¹

Lenin saw that Russia would be the first country to open up the period of revolutions in the new historical epoch. He recognised that the whole trend of history was promoting the Russian working class to the leading position in the international labour movement. Prophetically he wrote:

"History has now confronted us with an immediate task which is the *most revolutionary* of all the immediate tasks that confront the proletariat of any country. The fulfilment of this task, the destruction of the most powerful bulwark, not only of European but also (it may now be said) of Asiatic reaction, would make the Russian

¹ Lenin, *The National Question in our Programme*.

proletariat the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat."¹

Lenin considered that the chief link in the work of building a Marxist revolutionary labour party was an all-Russian political newspaper. The *Iskra* (Spark) became this newspaper.

Lenin believed that G. V. Plekhanov and his comrades in the Emancipation of Labour group should take part in the work of launching the newspaper. But the very first negotiations with Plekhanov showed that he was unwilling to conduct editorial work on a collective basis. Only with great difficulty was agreement reached. How '*The Spark*' was *Almost Extinguished* was the name Lenin gave to the memorandum on the negotiations with Plekhanov. It was decided to publish *Iskra* in Germany and editorial offices were opened in Munich. Besides *Iskra*, arrangements were also made for the publication of *Zarya* (The Dawn), a scientific-political magazine.

Lenin's tireless labours, his devotion to principle, his iron will which overcame all obstacles on the path to the planned goal, ensured the publication of *Iskra*.

The first number of *Iskra* appeared in December 1900. In the leading article *The Urgent Tasks of our Movement*, Lenin simply and convincingly gave the reasons for the need to create a strong, organised Marxist party, without which the working class could not realise its great historic mission—to win freedom from political, economic and spiritual slavery for itself and for the people as a whole. Lenin regarded the Marxist party as the political leader of the working class.

But the task of creating a party presented untold difficulties. The party had to be built under the fire of the cruellest tsarist persecution. At the same time clannishness, backwardness, inertia and amateurish methods in the work of the local party organisations had to be overcome and a relentless battle fought against opportunism:

¹ Lenin, *What is to be Done?*

"Before we can unite, and in order that we may unite, we must first of all firmly and definitely draw the lines of demarcation," stressed Lenin in the *Declaration by the Editorial Board of Iskra*.

Lenin and his supporters had to wage a stubborn fight against the numerous enemies of the working class, the opponents of the principle of partisanship, the sceptics and whiners, opportunist attempts of all kinds to push revolutionary Social-Democracy on to the path of conciliation with the bourgeoisie.

"We are marching", said Lenin, "in a compact group along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and are under their almost constant fire."¹

Lenin was the organiser, the ideological inspirer and the personal director of *Iskra*. He carefully edited every issue, he wrote a great deal for the paper himself, he selected the subjects for the articles, he found the authors, exchanged innumerable letters with worker-correspondents, and obtained the funds and the means for getting the newspaper to Russia by illegal channels. Lenin saw that the paper appeared regularly which, in the conditions existing at the time, was unprecedented for an illegal newspaper. On Lenin's initiative, *Iskra* supporters' groups were set up. An illegal *Iskra* printshop was opened in Kishinev, where articles and separate issues of the newspaper were printed for distribution inside Russia. Arrangements for re-printing separate issues were also made at an illegal printshop in Baku.

Lenin's *Iskra* was a model revolutionary Marxist organ. It was a newspaper of a new type, such as had never before existed in the history of the labour movement. The newspaper became the centre which united the party forces, collected and trained party cadres and rallied them to the All-Russian militant, centralised proletarian party with its clear-

¹ Lenin, *What is to be Done?*

cut Marxist programme, its revolutionary tactics, its united will and iron discipline. The triumph of Lenin's plan laid the foundations for a united, militant, battle-tested Communist Party which became the model for the international revolutionary labour movement.

Iskra raised high the banner of struggle for the revolutionary theory of Marxism. Lenin trained the vanguard proletarians in the spirit of loyalty to this great banner, in the traditions of ideological intolerance of all distortions of Marxism. In the struggle against the numerous enemies of Marxism, *Iskra* was relentless.

The articles which Lenin wrote for *Iskra* gave the workers and revolutionary Social-Democrats definite answers to the questions that perplexed them, precise directives about what to do and how to do it.

Lenin's article *Where to Begin?* appeared in May 1901 in the fourth issue of *Iskra*. In it, he outlined his concrete plan for building a Marxist party, which was later developed in his book *What is to be Done?* In his article, Lenin showed how important was an all-Russian political newspaper in the work of building the party. "A paper is not merely a collective propagandist and collective agitator, it is also a collective organiser", wrote Lenin.¹

Lenin's article greatly impressed the Social-Democratic workers. One St. Petersburg worker wrote to the *Iskra*: "Last Sunday I got eleven people together and read *Where to Begin?* to them, so we didn't separate till nightfall. How correctly it is all explained, how well it gets down to things!"²

During the *Iskra* period a strong link was formed between Lenin and the Marxist organisations in the Transcaucasus, which were organised by J. V. Stalin, V. Z. Ketskhovelli and A. G. Tsulukidze. From the moment *Iskra* appeared, Stalin wholly adopted Lenin's standpoint and worked energetically to fulfil the tasks which *Iskra* set the Russian Marxists.

Lenin's *What is to be Done?*, which appeared in March 1902,

¹ Lenin, *Where to Begin?*

² *Iskra*, No. 7, August 1901.

was of overwhelming importance in the struggle to build the party of a new type.

By this time Vladimir Ilyich had begun to put the name of Lenin to some of his writings. In December 1901, the first part of *The Agrarian Question and the 'Critics of Marx'* appeared over the name of Lenin for the first time in the magazine *Zarya* (Dawn). *What is to be Done?* also appeared in the same name.

Lenin showed in *What is to be Done?* that the opportunists of all countries had united to oppose revolutionary Marxism. The opportunists sought to transform the proletarian parties into reformist parties which would help to perpetuate the rule of the capitalists. The "Economists" in Russia joined in the attack on Marxist theory, the tactics of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin explained that the "Economists" were not an accident, but a variety of international opportunism.

Lenin demolished the opportunist views of the "Economists". He proved that the "Economists" were the champions of bourgeois influences in the working class, for they were trying both ideologically and organisationally to disarm the workers in their struggle against the autocracy and the bourgeoisie.

As Lenin showed, there lay at the basis of "Economism" a bowing to the spontaneity of the labour movement, a belittling of the role of socialist consciousness and of the leading role of the working-class vanguard, namely its party. The "Economists" disparaged the revolutionary role of theory in the eyes of the party and deprived the party of a most important weapon, without which victory in the struggle was impossible. Lenin taught that "*the role of vanguard can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory*".¹

The "Economists" asserted that socialist ideology can arise out of the spontaneous movement of the working class, thus deceiving the workers. Actually, as Lenin proved, socialist

¹ Lenin, *What is to be Done?*

ideology arises out of science and is carried to the labour movement by Social-Democracy. By denying the necessity of carrying socialist consciousness to the working class, the "Economists" were paving the way for bourgeois ideology.

*" . . . all worship of the spontaneity of the labour movement, all belittling of the role of 'the conscious element', of the role of the party of Social-Democracy, means, quite irrespective of whether the belittler likes it or not, strengthening the influence of the bourgeois ideology among the workers."*¹

Lenin pointed out that in bourgeois society the question is put in only one way: bourgeois ideology or socialist ideology. There is no middle course. The working class is attracted to socialism; the attraction derives from the social position of the working class. But the bourgeoisie, being the ruling class, strives by every means to spread its own ideology and instil it into the proletariat. In order to protect the working class from the influence of bourgeois ideology, it is necessary to carry socialist consciousness into the spontaneous labour movement. Therefore a resolute struggle is necessary against spontaneity, against the bourgeois ideas which penetrate into the working class.

Bowing to spontaneity led the "Economists" to disparage not only revolutionary theory but the political tasks of the party and the working class as well. The "Economists" limited the tasks and scope of the labour movement to economic struggle against the employers and the government for improvements in conditions of work and life within the framework of bourgeois society. Lenin showed that this trade union policy, i.e. reformist, conciliatory policy, dooms the workers to perpetual wage slavery.

Lenin explained that the final goal of the proletarian struggle was the overthrow of capitalism and establishment of socialism. The immediate task of the mass labour movement in Russia, however, was to overthrow the autocracy and

¹ Lenin, *What is to be Done?*

to set up a democratic system. In this struggle the working class had to work at the head of Russian democracy, as the vanguard fighter against tsarism and for political emancipation. The working-class party united the democratic struggle of the entire people against the autocracy with the socialist struggle of the proletariat against capitalism.

By belittling the role of the party in the labour movement and narrowing down the political tasks of the proletariat, the "Economists" belittled, also, the organisational tasks of the party. The "Economists" justified amateurish methods, petty practicalness and the disunity of the local organisations. They did not want a party of social revolution, but a party of "social reforms". While exposing the *khvostism*¹ of the "Economists" in organisational questions, Lenin elaborated the plan for the party's organisational structure. According to this plan the party should consist of two parts: the narrow circle of leading workers, chiefly professional revolutionaries, and the broad network of local party organisations surrounded by the sympathy and support of the toiling masses.

Thus Lenin ideologically routed "Economism" as the ideology of opportunism, *khvostism* and *laissez faire*. In the history of Marxism Lenin was the first to lay bare the ideological sources of opportunism, to show the great importance of revolutionary theory and socialist consciousness, to show the role of the party as the revolutionising and guiding force of the spontaneous labour movement, to provide the basis for the radical Marxist thesis that the proletarian party is the association of the labour movement and socialism.

Lenin's book expounded the ideological foundations of the revolutionary party of the proletariat.

The influence of Lenin's book *What is to be Done?* was tremendous. The ideas developed in it were warmly accepted by the Russian Social-Democratic organisations; many of them passed resolutions approving Lenin's book (the St. Petersburg, Moscow and other committees).

¹ *Khvostism*, dragging in the tail of events, from the Russian *khvost*—a tail.

Later, already after the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., Plekhanov, Axelrod and Martov opposed Lenin's ideas. Actually they began to preach the views of the "Economists" and went so far as to deny the necessity of introducing socialist consciousness into the labour movement.

J. V. Stalin spoke in defence of Lenin's views on the ideological foundations of the Marxist party. Criticising the theory of spontaneity and defending Lenin's theses, Stalin wrote in his *Letter from Kutais*:

"The conclusion (practical deduction) to be drawn from this is as follows: we must raise the proletariat to a consciousness of its true class interests, to a consciousness of the socialist ideal, and not break this ideal up into small change, or adjust it to the spontaneous movement. Lenin has laid down the theoretical basis on which this practical deduction is built. It is enough to accept this theoretical premise and no opportunism will get anywhere near you. Herein lies the significance of Lenin's idea. I call it Lenin's, because nobody in Russian literature has expressed it with such clarity as Lenin."¹

Lovingly and attentively, patiently and stubbornly, Lenin selected the leading party cadres and trained the professional revolutionaries who thereafter devoted their lives to the revolution.

Lenin attached tremendous importance to the work of the *Iskra* agents and gave them day-to-day directions, training them to be bold, selfless fighters for the interests of the people. The *Iskra* agents, constantly persecuted and suppressed by the tsarist police, performed deeds of heroism to distribute the newspaper and set up illegal *Iskra* organisations in Russia. I. V. Babushkin, M. I. Kalinin, N. E. Bauman, S. I. Gusev, R. S. Zemlyachka and others were all efficient *Iskra* agents. The contacts between *Iskra* and its agents and organisations in Russia were controlled by Lenin. He exchanged letters with organisations in St. Petersburg, Moscow,

¹ Stalin, *Collected Works*. English ed. Vol. 1, p. 57.

Baku, Samara, Kharkov, Nizhni-Novgorod, Odessa, Kiev, Orekhovo-Zuyevo and a number of other places.

These letters were models of concrete leadership. In the autumn of 1902 he sent to the St. Petersburg organisation a *Letter to Comrades on our Organisational Tasks*, which was published and widely distributed in the Social-Democratic organisations. The letter was a practical programme for the reconstruction on *Iskra* lines of the whole of the party work and, in actual fact, was a rough draft of the rules of the party. Lenin urged the *Iskra* supporters to transform every workshop into a fortress of the workers' party. His directives were based on his thorough knowledge of the state of affairs in the localities, on his deep understanding of the party cadres. The *Iskra* workers always went to Lenin for advice. In his talks with them, he explained the urgent tasks confronting the *Iskra* organisations in Russia.

Iskra launched its work at a time when the revolutionary movement was growing throughout the country. The *Iskra* organisations put into practice Lenin's directives about bringing socialism into the labour movement and led the struggle of the working class. With the industrial crisis at the beginning of the twentieth century, the working class began to pass from economic strikes to political strikes and demonstrations and even to revolutionary struggle against the tsarist autocracy. The *Iskra* supporters carried the slogan of revolution to the working masses and organised and directed their struggle. The huge wave of strikes in the country in 1901-1903 (the Obukhov strike in St. Petersburg, the strikes in Batum, Rostov-on-Don, Baku, Tiflis, Odessa, Kiev and Yekaterinoslav) showed how deeply the revolutionary ideas of Lenin's *Iskra* had been imbibed by the working class. Lenin wrote subsequently: "The entire flower of the class-conscious proletariat took the side of *Iskra*."¹

Meanwhile Lenin had to battle continually against opportunist waverings inside the *Iskra* editorial board. In the summer of 1901, differences became keen on the question of the

¹ Lenin, *Socialism and War*. Chapter IV.

attitude towards the liberal bourgeoisie. Lenin was strongly against the liberals and criticised their political feebleness and cowardice. Plekhanov, with the support of other members of the editorial board, lined up against Lenin's appraisal of the liberals.

Still greater differences showed themselves in the beginning of 1902 in connection with the drafting of the party programme. Lenin was the first to raise before the *Iskra* editorial board the question of preparing a party programme. He had written the basic programme articles, printed in *Iskra*. The editorial board directed Plekhanov to draft the programme, and Lenin worked out its agrarian section.

Both the first and second draft programmes of the party, which Plekhanov wrote, Lenin seriously criticised. He pointed out that they contained serious shortcomings: the nature of capitalism was shown in an abstract form, only in general outlines, without any analysis of the development of capitalism in Russia; the main question in Marxism (that of proletarian dictatorship) was overlooked in the second draft; the independent leading role of the working class in the revolution was not stressed, and the proletarian class struggle was replaced by a general struggle of the toilers and exploited; the proletarian character of the party was insufficiently defined. By his consistent struggle for the revolutionary principles of Marxism, Lenin succeeded in getting the most important point, about proletarian dictatorship, introduced into the draft programme prepared by the *Iskra* editorial board, and the leading role of the working class in the revolution was clearly outlined.

Thanks alone to Lenin's persistent battling against deviations from the principles of Marxism, a revolutionary, working-class party programme was drawn up which differed radically from the semi-opportunist programmes of the parties of the Second International.

With his articles *The Workers' Party and the Peasantry* (February 1901) and *The Agrarian Programme of Russian Social-Democracy* (February-March 1902), Lenin became the first

Marxist to put on a scientific basis the policy of the proletariat towards the peasantry in the new historical conditions. Both articles played an important role in the drafting of the party's agrarian programme. Lenin showed that two social wars were taking place in the village: one between the whole of the peasantry and the landlords, the other between the rural labourers and the rural bourgeoisie. He explained that class war had to be kindled in the countryside and the peasantry had to be stirred up to fight against the remnants of serfdom. He considered it necessary, in the first stage of the struggle, to put forward the demand for the return to the peasants of the *otrezki*, i.e. the lands which the landlords had cut off from the peasants' lands when the peasants were "freed" in 1861.

At the same time, Lenin pointed out that in the event of a peasant revolt developing, the matter should not be restricted to the demand for the return to the peasants of the *otrezki*, but that it would be necessary to take all the land from the landlords, to put forward the slogan of nationalisation of the land. Plekhanov opposed Lenin's nationalisation of the land slogan, but Lenin put up strong resistance. Things almost went as far as a definite break between Lenin and Plekhanov.

Lenin attached great importance to the dissemination of the Marxist programme among the peasant masses. In the spring of 1903 he wrote a pamphlet *To the Rural Poor* in which he outlined the party programme in a popular form that wide sections of the peasantry would be able to understand.

By the beginning of 1902, both German and tsarist police spies were on the trail of the *Iskra*. At Lenin's suggestion the *Iskra* editorial board selected London as the place from which to publish the paper. On March 30, 1902, Vladimir Ilyich moved from Munich to London.

While in London Lenin closely studied the English labour movement, got to know the life, habits and sentiments of the workers and attended workers' meetings and conferences. He spent many hours working in the British Museum Library, where, at one time, Karl Marx had worked.

Lenin's strenuous and untiring work to build the party, his resolute and consistent struggle against the "Economists", brought their results. Ideologically "Economism" was at last defeated. The period of disorder and waverings was coming to an end, the party organisations were rallying to *Iskra*, which had played the decisive role in the struggle for a Marxist party. Lenin raised the question of it being timely and necessary to call a party congress.

The preparations for the congress went forward in a situation of strenuous, ideological struggle. Revolution was growing in Russia. All classes had begun to define the line of their behaviour in the revolution to come, to build their own political organisations. In the beginning of 1902 the petty-bourgeois Socialist-Revolutionary Party was formed. The same year the bourgeois "Emancipation" group (the kernel of the future Cadet Party) was organised. The Social-Democratic organisations led by Lenin's *Iskra* were strenuously building the working class party.

Lenin prepared with the greatest care for the congress, the main task of which was to build a real, Marxist party on the ideological and organisational principles which *Iskra* had advanced and elaborated.

In the beginning of August 1902 Lenin held a conference of representatives of the *Iskra* committees, and set up the nucleus of the Organisational Committee which was to be responsible for convening the Second Party Congress. On Lenin's initiative the Organisational Committee for convening the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. was formed in November 1902. In letters to the *Iskra* organisations and agents in Russia, Lenin prepared the *Iskra* supporters for the forthcoming battles at the Congress and persistently advised that the delegates selected to go to the Congress should be reliable, trusted and firm revolutionaries. He drafted the party rules, drew up a plan for organising the work of the congress and drafted resolutions on a number of questions which were to come up for discussion.

In April 1903 Lenin left London for Geneva, the printing

of *Iskra* having been transferred there. Delegates began to assemble in Geneva one and even two months before the congress opened. Lenin had frequent, serious talks with them, enquired about the state of affairs in the localities and discussed with them in advance many of the questions before the congress.

The Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. opened on July 17, 1903. At first it sat in Brussels, but later, because of persecution by the Belgian police, it continued its work in London. Lenin was elected vice-chairman of the congress and was also on the programme, rules and mandate commissions. He kept a detailed diary of the meetings, and he spoke on almost every question on the congress agenda. During the congress deliberations, which lasted for more than three weeks, Lenin contributed more than 130 speeches, points of order and replies to questions.

From the very first day of the congress there was violent conflict between the revolutionary Marxists and the opportunist elements. Lenin and the firm *Iskra* supporters launched a consistent struggle for the triumph of the ideological, tactical and organisational principles of *Iskra* and against the opportunists of all colours: the "Economists", the unstable *Iskra* supporters who had given their support to Martov, and the representatives of the so-called "bog" (centre).

A keen struggle developed around the question of the party programme. The opportunists opposed the idea of proletarian dictatorship and objected to the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and the right of nations to self-determination. The congress rejected the importunities of the opportunists and adopted the *Iskra* programme. For the first time in the history of the international labour movement since the death of Marx and Engels, through Lenin's insistence, a revolutionary programme was adopted in which the struggle for proletarian dictatorship was put forward as the main task.

Particularly sharp differences were revealed on the discussion of the party rules. Lenin had delivered the report on

party rules. The draft rules which he proposed gave full expression to the organisational principles of a militant, revolutionary, centralised, disciplined party of the proletariat.

Lenin's formulation of the first paragraph of the rules stated that a party member should be one who adhered to the party programme, gave material support to the party and belonged to one of the party organisations. His formulation was calculated to raise the activity, discipline and class-consciousness of every party member, to safeguard the purity of the party and to make access to it difficult for non-proletarian, unstable elements. "Our task", said Lenin at the congress, "is to safeguard the consistency, the steadfastness, the purity of our Party. We must strive to raise the calling and the significance of a Party member higher, higher and still higher."¹

Lenin wanted to build a monolithic, militant, efficiently organised party, differing radically from the West European Social-Democratic Parties in which both revolutionaries and opportunists settled down peacefully together, while opportunism grew ever deeper roots. Martov, with the support of Axelrod, Zasulich, Trotsky, the unstable *Iskra* supporters and the entire frankly opportunist section of the congress, opposed Lenin's principles on building the party. He proposed his own formula for the first paragraph of the party rules, according to which a party member need not belong to any party organisation. This interpretation of party membership would have made the party something nebulous and shapeless; it would have meant that anyone could call himself a party member and yet not be subject to party discipline. This formulation threw the doors of the party wide open to unstable, non-proletarian elements.

Lenin's formulation contained an appeal to the comrades to organise, to accustom themselves to organisation, to be disciplined, since it made it incumbent on the comrades who accepted the party programme to join one of the party organisations and work there under the control of the party,

¹ Lenin, *Report on the Party Rules at the 2nd Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.*

if they wanted to be party members; while Martov's formulation, on the contrary, encouraged disorganisation, lack of discipline, since it gave the right to undisciplined elements, who were unwilling to join one of the party organisations and work there under the control of the party, to consider themselves party members. A small majority of the opportunists secured the adoption by the congress of Martov's formulation.

In connection with the discussion of the party rules, Lenin and his supporters resisted the nationalism of the Bundists, who proposed dividing the workers into party organisations on the basis of nationality, which would have led to splitting and weakening the united proletarian party. Lenin had built up the party on the principle of proletarian internationalism, which was an important condition for training proletarians of all nations in the spirit of revolution and for rallying them into a united, militant party.

At the final sessions which dealt with the election of party organs, the battle became still more acute. Lenin attached especial importance to the question of the composition of the leading party organs. He considered it essential to elect firm and consistent revolutionaries to the Central Committee. The opportunists tried to get their supporters elected. Thanks to Lenin's determination and high sense of principle, the firm *Iskra* supporters won the day. One section of the opportunists left the congress and this changed the relation of forces in favour of the Leninists. When the party organs were elected, the majority of the congress followed Lenin's lead. The editorial board of the party newspaper and the Central Committee were elected from the lists which he proposed.

Lenin's supporters, who obtained a majority of the votes at the ballot, began to be called the Bolsheviks (Majority); Lenin's opponents, who found themselves in the minority, came to be known as the Mensheviks (Minority). Thus, two separate groups appeared in the party: one—the revolutionary, Bolshevik group; the other—the opportunist, Menshevik group.

“As a trend of political thought and as a political party

Bolshevism exists since 1903",¹ wrote Lenin subsequently.

The Second Party Congress performed a great role in the history of the party and marked a turning point in the international labour movement. There the basis was laid for a militant, revolutionary, Marxist party of the working class, the party of a new type which differed in principle from the reformist parties of the Second International.

The most important political question which the whole trend of the Russian labour movement had pushed to the forefront by the time the Second Party Congress took place was whether the ideology of revolutionary Marxism would triumph in it or whether the Russian labour movement would follow the road of subordination to bourgeois ideology. Thanks to the work performed by Lenin and his colleagues, this question was decided in favour of revolutionary Marxism. This was a tremendous gain for the Russian working class, whereas, for the working class of Western Europe and America, the real tragedy was that it entered into the period of imperialism, into the period of revolutionary storms and political upheavals, with only reformist, opportunist parties to lead it.

The triumph of Lenin's brilliant plan for the creation of a revolutionary Marxist party—the party of social revolution and proletarian dictatorship—showed that in Lenin the Russian and international proletariat had a great Marxist theoretician, a perpetuator of the work and teaching of Marx and Engels, an outstanding strategist of the revolution who had the foresight to see the prospects of the development of the labour movement, a mountain eagle who, in the struggle, knew no fear.

The Bolshevik political group which was formed at the Second Congress and led by Lenin, while formally remaining part of the composition of the united R.S.D.L.P. until the year 1912, pursued its consistent, revolutionary line which coincided with the radical interests of the proletariat, the peasantry and all the peoples of Russia. The Bolsheviks waged

¹ Lenin, *Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder*. Chapter II

a relentless battle on principle against all varieties of opportunism in the Russian and international labour movement.

After the Second Congress, the conflict inside the party flared up anew. The Mensheviks did everything to thwart the decisions of the congress and seize control of the party's central organs. They had the support of Plekhanov, the weight of whose earlier opportunist mistakes had drawn him closer to the Mensheviks. Plekhanov demanded that all the old Menshevik editors, whom the congress had rejected, should be taken on to the *Iskra* editorial board again.

Lenin could not agree to this gross violation of the will of the congress. He decided to withdraw himself from the *Iskra* editorial board, in order to strengthen his position in the party Central Committee and, from there, to strike at the opportunists. On November 1, 1903, Lenin left the *Iskra* editorial board. Beginning with No. 52, *Iskra* passed to Menshevik control. Instead of the old, Leninist, Bolshevik *Iskra* there appeared the new, opportunist, Menshevik *Iskra*.

For more than a year Lenin was without any newspaper, without the powerful weapon for maintaining contact with and influencing the party and the masses. In this period personal letters, as many as 300 a month, became Lenin's chief means of maintaining contact with the party organisations and giving them his guidance. His letters were full of hatred against the disorganisers of the party and firm conviction that partisanship would triumph. Letters received in reply from Russia told Lenin of the situation in the localities and the mood of the party members. At about this time Lenin and Stalin first became acquainted through an exchange of letters.

Once the Mensheviks had captured *Iskra*, they opened up a violent campaign against Lenin and the Bolsheviks. The disorganising, splitting activity of the Mensheviks, their undermining of partisanship and party discipline, threatened the very existence of the party. It was necessary to expose the Mensheviks' opportunism on organisational questions, to produce a complete and comprehensive statement and sub-

stantiation of the organisational principles of the Marxist revolutionary party. Lenin fulfilled this task in his *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, which came out in May 1904.

In this book Lenin gave a profound analysis of the political struggle inside the party at the Second Congress and after it. He severely criticised the opportunism of the Mensheviks on organisational questions: their hostility towards centralism and discipline, their defence of organisational slackness, their desire to throw open the doors of the party for petty-bourgeois, opportunist elements. He showed that the Mensheviks denied the role of the party as the vanguard of the working class in the struggle for socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship.

Lenin's book explained the organisational foundations of the Marxist party. Marx and Engels had given the fundamental outlines of the doctrine of the proletarian party. Lenin carried further the ideas of Marx and Engels, making them applicable to the new conditions of proletarian struggle in the period of imperialism.

Lenin explained that the party is part of the working class, its advanced, class-conscious detachment and political leader, armed with advanced Marxist theory.

At the same time the party is an organised detachment which has its own discipline, binding on all its members. The party can only give practical leadership to the struggle of the proletariat and direct it towards one goal if all its members are organised into one united detachment, welded together by united will, united action, united discipline.

The party is the highest of all forms of organisation of the working class and it is its mission to guide all the other working class organisations. The party consists of the finest members of the working class, armed with advanced theory, and it has every opportunity of guiding—and is obliged to guide—all the other working class organisations.

The party is the embodiment of the connection between the advanced detachment of the working class and the working class millions. The party cannot live and develop if it isolates

itself from the non-party masses, if it does not multiply and strengthen its connections with the masses.

In order to lead the masses successfully, the party should be organised on the principle of centralism, having one set of rules, one form of party discipline and one leading organ at its head, the minority submitting to the majority, the various organisations submitting to the centre and the lower organisations to higher organisations.

In its practical work, if it wants to preserve the unity of its ranks, the party should impose uniform proletarian discipline, equally binding on all party members, both leaders and rank and file.

The party cannot tolerate opportunists, factionalists and disorganisers in its ranks.

Lenin urged the party to continue its work of "self-criticism and ruthless exposure of its own shortcomings", for he regarded self-criticism as a necessary condition for strengthening the revolutionary Marxist party.

Lenin ended his book with the following profound words on the great historic destiny of the party:

"In its struggle for power the proletariat has no other weapon but organisation. Disunited by the rule of anarchic competition in the bourgeois world, ground down by forced labour for capital, constantly thrust back to the 'lower depths' of utter destitution, savagery and degeneration, the proletariat can become, and inevitably will become, an invincible force only when its ideological unification by the principles of Marxism is consolidated by the material unity of an organisation which will weld millions of toilers into an army of the working class. Neither the decrepit rule of Russian tsardom, nor the senile rule of international capital will be able to withstand this army."¹

The book's devastating criticism of the Mensheviks' organisational opportunism, of their splitting, disorganising activity, was a criticism, at the same time, of the organisa-

¹ Lenin, *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*.

tional principles and traditions of the Second International.

Lenin's ruthless exposure of the anti-Marxist ideological and organisational positions of the Mensheviks was a heavy blow at the revisionists, the renegades from Marxism and the whole of international opportunism, and was of enormous importance for the development of the revolutionary movement in all countries.

The historic significance of Lenin's book is that for the first time in the history of Marxism it elaborated the doctrine of the party as the leading organisation of the proletariat, as the principal weapon of the working class without which the struggle for proletarian dictatorship and the building of socialist society cannot be won.

Lenin worked out firm standards of party behaviour which became the rule for all the party's subsequent activity. These standards required the strictest observance of the party rules, the operation of the principles of democratic centralism, the fullest development of the activity of rank and file party members, and collective discussion of the most important questions of party life.

One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, which was published abroad, was widely distributed among the advanced Russian workers. In Lenin's book the Bolsheviks found the answer to the questions which perplexed them and a brilliant summing up of their own practical experience. Armed with Leninist ideas, the Bolsheviks boldly mapped out the new paths of the working-class movement and led the class battles of the proletariat.

In the summer of 1904 the situation inside the party became even more tense. Supported by the conciliators on the party Central Committee, the Mensheviks gained control of the Central Committee. They now held all the party organs and proceeded to use them for their own splitting purposes. Furthermore, the Mensheviks relied on support from the leaders of the Second International who were hostile to Lenin's line of training party cadres for determined and irreconcilable struggle against the opportunists.

The Second International did not want to recognise the Bolsheviks or to allow them to take part in international congresses, because they were afraid the Bolsheviks would influence the European working-class organisations. Lenin, however, succeeded in getting independent representation for the Bolsheviks at the Amsterdam Congress of the Second International in August 1904. The report which the Bolsheviks distributed to the delegates stated frankly that Lenin was insisting on his own formulation of the first paragraph of the Rules because he had in mind the sad experience of the German Social-Democrats, whose party rules did not contain the demand that party members should belong to one or other party organisation, which circumstance had been widely used by the revisionists in their struggle against partisanship.

The maturing of the revolutionary crisis in the country especially dictated the need to overcome the disorganisation and breakdown of the party work. The defeat of the tsarist troops in the Russo-Japanese war, which had broken out in 1904, revealed the rottenness of tsarism and increased the hatred of the popular masses towards it. The party had to meet the approaching revolution in full militant preparedness. It was necessary to convene a new party congress, the third. Lenin and the Bolsheviks undertook this work.

With determination and energy Lenin gathered together those leading cadres who were loyal to the party. In August 1904 twenty-two Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, went into conference in Switzerland. They adopted an appeal which Lenin had written, *To the Party*, which afterwards became the Bolshevik programme of struggle for the convening of the Third Congress. The majority of the party opposed the party organs of which the Mensheviks had gained control. At the three regional conferences of the Bolshevik Committees (the South, the Caucasus and the North), a Bureau of the Committees of the Majority was elected which, under Lenin's leadership, began the practical preparations for the Third Party Congress.

Lenin overcame tremendous difficulties in order to organise the publication of a Bolshevik central newspaper. From the end of December 1904 the *Vperyod* (Forward) began to appear in Geneva under Lenin's editorship and played a most important part in the struggle to strengthen the party and prepare for the Third Congress.

The period between the Second and Third Congresses was one of relentless struggle by Lenin and the Bolsheviks for the party and the principle of partisanship.

In the course of fierce combats with the Mensheviks, Lenin worked out the organisational foundations of the Bolshevik Party and trained its cadres. A complete galaxy of prominent party leaders—J. V. Stalin, Y. M. Sverdlov, M. I. Kalinin, I. V. Babushkin, N. E. Bauman, V. K. Kurnatovsky, V. Z. Ketskhovelli, A. G. Tsulukidze, S. G. Shaumyan and others—were trained in Lenin's *Iskra* school and in the battle for its ideas.

Lenin and the party had come through a period of acute crisis. "Every crisis breaks some people and steels others", said Lenin. In this crisis and struggle, the Bolsheviks had become steeled.

Ahead lay new difficulties, new trials, a new struggle. The revolution was approaching in Russia.

CHAPTER V

1905-1907

The Russian revolution began in January 1905. It was in character a bourgeois-democratic revolution. Its aim was to overthrow the tsarist autocracy, to abolish the remnants of feudalism and to establish a democratic republic.

This was the first people's revolution in the epoch of imperialism, and it opened the period of revolutionary battles and upheavals. Long before the revolution Lenin had foreseen that it was inevitable and had revealed its causes, gigantic scope and truly popular character. Consistently and with persistence he had prepared the party for the battles to come, in which the working class was destined to be the leader of the revolution.

On January 9, 1905, tsarism committed a heinous crime: by order of the Tsar, the workers, who were peacefully marching to the Tsar's palace carrying a petition stating their needs, were fired upon, and more than three hundred people were killed or injured. The workers realised that the Tsar could not be trusted, that only through struggle could they obtain their rights. By the evening of the same day barricades had appeared in the workers' districts.

Lenin calculated that the St. Petersburg events were the beginning of the revolution. He wrote that the working class had been given a great lesson in civil war, while the revolutionary education of the people had advanced a step forward in that one day which it might otherwise never have done in months and years of dull, ordinary, down-trodden existence.

In the articles he printed in the Bolshevik newspaper *Vperyod*, he gave a serious analysis of the revolutionary events in Russia and worked out the strategic plan and tactics of the party in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. He proposed that the main task should be to arm the workers and peasants

and to prepare and organise armed insurrection for the purpose of overthrowing the tsarist autocracy and establishing in the country the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.

Lenin explained that the revolution created new conditions for party activity and new means of educating the masses. He urged the party organisations to launch organisational work on a broad scale, to display spontaneous activity and initiative and boldly to promote new, young forces. Lenin taught that the party can only fulfil the role of proletarian vanguard when it alters its work and its methods of leading the masses to suit the new conditions of a revolutionary situation. "The more the popular movement spreads", he wrote, "the more the true nature of the different classes becomes revealed and the more pressing is the task of *the party* to lead the class, to be its organiser."¹

The rising tide of revolution—the demonstrations, political strikes and armed action of the workers—demanded that the party should work out uniform, revolutionary, Marxist tactics. But the Mensheviks tried to prevent these tactics from being drawn up. To their old differences with the party majority on organisational questions, they added new ones—on the question of tactics.

To determine the party's line of tactics in the revolution, Lenin considered it necessary to convene a party congress without delay. With his customary doggedness and determination he made the preparations for the Third Party Congress and outlined its programme of work. He worked out the basic line on tactics, which the congress was to discuss and then confirm as compulsory directives for the entire party.

Lenin attended the meetings of the Organisational Committee responsible for convening the congress and conferred with members of the Bureau of the Committees of the Majority, and with the editorial board of *Vperyod* on the questions to be considered at the congress.

¹ Lenin, *New Tasks and New Forces*.

In April 1905, Lenin left Geneva for London, where the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., actually a Bolshevik congress, had opened. Although the Mensheviks had been invited, they did not attend, but held their own congress in Geneva.

Lenin closely directed the congress work and drafted all the main resolutions which the congress adopted: on armed insurrection, on the provisional revolutionary government, on the attitude towards the peasant movement.

The congress defined the Bolshevik line of tactics, calculated on the complete victory of the bourgeois democratic revolution and its transition to the socialist revolution. The resolutions which the congress adopted confirmed the role of the proletariat as leader of the revolution, the need to establish its alliance with the peasantry and to isolate the liberal bourgeoisie. The congress pointed out that the party's most important task was to prepare, organise and carry through nation-wide armed insurrection. If circumstances were favourable, then the representatives of Social-Democracy should enter the provisional, revolutionary government, which was to be set up after the victory of the insurrection and was to be its administrative organ. The reason given as to why the Social-Democrats should take part in the provisional revolutionary government was that this would ensure a relentless struggle against all counter-revolutionary attempts and would protect the independent interests of the working class with a view to bringing the revolution to complete victory. The congress declared that the party's task was to give determined support to the demands of the peasantry, up to and including the confiscation of landed estates, and to put forward the slogan of immediate organisation of revolutionary peasant committees.

At the congress Lenin emphatically urged the need to strengthen the party's links with the working class, to educate and develop the spontaneous revolutionary activity of increasingly wide sections of the workers, and to put Social-Democratic proletarians on to the local party committees

and into the party centre. Lenin angrily opposed the unwillingness to put workers on to the committees. "I could not sit still while they talked about there being no workers capable of being members of the committee", he indignantly declared.¹

The congress confirmed the first paragraph of the Party Rules (on party membership), as Lenin had formulated it and elected a Central Committee headed by Lenin. At the first plenary session of the Central Committee, Lenin was confirmed as editor of the newspaper *Proletarii*, the central organ of the party.

After the congress Lenin returned to Geneva. He considered that one of the most important tasks was to propagate the congress line of tactics and to criticise the opportunist tactics of the Menshevik conference at Geneva. He wrote his *Information on the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.* and produced a number of articles and speeches about the congress. In order that workers in Western Europe might be informed of the tactics of the Bolsheviks, he arranged for his *Information* and the more important congress resolutions to be published in German and French.

Lenin gave a brilliant explanation of the reasons underlying the strategy and tactics of the Bolshevik Party and a damning criticism of the opportunist tactics of the Mensheviks in his book *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* (it appeared in July 1905). In it he showed that the Bolshevik and Menshevik appraisals of the revolution—its character, driving forces and perspective, and the role and tasks of the proletariat and peasantry in the revolution—diverged radically. At the basis of the Menshevik tactics lay fear of the possible victory of the revolution and a desire to subordinate the proletariat to the leadership of the bourgeoisie. The Mensheviks tried to justify their opportunist tactics by references to the experiences of former bourgeois

¹ Lenin, *Note on the Discussion of the Resolution about the Relations of Workers and Intellectuals in Social-Democratic Organisations*, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 5, p. 379.

revolutions, particularly the French bourgeois revolution of the 18th century at the head of which, by force of historic circumstances, stood the bourgeoisie and not the proletariat. Lenin exposed the dogmatism and banality of the arguments of the Mensheviks, their inability and unwillingness to understand the new conditions in which the Russian revolution was taking place. He sized up the Menshevik tactics as betrayal of the interests of the working class and peasantry. Lenin's criticism of the tactics of the Russian Mensheviks was, at the same time, an exposure of the tactics of international opportunism.

With his creative approach to Marxism and his development of it, his summing up of the experiences of the international labour movement and the Russian revolution, Lenin worked out the new theory of revolution and the new tactics of the proletariat in the revolution. For the first time in the history of Marxism, Lenin showed the special features of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the epoch of imperialism, its driving forces and perspectives.

Marx and Engels had given the main outlines of the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat. With these theses as his starting point, Lenin worked out a fully developed theory of the hegemony of the proletariat in every people's revolution.

Based on a scientific analysis of Russia's social, economic and political development and the experiences of the international revolutionary movement, Lenin's *Two Tactics* fully explained the idea that the proletariat could and should become the leader of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The proletariat was the most advanced and the only consistently revolutionary class, and had its own political party, independent of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat was interested in the overthrow of tsarism, in carrying through the bourgeois-democratic revolution to its final conclusion, in order to prepare the conditions for the transition to socialist revolution.

In order that the proletariat should indeed become the leader of the revolution, it must win over the peasantry and isolate the liberal bourgeoisie from the masses. The peasantry

was the natural ally of the proletariat. As for the bourgeoisie, it was not interested in the complete victory of the revolution. The bourgeoisie was afraid of victory over tsarism by the workers and peasants; it aimed at preserving tsarist power and was trying, therefore, to make a deal with the Tsar at the expense of the people.

Thus Lenin fully expounded the idea of the alliance of the working class and peasantry, with the working class in the leading role, after showing that the alliance of those classes was an essential condition of the victory of the people's revolution. Lenin's conception of the alliance of the working class and peasantry placed a dividing-line between the Bolshevik, revolutionary tactics and the Menshevik, opportunist tactics.

Having explained the reasons for the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, Lenin put forward the new line of tactics of the Marxist party in this revolution, fundamentally different from those previously adopted by Marxists.

Lenin gave a comprehensive elucidation also of the question of what means of struggle the workers and peasants should use to ensure the triumph of the revolution. He showed that armed insurrection by the people was the most important means of overthrowing tsarism and establishing the democratic republic. He gave the slogans which unleashed the revolutionary initiative of the masses and organised them for the insurrection. These were the slogans: mass political strikes; the immediate, revolutionary introduction of the 8-hour working day; the immediate organisation of revolutionary peasant committees in order to carry out democratic transformations in the countryside, including the confiscation of landed estates by revolutionary means; the arming of the workers. Thus, Lenin forged the new tactical weapon for the proletariat, new methods for the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses.

In his explanation of the congress decision on the need to set up a provisional revolutionary government, Lenin pointed

out that this government would have to be a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. Thus, in a new way, Lenin decided the basic question of the revolution, the question of state power.

When he urged the proletariat to struggle for the triumph of the democratic revolution, Lenin stressed that this alone did not exhaust the tasks of the working class. When they had fulfilled the democratic tasks, the proletariat had to begin the struggle for the socialist revolution. The revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry should prepare the soil for the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin worked out the theory of the transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. He resurrected Marx's brilliant ideas about the continuous revolution and the combination of the peasant revolutionary movement and the proletarian revolution, which had been buried in oblivion by the opportunists of the Second International. He further developed these Marxist ideas when he created the new, fully developed theory of socialist revolution and included, as an essential point, the alliance of the proletariat and semi-proletarian elements of town and countryside.

In *Two Tactics*, Lenin wrote:

"The proletariat must carry to completion the democratic revolution, by allying to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to crush by force the resistance of the autocracy and to paralyse the instability of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat must accomplish the socialist revolution by allying to itself the mass of the semi-proletarian elements of the population in order to crush by force the resistance of the bourgeoisie and to paralyse the instability of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie."

In his article on *The Attitude of Social-Democracy towards the Peasant Movement*, Lenin again explained that: "From the democratic revolution we shall at once, and just in accordance with the measure of our strength, the strength of the class-

conscious and organised proletariat, begin to pass to the socialist revolution. We stand for continuous revolution. We shall not stop half way."

Lenin's theory of revolution swept aside the anti-Bolshevik theory of the "permanent" revolution put forward by Parvus and Trotsky, who opposed the alliance of the proletariat and peasantry in the revolution.

The new theory of socialist revolution which Lenin drew up did not as yet contain the direct conclusion that the victory of socialism was possible in one country alone, but it contained all, or almost all, the fundamental elements for this conclusion which was subsequently drawn by him.

Lenin's great service in his book *Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* was that he expounded the political (tactical) principles of the Marxist party and laid the foundations of the revolutionary tactics of the Communist Party, with the aid of which the proletariat of Russia, in 1917, triumphed over capitalism.

After January 9, the revolutionary struggle of the Russian workers assumed an increasingly sharp political character. Guided by the decisions of the Third Party Congress and Lenin's directives, the Bolshevik organisations led the mass action of the revolutionary people. The workers' political strikes shook the entire country. In the spring and summer of 1905 there were big strikes in the industrial centres—St. Petersburg, Warsaw, Lodz, Baku, Odessa. More than 200,000 workers were involved in the wave of strikes that swept Russia during May. Of the Bolshevik-led summer strikes, that of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk weavers was particularly important and lasted for almost two and a half months, about 70,000 workers being involved. During this strike the workers set up a Soviet of Deputies, which in fact was one of the first Soviets of Workers' Deputies in Russia.

Following the example of the towns, the villagers began to revolt. The number of cases of armed conflicts between the people and the police and troops increased. The growth of the workers' and peasants' movements and also the defeats

which tsarism sustained in the Russo-Japanese war, had their effect on the army. Tsarism's military support began to waver. In June 1905, mutiny broke out on the battleship *Potemkin* in the Black Sea Fleet.

Lenin attached tremendous importance to the mutiny on the *Potemkin*. In his opinion, the fact that an important section of the Tsar's armed forces had gone over to the side of the revolution signified an attempt at the formation of the nucleus of a revolutionary army. In his article *The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government* written in connection with the Black Sea Fleet mutiny, he formulated his highly important conclusion on the need to create a revolutionary army:

"The revolutionary army is needed because great historical questions can be solved only by *force*, and the *organisation of force* in the modern struggle is a military organisation."

The development of the revolution forced the liberal bourgeoisie into action. The bourgeoisie feared the revolution like the plague and, at the same time, they used the revolution to intimidate the Tsar. They aimed at making a deal with the Tsar and demanded petty reforms to "appease" the people, to split the forces of revolution and curb it.

Through the whole of the revolution the Bolsheviks, with Lenin at their head, conducted a fierce struggle against the Cadets—the party of the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie, the party of conciliation with tsarism, the social support of the autocracy, the party which was most dangerous to the people. Lenin directed his main blows against the Cadets; he tore from them the mask of democracy which they wore only to deceive the people, particularly the peasantry, and to win a following. "The proletariat fights and the bourgeoisie steals into power" was how Lenin characterised the line of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the revolution. Without relentless struggle against the Cadets, it would have been impossible to free the peasantry from the influence of the bourgeoisie.

Lenin angrily flayed the Mensheviks, who were terrified at the dimensions of the Russian revolution and the possible victory of the people. The Mensheviks dragged at the tail of the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie. The Cadets were out to make a deal with the autocracy, the Mensheviks followed in the wake of the Cadets. Thus, the chain of betrayals of the interests of the people was made fast.

Lenin urged the Bolsheviks to prepare themselves for nation-wide armed insurrection. He persistently demanded that the party workers make a serious study of military affairs and work strenuously to form hundreds and thousands of fighting detachments. He undertook energetic measures to organise the purchase and despatch of arms to Russia. In a letter to the Military Committee of the St. Petersburg Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. written in October 1905, he sharply criticised it for dilatoriness and indecision. He outlined a concrete plan of work for the Military Committee in connection with the preparation for armed insurrection, the organisation of detachments of armed workers, their arming and military training.

Lenin considered it specially important to attract the youth into the revolutionary struggle. "Go to the youth", Lenin instructed. "Get armed detachments formed instantly, everywhere and all over the place, both among the students and *particularly among the workers*, etc., etc. Let detachments be organised instantly of three to ten people, up to 30, etc. people. Let them arm themselves instantly, as best they can. The detachments must instantly begin military training for immediate operations, instantly."¹

Foreseeing the direction in which the revolution was proceeding and the inevitability of its further development, Lenin put forward the slogan of boycotting the consultative Duma, which the Tsar had promised to convene after instructing Minister Bulygin to draft the plan for such a Duma. The Bolsheviks boycotted the Bulygin Duma in view of their

¹ Lenin, *Letter to the Fighting Committee of the St. Petersburg Committee*, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 9, pp. 315-316.

slogan calling for preparations for armed insurrection. This great political campaign was a success. In October 1905 a general political strike broke out, which revealed the gigantic strength and power of the proletarian movement. This was a new form of proletarian struggle, hitherto unknown in other countries. The Bulygin Duma was swept away by the revolutionary whirlwind before it had even had time to assemble.

In the fire of revolutionary struggle in St. Petersburg, Moscow and other towns, mass organisations arose which were unprecedented in history—the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, the prototype of Soviet power.

Lenin acclaimed the heroic struggle of the proletariat. He pointed out that prior to the year 1905 mankind had been unaware of the great extent to which the forces of the proletariat could be and would be exerted, provided the struggle were for great aims and for revolution.

Lenin issued a warning that tsarism would manoeuvre, would introduce a curtailed constitution in order to crush the revolution. Indeed, terrified at the revolution, the Tsar was compelled on October 17 to issue a manifesto in which he promised "civil liberty" and a "legislative" Duma. Lenin explained that the Tsar's promises could not be trusted. The task of the proletariat, he pointed out, was to push forward the development of the revolution up to and including the overthrow of the autocracy by means of armed insurrection.

It became more and more difficult for Lenin to guide the party and the working class from abroad. He was longing to leave the "accursed distances", as he called emigration, and return home. In the heat of the general strike Lenin wrote: "It's a fine revolution we have in Russia, truly! We are hoping to return soon, things are going in that direction with astonishing speed!"¹ He left Geneva at the end of October 1905.

On his return to Russia, Lenin had to break his journey for a few days in Stockholm. There he wrote the article *Our Tasks and the Soviet of Workers' Deputies*. He regarded the

¹ Lenin, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 34, p. 311.

Soviets of Workers' Deputies set up by the revolutionary action of the proletarian masses as the rudiment of a new power, of the dictatorship of the revolutionary elements of the people. He estimated that the Soviet was the embryo of the provisional revolutionary government, the organ of the maturing insurrection. At that time, this programme article of Lenin's never saw the light of day. Only thirty-five years later, in 1940, was it found and published for the first time.

Lenin arrived in St. Petersburg early in November 1905. His attempt to take up legal residence led to his flat being surrounded by a horde of police agents. The autocracy was still persecuting Lenin and trying to arrest him and so decapitate the revolution. He went underground, frequently changed his passport and address and moved several times from St. Petersburg to Finland, where it was safer.

Immediately on his arrival in St. Petersburg, Lenin threw himself into organising work on an extensive scale. He led the work of the Central Committee of the party and of the legal daily Bolshevik newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* (New Life), in which his articles, which were directives to the party organisations in their day-to-day work, were regularly printed.

Lenin spoke at the meeting of the St. Petersburg Soviet of Workers' Deputies on the question of the lockout which the capitalists had declared in retaliation for the workers introducing the eight-hour working day as an accomplished fact at the factories and mills. Lenin's resolution was adopted by the Executive Committee of the Soviet. He attended the meetings of the St. Petersburg Party Committee and spoke at party meetings and conferences in St. Petersburg and Moscow; he met and talked with party leaders arriving from all corners of Russia.

In his article *On Reorganising the Party*, Lenin called for bold and determined reorganisation of the party work in view of the changed conditions. He pointed out that while preserving the party's conspiratorial apparatus, it was necessary to make the widest possible use of the legal opportunities which the working class had won, to introduce the

election principle into the party organisations and to build them on the basis of democratic centralism.

In a number of articles Lenin developed the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat. He stressed the necessity of strengthening the fighting alliance between the working class and peasantry under the leadership of the working class, in the struggle for the triumph of the revolution. He urged support for the struggle of the revolutionary peasantry for land and freedom, and said that the Social-Democrats would not stop at that, but would go further and lead the struggle for socialism.

The workers, wrote Lenin, "are fighting together with all the peasantry against the landlords and officials, but besides this they, the urban proletarians together with the rural proletarians, are fighting against capital. The struggle for land and for freedom is a democratic struggle. The struggle for the abolition of the rule of capital is a socialist struggle."¹

In the *Novaya Zhizhn* (New Life), Lenin published an article on *Party Organisation and Party Literature*. In it he put forward and gave reasons for the principle of partisanship in literature. He exposed the dependence of bourgeois writers and men of culture on the bourgeoisie, which was the ruling, exploiting class, and wrote that it was not possible to live in society and also to be free of society, that the so-called freedom of the bourgeois writer, artist and actor was actually camouflaged dependence on the bourgeoisie.

Speaking of the truly free literature which is openly connected with the interests of the proletariat, Lenin pointed out:

"This will be free literature, because the ideas of socialism and sympathy for the working people, and not gain and a career, will recruit more and more new forces to its ranks. It will be free literature because it will serve not overfed women, not the bored and bloated 'upper ten thousand', but millions and tens of million

¹ Lenin, *Proletariat and Peasantry*. Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 10, p. 25.

of working people who represent the flower of the country, its strength, its future."¹

These were Lenin's programme directives on the paths of development of advanced, free literature.

The work of the Bolshevik organisations among the working masses took on increasingly wide dimensions. The Bolsheviks began to penetrate more and more deeply into the countryside and to create strong positions in the army and fleet. Without wasting time they were preparing for armed insurrection.

In the middle of December 1905, Lenin led the first conference of the Bolsheviks in Tammerfors (Finland). He made two reports at the conference: on the present situation and on the agrarian question. It was at this conference that Lenin and Stalin first met. Stalin worked together with Lenin in the political commission, editing the conference resolutions.

Recalling his meeting with Lenin at the Tammerfors conference, Stalin mentions the simplicity and modesty of the great leader of the proletariat. Lenin arrived at the conference early and had informal talks with the delegates.

"This simplicity and modesty, this striving to remain unobserved, or at least not to make himself conspicuous and not to emphasise his high position, this feature was one of Lenin's strongest points as the new leader of the new masses, of the simple and ordinary masses of the 'rank and file' of humanity."²

Because an armed uprising had broken out in Moscow, the conference on Lenin's advice hurriedly concluded its deliberations and the delegates dispersed to their localities in order to take part in it.

Under the leadership of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies headed by the Bolsheviks, the Moscow workers had begun the uprising on December 9. For nine days several thousand armed workers waged a heroic struggle. Several

¹ Lenin, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 10, pp. 30-31.

² Stalin, Collected Works, English ed., Vol. 6, p. 56.

other towns and districts were also in the throes of insurrection. The peoples of Russia, so long oppressed by tsarism, also rose up in arms. But with inhuman cruelty tsarism crushed all these isolated revolts.

After the armed December uprising had been put down, the Mensheviks began to condemn the revolution, to persuade the workers to give up the struggle, to assert that now that the insurrection had been suppressed the revolution was finished. One Menshevik, Plekhanov, declared: "They should not have taken to arms." "On the contrary", replied Lenin, "we should have taken to arms more resolutely, energetically and aggressively; we should have explained to the masses that it was impossible to confine ourselves to a peaceful strike and that a fearless and relentless armed struggle was indispensable."¹

Subsequently Lenin several times gave his estimate of the armed uprising of the workers in December 1905 as being an unforgettable, heroic exploit, which was the model for all the Russian working masses and for the international proletariat.

Lenin included I. V. Babushkin among the national heroes who by their supreme fight and inspired example roused the working class to struggle against the tsarist autocracy and the capitalists.

"Everything that was won from the tsarist autocracy, was won *exclusively* by the struggle of the masses, led by such people as Babushkin.

"Without such people, the Russian people would have remained for ever a nation of slaves, a nation of serfs. With such people the Russian people will win for themselves complete emancipation from all exploitation."²

Lenin summed up the experience of the October-December battles in his article *The Victory of the Cadets and the Tasks of the Workers' Party* (written in March 1906). He regarded the

¹ Lenin, *The Lessons of the Moscow Uprising*.

² Lenin, *Ivan Vassilyevich Babushkin, Obituary Notice*, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 16, p. 334.

battles of the Russian proletariat in October-December 1905 as a significant step in the world historic struggle of the working class. He showed the people's creative role in the revolution: the winning of political liberty, establishing it as an accomplished fact, the creation of new, independent organs of revolutionary power, which were not provided for under the law and which were a breach of the law, the use by the people of force against those who use force against the people. Developing the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat, Lenin enriched it with the wealth of experience from the first Russian revolution. He rejected the Menshevik opportunist appraisal of the Soviets as organs of self-government, and gave the reasons why the Soviets act as organs of armed insurrection and are the rudiment of the new, revolutionary government.

In his article *The Lessons of the Moscow Uprising*, Lenin gave the reasons for its failure and drew the conclusions by which the party and the proletariat should be guided in preparing and carrying through an armed insurrection. These are the lessons:

firstly, it was necessary to take to arms more resolutely, to create armed detachments of revolutionaries, from large detachments to small ones consisting of only "twos and threes", capable of carrying on partisan warfare;

secondly, it was necessary to conduct an active fight for the troops, doing away with their officers, and drawing the wavering units to one's own side;

thirdly, it was necessary to conduct offensive tactics for the uprising, regarding insurrection as an art, the chief rule of which demands desperately bold, relentless and determined offensive and nothing but offensive;

fourthly, it was necessary to ensure that the countryside took part in the common struggle.

Taking into account the demands of the workers for the establishment of a united leadership for the mass struggle, the Bolsheviks passed a resolution calling for the establish-

ment of party unity. The Bolsheviks made a proposal to the Mensheviks for the convening of a unity congress. Under pressure from the masses, the Mensheviks were forced to agree to this. While Lenin was in favour of unity, he was against glossing over the difference between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, and taught the Bolsheviks to pursue a strictly principled policy. "We must not confuse the policy of uniting the two sections with just joining the two sections together. We agree to unite the two sections; but we shall never agree to just joining them."¹ Lenin demanded that the Bolsheviks take with them to the congress their own platform on all the questions of the revolution, in order that the workers should clearly see the basis on which unity was taking place.

For the congress Lenin worked out the tactical platform of the Bolsheviks. In March 1906, the platform was discussed at party meetings under his guidance, first at the "Vaza" country house in Kuokkala (Finland), to which, at that time, he had to move from St. Petersburg, and later in Moscow where, during one of the meetings, he only by accident escaped being arrested, and finally in St. Petersburg. Lenin took an enthusiastic part in the heated discussions prior to the congress, and spoke against the Menshevik leaders at numerous party meetings in St. Petersburg.

In his preparations for the congress, Lenin paid special attention to the agrarian question. More than once he had pointed out that the chief economic basis of the Russian bourgeois-democratic revolution was the struggle of the peasantry for land and for the abolition of the landed estates. Lenin worked on the commission which the United Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. set up to prepare the draft agrarian programme for the Fourth Congress, and he wrote the pamphlet *The Revision of the Agrarian Programme of the Workers' Party*. In it he substantiated and defended the programme demand for nationalisation of the land in the countryside including the confiscation of all the landed

¹ Lenin, *To the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.*

estates, considering that nationalisation of the land would help the proletariat, in alliance with the village poor, to make the transition to socialist revolution.

Before leaving for the congress, Lenin conferred in St. Petersburg with the Bolshevik delegates to the congress. After the congress delegates reported on party work in their localities, Vladimir Ilyich had an informal talk with them. K. E. Voroshilov, who was the delegate from the Lugansk organisation, recalls the great impression Lenin's conversation had on them:

"In conversation Vladimir Ilyich joked a great deal and between the jokes he would ask first one and then another a host of different, often unexpected, questions. He was interested in literally everything. . . . Now we had all seen with our own eyes and listened to the man who was the true builder of the proletarian revolutionary party and its tireless guardian and leader.

"We felt that our Lenin knew exactly the right ways and means of protecting the revolution and revolutionary Social-Democracy, to whose lot it had fallen to lead the great liberation movement in Russia."¹

In April 1906, the Fourth (Unity) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. met in Stockholm. There was a violent struggle there between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks. Lenin spoke on the question of the agrarian programme, on the present situation and the class tasks of the proletariat, on the armed insurrection, on the attitude towards the State Duma and on organisational questions. He sharply criticised the opportunist tactics of the Mensheviks, their negative attitude towards the hegemony of the proletariat and armed insurrection, their view that the tsarist Duma was the "centre of the revolutionary forces" of the country, and their conciliatory, harmful agrarian programme calling for the municipalisation of the land, which was calculated on a half-way solution of the task of the revolution. The Men-

¹ K. Voroshilov, *Lenin, Stalin and the Red Army*, Russ. ed. 1934, pp. 103-104.

shevik programme for municipalisation (transfer of the landed estates to the local authorities or *zemstvo*) amounted, as Lenin pointed out, to making a deal with the landlords. The Mensheviks rejected the necessity of completely abolishing private ownership of the land and did not want to rouse the peasants for the revolution.

J. V. Stalin, M. I. Kalinin, K. E. Voroshilov, M. V. Frunze, S. G. Shaumyan and others fought with Lenin in a solid group against the Mensheviks. But the Mensheviks, who had a small numerical advantage at the congress, pushed their resolutions through and obtained a majority of their representatives on the Central Committee. The line of the Bolsheviks was not adopted by the congress. Lenin was not, however, downhearted. He had strong confidence in the future victory over the Mensheviks. "Defeat transformed Lenin into a spring of compressed energy, which inspired his supporters for new battle and for future victory."¹

After the congress, Lenin went into conference with the Bolshevik delegates to the congress. The conference adopted the appeal to the party which Lenin had proposed. It contained the Bolshevik estimate of the results of the Congress, revealed its chief mistakes and exposed the opportunist line of the Mensheviks. Lenin summed up the results of the congress in his *Report on the Unity Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.*

Lenin left Stockholm and returned to St. Petersburg at the end of April 1906. There he reported on the results of the Unity Congress at meetings of the Social-Democratic organisations in a number of districts.

Lenin performed a great deal of strenuous work in extremely difficult circumstances, while living illegally and constantly changing his place of residence, spending the night sometimes with relatives and at other times with friends and acquaintances. On May 9, 1906, regardless of the danger, Lenin addressed a big meeting attended by

¹ Stalin, *Collected Works*, English ed., Vol. 6, p. 58.

workers from all parts of St. Petersburg. He spoke under the name of Karpov.

Representatives from various parties spoke at the meeting, and Lenin was the last to take the floor. In his address he exposed the Cadet policy of making a deal with the autocracy at the expense of the people. Every effort should be made, he said, to ensure that the proletariat would again act as leader in the new wave of revolution. Lenin's speech made an indelible impression on the audience. "The audience was perfectly silent", N. K. Krupskaya recalled of the meeting. "After Lenin's speech everyone present was thinking about the forthcoming struggle to the end." After adopting Lenin's resolution, the workers went out into the street singing revolutionary songs.

In the summer of 1906 there was another rise in the revolutionary struggle. Once more there was a wave of political strikes. The peasant struggle flared up against the landlords. At Kronstadt and Sveaborg the sailors mutinied. Lenin gave instructions to the Bolshevik members of the St. Petersburg Committee for strikes to be called to give support to the Kronstadt uprising.

Under Lenin's guidance the Bolsheviks again began to publish their own legal newspaper to take the place of the Bolshevik newspaper *Novaya Zhizn*, which the tsarist government had closed down in December 1905. The new paper came out under various names: *Volna* (Wave), *Vperyod* (Forward), *Ekho* (Echo). In the articles which these newspapers published Lenin sharply criticised the work of the State Duma, exposed the tsarist government and the Cadets, explained to the peasants that the Duma would give them neither land nor freedom, and criticised the Mensheviks for their treacherous and cowardly Duma tactics.

In February 1907 the elections to the Second State Duma were held. These elections again raised the question of the attitude of the Bolsheviks to the Duma. Lenin and the Bolsheviks decided this question on the basis of the new situation in the country. Although the boycott of the First

Duma¹ in 1906 had succeeded in undermining its prestige, it was not, however, able to prevent the Duma being convened, as it occurred at a time when the revolution was already on the decline. The boycott of the First Duma turned out, therefore, to be unsuccessful, erroneous. The elections to the Second Duma took place when the revolution was still on the decline. In these circumstances it was not expedient to boycott the Duma; it was necessary to make use of it for revolutionary propaganda, for the struggle against the autocracy and the bourgeoisie.

In the period when the revolution was on the upgrade, Lenin taught the party organisations the art of revolutionary offensive. When the revolution was on the decline, he taught them how to retreat correctly and in good order, so that after gathering their forces they might be able to enter into a still more powerful offensive against the enemy.

During the course of the elections to the Second Duma the Bolsheviks with Lenin at their head displayed new examples of consistent, revolutionary tactics. They were fighting for complete independence for the working class party in the election campaign and were defending the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution. They pursued left bloc tactics at the elections and in the Duma itself, i.e. they endeavoured to enter into agreements with the parties which represented the democratic petty-bourgeoisie of the town and countryside and which would oppose tsarism, the landlords and the liberal bourgeoisie. The Mensheviks were in favour of agreement with the Cadets at the elections and support for them inside the Duma. They became more and more an appendage of the bourgeoisie. Plekhanov went so far as to begin to advocate a direct bloc with the Cadets. By entering into a pact with the Cadets, the Mensheviks entered into a pact with reaction.

The struggle of the Bolsheviks against the Mensheviks

¹ After the successful boycott of the Bulygin Duma in 1905, the Bolsheviks called for a similar boycott of the new Duma elections in 1905. (Trans.)

assumed a particularly acute form in St. Petersburg. In January 1907, on the basis of Lenin's report, the conference of the St. Petersburg organisations of the R.S.D.L.P. adopted his proposal on election tactics. Supported by the Central Committee, in which they had a majority, the completely routed Mensheviks resorted to disorganising, splitting activities. Behind the back of the working masses, the Mensheviks made a pact with the Cadets and bartered with them for seats in the Duma. In his pamphlet *The Elections in St. Petersburg and the Hypocrisy of the 38 Mensheviks* and other statements, Lenin exposed the Mensheviks' manoeuvres to the workers. In retaliation, the Menshevik Central Committee instituted "party proceedings" against Lenin, which called forth a storm of indignation in the party organisations. At the "trial" Lenin delivered a lucid speech of indictment; he transformed the proceedings against himself into a trial of the Mensheviks and the Menshevik Central Committee.

Lenin declared frankly and openly that by his sharp, offensive attacks on the Mensheviks he had been trying "to arouse among the masses hatred, aversion and contempt for these people who had *ceased* to be members of a united party, who had become political enemies, who 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 and development of a split *shall always conduct*—a fight to the death."¹

The Cadets, who had made a deal with the autocracy against the interests of the people, represented the majority in the Second State Duma. With the help of the liberal bourgeoisie and their representatives in the Duma—the Cadets—tsarism calculated on isolating the peasantry from the proletariat, so making the victory of the revolution impossible. Lenin exposed the manoeuvres of the tsarist government, showed that the Cadets were betraying the people, and condemned the behaviour of the Mensheviks as

¹ Lenin, *Speech for the Defence (Or for the Prosecution of the Menshevik Section of the Central Committee) delivered at the Party Trial.*

a downright crime against the working class. He defined the tasks and Duma tactics of revolutionary Social-Democracy, and taught the worker deputies the art of using the tsarist Duma in the interests of the revolution, and how to combine legal and illegal work. He considered that the main task of the revolutionary Social-Democracy was to draw the petty bourgeois sections, primarily the peasantry, away from the influence of the Cadets. Thanks to the Bolshevik tactics, the peasant deputies drew farther and farther away from the Cadets and came closer to the Social-Democratic deputies while, outside the Duma, the proletariat rallied the peasantry to itself.

By putting up a stiff fight, Lenin succeeded in rallying the majority of the party organisations to the Bolsheviks and he then put forward the task of convening a party congress and efficiently preparing for it. He delivered a report on the current situation and the tasks of the party at an educational conference of the Bolshevik leaders, who then proceeded to their various localities to supervise the election of delegates to the Fifth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.

Prior to the congress, the Mensheviks had proposed convening a so-called "Workers' Congress" which, according to their line of argument, should take the place of the party. By using this demagogic name, the Mensheviks were actually trying to conceal the fact that they had rejected the real proletarian party and its revolutionary programme and tactics. Lenin strongly opposed the Menshevik proposal and exposed the slogan for a "Workers' Congress" as a most harmful attempt to abolish the party, to drown it in the petty-bourgeois masses.

In April-May 1907, the Fifth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. was held in London. There the Bolsheviks had a stable majority. Lenin and his supporters fought a relentless battle against the Mensheviks and Trotsky, who tried to get together a centrist group at the congress.

Lenin's report on the attitude to bourgeois parties occupied the central position in the work of the congress. The congress

supported the Bolshevik appraisal of the non-proletarian parties—the Black Hundreds, the Octobrists, the Cadets and the Socialist-Revolutionaries—and formulated what tactics were to be pursued in regard to these parties. The Congress approved the Bolshevik policy of relentless struggle against the Black Hundreds and Octobrists and irreconcilable battle to expose the Cadet Party. The congress recognised that in the struggle against tsarism and the Cadets separate agreements were permissible with the Trudoviks, since these expressed the interests, at that time, of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie.¹ At the same time the congress pointed to the necessity of exposing the attempts of the so-called Narodnik or Trudovik parties (the Popular Socialists, the Trudovik group and the Socialist-Revolutionaries) to mask themselves as Socialists. The Fifth Congress was a big victory for the Bolsheviks in the working class movement.

When the work of the Fifth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. came to an end, Lenin attended the Second Congress of the Latvian Social-Democrats, which was in progress in London, and there he delivered a report on the tasks of the proletariat in the present bourgeois revolution.

Lenin returned to Russia in the beginning of June.

As he had foreseen, the tsarist government had dispersed the Second State Duma; it was dissolved on June 3, 1907. The Social-Democrat fraction had been arrested and exiled. The electoral law had been changed; what came to be known as the June *coup d'état* had taken place. The first Russian revolution had ended in defeat. There now began the hard years of reaction.

Lenin revealed the chief reasons for the defeat of the first Russian revolution. One of the basic reasons was that as yet no stable alliance existed between the workers and peasants in the struggle against tsarism; the peasantry were too scattered and disorganised in their actions. Lenin

¹ The Trudovik groups in the First State Duma consisted of peasant deputies, joined at first by Menshevik deputies elected where the boycott was unsuccessful.

pointed out that the working class onslaught against tsarism had been insufficiently strong, because the working class, in consequence of the splitting activities of the Mensheviks, was still not sufficiently united in its own ranks. Lenin considered that the party should take measures so that in future battles the proletariat would be able to fulfil its historic role of leader of the revolution and take along with it tens of millions of working people.

During the first months after the defeat of the revolution, the situation in the party became particularly difficult. The Mensheviks had retreated in panic and rejected all forms of revolutionary work. New opportunists made their appearance who camouflaged themselves behind "left" phrases and tried to prevent the party from reorganising its ranks to suit the changed situation, and from conducting a revolutionary struggle by new methods. Kamenev, Bogdanov and others proposed the boycott of the Third State Duma, allegedly in the interests of the revolutionary struggle. Lenin exposed both the Mensheviks and the advocates of boycott when he outlined the new tasks of the party in the light of the new situation.

In August 1907 Lenin travelled to Stuttgart to attend the International Socialist Congress. There he led the struggle which developed against the opportunist elements. Together with Rosa Luxemburg, Lenin introduced cardinal amendments to the resolution on the struggle against militarism, which clearly showed that the task of the Labour parties was not only to struggle against the outbreak of war, but also to use the subsequent war crisis for the purpose of socialist revolution. During the congress, Lenin called together meetings of the Left Social-Democrats in an effort to rally them for the struggle against the opportunists of the Second International.

From Stuttgart, Lenin returned to Finland. But it began to be more and more dangerous for him to remain there. From Kuokkala he moved to Oglbiu (a small place near Helsingfors), but it was not possible for him to remain long

there either. Tsarist spies were searching for him everywhere; tsarism wanted to settle accounts once and for all with the leader of the revolution. The Bolshevik centre passed a decision to transfer abroad the publishing of the newspaper *Proletarii*, and, with it, Lenin.

Lenin did not find it easy to get out of Finland; to try to embark on a ship standing in the port meant running the risk of being arrested. He went across the ice by night to reach one of the islands, so that he could take the ship from there. The ice was not safe and at one place it began to break up under foot, and Lenin was almost drowned. Later he said that the thought had then crossed his mind: "What a stupid way to die!" Thus it was only at great risk to his life that Lenin succeeded in getting abroad in December 1907. His second and longer period of emigration had begun.

At the time of the first Russian revolution the Bolsheviks were the only revolutionary Marxist force in the party and in the country. The revolution confirmed the correctness of the strategy and tactics which Lenin had drawn up for the Bolshevik Party. It was the first historic test of the living strength of Lenin's idea of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and of the doctrine of the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The revolution confirmed in practice Lenin's postulate that the strength of the proletariat is immeasurably greater than the proportion of the proletariat to the whole population, and showed that the proletariat is also capable of becoming the leader of the general democratic movement in places where, by virtue of the insufficient development of capitalism, it was still numerically a minority of the country's population.

In the course of the revolution the Bolshevik Party acquired great political experience in how to guide the masses, and it set fine examples of self-sacrificing struggle on behalf of the people's interests.

In his estimate of the results of the first Russian revolution, Lenin noted with pride that the Bolsheviks, who took their

stand at the head of the fighting popular masses, performed their duty with credit. The Bolsheviks had become firmly convinced that a new, victorious revolution was inevitable in Russia and that its leader would again be the proletariat.

This forecast was fulfilled ten years later.

CHAPTER VI

1907-1912

At the end of December 1907 Lenin arrived in Geneva. Once more the difficult years of emigration had begun. By this time reaction was rife in Russia. The tsarist government was meting out cruel treatment to the revolutionaries, the police had intensified their efforts to crush the Bolshevik organisation. Stolypin, Minister of Internal Affairs, had covered the country with a network of gallows. Among the fellow-travellers of revolution, particularly among the intelligentsia, a period of betrayals, renunciations and flagrant denials of the revolution had begun. But Lenin's spirit was not daunted by the years of reaction; on the contrary he became more determined, his struggle against the enemies of the party became still more stubborn and relentless. He was filled with confidence in the strength of the working class and in the inevitability of its victory over the autocracy and capitalism. He at once set to work to revive the publication of the *Proletarii*, the Bolshevik Party organ. In the first article he wrote for it, Lenin said:

"We knew how to work during the long years preceding the revolution. Not for nothing do they say we are as firm as rock. The Social-Democrats have formed a proletarian party which will not lose heart at the failure of the first armed onslaught, will not lose its head, and will not be carried away by adventures. . . . And that proletarian party is marching to victory."¹

During these years, the counter-revolutionary offensive was also being waged on the ideological front. Murky torrents of depressing, counter-revolutionary, petty-fogging ideas poured from the pages of the bourgeois press. Tsarist reaction was

¹ Lenin, *Political Notes*.

aiming in particular at a religious revival. The bourgeois hacks launched an intensified campaign against Marxism; the motley "critics" of Marxism multiplied their attempts to distort, twist and besmirch the revolutionary theory of Marx and Engels. Some literary men who had previously supported the Bolsheviks (Bogdanov, Bazarov, Lunacharsky and others) and also a number of Mensheviks (Yushkevich, Valentinov) produced a "critique" of Marxism and its philosophical-theoretical and scientific-historical principles. Some of them, who called themselves the *bogostroiteli* (God-creators) began to preach the necessity of combining socialism and religion, thus confusing the minds of the working masses with religious dope. All these enemies of scientific socialism concealed their betrayal of revolutionary theory behind hypocritical phrases of loyalty to Marxism. Their "critique" was in line with the offensive which the revisionists in Western Europe had launched against Marxism, and the campaign of reaction against the party and the revolution.

At that time, particularly widespread in the bourgeois philosophy of Western Europe was the reactionary idealist philosophy of empirio-criticism or, as it was also called, Machism (after the name of its chief advocate, Mach). The Machians denied the objective existence of things, denied the laws of nature and society, and asserted that nothing can be known except one's own sensations. The decadents in the sphere of Marxist theory declared that this philosophy, which was actually disguised religious teaching, was the last word in science and that it was quite compatible with Marxism.

It was necessary to expose and defeat the enemies of Marxism in the ideological field. The urgent task of the party was now to defend the theoretical principles of the Marxist party.

Lenin wrote:

"When the masses have digested the new and unprecedentedly rich experience of spontaneously-revolutionary struggle, then the theoretical struggle for the

revolutionary world outlook, i.e. for revolutionary Marxism, becomes the order of the day.”¹

On the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of Marx, in April 1908, Lenin wrote an article called “Marxism and Revisionism”. In it he showed how, with the triumph of Marxism in the labour movement, its enemies had changed their methods of struggle and had begun to undermine Marxism under the guise of “amendments” and “revision” of Marx’s doctrine. The revisionists denied Marxist materialism and dialectics and the radical postulates of Marxist political economy; they rejected the idea of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship and abandoned socialism as the final goal of the labour movement. With passion and anger Lenin opposed the distorters of Marxism. Prophetically he pointed out that the ideological struggle between revolutionary Marxism and revisionism was merely the threshold of the great revolutionary battles of the proletariat, which was marching forward to the complete victory of the proletarian cause, overcoming weakness and vacillation inside the labour movement and sweeping all traitors from its path.

Lenin was filled with indignation at the position of “non-intervention”, actually amounting to connivance, which Kautsky took up in regard to philosophical revisionism, and because Plekhanov also had done no more than write a few insignificant newspaper notes against the Machians. Lenin wrote that Plekhanov either did not wish, or did not know how, to oppose the Machians’ idealist philosophy firmly and with determination, and that he, Lenin, no matter what it cost, would do it in his own way.

Lenin set to work preparing a book in which he decided to give battle to all opponents of Marxist philosophy. He began working on the book in February 1908 and finished it in October the same year. He became involved in a great deal of scientific work while writing the book. He studied literature on natural science, particularly physics, went into

¹ Lenin, *Concerning Two Letters*, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 15, p. 265.

the history of philosophy, and critically examined the writings of the Russian Machians and their teachers of philosophy abroad—Mach, Avenarius, Hume, Berkeley and others. In May 1908, he went to London and worked for about a month in the British Museum.

Lenin thought it necessary to hasten the printing and publication of the book: "It is important for the book to appear soon", he wrote. "I have not only literary, but also serious political obligations connected with its appearance."¹

Lenin was in a hurry to get the book published because in June 1909 there was to be the conference of the enlarged editorial board of *Proletarii* (actually the Bolshevik centre), where there was likely to be a stiff battle against Bogdanov and his supporters. In May 1909 the book came off the press. It was Lenin's brilliant work entitled *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*.

This book is an unrivalled model of relentless struggle against the enemies of Marxist philosophy, an example of militant, Bolshevik partisanship. Lenin made a comprehensive, devastating criticism of the latest cunning devices of the bourgeois idealist philosophers; he summed up from the standpoint of dialectical materialism all the latest discoveries in the natural sciences, and particularly in physics, and carried forward the philosophy of Marx and Engels.

In *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* Lenin showed that Mach and the other bourgeois philosophers who advertised their philosophy as being the last word were actually dragging out idealist junk which had long been obsolete and giving it a new label. They used the highbrow title "empirio-criticism" to restore, with certain trimmings, the old philosophy of Berkeley. Lenin established that the starting point in the philosophy of empirio-criticism was subjective idealism. The essence of this philosophy is that things do not exist objectively, i.e. independently of human consciousness, but exist only in perception, in the sensations of people, that there are no objective laws of nature, etc. The empirio-critics

¹ Lenin, *Letters Home*, Russ. ed. 1934, p. 342.

went so far as to assert that the brain is not the organ of thought, that thought is possible without the brain. Lenin contemptuously called such philosophy brainless, and proved that it radically contradicts science and the daily practical experience of the human race.

Lenin also revealed the reactionary essence of the empirio-critics' view of society, when he showed that the empirio-critics are the bitterest opponents of a scientific explanation of the laws of social progress, the keenest defenders of the exploitation of the working class and the advocates of wage slavery.

After showing that Marx and Engels were partisans in philosophy from start to finish, Lenin further developed the principle of partisanship and consistently applied it when examining philosophical doctrines. Thus, he pointed out that the bourgeois professors of philosophy, like the professors of political economy, are the salesmen of the science of the capitalist class. Lenin revealed that behind all the "scientific" gibberish and verbal flourishes, the class role of empirio-criticism was that of a weapon in the hands of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

"Recent philosophy is as partisan as was philosophy two thousand years ago",¹ wrote Lenin. The trends in conflict in philosophy, he explained, were materialism and idealism.

In his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* Lenin outlined and developed the fundamental questions of Marxist philosophy: concerning the fact that the world is material, that it is objective (i.e. that it existed before and independently of human consciousness), that the laws of nature and society are objective in character.

Lenin devoted special attention to explaining the theory of knowledge of dialectical materialism. He proved that it is possible to acquire scientific knowledge of the laws of nature and society, and he showed the historical nature of human thought.

Lenin laid stress on the fact that through human thought,

¹ Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, Conclusion.

authentic knowledge of the surrounding world can be acquired, absolute truth can be reached, and that there is no impenetrable dividing line between relative and absolute truth. "Human thought, then, by its nature is capable of giving, and does give, absolute truth, which is compounded of a sum-total of relative truths."¹

The basis of knowledge is practice; practice is the criterion of knowledge, i.e. the index of its correctness or falsity. Practice confirms the authenticity of objective scientific knowledge, breaks up and throws out the unscientific, unsubstantiated views.

The whole of Marxist doctrine is built on the recognition of objective truth, the recognition that it is possible to obtain authentic knowledge about nature and society. "Historical materialism and Marx's entire economic doctrine are permeated through and through by a recognition of objective truth."²

Lenin showed that the bourgeois, reactionary ideologists are unwilling to recognise objective truth and are opposed to scientific knowledge of the laws of nature and history. They fiercely fight against Marxism, which reveals the objective, historical laws of development. This is an expression of the fear of the bourgeoisie concerning the laws of historical development, since the trend of historical events is leading towards the inevitable collapse of capitalist society.

In a number of other works, Lenin showed that bourgeois ideologists are incapable of understanding the objective laws of history and fear them, that they attempt to deny these laws and in a cowardly way close their eyes to the truth. In an article entitled *Yet Another Annihilation of Socialism*, which Lenin wrote against Peter Struve, the ideologist of the Russian bourgeoisie, he said: "Despair concerning the possibility of any scientific understanding of the present, rejection of science, an urge to decry generalisations of any kind, to hide from any kind of 'laws' of historical development, inability

¹ Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, Chapter II.

² *ibid.*, Chapter VI.

to see the wood for the trees, that is the class essence of the fashionable, bourgeois scepticism, of the dead and spine-chilling scholasticism that we see in Mr. Struve."¹

Lenin established that the objective, class role of Machism, which is one of the varieties of bourgeois philosophy, amounts to complete servility to the fideists (i.e. the reactionaries, who preferred religious faith to science) in their struggle against materialism in general and historical materialism in particular.

Lenin exposed the cringing, servile attitude of the Russian Machians towards reactionary, West European bourgeois philosophy: "The Russian Machians will soon be like fashion-lovers who are moved to ecstasy over a hat which has already been discarded by the bourgeois philosophers of Europe",² Lenin ridiculed them.

Lenin explained that the task of the Marxists was to master and critically digest all the achievements of science, including the use also of the factual data of bourgeois scientists, and the bourgeois economists. At the same time Lenin indicated that it is necessary "to be able to lop off their reactionary tendency, to pursue one's own line and to combat the whole *alignment* of forces and classes hostile to us. And this is just what our Machians were unable to do; they *slavishly* followed the lead of the reactionary professorial *philosophy*."³

Lenin heavily criticised the anti-Marxist views on society of Bogdanov and other Machians, their denial of the objective laws of the development of society, their manner of dragging idealism into the science of society, which disarmed the proletariat ideologically and led to the denial of the scientifically established fact that proletarian revolution is inevitable.

Lenin particularly emphasised that the Marxist philosophy formed a harmonious and integral whole and showed that every attempt to dismember Marxism inevitably led to the distortion of Marxism as a whole.

¹ Lenin, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 20, p. 179.

² Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, Chapter I.

³ *ibid.*, Chapter VI.

"From this Marxist philosophy, which is cast from a single piece of steel", wrote Lenin, "you cannot eliminate one basic premise, one essential part, without departing from objective truth, without falling a prey to a bourgeois-reactionary falsehood."¹

Lenin revealed the causes and the essence of the deep crisis through which bourgeois natural science was passing. The great discoveries at the end of the nineteenth century—the discovery of radio-activity, the electron, the variability of mass, and so on—brought about a revolution in natural science, and caused a radical break-up of the old, generally recognised concepts of science. A section of the natural scientists, who were either unable or unwilling to interpret these discoveries in a materialistic way, dropped to the level of reactionary philosophy, of idealist conclusions about the disappearance of matter, and anti-scientific allegations that these new discoveries actually refuted materialism.

After giving a profound analysis of the new discoveries in natural science, and particularly physics, Lenin proved that these discoveries did not refute but, on the contrary, confirmed the correctness of dialectical materialism. To Lenin's mind, the way out of the crisis in natural science was for the natural scientists to change over to the only true method and the only true philosophy, dialectical materialism.

Lenin's book hit hard at philosophical revisionism and bourgeois idealistic philosophy. At the same time it was a tremendous step forward in the further development of the Marxist philosophy. Lenin's book was an outstanding contribution to the ideological equipment of the Bolsheviks, being the theoretical preparation for the Marxist party of the new type. In his brilliant work, Lenin defended and developed the party's theoretical principles, dialectical and historical materialism, which form the theoretical foundations of Communism.

The state of science today and the discovery of atomic energy are splendid confirmation of Lenin's thoughts con-

¹ Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, Chapter VI.

cerning matter, the inexhaustibility of the atom and the electron. Advanced science the world over still lives by the great scientific ideas which Lenin developed in his *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. For the progressive scientist these ideas are a powerful weapon of struggle against reactionary bourgeois philosophy.

Lenin considered that one of the most important party tasks during the years of reaction was to sum up the results of the first Russian revolution and to spread its lessons among the working class and popular masses. Lenin fought against the counter-revolutionary Liberals and the Menshevik traitors, who tried to erase revolutionary traditions from the minds of the people. He lashed out at the Liberal slanders against the revolution and the Menshevik distortion of its history. Firmly and consistently Lenin protected the heroic, revolutionary traditions of the masses and urged that the wealth of experience of the struggle should be thoroughly assimilated. Lenin thought that the chief results of the revolution were that the proletariat had won the leadership in the democratic revolution and that the oppressed masses had learned to conduct a revolutionary struggle, had become convinced that only by stubborn, heroic, organised, revolutionary struggle could they obtain any serious improvement in their position. Lenin wrote: "By the heroic struggle it waged during the course of three years (1905-07), the Russian proletariat won for itself and for the Russian people gains that took other nations decades to win. It won the *emancipation* of the working masses *from the influence* of treacherous and contemptibly impotent *liberalism*. It won for *itself* the *hegemony* in the struggle for freedom and democracy as a prerequisite for the struggle for socialism. It won for all the oppressed and exploited classes of Russia the *ability* to conduct the revolutionary mass struggle, without which nothing of importance in the progress of mankind has been achieved anywhere in the world."¹

As he revealed the specific features of the first Russian

¹ Lenin, *The Historical Meaning of the Internal Party Struggle in Russia*.

revolution, Lenin showed that while it had been essentially a bourgeois democratic revolution, it had also, at the same time, been proletarian, because of the leading role of the proletariat and the methods of struggle used.

Lenin pointed out that the lessons of the revolution would not be in vain. "The Russian people are not what they were before 1905. The proletariat has taught them to fight. The proletariat will lead them to victory."¹

In his summing up of the results of the first Russian revolution, Lenin pointed out that in spite of the defeat, the revolution had been of world historic importance. It had set an indelible stamp on the whole subsequent trend of historic events in Russia and was, as Lenin later defined it, the "dress rehearsal" for the great October Socialist Revolution. The 1905-07 revolution had a direct and powerful influence on the national-liberation movement in the countries of Asia, and it marked the beginning of the rise of the European revolutionary movement.

The leaders of the parties of the Second International were unwilling and unable to estimate the full significance of the 1905-07 Russian revolution as the first revolution in the epoch of imperialism; they were unwilling and unable to draw the necessary lessons from it. By his summing up of the experiences of the Russian revolution, Lenin made them available to the international proletariat.

The great service Lenin rendered was that in an exceptionally difficult and critical period in the life of the party, he showed the party, with all the foresight of genius, the path along which it was to move forward. "Our party is now passing through difficult days, but it is invincible just as the proletariat is invincible",² he wrote. Lenin fought hard against people who tried to force the party to swerve from the revolutionary path, who caused panic in its ranks or urged

¹ Lenin, *The Lessons of the Revolution*, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 6, p. 277.

² Lenin, *The Beginning of Demonstrations*, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 16, p. 328.

it into political adventures. The tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia have not been solved, said Lenin, the deep causes which engendered the first revolution and which are driving the masses again into revolutionary struggle have not yet been eliminated. A new revolution is, therefore, inevitable.

The duty of the Marxist party was to keep the revolutionary banner unfurled and, in conditions of reaction, to continue the steadfast fight for the revolution, for its programme, slogans and principles. Guided by Lenin's directives, the Bolsheviks built an illegal party and rallied the working class for the new onslaught against the autocracy.

Lenin showed that tsarism had decided to resort to a big manoeuvre in an endeavour to strengthen its tottering position. On November 9, 1906, tsarist minister Stolypin had published a land law concerning allotments to peasants from the common lands to provide them with farmsteads. The aim of this law was to create a numerically strong section of kulaks in the countryside, to prop up the tsarist autocracy. Lenin saw in the Stolypin reform a new step in the direction of converting the autocracy into a bourgeois monarchy. This, he said, was an attempt on the part of the feudal landlords at the top to solve the tasks of the bourgeois development of Russia by their own methods. He pointed out that if the Stolypin plan were to be successful, then the development of Russia would proceed along lines that would be most painful to the working people, because the monarchy, the privileges of the nobility, the lack of rights in the countryside and the impoverishment of the people would all remain as before. However, as Lenin had foretold, Stolypin's agrarian policy only increased the class contradictions in the countryside and strengthened the class struggle of the peasantry against the landlords and kulaks.

Lenin's work entitled *The Agrarian Programme of Social-Democracy in the First Russian Revolution*, 1905-07, was of great importance in the development of Marxist theory and tactics. On the basis of experience of the revolution, Lenin gave a

thorough explanation of the Bolshevik programme of nationalisation of the land with confiscation of the landed estates—the programme of the revolutionary breakdown of the remnants of feudalism which was to clear the way for the struggle for socialism in the countryside.

During the period of reaction, Lenin drew up new party tactics. He calculated on 'stubbornly and systematically preparing the masses for the new revolution by combining illegal and legal work, by getting the illegal party to make the utmost use of strong legal positions: the Social-Democratic fraction in the State Duma, the workers' press, the trade unions, the friendly societies, the workers' clubs, etc. Lenin called for the most relentless struggle against all those who tried to liquidate the party either openly like the Menshevik-liquidators or by refusing to use legal opportunities, like the *otzovists*.¹

The Mensheviks sought to liquidate the illegal party and so they helped reaction to deprive the proletariat of its chief weapon in the struggle against the autocracy and the bourgeoisie. The Mensheviks advocated the creation of a legal, so-called workers' party which was to renounce all revolutionary activity. They were ready to reconcile themselves to the Stolypin regime and to adapt themselves to it. The liquidators were therefore referred to as the "Stolypin workers' party".

At the same time certain unstable intellectuals who had belonged to the Bolshevik organisation during the period of revolution began to abandon the use of legal opportunities, to give up the idea of strengthening connections with the masses through work in legal organisations. Under cover of "left" phrases, they demanded the withdrawal of the Social-Democratic deputies from the State Duma, i.e. objected to using the Duma as a tribune for contact with the masses. These were the *otzovists*, concealed enemies of the party whom Lenin called "liquidators turned inside out".

¹ "Withdrawalists", those who proposed to withdraw the party's deputies from the State Duma. See below.

Measures had to be taken to preserve and strengthen the illegal revolutionary working-class party, to organise strong resistance to all kinds of liquidationist tendencies. Lenin regarded this as the chief task of the revolutionary Social-Democrats during the Stolypin period. Its strong Marxist-Leninist ideology, its correct understanding of the revolutionary prospects, helped the basic kernel of the party which was rallied round Lenin to defend the party and preserve its main cadres.

The persistent and energetic work of the Bolsheviks to restore the Russian illegal organisations and strengthen links with them met with most definite success. In December 1908 the Fifth ("All-Russian") Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. took place in Paris and was attended by representatives from the largest party organisations. The conference adopted Lenin's resolution defining the slogans and tactics of the party in the conditions of reaction, and condemned liquidationism. This conference was the turning point in the life of the party during those hard years and it was a great victory for the Leninists.

In the struggle for the party and its well-tried Marxist policy, Lenin was adamant. He hated ideological confusion and evasion of direct, open struggle, considering them harmful to the party. Lenin demanded clarity, he wanted the essence in principle of the differences of opinion to be revealed, and he mercilessly exposed attempts at petty squabbings instead of the ideological struggle. Any services that might have been rendered in the past could not save anyone who betrayed Marxism, who retreated from the party line, from Lenin's stinging criticism. He taught the Bolsheviks to put the interests of the party before all else. "The interests of the cause should come before every personal or fractional relationship, every 'pleasant' recollection",¹ stressed Lenin.

Lenin considered it essential to purge the Bolshevik organisation of petty-bourgeois fellow-travellers, to rid it of

¹ Lenin, *Manifesto of the Liberal Workers' Party*, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 17, p. 278.

those who tried to trip up the Bolsheviks, who hampered them in their fight for the party and who undermined the party's contacts with the masses. In June 1909 there was a meeting of the enlarged Editorial Board of *Proletarii*, at which Lenin spoke strongly against the *otzovists*. The meeting condemned the *otzovists* and expelled them from the Bolshevik organisation. Lenin's struggle against the liquidators, *otzovists*, Machians and God-creators had the warm support of the Russian party organisations.

Later Lenin wrote that after the defeat of the first Russian revolution, the Bolsheviks retreated in perfect order. "The Bolsheviks achieved this only because they ruthlessly exposed and expelled the revolutionary phrasemongers, who refused to understand that one had to retreat, that one had to know how to retreat, and that one had absolutely to learn how to work legally in the most reactionary parliaments, in the most reactionary trade unions, co-operative societies, friendly societies and similar organisations."¹

Trotsky, who defended liquidationism in every way, hampered Lenin's struggle for a strong revolutionary party. He masked his strong liquidationist feelings behind fake "non-factionalism", centrism, i.e. conciliation. Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov and others, who were Trotsky's concealed agents, supported him in his anti-party struggle against the Bolsheviks. By this time, in consequence of several Bolsheviks having been arrested, the composition of the Central Committee had changed. Trotsky made use of this and at the January plenum of the Central Committee in 1910 he and his followers pushed through a number of anti-Leninist decisions, viz.: to close the Bolshevik newspaper *Proletarii*, to give financial aid to the Trotskyist newspaper which was being published in Vienna. Later Lenin spoke of these plenum decisions as idiotic, conciliatory decisions which greatly harmed the work of the party. By putting the question of the attitude to the liquidators "directly and on principle, Lenin did, however, succeed in getting a resolution passed

¹ Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, *An Infantile Disorder*. Chapter III.

at the plenum condemning the liquidators and *otzovists* as carriers of bourgeois influences to the proletariat.

After the plenum of the Central Committee the struggle inside the party grew still more acute. The liquidators with their accomplices of all shades lined up against Lenin and intensified their attacks on the party. Out of this ill-assorted, unprincipled rabble Trotsky tried to organise an anti-party bloc against the Bolsheviks and Lenin, which took shape in 1912 as the so-called "August bloc". It was during these years that Lenin pilloried Trotsky and called him a petty Judas. Lenin tore the mask from this double-dealing hypocrite and laid bare the essentially anti-party nature of Trotskyism. The leaders of the Second International rushed to the aid of the liquidators. The pages of the European reformist press were hospitably opened to every kind of slanderous attack against the Bolsheviks.

In this tense situation Lenin aroused enthusiastic activity in the struggle for the party. He consolidated the ranks of the Bolsheviks and agreed to a temporary bloc between the Bolsheviks and the Menshevik party members (Plekhanov's supporters). This was a bloc of all who advocated the preservation and consolidation of the illegal party in opposition to those who wished to destroy it. Lenin's position had the whole-hearted support of Stalin. In the *Social-Democrat*, the central party organ, Stalin's *Letters from the Caucasus* appeared, in which he strongly condemned the treacherous behaviour of the Trotskyist accomplices.

Lenin headed the struggle against opportunism and against centrism, a variety of opportunism in the international labour movement. He closely followed the processes taking place in the international revolutionary movement and showed that opportunism was increasing in the Second International. He revealed that the mainstay of opportunism was the petty-bourgeois hangers-on in the labour movement and the labour aristocracy, the upper strata of the working class which had been bought over by the bourgeoisie; the chief carriers of opportunism, moreover, were the trade union

bureaucracy and the parliamentary groups of the Social-Democratic parties. Lenin noted that in all countries there was a growing falling away from the opportunists and he sharply criticised the centrist leadership of the parties of the Second International. He spoke in support of the left elements in the international labour movement, at the same time revealing their mistakes, their inconsistency in the struggle against opportunism. At the meetings of the International Socialist Bureau (in 1908, 1909 and 1911) in which Lenin had been the representative of the R.S.D.L.P. since the autumn of 1905, he had insisted on a consistently revolutionary line, exposed the centrism of Kautsky and other opportunists, supported the left-wing Social-Democrats and defended Rosa Luxemburg from the attacks levelled at her by the opportunist leadership of German Social-Democracy.

In August 1910, Lenin took an active part in the work of the Copenhagen Congress of the Second International, where he opposed the opportunists. During the congress, Lenin called a meeting of left-wing Social-Democrats with a view to organising and rallying the revolutionary elements in the international labour movement.

At the end of 1910 the first signs of animation among the masses, of an increase in the revolutionary mood of the masses, became evident in Russia. Lenin succeeded in getting a new Bolshevik Party organ, the *Rabochaya Gazeta* (Workers' Paper) published abroad, and a legal newspaper *Zvezda* (Star) and a magazine called *Mysl* (Thought) published in Russia.

Lenin devoted much attention to the work of training party cadres from among the workers. He noted with great pleasure the appearance of new party workers from among the working class and he trained them to be devoted party cadres. Lenin was most considerate towards the workers on their arrival abroad, helped to find them lodgings, watched over their studies and tested and broadened their knowledge. When the *otzovists* took advantage of the workers' thirst for knowledge and opened their own school at Capri, Lenin exposed its factional character. He succeeded in getting the students from

the Capri school to visit Paris and there, in November and December 1909, he read them lectures on the current situation and Stolypin's agrarian policy. In the summer of 1911, Lenin organised a party school at Longjumeau, near Paris. There he gave lectures to Bolshevik workers on political economy, the theory and practice of socialism and the agrarian question.

The Bolsheviks saw that the time had come to settle accounts once and for all with the Menshevik liquidators and to obtain formal official recognition of the Bolsheviks as a separate, independent party. The working class had to be prepared for the new revolutionary upsurge, the first signs of which were evident. But this would not be possible without first routing the opportunists who had split the labour movement. The Mensheviks had gone so far on the road to renouncing Marxism, the revolution and proletarian partisanship, that to remain with them any longer in one party, even formally, had become intolerable. They were conducting affairs so that in everything the workers' party in Russia would resemble the Social-Democratic parties of Western Europe where the opportunists predominated. In the struggle against the opportunists Lenin moulded a genuine Marxist revolutionary party, the party of a new type. In Lenin's opinion such a party should be officially inaugurated at a general party conference.

At Lenin's urgent request a conference of the members of the Central Committee who were living abroad was called at the end of May and beginning of June 1911, and there the decision was taken to convene a party conference. An Organisational Commission was set up to conduct the work of convening the All-Russian Conference. On Lenin's proposal G. K. Ordjonikidze was sent to Russia with instructions to set up a Russian Organisational Commission for the convening of the conference.

Lenin expressed great satisfaction concerning the work of the Commission, but at the same time he gave warning that tremendous difficulties still lay ahead. "But the main thing

has been accomplished. The banner has been unfurled, the workers' circles all over Russia are being drawn to it, and no counter-revolutionary attack can possibly haul it down."¹

As part of the preparations for the conference, Lenin worked hard in the Bolshevik organisations abroad. In the autumn he read papers to Bolshevik groups in Zurich, Berne, Geneva and Paris. In December 1911 he organised a conference in Paris of Bolshevik groups abroad, and gave a report on the state of affairs inside the party.

The Bolsheviks broke down every obstacle and succeeded in getting the party conference convened. In January 1912 the Sixth (Prague) All-Russian Conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party was held in Prague, having the same status as a party congress. Lenin personally guided its work.

In his speeches at the conference Lenin pointed out that the Bolshevik estimate of the class meaning of the reactionary Third-of-June regime, the forecast that there would be an inevitable development of the wave of revolution, had been fully confirmed by the whole trend of events. On the agenda, as before, was first and foremost the work on the revolutionary education, the organising and the rallying of the advanced proletarian masses; it was necessary to develop political agitation and to give full support to the rising tide of revolution in which the masses were already involved, fighting under the banner of the party's revolutionary slogans.

To solve these tasks, Lenin said, it was necessary to have a strong, well-organised, illegal party which would use every legal possibility on a still wider scale than before. The task of the moment required new forms of party organisational work. The formation of flexible, mobile, illegal party cells, small in number but surrounded by a network of legal organisations, would ensure that the party line was pursued in each branch of legal work and would help to drive the liquidators out of all the working-class organisations.

Lenin also delivered a report at the conference on the work of the International Socialist Bureau. He pointed out that

¹ Lenin, *The Climax of the Party Crisis*.

the struggle in it was becoming still sharper between the revolutionary and the reformist elements in the parties of the Second International and primarily in German Social-Democracy, although outwardly it appeared united.

In the resolution *On the Chinese Revolution*, the conference noted "the world significance of the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people, who are carrying liberation to Asia and undermining the domination of the European bourgeoisie."¹

The Prague Conference elected a Bolshevik Central Committee of the party, the members of which included V. I. Lenin, J. V. Stalin, G. K. Ordjonikidze, Y. M. Sverdlov, S. S. Spandaryan and others. The candidate members elected to the Central Committee included M. I. Kalinin and S. G. Shaumyan. On Lenin's proposal, Stalin, who was in exile at the time, was elected in his absence to the Central Committee and was put at the head of the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee, set up to guide the party work inside Russia. Besides J. V. Stalin, the other members of the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee were Y. M. Sverdlov, S. S. Spandaryan, G. K. Ordjonikidze and M. I. Kalinin.

The Prague Conference was the summing up of the results of the whole preceding struggle of the Bolsheviks for a revolutionary, proletarian party. The conference drove the Menshevik liquidators out of the R.S.D.L.P., thus laying the basis for the final recognition of the Bolsheviks as an independent party. The fact that the proletarian party was now cleared of opportunists, of Menshevik liquidators, was tremendously important for its further development, for consolidating the unity of its ranks and successfully achieving proletarian dictatorship. The tireless struggle of Lenin and the kernel of leading Bolsheviks who rallied round him for the creation of the party of a new type was at last completely successful.

Lenin's line was victorious because Lenin steadfastly pursued a principled policy, and "a principled policy", he taught, "is the only correct policy".

¹ Lenin, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 17, p. 435.

CHAPTER VII

1912-1914

The Prague Conference recorded the growth of the revolutionary mood of the masses, as manifested in strikes, demonstrations and meetings. The Bolshevik Party went out to meet the new rise in the labour movement with a scientifically founded, revolutionary programme and revolutionary tactics that had been tested in the experience of struggle.

The work of Lenin and the Bolsheviks aimed at consolidating the results of the Prague Conference and developing party work in Russia. To this end, it was necessary first and foremost to arrange for the publication of a legal daily newspaper.

In the spring of 1912, at the initiative of the St. Petersburg workers, *Pravda* (Truth), the legal daily Bolshevik newspaper, was brought out.

Pravda was the newspaper of the working masses, and it began to appear after the revolutionary upsurge had already begun. On April 4, a sanguinary drama had taken place in the distant Siberian taiga: tsarist troops had fired on workers at the Lena goldfields. The Lena shootings were the signal for the revolutionary mood of the masses to change into a revolutionary mass outburst. Strikes of protest against the shootings swept the country, in which 300,000 workers were involved. About 400,000 workers joined in the 1912 May Day strikes.

Lenin was finding it more and more difficult to give guidance to *Pravda*, to the party work in Russia and the growing revolutionary movement, from Paris, where he had been living since the end of 1908. In June 1912 Lenin moved to Cracow, to be closer to Russia. In a letter to A. M. Gorky Lenin wrote from Cracow that "the Central Committee has placed the bureau here (just between ourselves): the frontier

is close by, we make use of it, Peter is nearer, the newspapers from there arrive on the third day, it is now much easier to write in the newspapers over there, collaboration is arranged better."¹

There Lenin lived for more than two years, wintering in Cracow and spending the summer in the village of Poronin. As always when living in emigration, he had only cramped living quarters, he and his family occupying one or two rooms; he worked tirelessly on strenuous party and scientific work.

Lenin gave daily guidance to *Pravda*, closely followed its activities and directed its work. He rejoiced at the paper's successes and was quick to notice its blunders; he persistently sought means to increase its circulation and to get it on time to the workers. His target was to raise *Pravda's* circulation to 50-60,000 copies. Close ties and a lively correspondence were established between Lenin and the *Pravda* editorial board, of which V. M. Molotov was the secretary. Lenin rallied the party's finest literary forces to the paper.

Lenin invited A. M. Gorky, whom he highly valued as a great proletarian writer, to collaborate on *Pravda*. Earlier, on the old *Iskra*, Lenin had ardently defended Gorky when he was being persecuted by the tsarist police. During the years of reaction, Lenin had tried to get Gorky away from his Machian friends; he had criticised his mistakes and helped him to overcome his God-creating waverings and adopt a firm Marxist stand. When Lenin learned that Gorky's enthusiasm for Mach was passing, he tentatively invited him to contribute to the Bolshevik publications. Lenin's numerous letters to Gorky are wonderful documents, typical of the friendship between the two men, of Lenin's influence on the great proletarian writer, his concern for the development of Gorky's talents and literary work for the people.

Lenin wrote for *Pravda* almost daily. His articles played a great part in the leadership of the party and the workers' movement. They trained the workers in the spirit of prolet-

¹ Lenin, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 35, p. 30.

tarian solidarity and the knowledge that the interests of all workers are identical. In his articles, Lenin skilfully evaded tsarist censorship and simply and clearly, in a language that every worker could understand, shed light on the most complicated problems of Russian and international life. He taught the working class revolutionary tactics and prepared it for the impending revolution, using as his basis the experience of the strike struggle which had spread widely throughout the country.

Lenin wrote with alarm and bitterness of Russia's backwardness, of her economic dependence on the imperialist states of Western Europe. He flayed the exploiting classes because they doomed five-sixths of the population to poverty and injustice. His articles aroused the anger and indignation of the popular masses against the tsarist autocracy and the bourgeoisie, who oppressed the people and bartered the wealth of the country away to foreign capitalists.

In *Pravda* Lenin wrote about the ruin and impoverishment to which the Stolypin reform had brought wide sections of the toiling peasantry. He showed that a great deal of inflammatory material had accumulated in the villages. He stressed that the peasantry could only rid itself of slavery and need by revolutionary means, under the leadership of the working class.

Lenin's articles gave an overall indictment of capitalism, which had become a hindrance to social progress and a brake on the development of technical improvements and culture.

"Under capitalism", wrote Lenin, "civilisation, freedom and wealth remind one of a bloated plutocrat, who is decaying alive and who prevents the young from living. But the young will grow up and get the upper hand, come what may."¹

Lenin exposed the rottenness of capitalism and the reactionary nature of the whole policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The decayed European bourgeoisie, wrote Lenin, is ready to sell all its "civilisation" to the first adventurer in

¹ Lenin, *Civilised Barbarism*, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 19, p. 349.

exchange for "severity" against the workers or an extra five-copeck piece per rouble of profits. In Europe the historic moment had arrived when the bourgeoisie, out of fear of the growing and strengthening proletariat, was supporting all that was backward, moribund or medieval. "The bourgeoisie . . . is prepared to go to any length of savagery, brutality and crime in order to preserve perishing, capitalist slavery."¹

Lenin warned that there were increasing signs of the approach of imperialist war, that the imperialists were preparing for a world slaughter.

Lenin proved that the epoch of revolutionary, proletarian battles was approaching. He profoundly believed in the future victory of the revolution, and he imbued the party and the working class with this conviction and certainty. "We fight better than our fathers. Our children will fight still better, and *they will be victorious*."

"The working class is not dying. It is growing, becoming strong, coming of age; it is uniting, learning and becoming steeled in the struggle. We are pessimists in regard to serfdom, capitalism and small-scale production, but we are ardent optimists about the working class movement and its aims."²

The revolutionary proletariat in Europe and the colonial peoples of the East have one common enemy—imperialism, explained Lenin. He fully supported the Chinese revolution and the national-liberation movement in other Asian countries. He exposed the diplomatic intriguing of the European states, whose quarrels were only about the different methods of plundering and enslaving the peoples. "Everywhere in Asia a mighty, democratic movement is growing, spreading and gaining strength. There, the bourgeoisie is *still* siding with the people against reaction. *Hundreds* of millions of people are awakening to life, light and liberty. What delight this world movement is arousing in the hearts of all class-

¹ Lenin, *Backward Europe and Advanced Asia*.

² Lenin, *The Working Class and Neo-Malthusianism*, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 19, p. 206.

conscious workers, who know that the path to collectivism lies through democracy! What sympathy for young Asia imbues all honest democrats!"¹

Pravda was particularly loved by the workers. It was published out of funds which the workers themselves collected. Lenin looked upon the financial contributions from the workers as membership dues to the party. The contributions testified to the stable connection between *Pravda* and the broad working masses.

In those years the party united under its banner tens and hundreds of thousands of workers, loyal fighters for the revolution and for the interests of the people. The party was able to achieve this because it always pursued a consistent, revolutionary line and was strongly welded and organised.

"The Party is the class-conscious, leading section of the class, its vanguard", wrote Lenin. "The strength of this vanguard is ten, one hundred or more times greater than its numerical composition.

"Is this possible? Can the strength of one hundred exceed the strength of a thousand?

"It can even exceed it, when the hundred are organised. Organisation increases strength tenfold."²

Pravda was the heart of the struggle for partisanship, for the reconstruction of a mass workers' party. It trained that whole generation of the revolutionary proletariat which, subsequently, carried through the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Lenin considered that besides strengthening *Pravda* to the utmost, it was essential to broaden out all the legal publishing work of the Bolsheviks. He organised the legal Bolshevik monthly magazine, *Prosveshcheniye* (Enlightenment), the first number of which appeared in St. Petersburg in December 1911; he worked actively on the editorial board, wrote one

¹ Lenin, *Backward Europe and Advanced Asia*.

² Lenin, *How V. Zasulich Kills Liquidationism*, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 19, p. 365.

article for almost every issue and searched about for funds to keep the magazine going.

When *Pravda* was once established on a firm basis, Lenin proposed publishing a legal Bolshevik newspaper in Moscow. In August 1913 arrangements were successfully made for the publication in Moscow of a newspaper called *Nash Put* (Our Path), in which Lenin published several articles.

The powers of the Third State Duma ended in 1912 and the elections to the Fourth Duma were about to take place. Lenin drew up the party's election platform and outlined the attitude the Bolsheviks should adopt in the campaign. He considered that the Bolsheviks' participation in the election campaign was a most important means of struggle to win the masses and to strengthen contacts with them. The election campaign ended with a big victory for the Bolsheviks. The special worker electorates in all the main industrial areas voted Bolsheviks into the State Duma.

The results of the party's work after the Prague Conference were summed up at a conference which the Central Committee convened together with leading party workers, in December 1912 at Cracow. Lenin led the work of the conference. In his speeches, he outlined the party's tactics in the conditions of revolutionary upsurge, which amounted to steadfast and consistent defence of the party's main revolutionary slogans: a democratic republic, confiscation of the landed estates, the 8-hour working day. The party had to support, develop and thoroughly organise the activities of the masses: revolutionary strikes, demonstrations, meetings, etc. The party's most important task was to draw the peasantry as unanimously, simultaneously and broadly as possible into revolutionary activity. Lenin constantly pointed out that while conducting a relentless struggle against the liquidators, the Bolsheviks should see to it that there was always unity from below, unity of the advanced workers in the day-to-day work in the factories and workshops.

The conference showed how the Bolshevik Party had grown

and strengthened, once it had won a number of big victories over the liquidators and squeezed them out of all their positions in the labour movement. But Lenin did not consider that what he had achieved was enough; he stubbornly worked to strengthen the illegal Bolshevik organisations still more, to develop the legal side of their work to the full.

Lenin paid considerable attention to the Duma Social-Democratic group; he supervised the work of the Bolshevik deputies, wrote draft speeches for them and gave them daily tuition in how to make the best revolutionary use of the Duma platform. Frequently deputies went to Lenin to talk things over and work out the attitude they should adopt in the Duma. A. E. Badayev quotes Lenin as saying to the Bolshevik deputies in the Duma:

"The Black-Hundreds Duma will never pass any laws to lighten the position of the workers. The task of the workers' deputy is to remind the Black Hundreds day in and day out from the Duma tribune that the working class is strong and mighty, that the day is not far off when revolution will break out again and sweep away all the Black Hundreds and their Ministers and government. Of course, it is possible to offer amendments and even present a Bill, but all these activities must amount to one and the same; we must brand the tsarist system, expose all the horrible arbitrariness of the government, talk about the lack of rights and cruel exploitation of the working class. This will really be what the workers ought to hear from their deputy."¹

A. E. Badayev, G. I. Petrovsky, M. K. Muranov, F. N. Samoilov, N. R. Shagov—the Bolshevik deputies whom Lenin guided—held high the banner of the workers' party in the Black-Hundreds Duma.

During this period Lenin became seriously occupied with the national question. The orgy of Great Russian chauvinism in all fields of social life and politics, the increase in nationalism among the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois sections of

¹ A. Badayev, *The Bolsheviks in the State Duma*, Russ. ed., 1954, p. 182.

the oppressed nations, the use by the Bundists and liquidators of the bourgeois-nationalist slogan of "Cultural-National Autonomy", the preaching of chauvinism in Western Europe—all this threatened to kindle internecine strife, which could have violated the international unity of the ranks of the proletariat. The task of defeating nationalism in all its manifestations and of providing a theoretical basis for the Marxist programme on the national question confronted the Bolsheviks in all its magnitude. •

From the middle of 1913 Lenin worked on the solution of this task. He wrote a number of articles, including programme works such as *Critical Notes on the National Question* (October-December 1913) and *On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination* (February-May 1914). He made a number of reports on this subject in Zurich, Geneva, Lausanne and Berne, and also in Paris, Liege, Leipzig and Cracow.

Lenin mercilessly flayed the Great Russian chauvinism of the Black Hundreds and the tsarist policy of oppressing nationalities. He stigmatised tsarism as the butcher of the oppressed nations, who had transformed the country into a prison of peoples. He showed that the Cadets, with their cringing attitude towards tsarism, supported this base policy.

Lenin strongly criticised the Polish Social-Democrats who denied the right of nations to self-determination; he conducted a relentless struggle against the Bundists and other nationalists who tried to poison the working class with the venom of nationalism and break the unity of the working-class movement. While conducting the struggle against the Ukrainian nationalists, Lenin stressed that "given the united action of the Great Russian and Ukrainian proletarians, a free Ukraine is possible, without such unity it is out of the question".¹

Firmly and consistently Lenin defended proletarian internationalism, the idea of bringing nations together, of rallying the workers of all nationalities into united, proletarian class organisations.

¹ Lenin, *Critical Remarks on the National Question*.

Lenin made a comparison of the two programmes, the two policies—bourgeois and proletarian—on the national question:

“Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism—such are the two irreconcilably hostile slogans that correspond to the two great class camps throughout the entire capitalist world and express the *two* policies (more than that: two world outlooks) in the national question.”¹

Giving the reasons for the party's programme slogan of the right of nations to self-determination, Lenin explained that the slogan meant the right of nations to secede and form independent states. Lenin formulated the party's practical programme on the national question thus: complete equality of rights for all nations and languages, broad regional autonomy, the guarantee of the rights of the national minorities.

Lenin highly valued Stalin's *Marxism and the National Question*, written in 1913, and he described it as one of the most important works on the national^o question to be found in the literature on Marxist theory.

The Bolsheviks alone had a scientifically based, consistent Marxist programme on the national question. The Bolsheviks steadily fought for this programme and kept unsullied the great banner of proletarian internationalism.

In the course of irreconcilable struggle against the bourgeois ideologists who did all in their power to slander and besmirch Marxism, Lenin shed light from all sides on the importance of Marxism for the development of the revolutionary movement, for the development of human science and culture, and showed the harmonious, integral character of Marxism, its truly scientific essence, its consistently revolutionary character. Only Marxism, Lenin stressed, showed the working class and mankind the path to freedom from all forms of oppression.

¹ Lenin, *Critical Remarks on the National Question*.

"Marx's teaching is omnipotent because it is true",¹ wrote Lenin.

Lenin sharply criticised international opportunism and exposed the new methods used by the enemies of Marxism in the struggle against Marx's teaching. He showed how the reformists throw out the revolutionary meaning of Marxism and try to blunt its sharpness and adapt it to the interests of the bourgeoisie.

"Reformism", wrote Lenin, "is bourgeois deception of the workers, who will always remain hired slaves, in spite of individual improvements, as long as capitalist rule exists. . . The experience of all countries shows that whenever the workers trusted the reformists they always found they had been fooled."²

Lenin resolutely opposed the attempts of the leaders of the Second International, under the flag of "conciliation" between Bolsheviks and liquidators, actually to liquidate the independent Bolshevik Party. He exposed the disorganising activities of the anti-party groupings which had the support of the leaders of the Second International.

During this period Lenin was active in the Polish and Latvian workers' movements. He attended and spoke at workers' meetings in Cracow. He wrote the *Draft Platform for the Fourth Congress of Latvian Social-Democracy* in preparation for the congress of Latvian Social-Democrats and spoke at the congress when it took place in Brussels in January 1914. In consequence of Lenin's determined struggle against the conciliatory elements at the congress, the Latvian Social-Democrats left the August Bloc.

The revolutionary movement in Russia rose higher and higher. In the first half of 1914 about one and a half million workers were involved in strikes. The workers' strikes had taken on a more stubborn character and economic strikes became interwoven with political strikes. The country was

¹ *The Three Sources and the Three Component Parts of Marxism.*

² Lenin, *Marxism and Reformism*, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 19, p. 334.

advancing towards another revolution. The modest living quarters in Cracow became the genuine headquarters of the revolutionary movement. Lenin maintained a lively correspondence with the party organisations, closely followed events in Russia, and directed the work of the Bolshevik organisations. Party workers from Russia and Bolshevik emigrants returning to their home country called on Vladimir Ilyich in Cracow for instructions.

Although forced to live in exile, Lenin was yet closely linked with the Russian working class and the party organisations. Workers wrote to him about their living conditions and on party affairs; he highly valued the workers' opinions in regard to his own writings. There was no one who knew the situation in Russia as well as Lenin did.

During 1912-14 the Central Committee had several conferences with party workers. Twice Stalin went to visit Lenin. Of great importance was the Poronino conference in September 1913, where Lenin made a report on the work of the Central Committee and another on the national question.

In April and July 1914, Lenin called a conference of the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks in connection with the question of preparing for and convening the next party congress. But the congress was never convened—the imperialist war of 1914-18 prevented it.

Lenin had spent over two years in Cracow. They were years when the Russian workers' movement was in a state of mighty upsurge, when the party was growing fast, as well as its influence and prestige among the workers. During these years the solid foundation of the mass Bolshevik Party was laid, a basis which no tsarist persecution could destroy.

Under Lenin's guidance, the Bolshevik Party marched forward to meet new battles, carrying high the banner of revolutionary socialism and proletarian internationalism.

CHAPTER VIII

1914-1917

The outbreak of the first world war found Lenin in Poronino. On July 26, 1914, he had been arrested by the Austrian police through a false denunciation and put into prison at Novy Targ. Eleven days later, on August 6, he had to be released from prison, because the accusation was found to be obviously absurd. But it was not possible to remain in a country that was fighting against Russia, for this would clearly have created insurmountable difficulties for revolutionary work. Lenin was successful in obtaining permission to leave for neutral Switzerland. There he lived until March 1917, first in Berne and later in Zurich.

In the first world war two groups of big imperialist states were at war: Germany and Austro-Hungary on the one hand, England, France and Russia on the other. Later the United States, Japan and other capitalist states joined in.

The war was a stern test for all trends in the international labour movement. The leaders of the Socialist Parties of Europe, who even long before the war had been steeped in opportunism, openly betrayed the working class. They shifted to the position of support for their own imperialist governments, helped the bourgeoisie with their lying slogan of "defence of the fatherland" (the bourgeois fatherland) to set the workers and peasants of the belligerent countries against each other, and all for the sake of the mercenary interests of the imperialists. The Second International, rotten through and through, completely collapsed.

In this terrible moment in history, when the Socialist Parties were in a state of profound crisis and the leaders of the labour movement had betrayed the working class, the Bolshevik Party alone and without hesitation raised the banner of proletarian internationalism, the banner of struggle

against imperialist war. Lenin's fiery call to "declare war against war" was heard throughout the world.

On August 24, 1914, Lenin spoke at a meeting of the local Bolshevik group in Berne on the attitude to the war. The meeting adopted his theses on the war and Lenin immediately despatched them to Russia and distributed them among the Bolshevik sections abroad. The theses were approved by the Russian party organisations which occupied a firm revolutionary stand on the question of war.

The theses on war were used as the basis for a manifesto from the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party which Lenin wrote at the end of September 1914 and called *War and Russian Social-Democracy*. In these historic documents Lenin defined the war as being one which was unjust, imperialist and predatory on both sides. The purpose of the war, Lenin pointed out, was the struggle of the imperialist states for markets, for a redivision of colonies and for the plunder of foreign countries, and an attempt to crush the proletarian revolutionary movement and democracy by setting the working people of one nation against the working people of another nation. Lenin put forward the slogan: turn the imperialist war into a civil war, into a war of the working people against the bourgeoisie and landlords.

The Bolsheviks considered that, from the standpoint of the working class and the working masses of all the peoples inhabiting Russia, the lesser evil would be a military defeat for the tsarist monarchy, since this would promote the victory of the people over tsarism and the successful struggle of the working class for freedom from capitalist slavery and imperialist wars. The Bolsheviks at the same time took as their point of departure that not only the Russian revolutionaries but also the revolutionary working-class parties of all the belligerent countries should pursue the policy of defeat of their own imperialist governments.

Lenin condemned the betrayal by the leaders of the Second International of the proletarian cause and of the great principles of internationalism, and called for relentless

struggle against chauvinism and the social-chauvinists, the leaders of the Second International. He urged the creation of a new Third International to take the place of the bankrupt Second International.

At a time when the orgy of chauvinism was at its height, when the attacks of the mercenary hacks against the "anti-patriotism" of the Bolsheviks had reached their limit, Lenin in December 1914 wrote an article *On the National Pride of the Great Russians*.

It contained the programme theses on what advanced proletarians understood by patriotism and national pride.

Lenin asked: is it foreign to us, the Great Russian class-conscious proletarians, to have a sense of national pride? And his reply was: "Of course not! We love our language and our country, we are doing more than anybody to raise *her* toiling masses (i.e. nine-tenths of *her* population) to the level of the conscious life of democrats and Socialists."¹ Lenin wrote with pain and bitterness of the violence, the oppression and mockery to which the tsarist butchers, the landlords and capitalists were subjecting the Motherland. The Russian workers' great love for their native land was closely linked with the deep hatred they felt for their enemies and oppressors. The patriotism of the proletarians was seen in their supreme and heroic struggle to rid their land of the oppression of the exploiting classes and of the fetters which bound it, and in their self-sacrificing struggle for the happiness of their people. The national pride of the Bolsheviks was first and foremost pride in the fact that the Russian people had set mankind the great example of struggle for freedom and socialism, pride in the fact that the Russian working class had created a powerful, revolutionary, mass party. Lenin pointed out that the Bolshevik Party's struggle for socialism coincided with Russia's fundamental interests and that all true national interests, correctly understood, coincided with the socialist interests of the working class.

Lenin was proud that it had fallen to the lot of the Russian

¹ Lenin, *On the National Pride of the Great Russians*.

working class to fulfil the historic role of vanguard in mankind's struggle for liberation. He was proud that he belonged to the Great Russian people who had displayed immortal examples of heroism, courage and steadfastness in the struggle for the country's independence, in the revolutionary struggle for freedom and socialism, who had enriched mankind with the greatest achievements in science and culture. For the sake of liberating the Motherland from the autocracy and capitalist oppression, Lenin conducted his irreconcilable struggle against imperialism and imperialist war.

While in Switzerland, Lenin¹ doggedly held firm and rallied the Bolshevik Party forces. The difficulties connected with the conduct of revolutionary work in wartime were extremely great. Lenin was cut off from Russia by numerous fronts. Letters, newspapers and magazines arrived from Russia only irregularly and much delayed. During the war, the tsarist police were particularly ferocious in their efforts to smash the Bolshevik organisations in Russia. J. V. Stalin, V. M. Molotov, Y. M. Sverdlov, S. S. Spandaryan, G. K. Ordjonikidze and others were in prison or exile. The Bolshevik group in the Fourth State Duma, which had resolutely opposed the imperialist war, had been arrested in November 1914 and exiled to Siberia.

Lenin lived in difficult material circumstances. Never before had he been so much in need as during the war. In one letter, written in the second half of 1916, he had to admit:

"As for myself, I must say I've got to earn some money. Otherwise I shall simply crack up, really! The high cost of living is just diabolical and I have nothing to live on."¹

Lenin was asking for someone to help persuade his publishers to pay for one of his manuscripts.

"If this is not arranged, honestly I won't be able to keep going; I say this in all seriousness, really I do."²

¹ Lenin, *Letter to Shlyapnikov*, 1916,

² *ibid.*

In the difficult wartime conditions Lenin never for a moment interrupted his party work, but kept it going with the greatest energy. He held together the group of Bolsheviks living abroad, and read papers at Lausanne, Geneva, Clarens, Zurich and Berne on the attitude of the Bolsheviks to imperialist war. When he learned that Plekhanov was to read a paper in Lausanne on the attitude of the socialists to war, Lenin went there, and in a contribution to the discussion made a devastating criticism of Plekhanov's social-chauvinist position.

While in Switzerland Lenin undertook the organisation of the printing and distribution of Bolshevik publications. Through correspondence and in private conversation he discovered what possibilities for publishing existed in Geneva and gave the party workers precise and concrete directions how to go about it and, at the same time, how to observe the necessary precautions. It was clear to Lenin that in wartime conditions it was a very complicated business printing documents opposing imperialist war, even in "neutral" Switzerland and even in the Russian language. The Swiss bourgeois government, which economically was completely dependent on the bourgeoisie of the big imperialist powers and was always ready to do the bidding of European reaction, might easily have undertaken repressive measures against the Russian Bolsheviks for their exposure of the true aims of the war and its imperialist character.

Lenin overcame the material difficulties and the police obstacles and organised the printing and distribution of Bolshevik publications. On November 1, 1914, after a break of almost one year, the newspaper *Sotsial-Demokrat* appeared, carrying the Central Committee's manifesto on war. The paper was sent illegally to Russia and distributed to the Bolshevik sections abroad, and it became very important in the life of the party. Through all barriers, through the battle fronts, the word of Bolshevik truth reached out to the advanced workers.

Despite the redoubled persecutions by the tsarist govern-

ment, the discoveries and arrests of Bolsheviks, the party continued its revolutionary work in Russia and developed the struggle against imperialist war. The Bolshevik Party had to operate in the deepest secrecy. Under Lenin's guidance, the party had accumulated great experience of work in illegal conditions, and new proletarian party cadres had grown up around *Pravda* during the years 1912-14. Lenin wrote:

"The work of our party has now become a hundred times more difficult. Yet we shall carry it through! *Pravda* has trained thousands of class-conscious workers and, despite all the difficulties, from them a group of leaders—the Russian Central Committee of the Party—will again be selected."¹

Lenin was pointing out that leading groups had to be rallied together in Russia's key centres and that the Central Committee and the Bureau of the Central Committee had to be restored inside Russia. In spite of all the difficulties, Lenin did manage to establish contacts with Russian party organisations and to arrange for correspondence with the members of the Central Committee living in Petrograd.

In February 1915 Lenin held a conference of Bolshevik sections abroad, in Berne. He was the reporter on the main question of *The War and the Tasks of the Party*. Bukharin opposed the revolutionary tactics of transforming the imperialist war into civil war and the slogan of defeating the tsarist government. Lenin strongly criticised his speech. The conference adopted Lenin's resolution on the attitude to war and the party's tasks.

Because of the hard work put in by the Bolshevik Party organisations, the Russian working class did not support the social-patriots, did not succumb to the intoxication of bourgeois chauvinism, but remained true to the banner of proletarian internationalism. The Bolsheviks did a great deal of revolutionary work in the working-class centres, in the

¹ Lenin, *Letter to Shlyapnikov*, 1914.

fleet and army, and particularly in the armies of the Northern front, in the Baltic area.

And so, the Bolsheviks were found to be well equipped for the struggle against war and for the overthrow of the imperialist government in their own country, because they had set up an illegal organisation capable of fighting, which was able to stand at the head of the masses in the struggle to turn the imperialist war into civil war.

Led by Lenin, the Bolshevik Party was the only consistently internationalist force, revolutionary to the end, in the international labour movement. There was no one, besides the Bolsheviks, to undertake the initial steps for the establishment of the new Third International. And so Lenin began, in the early days of the war, to lay the foundations of the new International, with his customary energy and stubbornness.

Lenin went boldly against the stream and exposed the true aims of the war, the bloody crimes of the imperialist governments and the direct complicity in the war of the "socialist" lackeys of the bourgeoisie. He considered no less dangerous the concealed social-chauvinists, the centrists (Kautsky, Trotsky and others), who swore loyalty to Marxism in words but actually foully betrayed it. "More than all the rest I hate and despise Kautsky now", wrote Lenin: "foul, cheap, self-satisfied hypocrisy. . . . Kautsky, who wants to cover up and paint over everything, to quiet the conscience of the workers with sophisms and pseudo-scientific verbosity."¹

Lenin called for relentless struggle against opportunism and social-chauvinism; he explained that this struggle was the most important task of the Bolshevik Party and of the revolutionary Marxists in the international labour movement.

"Our party's *whole* struggle (and that of the labour movement in Europe in general) should be aimed against opportunism. It is not a trend, a direction; it

¹ Lenin, *Letter to Shlyapnikov*, 1914.

(opportunism) has now become an organised weapon of the bourgeoisie inside the labour movement.”¹

The opportunists greeted Lenin’s statements with an outburst of infuriated anger and hatred. But this did not make Lenin waver or retreat. In December 1916 he wrote:

“You see, this is my fate. One battle campaign after another against political stupidities, banalities, opportunism, etc.

“And ever since 1893. And the hatred of the philistines because of it. Well, all the same I would not change my fate for ‘peace’ with the philistines.”²

Tirelessly and persistently Lenin gathered together the internationalist elements in the international labour movement and inspired them to adopt a more consistent and resolute attitude against the war and against opportunism. Lenin undertook the practical steps to unite the revolutionary forces in the European and American labour movements. He arranged for the translation into foreign languages of the Manifesto of the Central Committee and other party documents, so that European workers would be able to read them. In September 1914 the Italo-Swiss Socialist Conference took place at Lugano (Switzerland) and Lenin’s theses on the war were discussed there.

In February 1915 a conference of the Socialists of the Entente countries was called in London. The Bolsheviks used this conference for the struggle against social-chauvinism. On Lenin’s directives, the Bolshevik representatives at the conference read out a declaration which exposed the social-chauvinism of the leaders of international Social-Democracy and outlined the Bolshevik attitude on principle.

On the initiative of the Bolsheviks, an International Socialist Conference of the women and of the youth took place in Berne in the spring of 1915. The Bolshevik delegates at this conference spoke on Lenin’s directives.

¹ Lenin, *Letter to Wajnskoop*, July 1915.

² Lenin, *Letter to Inessa Armand*.

By the summer of 1915, after the first year of the war, the consequences of it—the death of millions of people, dislocation of industrial life, the increase in the cost of living, etc.—began to be felt more strongly by the masses of the people. Revolutionary protests against the war and social-chauvinism began to increase in the international labour movement. The time had come to convene a conference of the Socialist leaders who were opposed to the war.

Lenin did a great deal of the preparatory work for this conference. He sent letters to the left-wing leaders in the international labour movement, in an endeavour to ensure that internationally minded delegates would attend the conference, and that they would adhere firmly to the basic principles of revolutionary Marxism in the struggle against chauvinism. In order that the European workers should be informed of the Bolshevik Party line, Lenin issued, prior to the conference, a pamphlet in German entitled *Socialism and War* and, in French, the resolutions of the Bolshevik conference at Berne, where the Leninist attitude to imperialist war and the tasks of the working classes of all countries had been defined.

Early in September 1915 the first conference of the internationalists assembled at Zimmerwald (Switzerland), where Lenin organised a left-wing group. But even in this group, the Bolshevik Party, headed by Lenin, adopted the only fully correct and consistent stand on the question of war, peace and the revolution. Lenin called this conference the first step in the development of the international, anti-war movement.

The Russian Bolsheviks and the left-wing leaders from the European Socialist Parties who supported them were an insignificant minority in the international labour movement at that time. But Lenin firmly believed in the certain victory of proletarian internationalism in the labour movement. It is no matter that we are isolated units, he said, there will be millions with us, because the stand of the Bolsheviks is the only correct, principled stand.

In addition to the tremendous practical work to organise and rally the forces of the revolutionary proletariat of Russia and other countries, Lenin worked hard on theoretical problems.

Lenin developed every aspect of Marxist teaching. In his article *Karl Marx* he gave a concise yet full description and exposition of Marx's teaching. He put in a great deal of work on philosophical questions, studying and making copious notes on the works of Hegel, Aristotle and Feuerbach. The outcome of this work was his *Philosophical Notebooks*. These are a splendid example of Lenin's scientific work and give a Marxist appraisal of the greatest philosophers of the past. Lenin studied Hegel's philosophy with especial care. While he carefully selected and brought out everything of value in Hegel's works, he showed consistently and thoroughly the erroneous points of departure in Hegel's idealist philosophy and sharply criticised his reactionary views about society. In his *Philosophical Notebooks* Lenin revealed the fundamental elements of materialist dialectics and developed the most important theses of Marxist philosophy.

Lenin also continued his work on the agrarian question, his study of agriculture and the position of the peasantry in the capitalist countries; he wrote a book about capitalism in United States agriculture. He made use of a great deal of factual material to show that a process was taking place in the United States in which large-scale agricultural production was squeezing out the small; he drew a clear picture of the despondency, poverty and ruination of the masses of small farmers.

Lenin's brilliant mind worked strenuously on the entire sum total of the most complicated questions of the new historical epoch—the epoch of imperialism. Only a titan of revolutionary thought such as Lenin could have grappled with this gigantic work.

During this period, Lenin worked out the theory and tactics of the Communist Party on the questions of war, peace and revolution. He explained that Marxists should examine every

war on the basis of a careful analysis of the causes which engendered it. He taught that wars can be just or unjust. Against unjust, aggressive wars which aimed at seizing and enslaving other countries and other peoples, it was necessary to wage a determined struggle up to and including revolution and the overthrow of one's own imperialist government. Proletarians are in duty bound to support just wars; for instance, the defence of a people against foreign aggression and attempts to enslave it, the struggle for the emancipation of a people from capitalist slavery, a war for the liberation of the colonies and dependent countries from the imperialist yoke, defence of a socialist state against the imperialists. Lenin fully explained that imperialist war is the continuation of the imperialist policy of the ruling classes, but by other, violent means.

At that time, Lenin's investigations into imperialism occupied the central position in his theoretical work. In 1916 he wrote his classic *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, which is an outstanding contribution to the treasure store of creative Marxism.

This book was the outcome of a tremendous amount of scientific work. Lenin deeply studied world literature on questions of economics, technique, politics, diplomacy, the labour movement, the colonial question and other spheres of social life in various countries during the imperialist epoch. The notes, précis, excerpts and tables which Lenin made while reading all this literature are collected in twenty notebooks and make a book of some five hundred pages, which was published later under the title *Notebooks on Imperialism*. Every one of Lenin's theses and summaries, every conclusion he drew, is based on a wealth of facts. All this gives a vivid picture of the work of Lenin, the brilliant scientist and tireless research worker.

Taking Karl Marx's *Capital* as his basis, Lenin was the first of the Marxists to produce a comprehensive, Marxist analysis of imperialism as the highest and, at the same time, the last stage in the development of capitalism, to expose

its sores and the conditions making for its inevitable downfall, and to prove that imperialism is decaying capitalism.

Lenin defined the economic meaning of imperialism, the fact that monopolies take the place of free competition, as shown in the trusts and syndicates, in the omnipotence of the big banks, in the seizure and cornering of sources of raw materials. Economic monopoly is the essence of the matter, asserted Lenin. Typical of economic monopoly is the urge towards maximum monopoly profits. Lenin's definitions contain in essence the initial propositions of the basic economic law of imperialism.

Lenin produced his classic definition of imperialism.

"Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun; in which the division of all territories of the globe among the great capitalist powers has been completed."¹

Typical of imperialism in the political sphere, Lenin pointed out, is the turn towards reaction all along the line. Having subordinated the political apparatus of the bourgeois states, the financial bosses abolish elementary democratic rights and liberties and brutally suppress the labour movement. Lenin showed the connection between opportunism and imperialism, when he showed that out of the super-profits which the capitalists obtain from plundering the colonies and dependent countries they bribe and corrupt the upper strata of the workers and draw them over to their side.

Lenin gave a thorough exposure of the Kautskyan, anti-Marxist theory of "ultra-imperialism", which affirmed that imperialism leads to organised world capitalist economy, so eliminating all contradictions, crises and wars. Lenin refuted Kautsky's bourgeois lie that the rise of international trusts

¹ Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Chapter VII.

leads to peace among peoples, and proved that in actual fact these trusts greatly intensify the contradictions between the capitalist countries, and that under imperialism wars are inevitable.

In the epoch of imperialism, the contradictions between labour and capital become sharply intensified. Increased also is the predatory exploitation of the masses, with a simultaneous increase in the indignation of the proletariat against capitalism, and an increase in the elements making for revolutionary upheavals inside the capitalist countries. There is an intensification of the most insolent and cruel exploitation and the most inhuman oppression of hundreds of millions of people living in the colonial and dependent countries and, together with this, an increase in the elements which engender national liberation wars against imperialism in those countries. With this as his point of departure, Lenin worked out his fundamental theses concerning the general crisis of capitalism, and drew the conclusion that imperialism is the threshold of the socialist revolution.

Whereas, during the period of the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., Lenin wrote a stern indictment of Russian capitalism in the party programme, during the years of the first world war Lenin used all his scientific precision and revolutionary passion to present his indictment of world imperialism, which was hurling mankind into the abyss of new, sanguinary wars and economic catastrophes.

Lenin's work on imperialism is of world historic importance. It marked another step forward in the development of Marx's economic theory, the theory of scientific communism. Lenin took the Marxist theory one step forward and gave it new meaning.

In his study of imperialism, Lenin discovered the law of the inequality of the economic and political development of capitalism during the epoch of imperialism. He showed that capitalism develops extremely unequally, in leaps and through conflicts. The violent struggle is increasing between the imperialist predatory jackals for markets to sell their

goods and invest their capital, for colonies, for sources of raw materials, and this makes inevitable periodic imperialist wars for the redistribution of the world. These wars undermine the strength of imperialism and make possible a breach in the imperialist front at the place where it is weakest. Hence Lenin came to the conclusion that Marx's and Engels's formula that it was impossible to have the victory of socialism in one country alone and that the victory of socialism was possible only through the simultaneous victory of proletarian revolution in all the advanced capitalist countries, no longer fitted the new historical situation. In the place of this formula a new one should be found, showing the possibility of the victory of socialism first of all in several countries, or even in one capitalist country alone, and the impossibility of the simultaneous victory of socialism in all countries.

Lenin first formulated his brilliant discovery of the possibility of the victory of socialism first of all in one single country in August 1915 in his article *The United States of Europe Slogan*.

"Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible first in several or even one capitalist country, taken separately."¹

A year later in an article entitled *The War Programme of the Proletarian Revolution*, Lenin developed his views on socialist revolution in the epoch of imperialism:

"The development of capitalism proceeds extremely unevenly in the various countries. It cannot be otherwise under the commodity production system. From this it follows irrefutably that Socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously in all countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois for some time. This must not only create friction, but a direct striving on the part of the bourgeoisie of other countries to crush the

¹ Lenin, *The United States of Europe Slogan*.

victorious proletariat of the Socialist country. In such cases a war on our part would be a legitimate and just war."¹

This was the greatest discovery of our epoch. It was the guiding principle in the work of the Communist Party, in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism in Russia.

The opportunists clung to the old formula of Marx and Engels and began to accuse Lenin of retreating from Marxism. But they behaved as dogmatists, who regarded Marx's doctrine as something set and ossified. They behaved as the enemies of Marxism, which is an eternally living, creative and developing doctrine. The genius and greatness of Lenin was that he was able to separate the substance from the letter of Marxism, and to develop it to suit the new historical conditions. One of the most vivid examples of how Lenin creatively developed Marxism was his new, complete theory of the socialist revolution.

Lenin's theory that the victory of socialism was possible in one country alone gave the proletariat a clear perspective of the struggle, liberated the energies and initiative of the proletarians of separate countries for the onslaught against their own national bourgeoisie, armed the party and the working class with scientifically based confidence of victory.

With unflagging energy Lenin rallied the left-wing elements in the Socialist Parties and directed their work along revolutionary channels. He developed the struggle inside the Zimmerwald association against the centrist, petty-bourgeois, pacifist elements, who chattered about peace, but were unwilling to put up a fight against the imperialists and social-chauvinists.

This struggle brought results. History proved that Lenin was right. The burden of the war which had dragged into its second year was most heavily felt among the masses. There was increasing dissatisfaction concerning the war. At the Second Zimmerwald conference, which met in April 1916 at Kienthal (Switzerland), the Zimmerwaldists, influen

¹ Lenin, *The War Programme of the Proletarian Revolution*.

by the growth of the revolutionary mood of the masses, were forced to vote for the more left-wing resolutions.

Even before the conference, Lenin had pointed out that the question of a break with the social-chauvinists was the chief concern of the labour movement. Lenin criticised the opportunist mistakes of the left-wing Zimmerwaldists, precisely in order to help them to overcome their erroneous views. He explained that in the struggle against imperialism and for peace and freedom, it was tremendously important to rally the workers of all countries, to develop and extend the mass revolutionary action of the proletariat.

Lenin attached great importance to the revolutionary education of the soldiers in the spirit of struggle against the imperialists.

Lenin relentlessly criticised the anti-Marxist views of the factional group formed by Bukharin, Pyatakov and Radek, who rejected the need for democratic demands in the epoch of imperialism, who adopted the national-chauvinist position on the national question and who opposed the slogan of the right of nations to self-determination and other democratic demands.

Lenin taught that socialist revolution is not one single act, not one single battle, but a whole epoch of acute class conflicts, a series of battles on all fronts, on questions of economics, politics and ideology. In order to prepare for victory over the reactionary bourgeoisie, in order to win the battle, the proletariat should conduct an all-round, consistent struggle for democracy.

“Just as socialism cannot be victorious unless it introduces complete democracy, so the proletariat will be unable to prepare for victory over the bourgeoisie unless it wages a many-sided, consistent and revolutionary struggle for democracy.”¹

Lenin restored and gave new meaning to the slogan of Marx and Engels which the parties of the International had

¹ Lenin, *The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination*.

forgotten: a people that oppresses other peoples cannot be free. For the sake of their own emancipation, taught Lenin, the proletariat should demand the abolition of all national oppression.

In his theses *Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination* (written in January-February 1916) and his article *Results of the Discussion on Self-Determination* (written in July 1916), Lenin worked out a well-formulated system of views on the national-colonial question in the epoch of imperialism. Lenin pointed out that from being a component part of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the national question had already become a component part of socialist revolution. The national-colonial question was closely linked with the question of the overthrow of imperialism; the proletariat of the imperialist countries should give full support to the struggle which the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries were waging against the imperialist yoke.

Lenin considered that while pursuing the internationalist, proletarian policy, the Social-Democrats of the oppressing nations should advocate the freedom to secession of the oppressed countries; while the Social-Democrats of the oppressed nations should transfer the centre of gravity of their agitation to the voluntary association of nations, and conduct a struggle for class solidarity with the proletariat of the oppressing countries.

While living in Switzerland, Lenin took an active part in the work of the Swiss labour movement. He spoke at meetings and kept in close touch with local leaders of the Swiss labour movement. In November 1916 Lenin spoke at the Swiss Social-Democratic Party Congress, and in December he wrote his theses defining the tasks of the left-wing Zimmerwaldists in the Swiss Party.

The struggle between the Right and Left inside the Zimmerwald association grew in intensity. The Zimmerwald Right openly joined the chauvinists in France, Germany and Italy. In Switzerland, Grimm, who was a Centrist and chairman of the Zimmerwald association, began to work

hand in glove with the opportunists. With great determination and energy Lenin again attacked the opportunists and the new betrayal of Marxism. " 'Zimmerwald' has obviously become bankrupt", he wrote, "and once again a good word is being used to cover up putridity."¹

Lenin urged the consistent internationalists to set up a new, truly revolutionary International, to organise in every country proletarian parties of a new type, which would be capable of leading the struggle of the masses for socialism and would make a complete break with the old, bankrupt parties. When Lenin laid down the foundations of the new, Communist International, he acted as the leader of the international labour movement.

All Lenin's work was the ideological, political and organised preparation of the working class for the battles for socialist revolution. In this respect his work on the theory of the state is of great importance. Lenin carefully collected and restored everything that Marx and Engels had written on the question of the state. He removed the opportunist distortions about the state from the Marxist doctrine and further developed it. The material which Lenin collected on the question of the state forms the notebook entitled *Marxism on the State*. These materials were the basis for Lenin's great book *State and Revolution*, written in 1917.

Lenin exposed the anti-Marxist, semi-anarchist views of Bukharin, who denied the need to create a proletarian state after the victory of the socialist revolution. Lenin developed Marx's thesis that, after breaking up the old bourgeois state apparatus in the course of the revolution, the proletariat should create its own state in order to bring about the transition from capitalism to socialism. He stressed that without a proletarian state, without proletarian dictatorship, it would be impossible to break down the resistance of the overthrown bourgeoisie, to defend the gains of the revolution and to build socialist society.

Lenin clearly saw that the imperialist war was speedily

¹ Lenin, *Letter to A. M. Kollontai*, March 1917.

bringing revolution nearer. On January 9, 1917, he delivered a report in Zurich on the 1905 Russian revolution to a meeting of the working youth. He said: "The present grave-like stillness in Europe must not deceive us. Europe is charged with revolution. The monstrous horrors of the imperialist war, the suffering caused by the high cost of living, engender everywhere a revolutionary spirit; and the ruling classes, the bourgeoisie with its servitors, the governments, are more and more moving into a blind alley from which they can never extricate themselves without tremendous upheavals."¹

Not much more than a month passed after Lenin had pronounced these prophetic words, and the revolution began in Russia. At the end of February 1917, the tsarist autocracy fell under the onslaught of the people. The courageous and tireless work of the Bolshevik Party, led by Lenin, which had fought fearlessly against tsarism for so many years, reaped its harvest. The autocratic monarchy which had oppressed the people for centuries was swept away. The revolution was victorious because its pioneer leader was the working class, which led the movement of millions of peasants dressed in army uniform. The hegemony of the proletariat ensured the victory of the revolution.

The news that the insurrection in Petrograd had been victorious reached Lenin in the beginning of March. He made an analysis of the revolutionary events in Russia and defined the tasks of the party in a number of theses dated March 4, 1917, and later in his *Letters from Afar*. He described the Provisional Government as a bourgeois, imperialist government, the aim of which was to continue the predatory war to the end. The overthrow of the autocracy, wrote Lenin, is only the first stage of the revolution; the party's task is to prepare the victory of the proletariat in the second stage of revolution, to facilitate and accelerate the growing over of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the socialist revolution.

Lenin was impatient to get to Russia and take a direct part

¹ Lenin, *Lecture on the 1905 Revolution*.

in the revolution. But it was not possible to travel through the Entente countries. Consequently, he decided to break through to Russia via Germany. As a result of negotiations conducted through the medium of leaders of the Swiss labour movement, permission was given for him to travel through Germany. Subject to certain conditions inscribed in a special protocol, Lenin and the political emigrants who travelled with him in the same carriage were guaranteed complete immunity.

On March 27, 1917, Lenin left Berne. On March 31, he arrived in Stockholm and the very same day, without remaining an hour longer than necessary, he travelled on to Russia.

The leader of the Communist Party, who for many years had been forcibly separated from his country, returned to his native land in order, personally, to head the struggle of the workers and peasants for the victory of the socialist revolution.

CHAPTER IX

1917

At last Lenin was once more in his native land—revolutionary Russia. In the train that carried him from Finland to Petrograd, he talked with the soldiers, explained to them how they could get land and freedom, and end the war.

There was a moving scene when Lenin met the workers on the evening of April 3 at Belo-Ostrov station, where a delegation, arrived from Petrograd, was waiting for him.

Lenin finally arrived in Petrograd at about midnight the same day. Thousands of workers, soldiers and sailors carrying red banners packed the Finland railway terminus, the station yard and adjacent streets. No sooner had Lenin stepped off the train than the workers hoisted him up and chaired him to the large waiting room. In the square outside the terminus, workers, soldiers and sailors waited expectantly. All the people were filled with delight beyond description when they caught sight of Lenin. The proletariat greeted their leader with prolonged roars of cheering. Lenin climbed on to an armoured car and delivered a speech, now famous, in which he called on the masses to fight for the victory of the socialist revolution. He ended his first speech to the Petrograd workers and soldiers after long years of exile with the words "Long live the Socialist Revolution!"

Lenin drove in the armoured car to the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party which had its premises in the former Kshesinsky Palace. Columns of many thousands of workers accompanied him. Several times on the way the car stopped while Lenin said a few words of greeting or made short speeches.

"The numerous brief speeches calling for socialist revolution which were made from the armoured car", recalls V. M. Molotov, "threw a dazzling light on the

main tasks of our party. This moment is particularly remembered by those of us who were present at that unusual, somehow prophetic, meeting with Ilyich at the beginning of the revolution. Somehow we were immediately inspired, we felt an extraordinary increase of revolutionary energy and faith."¹

Lenin's arrival was tremendously important for the Bolshevik Party and the revolution. The February revolution had radically altered the situation in the country. A gigantic change had taken place in the history of Russia and an unprecedented turn in the history of the Bolshevik Party. The immediate task which the party had set itself since its very inception had been the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy, and this had been accomplished. New tasks now confronted the Bolshevik Party and the working class. The party had to find a new orientation to suit the changed circumstances. It was Lenin who gave the party this new orientation. The revolution required a brain of exceptional power in order that the complicated situation would be quickly understood and the working masses shown unerringly their immediate aim. Extraordinary strength of will was needed in order to lead the masses along the true path to that aim and be victorious. Lenin was just such a giant of thought and revolutionary action, a man possessed of the experience of revolutionary struggle of the working people of all countries, one who had the greatest scientific understanding of the tasks of the proletariat.

During the night of April 3 Lenin outlined his views on the tasks of the party in the revolution at a meeting of the Central Committee of the party. On the morning of April 4, at a Bolshevik meeting in the Taurida Palace, he made a report outlining his theses on the tasks of the revolutionary proletariat. He then repeated his theses to a meeting of delegates to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, attended by Mensheviks as well as Bolsheviks. These were Lenin's famous April theses. They were Lenin's brilliant plan of struggle

¹ V. Molotov, *Lenin and the Party during the Revolution*, 1924, p. 4.

for the transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution.

"The specific feature of the present situation in Russia", Lenin pointed out, "is that it represents a *transition* from the first stage of the revolution—which, owing to the insufficient class-consciousness and organisation of the proletariat, placed the power in the hands of the bourgeoisie—to the *second stage*, which must place the power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorest strata of the peasantry."¹

After making a study of the experience of the proletarian class struggle in the epoch of imperialism, and summarising it, and having taken account of the experience of the Paris Commune and the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, Lenin came to the conclusion that the best political form of proletarian dictatorship was the Republic of Soviets. In his theses he wrote:

"Not a parliamentary republic—to return to a parliamentary republic from the Soviets of Workers' Deputies would be a retrograde step—but a republic of Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Labourers' and Peasants' Deputies throughout the country, from top to bottom."²

This was a brilliant discovery in Marxist science. Up to then, Marxists had considered that the parliamentary democratic republic was society's most expedient form of political organisation during the transition from capitalism to socialism. Lenin replaced this old thesis with a new one, which suited the new historical situation. Lenin's brilliant discovery was of tremendous importance in ensuring the victory of the socialist revolution in October 1917, the victory of Soviet power and the building of socialism in Russia.

In his April theses Lenin defined the basic tasks of the party in the economic field. After pointing out that the immediate introduction of socialism was not the party's immediate task, he outlined concrete economic measures for the

¹ Lenin, *The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution*.

² *ibid.*

transition to socialism which the masses could understand and make use of. These transitional measures were as follows: amalgamation of all the banks in the country into one single national bank, control over which should be exercised by the Soviets, establishment of control over social production and the distribution of products. In regard to agrarian relations, the theses put forward the demand for the nationalisation of land in the country through the confiscation of all landed estates.

Lenin's theses formulated with perfect clarity the tactics of the party in the struggle for the socialist revolution. The tactics were based on the Marxist analysis of the complicated and contradictory situation. The specific feature of the revolution was that in the course of it dual power had been established. Side by side with the bourgeois Provisional Government there existed the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, which had voluntarily handed power over to the bourgeoisie, because Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries were predominant in them. The popular millions who, for the first time, were taking part in political life and were not experienced in politics, could not instantly realise the position and understand who were friends and who enemies. The masses still supported the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries and trusted the bourgeois government.

Lenin's theses defined the attitude of the party to the war and to the bourgeois Provisional Government. They showed that even under the Provisional Government, the war was still, as before, a predatory, imperialist one, and therefore the party ought to conduct a determined struggle against the policy of continuing the war.

Lenin advanced the slogan: "No support for the Provisional Government!" The masses had to be convinced that the Soviets were the only possible form of revolutionary government, that all state power ought to be transferred to the Soviets. Lenin pointed out that only the transfer of all power to the Soviets would solve the basic problems of the revolution: would give peace to the people, land to the peasants, bread to the hungry. In his theses, Lenin pro-

claimed the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" and every worker, soldier and peasant understood it. But Lenin warned that the Provisional Government could not be overthrown immediately, because it had the support of the Soviets, which had the masses behind them.

Starting from the fact that the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries had a majority in the Soviets, Lenin put before the Bolsheviks the following task: to explain to the masses the treacherous character of the policy of the conciliatory parties, to isolate the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries from the masses and to win a majority in the Soviets, in order, through the Soviets, to change the composition and policy of the government. This was the line to be taken for the peaceful development of the revolution.

As regards party tasks, Lenin considered it essential to change the programme and alter the name of the party. The programme adopted at the Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. no longer suited the new situation. In Lenin's opinion, the new programme should contain an appraisal of imperialism and imperialist wars and put forward the task of establishing a Soviet Republic. He proposed rejecting the old party name, Social-Democratic, because the parties of the Second International and the Russian Mensheviks had grossly betrayed socialism and so had besmirched that name. He proposed calling the Bolshevik Party by the name which Marx and Engels had used for the proletarian party, the Communist Party, because the final aim of the party was the building of communism.

In the sphere of the international working-class movement, Lenin put forward the practical task of establishing a Third, Communist, International.

The April theses are a lucid document of creative Marxism. As a consistent revolutionary and brilliant scientist, Lenin boldly laid down the new paths in Marxist science.

Describing Lenin as a leader of science, the greatest man of our day, J. V. Stalin said: "Remember 1917. A scientific analysis of the social development of Russia and

of the international situation brought Lenin to the conclusion that the only way out of the situation lay in the victory of Socialism in Russia. This conclusion came as a complete surprise to many men of science of the day. Plekhanov, an outstanding man of science, spoke of Lenin with contempt, and declared that he was 'raving'. Other men of science, no less well known, declared that 'Lenin had gone mad', and that he ought to be put away in a safe place. Scientists of all kinds set up a howl that Lenin was destroying science. But Lenin was not afraid to go against the current, against the force of routine. And Lenin won."¹

Lenin's theses revealed to the party and the working class exciting prospects for the development of the revolution. They had for their basis the theory of the possibility of the victory of socialism first in one country alone. They inspired the workers for the struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie and set up the dictatorship of the proletariat. The theses were adopted with tremendous enthusiasm by the whole of the party, with the exception of a few Menshevik yesmen like Kamenev and Rykov.

The bourgeoisie, Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries set up a furious howling when they heard the April theses. There began a violent campaign against Lenin. All kinds of threats were hurled at him. The bourgeois press called for physical violence against Lenin.

But the threats of the bourgeoisie and its lackeys could not frighten Lenin. He firmly believed that the masses of the people would support the Bolsheviks. The masses were becoming convinced that the Bolshevik Party was in favour of an immediate, democratic peace, immediate confiscation of the landed estates, determined struggle against famine and ruin. And this was just what all the Russian working people wanted. The party's policy reflected the age-old aspirations, hopes and interests of the popular masses and therefore it inspired the masses and roused them up to struggle against the landlords and bourgeoisie.

¹ Stalin, *On Lenin*.

As soon as he arrived in Petrograd Lenin plunged into tireless activity. He personally superintended the leadership of the party Central Committee and *Pravda* editorial board. He took a most active part in the life and work of the Petrograd Bolshevik organisation. The Petrograd City Party Conference was held in April under his guidance. Lenin made a speech at it on the current situation. The Conference of Petrograd Bolsheviks adopted the resolutions which Lenin proposed and rallied together on the basis of Lenin's April theses.

On April 20, during the conference, there was a demonstration of Petrograd workers and soldiers in protest against the policy of the Provisional Government which, to please the foreign and Russian bourgeoisie, had confirmed its loyalty to the predatory tsarist agreements in the imperialist war. The masses were beginning to feel dissatisfied with the conciliatory policy of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. For several days the capital was in a ferment. This movement caused the first crisis of bourgeois power.

To consolidate the party round Lenin's line, it was necessary to convene an All-Russian Conference. The Seventh (April) All-Russian Conference of Bolsheviks opened in Petrograd on April 24. Lenin was elected chairman. In his opening speech, he recalled that Marx and Engels had frequently said of the prospects of the socialist revolution that the French worker would begin it and the German would finish it. The new historical epoch had altered this prospect. "The great honour of beginning has fallen to the lot of the Russian proletariat",¹ declared Lenin proudly. He made speeches at the conference on the current situation, the agrarian question, and on the revision of the party programme.

In his speeches, Lenin gave the replies to all the main questions of the revolution and developed the party tactics as outlined in the April theses. He explained that the radical question of every revolution was the question of power. The bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia was finished, since power had passed to the bourgeoisie and bourgeois-landlords.

¹ Lenin, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 24, p. 197.

But the February revolution had not given the people peace, bread or freedom. In order to get out of the imperialist war, to win real freedom, to obtain bread and land, the bourgeoisie had to be overthrown, power had to be transferred to the workers and poorest peasants, united in the Soviets. Lenin pointed out that to drive a course towards socialist revolution presupposed a new alignment of class forces, that the proletariat would approach the new revolution in close alliance with the village poor, while neutralising the middle peasantry, and would fight against the bourgeoisie and also against the kulaks.

The conference adopted Lenin's resolution on the national question, which put forward the demand for the right of nations to self-determination, including secession and the formation of independent states. J. V. Stalin made the report on this question.

Lenin exposed the anti-party position of Kamenev, Rykov and the few who supported them, who agreed with the Mensheviks that Russia was not ripe for socialist revolution; he also strongly criticised the national-chauvinist views of Pyatakov and Bukharin on the national question. The conference unanimously adopted Lenin's line, according to which the party's aim was to struggle for the growing over of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into socialist revolution.

The period covering the new orientation of the Bolshevik Party ended with the April conference. Now a new period began, that of mobilising the masses for revolution, and the creation by the Bolsheviks of a political army of proletarian revolution. The Bolshevik party launched work on a tremendous scale to educate and organise the masses politically. In the centre, conducting this work, stood Lenin and his loyal comrades-in-arms: J. V. Stalin, Y. M. Sverdlov, V. M. Molotov, M. I. Kalinin, F. E. Dzerzhinsky, G. K. Ordjonikidze, K. E. Voroshilov and others.

In May 1917 Lenin was elected to the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee, instituted after the April conference.

Lenin's energy was truly inexhaustible. Almost daily his

articles, and often several in one issue, appeared in *Pravda*. In the period between his arrival in Russia and the July days Lenin wrote more than 150 articles and several pamphlets. Each of his articles against enemies of the revolution hit the mark squarely and explained to the people their tasks and the paths of struggle. On the basis of simple, everyday facts, Lenin brought the masses to the understanding of the imperialist nature of the Provisional Government and the harmfulness of the conciliatory policy of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries; he convinced the masses that the revolutionary policy of the Bolsheviks, calculated on the victory of socialism, was the correct policy. "Without socialism", Lenin said, "mankind has no salvation from wars, famine and the destruction of millions and millions of people."¹

Lenin frequently spoke at the meetings of workers and soldiers. Workers at the Putilov, Obukhov, Trubochny and many other factories and workshops in Petrograd asked him to speak to them. He spoke at the First All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies and at the Petrograd Conference of Factory-Workshop Committees.

As an orator, Lenin had an irresistibly powerful influence on the masses. The simple truths he spoke and his indomitable faith in the justness of his cause struck a deep note in the minds of the popular masses. Describing Lenin as an orator, A. M. Gorky remarked that "what he said always gave one a physical sensation of irresistible truth".²

One worker said in connection with Lenin's speech at the Putilov (now Kirov) Works:

"He suddenly appeared on the platform, as it were out of the people, out of a crowd of 40,000 people. . . . I don't know if words can be found capable of expressing the way in which, with some special power, he captured and held all who listened to him . . . what Lenin said captured and inflamed. Fear vanished, weariness fell away. And it seemed that not just Ilyich, but the whole of the 40,000 workers

¹ Lenin, *Louis Blanquism*, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 24, p. 43.

² M. Gorky, Collected Works, Russ. 1952 ed., Vol. 17, p. 29.

were speaking as they sat, stood, or clung to their footholds, that they were expressing their most cherished thoughts. It seemed that everything in them was speaking out through the one voice of Ilyich. Everything that each was thinking and experiencing inside himself, but had never found occasion or the words fully and properly to pass on to his comrades—all of it had suddenly taken shape and been spoken out.”

From every corner of the country, from workshops and factories, mines and quarries, villages and trenches, the workers, soldiers and peasants went to Lenin for advice, carrying with them words of sympathy, support and strong affection. He was asked “how can the war be ended?”, he was asked “his opinion on the agrarian question and the state of affairs at the front”, he was asked to send “a programme with explanations”, etc. A group of soldiers wrote to Lenin: “Comrade, friend Lenin. Remember that we soldiers are ready to rise up like one man and follow you everywhere and that your idea is really the reflection of the desire of the peasants and workers.”

The first All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers and Soldiers’ Deputies, at which the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks had a majority, took place in June 1917. One of the Menshevik leaders, Tseretelli, declared at the congress that the country would be ruined without bourgeois power. He asserted that there was no party in Russia that would agree to take power. It was then that Lenin cried from the floor: “There is such a party!” The Bolshevik Party, he said, is ready any minute of the day to take full power. In his speech at the congress Lenin outlined the platform of the Bolshevik Party on the fundamental questions of the revolution. He said that the transfer of all power to the Soviets was the only way out of the blind alley which the country was in.

Bolshevik influence on the masses grew daily. In the beginning of June there was a mass campaign in the workers’ districts of Petrograd for the organisation of demonstrations and for the presentation of demands to the congress of

Soviets. The Bolsheviks made great preparations for the demonstration, intending to hold it on June 30. But on June 9, the Congress of Soviets, which was under the influence of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, banned the demonstration. To oppose this decision meant putting the revolutionary cadres in danger of being routed: In the night of June 10, the Bolshevik Central Committee decided to call off the demonstration, and the decision was immediately carried out. Here was felt the flexibility and organisational strength of the Communist Party which Lenin had created.

Under pressure from the masses, the Menshevik-Socialist-Revolutionary leadership of the Congress of Soviets and of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet was forced to call a demonstration on June 18, and they hoped to hold it under conciliatory slogans. But on the day appointed, half a million Petrograd workers and soldiers filled the streets carrying Bolshevik banners. This was a great victory for the Bolshevik Party in its work of establishing a political army of the revolution.

On June 18 an offensive began at the front, organised by the Provisional Government on the orders of the Anglo-French imperialists. The news of this adventurist offensive and the rumours which reached the capital afterwards of its failure and the additional casualties sacrificed to please the imperialists caused an outburst of indignation among the workers and soldiers.

On July 3, vast masses of indignant workers and soldiers came out into the streets of Petrograd, demanding the transfer of all power to the Soviets. It was a highly critical moment. At that time armed insurrection would have been premature, the revolutionary crisis had not yet matured, the army and the provinces were not yet ready to support insurrection in Petrograd. The bourgeoisie made preparations to suppress the movement and drown it in the blood of workers and soldiers. The Bolshevik Central Committee decided to take part in the spontaneously initiated demonstration in order to keep it peaceful and organised.

But even this peaceful demonstration of workers and peasants struck fear into the hearts of the bourgeoisie: the demonstrators were fired upon. Blood stained the streets of Petrograd.

Supported by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, bourgeois counter-revolution swooped down on the Bolshevik Party: the Bolsheviks began to be persecuted and active party leaders thrown into prison. During the night of July 5, officer cadets raided the premises of the *Pravda* editorial board. It was only by accident that Lenin escaped death: he had left the offices half an hour before the bandits raided.

A savage campaign was raised against Lenin. He was slanderously accused of being a German spy, a concoction based on false statements by provocateurs. Lenin regarded this angry howling of the enemies of the revolution and of the people as confirmation of the correctness of the Bolshevik Party line. He loved to repeat Nekrasov's words:

"We hear the voice of approbation
Not in the dulcet sounds of praise
But in the roar of irritation!"¹

Lenin's reply to the political blackmailers and slanderers was: we are proud to belong to the Bolshevik Party, "we see in it the wisdom, honour and conscience of our epoch."²

In these inspired words Lenin described the world historic role of the party, its deep understanding of the laws of social development and of historical perspectives, its supreme struggle for the honour, freedom and independence of its native land and for the just demands of the peoples.

On July 7 the Provisional Government gave orders for Lenin's arrest. Large sums of money were put on Lenin's head. Cadets and army officers, spies and provocateurs hunted everywhere for him. But the party kept its leader hidden underground. When, on July 7, cadets broke into the apartment

¹ Nekrasov's poem, *The Death of Gogol*.

² Lenin, *Political Blackmail*, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 25, p. 239.

where Lenin had been living he was not to be found. On July 5, Y. M. Sverdlov had warned Lenin of the great danger and he had gone into hiding that same morning. For two days he went from one apartment to another. But even during those days he continued his party work. He held a small conference of the Central Committee and attended a meeting of the Executive Commission of the Petrograd Party Committee which was held in the porter's lodge at the Renault (now "Red October") Works.

Between July 6 and 11, Lenin was in hiding in the home of an old Bolshevik worker named S. Y. Alliluyev. But even there it was dangerous. Late in the night of July 11, J. V. Stalin, on the instructions of the Central Committee, took Lenin to the home of another worker, N. A. Yemelyanov, at Razliv, some twenty miles from Petrograd, on the Finnish railway. Before leaving, Lenin shaved off his beard, trimmed his moustache and hair and became unrecognisable. At Razliv he hid in the loft of a barn for the first few days, but afterwards he moved into a roughly made hut on the other side of Lake Razliv. When the cold weather came at the end of August, the Party Central Committee arranged for Lenin to be moved into Finland. Wearing a wig and carrying documents made out in the name of a worker called Ivanov, Lenin crossed the Finnish frontier on a railway engine, acting the part of fireman, and settled down first of all in the village of Yalkala and later in Helsingfors.

After the July events the revolution entered a new phase. The political situation in the country had undergone a sharp change. Dual power had come to an end. Full power was now in the hands of the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government. The Soviets had become an appendage of this government. The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, who controlled the Soviets, had now irrevocably become the open accomplices of counter-revolution.

At this moment in the revolution, which was so serious for the party, Lenin gave a profound analysis of the sharply changed situation and outlined new party slogans. This

clearly showed Lenin's greatness as a party leader and revolutionary strategist.

In his article *On Slogans*, Lenin pointed out that when sharp turns occur in history, when the situation suddenly changes, then the party slogans must be changed just as quickly. The slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" had been correct in the period when the revolution was developing peacefully, before July 4, but now this slogan had ceased to be correct. The slogan of transferring power to the Soviets would now in effect deceive the people, filling the people with illusions that the existing Soviets, led by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, were capable of seizing power. And so the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" said Lenin, had to be temporarily withdrawn.

When Lenin proposed temporarily withdrawing the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" he gave a warning that this did not mean giving up the struggle for the power of the Soviets. "Soviets may arise in this new revolution, and are indeed bound to arise", wrote Lenin, "but *not* the present Soviets, not organs of compromise with the bourgeoisie, but organs of a revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie."¹

The peaceful period of the revolution had ended. The power of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie could only be overthrown by force. The revolutionary proletariat had now to take control of the state power.

The Sixth Congress of the Bolshevik Party met illegally in Petrograd on July 26, in order to work out the new tactics. The congress elected Lenin, who was still in hiding, its honorary chairman. V. I. Lenin guided the work of the congress from his hiding-place through his comrades-in-arms J. V. Stalin, Y. M. Sverdlov, V. M. Molotov, G. K. Ordjonikidze. He outlined the theses for the main questions of the congress. His directives were outlined at the congress in the reports which Stalin made on the political situation and on the work of the Central Committee.

The congress issued the slogan of preparation for armed

¹ Lenin, *On Slogans*.

uprising, the slogan for the forcible seizure of power by the proletariat in alliance with the poorest peasantry, and set the party on the road to socialist revolution. The congress strongly resisted the sallies of the Trotskyists who spoke against the party's course heading for armed insurrection and who rejected the possibility of a socialist victory in Russia before proletarian revolution had been victorious in Western Europe. At the congress Stalin declared: "The possibility is not excluded that Russia will be the country that will lay the road to socialism. . . . We must discard the antiquated idea that only Europe can show us the way."¹

At the congress the question arose of Lenin's standing trial before the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government. Kamenev, Trotsky and Rykov, even before the congress, had been insisting that Lenin should stand trial, even though it was obvious that it would mean the use of physical violence against the leader of the revolution. The Sixth Party Congress decided against Lenin's standing trial and protested against the bourgeois-police persecution of the leader of the revolutionary proletariat. The congress sent greetings to Lenin.

While in hiding, Lenin never for a moment discontinued his revolutionary work. He maintained close contact with the Party Central Committee. Stalin visited Lenin twice in Razliv. Between July and October—the period when he was in hiding for the last time—Lenin wrote more than sixty articles, pamphlets and letters. In them he gave an analysis of the situation in the country and of the changes in the alignment of class forces, and explained the party's aim of armed insurrection. The proletariat heard the confident voice of their leader and felt his firm guidance, from the depths of his hiding-place.

Lenin was unshakably convinced of the victory of the socialist revolution and that power would soon pass to the hands of the proletariat. G. K. Ordjonikidze recalls how deeply impressed he had been, when visiting Lenin in the hut

¹ Stalin, *Collected Works*, English ed., Vol. 3, pp. 199-200.

where he was hiding, by what Lenin had said about an insurrection taking place in the next few months. "What astonished me still more", related Sergo Ordjonikidze, "was that when I told him that a comrade (I don't remember who) had said that power would pass to the Bolsheviks not later than August or September and that Lenin would be made President of the Government, Ilyich had replied quite seriously, 'Yes, it will be so'."¹

To prepare the working class for the seizure of power, Lenin developed the Marxist theory of the state and outlined the principles of the policy and first practical measures of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The results of Lenin's gigantic theoretical work were his writings *State and Revolution*, *The Impending Catastrophe and how to Combat it* and *Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?*

In his magnificent book *State and Revolution*, written in August-September 1917, Lenin restored the views of Marx and Engels, in regard to the state, which Kautsky and other opportunists had distorted and vulgarised. He stressed that Marxism alone had produced the true science of the state. The bourgeois scientists and socialist lackeys of the bourgeoisie, by deliberately confusing the question of the origin and class nature of the state, were trying to prove the stability of the capitalist system and bourgeois state. Lenin explained that the state is not an organ above classes and reconciling them. It arose when society split up into hostile classes and - it is a weapon in the hands of the exploiters for the purpose of suppressing the oppressed classes. This was the case in every exploiting class society, from slave-owning to capitalist society.

In order to free itself from the yoke of capital and to build socialism, the working class needs its own state which cannot be anything but the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin stressed that in the course of the proletarian revolution it was necessary to crush and smash up the old bourgeois

¹ G. K. Ordjonikidze, *Selected Articles and Speeches*, 1918-1937, Russ. 1945 ed., p. 168.

state machine and build a new state apparatus. He pointed out that the doctrine of proletarian dictatorship is the chief doctrine in Marxism. "Only he is a Marxist who *extends* the acceptance of the class struggle to the acceptance of *the dictatorship of the proletariat*."¹

Lenin further developed the Marxist doctrine of the state and proletarian dictatorship. He wrote that the proletariat must have state power in order to suppress the resistance of the exploiters and to guide the vast masses of the population in the work of organising socialist economy.

As Lenin proved, the dictatorship of the proletariat is the new, highest type of democracy. Even in the most democratic republic, bourgeois democracy represents a curtailed, thoroughly hypocritical and false democracy, democracy for the rich, for the insignificant minority. Proletarian democracy ensures that the vast majority of the working people are really drawn into the management of the state.

Of tremendous importance in principle are Lenin's instructions about the need to establish proletarian dictatorship as a definite condition for the building of socialist society and the possibility of a variety of state forms of proletarian dictatorship.

"The transition from capitalism to communism", taught Lenin, "will certainly create a great variety and abundance of political forms, but their essence will inevitably be the same: *the dictatorship of the proletariat*."²

Lenin explained the role of the party as the guiding force in the system of proletarian dictatorship. The party is called upon to lead the whole of the people to socialism, to direct and organise the new system, to be the teacher, guide and leader of all the working people and the exploited in the work of arranging their social life without the bourgeoisie and in opposition to the bourgeoisie.

In his book Lenin developed and made concrete Marx's theses on the two phases of communist society, on

¹ Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, Chapter II.

² *ibid.*

socialism and communism. Describing the difference between the two phases of communism, he pointed out that it is determined by the degree of economic maturity, the level of development of the productive forces.

Lenin stressed that in the period of socialism, accounting and control acquire especial importance. "Until the 'higher' phase of communism arrives, the Socialists demand the *strictest* control by society *and by the state* of the measure of labour and the measure of consumption."¹ He explained that in order to realise the principle of communism: "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs", a vast development of the productive forces and high labour productivity were required.

Lenin elaborated the Bolshevik, scientifically founded programme of the economic transformation of the country in his pamphlet *The Impending Catastrophe and how to Combat it*. The autocracy and the bourgeoisie had brought the country to the edge of an abyss, wrote Lenin. The country's salvation from ruin, the strengthening of its defence capacity and the building of socialism were closely and stably linked together. It was impossible to go forward without advancing to socialism. The country could be saved only by revolutionary measures such as: nationalisation of the banks and their amalgamation into one state bank, nationalisation of large-scale industry, nationalisation of the land, workers' control of industry and the distribution of products. These were the first steps on the path of socialist construction.

These measures, Lenin said, would economically renew, regenerate Russia. Without the supreme heroism of the people, boldly and resolutely bringing about the great economic transformation, it would be impossible to make the country capable of defence. But the heroism of the masses could not be evoked without resolutely breaking away from imperialism, imperialist policy, imperialist war. Only a break of that kind could save the revolution and the country which was now squeezed in the iron grip of imperialism. Only the

¹ Lenin, *The State and Revolution*, Chapter V.

most revolutionary class, the proletariat, was capable of adopting such revolutionary measures. Lenin therefore put forward his famous slogan:

“The result of the revolution has been that the *political* system of Russia has in a few months caught up with that of the advanced countries.

“But that is not enough. The war is inexorable; it puts the alternative with ruthless severity: either perish, or overtake and outstrip the advanced countries *economically as well*.”¹

This was a real programme to save the revolution and to save the country from ruin, from being fettered by foreign imperialists, a programme for the country's advance towards socialism.

In his article *Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?* Lenin showed that there existed in Russia all the economic and political premises for socialist revolution—large-scale industry, railways, banks, a revolutionary proletariat led by the Communist Party and capable, with support from the broad masses of the working people, of seizing power and organising socialist production. He gave a crushing rebuff to the enemies of the revolution who scared the people with the story that the Bolsheviks could not maintain power even for two weeks.

Lenin expressed unshakable belief that “no force on earth can prevent the Bolsheviks, *if they do not allow themselves to be intimidated* and are capable of seizing power, from maintaining power until the triumph of the world socialist revolution.”²

Lenin's article elaborated the plan for the first measures that had to be undertaken in building and consolidating the Soviet State and further developed his views on the Soviets. It gave a comprehensive explanation of the Soviets as the new state apparatus which was unprecedented in history

¹ Lenin, *The Impending Catastrophe and how to Combat it*.

² Lenin, *Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?*

and called upon to play a tremendous role in the liberation of mankind. "Compared with bourgeois parliamentarism, this represents an advance in the development of democracy which is of historical and world-wide significance."¹ Lenin emphasised that if the creative impulse of the revolutionary classes had not engendered the Soviets, the proletarian revolution in Russia would have been a lost cause. The proletariat could not have maintained power with the old state apparatus, and yet it would have been impossible to create a new apparatus all at once.

With his attention fixed on the intrigues of the enemies of the revolution, Lenin warned the masses of the counter-revolutionary plot that was on foot. He called on workers and peasants to be restrained, vigilant and in a state of mobilised preparedness. He warned that the bourgeoisie was hastily looking about for a military dictator to crush the revolution. Lenin's warnings were confirmed. On August 25 General Kornilov raised a revolt, on the instructions of the Russian and foreign imperialists, in order to crush the revolution and restore the monarchy. The Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party called on the workers, soldiers and sailors to defend the revolution. The Bolsheviks roused the masses for the struggle against Kornilov. In several days Kornilov's counter-revolutionary revolt was routed. The defeat of the Kornilov revolt marked the beginning of a new period in the development of the revolution, the period of organising for the storm.

The leading role which the Bolshevik Party took in crushing the mutiny still further convinced the working people that it was the only party defending the interests of the people. The popular masses swung sharply towards the Bolsheviks. The middle peasantry, which had wavered during the period from April to August, began to side with the village poor. The bolshevisation of the Soviets began. By the end of August and beginning of September, the decisive Soviets, Petrograd and Moscow, for instance, were already in the

¹ Lenin, *Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?*

hands of the Bolsheviks. Again the party issued the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!" Now, this slogan meant the revolution's direct approach to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the organisation and official state recognition of proletarian dictatorship, the transfer of power to the Soviets by means of insurrection.

Between September 12 and 14, Lenin wrote his historic letters to the Central Committee and to the Petrograd and Moscow Committees of the Party: *The Bolsheviks Must Take Power* and *Marxism and Insurrection*. In them Lenin showed that the objective conditions had been created for successful armed insurrection, and proposed putting armed insurrection on the order of the day. He pointed out that the masses had become convinced, by their own experience, of the correctness of the Bolshevik slogans. Now, he said, the majority of the people are behind us, now victory is assured.

On September 15 Lenin's letters were discussed by the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. The Central Committee proposed sending them to the local party organisations as instructions. The party concentrated all its attention on preparation for the armed insurrection. At the same time the Bolsheviks pressed on with the work of preparing to convene the Second Congress of Soviets, reckoning to obtain a majority there.

It was at this time that the Russian bourgeoisie and Entente imperialists made a secret deal with the German military leadership to crush the socialist revolution in Russia. The Provisional Government placed counter-revolutionary army units in the main industrial centres. It tried to withdraw revolutionary regiments from the capitals and other large towns and transfer them to the front, and so weaken the forces of the revolution. Lenin warned the party that the bourgeoisie was organising counter-revolutionary headquarters at decisive points in the country and preparing to hand Petrograd over to the Germans; they were going to the length of betraying the national interests of the country for the sake of defending their own power over the people, their

wealth and their profits. The only path to Russia's salvation lay through armed insurrection and the transfer of all power to the Soviets.

On September 17 Lenin moved from Helsingfors to Vyborg. In a letter to the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party written on September 29, he pointed out that there could be no more delay. "The crisis has matured. The whole future of the Russian revolution is at stake. The honour of the Bolshevik Party is in question. The future of the international workers' revolution for socialism is at stake."¹

In a letter written in the beginning of October to the Central, Moscow and Petrograd Committees and the Bolshevik members of the Soviets in Petrograd and Moscow, Lenin again stressed his point:

"The Bolsheviks have no right to wait for the Congress of Soviets, they must seize power immediately. . . . To wait is a crime against the revolution."²

Acting on a decision of the Central Committee, Lenin moved illegally from Vyborg to Petrograd on October 7. From his hiding place Lenin directed the work of the Petrograd Conference of Bolsheviks, wrote the theses for it and a letter to be read out at a closed session. He again declared, in the letter, that the question of insurrection was now on the order of the day.

The next day, October 8, Lenin most strongly warned again that "procrastination is like unto death", in a letter he wrote to the Bolshevik delegates to the Congress of Soviets of the Northern Region.

Lenin reminded the party of what Marx and Engels had said: that insurrection, like war, is an art. He drew the attention of the party organisations to the fact that technical preparation, well thought-out organisation and a carefully elaborated plan of insurrection were of decisive importance

¹ Lenin, *The Crisis Has Matured*.

² Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 26, pp. 114-15.

for the success of the insurrection. He developed the brilliant statements Marx and Engels had made on insurrection and summed them up into a well-formulated system.

In his article *Advice of an Onlooker* Lenin indicates the following five important rules of the art of insurrection:

“(1) Never *play* with insurrection, but when beginning it firmly realise that you must *go to the end*.

(2) You must concentrate *a great superiority of forces* at the decisive point, at the decisive moment; otherwise the enemy, who has the advantage of better preparation and organisation, will destroy the insurgents.

(3) Once the insurrection has begun, you must act with the greatest *determination*, and by all means, without fail, take the *offensive*. ‘The defensive is the death of every armed rising.’

(4) You must try to take the enemy by surprise and seize the moment when his forces are scattered.

(5) You must strive for *daily* success, even if small (one might say hourly, if it is the case of one town), and at all costs retain *moral ascendancy*.¹

Lenin drew up the plan for armed insurrection: to encircle and cut off Petrograd, to seize it by a combined attack of the navy, the workers and the troops, to combine these three main forces in such a way so as to occupy without fail and to hold at the cost of any sacrifice: (a) the telephone exchange, (b) the telegraph office, (c) the railway stations, (d) above all, the bridges. Lenin proposed that the fighting detachments to take part in all the important operations should be formed out of the most decisive elements—workers who were supremely loyal to the revolution, the working youth, sailors, bold people whose watchword would be “*Rather perish to a man than let the enemy pass!*” The October armed insurrection took place according to Lenin’s plan.

One required to have Lenin’s brilliant perspicacity, his astounding revolutionary skill, his tremendous courage, to decide to venture on insurrection.

¹ Lenin, *Advice of an Onlooker*.

"Lenin was born for revolution. He was, in truth, the genius of revolutionary outbreaks, and the greatest master of the art of revolutionary leadership. Never did he feel so free and happy as in a time of revolutionary upheavals. I do not mean by this that Lenin approved equally of all revolutionary upheavals, or that he was in favour of revolutionary outbreaks at all times and under all circumstances. Not at all. What I do mean is that never was the genius of Lenin's insight displayed so fully and distinctly as in a time of revolutionary outbreaks. In times of revolution he literally blossomed forth, became a seer, divined the movement of classes and the probable zigzags of the revolution, seeing them as if they lay in the palm of his hand."¹

A historic meeting of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party took place on October 10. Lenin made a report on the need for insurrection. After his report, the Central Committee adopted Lenin's resolution which emphasised that armed insurrection was inevitable and the time for it was ripe, that all party work should be subordinated to the tasks of organising and carrying through the armed insurrection.

The decision on the insurrection was confirmed at an enlarged meeting of the Central Committee on October 16, where Lenin made another report. On Lenin's proposal a party centre, headed by J. V. Stalin, was elected at this meeting to lead the insurrection. This party centre was the leading nucleus of the Military-Revolutionary Committee attached to the Petrograd Soviet.

For the organisation of insurrection locally, the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party despatched representatives to the Donets Basin, the Urals, Helsingfors, Kronstadt, the south-west front, etc. etc. Special party assignments for the direction of the insurrection locally were given to Comrades K. E. Voroshilov, V. M. Molotov, F. E. Dzerzhinsky, G. K. Ordjonikidze, S. M. Kirov, L. M. Kaganovich, V. V. Kuibyshev, M. V. Frunze, E. M. Yaroslavsky and others.

¹ Stalin, *On Lenin*, Collected Works, English ed., Vol. 6, p. 63.

Kamenev and Zinoviev, both traitors to the revolution, opposed the decision on insurrection at both meetings of the Central Committee. They were strongly repulsed, but on October 18 they published a declaration in the Menshevik newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* (New Life) on the Bolshevik preparation for insurrection which, they said, they considered was an adventure. By doing this they betrayed to the enemy a great party secret, the decision of the Central Committee to organise the uprising almost immediately. Trotsky did everything he could to hamper the insurrection. He proposed that it should not begin before the opening of the Second Congress of Soviets. Lenin exposed this manoeuvre when he wrote: "to 'wait' for the Congress of Soviets would be *utter idiocy, or sheer treachery*."¹ With anger and contempt Lenin branded Kamenev and Zinoviev as traitors and demanded that these base accomplices of counter-revolution be expelled from the party.

Warned by the traitors, the Provisional Government began to take measures to crush the leading headquarters of the revolution—the Bolshevik Party. Early on the morning of October 24, the Provisional Government tried to close down the *Rabochy Put* (The Workers' Path), the central organ of the Bolshevik Party, and to capture Smolny. By orders from the party centre, Red Guards and revolutionary soldiers protected the premises of the editorial offices and organised the security measures for the Smolny.

Lenin, meanwhile, was concealed in an apartment house. In the evening he sent a letter to the Members of the Central Committee, which stated that the matter of the insurrection must be decided immediately. "History will not forgive revolutionaries for procrastinating when they can be victorious today (will certainly be victorious today), while they risk losing much, in fact, everything, tomorrow."²

Lenin was hurrying the Party Central Committee because

¹ Lenin, *The Crisis Has Matured*.

² Lenin, *A Letter to the Members of the Central Committee*, November 26 (October 24), 1917.

he feared that Trotsky and his supporters might put a brake on the insurrection. Moreover, he realised that the Kerensky government was preparing to drown the revolution in blood, and he wanted to frustrate this plan while Kerensky was still waiting for reinforcements from the front.

During the night of October 25 Lenin arrived at the Smolny to take over the leadership of the insurrection himself. The plan of insurrection he had drawn up began to be put into operation. By the morning of October 25 (November 7) the telephone exchange, the telegraph office, the wireless station, the bridge across the Neva, the railway termini and the most important buildings of the capital had been occupied by insurgent workers and soldiers. The insurrection had been victorious.

At 10 o'clock in the morning the Military-Revolutionary Committee issued the historic manifesto which Lenin had written *To the Citizens of Russia!* on the overthrow of the Provisional Government and the transfer of state power to the Soviets. During the day Lenin spoke at a special meeting of the Petrograd Soviet on the tasks of Soviet power. He proclaimed the victory of the socialist revolution and expressed firm conviction that socialism would triumph in Russia.

"From now on", said Lenin, "a new era in the history of Russia begins, and this revolution, the third Russian revolution, should, in the end, lead to the victory of socialism."¹

At 10.45 p.m. on October 25, the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets opened at the Smolny and proclaimed the transfer of all power to the Soviets in the capital and in the provinces.

Lenin did not attend the first session of the congress. All through the night and during the day of October 25 he was in the Smolny directing the insurrection. He spent two days and nights without sleep or rest. Only after the Winter Palace had been stormed and captured and the Provisional

¹ Lenin, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 26, p. 208.

Government arrested did Lenin go off for a few hours to rest during the night of October 25-26. That night he wrote the draft of the first Soviet Decree—the draft of the famous Land Decree.

The whole of October 26 passed in the same tense atmosphere as the day before. The capital had to be hurriedly protected against counter-revolutionary forces, the Petrograd population had to have its supplies of bread. That day Lenin presided at the meeting of the Party Central Committee which discussed the question of the composition of the Soviet Government.

The second session of the Congress of Soviets opened in the afternoon of October 26.

The congress greeted the leader of the socialist revolution with tremendous enthusiasm. Loud and prolonged cheering drowned the speaker's words. Only after Lenin had several times requested silence did the stormy ovation finally die down. The voice of Lenin, the leader of the proletariat and the oppressed of all countries, was heard proclaiming to the world the beginning of a new era in the history of mankind, the era of proletarian revolutions. "The workers' movement will triumph and will pave the way to peace and socialism."¹

At the congress Lenin made his speech on peace. The question of peace, he said, was the most burning question of the day. He then began to read out the Decree on Peace. It proposed to all peoples and all the governments of the belligerent countries to begin immediate negotiations for a just and democratic peace and to call an immediate armistice in order to conduct these negotiations. The Decree also contained an appeal to the workers of Britain, France and Germany, asking them to help to bring about peace and the liberation of the working and exploited masses from every form of slavery and exploitation. This was the first peaceful act of Soviet foreign policy and it was radically opposed to the predatory policy of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

¹ Lenin, *Report on Peace at 2nd All-Russian Congress of Soviets.*

Lenin then delivered his report on the land. The revolution had proved, said Lenin, how important was the question of land. He then read out the Decree on Land, point by point, according to which landlord ownership was immediately abolished without compensation, and nation-wide state ownership was introduced in the place of private ownership. All the landed estates, appanages, monastery and church lands were placed gratuitously at the disposal of the working people. The age-old longing of the peasants was at last satisfied.

With tremendous enthusiasm the Second Congress of Soviets adopted both Lenin's decrees, on peace and on the land. These world historic acts of state did much to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and to build socialism.

It was at this Congress that the Council of People's Commissars—the workers' and peasants' Soviet Government—was set up for the first time in history. Lenin was elected its chairman.

Under Lenin's guidance, the Communist Party had brought the working class to the triumph of socialist revolution and the establishment of proletarian dictatorship. In its work of transforming the country by revolutionary means, the party had based itself on the objective laws of social development and made use of the economic law that the relations of production must be in conformity with the nature of the productive forces. In Russia, capitalist relations of production had arrived at a state of irreconcilable contradiction with the nature of the productive forces, and so they had been abolished.

The great October Socialist Revolution, which triumphed under the banner of Leninism, signified a radical change in world history from the old, capitalist world to the new, socialist world. The era of the collapse of capitalism and establishment of socialism had dawned.

CHAPTER X

1917-1918

From its earliest days the Soviet Government was faced with tremendous tasks. It was necessary to consolidate the victory, to crush the infuriated resistance of the overthrown exploiting classes, to destroy the old, bourgeois state apparatus, to break down the sabotage of the officials and office workers, which the Cadets, Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries had fostered. The new Soviet Socialist State had to be established, food supplies to the towns had to be organised and normal work re-established at the factories. In a word, a new life had to be built up.

Lenin led the struggle of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government for the fulfilment of these tasks. The party and the working masses had been aware before the great October Socialist Revolution that Lenin had been the founder and the guide of the party, the leader of the proletariat, a master in the art of revolutionary strategy and tactics, a great theoretician. But after October, his brilliance as a statesman was demonstrated with exceptional clarity. Never before had the world seen a statesman in whom such a grasp of theory, such political wisdom and perspicacity, unbending will and courage were so combined with profound understanding of the people, their life, their innermost desires and urgent needs. This was the first statesman in history to be so closely connected with the people and to possess such profound belief in the people. And the people, for their part, had infinite trust in Lenin. He was a real leader for even the most insignificant of the "rank and file" of the people, who were roused by the great revolution to create history of their own accord. Lenin knew that the people—workers, soldiers and peasants—would heroically follow the Communists. In them he saw the inexhaustible

source of the strength of the party and the Soviet Government. "He only will be victorious and maintain power who believes in the people, who plumbs the depths of the vital, creative impulse of the people," said Lenin.¹

The enemies and traitors of the revolution, Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov and their supporters, tried to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat and disorganise the party ranks. They demanded the establishment of a government which would include Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. The Central Committee of the party, however, adopted Lenin's proposal and condemned the behaviour of the traitors. Being the guiding force in the Soviet State, the Communist Party firmly guarded the gains of the revolution and steadily strengthened proletarian dictatorship.

In an appeal to all party members and working people, Lenin wrote: "Therefore let the toilers remain confident and resolute! Our Party, the party of the Soviet majority, stands solid and united in defence of their interests and, as heretofore, at the back of our Party stand the millions of the workers in the cities, the soldiers in the trenches and the peasants in the villages, resolved at all costs to bring about the triumph of peace and the triumph of socialism!"²

Day and night, without a moment's interruption, the strenuous life of revolution went on in the Smolny, the seat of the Soviet Government, where Lenin both worked and lived. Countless workers' delegations from factories, workers' representatives from the front, peasants who had walked from far afield, went to the Smolny to see Lenin and ask questions, offer suggestions or express their needs. They listened eagerly to what he had to say to them and then carried Lenin's call to the masses to all parts: undertake the work yourselves of building a new life!

Lenin controlled every aspect of life in the young Soviet

¹ Lenin, *Sitting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee*, November 4 (17), 1917, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 26, p. 259.

² Lenin, *Letter from the Central Committee of the R.C.P. (Bolsheviks)*, Nov. 17-19 (4-6), 1917.

Republic and nothing was outside his field of vision. The most varied problems had to be solved: political, economic, military and cultural. Neither the party nor the workers and peasants possessed any experience of state administration. Nor could they take it up from anywhere. Experience of that kind had to be acquired. Lenin called on them "to learn to administer the country, to learn what was previously the monopoly of the bourgeoisie".¹

Lenin worked out the fundamental questions of Soviet Government policy and saw that this policy was carried out. It was he who inspired and wrote the chief government decrees, which did so much to organise and educate, and which urged the masses forward to practical action. He took an active part in the numerous congresses, conferences and mass meetings held in Petrograd during those momentous days. All the organs of the state, all the people's commissariats, were set up under Lenin's personal guidance. It was his idea to create the Supreme Council of National Economy—the first proletarian body to plan and conduct socialist national economy. His was the initiative in creating the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counter-Revolution and Sabotage (the Cheka), with F. E. Dzerzhinsky in charge of it. On Lenin's proposal the People's Commissariat for the Affairs of the Nationalities was set up, with J. V. Stalin at its head.

On November 3, 1917, the *Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia* was published over the signatures of Lenin and Stalin; it formulated the principles of the Soviet Government's national policy. This Declaration offered a new life to many millions of people of the previously oppressed nationalities and the free development of the peoples of Russia and their complete equality became an inviolable law.

Lenin attached considerable importance to the work of introducing and consolidating Soviet justice. He demanded strict observance of the laws and decrees and stern punishment for breaking them. He went into every kind of problem

¹ Lenin, *Speech at First All-Russian Navy Conference*. Nov. 22 (Dec. 5), 1917.

of economic life and the administration of the country. In his opinion no item was too small in the matter of state construction.

Lenin led the work of destroying the entire apparatus of the old bourgeois government, breaking down the sabotage of the old officials, and dispersing the counter-revolutionary Constituent Assembly. In all phases of social life the remains of feudalism were completely destroyed: landlord ownership, estates, inequality of women, national oppression; the church was separated from the state. It was then that the principles were laid down for the administration of the Soviet State; workers' control of social production and the distribution of products was introduced, the banks were nationalised and the railways and large-scale industries came under nationalised control.

Thus there grew up the state of a new type, which was closely connected with the people, fully met the interests of the people and was created by the people. Soviet power was established throughout the country with tremendous rapidity. Lenin called the period between October 1917 and January-February 1918 the "triumphal entry" of Soviet power.

Lenin closely studied and scientifically explained the practical experience of millions of working people in building the new life; he filled the working people with confidence in their own powers; he relentlessly exposed and angrily lashed out at the infamous, reactionary prejudiced view that only the upper classes can rule the state. He proved with heat and passion that rank and file workers and peasants could successfully carry out organisational work, that there were deep springs of talent to be found in the working class and peasantry.

Lenin attached special importance, in the matter of building the new life, to the organisation and development of mass socialist emulation.

"Socialism", wrote Lenin, "does not extinguish competition; on the contrary, it for the first time creates the opportunity for employing it on a really *wide* and on a

really *mass* scale, for actually drawing the majority of the population into an arena of labour in which they can display their abilities, develop their capacities, reveal their talents, which are an untapped spring among the people, and which capitalism crushed, suppressed and strangled in thousands and millions.

"Now that a socialist government is in power our task is to organise competition."¹

Lenin taught us that it is the popular masses themselves who create socialism. This idea runs through the whole of his work as a statesman, through all the decrees, manifestoes, articles, speeches and reports he ever wrote.

"Socialism is not created by orders from above", said Lenin, "bureaucratic automatism can have no part in it; socialism is something vital and creative, made by the popular masses themselves."²

Lenin was convinced that the workers and peasants, through their creative instincts, would suggest various forms and methods of administering the state, of raising labour productivity, of giving the people political and cultural education.

Lenin closely watched the work of the local Soviets, requiring from them independent effort and initiative and demanding that they strengthen at all times their contacts with the masses and fight daily for the interests of the state as a whole.

The socialist measures the Soviet Government introduced thoroughly infuriated the bourgeoisie and its lackeys, the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. Incited and supported as they were by the governments of the imperialist states, the enemies of the people fought desperately against the Soviet Government. Counter-revolutionary plots and terrorist acts against party and government leaders began to occur. On January 1, 1918, an attempt was made on Lenin's life: terrorists fired at the car in which he was driving, but Lenin was not harmed.

¹ Lenin, *How to Organise Competition*.

² Lenin, *Reply to the Question of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries*.

The Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets opened on January 10, 1918. Lenin made a report on the work of the Council of People's Commissars, and drew a clear picture of the formation of the new type of state—the Socialist Soviet Republic; he showed how important it was for the working people of all countries.

"Our Socialist Republic of Soviets will stand firmly, like a beacon of international Socialism and as an example to all the masses of the toilers", said Lenin. "Over there, there is fighting, war, bloodshed, the sacrifice of millions of people, capitalist exploitation; here, there is the pursuit of a real peace policy, and the Socialist Republic of Soviets."¹

The Soviet system, said Lenin at the congress, offers full scope for revealing and developing the creative abilities of the workers and peasants and puts technical achievements and cultural treasures at the service of the people.

"Previously, the human mind, its genius, created only so as to be able to give the blessings of technique and culture to some, while depriving the rest of what was most necessary—education and development. Today, however, all the miracles of technique, all the wealth of culture is the property of all the people and henceforth the human mind and genius will never again be turned towards means of violence, means of exploitation."²

The Congress of Soviets adopted Lenin's *Declaration of the Rights of Working and Exploited People*. This historic declaration, which was later incorporated in the first Soviet Constitution, legislatively strengthened the Soviet system as a state.

The Soviet Government could not be considered to be in a completely stable position as long as Russia was in a state of war with Germany and Austria. For this reason,

¹ Lenin, *Report to the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets*. January 24 (11), 1918.

² Lenin, *Concluding Speech at the 3rd All-Russian Congress of Soviets*. January 31 (18), 1918.

from the earliest days of the triumph of the October Revolution, the party and the Soviet Government began the struggle for peace.

The Soviet Government proposed to all the belligerent nations and their governments that negotiations should begin immediately for a just, democratic peace. In view of the fact that the "allies", Britain and France, had refused to negotiate on peace, the Soviet Government decided to enter into negotiations with Germany and Austria.

"It was the Anglo-French and American bourgeoisie who refused to accept our proposal", Lenin pointed out, "it was they who even refused to talk to us about a general peace! It was *they* who betrayed the interests of all nations; it was they who prolonged the imperialist slaughter!"¹

The bourgeoisie and their Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary agents tried to prevent the arrangement for peace negotiations with Germany, to provoke a German offensive against the weak Soviet Republic. The former tsarist generals helped in this by sabotaging the Soviet Government's instructions to open peace negotiations. By order of the Council of People's Commissars, General Dukhonin, Army Commander-in-Chief, who refused to begin peace negotiations with the Germans, was removed from his post. Over the head of the Army Command and in the name of the Soviet Government, Lenin appealed to the soldiers to take the matter of peace into their own hands.

The Trotskyists and so-called "Left Communists" joined the bourgeoisie, Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks and put up violent resistance to the conclusion of peace with Germany. Trotsky, who was the Chairman of the Soviet Peace Delegation to Brest, refused to sign the peace agreement with Germany, thereby violating direct instructions from the party. At the same time he informed the Germans that the Soviet Republic would not conduct war but would

¹ Lenin, *A Letter to American Workers*.

continue to demobilise the army. This was a monstrous betrayal of the interests of Soviet Russia. On February 18 the German Army went over to the offensive. Soviet Russia faced serious danger.

Lenin had calculated that for the young Soviet Republic, which as yet had no army of its own, to wage war against predatory German imperialism, which was armed to the teeth, could lead to the downfall of Soviet power. He reckoned that certain concessions and even sacrifices would have to be made, when concluding peace with the predatory jackals of German imperialism, in order to save the Soviet Republic, the bulwark and base of world revolution.

During the night of February 18, on behalf of the Council of People's Commissars, Lenin sent a radiogram to the German Government agreeing to sign the peace. But the German imperialists delayed replying and continued the offensive. German imperialism had made up its mind to overthrow Soviet power and convert Soviet Russia into a Germany colony. The Socialist Motherland had to be defended against the interventionists, the country's defence had to be organised.

On February 21, 1918, Lenin published a Decree on behalf of the Council of People's Commissars which was a manifesto to the people entitled *The Socialist Motherland is in Danger!* Every line of this notable document is filled with the deepest sense of Soviet patriotism.

"It is the sacred duty of the workers and peasants of Russia unreservedly to defend the Republic of Soviets against the hordes of bourgeois-imperialist Germany." All the forces and means of the country had to be placed entirely at the service of revolutionary defence. The Government called on all local Soviets, all workers and peasants "*to defend every position to the last drop of blood*".¹

Lenin was responsible for the formation of the Special Headquarters of the Petrograd Military District, whose task was to give direct operational guidance in the defence of

¹ Lenin, *The Socialist Motherland is in Danger.*

Petrograd, which was declared to be in a state of siege.

Lenin wrote during those days: "Since October 25, 1917, we are defencists. We are for 'defence of the Motherland'."¹ The call for defence of the Socialist Motherland put out by the party and the government met with a strong wave of revolutionary enthusiasm in the country. Everywhere steps were taken to form Red Army detachments, the new army of the revolutionary people. The young Red Army heroically repulsed the onslaught of the German troops and on February 23, 1918, struck a determined blow at the interventionists at Pskov and Narva. The German march against Petrograd was halted. That day was the birthday of the Red Army.

In the morning of February 23 the German peace terms were received. Lenin sharply and categorically demanded the acceptance of these conditions at a meeting of the Party Central Committee. Lenin had resolute support from J. V. Stalin and Y. M. Sverdlov. By a majority of votes the Central Committee adopted Lenin's proposal on the necessity of agreeing to the harsh peace terms.

Lenin took this step because he had great faith in the inexhaustible forces of the Soviet revolution. He explained that a people who had been able to establish Soviet power could not perish. Anyone who was against immediate peace, even though its terms were most distressing, was ruining Soviet power, said Lenin. The provocation of Trotsky and Bukharin had threatened the existence of the Soviet Republic. The direct result of Trotsky's betrayal at Brest was still harder peace terms and the loss of a considerable part of the country's territory. The Trotskyists and Bukharinites actually "*helped* German imperialism and *hindered* the growth of the German revolution".²

Even after the Central Committee adopted the decision to conclude peace with the Germans, the Trotskyists and Bukharinites continued their unbridled campaign against the

¹ Lenin, *The Chief Task of our Day*.

² Lenin, *A Serious Lesson and a Serious Responsibility*.

party and the Soviet Government. The "Left Communists" asserted that in the interests of world revolution the possible loss of Soviet power should be agreed to. Lenin called this statement "strange and monstrous". Together with the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Trotskyists and Bukharinists prepared a counter-revolutionary plot against the Soviet Government. The scoundrels set themselves the aim of frustrating the Brest Peace, overthrowing the Soviet Government, arresting and assassinating Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov. These evil plans of the Trotskyists and Bukharinists only became known to the party and the people twenty years later.

The special Seventh Congress of the Party opened in Petrograd on March 6, 1918, for the purpose of taking the final decision on peace. Lenin made the report on the Brest-Litovsk Peace. The congress confirmed the correctness of his attitude on this question.

Lenin issued a serious warning that armed attacks by the imperialist powers against the Soviet Republic would inevitably occur in the future. He said that the consolidation of the country's defence was therefore the most important task of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, the sacred duty of all working people. He insisted on the adoption of the most determined measures to introduce revolutionary order and iron discipline, to train the masses to defend the Socialist Motherland and to organise and fully strengthen the Red Army.

The congress also discussed the question of the change in the party programme and in the name of the party. It adopted as a basis the draft programme Lenin had drawn up and elected a commission to write the final draft of the new programme. It passed a decision to re-name the party, which began to be known as the "Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)". This dual name continued to exist up to the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

During the Seventh Congress the question was decided of

removing the Soviet Government from Petrograd to Moscow. On March 11, 1918, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government arrived in Moscow. Moscow became the capital of the Soviet State, the standard-bearer of the new, Soviet epoch.

On March 15, the Fourth Extraordinary All-Russian Congress of Soviets, following on Lenin's report, confirmed the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty. The resolution which Lenin wrote for the Congress stated:

"The Russian Soviet Federative Republic, unanimously condemning predatory wars, henceforth considers it its right and duty to defend the Socialist Motherland against every possible attack on the part of any of the imperialist powers.

"This Congress therefore considers it the definite duty of all the working masses to exert every effort to build up and to raise the defence capacity of our country, to build up its military might."¹

Thus, in the complicated circumstances of the situation at home and abroad, the Communist Party was able to lead the country out of war, to save the revolution, to obtain the respite it required, and to create the conditions for socialist construction.

In the struggle for peace, the brilliance of Lenin's strategy which aimed at gaining time, demoralising the enemy and gathering strength for the transition to the offensive was most strongly felt. "In the period of the October Revolution Lenin taught the Bolshevik Party how to advance fearlessly and resolutely when conditions favour an advance. In the period of the Brest-Litovsk Peace, Lenin taught the Party how to retreat in good order when the forces of the enemy are obviously superior to our own, in order to prepare with the utmost energy for a new offensive.

"History has fully proved the correctness of Lenin's line."²

¹ Lenin, *Resolution on the Ratification of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty*. Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 27, p. 174.

² *History of the C.P.S.U.*, p. 219.

With the interest of the revolution and the people at heart, Lenin insisted on a foreign policy that would do everything to postpone war, to make the breathing-space as long as possible. He taught us to combine strong determination and firmness in defending the country with wise precaution, coolness and endurance.

He thought it necessary to make the maximum use of the breathing-space in order to strengthen Soviet power and launch socialist construction. He considered the creation of a strong army and stable rear the most important, immediate task of the Soviet Government.

Soon after the conclusion of peace Lenin wrote his article *The Chief Task of Our Day*, which was an ardent appeal to the people to forge tirelessly the economic might and defence of the Soviet country. He wrote:

"In our natural wealth, in our stores of man power, and in the splendid impetus which the great revolution has imparted to the creative powers of the people, we have the material for the creation of a truly mighty and abundant Russia."¹

When Lenin foretold the prospect of a mighty economic and cultural rise in the country where revolution was victorious, he did so because he recognised the great creative role of the popular masses in the development of history.

"History", he said, "is now being made by millions and tens of millions of people independently."²

Lenin drew up the plan for the early stages of socialist construction. His pamphlet *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government* appeared in April 1918 and threw light on the chief problems of Russia's transformation to socialism. In the early days of the October Revolution the chief task was to expropriate the capitalists. Later a new task became urgent: to pass from the destruction of the old to the building of the new, the foundations of socialist economy. Lenin wrote:

¹ Lenin, *The Chief Task of our Day*.

² *ibid.*

"We, the Bolshevik Party, have *convinced* Russia. We have *won* Russia from the rich for the poor, from the exploiters for the toilers. Now we must *administer* Russia."¹

In a small-peasant country like Russia, the chief danger was the elemental petty-bourgeois forces. Nation-wide accounting and control over the production and distribution of products had to be organised, productivity of labour had to be raised and new, socialist labour discipline introduced.

Lenin explained why it was necessary to have efficient accounting, strict economy, to introduce piecework payment and fight against wage-equalisation. He called for a relentless struggle against petty-bourgeois indiscipline, against slovenliness, against idlers and speculators and insisted on strict labour discipline. "Introduce accurate and conscientious financial accounting," taught Lenin, "manage economically, do not be lazy, do not steal, observe the strictest discipline during work—it is precisely such maxims, which were justly scorned by the revolutionary proletariat when the bourgeoisie concealed its rule as an exploiting class by these commandments, that now, after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, are becoming the immediate and the principal slogans of the moment."²

Lenin attached decisive importance to large-scale machine industry in the socialist reconstruction of the national economy. In the early days after the establishment of the Soviet Socialist State, Lenin had put forward the idea of a single state economic plan. He now gave the country's scientists the job of making a plan, as quickly as possible, for the reorganisation of industry and the economic development of Russia. Particularly striking was the demand to make our country technically and economically independent. Socialist national economy, he pointed out, should be built upon a basis of advanced technique and electrification. He

¹ Lenin, *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*.

² *ibid.*

emphasised that special attention had to be given to electrifying industry and transport and applying electricity to agriculture. He wrote that in order to get electric power with the smallest expenditure, second-grade fuels (peat, poorer types of coal), water power and wind-motor power should be utilised. Lenin's directives concerning the country's industrialisation and electrification were the basis for all the later building and transforming work of the Socialist State.

In accordance with these ideas, in the spring of 1918 the party and the Soviet Government began to carry out the transition from workers' control to workers' administration of industry. On June 28, 1918, Lenin signed the decree nationalising all large-scale industry.

In the same period the party had to engage in a stiff fight against the "Left Communists" who were trying to prevent the operation of Lenin's plan to begin socialist construction, who opposed the introduction of discipline, firm regulations and one-man management in the factories and the introduction of efficient accounting.

In his *Left-Wing Childishness and Petty-Bourgeois Mentality*, written in May 1918, Lenin showed that the "Left Communists" were the mouthpiece of kulak, petty-bourgeois elemental forces. In this article, Lenin explained that the economy of Soviet Russia was multiplex, the following elements existing in it: (1) patriarchal, i.e. to a considerable extent self-sufficient peasant economy; (2) small-scale production; (3) private capitalism; (4) state capitalism; and (5) socialism. At that time small-scale production predominated. He expressed firm conviction that the working class struggle against petty-bourgeois elemental forces and the capitalist elements would lead to the triumph of socialism.

Economic construction took place in difficult circumstances. In spite of the peace treaty between Soviet Russia and Germany, the German imperialists did their utmost to weaken and ruin the Land of Soviets. German hordes seized the Ukraine, Byelorussia and other areas, restored the bourgeois-landlord system on the occupied territory, began to

plunder and oppress the Ukrainian and Byelorussian peoples, to destroy hamlets and villages and to shoot workers and peasants in thousands.

At the call of the Communist Party the Ukrainian and Byelorussian peoples rose up to fight in a patriotic, liberation war against the foreign invaders. When the overweening German bandits and Ukrainian White Guards tried to penetrate deep into the country, Lenin instructed the People's Commissariat for Military Affairs to take immediate measures to resist the enemy. The Soviet Government proposed to the local organs of Soviet power that they wage a merciless war of annihilation against the German invaders and White Guards. In fulfilment of these instructions, the workers and peasants created intolerable conditions for the enemy in the areas occupied by the German invaders.

An extremely difficult food situation had to be faced in the summer of 1918. Kulaks and speculators had hidden grain in the hope of starving out the revolution. The question of bread was decisive for the fate of the revolution. "The struggle for bread is the struggle for Socialism", said Lenin. To guarantee that the country had bread, Lenin proposed organising food detachments consisting of the advanced workers and sending them to the villages to get the poor peasants to fight against the kulaks. Acting on his proposal, the People's Commissariat for Food instituted strictest control over the collection and distribution of grain and other products.

On June 11, 1918, Lenin and Sverdlov signed the Decree on the setting up of committees of the poor. These became the strong-points of proletarian dictatorship in the villages and played a great part in the fight against the kulaks, in the work of supplying bread to the towns and the army. The visits the workers paid to the villages and the organisation of committees of the poor strengthened the Soviets in the countryside and helped to win the middle peasants to the side of the Soviet Government.

The Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets opened on

July 4, 1918. There the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries, with the support of the "Left" Communists, launched a ferocious struggle against the Communist Party and the Soviet Government. They demanded that the Brest-Litovsk treaty should be annulled and war declared on Germany, the cessation of the struggle against the kulaks and the withdrawal of the workers' food detachments from the villages. The Congress of Soviets rejected these provocative, capitulatory proposals. On July 6, the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries organised a revolt against the Soviet Government. In Moscow they assassinated Mirbach, the German Ambassador, with a view to inciting Germany to declare war on Soviet Russia. It was later established that the Bukharinites and Trotskyists had taken part in the plot against the Soviet Government, together with the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries. They had wanted to prevent the triumph of the socialist revolution and destroy Soviet power.

The Soviet Government used the most energetic measures to put down the revolt, which was suppressed in a matter of hours.

The position of the Soviet Republic in this period was particularly difficult. Counter-revolutionary outbursts had broken out all over the country. A fierce class struggle was in progress in the villages, where the kulaks were violently opposing the power of the Soviets.

Lenin wrote about that time: "The entire bourgeoisie is straining every effort to get us overthrown. Nevertheless we firmly believe that we shall avoid this 'customary' (as in 1794 and 1849) outcome of the revolution and will conquer the bourgeoisie."¹

The Fifth All-Russian Congress of Soviets adopted the Constitution of the R.S.F.S.R. This was the first Soviet Constitution—the fundamental law of the Soviet State. Describing the historic importance of the Soviet Constitution, Lenin said:

¹ Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 35, p. 282. *Letter to Clara Zetkin*, July 1918.

"There has never been a constitution in the world like ours. Inscribed in it is the experience of struggle and organisation of the proletarian masses against the exploiters both inside the country and throughout the world."¹

The adoption of the Constitution completed the first stage of the building of the Soviet State.

The Soviet system, born in the October Socialist Revolution, gave our people great and invincible strength. The Soviet people owe this first and foremost to the fact that the socialist revolution and the building of the Soviet State were accomplished under the guidance of a Communist Party tried and steeled in battles and having at its head a great leader, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

¹ Lenin, *The Extraordinary Sixth All-Russian Congress of Soviets*, November 6-9, 1918. Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 28, p. 126.

CHAPTER XI

1918-1920

Open armed foreign intervention against the Soviet Republic began in the summer of 1918. Using its troops of intervention and the White Guard generals, world imperialism was trying to crush the young Socialist State. The American, British and French imperialists were nurturing plans to enslave the Russian people, and so they began direct military intervention.

The Soviet Republic found itself in an extremely difficult situation. The British and French imperialists had landed troops in North Russia. Japanese and later American troops seized the maritime region. In the North Caucasus the White Guards had the support of the British and French and had instigated a revolt of Cossack chiefs against the Soviet authorities. In the Middle Volga region and Siberia the Entente imperialists had organised a revolt of the Czechoslovak Corps which consisted of ex-prisoners of war. German troops had occupied the Ukraine and Byelorussia. The German invaders had torn the Trans-caucasus from Soviet Russia and German and Turkish troops were already in control there. Supported by the German imperialists, the White Guard generals had raised a revolt among the Don Cossacks. The British, French, Japanese, United States and German foreign invaders had succeeded in capturing three-quarters of the country, and Soviet Russia was encircled by a ring of fire.

Cut off from its chief sources of food, raw materials and fuel, the country was experiencing famine and great industrial ruin. Terrible danger threatened the Socialist Motherland. The Communist Party, led by Lenin, called on the people to rally to the patriotic war against the foreign invaders and bourgeois-landlord counter-revolution. "Our

war is just, lawful, inevitable defence,"¹ said Lenin.

Lenin organised and headed the country's defence. He put out the slogan "Everything for the front!", urged the masses to harness their energies for the struggle against the American, British and French invaders and the White Guards, encouraged the workers and peasants to perform feats of heroism at the front and in the rear. He instilled into the Soviet population feelings of deep patriotism, courage, valour, fearlessness in battle, readiness to fight to the last drop of blood against the enemies of the Soviet Motherland.

Lenin called for the harshest treatment in the case of whiners, panic-mongers and cowards. He insisted on iron discipline in the ranks of the fighters for the Motherland and said repeatedly: "Since the war has become inevitable—then everything for the front, and the slightest indiscipline or inertia should be punishable according to war-time laws."²

The party's most important task was to build up the armed forces of the Soviet State. In the final count, the fate of the Soviet Republic depended on whether the working class would be able to organise its own strong army, capable of fighting. The party and the Soviet Government actually built up that army in a short period of time.

Lenin attached great importance to political training and education in the army. The party sent thousands of organisers and agitators to the army, in the shape of the army commissars, who were a decisive factor in consolidating it, giving it political education and strengthening its discipline and fighting capacity. Lenin said that without the army commissars there would never have been a Red Army.

Lenin considered the strengthening of the Soviet rear to be of primary importance. He explained that war is the test of the economic and organising forces of every country.

¹ Lenin, *The Extraordinary Plenary Session of the Moscow Soviet*, April 3, 1919, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 29, p. 247.

² Lenin, *Speech at the Second All-Russian Conference on Work in the Country-side*, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 31, p. 151.

"We are winning and will continue to win, because we have a rear, and a strong rear, because, despite hunger and cold, the peasants and workers are cemented and strong, and retaliate to every heavy blow with a greater cohesion of strength and economic power."¹

It was in this period that Lenin formulated and explained the following, most important principle: "Victorious in the war will be that country which in the heart of its people possesses the greatest reserves, the greatest sources of strength, the greatest endurance."²

The Soviet country was declared an armed camp, its entire economic, cultural and political life was rearranged to suit the requirements of war. The Soviet Government introduced war communism. Medium and small-scale industry, as well as large-scale, were brought under control; a monopoly of trade in grain was introduced, the grain-surplus appropriation system was instituted, universal labour conscription declared. War communism was a compulsory measure dictated by the interests of the country's defence.

A Council of Workers' and Peasants' Defence, which Lenin headed, was set up on November 30, 1918, to mobilise all resources for the country's defence. Every problem concerned with putting industry, transport and food supplies on a war footing, with training reserves and reinforcements for the army, with supplying the front with everything needed for the conduct of war, was decided by this Council of Defence.

During the first period of civil war the Tsaritsyn³ area was of great importance. There, General Krasnov's bands were active and aimed at seizing Tsaritsyn at all costs. Lenin took steps to organise the defence of Tsaritsyn and gave instructions for the despatch of additional arms and reinforcements. J. V. Stalin, who was stationed at Tsaritsyn and was

¹ Lenin, *Address to 2nd All-Russian Congress of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East*.

² Lenin, *Results of the Party Week in Moscow and Our Tasks*, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 30, p. 55.

³ Now Stalingrad.

responsible for food supplies in the south of the country, took over the command of the defence of Tsaritsyn. The town's defenders held on to this Soviet fortress on the Volga. J. V. Stalin was successful in despatching large quantities of food to the starving workers in Moscow, Petrograd and other industrial centres.

With American, British, French and other imperialists backing them, the counter-revolutionaries organised a plot to overthrow the Soviet Government and to assassinate Lenin and his closest associates. Criminal terrorist brutes lay in wait for Lenin on all sides. On August 30, 1918, Lenin addressed a meeting of workers at the former Michelson works (now Vladimir Lenin Plant) in the Zamoskvorechye district. When, after the meeting, Lenin was going towards his car, a Socialist-Revolutionary terrorist woman named Kaplan fired at and seriously injured him. Poisoned bullets were used. Later it was discovered, during the criminal proceedings against the Right-Trotskyist band of enemies of the people, that Trotsky, Bukharin and their accomplices had been involved in this criminal attempt on Lenin.

For several days Lenin's life hung in the balance. Daily the newspapers published bulletins on the state of his health. Workers and peasants in Soviet Russia and working people throughout the world watched the health of their leader with great concern. Lenin received touching letters wishing him a speedy recovery to bring joy to all people and terror to his enemies. Many people offered blood donations for Lenin while he was ill or sent him food from their own scanty rations. All this demonstrated the working people's great love for Lenin, their leader and teacher. Angry resolutions were passed everywhere, at factories, in the villages, at the front and in the rear: the workers demanded the harshest measures against terrorists, counter-revolutionaries and the bourgeoisie.

During Lenin's illness, the young Red Army's offensive developed successfully on the Eastern front. The soldiers who captured Simbirsk sent a telegram to Lenin:

"Dear Vladimir Ilyich! The capture of your native town is our reply for one of your wounds; for the second—there will be Samara!"

Lenin replied: "The capture of Simbirsk, my native town, is the most healing, the finest bandage on my wounds. It made me feel much more cheerful and strong. I congratulate the Red Army men on their victory and in the name of all the working people I thank them for the sacrifices they have made."¹

Four weeks later Samara was captured!

Lenin's strong constitution coped with his serious injuries and overcame the illness rapidly, in two weeks.

Once more the leader and teacher of the working people stood at the helm of the Soviet State, guiding the country's defence, working out plans for military operations, sending instructions to the front, checking the fulfilment of Council of Defence decisions. With war, famine and ruin all round, the party and the Soviet Government organised the harmonious working of the Soviet rear, industry, the state apparatus and supplies of food to the army and centres of industry.

While head of the Soviet State, Lenin made a theoretical survey of the gigantic practical experience of the Soviet revolution. In October-November 1918 he wrote his book *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*.

Lenin exposed Kautsky who, under the guise of "pure" democracy, praised the unrestricted rule of the imperialist bourgeoisie and showed that bourgeois democracy is the opposite of proletarian, Soviet, democracy. Although bourgeois democracy is progressive compared with the Middle Ages, wrote Lenin, it still remains narrow, curtailed, false and hypocritical under capitalism. Bourgeois democracy is paradise for the rich and deception and a trap for the poor. Only proletarian democracy and Soviet power, which is one of its forms, are genuine democracy, reflecting the interests of the working people.

¹ Lenin, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 28, p. 75.

"Proletarian democracy is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy; Soviet power is a million times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic."¹

Lenin developed the Marxist theory of revolution and pointed out that socialist revolution inevitably encounters the infuriated and prolonged resistance of the overthrown exploiters. In order to abolish all and every attempt to restore the power of capital, in order to rally all the working people round the working class, dictatorship of the proletariat is required.

Explaining the meaning of proletarian internationalism, Lenin outlined the basic principles of internationalist tactics, which require that every problem be approached from the point of view of the development of the world socialist revolution, and stressed the international significance of the strategy and tactics of the Communist Party. The tactics of the Russian Communists, Lenin pointed out, "were the *only* internationalist tactics, because they did the utmost possible in one country *for* the development, support and awakening of the revolution *in all countries*."²

Lenin wrote that the Bolsheviks had provided the theory, programme and tactics for the world Communist movement. "Bolshevism *can serve as a model of tactics for all*."³

Lenin's *Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* became part of the treasure store of Marxism, one of its most valuable contributions.

In the second half of 1918 the international situation underwent a serious change; in the course of the World War, a change had taken place in favour of the Entente. The forces of German imperialism were declining. The German Army had deteriorated. The socialist revolution in Russia and its liberation ideas had had their effect on the German soldiers. In the rear the German people were

¹ Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*.

² *ibid.*

³ *ibid.*

burning with indignation at the hardships of war and against the imperialist German Government. In November 1918 revolution broke out there. Germany had to recognise her defeat and ask the Entente for peace.

In the changed situation, Lenin raised the question of annulling the predatory Brest-Litovsk Treaty. On November 13, 1918, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee annulled the treaty. Pressed hard by Red Army regular units and partisan detachments, the routed German hordes fled from the Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic States at the end of 1918.

In his analysis of the lessons of the defeat of German imperialism, Lenin drew a most important conclusion, which had the force of a law of history: that the imperialist sharks, when they behaved as the stranglers of the freedom of other peoples and unleashed predatory, imperialist war to gain world domination and doom millions of people to ruin and suffering, could not fail to suffer defeat.

"We see", said Lenin, "that Britain and America—countries which had greater opportunity than others of remaining democratic republics—went savagely and madly to the same extremes as Germany did in her time, and so they are just as quickly, perhaps more quickly, coming to the same end as German imperialism reached. At first it became incredibly inflated over three-quarters of Europe and grew fat, and then it burst, leaving behind a most horrible stench. British and American imperialism are now rushing headlong to the same end."¹

Lenin branded American imperialism as the hangman and strangler of Russian freedom, the gendarme of the European peoples.

"It appears that the British and Americans are acting as the hangmen and gendarmes of Russian freedom, just as the role was fulfilled under the Russian hangman Nikolai I,

¹ Lenin, *Speech at the Sixth All-Russian Congress of Soviets*, November 8, 1918, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 28, p. 138.

no worse than the kings who played the role of hangmen when they strangled the Hungarian revolution. Now Wilson's agents have undertaken the role. They are strangling the revolution in Austria, they are acting as gendarmes, they are putting an ultimatum to Switzerland: no grain from us if you refuse to join in the struggle against the Bolshevik Government. They are declaring to Holland: don't you dare to allow Soviet ambassadors in; if you do, then it's blockade. They have a simple weapon—the rope of hunger. With that they are strangling the peoples.”¹

During the revolutionary upswing which came about at the end of the first world war, the Communist groups became strong and Communist Parties began to be formed in the more important countries of the world. Lenin considered that in order to restore connections between the workers of different countries, to strengthen the young Communist Parties and make them into the true leaders of the proletarian masses, the time had come to amalgamate them into one single international organisation. In January 1919 Lenin wrote a letter to the workers of Europe and America urging them to found the Third International.

On March 2, 1919, the First Congress of the Communist International opened in Moscow and was attended by delegates from the most important countries of Europe and America. The historic task for which Lenin had worked so much was now accomplished—the Communist International was inaugurated.

Lenin made a speech on bourgeois democracy and the dictatorship of the proletariat. He took for his thesis the fact that proletarian dictatorship was necessary in the interests of the masses of the working people, that only through it could mankind arrive at Communism. These Leninist propositions were part of the basis of the Comintern programme.

In March 1919, soon after the Comintern Congress, the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party was held.

¹ Lenin, *Meeting of Moscow Party Workers*, November 27, 1918, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 28, p. 188.

There Lenin made the report of the Central Committee and also spoke on the party programme and work in the villages. In his speech on the political work of the Central Committee, he pointed out that the Soviet State was pursuing a consistent peace policy. But the bourgeois states were conducting a violent struggle against the Soviet Republic and striving to crush it. Because of this, Lenin stressed the need to strengthen the defence of the proletarian state.

The congress adopted the new party programme worked out by a commission headed by Lenin. The programme defined the party's chief tasks in the struggle for the triumph of socialism. Lenin strongly condemned the anti-Bolshevik views of Bukharin, who proposed removing from the programme the points about capitalism, small-scale farming and the farming of the middle peasant. Bukharin glossed over the fact that kulak elements spring up and develop out of small-scale peasant farming. Bukharin's views were a Menshevik-Trotskyist denial of the role of the middle peasant in Soviet construction. Lenin also repulsed the most harmful, "great power", chauvinist views of Bukharin and Pyatakov, who opposed the right of nations to self-determination and the equality of nations.

Lenin's speech on work in the countryside dealt with the question of the attitude towards the middle peasantry. Since the autumn of 1918 the middle peasant had begun to turn towards the Soviet Government and Lenin put forward a new guiding slogan:

"To know how to come to an agreement with the middle peasant, while not for a moment renouncing the fight against the kulak and firmly relying solely on the poor peasant."¹

Thereby Lenin added a new slogan to the arsenal of the party's policy in the countryside and the Marxist theory on the peasant question, based on his estimate of the new experience

¹ Lenin, *Valuable Admissions of Pitirim Sorokin.*

of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin showed that the party and the Soviet Government encouraged collective, socialist forms in agriculture, but he stressed that agricultural artels and communes should be built up on grounds of conviction and on no account should coercion be used. *"Nothing is more stupid than the idea of applying coercion in economic relations with the middle peasant."*¹

The attention of the party and the Government, said Lenin, should be concentrated on supplying the villages with agricultural machines which would be the material basis of co-operation among the small peasant farms.

"If tomorrow we could supply one hundred thousand first-class tractors, provide them with fuel, provide them with drivers—you know very well that this at present is a fantasy—the middle peasant would say: 'I am for the Commune' (i.e. for Communism)."²

The congress passed a resolution on Lenin's report calling for a policy of stable alliance between the working class and middle peasantry, the proletariat retaining the leading role in that alliance. This policy, which the party and the Soviet Government consistently followed, was a decisive factor in the successful outcome of the war against the interventionists and White Guards and in the building of socialist society.

Trotsky's anti-party military policy was shown up at the congress and the so-called "Military Opposition", which opposed the formation of a disciplined, regular Red Army, was subjected to criticism. Lenin's speech supporting the party's military policy greatly impressed the delegates. After it the congress unanimously adopted the decision on the war question proposed by the Central Committee.

At the closing session of the Eighth Congress, Lenin made a speech in which he reminded the party of the war situation and the difficulties connected with it, and pointed to the

¹ Lenin, *Eighth Congress of R.C.P. (Bolsheviks): Work in the Countryside.*

² *ibid.*

Soviet Republic's inexhaustible source of strength in its struggle against the imperialist sharks. We all know, said Lenin, how hard this war is. But our cause is safe. The fact that millions of working people are conscious of the justice of their cause engenders and augments mass heroism. This is the guarantee of the invincibility of the Soviet Republic.

After conquering Germany^c and Austria, the imperialists of Britain, the United States and France concentrated their forces on the struggle against the Soviet Republic. The Anglo-French imperialists brought their fleet to the Black Sea, landed troops at Odessa and in the Transcaucasus and began to indulge in extreme cruelties in the occupied regions. They declared a blockade of the Soviet Republic and in the spring of 1919 began their first campaign against it. Kolchak's army advanced from the East, Denikin from the South, Yudenich advanced on Petrograd from the North-West. In this campaign of the imperialists Kolchak was allotted the chief role. He was declared the "supreme ruler of Russia". In the spring of 1919 Kolchak's army had almost reached the Volga.

The Communist Party and Soviet Government took measures to organise the rapid and decisive defeat of Kolchak. On April 11, 1919, the Central Committee confirmed the *Theses of the Central Committee of the R.C.P.(B.) in connection with the situation on the Eastern Front* which Lenin had written. The theses were a call to set to work in revolutionary style and they did a great deal to mobilise the party and the working masses against Kolchak. The Central Committee called on the workers of the big industrial centres—Moscow, Petrograd, Ivanovo-Voznesensk and other towns—to give aid to the Eastern Front, to send the finest sons of the working class to that front. The entire country responded to the party's call. The Red Army, with its mighty reinforcements, began to press hard against Kolchak all along the front.

^c In May 1919 General Yudenich was instructed by the

foreign imperialists to give all aid to Kolchak; consequently he began to advance on Petrograd. The cradle of the proletarian revolution was in great danger. Lenin proposed that Stalin should be sent to the Petrograd Front, and the Central Committee agreed to this. There were signs, which Lenin had observed, of counter-revolutionaries and spies raising their heads in Petrograd and preparing a plot in the rear and in the army units, and he informed J. V. Stalin of this. Lenin's estimate of the state of affairs was fully confirmed. A counter-revolutionary plot was discovered and wiped out in Petrograd. Supported by the Petrograd workers, the Soviet army and fleet defeated Yudenich's army and flung it back into Estonia.

In connection with the discovery of the anti-Soviet conspiracy, Lenin and Dzerzhinsky (Chairman of the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission) issued a manifesto to the population, urging them to fight against spies and conspirators, to redouble revolutionary vigilance on all sectors of work and particularly in the Red Army, and not to betray military secrets. "Beware of spies! Death to the spies!" ran the manifesto.

In August 1919, when the Red Army had liberated the whole of the Urals from Kolchak and had begun the liberation of Siberia, Lenin published a *Letter to the Workers and Peasants in Connection with the Victory Over Kolchak*. In it he explained that the workers and peasants should learn the lessons of the experience of the struggle against Kolchak, for use in future battles. These were the lessons: a powerful Red Army is needed to defend the Motherland, large stocks of grain must be built up, there must be strict maintenance of revolutionary order and observance of Soviet laws, the alliance between the working class and peasantry must be reinforced. Calling for every effort to aid the Red Army, Lenin wrote:

"He who does not unreservedly and selflessly assist the Red Army, or support order and discipline in it with all his might, is a traitor and treasonmonger, a supporter

of the rule of Kolchak, and should be exterminated without mercy."¹

He warned that there was nothing to be complacent about, because the enemy was still not destroyed.

In the summer of 1919 the interventionists and White Guards organised the second campaign against the Soviet Republic, which came to be known as the "campaign of fourteen states". The chief force which the interventionists counted on was the army of the White Guard General Denikin. This time the central point of the campaign lay in the south of the country.

At first the Soviet troops suffered defeat and retreated. The reason for this was the criminal activities of the traitor Trotsky, who failed to hold the Southern Front together. By the middle of October, Denikin's bands were in control of the Ukraine, had taken Orel and were approaching Tula. Moscow was threatened. At the same time Yudenich's bands again began an offensive and reached the outskirts of Petrograd. The Soviet Republic was in an extremely dangerous position. Its opponents prophesied the early downfall of Soviet power. But the Communist Party, with Lenin at its head, was convinced that the Soviet people could smash this second Entente campaign.

Lenin flung out the slogan: "All in the struggle against Denikin!" During the harsh days of the autumn of 1919, the Communist Party announced a "Party Week". Tens of thousands of workers, peasants and Red Army men, the finest representatives of the Soviet people, who were supremely devoted to the party cause, joined the party at that time. This was a clear indication of the party's prestige, its close contact with the people, its inseverable link with the masses.

"The mass of the working people are with us", wrote Lenin. "That is where our strength lies. That is the source of the invincibility of world communism."²

¹ Lenin, *Letter to the Workers and Peasants in connection with the Victory over Kolchak*.

² Lenin, *The Workers' State and Party Week*.

To organise the defeat of Denikin, the Party Central Committee directed J. V. Stalin, K. E. Voroshilov, G. J. Ordjonikidze and S. M. Budyonny to the Southern Front. Following J. V. Stalin's demand, Trotsky was removed from the leadership of the Southern Front. J. V. Stalin worked out the plan for the defeat of Denikin, which was approved by Lenin and adopted by the Party Central Committee. By the end of 1919 the Red Army had won a decisive victory over Denikin, and Yudenich's army outside Petrograd had been crushed once and for all and hurled beyond the frontiers of the country.

In December 1919 Lenin wrote a *Letter to the Workers and Peasants of the Ukraine in Connection with the Victory over Denikin*. In it he explained that the most important thing in the victory over the interventionists and White Guards was the close alliance and fraternal friendship of the Russian, Ukrainian and other peoples of the Soviet Republic. Lenin saw in this alliance the guarantee that the Soviet State would live and grow strong, the safeguarding of the radical interests of the workers and peasants of all the peoples living in the Soviet Republic.

In the long and difficult struggle against interventionists and White Guards, the Russian and Ukrainian workers should go forward together, because singly they would not cope with the task, Lenin said.

"He who undermines the unity and closest alliance between the Great-Russian and Ukrainian workers and peasants is helping the Kolchaks, the Denikins, the capitalist marauders of all countries."¹

The Denikin troops quickly rolled back to the south under the blows of the Red Army. In fierce battles the Soviet troops completely crushed the army of General Denikin, the imperialists' pawn. The designs of the interventionists to overthrow Soviet power and enslave the peoples of Soviet Russia were again defeated.

¹ Lenin, *Letter to the Workers and Peasants of the Ukraine in connection with the Victory over Denikin*.

The defeat of the second Entente campaign was not only a military victory for the Soviet Republic. It was a great victory for the party and the Soviet Government on the international front, on the front of foreign policy. The Entente imperialists had strained every effort to compel Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland to advance against the Soviet Republic. But all these efforts had ended in failure.

Lenin explained to the peoples of the small countries the predatory aims of the big imperialist states, which trample on the national dignity and independence of small states.

"Each of these small countries has already experienced what it is to have the claws of the Entente in them. They know that when the French, American and British capitalists say: 'we guarantee you independence', they actually mean: 'We shall buy up all your sources of wealth and hold you in fetters. . . .'"¹

As against the foreign policy of imperialism, the policy of brigandage and violence, the Soviet Government put forward the policy of peace and respect for the independence of all peoples. The Soviet Government's peaceful, friendly foreign policy met with the deep sympathy of the broad working masses who were under the yoke of the imperialist sharks.

During the days of ferocious fighting against the foreign invaders and counter-revolution at home, Lenin persistently sought improvements in the work of the state institutions. He could not tolerate lack of discipline and waste of time; he insisted that people who made speeches or contributed to the discussions should speak briefly, accurately and clearly and giving the essence of the question. He infected everyone with his own bubbling energy and cheerfulness. Lenin was exacting, always insisted on the job being properly finished, verified the fulfilment of plans, was relentless towards bureaucrats, careerists, people who used eye-wash, and all unscrupulous officials.

¹ Lenin, *Report at the Eighth All-Russian Conference of the R.C.P.(B.)*, December 2, 1919, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 30, p. 154.

Lenin's work was a model of organisation, accuracy, efficiency, operative ability and strict observance of the rules prevailing in Soviet institutions. One of numerous examples of Lenin's exceptional modesty, his respect for people, his observance of the rules covering all Soviet people, is the note he wrote to the Rumyantsev Museum (now the U.S.S.R. State Library, named after V. I. Lenin). He was asking for a number of reference books, and he wrote:

"If it is against the rules for reference books to be taken home, then may I not have them during the evening and night-time, when the library is closed? *I will return them by the morning.*"¹

Although Lenin showed no mercy to enemies of the people, he cared very much for the workers, peasants, families of Red Army men, scientists, party and Soviet officials. All went to him, workers' representatives, peasants' delegates, all asking for advice and telling of their needs, and their requests were granted.

During the difficult years of civil war, when there was a severe shortage of food, Lenin saw to it that the best products were sent to the hospitals, sanatoria and institutions for children. He was first and foremost concerned about improving food supplies to the children.

Lenin was attentive and tactful towards people. When he noticed one or other of those around him looking tired or ill, he insisted on their resting, personally enquired of the doctors as to how the treatment was going and forbade them to appear at work until the period of convalescence was over. Lenin showed friendly sympathy towards people who were in sorrow, who had lost their dear ones, and filled them with courage. When he learned that the writer A. S. Serafimovich had lost his son at the front, he wrote:

"Permit me to give you a very firm handshake and to wish you courage and, strength of mind. . . . I very much want to tell you how the workers and all of us

¹ Lenin, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 30, p. 388.

need your work and how necessary it is for you to be firm now, in order to overcome the heavy depression and to *compel* yourself to take up work again.”¹

Although engaged on work of tremendous state importance, Lenin simultaneously worked hard on theoretical questions. In July 1919 he read a lecture *On the State* at the Sverdlov Communist University. With exceptional depth and clarity he expounded to his audience the Marxist teaching on the state, its origin and essence and explained what should be the attitude of the Communist Party to the state.

On the second anniversary of Soviet power, Lenin wrote an article on *Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*. In it he summarised the struggle of the party and the Soviet Government to strengthen the economic positions of the proletarian state. Speaking of the first steps towards communism, taken under incredibly difficult conditions, in a country that was ravaged and surrounded on all sides by imperialist sharks, Lenin expressed unshakable confidence in the triumph of communism:

“From the point of view of the basic economic problems, the victory of communism over capitalism is assured for our dictatorship of the proletariat.”²

Lenin deeply analysed the class struggle in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, stressing that in this period the class struggle did not disappear, but merely assumed different forms.

Lenin paid great attention to the matter of getting women to play an active part in the building of the new life, of organising the political education of working and peasant women. When millions of women take part in social life, said Lenin, the cause of socialist construction will be strengthened. He frequently spoke at meetings and conferences of working women and peasant women and told them of the servile, downtrodden, humiliating position of

¹ Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 35, p. 383.

² Lenin, *Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*.

working women in capitalist society. While pointing out that the Soviet Government had done more for women in two years than all the "democratic" republics of the world together had been able to achieve in a hundred or so years, he urged the women to work actively for the country's defence and to build the Socialist State. He considered it particularly important in wartime for the women to assist the Red Army, to nurse the wounded and to take the place in factories and offices of the men who had joined the army.

Lenin was the best friend and teacher of the young people and gave advice and directives to the youth organisations. At the Third Congress of the Young Communist League in 1920, Lenin spoke on *The Tasks of the Youth Leagues*. In his speech he outlined the programme of work for the Young Communist League and a programme of activities for the Soviet youth in general and the Soviet schools. The chief task of the youth was to study, to study Communism. He urged the young people to assimilate the wealth of human culture and said that one could only become a Communist if one learned all that was to be known of the wealth of knowledge accumulated by mankind.

Lenin emphasised that when Marx worked out his theory of scientific communism, he relied on the firm basis of knowledge acquired under capitalism and critically surveyed everything that the human mind and science had created before his time.

At the same time Lenin warned the young people against cramming, learning by rote, imbibing the fundamentals of Communism from books alone.

"We do not need cramming", said Lenin, "but we do need to develop and perfect the mind of every student by a knowledge of the principal facts. For Communism would become a void, a mere signboard, and a Communist would become a mere braggart, if all the knowledge he has obtained were not digested in his mind."¹

¹ Lenin, *The Tasks of the Youth Leagues*.

The Young Communist League will be entitled to its name, said Lenin, when it connects every step of its studying and educating with work in the common struggle of the party and the working people.

“Being a member of the Youth League means devoting one’s labour and efforts to the common cause. That is what communist training means. Only in the course of such work does a young man or woman become a real Communist. Only in this way, only if they achieve practical results in this work will they become Communists.”¹

Following Lenin’s advice, the Young Communist League always readily responded to the party’s appeals, and enthusiastically gave its young forces and youthful energies to the great common work of building socialism. A vivid example of how the young people help in communist building is the mass youth movement today to cultivate the virgin and fallow lands. The Soviet youth enthusiastically undertook to fulfil the historic decisions of the January 1955 Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Young Communist League, said Lenin, must become the shock group, helping in every job and displaying initiative and enterprise. The Young Communist League should attract the entire mass of working and peasant youth.

Lenin devoted particular attention in his speech to training in communist morality. He exposed the brute morality of bourgeois society with its principle of rob or be robbed, be a slave-owner or a slave, and laid before the youth the great and noble principles of communist morality. The basis of communist morality is the struggle to build communist society. Communist morality is subordinated to the class struggle of the proletariat and working people against their exploiters. This morality helps human society to climb higher and to get rid of all exploitation.

Lenin better than anyone else possessed a sense of what is

¹ Lenin, *The Tasks of the Youth Leagues*.

new. In the heroic feats of the workers in the rear, Lenin saw the model for the new, class-conscious, socialist discipline, the living shoots of communism. He estimated that the first mass *Subbotnik*¹ which the workers on the Moscow-Kazan railway held on May 10, 1919, in response to the Central Committee's call to "work in revolutionary style", was an event of world historic importance. In his article *A Great Beginning*, Lenin wrote that it was the beginning of a revolution that was more difficult, more decisive than the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. He considered that labour heroism of the workers in the rear was just as much deserving of attention and encouragement as heroism at the front. The enterprise shown by the railwaymen was quickly copied by working people all over the country. On May 1, 1920, there was an All-Russian *Subbotnik* in which Lenin himself took part.

After the defeat of Kolchak and Denikin a short interval of peace followed. The attention of the party and government was concentrated on the working of industry, transport and agriculture. Part of the Red Army was transferred to the labour front. The Council of Workers and Peasants' Defence was transformed into the Council of Labour and Defence.

Lenin warned the people that it was much easier to conquer Kolchak, Yudenich and Denikin than to win a victory on the economic front. Here, petty-bourgeois habits, relations and customs formed down the ages had to be overcome and there would be a prolonged and extremely stubborn fight on this front. He called for the utmost increase in labour productivity and more than once stated that in the final count the productivity of labour is the chief and most important factor for the victory of the new social order, the victory of communism. He said that "an increase in the productivity of labour is one of the radical tasks, for without it there could be no final transition to communism".²

¹ Voluntary labour for the state on a day off.

² Lenin, *The Draft Programme of the R.C.P. (Bolsheviks)*, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 29, p. 93.

Towards the end of March 1920 the Ninth Party Congress opened. In his report on the political work of the Central Committee Lenin emphasised the great organising role of the Bolshevik Party in the Soviet Republic's victory over the interventionists and White Guards.

"It was only because of the Party's vigilance and its strict discipline, because the authority of the Party united all government departments and institutions, because the slogans issued by the Central Committee were followed by tens, hundreds, thousands and finally millions of people as one man, because incredible sacrifices were made, that the miracle could take place which actually did take place. It was only because of all this that we were able to win in spite of the twice, thrice and even four times repeated campaigns of the imperialists of the Entente and of the whole world."¹

Lenin pinned the attention of the party congress on questions of economic construction. He strongly opposed the anti-party "democratic centralism" group, which, under the guise of the "collective principle", defended irresponsibility in the management of industry. It opposed the principle the party had established of one-man management and the personal responsibility of the directors in industry and transport.

Following Lenin's directives, the congress examined the question of a single economic plan in which the question of electrifying the whole of the national economy occupied a central place. On the eve of the congress Lenin said:

"Electrification will regenerate Russia. Electrification on the basis of the Soviet system will create the final victory of Communist principles in our country, the principles of cultured living without exploiters, without capitalists, without landlords, without merchants."²

¹ Lenin, *Report of the Central Committee at Ninth Congress of the R.C.P. (Bolsheviks)*.

² Lenin, *Reply to Questions of a "Daily Express" Correspondent*, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 30, p. 343.

The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party attached great importance to the work of disseminating Lenin's brilliant writings widely among the masses and therefore decided to take the initial steps for the publication of a full Collected Works of Lenin.

In April 1920 the Communist Party celebrated the fiftieth birthday of its leader and founder, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. At a celebration meeting organised by the Moscow Party Committee on April 23, J. V. Stalin, A. M. Gorky and others delivered addresses. At the end of the meeting Lenin said a few words. He spoke about the Communist Party, its elevated position as a party which was administering a vast country, its tremendous responsibility towards the working people of our country and the international proletariat. Lenin urged the party to practise self-criticism and warned it against being conceited and suffering giddiness from success for, he pointed out, more than once in history parties that had been conceited had met with failure and defeat. He ended his speech with an expression of firm conviction that the Russian Communist Party would never find itself in the position of a conceited party.

While mobilising the party and the working class for the struggle to restore the nation's economy, Lenin vigilantly kept an eye on the intrigues of the imperialists and warned that the imperialists would again try to overthrow Soviet power by armed force. Things turned out as Lenin had foreseen. The imperialists soon launched a new, third, military campaign against the Land of Soviets. The imperialists of France, Britain and America dragged landlord Poland into the criminal adventure against the Soviet Republic and supplied her with arms, uniforms, money and instructors. As the obedient servant of the imperialist jackals, the Polish Government rejected the Soviet Government's peace proposals and in April 1920 moved its troops in an offensive against the Soviet Republic. These had to be repulsed.

In his speech to the Red Army men setting out for the Polish Front, Lenin said:

"The Polish landlords and capitalists, instigated by the Entente, have imposed another war on us. Remember, comrades, that we have no quarrel with the Polish peasants and workers, we have recognised and still recognise Polish independence and the Polish people's republic."¹

Another force which the imperialists reckoned on using in the war against the Soviet Republic was the mercenary general, Baron Wrangel, who had settled down in the Crimea with what remained of the Denikin army.

Again the war demanded colossal efforts from the entire country and brought more privations for the Soviet people. But the working class and the toiling peasantry recognised that their cause was just and boldly faced the difficulties, overcame them, and had confidence in their own victory.

"We are not defending the right to plunder other nations", said Lenin, "but we are defending our own proletarian revolution and we shall defend it to the end. The Russia which has liberated itself, which through suffering achieved its Soviet revolution in two years, this Russia we shall defend to the last drop of blood!"²

Lenin appealed to the Soviet people to strain every effort once more and to offer crushing resistance to the imperialists.

"We must get them out of their habits in such a way that they will order their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren not to do that sort of thing", said Lenin.³

While organising the defence of the Soviet Republic, Lenin simultaneously devoted much attention to problems of the international labour movement. After the First Comintern Congress, the Communist Parties in several countries grew and acquired great influence among the working class.

¹ Lenin, *Speech to Red Army men departing for the Polish Front*, May 5, 1920.

² Lenin, *Report of First All-Russian Congress of Toiling Kazakhs*, March 1, 1920, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 30, p. 369.

³ Lenin, *Speech at the Second All-Russian Conference on Work in the Country-side*, June 12, 1920, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 31, p. 151.

Lenin wrote letters to the Italian, French, British, German and Austrian Communists and several articles on the international Communist movement, teaching tactics to the Communist Parties. He demanded the highest sense of principle and an irreconcilable attitude towards the unstable, opportunist elements who were trying to demoralise the young Communist Parties.

Lenin wrote that in order to win broad sections of the workers to our side, day-to-day, relentless struggle was essential against social-traitors and reformists. Lenin showed up the foul and treacherous role which the opportunist leaders of the Second International were assuming as agents of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the struggle against the international labour movement and Soviet Russia. He stressed that inside the labour movement the opportunists were the chief enemy of the Communist Parties.

In May 1920 Lenin received a delegation of British workers. In conversation with them, he exposed the predatory policy of British imperialism, which enslaves the small countries and colonial peoples. He condemned the reactionary leaders of the British trade unions for being the accomplices of British imperialism in its organisation of intervention against Soviet Russia and its effort to provoke Poland to make war on Russia.

Lenin considered it an essential task to hand on to the young fraternal Communist Parties the wealth of experience which the Russian Communist Party had accumulated over decades of class battles, in the fire of three revolutions—experience which had no equal in the world.

In April-May 1920 Lenin wrote his splendid book "*Left-Wing*" Communism, *An Infantile Disorder*. In it he explained the international significance of the great October Revolution, outlined the chief stages in the history of the Russian Communist Party and showed that the party had developed, grown strong and become steeled in irreconcilable struggle against enemies inside the labour movement—open opportunism and petty-bourgeois revolutionism.

In that period, the chief danger in the young Communist Parties of Western Europe was the "left-wing" danger. The "left-wingers" asserted that Communists should not work in the reactionary trade unions and in bourgeois parliaments, they should not enter into any compromises, and they thereby pushed the Communist Parties into a position which isolated them from the working masses and which was fatal for them. Lenin harshly criticised this "left-wing" Communist disorder. He taught that it was not possible to be victorious with a vanguard alone. The revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat—the Communist Parties—should win the majority of the working class, the toiling masses, to their side. They had to know how to lead the masses to revolution by skilfully training them on the basis of their own political experience, by taking into account the concrete peculiarities of each country.

The tactics of the Communist Parties should have the maximum flexibility. The parties should master all means and methods of struggle; they should skilfully combine illegal and legal work and the revolutionary use of the most reactionary trade unions and parliaments; they should advance boldly and fearlessly and retreat in good order, manoeuvre, enter into practical compromises, if necessary, for the revolution; they should make use of every form of friction, conflict and difference of opinion in the enemy camp; they should rapidly switch from one form of struggle to another when the situation required it. Only if these rules of political struggle were observed, said Lenin, would the Communist Parties become mass parties, the true political leaders of the working class.

Lenin urged the proletarian parties to use self-criticism; he taught them that only by revealing their mistakes can party cadres and leaders be trained and can the working class and the toiling masses be correctly educated. He pointed out that a political party's attitude towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and truest criteria of the seriousness of the party, of whether it will truly fulfil its duty towards its class and the working masses.

"Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analysing the conditions which led to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it—that is the earmark of a serious party; that is the way it should perform its duties, that is the way it should educate and train the *class*, and then the *masses*."¹

In the struggle against the labour movement, Lenin warned, the imperialists have recourse to every kind of perfidious, base method, and send their agents into the Communist Parties and will continue to do so. He urged the Communist Parties to be increasingly vigilant, to learn how to combat provocateurs.

Lenin's "*Left-Wing*" *Communism, An Infantile Disorder* is a classic work on problems of Leninist strategy and tactics.

Lenin did a great deal of work in preparation for the Second Comintern Congress. He drew up the drafts of the most important decisions, summarising in them the practical experience of the revolutionary struggle of the masses; he wrote the theses on the chief tasks of the Comintern and also on the agrarian and the national-colonial questions. He led the work of the Second Congress, which opened on July 19, 1920.

Lenin made several reports to the congress and also a number of short speeches. He reported on the international situation and on the chief tasks of the Communist International. Congress adopted the conditions for acceptance into the Communist International, which Lenin had drawn up. The conditions required that parties and groups joining the Comintern should make a decisive break with the opportunist, centrist elements. This strengthened the fighting capacity of the Communist Parties, and raised their leading role in the world revolutionary movement.

In the autumn of 1920 the war against bourgeois-landlord Poland was almost at an end. The Red Army's successes had forced the Polish Government to agree to the conclusion of peace.

¹ Lenin, "*Left-Wing*" *Communism, An Infantile Disorder*, Chapter VII.

The Soviet Republic's international situation continued to improve. The truth about Soviet Russia had found its way to the broad masses of the working people in the capitalist countries, in spite of the efforts of the foreign reactionary press, with its unbridled propaganda against the Soviet Republic. Exposing the slanderers, Lenin said:

"Abroad, an unprecedented spate of lies is being spread on this question, thanks to the so-called freedom of the press, which means that all the chief organs of the press abroad have been bought up by the capitalists and 99 per cent of them are filled with articles written by mercenary hacks. That is what they call freedom of the press and thanks to it not a lie exists that they don't spread."¹

While noting the great successes of the Soviet Republic in the struggle against the interventionists, Lenin warned the Soviet people against complacency. He said that as long as Wrangel's troops remained in the Crimea, the Soviet State continued to be in danger. On Lenin's proposal an independent Southern Front was organised and J. V. Stalin and M. V. Frunze were sent to lead it. During the celebration of the third anniversary of the October Revolution, the Soviet troops began the storming of Perekop; they waded across the Sivash, broke into the Crimea and routed Wrangel.

The period of foreign military intervention ended with the rout of the Polish interventionists and Wrangel. But there were still Japanese invaders in the Far East and these were driven out in 1922.

For several years the imperialists had organised one campaign after another against the Soviet Republic. But led by Lenin the Communist Party had always been on guard, had seen through the enemy's plans in good time, had rallied the popular masses into an invincible force and had achieved victory.

¹ Lenin, *Speech at the Second All-Russian Conference on Work in the Countryside*, June 12, 1920, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 31, p. 145.

Lenin strictly operated the Bolshevik principles of party leadership and regarded the party as an organism of independent action, and so he considered it necessary for party congresses, as the highest organs of the party, to be convened regularly. In the difficult circumstances of war, regular party congresses were held: the seventh in 1918, the eighth in 1919, the ninth in 1920, and there the tasks confronting the party and the Soviet people were discussed and the party's policy was collectively worked out.

Summing up the results of the war against the foreign invaders, Lenin expressed firm confidence in the invincibility of the Soviet Republic.

"No matter what attempts are made to invade Russia and what military undertakings are used against Russia—and there will probably be more than one such attempt—our experience has already steeled us", said Lenin, "and on the basis of actual experience we know that all these attempts will come to nothing. After every attempt by our enemies, we shall emerge stronger than we were before."¹

When explaining the reasons for the triumph of Soviet power, Lenin more than once said that Soviet Russia had not been alone in the struggle against foreign intervention and White Guard counter-revolution. The struggle and successes of the Soviet Government won the sympathy and aid of the workers of the world. The workers abroad went on strike, refused to load arms for the invading troops and the White Guard generals, and formed "Hands Off Russia!" committees of action.

Lenin considered that the basis of the Soviet Republic's victories over counter-revolution at home and abroad was the strength of the Soviet people, its army, Russia's Soviet system, the alliance of the working class and peasantry, the friendship of the peoples and the leading role of the Communist Party.

¹ Lenin, *Speech at Conference of Representatives of Soviets of Moscow Province*, October 15, 1920, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 31, p. 304.

“Never”, said Lenin, “can a people be conquered, in which the majority of the workers and peasants are aware, feel and see that they are defending their own, Soviet power—the power of the working people, that they are defending a cause, the triumph of which will ensure that they and their children have an opportunity of enjoying all the blessings of culture, all the achievements of human labour.”¹

¹ Lenin, *Speech at Conference of Moscow Railwaymen*, April 16, 1919, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 29, p. 292.

CHAPTER XII

1920-1922

After the victorious conclusion of the war against the interventionists, problems of peaceful economic construction confronted the Soviet State in all their magnitude.

At the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets held in December 1920 Lenin advanced his mighty plan for the restoration and transformation of the national economy, the plan for the creation of the economic foundations of socialism.

The party and the working class had to restore and develop heavy industry to the full, to put all the country's economy, including agriculture, on the new technical basis of modern, large-scale machine production. Electrification of the country was to be this basis.

"Communism is Soviet power plus the electrification of the whole country", said Lenin at the congress. "Only when the country has been electrified, when industry, agriculture and transport have been placed on the technical basis of modern large-scale industry, only then shall we be finally victorious."¹

The plan for the electrification of the country drawn up by the State Commission for the Electrification of Russia, on Lenin's suggestion, with his guidance and with the assistance of the finest representatives of Russian science and technique, was a broad programme for the socialist transformation of the country. The electrification plan put forward a task that was gigantic in volume and unprecedented in audacity and breadth of design; it amounted to completely changing the face of Russia, radically altering its economy, laying down the stable foundations of socialism, and all in the course of ten to twenty years. Lenin said that the plan for the country's electrification was a second party programme.

¹ Lenin, *Report to Eighth Congress of Soviets*, December 22, 1920.

As the country was in a state of poverty and ruin at that time, many people thought that the plan for economic construction, suggested by Lenin and adopted by the Eighth Congress of Soviets, the electrification plan, was an unrealisable dream. Only the Communist Party could look boldly into the future in such a way, and could perform miracles because of its boundless faith in the strength and ability of the masses. Lenin's brilliant design was carried out. In 1953 the Soviet Union's power stations produced 133,000 million kilowatt-hours of electric power, sixty-eight times as much as in 1913.

Guided by Lenin's statements on the importance of electrification for the building of communist society, the party and the Soviet Government are constantly concerned with the erection of huge electric power stations on the country's largest waterways, and the building of thermal power stations. The further development of electrification to cover the entire country is one of the most important conditions for the creation of the material and technical basis of communism, for continually strengthening the economic and defence potential of the country. In the U.S.S.R. the first atomic energy power station in the world, with a capacity of 5,000 kilowatts, is now at work, and work is in progress on atomic energy power stations for industry with a capacity of 50,000-100,000 kilowatts.

Lenin foresaw that socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. would serve as an example and model for the victorious proletariat of other countries.

"If Russia becomes covered by a dense network of electric power stations and powerful technical installations", he said, "our Communist economic development will become a model for a future socialist Europe and Asia."¹

Tremendous difficulties were encountered during the transition from wartime to peacetime construction. The

¹ *ibid.*

country was devastated by four years of imperialist war, foreign military intervention and civil war. Industry, transport and agriculture were terribly neglected. The peasantry were showing signs of dissatisfaction about the surplus-appropriation system, which had been introduced during the war. In addition there was a crop failure in many provinces. There was dissatisfaction also among part of the workers due to the famine and natural exhaustion. The class enemy tried to make use of this difficult economic situation to undermine the Soviet regime. The party and the working class had to strain every effort in order to overcome the difficulties.

The policy of war communism had done all it could. The party now had to work out a new line on all questions of the country's economic life. First and foremost agriculture had to be put on its feet. The party took as its starting point that the need for the surplus appropriation system had gone and that it should be replaced by a tax in kind in order to allow the peasants to make use of the greater part of their surplus produce as they thought fit. This would help to revivify agriculture, increase trade turnover, promote industry, improve supplies of food to the towns, and provide the new economic basis for the alliance between the workers and peasants.

Lenin considered that it was only possible to get over the economic ruin, the serious consequences of many years of war and foreign military intervention, to fulfil the plan of electrification and reconstruction of the country's economy on socialist principles, if the working class and its trade union organisations were drawn into the work of economic construction on a large scale. It was essential for the working masses to have a deep understanding of the tasks which had arisen in the new stage of historical development.

Lenin repeatedly pointed out that it was not possible to have a profound, historical revolution like the socialist reconstruction of society without drawing all the working masses into the work of building the new life.

"The greater the dimensions, the greater the extent of historical actions, the larger is the number of people who take part in them and, on the other hand, the more radical the transformation we wish to bring about, the greater must be the interest in it and class-conscious attitude towards it, the more must ever increasing millions and tens of millions become persuaded of the need for it. In the final count, the reason why our revolution left all other revolutions far behind it was that, through Soviet power, it inspired tens of millions of people to take part in the work of building the state, people who had previously had no interest in it."¹

While the party was busily preparing for the transition to peacetime economic construction, anti-party groupings forced it into a discussion on the trade unions, in an endeavour to frustrate the working out of the new policy on questions of economic construction. The discussion was of greater significance than the question of the trade unions. Actually the struggle was round the question of the attitude towards the peasantry, the party's attitude to the non-party workers and, in general, the party's approach to the masses in the new situation.

The instigator of the discussion and struggle against the party policy was Trotsky. The Trotskyists demanded that the trade unions should be given state functions immediately, they proposed "screwing the nut tighter" on war communism. With their treacherous policy of "shaking up the trade unions", of harsh compulsion and domineering in relation to the masses, the Trotskyists were trying to rouse the non-party workers against the party, to split the working class, to undermine the alliance between the working class and peasantry and so shake the foundations of proletarian dictatorship.

Other anti-party groups followed the Trotskyists in opposing the party line. The "Workers' Opposition" put forward the syndicalist demand for the administration of national

¹ *ibid.*

economy to be transferred from the state to a so-called "All-Russian Congress of Producers". It considered that the trade unions and not the party were the highest form of working-class organisation. Thus, the supporters of the "Workers' Opposition" opposed the leading role of the party. Lenin showed that the "Workers' Opposition" line was fatal to Soviet power, and said: "If we say that it is not the party that is responsible for candidature and administers, but the trade unions themselves, it will sound very democratic and one might, perhaps, catch votes with it, but not for long. It would ruin the dictatorship of the proletariat."¹

Lenin pointed out that the party comprises the vanguard of the working class, its finest elements. It operates its leading, directing role through the mass organisations of the working class and other sections of the working people, through the Soviet apparatus. The party sends its representatives into all organisations, guides them and directs their work.

The "Democratic Centralists" opposed the party and state discipline, demanded complete freedom for factions and groupings and tried to undermine the leading role of the party in the Soviet State and the trade unions. The Bukharinites tried to unite all dissatisfied elements against the party and formed a "buffer" group. Soon the Bukharinites openly joined the Trotskyists to fight against the party line.

Resolutely and irreconcilably Lenin opposed the Trotskyists, Bukharinites and other enemies of the party and violators of party unity. In January 1921 he published an article *The Party Crisis* and a pamphlet *Once More On the Trade Unions*. In them he defended and developed the Marxist view of the trade unions in the epoch of proletarian dictatorship. The trade unions, he said, were a school of communism. The trade unions should build all their work on the basis of methods of persuasion and draw the working people into the work of economic and state construction.

¹ Lenin, *Speech to Communist Party Members at the Second All-Russian Miners' Congress*, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 32, p. 40.

The great service Lenin rendered during the trade union discussion was that he exposed the true meaning of the inner party struggle. He showed that actually the struggle of all the anti-party groups was against the party's leading role, against the alliance of the working class and peasantry and against the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under Lenin's leadership the party routed its enemies, defended the unity of its ranks and strengthened the foundations of the Soviet State.

When he fought against the anti-party elements who were trying to undermine the party's leading role in the Soviet State and thereby causing tremendous harm to the proletarian state, Lenin said: "In order to administer, it is necessary to have an army of steeled revolutionary-communists; it exists, it is called the party."¹

The Tenth Congress of the Communist Party opened in March 1921. Lenin made the reports on the political work of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), on the tax in kind, on party unity and the anarcho-syndicalist deviation. He also prepared the drafts of the most important party decisions.

The party congress deliberated in one of the most critical moments in the history of the revolution. During February and March a particularly difficult economic situation prevailed in the country. Because of the economic difficulties and the oppositional activities of the Trotskyists and Bukharinites, there had been a revival of Menshevik, Socialist-Revolutionary, White Guard elements in the country and abroad. A little more than a week before the congress the counter-revolutionary Kronstadt mutiny had begun; it was led by White Guards, linked with Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks and representatives of foreign states. But this new attempt of counter-revolution at home and abroad to overthrow Soviet power was a failure. The mutiny was quickly put down.

¹ *ibid.*

The Tenth Congress was immensely important in rallying the party. After summing up the results of the discussion on the trade unions, the congress unanimously approved Lenin's platform. In his report and other contributions on the question of party unity, Lenin sharply criticised all the opposition groups, their anti-Marxist views and unprincipled political intriguing, and showed how ideologically they were linked with counter-revolution. He said that the chief result and lesson to be learned from the discussion was the need for a most determined struggle against factions and for party unity, that the congress should learn this lesson and make it legally binding on party members. He stressed that the slightest weakening of unity in the party, the proletarian vanguard, made easier the restoration of the power of the capitalists and landlords. He exposed the new tactics of the class enemies, who counted on there being a struggle inside the Communist Party and on utilising every opposition group for the purpose of undermining the Soviet State.

The congress adopted Lenin's resolution *On Party Unity*, which prohibited factions and groupings inside the party. This resolution was of exceptional importance for routing the anti-Leninist groupings and consolidating party unity. The congress also adopted Lenin's suggested resolution *On the Syndicalist and Anarchist Deviation in our Party*. In this resolution the congress condemned the so-called "Workers' Opposition" and declared that propaganda of its views was incompatible with membership of the Communist Party.

On Lenin's proposal, the Tenth Congress strengthened the party's general staff, the Central Committee. A new Central Committee was elected which had an assured majority of Leninists. The Central Committee included V. I. Lenin, J. V. Stalin, V. M. Molotov, M. I. Kalinin, K. E. Voroshilov, F. E. Dzerzhinsky, G. K. Ordjonikidze, M. V. Frunze, S. M. Kirov, V. V. Kuibyshev and others.

By defeating the opposition, the party further consolidated its ranks and ensured the successful outcome of the sharp turn in economic policy, initiated by Lenin.

In the early months of Soviet power, Lenin had already mapped out the path and found the methods for building socialism in our country. But the realisation of the measures for the socialist transformation of the country's economy had been interrupted by foreign military intervention. During the war against the interventionists and White Guards a military-political alliance had been formed between the working class and peasantry. When the transition from wartime to peaceful economic construction arrived, it became necessary to have a new form of this alliance on a new, economic basis.

As he worked on the problems of the new economic policy, Lenin carefully studied the position in the countryside and the letters from the peasants; he had several talks with peasants. In December 1920 he attended a conference of non-party peasant delegates to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets. He listened to the keen discussion that developed there around the most urgent questions of peasant life, and made notes of the speeches of the non-party peasants. He sent his notes to the members of the Central Committee and the People's Commissariats. In the beginning of February 1921 Lenin drew up a "Preliminary rough draft of the theses concerning the peasants" which outlined the transition to the new economic policy (NEP).

Lenin's report at the Tenth Party Congress *On the Tax in Kind* gave the reasons for the need for the transition to NEP. His plan for the new economic policy was based on the calculation that the foundations of socialist economy would be laid down by the joint efforts of the workers and peasants.

In a country where the vast majority of the population consisted of small commodity-owners, said Lenin at the congress, socialist construction could be achieved only through a series of special, transitional measures. The surplus-appropriation system, i.e. the appropriation of all surplus agricultural products, was a wartime measure. We must now pass from the surplus-appropriation system to the tax in

kind, smaller in volume, and allow the peasant to dispose of his surplus freely.

Lenin explained that, given some freedom of commodity turnover, the peasant becomes interested in raising the productivity of his labour and this leads to a rise in agriculture. On this basis supplies to the towns would be improved and the restoration of state industry would proceed rapidly.

Lenin foresaw that free trade would at first cause a certain revival of capitalism in the country. But, he said, this danger could be overcome, because the Soviet Government would maintain control of the key positions in the national economy (the land, factories, banks, railways, foreign trade, mercantile fleet, etc.).

Lenin regarded NEP as a desperate life and death struggle between capitalism and socialism, a struggle on the lines of "who will beat whom". After accumulating the forces and means, after creating a powerful industry, the economic basis of socialism, it would be then possible to pass on to the decisive offensive against the capitalist elements.

The Tenth Party Congress adopted the decision to introduce the tax in kind instead of the surplus-appropriation system and to operate the new economic policy. Thus, the Communist Party under Lenin's leadership accomplished the historic change from war communism to the new economic policy in extremely trying circumstances. The change showed Lenin's brilliant revolutionary foresight and the wisdom of his policy.

After the Tenth Congress Lenin continued to explain the meaning of the new economic policy and to supervise its operation. In April 1921 he wrote the pamphlet *The Tax in Kind*. In it he showed the connection between the new economic policy and the plan to begin socialist construction which he had drawn up in the spring of 1918. He pointed out that Soviet economy was transitional, and consisted of several elements in which small-commodity peasant production predominated. A form of transition to socialism was

necessary, therefore, which would take these peculiarities of peasant economy into consideration. The new economic policy was calculated to attract the basic mass of the peasantry into socialist construction, to transfer small-commodity peasant farming to the path of large-scale socialist production. On the problems of the new economic policy and the tasks of the party in the new conditions Lenin made speeches at a meeting of Moscow party officials, at the Tenth All-Russian Conference of the Bolshevik Party in May, at the Third Congress of the Communist International in the summer, at the Second All-Russian Congress of Workers in Political Education and at the Moscow Provincial Party Conference in the autumn, and at the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets at the end of the year.

During the autumn he wrote two well-known articles: *The Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution* and *The Importance of Gold Now and After the Complete Victory of Socialism*. In the first of these, he stressed that the party should bear in mind the principle of personal incentive during the whole of the period of the building of socialism and communism. Long years were required for the transition to communism. Lenin taught that during that transitional period, economy should be built

“not directly relying on enthusiasm but, aided by the enthusiasm engendered by the great revolution, and on the basis of personal interest, personal incentive and business accounting. . . . Otherwise we shall never get to Communism; we shall never bring these scores of millions of people to Communism.”¹

Lenin taught the necessity of strengthening to the utmost the dictatorship of the proletariat and its basis—the alliance of the workers and peasants, of waging an unflagging struggle against the intrigues of the class enemy.

“The supreme principle of the dictatorship”, said Lenin, “is the maintenance of the alliance between the

¹ Lenin, *The Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution*.

proletariat and the peasantry in order that the former may retain its leading role and its political power.”¹

Lenin clearly saw that the operation of the new economic policy would make “*the alliance of the workers and peasants, which is the basis of our entire Soviet revolution, of our entire Soviet Republic, invincible.*”²

Lenin showed the international importance of the new economic policy. He emphasised that NEP was, to some extent, an inevitable phase on the road to socialism for all countries. By solving the problems of the new economic policy and strengthening the alliance between working class and peasantry, the party was pointing out the way for revolutionary Marxists of all countries.

“Actually this is a task which will confront all Socialists. Capitalism is dying; while it is dying it can yet cause incredible sufferings to tens and hundreds of millions of people, but no force on earth can prevent its downfall. The new society, which will be built on the alliance of the workers and peasants, is inevitable. It will come sooner or later,³ twenty years sooner or twenty years later, and it is for this new society that we are helping to work out the forms of the alliance of the workers and peasants, when we labour on the solution of our new economic policy.”³

Today it is through our economic policy that we are exerting the greatest influence on the world revolution, said Lenin. The experience of operating NEP in the Soviet Republic will help the Communist Parties of other countries to build socialism after overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie.

Elements hostile to the party violently opposed the operation of the new economic policy. The “Left Communists” howled that NEP was a return to capitalism, that it would be the ruin of Soviet power. The direct capitulators—Trotsky-

¹ Lenin, *Tactics of the R.C.P. (B.)*, June 22-July 12, 1921.

² *Lenin Symposium*, Russ. ed., Vol. 23, p. 286.

³ Lenin, *Report at Ninth Congress of Soviets*, December 23-28, 1921. Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 33, pp. 151-2.

ists, Zinovievists, Bukharinites and others—refused to believe in the possibility of the victory of socialism in our country. They bowed to the “might” of capitalism and in an endeavour to strengthen capitalist positions in Soviet Russia demanded big concessions to capitalist elements inside the country and to the imperialist states. The party exposed and isolated all these panic-mongers and capitulators.

The fact that there was resistance to the party’s policy pointed to the need to purge its ranks of unstable elements. Lenin attached great importance to the party purge which took place in 1921. He urged that bureaucratic, dishonest, unstable Communists and Menshevik elements should be expelled from the party. He tirelessly busied himself with the work of improving the composition of the party in order to protect the purity of the party and the strength and unity of its ranks.

“We do not want fictitious party members even as a gift. Our Party, the Party of the revolutionary working class, is the only government party in the world which is concerned not in increasing its membership but in improving its quality, and in purging itself of ‘hangers-on’.”¹

There were many sides to Lenin’s work as a statesman during this period. He led the change in the structure of the work of party and state bodies and worked daily to improve the state apparatus.

He paid considerable attention to the way the planning of national economy was organised. He initiated the State Planning Commission (Gosplan), whose chief task was to work out a single state economic plan and to see that it was carried out. He saw to it that the planning was not divorced from practice and demanded that besides having a long-term plan covering several years, current plans for shorter periods should be drawn up.

Lenin daily supervised the fulfilment of the plan for the electrification of the country and closely watched the progress

¹ Lenin, *The Workers’ State and Party Week*.

of work on the building of power stations, particularly the Kashira and Volkhov stations, which were the first to be built under Soviet power. He busied himself with the problems of supplying technical materials and food to the building sites and saw to it that equipment, materials and apparatus were supplied in good time.

To meet the tasks of improving agriculture and restoring industry and transport, the economic apparatus was reorganised. Important in the fulfilment of the tasks of economic construction and the reorganisation of the work of Soviet institutions was Lenin's *Order from the Council of Labour and Defence to local Soviet institutions*.

The Council of Labour and Defence appealed to all local administrative bodies to launch a campaign for all-round improvement of peasant economy and a rise in industry and for strict implementation of Soviet government legislation. Local enterprise in the work of restoring national economy and study of the lessons of local experience were considered of special importance.

Lenin paid much attention to questions concerned with raising the yield of agricultural crops. He considered one of the most important ways of increasing grain production was to enlarge the area sown to maize. In a letter to G. M. Krzhizhanovsky, Lenin wrote:

"The advantage of maize (and legumes) in a number of respects has evidently been *proved*. Since this is so, then measures should be taken for the speediest, most energetic working out of a number of precise and well-planned measures to popularise maize and to *teach* the peasants how to grow maize."¹

The plan for economic construction outlined by the party and the Soviet Government could only be carried out successfully if all the working masses actively took part. Lenin considered it one of the most important party tasks to draw the masses into the administration of the state. He said that

¹ *Lenin Symposium*, Russ. ed., Vol. 23, pp. 114-15.

the Soviet Government was trying to draw all working people, party and non-party, men and women, into active participation in state and economic construction.

While educating the masses, Lenin at the same time listened to the voice of the masses, learned from the masses and firmly believed in their creative ability. He mercilessly flayed people who were supercilious towards the masses, who only tried to teach them, forgetting the need to learn from them.

"We can administrate only when we correctly express that of which the people are conscious", said Lenin.¹

The people knew of Lenin's love for them and they trusted him completely. The workers used to say: "Lenin is the same as ourselves."

The attitude towards Lenin of both workers and peasants was one of boundless love. They expressed it in messages of greetings, letters, gifts. Workers at the Stodol woollen textile factory at Klintsey sent Lenin a message of greetings with a gift of a length of material of their own making. Lenin replied:

"Dear Comrades!

I warmly thank you for the greetings and the gift. I'll tell you a secret, you shouldn't be sending me gifts. I would be very glad if you would pass on this secret to as many workers as possible.

My very best thanks, greetings and good wishes.

Yours, V. Ulyanov (Lenin)."²

A most vivid example of the people's love for Lenin and their loyalty to the party is the letter from peasants of Levo-Lama rural district, Tambov province. The peasants were congratulating Lenin on his 52nd birthday, wishing him good health and assuring him that they were ready to form a wall of protection round the working class and the leader of the people. The letter ended up with the words:

¹ Lenin, *Speech at Eleventh Congress of R.C.P.(B.)*, March 27-April 2, 1922, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 33, p. 273.

² Lenin, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 33, p. 376.

"This letter was written by all the non-party, semi-literate peasants, if it is not written well forgive us; although we are non-party our hearts and our spirit are Communist, we understand that what we have now is really a working people's government."

Lenin was linked by a thousand threads to the broad masses of workers and peasants. He frequently met and talked with workers and peasants, spoke at meetings, trade union conferences, mixed gatherings of workers and peasants, conferences of non-party delegates to Congresses; he showed a lively interest in letters from working people and quickly replied to them all.

In January 1922 Lenin wrote to the editor of the newspaper *Bednota* (The Poor):

"Would you mind writing to me briefly (maximum two or three pages) how many letters from peasants the *Bednota* has published?

what is new and important (particularly important) in these letters?

their mood?

current news?

perhaps I could have such letters *once in two months*. . . . ?"¹

Lenin was especially attentive to workers and peasants who paid visits to him; he asked after their health and about their families and whether perhaps they were in need of anything. In February 1921 a peasant named I. A. Chekunov visited him. While talking with him Lenin learned that Chekunov had lost his spectacles, which in those days were hard to come by. Lenin immediately wrote a note to Semashko, People's Commissar for Health:

"With me at this moment is Comrade Ivan Afanas'yevich Chekunov, a very interesting working peasant who has his own way of popularising the principles of Communism; he happens to have lost his spectacles. He paid 15,000 roubles for them. I would be very

¹ Lenin, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 35, p. 466.

glad if you could help; perhaps you would ask your Secretary to let me know if you have been successful!"¹ °

Bringing the working people into socialist construction meant urgently raising the cultural level of the popular masses first. Even during the tense period of struggle against the interventionists and White Guards, the Party and Soviet Government worked tremendously to raise the cultural level of the working masses. With the transition to peace-time economic construction, the question of culture acquired still greater importance. Lenin considered that one of the major conditions for socialist construction was to make culture accessible to the working people. If this were done, then they would certainly join in the administration of the state in large numbers and it would be possible to make the fullest use of scientific and technical achievements in the construction of Soviet economy and the state.

Lenin was concerned for the development of the country's science, saw to it that the latest technique was introduced into Soviet national economy and gave every encouragement at all times to inventors. He gave much attention to the question of using shales in industry, advanced methods for extracting peat, electric ploughs and radio technique. He warmly supported the eminent scientists of the country—I. P. Pavlov, K. A. Timiryazev, I. V. Michurin, I. M. Gubkin, N. E. Zhukovsky and others and gave them the conditions they required for their scientific work.

As an example, the Council of People's Commissars on January 24, 1921, adopted a decision, signed by Lenin, to provide Academician I. P. Pavlov with the conditions necessary for his scientific work and to publish his works.

Lenin joyfully welcomed the great Russian scientists who devoted their knowledge to the Soviet people. When he received from K. A. Timiryazev a copy of his *Science and Democracy*, Lenin wrote him:

¹ Lenin, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 35, p. 466.

"Dear Klimentii Arkadyevich, Thank you very much for your book and kind words. I was absolutely delighted when I read your remarks against the bourgeoisie and in favour of the Soviet Government. A firm, strong handshake and from the bottom of my heart I wish you good health, and more and more good health!"¹

While explaining why science played a tremendous role in the development of the country's national economy, Lenin insisted that science should not be isolated from practice but should answer the requirements of life, the tasks of building socialism.

Lenin strongly opposed people who under cover of pseudo-revolutionism rejected the finest achievements of past culture and refused to make use of them in the interests of the victorious people. He said that proletarian culture does not grow up out of nothing. It has to be the natural development of all the finest achievements of culture. But this requires a critical attitude towards inherited culture, the use of its progressive elements, a relentless cutting away and exposing of everything reactionary and anti-democratic.

"Marxism won for itself its world-historical significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat by the fact that it did not cast aside the valuable gains of the bourgeois epoch, but on the contrary assimilated and re-worked all that was valuable in the more than two thousands years of development of human thought and culture."²

Lenin considered that the state apparatus had much of importance to do in the socialist reconstruction of the country and in strengthening the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. He was an adamant opponent of all inertia, red tape, bureaucratic methods and a formal, soulless attitude to work.

"The chief task of the present day", said Lenin, "and the most important in the next few years, is to bring

¹ Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 35, p. 380.

² Lenin, *Proletarian Culture*.

about a systematic diminution of the Soviet apparatus, to run it at less expense by curtailing it, to make it a more efficient organisation, to get rid of red tape and bureaucratic methods, and to cut down unproductive expenditure.”¹

Lenin strongly condemned slipshod methods, slovenliness, empty talk instead of hard work, and flayed people who rushed into everything but finished nothing. He greatly loathed unnecessary fussing over meetings and any kind of confusion. His own work was a unique example of the combination of revolutionary scope and efficiency, proletarian organisation and discipline. He required to see this in other people as well. To him the guarantee of successful work lay in the strictest observance of party and state discipline.

As the guiding spirit in the drafting of Soviet juridical legislation, Lenin taught that the legal organs of the Soviet State should guard the interests of the working people and socialist laws; the sharp edge of all punitive laws should be turned against those capitalist elements and their accomplices who tried to prevent the operation of Soviet laws.

Lenin recommended particular severity against people who pilfered socialist property. He adopted the severest measures in all cases of embezzlement of state funds, pilfering of state property and bribery. Lenin's reaction was immediate every time working people reported abuses and disorders to him. When a Red Army man arrived in Moscow in 1921 and informed him that the workers and peasants of the Don area were highly incensed because of the arbitrary action and abuses of the law by certain local officials, Lenin proposed the adoption of immediate measures to put an end to the infringements of the law.

In regard to the Red Army man who had sent the letter, Lenin sent a note to his secretary saying:

¹ Lenin, *Letter to the All-Russian Congress of the Trade Union of Soviet Functionaries*, November 22, 1922, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 33, p. 406.

"Search out the author quickly, give him an interview, calm him, tell him I am not well, but will push the matter forward."¹

Lenin taught us that to select people well and to verify the actual fulfilment of work were a most important part of the work of the state apparatus of the new type. In a number of statements which he made in the beginning of 1922 he persistently put this task before party and Soviet cadres.

"To test people and to check actual fulfilment of work—this, this again and only this is the quintessence of our whole work, of our whole policy."²

The party and government are still guided in all their work by this Leninist postulate.

Lenin called for the broadest criticism and self-criticism and explained that they were the chief method with which to help to discover and overcome mistakes and shortcomings in the work.

Lenin attached particular importance to ideological educational work by the party; he taught that the slightest weakening of socialist ideology would lead to a strengthening of bourgeois ideology. He fought stubbornly for the purity of Marxist theory and against all attempts to distort it, against introducing bourgeois ideology under the flag of "pure", "objective" science.

In March 1922 Lenin wrote his article *On the Significance of Militant Materialism*, in which he defined the tasks of Communists in the sphere of theory, particularly philosophy. The article is a model of militant partisanship in theory.

Lenin insisted on the exposure of all contemporary scientist-lackeys of the bourgeoisie no matter how fashionable their outward, philosophical appearance. Dialectical materialism, Lenin wrote, can and should wage a victorious struggle against the onslaught of bourgeois ideas, against all forms of

¹ *Lenin Symposium*, Russ. ed., Vol. 20, p. 333.

² Lenin, *Report to Metalworkers' Congress*, March 6, 1922.

idealism and clericalism. Lenin urged Marxist philosophers to carry on atheistic propaganda all the time, to use the most varied material for the relentless struggle against all forms of clericalism, to show the connection between religion and capital. He asked for the light of dialectical materialism to be shed on the latest achievements of natural science and for the exposure of the reactionary bourgeois philosophers who tried to use these achievements to drag in idealism. Lenin urged that materialistic dialectics should be developed by summing up the experience of the latest history, the experience of proletarian revolution and also the latest discoveries in natural science.

He said that in order to fulfil these tasks, the Communist philosophers should establish close contact with non-Communist materialists, with representatives of advanced, contemporary science, particularly natural science.

In his article Lenin developed his idea of the connection between the party and the masses and the significance of the party as the vanguard in building communism.

“A vanguard performs its task as vanguard only when it is able to avoid becoming divorced from the masses it leads and is able really to lead the whole mass forward,” wrote Lenin. “Without an alliance with non-Communists in the most varied spheres of activity there can be no question of any successful Communist constructive work.”¹

Bearing in mind the danger that the imperialists might attack the Soviet Republic, Lenin constantly reminded the party and the working masses of the need to strengthen the defence of the Soviet state. At the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets in December 1921, Lenin urged the party and the Soviet people:

“Be on the alert, safeguard the country’s defence and our Red Army, as the apple of one’s eye.”²

¹ Lenin, *On the Significance of Militant Materialism*.

² Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 33, p. 125.

Imperialism inevitably engenders predatory, aggressive wars, said Lenin. The question of the struggle against the threat of war had become a life and death question for tens of millions of people. On this question, he said, our October Revolution had opened up a new epoch in world history, had shown humanity how to get rid of wars.

Lenin condemned and exposed the mercenary leaders of the Social-Democratic Parties¹ of the Second International, and called them the direct accomplices of the bourgeoisie. He wrote that Social-Democracy was the chief social support of capitalism; it helped the imperialists to hold a considerable part of the workers and other employees in thrall to bourgeois ideology.

The Communist Parties, stressed Lenin, are the only representatives of the working class which truly defend the interests of the working people and consistently fight against imperialist oppression and brigandage.

"The proletariat in all the advanced capitalist countries has already formed its vanguard, the Communist Parties, which are growing, making steady progress towards winning the majority of the proletariat in each country, destroying the influence of the old trade union bureaucrats and of the upper stratum of the working class of America and Europe, which has been corrupted by imperialist privileges."¹

Lenin gave daily guidance to Soviet foreign policy, taught Soviet officials to be firm and consistent in defending the state interests of the Soviet Republic, and tirelessly concerned himself with strengthening its international position.

After suffering defeat during the years of military intervention, the capitalist countries were compelled to begin negotiations with the Soviet Government on trade and diplomatic relations.

Lenin directed the work of the Soviet delegation to the International Economic Conference at Genoa in 1922. There

¹ Lenin, *Theses of Report on Tactics of the R.C.P. to the Third Congress of the Communist International*.

the imperialist governments again tried to bring pressure to bear on Soviet Russia. They demanded the return to foreign capitalists of the factories and plants nationalised by the October Revolution and the payment of all the tsarist government's debts. The Soviet Government firmly turned down the insolent demands of the imperialist powers and their attempts to encroach on the country's independence.

"Isolation and blockade do not frighten us", declared Lenin, "nor does intervention."¹

He said that internal contradictions and conflicts in the camp of the capitalist countries required the Soviet State to be extremely cautious in its foreign policy and to make use of these contradictions in order to strengthen the Soviet system and to safeguard peace. The task of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government, he wrote, was to safeguard the existence of the Soviet state in conditions of capitalist encirclement, to press steadily forward towards the creation of socialist society.

Many times Lenin pointed out that the Soviet State's attitude was that of defending peace and establishing business-like relations with all countries.

"Our whole policy and propaganda is in no way directed towards embroiling the peoples into war, but towards putting an end to war."²

Lenin's starting point was that it was possible to have a long period of peaceful co-existence between the Soviet Republic and the capitalist states.

"We have won conditions for ourselves", said Lenin, "in which we can exist side by side with the capitalist powers, which are now compelled to enter into trade relations with us."³

¹ *Archives of the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute.*

² Lenin, *Report at the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets*, December 21, 1920, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 31, p. 440.

³ Lenin, *Our External and Internal Situation, and the Party's Tasks*, November 21, 1920, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 31, p. 384.

The stumbling-block to the establishment of lasting peace, he said, was the predatory imperialist policy of the ruling classes of the capitalist countries.

In February 1920 when an American newspaper correspondent asked him what were the obstacles to peace, Lenin replied: "None on our side. Imperialism on the side of the American (as well as all other) capitalists." When asked what were the foundations of peace with America, Lenin replied:

"Let the American capitalists leave us alone. We do not interfere with them. We are even ready to pay them gold for machinery, equipment, etc., useful for transport and industry. And not only gold, but raw materials."¹

Lenin pointed out that the Soviet Republic was ready to enter into business relations with America as well as with other countries. On the question of relations between the Soviet Union and France and Britain, Lenin wrote in November 1922:

"We consider that friendly relations with both powers are quite possible and are our aim. We consider that it is the development of trade relations that will inevitably bring heavy pressure to bear in the direction of achieving that aim."²

Lenin attached great importance to the Soviet Republic's trade relations with bourgeois countries. He regarded them as one of the most important factors promoting lasting, peaceful co-existence of the two systems. He pointed out that economic difficulties would inevitably force the capitalist countries to take the path of trade relations with Soviet Russia.

"There is a force that is greater than the desire, will or decision of any of the hostile governments or classes",

¹ Lenin, *Replies to Questions put by a correspondent of the "New York Evening Journal"*, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 30, p. 340.

² Lenin, *Interview with "Manchester Guardian" Correspondent*, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 33, p. 346.

said Lenin, "and that is the force of general economic world relations which will force them to take the path of relations with us."¹

In their foreign policy, the Communist Party and the Soviet Government always have started, and will start, from the Leninist principle of lasting, peaceful co-existence between the Socialist State and the capitalist countries. The mighty, organised peace movement which has today developed in all countries confirms Lenin's words that

"the overwhelming majority of the world population approves our peace policy".²

At the same time Lenin warned the governments of the imperialist states that the Soviet Republic was invincible, that she was not frightened by threats.

"We have heard threats in the shape of the guns of the Allied powers which own almost the whole world. *We were not frightened by these threats. Messieurs the European diplomats, please do not forget this.*"³

In March and April 1922 the Eleventh Party Congress was held and Lenin made the political report of the Central Committee. He summed up the results of the first year of the new economic policy, which fully confirmed the correctness of introducing it. On the new economic basis, the alliance between the workers and peasants had strengthened. The party had brought about a change on the economic front and a very slow as yet, but sure, economic rise had begun. These results made it possible for Lenin to declare:

"We retreated for a year. We must now say in the name of the Party, 'Enough!' The purpose which the retreat pursued has been achieved. This period is

¹ Lenin, *Report of the Ninth All-Russian Congress of Soviets*, December 23, 1921, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 33, p. 129.

² Lenin, *Report of the First All-Russian Congress of Toiling Kázakhs*, March 1, 1920, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 30, p. 365.

³ Lenin, *Speech at Metalworkers' Union Conference*, March 6, 1922.

drawing, or has drawn, to a close. Now another object comes to the forefront—the regrouping of forces.”¹

Lenin defined this regrouping of forces as “the preparation for the offensive *against private capital*”.

A desperate struggle was in progress between the socialists and capitalist elements, Lenin pointed out; in the course of this struggle the role of the socialist elements would continually grow and triumph over the capitalist elements.

“The economic power in the hands of the proletarian state of Russia is quite adequate to ensure the transition to Communism.”²

The first results of the new economic policy showed that the Communist Party policy ensured the building of socialism in our country on the basis of the alliance between the working class and peasantry. Lenin said at the congress that for the victory of socialism the bond between socialist industry and peasant economy had to be strengthened. He taught that once we had come close to the peasant masses, the working peasantry, we would begin to push forward, slowly perhaps, but nevertheless we would have the whole mass really moving forward with us. Then, he said, there would be such an acceleration of the movement as we could not now dream of.

Lenin was unique in his ability to determine the main link, the central task in a chain of tasks, to formulate it with infinite brevity and clarity and to concentrate all the party's forces for its fulfilment. At that time Lenin considered the development of trade between town and countryside to be the particular task of the day, because the economic bond between the working class and the peasantry could only be strengthened by developing trade between industry and peasant farming. He therefore put forward the slogan: learn to trade efficiently.

Lenin devoted his closing speech at the congress to the party, its solidarity, unanimity, ideological and organisational

¹ Lenin, *Speech at Eleventh Congress of R.C.P. (B.)*, March 27-April 2, 1922.

² *ibid.*

unity, the party's role as vanguard of the masses, as the guiding force of the Soviet State. Lenin particularly stressed the international importance of the gains of the Soviet revolution.

"No power on earth, no matter how much evil, hardship and suffering it may yet cause to millions and hundreds of millions of people, can take from us the principal gains of our revolution, for these are no longer 'our' gains, but world historic gains."¹

The plenum of the Party Central Committee which met after the congress adopted Lenin's suggestion and elected as General Secretary of the Central Committee J. V. Stalin, who was Lenin's truest disciple and collaborator. Stalin remained at that post for more than thirty years.

The Eleventh Party Congress was the last in which Lenin took a direct part. The injury he had sustained towards the end of the summer of 1918 and the subsequent years of strenuous work had begun to tell on his state of health. Already in the winter of 1921 he had frequently been forced to lay aside his work and in May 1922 his health considerably deteriorated. His doctors advised him to move to Gorky, outside Moscow.

There was some improvement in Lenin's health in the middle of June. In July the doctors allowed him to receive his closest comrades, and he resumed his business correspondence and asked for books to be sent to him in Gorky. He was eager for work, for he could not imagine life without it.

On October 2, 1922, Lenin left Gorky for Moscow and began working again. The next day he presided over the meeting of the Council of People's Commissars; on October 5, he attended a meeting of the plenum of the Central Committee. The party and the working people were overjoyed at his return to work.

On October 31, 1922, Lenin delivered a speech at the session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee. He

¹ Lenin, *Speech at Eleventh Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)*.

spoke of the brilliant victory won by the Red Army and the Far Eastern partisans and of their liberation of Vladivostok, the last strip of Soviet soil, from the Japanese interventionists. Lenin pointed out that the Soviet Republic was still considerably poorer than the capitalist countries, but that it would catch up with them at a speed difficult to imagine.

"No one will believe that with us all changes occur at fantastic speed, but in the real speed, compared with any other period of historical development you like to take—the period as it actually was—in that speed, if the movement is guided by a truly revolutionary party, we do believe, and that speed we shall achieve no matter what happens."¹

On November 13, at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, Lenin delivered a speech on *Five Years of the Russian Revolution and the Prospects of World Revolution*. However difficult the position of the ravaged Soviet Republic, encircled as it was by capitalist countries, Lenin was convinced of victory and spoke of the excellent prospects arising from the first results of the new economic policy. Thanks to the heroic, self-sacrificing labour of the workers, said Lenin, the Soviet Republic had brought about a general economic rise. Transport had been set in order, the number of restored factories and plants had increased. Labour productivity had considerably improved. The consequences of the bad harvests which had hit the country had been eliminated and peasant economy had rapidly become restored. On the basis of these economic successes the alliance between the workers and peasants had strengthened and the position of the working people had improved.

Heavy industry was still in difficulties. Lenin pointed out that considerable means were required for its restoration and that they must be found inside the country. He said that "unless we save heavy industry, unless we restore it, we

¹ Lenin, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 33, p. 355.

shall not be able to build up any industry, and without it we shall be doomed as an independent country.”¹

The Soviet Republic was found to have powerful sources for internal accumulation. Lenin joyfully informed the representatives of the international proletariat that as a result of the new economic policy, through trading, the Soviet Government had already accumulated the first 20 million roubles of gold and that it would spend all this sum on the restoration and development of heavy industry.

Lenin spoke for an hour and the Congress delegates listened to him with great attention and were deeply moved.

A week later, on November 20, 1922, Lenin spoke at the plenum of the Moscow Soviet.

On this occasion he made a deep analysis of the new conditions in which the country found itself after the defeat of foreign military intervention.

“We have compelled our enemies to recognise our rights in economic as well as in commercial policy. The conclusion of the trade agreements proves this.”²

Lenin devoted great attention to depicting the internal tasks and the methods of solving them. He taught how to make a sober estimate of the situation, how to administrate and how to solve economic tasks successfully—

“now we must calculate everything and every one of you must learn to calculate.”³

Lenin particularly stressed the party's role as the great leading and directing force in the Soviet people's struggle to build socialist society. He spoke with inspiration of the invincible might of the party, its ability to solve the most difficult tasks and its close links with the people.

“We must take the proper direction, everything must be tested; the masses, the whole population, must test

¹ Lenin, *Speech at Fourth Congress of the Communist International*.

² Lenin, *Speech at the Plenum of the Moscow Soviet*, November 20, 1922.

³ *ibid.*

our road and be able to say, 'Yes, this is better than the old system'. That is the task we have set ourselves. Our Party, a small group compared with the total population of the country, has undertaken this task. This vital core has undertaken the task of transforming everything, and it will perform it. We have proved that this is not a utopia but a real thing, for which people are striving."¹

He ended his speech with an expression of the firm conviction that "NEP Russia will become Socialist Russia".²

This was the last time that Lenin made a public speech to the country.

CHAPTER XIII

1922-1924

At the end of 1922 Lenin's health again began to deteriorate. The doctors prescribed complete rest somewhere outside Moscow. December 12 was the last day in which Lenin worked in his study in the Kremlin.

In spite of his illness, however, he continued to deal with a great variety of problems and planned the ways of further strengthening the Soviet State and building socialism. In preparation for the Tenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, he wrote the notes for his speech on the work of the Government. He continued to receive departmental workers at his home, gave instructions and dictated letters.

Lenin fully realised the seriousness of his illness and that it was possible that he might have to interrupt his work for a long time. On December 15, he wrote to J. V. Stalin:

• "I have now finished winding up my affairs and can depart in peace. There's just one remaining thing that worries me a great deal, the fact that I may be unable to speak at the Congress of Soviets. The doctors will come on Tuesday and we shall discuss whether there is perhaps just a chance I may be able to make the report. Not to do so would, in my opinion, be very inconvenient for me, not to put it more strongly. I wrote the notes for the speech several days ago. And so I propose that, without discontinuing the preparations for someone else to speak in my place, until Wednesday we should retain the possibility that I shall speak myself, perhaps very much more briefly than usual, for example, for about three-quarters of an hour."¹

During the years of revolution Lenin had strengthened the ties of friendship among the peoples of our country and shown

¹ Lenin, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 33, p. 421.

tireless concern for the development of the national republics; he had trained the Communist Parties of the national republics in the spirit of internationalism, and had fought relentlessly against Great Russian chauvinism and local nationalism. Bearing in mind the need to strengthen the alliance between the peoples of the Soviet Republic, he raised the task of uniting them into one single union state, regarding this as a most important condition for successful Socialist construction, for the complete development of all the Soviet peoples and for strengthening the country's defence.

At the First All-Union Congress of Soviets (December 1922), the historic decision was taken for the Soviet peoples to unite voluntarily into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Yet another attack of illness prevented Lenin from attending this Congress of Soviets.

The great work performed by the party and its Central Committee to build up the national Soviet Republics ended in their uniting to form one state. The formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics marked the beginning of a new period in the development of the Soviet Republics.

During January and February 1923 there was a slight improvement in Lenin's health, and he dictated a number of articles: *Pages from a Diary*, *On Co-operation*, *Our Revolution*, *How We Should Reorganise the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection*, *Better Fewer, but Better*. In these, his last articles, he summed up the party's work during the first years of Soviet power and mapped out the path for the building of socialism in the country. He worked out a scientifically sound programme for transforming economically backward Russia into an advanced, powerful socialist state. The programme envisaged the socialist industrialisation of the country, the fullest development of heavy industry, complete electrification of the national economy, the operation of a co-operative plan to transfer the country's agriculture to socialist lines, the realisation of a cultural revolution.

Several times Lenin stressed the decisive importance of large-scale industry for the building of socialism. He said

that if heavy industry was not built then socialist society could not be created successfully. In the summer of 1921 Lenin had already said that "the only possible economic foundation of Socialism is large-scale machine industry. Whoever forgets this is no Communist."¹

In his last writings Lenin again and again repeated that heavy industry alone is the principal material basis of socialism. He wrote that all, even the tiniest, savings should be safeguarded for the development of electrification. He taught that only a powerful heavy industry can be the stable economic basis for ensuring the independence of the Soviet State and the strengthening of its defence capacity.

"The real and only basis upon which we could consolidate our resources for the building of Socialist society is large-scale industry . . . without highly organised large-scale industry, there can be no thought of Socialism in general, and still less can there be any thought of it in a peasant country."²

In fulfilment of Lenin's behests, the Soviet people spared no efforts in the struggle for the victory of socialism, so as to build up a first-class heavy industry and on its basis achieve the socialist reconstruction of the national economy as a whole.

Guided by the Communist Party the Soviet people have now successfully realised Lenin's programme of socialist industrialisation and in a short span of history have transformed the Soviet Union from a backward, agrarian country into an advanced, powerful industrial state.

In developing heavy industry at a rapid rate, because of the need for it to be developed as a priority, the party was also guided by Lenin's directives that without heavy industry "we shall not be able to build any kind of industry, and without it we shall be doomed as an independent coun-

¹ Lenin, *Report on the Tactics of the R.C.P.(B.) at the Third Congress of the Communist International.*

² Lenin, *Report on the Tax in Kind delivered at the All-Russian Conference of the R.C.P.(B.), 1921.*

try." The party took account of the fact that in pre-revolutionary Russia, with its relatively highly developed light industry, branches of heavy industry like engineering and the coal industry were far from adequately developed and there were few power stations. There was no tractor building, automobile manufacture, machine-tool building, or aircraft industry. They had to be built up from scratch. They were necessary for the defence of the country and for the building of socialism.

The party carried out Lenin's policy of industrialising the country on socialist lines and at the same time defeated the right capitulators, Bukharin, Rykov, Uglanov and others, who opposed accelerated building of heavy industry and clamoured for the development of light industry as a priority.

The party fought resolutely and is still fighting against views hostile to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism which allege that at a certain stage of socialist construction the development of heavy industry ceases to be the chief task and that light industry can and should have priority over all other branches of industry.

The party regards these anti-Leninist views as a repetition of the old right-wing deviation and as being particularly dangerous at a time when the imperialist states are preparing for a new war.

From the earliest days of Soviet power Lenin paid great attention to the setting up of collective farms in the countryside. With the small farm there is no getting away from poverty, he said, pointing to the need to change to large-scale, co-operative farming. Lenin followed closely the first shoots of the socialist form of farming in the countryside. He explained that the collective farms should be put on the up-to-date technical basis of large-scale industry and that first-class tractors and other machinery should be supplied to the collective farms.

In his article *On Co-operation*, Lenin outlined concretely how to draw the peasantry into the building of socialism. Several

times he pointed out that only if the working class stands close to the peasant masses will it be able to build socialist society. Lenin regarded co-operation, particularly agricultural co-operation, as the means, accessible and intelligible to millions of peasants, which would lead from small individual farming to large-scale, producer-co-operative associations of peasants.

In co-operation Lenin saw the union of the personal interests of the peasant with the general interests of the state and society as a whole, the subordination of private interests to the common interests, which creates the possibility of the complete organisation into co-operatives of all peasants and the transformation of agriculture on socialist lines.

“As a matter of fact”, wrote Lenin, “the power of the state over all large-scale means of production, the power of the state in the hands of the proletariat, the alliance of this proletariat with the many millions of small and very small peasants, the assured leadership of the peasantry by the proletariat, etc.—is not this all that is necessary in order to build a complete Socialist society from the co-operatives, from the co-operatives alone, which we formerly treated as huckstering and which from a certain aspect we have the right to treat as such now, under the NEP? Is this not all that is necessary for the purpose of building a complete Socialist society? This is not yet the building of Socialist society, but it is all that is necessary and sufficient for this building.”¹

Lenin's plan of co-operation was a most important step in the development of the theory of the victory of socialism in our country. With this plan as its starting point, the party safeguarded the transition from small, scattered peasant farms to large-scale collective farming. Lenin's programme for the socialist reconstruction of agriculture became a reality; the Soviet Union has become a country of the largest scale advanced socialist agriculture.

¹ Lenin. *On Co-operation*.

In the articles *How We Should Reorganise the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection* and *Better Fewer, but Better*, Lenin again returned to the significance of the state apparatus in the building of socialism. He exposed the shortcomings in the work of Soviet institutions and insisted on a struggle against the survivals of the past, on the removal of every trace of superfluity from the state apparatus, and on a struggle against every sign of bureaucratic methods. To strengthen the state apparatus Lenin proposed promoting to it the country's finest people and insisted that they should make a serious study of state administration. In his articles he again pointed to the need to adhere to the collective principle in the party leadership.

With renewed emphasis Lenin spoke of the work to raise the cultural level of the working people and explained why a cultural revolution was necessary. In *Pages From a Diary* he said that nowhere were the popular masses as interested in real culture as they were in the Soviet Union. He proposed that there should be no cheese-paring of funds for national education and for improving the status of teachers.

"Our school teachers", wrote Lenin, "should be raised to a standard never achieved and unachievable in bourgeois society."¹

With anger and contempt Lenin condemned the Mensheviks for their slavish retailing of the lying stories circulated by the mercenary Second International leaders, who alleged that Russia's productive forces had not reached the level of development required for socialism and that Russia would never develop as far as socialism because she was insufficiently civilised. Lenin derided these hangers-on of the capitalists in his article *Our Revolution* and showed how worthless were these fabrications, steeped in servility to the bourgeoisie and cowardly renunciation of revolution. Lenin exposed the treacherous nature of Kautsky's "theory of productive forces" and proved that Russia's productive

¹ Lenin, *Pages from a Diary*.

forces had reached a level of development fully adequate for the victorious achievement of the socialist revolution. In the article Lenin wrote:

“You say that civilisation is necessary for the creation of Socialism. Very good. But why could we not begin creating such prerequisites of civilisation in our country by expelling the Russian landlords and capitalists and start moving towards Socialism after that?”¹

History confirmed that the road Lenin mapped out and which the Soviet revolution followed was the correct one. During the years of Soviet power not only has there been a change in the economic appearance of the country, but all the peoples of the Soviet Union have attained a very high level of culture, national in form and socialist in content. The Soviet Union has become the centre and bulwark of advanced culture and civilisation.

Explaining that socialism would inevitably triumph throughout the world, Lenin showed that the national-liberation movements in the colonial and dependent countries are of great significance for the world revolution. He pointed out that the socialist revolution would be not only a struggle of the revolutionary proletarians in each country against their bourgeoisie, but also a struggle of the oppressed peoples of the colonies and dependent countries against world imperialism. He wrote that after the October Revolution many millions of peoples of the Eastern countries were once and for all drawn into the common whirlpool of the world revolutionary movement and had taken the path of struggle against capitalist oppression and slavery.

“In the last analysis, the upshot of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe. And it is precisely this majority that, during the past few years, has been drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity,

¹ Lenin, *On Revolution*.

so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest shadow of doubt what the final outcome of the world struggle will be. In this sense, the complete victory of Socialism is fully and absolutely assured."¹

Lenin foresaw that the capitalist stage of economic development was not inevitable for all backward peoples. He pointed out that, aided by the proletariat of the advanced countries, the backward countries could advance to socialism, avoiding the capitalist stage. Lenin's brilliant foresight was confirmed by the later trend of historical development.

Lenin frequently explained that revolutions are not made to order, but are brought about by objective causes, when the historical conditions are ripe for it.

"There are people who believe that the revolution can break out in a foreign country to order, by agreement. These people are either mad or they are provocateurs. We have experienced two revolutions during the past twelve years. We know that revolutions cannot be made to order, or by agreement, they break out when tens of millions of people come to the conclusion that it is impossible to live in the old way any longer."²

Lenin showed the possibility of building a full communist society in the U.S.S.R. and proved that the country had everything necessary for the building of communism. Already at the Seventh Congress of the party he pointed out:

"When undertaking Socialist reforms we must clearly envisage the aim towards which these reforms are in the long run directed, namely, the creation of a Communist society."³ Lenin explained that from capitalism mankind can pass on directly only to socialism, but that socialism is inevitably bound to grow gradually into communism.

Lenin taught that there are no radical differences between socialism and communism: they are two stages in the develop-

¹ Lenin, *Better Fewer but Better*.

² Lenin, *Speech at Fourth Conference of Trade Unions and Factory Committees of Moscow*, June 27, 1918.

³ Lenin, *Report delivered at the 7th Congress of the R.C.P.(B.)*, March 8, 1918.

ment of communist society, the difference between which is defined by the level of development of the productive forces, the degree of economic maturity. Lenin considered the following the most important conditions for building communism: the development of the productive forces, the continuous improvement of the material basis of socialism, primarily the development of heavy industry, high productivity of labour on the basis of the most up-to-date technical equipment in industry and agriculture, an abundance of products and consumer goods, training in communist consciousness of the new human being for whom work would become life's prime want, an improvement in the cultural level of the working masses.

Thus Lenin scientifically worked out the basic problems of the building of socialism and communism. The great service he rendered in his creative development of Marxist political economy was that he explained scientifically the most important questions of socialist political economy including, also, the basic economic law of socialism which was later developed in J. V. Stalin's writings and in party decisions.

In the beginning of March 1923 Lenin's health again became worse; he had another attack of illness and this time it was very serious.

The Twelfth Party Congress was held in April 1923, but Lenin was unable to take part in its work and this was the first party congress after the establishment of Soviet power which Lenin did not attend. In its work, the congress followed the directives he had given in his last articles and letters.

Being concerned about strengthening the unity of the party membership and improving the work of the state apparatus, Lenin had proposed forming an authoritative organ by uniting the Central Control Commission and the People's Commissariat of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. This body was formed at the Twelfth Party Congress. Its task was to safeguard party unity, to strengthen party

and state discipline and to make thorough-going improvements in the Soviet state apparatus.

In mid-May Lenin moved to Gorky. From the second half of July his health again began to deteriorate. On October 19, 1923, he drove into Moscow, spent a few hours there visiting his rooms, the conference hall of the Council of People's Commissars and his personal study in the Kremlin. He then drove through the main streets of the capital, looked in at the Agricultural Exhibition and returned to Gorky. This was Lenin's last visit to Moscow.

On January 21, 1924, at 6 o'clock in the evening there was another attack of illness. At 6.50 p.m. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin died of a brain haemorrhage.

Lenin's death, the death of their leader and teacher, was a heavy blow to the party, the working class, the popular masses of our country and working people all over the world.

During the night of January 21, a special Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party was held. On January 22, the Central Committee announced Lenin's death in a Manifesto "To the Party, to all Working People", which stated:

"Never since Marx has the history of the great liberation movement of the proletariat put forward such a gigantic figure as our dead leader, teacher and friend. Everything that is truly great and heroic in the proletariat—its fearless mentality, its iron, unbending will that can overcome every obstacle, its sacred loathing, deadly loathing of slavery and oppression, its revolutionary passion that moves mountains, its infinite belief in the creative forces of the masses, its tremendous organising genius—all this found magnificent embodiment in Lenin, whose name has become the symbol of the new world from West to East, from South to North."¹

On January 21-23, members of the Party Central Com-

¹ *The Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Resolutions and Decisions of Congresses, Conferences and Plenums of the Central Committee*, 7th Russ. ed., Part I, 1954, pp. 804-805.

mittee, members of the Government, delegations from the Second All-Union Congress of Soviets and from Moscow workers' organisations visited Gorky. Peasants from the surrounding villages streamed to Gorky to bid farewell to Lenin.

On January 23, Lenin's coffin was transferred from Gorky to Moscow and placed in the Hall of Columns of the Trade Union Club. For four days, from January 23 to 27, in spite of the bitter frosts, hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants, Red Army men and office workers, delegations from the working people of Moscow and many other towns, and delegates from the workers of the capitalist countries filed through the Hall of Columns to take a last farewell of their leader.

At 9 a.m. on January 27, the coffin was carried from the Hall of Columns to the Red Square. At 4 p.m., to the strains of funeral music, the sound of thousands of factory sirens and a salvo of cannon, Lenin's coffin was carried into the mausoleum.

During the funeral, the international proletariat declared a five-minute stoppage of work. Cars and trains stood still, work stopped in the factories. In deepest grief, the working people of the world took their last farewell of their teacher, their best friend and protector.

The effect of Lenin's death on the working class of the Soviet Union was to make them close their ranks more firmly round the Communist Party. How close the party was to the working masses and how much the workers valued the party was demonstrated then with great force. In a short period of time, in four months, more than 240,000 workers joined the Communist Party. They were people who were ready to sacrifice their lives for the cause of socialism. It was the Leninist enrolment into the party.¹

Lenin's death caused rejoicing in the imperialist camp; the imperialists hoped that without Lenin the Soviet State would end. The Trotskyists, Bukharinites and other enemies of the party tried to make use of the blow that had struck

the party in order to make it swerve from the Leninist path.

The enemies miscalculated. They failed to reckon with the fact that Lenin had given the Communist Party an invincible weapon—Leninism—that the party had learned not to be afraid of difficulties, not to succumb to weariness, despondency, hesitation. Led by its Central Committee, with J. V. Stalin, the true disciple and great continuer of Lenin's work, at its head, the party raised high and bore forward the banner of Lenin.

On January 26, 1924, J. V. Stalin spoke at a Lenin Memorial session of the Second All-Union Congress of Soviets.

"We Communists are people of a special mould. We are made of a special stuff. We are those who form the army of the great proletarian strategist, the army of Comrade Lenin. There is nothing higher than the honour of belonging to this army. There is nothing higher than the title of member of the Party whose founder and leader was Comrade Lenin . . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin enjoined us to hold high and guard the purity of the great title of member of the Party. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we shall fulfil your behest with honour! . . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin enjoined us to guard the unity of our Party as the apple of our eye. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that this behest, too, we shall fulfil with honour! . . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin enjoined us to guard and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we shall spare no effort to fulfil this behest, too, with honour! . . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin enjoined us to strengthen with all our might the alliance of the workers and the peasants. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that this behest, too, we shall fulfil with honour!

" . . . Comrade Lenin untiringly urged upon us the necessity of the voluntary union of the peoples of our country, the necessity of their fraternal co-operation within the framework of the Union of Republics.

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin enjoined us to strengthen and extend the Union of Republics. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that this behest, too, we shall fulfil with honour!"

". . . More than once did Lenin point out to us that the strengthening of the Red Army and the improvement of its condition is one of the most important tasks of our Party. . . Let us vow then, comrades, that we shall spare no effort to strengthen our Red Army and our Red Navy! . . .

"Departing from us, Comrade Lenin enjoined us to remain faithful to the principles of the Communist International. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we shall not spare our lives to strengthen and extend the union of the working people of the whole world—the Communist International!"

This was the vow the Communist Party gave to its leader. Reviewing the path traversed since Lenin's death, Communists may declare with pride: Lenin's behests are being fulfilled with honour.

* * *

Lenin devoted his life to the liberation of the workers and peasants from the yoke of capital, from the power of the capitalists and landlords, to the cause of socialism.

Lenin was the founder, the brilliant leader and guide of the revolutionary working class party, the party of a new type. Lenin's life and work merge into one with the work of the great and heroic Communist Party.

Lenin put definite aims before the party and boldly led it along the unexplored paths of the Russian revolutionary movement. He taught us that the party is the highest form of proletarian class organisation, that the dictatorship of the proletariat can only be realised through the party, as its directing force. Lenin established that proletarian dictatorship can only be complete when it is guided by the Communist Party. He insisted on iron discipline in the party, for without it proletarian dictatorship cannot fulfil its task of suppressing the exploiters and building socialist society to take the place of bourgeois society.

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle—bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative—against the forces and traditions of the old society. The force of habit of millions and tens of millions is a most terrible force. Without an iron party tempered in the struggle, without a party enjoying the confidence of all that is honest in the given class, without a party capable of watching and influencing the mood of the masses, it is impossible to conduct such a struggle successfully."¹

Lenin regarded the party as a great organising and directing force, the guide and leader of all working people in their struggle for the new socialist social order. He strongly opposed all attempts to belittle or weaken the guiding role of the party in the Soviet state system.

Lenin worked out Bolshevik principles of party leadership and rules of party life and thoroughly explained the idea that collectivism is the supreme principle of party leadership. Even during the pre-revolutionary years Lenin called the Party Central Committee a collective of leaders, the guardian and interpreter of the principles of the party. "The Central Committee watches over party principles from one Congress to the next and interprets them", said Lenin.

After the Eleventh Party Congress, stressing the role of the Party Central Committee and its authority, Lenin said: "Our Central Committee has grown into a strictly centralised and highly authoritative group."²

Collective leadership derives from the principles of democratic centralism on which the party is built:

"This means", said Lenin, "that directly or through representatives, all party members, with an equal right and without exception, conduct the business of the party; what is more, all persons holding office, all leading

¹ Lenin, "*Left-Wing*" Communism, *An Infantile Disorder*, Chapter V.

² Lenin, *How we should Reorganise the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection*.

bodies, all party institutions, are elected, must render account of their work and are liable to recall.”¹

Lenin insisted that every party member should be firm and principled as regards both theory and practical work, that he should constantly struggle for the party’s principles and unswervingly carry out the party line.

Lenin was the genius of revolution, its strategist, the greatest master of revolutionary leadership. He marched at the head of the popular masses, with infinite faith in their creative forces, through the most acute class battles of the new epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. The Communist Party, founded and forged by great Lenin, roused the Russian workers, peasants and soldiers to insurrection in 1917 against the power of the landlords and capitalists, and organised the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin regarded the epoch since the great October Revolution as the great historical epoch of the building of communist society, the abolition of capitalism and all its traces and remains.

Lenin was proud that the Russian peoples had been the first to overthrow capitalism in their country and to show the working people of the world the path to victory.

“We are entitled to be proud and to consider ourselves fortunate that it has been our lot to be the first in one part of the globe to fell that wild beast, capitalism, which has drenched the earth in blood, which has reduced humanity to starvation and demoralisation, and which will most certainly soon perish, no matter how monstrous and savage its frenzy in the face of death.”²

Lenin was the organiser of the first Soviet Socialist State in the world. Under his guidance the party and the Soviet Government roused the working class and all working people in defence of their country, organised the young Soviet

¹ Lenin, *The Social-Democrats and the Duma Elections*, January, 1907, Collected Works, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 11, p. 396.

² Lenin, *Prophetic Words*.

Republic's victory over foreign interventionists and internal counter-revolution.

On the basis of his brilliant thesis of the possibility of building a complete socialist society first in one country, alone, Lenin worked out the forms and methods for the successful building of socialism during the period of proletarian dictatorship, and indicated the path to the building of communist society. He defined the forms of the alliance between the working class and peasantry and the bond between socialist industry and peasant farming; he outlined the plan for gradually drawing the basic peasant masses, through co-operation, on to the path of socialist construction. Under his guidance, the Soviet people took the first steps towards building socialism in our country.

Lenin foresaw the headlong speed with which society, freed from the capitalist yoke and capitalist enslavement, would progress, the rapid growth of the material and spiritual forces of the liberated peoples, the blossoming of culture. What Lenin foresaw was fully justified in practice.

Lenin's ideas on the national question formed the basis of the founding of the multi-national Soviet State. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which unites all the Soviet Republics on a voluntary and equal basis, represents a model of a mighty, multi-national, socialist state. The Soviet Union is the bulwark of peace and of the independence and security of the peoples, the hope of progressive mankind, and marches in the vanguard in the struggle against the forces of imperialist reaction and aggression.

Lenin built his revolutionary work to abolish capitalism and create socialist society on the granite basis of Marxism. He had a great affection and respect for the brilliant thoughts and words of Marx and Engels, who were the founders of scientific communism. He condemned with tremendous force and passion those people who tried to put bourgeois ideas in the place of Marxist theory; he mercilessly exposed those who swore loyalty to Marxism in words, but in actual practice betrayed this revolutionary teaching. He protected and

restored the genuine views of Marx and Engels; tirelessly he exposed the attempts of revisionists and opportunists to distort and twist the revolutionary meaning of the Marxist theory.

At the same time Lenin resolutely opposed the mechanical, dogmatic approach to theory; he stressed time and again that Marxism is not a dogma, but a guide to action, that Marxist theory has to be pushed forward, developed creatively in all directions. He constantly taught us to link theory with life, to test the correctness of this or that theoretical proposition in practice, to enrich theory from the study of new experience. We must not defend the old theses of Marxism, he taught, when the situation has changed and requires new decisions. We must know how to make use of the Marxist methods of investigation in order to analyse the new historic conditions, the new situation. Lenin was the great leader of science, the unsurpassed master of materialist dialectics, who fearlessly threw aside old, obsolete views and enriched Marxist theory by the addition of new theses and conclusions which fitted the new, historical situation. Lenin augmented the ideological wealth of Marxism from the experience of the new epoch; he developed Marxism and raised it to a higher level. Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. Leninism is the highest achievement of Russian and world culture.

Lenin's greatness lies in the fact that no matter what the historical conditions were, and no matter how they came about, he was able to make the correct decisions. He brilliantly laid bare the meaning of social phenomena and clearly saw the prospects of their development. In every case he began with a deep and concrete analysis of the situation, gave the scientific explanation for the party's policy, defined the party's tasks and the means of solving them, and found the chief link in the chain of problems. Speaking against dogmatism and banality, Lenin taught us: "Marxism means knowing how to determine which policy to pursue in all and every circumstance."¹

¹ *Archives of the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute.*

Typical of Leninism is its militant and revolutionary character. The explanation for this peculiarity of Leninism is that it grew up out of proletarian revolution and grew strong in battles against opportunism, the struggle against which is the essential condition for victory over capitalism.

Lenin's doctrine is a beacon shedding light on the path of the triumphant struggle of the working people for their emancipation. Lenin's ideas, having gripped the masses, have become the great force which transforms society on socialist principles.

Socialism was victorious in the U.S.S.R. under the banner of Leninism. The building of socialism is the result of the fulfilment of Lenin's behests, the result of the great organising and directing work of the Communist Party, its wise leadership, the result of the heroic labour of the workers, peasants and intellectuals who gave their unanimous support to the party's policy. Under the banner of Leninism, socialism is being built in the people's democracies, and the national-liberation movement is growing all over the world. From the yoke of imperialism 900 million people have been liberated and united in the great camp of socialism and democracy and are building a new life, following along Lenin's path.

Leninism is a great life-confirming doctrine. The ideas of Leninism teach the working people to fight against capitalist and national oppression and exploitation, and point the way to victory. Leninism is, in its very essence, directed against every obstacle in the path of the fullest development of human society, against everything that impedes the progress of history. The ideas of Leninism provide the scientific explanation for the inevitability of mankind's progress towards socialism and communism, for the triumph of what is new, progressive and advanced over what is reactionary and obsolete.

Lenin's ideas are immortal. Their strength, vitality and invincibility have been confirmed in practice by the experience of history. Lenin lives on in the great deeds of the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which puts his ideas into practice, in the new achievements of the Soviet Motherland which is progressing confidently under the banner of Leninism along the path to communism. Lenin's wise directives are a guide for the party in the great work to build communism. His ideas are strongly influencing the trend of world history. They live and triumph in the activities of the working people's camp of peace, democracy and socialism, in the growing, strengthening world movement for peace and friendship among peoples, for democracy and socialism.

Lenin lives on in the minds and hearts of the working people of the U.S.S.R. and the world; his name rings out as a fiery appeal for relentless struggle against oppressors and for a free and happy life, for communism. His name has become the most beloved of all for the working and exploited masses. Among the Russian people Lenin was called "our Ilyich". This was the way they expressed their deep gratitude and love for their leader and teacher who was so closely linked with the popular masses and who devoted his life to the struggle for the freedom and happiness of ordinary people.

Throughout his work Lenin fought passionately and relentlessly against attempts by the bourgeoisie and its "socialist" servitors to sow distrust of their own strength in the minds of the working class, and to weaken their will to struggle for socialism. He regarded the popular masses as the real makers of history.

Lenin spent much effort and labour developing and strengthening the Communist movement in all countries. The Communist International which he founded played an important part in rallying the advanced workers into genuinely proletarian mass parties, in training the leaders of the Communist Parties. The ties between the workers of various countries have grown stronger. The Communist and Workers' Parties marching in the vanguard of the working class struggle against imperialist wars and capitalist slavery,

for peace among nations and their independence, for democracy and socialism, derive their inspiration from Lenin's ideas on international working-class solidarity.

The Soviet socialist system of which Lenin was the founder has given our people great and invincible strength. This strength is firmly based on the socialist economy of the U.S.S.R., its powerful industry, the chief basis of the entire national economy, and its advanced, collectivised socialist agriculture. The strength of the Soviet system lies in the indomitable moral and political unity of Soviet society, the close, fraternal co-operation of the socialist nations which form our country. The Soviet socialist system has engendered the ardent, life-creating patriotism which has become the source of the mass heroism of Soviet people.

During the years of stern trial when the Motherland was engaged in a life and death grapple with the German fascist bandits who had perfidiously attacked the country, the great ideas of Leninism inspired the heroic peoples of the Soviet Union to perform immortal deeds of valour to the glory of the Socialist Motherland. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Soviet people fought in the Great Patriotic War and, under Lenin's invincible banner, they defended with their lives the freedom and independence of their country and safeguarded the gains of the socialist revolution. The Soviet Union defeated fascist Germany, rid the peoples of Europe and Asia of the menace of fascist slavery. When the Hitlerite hordes had been routed in the West and the war in Europe came to an end, the Soviet Army went to the aid of the Chinese people in their struggle against the Japanese imperialists. Imperialist Japan was defeated.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, covered with glory from their world historic victories, are now, under the leadership of the Communist Party, realising the task of completing the building of socialism and gradually passing from socialism to communism. The image of great Lenin inspires the Soviet people to perform more heroic deeds and arouses new creative forces in the popular masses. Lenin's life, work and great

writings teach them how to fight successfully for the cause of Communism.

V. I. Lenin brought together the vast experience of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. and the experiences of the international liberation movement today, and developed the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, making it applicable to the new historical conditions; on a number of questions he added new theses to the theory of revolution. The development of Marxism-Leninism is clearly reflected in the historic decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, in the speeches of the leaders of these parties, which have enriched Marxist-Leninist theory on the basis of new experience.

The great ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin light up for the working people of all countries their path of struggle for a bright future for mankind.

The Communist Party has triumphed, and still triumphs, through its loyalty to Leninism. It teaches Soviet cadres and all Communists to persist in mastering revolutionary theory, consistently to carry out Lenin's rules of party life and the Leninist principles of party leadership.

Our Communist Party, steeled in battles under the brilliant leadership of Lenin, of great Stalin who was his true disciple and who continued his cause, and of Stalin's colleagues, is now the leading, guiding and directing force of Soviet society in the building of communism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has travelled a glorious road of history and ensured the building of socialist society in the U.S.S.R. The chief tasks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union are now to build communist society through the gradual transition from socialism to communism, to produce constant improvements in the material and cultural level of society, to educate the members of society in the spirit of internationalism and fraternal relations with the working people of all countries, to strengthen to the utmost the defence of the Soviet Motherland against the aggressive actions of her enemies.

The Communist Party, guided by great Lenin's doctrine of the fullest development of large-scale machine industry and the electrification of the country, considers that now, as hitherto, its most important task is to obtain a further advance of heavy industry. It is in the interests of the Soviet Union and essential for the great work of building communist society that the general line of the party, envisaging as a priority a further accelerated development of heavy industry, should be firmly and unwaveringly carried out.

At the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in January 1955, N. S. Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Central Committee, said:

"Under the leadership of Stalin our Party steadfastly carried through the only correct line, that of the all-round development of heavy industry, which was charted by the great Lenin. It is consistently carrying out this line now and will firmly carry it out in the future! . . .

"The main task to which all the energies of the Party are devoted has been and remains the strengthening of the might of the Soviet State and consequently the accelerated development of heavy industry, which constitutes the firm foundation of the national economy as a whole and of the indestructible defensive might of the country, the source of the steady rise in the standard of living. Only on the basis of expanding heavy industry and the electrification of the country can we ensure the wide-scale introduction of up-to-date technique into all branches of the national economy and a systematic increase in the productivity of labour. It is only on the basis of a highly developed heavy industry that agriculture can be supplied with modern machinery at an increasing rate. Only on the basis of an advance in heavy industry can we ensure the continued development of light industry, the food and other industries and the advance of agriculture."

The party devotes great attention to the task of rapidly developing further the agriculture of the country. The party

puts forward as an urgent, nationwide task that of creating an abundance of agricultural products in the country through the powerful growth of socialist industry, which is the leading force in the national economy. The successful solution of this task is the most important component part of the programme of communist construction and will encourage the further strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the collective farming peasantry.

The Soviet State is in the flower of its strength. The Soviet people warmly approve the party's policy to strengthen their state still more and they are striving to obtain a further rise in socialist economy and culture.

In the sphere of foreign policy, the party and the Soviet Government, with Lenin's principles on the co-existence of differing social systems as their basis, are conducting a consistent struggle to safeguard and strengthen world peace, in which not only the Soviet people, but all the peoples of the world, are vitally interested.

Under the banner of Leninism, guided by the Communist Party, the peoples of the Soviet Union are sweeping aside all obstacles and proceeding confidently along the path to the building of communism.

Lenin's name, his work and his doctrine will live on down the ages!

The banner of Lenin is invincible!

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MARX, ENGELS, MARXISM

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