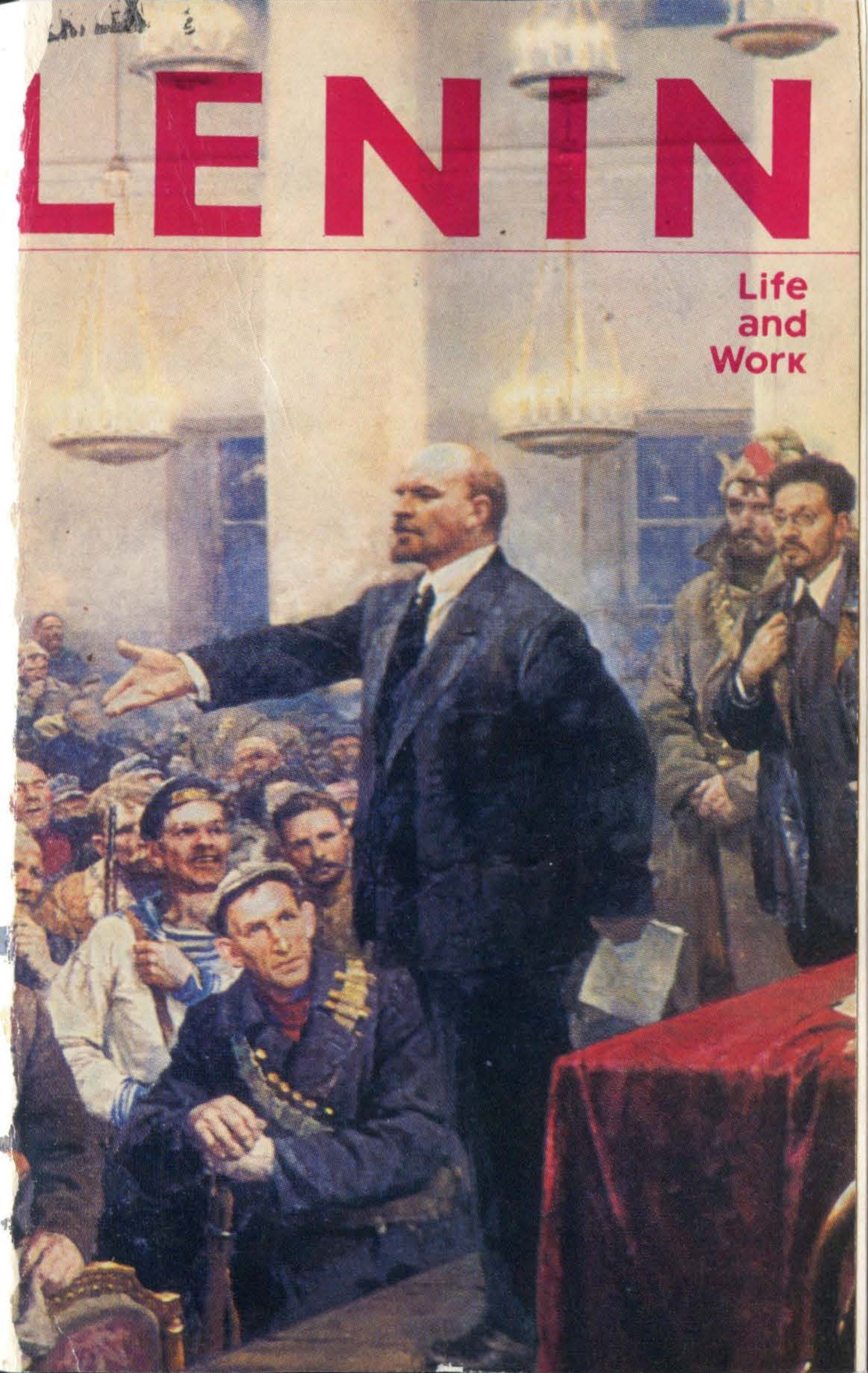


LENIN

Life
and
Work



1917  1977

LENIN

by V. Zevin and G. Golikov

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and
Work



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by V. Zevin and G. Golikov

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Vladimir Ilyich LENIN

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В. Зевин, Г. Голиков
В. И. ЛЕНИН. ЖИЗНЬ И ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ
на английском языке
Цена 63 коп.

The theoretical and practical contribution to Marxism by Vladimir Lenin who entered the historical scene at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, ushered in a new stage in the development of this teaching and a new phase in the international working-class movement. The significance of Lenin's contribution, whether it lies in the field of philosophy, political economy, or scientific communism, is truly great. In carrying forward the cause of Marx and Engels and applying their ideas to the new historical epoch, Lenin gave the answers to the most vital problems of social development, problems which continue to agitate the minds of people everywhere and upon whose solution the future of the world revolutionary movement and of all mankind depends.

Lenin's teaching, Leninism, is the Marxism of our epoch. Associated with his name and his teaching are the revolutionary changes of the 20th century which have altered the face of the world and which mark the turn of mankind towards socialism and communism. Lenin was history's first Marxist and working-class leader to head the popular movement for the translation into life of the theories of scientific communism. He was the first to direct a victorious proletarian revolution, and the first leader of a socialist state.

Half a century has passed since Lenin died. But

how true sound today the famous Soviet poet Vladimir Mayakovsky's words that

“Lenin
is now
the most live of all living.
Our weapon,
our knowledge,
our power.”

The name of the great leader evokes the deepest of respect and sincere affection of millions all over the globe. Lenin's ideas guide the socialist nations in their effort to build a new life. And they are winning over ever larger segments of the working people in imperialism's citadels and in the developing countries. Interest in Lenin's writings is steadily growing among the broadest of progressive circles. Lenin's works have been translated into 127 languages of the world; according to UNESCO figures, they lead the world for translated literature. This convincingly shows the triumph of Lenin's ideas throughout the world.

Celebrations of the Lenin birth centenary which were held in more than 120 countries most vividly demonstrated the victory of Leninism. Huge editions of books by and about Lenin were published; special newspaper and magazine issues as well as radio and TV programmes and films were dedicated to him; and seminars and conferences were held to mark the centennial. In a message to the UNESCO-sponsored international symposium on "Lenin and Development of Science, Culture and Education," held in Tampere, Finland, the then UN Secretary-General U. Thant noted that the UN Commission on Human Rights, in recognition of Lenin's great practical and theoretical contribution to man's progress, welcomed

the UNESCO General Conference decision to mark the Lenin Centenary, and called attention to the historic impact of Lenin's humanitarian ideas and work on the advancement and realization of economic, social and cultural rights.

The highlight of the celebrations was the commemorative meeting held at the Moscow Kremlin Palace of Congresses, which was attended by delegations from many countries. At the meeting, a report entitled "Lenin's Cause Lives On and Triumphs" was delivered by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The increasing influence of Leninism on working people all over the world is bitterly resented by the powers that be in the capitalist countries, by capitalism's apologists and the propagandists of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. But all their efforts to undermine this influence are vain. The truth about Lenin is becoming better and better known everywhere.

The purpose of this biography of Lenin is to provide a concise account of the great leader's work and teaching, and to stimulate deeper interest in his writings.

ROAD TO REVOLUTION

Lenin is the pseudonym which the then young Russian Marxist revolutionary Vladimir Ulyanov first used for reasons of secrecy to sign an article written in 1901. And though he used many other names, it was as Lenin that his party comrades and the working people in Russia had known him. And it was under this name that he became world-famous as founder of the Commun-

ist Party and the Soviet state, and as the leader of the world proletariat.

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov (Lenin) was born on April 22, 1870 in the Volga town of Simbirsk, now Ulyanovsk, where he spent his childhood and youth, those formative years that were to mould him as a great revolutionary and thinker. The US journalist John Reed, author of the famous book about the October Revolution in Russia, *Ten Days that Shook the World*, wrote after visiting Simbirsk that as he looked at the Volga's rolling expanses, he thought that Lenin had to be born on the banks of such a mighty river.

Still intact is the wooden house in which Lenin was born, as well as the house to which his family moved later. Today this is a museum, where great care has been taken to reproduce the atmosphere of those years. Hundreds of thousands of people from all parts of the world have visited Ulyanovsk to see Lenin's birthplace.

Lenin's parents came of a progressive, democratic, intellectual milieu. His paternal grandfather, Nikolai Ulyanov, had been a serf of an estate in Nizhni Novgorod Guberniya; in search of a livelihood he had gone to Astrakhan where he worked as a tailor and died in poverty. Lenin's father, Ilya Nikolayevich, a man of many gifts and great industry, worked his way through secondary school and Kazan University, following which he taught mathematics and physics at various schools in the cities of Penza and Nizhni Novgorod. In 1869 he was appointed inspector and subsequently director of state schools in Simbirsk Guberniya.

A man of the people, Lenin's father was a dedicated educator, and worked indefatigably in the

field of public education. As Lenin's younger brother Dmitri recalled later: "Father infected us with a feeling of affection for the common people, to whose well-being he devoted all his energies and knowledge. For us he was the authority, and an example of a man with a high standard of culture and education, an industrious and noble man, a man of integrity."

Lenin's mother, Maria Alexandrovna Ulyanova (nee Blank), was the daughter of a physician. Prior to her marriage she had lived with her parents in a country-side and was educated at home. But, as a person of many parts and abilities, she passed the necessary examinations to be certified as an elementary schoolteacher. She knew several languages, played the piano, was good at needlework and, generally, displayed great industry. She was a devoted mother and wife. As friends of the family observed, "she was a real friend to her 'restless' brood. Outwardly quiet and serene, she was brimming with some great inner power; she never complained, never lost heart, but always silently and proudly coped with every difficulty. She was a person of enormous will power and of a warm and brave heart."

The Ulyanovs had six children, all of whom, with the exception of Olga who died early, became dedicated revolutionaries. These were, besides Lenin himself, his two brothers Alexander and Dmitri, and his sisters Anna and Maria.

At the age of nine Vladimir Ulyanov entered the Simbirsk gymnasium. Highly gifted and diligent, and well prepared at home, he made excellent progress, and showed a keen interest in literature, history and languages, including Latin and Greek. He could freely translate the ancient clas-

sics and spoke and read in several modern European languages. All this helped to develop in him an encyclopedic turn of mind.

The social conditions of the time, the atmosphere at home and the example afforded by his parents were decisive in moulding his character and outlook.

Even in his early youth Lenin was able to discern the reactionary character of the political and social system in tsarist Russia. His own observations, complemented by the stories his father related after visiting one or another village, and the shocking scenes of misery, and the suffering of the downtrodden, ignorant peasants and workmen, who were so harshly exploited by the capitalist and landowning class and tsarist officialdom, moved him together with his brothers and sisters to protest against social and national inequality and to vow to dedicate their lives to the emancipation of the working people.

A fondness for reading was a tradition with the Ulyanovs and to the end of his days books remained among Lenin's best friends and companions. In prison, exile or emigration, his first care was to acquire books. He had done research in some of the world's best-known public libraries, including those in St. Petersburg, Moscow, London, Paris, Berlin, and Geneva.

Progressive writings, and above all the works of the great Russian revolutionary democrats Belinsky, Herzen and Chernyshevsky, helped develop the revolutionary outlook of the Ulyanov children. Lenin particularly admired Chernyshevsky who, as inspirer and leader of the Russian revolutionaries of the 1860s, was close in thought to Marx.

Lenin revealed his revolutionary sentiments al-

ready in his school compositions. One day, his teacher, who had always held him up as an example for his classmates, irascibly observed when returning a composition: "What are those oppressed classes you've written about here? Where do they come in?"

In 1887, Vladimir Ulyanov graduated from the gymnasium and was the only pupil in his class to receive a gold medal for outstanding ability. His headmaster wrote the following in his student record: "Highly capable, hard-working and painstaking, Ulyanov was a top scholar in all forms, and upon completing the course has been awarded a gold medal as the most deserving pupil in regard to progress, development and conduct."

At the very moment Lenin was taking his school-leaving examinations the appalling news came of the arrest and subsequent execution of his elder brother Alexander, a St. Petersburg University student, for involvement in a plot to assassinate Tsar Alexander III.

Lenin loved and greatly respected his brother, with whom he often discussed social and political subjects, though, for reasons of secrecy, the latter had never spoken of his revolutionary activity to anyone in the family.

Alexander Ulyanov was a member of the revolutionary wing of the movement known as Narodism (Populism). Though they sought to uphold popular interests, the Narodniks, ignorant of the laws of social development, were unable to find the right road in the struggle against tsarism and social oppression. Despite Russia's rising capitalism, they were convinced that her life followed its own peculiar pattern and that the rural community could serve as a starting point for a direct

transition to socialism. They were incapable of understanding the role of the working class as the decisive factor in the socialist remaking of society, adhering as they did to the fallacious idealistic theory of "active" heroes and a passive "mob" that blindly followed in the wake of the history-making "great personalities." Part of the revolutionary Narodniks were of the view that they could rouse the peasant masses and lead them on to the road of socialist revolution, while another part, sceptical of this course, hoped that a small band of conspirators would be able to seize power and believed that the main means to this end were individual acts of terror against the tsar and his ministers. Though Lenin's brother was already familiar with some Marxist ideas—Lenin had seen "Capital" in his possession—he still adhered to Narodism.

Subsequently, Lenin was to make a detailed Marxist critique of Narodism. While paying tribute to the heroism of the revolutionary Narodniks, he at the same time exposed the untenability of their ideology and tactics. But even as a seventeen-year-old schoolboy, though being stunned by his brother's execution, and honouring him for his courage, young Ulyanov arrived at an important conclusion that was to shape all his future activity. As his younger sister Maria noted later in her recollections, he had firmly said: "No, we shall not take that road, that is not the road to follow." And as she wrote further, "He began to gird himself for that road which he believed would lead, and indeed, did lead, to victory."

To continue his education, Lenin decided to enroll at Kazan University's Department of Law, as he was convinced that "it is the time now to

study law and political economy." It is noteworthy that he took the same decision as Marx once did: Marx had chosen a university law course and subsequently devoted all of his life to the study of political economy.

Following Lenin's enrollment at the university, the Ulyanovs moved to Kazan, modestly subsisting on the pension granted them after the death of the head of the family, Ilya Nikolayevich Ulyanov, in 1886.

Lenin's university career was cut short when he was sent down, arrested and jailed for taking part in a revolutionary student action in December 1887. When the policeman escorting him to the prison observed: "What's the use of rebelling, young man? Don't you see there's a wall before you?" Lenin replied: "Yes, but the wall is rotten. Give it a good push and it will topple over!" This was an answer of a dedicated revolutionary, and not of a casually involved student. Later, while in prison the arrested students, who were his cell-mates, began asking one another what they were going to do further. When his turn came Lenin said with a smile, after a short pause, during which he seemed to be gathering his thoughts: "There's nothing particularly much for me to think about. My elder brother has shown me the way."

Lenin had made his choice, once and for all. However, the road he took differed from the one chosen by his elder brother and the preceding generations of revolutionaries.

The authorities banished Lenin to the village of Kokushkino, now Lenino, 40 km from Kazan. The police department at once instructed the Chief of the Kazan Guberniya Gendarmerie to "see to it

that a strict and secret watch be kept on the banished Vladimir Ulyanov." After that he was under continuous police surveillance. While in Kokushkino Lenin led a secluded life, reading avidly from morning to night.

In the autumn of 1888, he was allowed to return to Kazan, but failed to gain re-admission to the University. On his application the head of the university had written: "Isn't this the brother of that Ulyanov? He's from the Simbirsk gymnasium too, isn't he? Not to be admitted under any circumstances."

At this time Lenin plunged wholeheartedly into a study of Marxist literature, and it was to become a lifelong rule with him "to take counsel with Marx." He had a high opinion of the writings of G. V. Plekhanov, a Marxist theoretician and propagandist, who in 1883 had organized the first Russian Marxist group, "Emancipation of Labour," in Geneva. In his works Plekhanov explained what Marxism was, criticized Narodism and applied Marxist principles to the study of vital questions of social life in Russia. In Kazan Lenin joined a Marxist group, organized by N. E. Fedoseyev, one of Russia's first Marxists. He was enthusiastic, and as his sister Anna recollected: "He would explain to me with great fervour and enthusiasm the fundamentals of Marx's theory and talk of the new horizons it opened."

Of great importance in the formation of Lenin's Marxist outlook were the four years he spent in the city of Samara, where the Ulyanovs moved in September 1889. In summer the family lived at a farmstead near the village of Alakayevka. In the spring of 1890 Lenin was permitted to take examinations for a degree in law at the St. Petersburg

University. He completed the entire course in the space of eighteen months of intensive study at home and passed with honours.

Though he subsequently practised law for a while as a barrister, he concentrated on the further study of Marxism. In Samara, he organized its first Marxist study group, to whose members he read a number of papers. It was in Samara, in 1893, that he wrote the earliest of his works that has come down to us—*New Economic Developments in Peasant Life*. This is the first essay of Volume 1 of his *Complete Works*. In Samara Lenin also made a translation which unfortunately has not survived, of Marx and Engels's *Communist Manifesto*. Among Samara Marxists he quickly gained the reputation of a capable theoretician and organizer. I. K. Lalayants, one of the members of Lenin's group, recollected later: "Simplicity, tactfulness, a zest for life were remarkably combined in this twenty-three-year-old man with dignity, profound knowledge, ruthless logical consistency, clear judgement and precision in definitions."

In August 1893 Lenin moved to St. Petersburg, today Leningrad.

FOUNDER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Lenin's arrival in St. Petersburg, capital of the Russian empire and a centre of social and political activity, initiated a new chapter in his life, one of direct effort to organize a Marxist party in Russia.

The turn of the 19th and 20th centuries in Russia was a time of a marked upsurge in the work-

ing-class movement, the centre of which was St. Petersburg with its big Putilov, Obukhov, Semyanikov factories and other mills and plants located in the suburbs and employing thousands of workers. The main task Lenin set himself at this time was to bring to the proletariat the ideas of scientific socialism, to equip the workers with the all-powerful philosophy of Marxism, and build up an organization of revolutionaries capable of rallying the masses and leading them in an attack on tsarism and, eventually, capitalism. Being in close contact with the more class-conscious proletarians in St. Petersburg, Lenin matured as leader of the working class.

At that time several Marxist study groups were active in the Russian capital. They consisted of factory workers and college students, who had only recently come to Marxism and were still unable to apply it to the practical tasks of revolutionary struggle. An erudite theoretician and practical organizer was needed who would be able to weld them into a real fighting force. Lenin achieved this.

Soon after his arrival in St. Petersburg Lenin established contacts with the group of Marxist students at the Technological Institute. To this group belonged Pyotr Zaporozhets, Gleb Krzhizhanovsky (who was to become Chairman of the State Planning Commission after the 1917 October Revolution), the Nevzorov sisters, and Mikhail Silvin. It was at one of the gatherings of Marxists in the city that Lenin met Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, who was then a teacher at a Sunday school for factory workers, an acquaintance which blossomed in lifelong love.

Lenin quickly earned the respect of the group

and was looked up to as an outstanding Marxist theoretician. This "arrival from the Volga" was much talked about among the "capital's Marxists" and though he was only 23 at the time, he soon came to be known as "The Old Man" for his encyclopedic learning. "And here, in our northern plains," Krzhizhanovsky wrote later, "there appeared an unusual man, who more than any other understood the power of the weapon forged by the genius of Marx. For him a Marxist was above all a revolutionary." What Russia's Social-Democratic movement lacked most then was the ability to unite theory and practice of revolutionary struggle, to creatively apply Marxism to Russian reality. "Social Democracy," Lenin wrote, "existed without a working-class movement, and as a political party it was at the embryonic stage of development."

Besides studying and propagating Marxism amidst small clandestine groups of Social-Democratic intellectuals, Lenin gave lectures in Marxist circles of factory workers in working-class neighbourhoods. With illustrations drawn directly from the life of his listeners he explained the basic points of Marx's *Capital*, presenting the subject in a way that was understandable to the workers. Ivan Babushkin, one of Lenin's listeners, wrote later: "The lecturer explained the subject to us in his own words, without reading from notes; he would try to get us to disagree with him or start a dispute, and then he would egg us on, making one of us argue his point of view with another. Our lectures, therefore, were very lively and interesting, and tended to develop a habit for public speaking; this method of study was the best way of mastering the subject."

The hard core of progressive revolutionary workers that soon emerged consisted, among others, of I. V. Babushkin, the Bodrov brothers, V. A. Knyazev, N. Y. Merkulov, and V. A. Shelgunov. A wide network of Marxist circles sprang up in the factory districts. The task of leading the working-class movement onto the road of open political struggle was being tackled in earnest and successfully.

One obstacle that had to be removed was liberal Narodism into which the revolutionary Narodism of the 1870s had degenerated. Unless the influence of Narodism among the masses was overcome, there could be no thought of further success. The liberal Narodniks, who had abandoned all revolutionary struggle against tsarism in favour of a programme of minor reforms, launched violent attacks against Marxism.

Lenin, who had first criticized liberal Narodism when still in Samara, started a full-fledged campaign against it in St. Petersburg, pointing out the untenability of its views and ripping off its mask of "friends of the people." He dealt with the question in his book, published in a hectographed form in 1894, and entitled *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats*. It consisted of three sections, one providing a comprehensive critique of the philosophical views of the Narodniks and mainly of their leading ideologist, N. K. Mikhailovsky, the second (the original text of which has still to be found)—a critique of their economic views as most clearly expressed in the reactionary Utopian writings of S. N. Yuzhakov, and the third—a critique of their political programme and tactics as developed by S. N. Krivenko.

This is Lenin's first major work and a masterly Marxist analysis of Russian reality. In it Lenin gives a vigorous defence of Marxism and shows a creative approach to questions of the theory and practice of the working-class movement. Developing a series of basic tenets of Marxist sociology and scientific communism, Lenin formulated the immediate objective of the Russian liberation movement as the overthrow of tsarist autocracy and abolition of the survivals of feudal serfdom, which would be followed by a full-scale struggle against capitalism and for the remaking of society along socialist lines. He propounded the idea of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry and other non-proletarian strata of the working masses, pointing out that this was necessary for achieving victory in the fight for democracy and socialism. Finally, Lenin argued the need—and he was Russia's first Marxist to do so—to organize a revolutionary proletarian party. This, he said, was the most urgent task of Russian Social Democracy.

Defining the prospects ahead of the revolutionary movement, Lenin wrote: "...the Russian WORKER, rising at the head of all the democratic elements, will overthrow absolutism and lead the RUSSIAN PROLETARIAT (side by side with the proletariat of ALL COUNTRIES) *along the straight road of open political struggle to THE VICTORIOUS COMMUNIST REVOLUTION.*"

Lenin's *What the "Friends of the People" Are* furnished a powerful weapon in the effort to organize a Marxist party; it served as the ideological platform upon which the revolutionary Social Democrats united into one party. "When this book appeared," recalled S. I. Mickiewicz, a member of

a Moscow group of Social Democrats, "Lenin became a still more popular and recognized authority among the Marxists. The young Russian Marxist movement realized that it had found in him a political leader and an outstanding theoretician."

At the same time Lenin had to battle with the so-called legal Marxists, bourgeois intellectuals who, using "Marxist" phraseology, in reality concealed capitalism's contradictions and sought to make the working-class movement serve bourgeois interests. They discarded Marxism's basic tenet, namely the teaching on the proletarian revolution and seizure of power by the working class.

Later, describing the continual struggle he had to carry on against various ideological adversaries and against deviations from Marxism's revolutionary principles, Lenin wrote in one of his private letters: "So that's my lot, one fight after another, against political stupidities, philistinism, opportunism, etc. And it has been so ever since 1893. And for this I am hated by the philistines. Still I wouldn't change this lot for a state of 'peace' with them."

Owing to the work carried out by revolutionary Social Democracy, Marxism spread in Russia and became linked with the working-class movement. Many Russian cities, apart from the capital, now had their revolutionary Marxist organizations. Meanwhile in St. Petersburg, a leading Marxist group with Lenin at its head emerged, which began to direct the activity of the hitherto disunited groups.

In 1895 Lenin succeeded in getting a passport and went abroad in order to establish contact with the Marxist "Emancipation of Labour" group

there. Plekhanov was greatly impressed by Lenin about whom he wrote: "A young comrade has been here, who is very intelligent, well-educated and a gifted speaker. What luck to have such young people in our revolutionary movement!"

While away from Russia, Lenin learned about the working-class movement in Western Europe and met two prominent Socialists of the time, Paul Lafargue and Wilhelm Liebknecht.

Back home, Lenin imparted fresh drive to the revolutionary movement among the St. Petersburg proletariat, and intensified his effort to establish a Marxist party. He founded "The League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class" which by the autumn of 1895 became the leading Social-Democratic organization in the Russian capital. For the first time in Russia an organization was founded that wed scientific socialism and the working-class movement. Shortly afterwards, similar "Leagues" were set up elsewhere in the country.

The police had kept an eye on Lenin's League and in an early morning raid on December 9, 1895 arrested Lenin along with other leading members of the League (Vaneyev, Krzhizhanovsky and Starkov). Lenin was kept for fourteen months in solitary confinement. But, despite the grim prison conditions, he continued to direct the Marxist organizations outside, employing various secret means and relying on the help of comrades who were still at liberty, and above all Nadezhda Krupskaya. While in prison he also wrote a number of papers, including the "Draft and Explanation of a Programme for the Social-Democratic Party" and gathered material for a fundamental study of the development of capitalism in Russia.

In February 1897 the authorities announced their verdict: Lenin and the other arrested League members were sentenced to exile for three years in Eastern Siberia. Before going they were allowed to spend three days with their families in St. Petersburg. They used the time in attending clandestine gatherings arranged to discuss the League's further programme of action.

It took Lenin over a fortnight to get to Krasnoyarsk in Siberia, where he waited another two months until he was finally told his destination, the backwoods village of Shushenskoye in the Minusinsk district, at the foot of the Sayan mountain range. While in Krasnoyarsk Lenin met other banished revolutionaries, made contacts, and worked in the private library of the well-known local merchant-bibliophile Yudin. In a letter to his relatives he wrote: "Yesterday I managed to find the famous local library belonging to Yudin. I have not seen all his library by far, but in any case it is an excellent collection of books. There are, for example, complete sets of journals (the most important) from the end of the 18th century up to date. I hope I shall be able to make use of them as necessary reference material for the information I need so much for my work."

On May 8, 1897, Lenin began the life of an exile, under the never-relaxing surveillance of the police. A year later Nadezhda Krupskaya, who had also been banished for the involvement in the League, arrived in Shushenskoye with her mother. Here she and Lenin were married, and throughout their life together she remained his loyal companion and helper, equally dedicated to the cause of the revolution.

While in exile Lenin read and wrote much,

working into the early hours of the morning by the light of a kerosene lamp in the log cottage where he lived with his wife. This fact was noted in a report by the policeman assigned to keep the exile under surveillance: "Keeps on writing all the time. Must be a writer... I have already informed the district police chief that I'm afraid no good will come of his writing."

In his three years in Siberia Lenin produced more than thirty works, all of which are of great theoretical and political significance. Among them is his fundamental *The Development of Capitalism in Russia*, which complements Marx's analysis of the rise and the essence of capitalism. "It is interesting to note," Lenin wrote, "how far the main features of this general process in Western Europe and in Russia are identical, notwithstanding the tremendous peculiarities of the latter, in both the economic and non-economic spheres." Lenin's thorough analysis of Russia's socio-economic relationships provided a firm theoretical basis for developing the programme, strategy and tactics of a Marxist party. Another work by Lenin which also gained wide currency among the advanced segment of the Russian working class was the pamphlet, *The Tasks of the Russian Social Democrats*, which dealt with the question of the relationship between the democratic and socialist objectives of the proletariat, and of the Russian working-class movement.

In 1898 the representatives of several Russian Social-Democratic organizations held their First Congress at which they announced the foundation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party (RSDLP). In actual fact, however, no party was formed, since the Congress adopted neither pro-

gramme nor rules, and furthermore, the organizations represented lacked ideological and organizational unity.

There emerged at this time within the ranks of Social Democracy the opportunist trend of "Economism," the Russian version of revisionism in the international socialist movement. The "Economists," followers of the ideologist of revisionism, the German Social Democrat, E. Bernstein, maintained that the main task of the working-class movement was to wage an economic struggle (for higher pay, a shorter working day, etc.). They were against a political struggle for proletarian democracy and power and denied the need for an independent proletarian political party. Like Bernstein, they held that "The movement is everything, the final aim nothing." They said that a socialist revolution was unnecessary and called to demand of the ruling exploiting class only to carry out reforms and improve conditions of workers. In other words, they called for measures that would not impinge upon capitalism's foundations.

Lenin pointed out that it was vital resolutely to repulse revisionism and the "Economists." To this end he wrote the "Protest by Russian Social Democrats" which 17 Marxist exiles in the Minusinsk district discussed and signed.

In conditions of ideological confusion and organizational disunity, Lenin evolved the only correct solution for Russian Social Democracy. He drafted a plan for the establishment of a Marxist party and suggested for this purpose to start a national clandestine political newspaper and through it rally the country's revolutionary Social Democrats on the basis of the principles of Marxism.

As the end of his term of exile approached, Len-

in pondered all the more intensively over the entire range of problems related to the organization of a party. "I shall never forget one of my walks with Lenin on the banks of the broad Yenisei," Krzhizhanovsky recollected. "It was a frosty moonlit night, and the Siberian snows spread before us in an endless glittering waste. Lenin spoke with enthusiasm of his plans when he would return to Russia. He concentrated on problems of organizing a central party paper, of publishing it abroad and of building up a party by means of this paper, which would represent the scaffolding, as it were, for the erection of the entire edifice of the revolutionary organization of the proletariat."

On January 29, 1900, the term of exile came to an end. And on that very day, despite the bitter cold, Lenin and his wife and mother-in-law set off from Shushenskoye, across snow-swept Siberia, for the railway station of Achinsk, where they were to take the train to Ufa. Here Krupskaya was to spend the remaining year of her term of exile. Meanwhile Lenin himself, who was not permitted to live in the capital and many other cities, chose Pskov as his place of "free" residence.

Within a short time Lenin had visited Moscow, St. Petersburg, Nizhni Novgorod, Ufa, Samara, Riga, Smolensk and Syzran, where he met with Social Democrats and discussed with them his plans for starting a revolutionary Marxist paper. The police continued to keep close watch on him; a Colonel Zubatov of the gendarmerie noted that "there is nobody bigger than Ulyanov in the revolution today."

In the early years of the 20th century large-

scale class battles broke out in Russia, which at once placed its proletariat in the van of the international working-class movement and made the country itself the focal point of the world revolutionary process. There arose the pressing need for a working-class party that could lead the masses in the fight against tsarism and capitalism.

Lenin sought to set up a party of a new type, a party that would be different from the West-European Social-Democratic parties in which opportunism was tolerated and which, because of that, were growing increasingly reformist. In its principle, form and method, he maintained, the party of a new type should meet the requirements of the new historical epoch of socialist revolution. And he devoted all his unquenchable energy and theoretical and organizational genius to the accomplishment of this epoch-making objective.

In the summer of 1900 Lenin went to Switzerland. This was his first forced emigration. In Geneva he discussed with Plekhanov and other members of the "Emancipation of Labour" group plans to start an all-Russia working-class paper, which, as a collective educator, propagandist and organizer, would pave the way for the founding of a party. These talks were extremely heated, for Plekhanov was arrogant and dictatorial. But an understanding was reached, though with great difficulty, on the joint publication of a newspaper to be called *Iskra* (Spark). The entire episode was described by Lenin in an article "How the 'Spark' Was Nearly Extinguished."

The symbolic name of the paper is explained by its motto: "The spark will kindle a flame," a quotation taken from the reply by exiled Decembrists (participants in the abortive mutiny against

the tsar in December 1825) to the great Russian poet Alexander Pushkin. *Iskra* was published in Leipzig and Munich and later in London and Geneva.

Iskra was conceived by Lenin; he was its heart and soul, its actual editor. In the more than fifty articles, published in it, he set out a programme for forming a party and discussed questions of revolutionary theory and practice. The first issue, which came out in December 1900, carried his programme article "The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement," in which he wrote: "Before us, in all its strength, towers the enemy fortress which is raining shot and shell upon us mowing down our best fighters. We must capture this fortress, and we will capture it, if we unite all the forces of the awakening proletariat with all the forces of the Russian revolutionaries into one party which will attract all that is vital and honest in Russia. Only then will the great prophecy of the Russian worker-revolutionary, Pyotr Alexeyev, be fulfilled: 'The muscular arm of the working millions will be lifted and the yoke of despotism, guarded by the soldiers' bayonets, will be smashed to atoms!'" (These were the words with which Pyotr Alexeyev concluded his statement in court when on trial in March 1877).

The difficulties that stood in the way of publication and circulation of *Iskra* seemed well-nigh insuperable. However, they were overcome owing to the courage and hard work of Lenin and his comrades. The paper was smuggled into Russia and illicitly distributed there. It quickly became popular with the workers. "The finest elements in the class-conscious proletariat sided with *Iskra*," Lenin noted with gratification. The workers them-

selves attested to this fact. One letter to the editor said: "I have shown *Iskra* to many comrades. It's almost in shreds and yet it is precious... It tells about our cause, all about our Russian cause... When you read it, you understand why the gendarmes and the police are afraid of us workers and of the intellectuals whose lead we follow."

Iskra successfully discharged its mission. It exposed opportunism, and rallied revolutionaries around Lenin. An important contribution to the effort to found a proletarian party of a new type and develop Marxism, and above all the teaching on the party, was made by Lenin in his book *What Is to Be Done? Burning Questions of Our Movement*, which was published in Stuttgart in 1902. In it, as in *Iskra*, Lenin attacked revisionism, social-reformism and the "Economists," and discussed crucial questions of party structure, strategy and policy. He contended that only a party equipped with advanced Marxist theory could carry on its role of the foremost fighter, of leader of the working class. He maintained that it was essential to propagate socialist ideas among the proletarian masses and outlined the concrete tasks facing the working class as the vanguard and leader in the movement to emancipate the toiling masses. Under Lenin's direction the *Iskra* editorial board drafted a party programme. Lenin himself drew up the party rules and formulated its organizational principles.

A particularly urgent question at that time, especially in view of the attitude adopted by the Bund (the General Jewish Workers' Union of Lithuania, Poland and Russia), was the question of the internationalist principle of the party's struc-

ture and activity. The Bundists arrogated to themselves the role of sole spokesman for Jewish workers, and, clinging to separatism, demanded the establishment of autonomous national Social-Democratic parties that would be independent of the RSDLP and only federated with each other. While condemning both anti-Semitism and narrow nationalism, Lenin pointed out that the Jewish question could be solved only together with the basic issues of the struggle for democracy and socialism. The Bund, he observed, was speculating with "the idea that the Jews form a separate nation," an idea which was Zionist, scientifically untenable and politically reactionary.

In his article "Does the Jewish Proletariat Need an 'Independent Political Party'?" Lenin criticized the Bundist approach. He wrote: "... in matters pertaining to the struggle against the autocracy, the struggle against the bourgeoisie of Russia as a whole, we must act as a single and centralized militant organization, have behind us the whole of the proletariat, without distinction of language or nationality, a proletariat whose unity is cemented by the continual joint solution of problems of theory and practice, of tactics and organization; and we must not set up organizations that would march separately, each along its own track; we must not weaken the force of our offensive by breaking up into numerous independent political parties; we must not introduce estrangement and isolation and then have to heal an artificially implanted disease with the aid of these notorious 'federation' plasters."

The RSDLP held its Second Congress in July-August 1903, first in Brussels, and then, because of police intervention, in London. In attendance

were 43 delegates from 26 organizations. Owing to the heterogeneous composition—besides staunch Iskraites, there were outright opportunists and waverers—a bitter struggle developed at the Congress, which focused on the Party programme and rules. Delegates greatly admired Lenin's unflagging zeal; he chaired many of the meetings, presented reports, drafted resolutions, and discussed matters with the delegates. M. N. Lyadov, a veteran Party member and a delegate from Saratov, summed up his observations as follows: "One felt one was dealing with a real party leader."

In fierce grapples with the "Economists," Bundists and other opportunists, Lenin and the Iskraites managed to put through their programme, which set as the immediate aim the overthrow of tsarism by means of a democratic revolution and as the ultimate aim the consummation of a socialist revolution, the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship and the building of socialism.

Heated arguments flared up over Lenin's report on the party rules. Lenin firmly upheld the principles of democratic centralism in party structure and activity, which would ensure party unity and discipline. "Every Party member is responsible for the Party, and *the Party is responsible for every one of its members*," he emphasized. The opportunists led by Martov assailed Lenin's principles of party organization, and proposed that party membership be open to all who wished to join, without demanding from them observance of the norms of party life and party discipline or active involvement in the work of party organizations.

The Second Congress of the RSDLP united the

revolutionary Marxist organizations and set up a working-class party on the basis of the ideological, political and organizational principles worked out by Lenin.

Meanwhile, at this Congress two trends within the Party were revealed. One of them, a revolutionary trend, was represented by Lenin and his supporters, who received a majority of votes at the elections to the leading party bodies and came to be called Bolsheviks. The other trend was opportunist (Mensheviks) and was headed by Martov, Plekhanov, Dan, Potresov and others.

The Bolsheviks had the qualities that a proletarian party of a new type should have. Addressing the meeting held in Moscow on July 13, 1923, marking the 70th anniversary of the Second RSDLP Congress, Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, said: "The outstanding role of this event in the history of the great struggle for the victory of the revolution and socialism is determined, if you put it in a nutshell, by the fact that at this Congress the Party of Bolsheviks was founded—our glorious Leninist Party.

"Looking back today at this past, remote but nonetheless close to us, we cannot but admire the deeds of Lenin and his comrades-in-arms who created our Party, the first party of a new type, and who led it, in defiance of hostile whirlwinds, through the barricades of 1905, to the revolution of February 1917, and from February 1917 to the victory of the Great October Revolution . . .

"Our Party has proved to be equal to the task. It succeeded in paving hitherto unknown ways from capitalism to socialism. It succeeded, having won the boundless confidence of the working

class, and all the working people, in creating a developed socialist society, a state of the whole people, bringing the world's largest country onto the high road of communist construction."

For Soviet Communists Lenin and those who fought and won victories together with him have always been and will remain an inspiring example. After Lenin's death, it has become a tradition, when Party membership cards are exchanged, to put Lenin's name on card No 1. This is not merely a symbolic act but an expression of the Soviet Communist Party's loyalty to the ideas of Leninism and its readiness to devote all its strength to the cause of carrying out Lenin's behests.

The Second RSDLP Congress marked a turning point in the Russian and the international working-class movement. In his report "The Second Congress of the RSDLP and its Historic Significance", at the meeting commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Congress, Mikhail Suslov, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said that "the emergence of the Bolshevik Party was an event of epoch-making significance ushering in a new stage in the development of the Russian and the world working-class movement and marking a decisive turn from the old Social-Democratic parties to a proletarian party of a new type on an international scale." For the first time in history the working class had an organization which was able, in the new historical conditions, in an epoch of great social upheavals and revolutions, to direct its struggle for social emancipation, for the triumph of communist ideals.

The proletarian party of a new type is Lenin's

great legacy to the world revolutionary movement and the builders of socialism and communism.

Shortly after the Second Congress the Mensheviks engineered what Martov called "an uprising against Leninism." They engaged in direct divisive tactics and obstructed the carrying out of the Congress decisions. Lenin exposed the schismatic, anti-party doings of the Mensheviks, and also of Trotsky who opposed Lenin's ideas on party organization and sided with the Mensheviks. In his *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*, which was published in Geneva in 1904, Lenin analyzed the work of the Second Congress, criticized Menshevik opportunism with regard to Party structure and developed his teaching on the proletarian party of a new type.

According to Lenin the proletarian party is the supreme form of working class organization, the vanguard and leader of the working class. As a union of persons having the same convictions, it comprises class-conscious workers dedicated to the communist cause and the best representatives of other sections of the working people. In all its work the party is guided by Marxism, which gives a scientific explanation of the laws of social development, and which shows the surest road to emancipation of the working people from social and national oppression and to socialism and communism. Firmly adhering to the Marxist method and teaching, it develops revolutionary theory and creatively applies it in its work.

As the organized detachment of the working class, the Party draws its strength from its ideological and organizational unity, from the joint resolve and action of all its organizations and members. It is built on the principles of democratic

centralism, which implies inner-party democracy, the active involvement of members in party affairs and collective leadership, on the one hand, and on the other, centralized structure, direction of party activity from one single centre, conscious and strict discipline that is binding on all members, and the subordination of the minority to the majority and of the lower organizations to the higher.

The proletarian party of a new type is profoundly internationalist in ideology and activity. Lenin's party emerged and developed as a party of genuine proletarian internationalists, integrating within its ranks advanced proletarians of every nationality. From its inception, the Bolshevik Party has been a part of the international working-class movement.

Lenin pointed out that a salient feature of this new proletarian party, an indispensable condition for its development and successful carrying out of the tasks before it, is the maintenance of close ties with the entire working class and with the toiling masses generally. He emphasized that the Communist Party must be truly communist in action as well as in name. And this, he said, depends both on the Party's composition and on "the men that lead it, and the content of its actions and its political tactics. Only this latter determines whether we really have before us a political party of the proletariat."

In evolving his theory about a proletarian party of a new type and in founding such a party, Lenin rendered an invaluable service to the world working class. The Party he founded, the Bolshevik Communist Party, has become a model for Marxists in all lands. The history of the Communist

and Workers' Parties of different countries shows that they derive their strength from their adherence to Lenin's ideological and organizational principles and the Leninist norms of party life.

STRATEGIST OF CLASS BATTLES

The popular revolution whose inevitable approach Lenin had many times forecasted in his writings, broke out on January 9, 1905, in St. Petersburg. On that day, which has come to be known as the Bloody Sunday, a peaceful demonstration of factory workers was fired on by tsarist troops. The incident deeply shocked the nation, and marked the beginning of revolutionary unrest in the country that lasted for more than two years.

As soon as Lenin, then in political emigration in Geneva, learned what had happened in the Russian capital, he wrote a series of articles beginning with "Revolution in Russia." In them he discussed the substance and motive forces of this revolution, which proved to be the first popular bourgeois-democratic revolution in the epoch of imperialism. Besides defining Bolshevik strategy and tactics, he attacked Menshevik opportunism, exposed the conciliatory attitude of bourgeois liberalism which was seeking to make a deal with tsarism, and exposed the inconsistency of the ideological platform and the adventurism of the activities of the petty-bourgeois party of "Socialist Revolutionaries" (the SR's).

Lenin's ideas and programme of Bolshevik action in the conditions of revolution were reflected in the decisions of the RSDLP's Third Congress held in London in the spring of 1905. As some

delegates noted, Lenin was the "heart and brain of the Congress." Pursuing their divisive tactics, the Mensheviks declined to attend the Congress and held a parallel conference in Geneva.

Shortly after the Congress, Lenin wrote his *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, in which he analyzed the main difference between the decisions of the Bolshevik congress and of the Menshevik conference, and summing up the experience of struggle showed the correctness of the Bolshevik line. For Bolsheviks this book provided a guide to action; the Bolshevik V. V. Adoratsky, commenting on its significance, said: "We all felt that the interests of the development of the revolution could not have been upheld more correctly, more consistently and with greater talent than was done by Vladimir Ilyich."

In this book and in other writings Lenin developed the Marxist theory of revolution, drawing the important conclusion that in the context of social development the working class possessed a power far greater than its numerical strength would suggest. He elaborated the idea of proletarian leadership in revolution and outlined the relationship between democratic and socialist revolutions. Under imperialism, which is characterized by acute antagonisms between labour and capital, with the bourgeoisie joining the reactionaries, Lenin pointed out, it is the working class that stands forth as the most consistent fighter for democracy. Proletarian hegemony ensures the full victory of democratic revolution, while holding out the prospect of its development into a socialist one. The chief ally of the working class in a democratic revolution is the peasantry that

seeks to abolish landlordism and all survivals of feudal serfdom. Not the bourgeoisie's advent to power, but the institution of a revolutionary democratic authority—the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry—creates conditions for the full victory of a democratic revolution and paves the way for the immediate transition to the struggle for socialism. In this connection Lenin praised the Soviets of Workers' Deputies, the Soviets of Soldiers' Deputies and the Peasant Revolutionary Committees which the people set up in the course of the first Russian revolution. He described the Soviets as the embryo of genuine people's power.

Lenin advanced what was, in effect, the idea of a united democratic front, a "Left-bloc policy." He insisted on "the unification of all the genuinely revolutionary forces, of all the forces that are already operating in a revolutionary fashion." In a letter entitled "Our Tasks and the Soviet of Workers' Deputies," Lenin said that not only workers but seamen, soldiers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals, office employees, in short, "every group of the population" prepared to strive for a democratic programme, for the betterment of the life of all the working masses, should be represented in the Soviets.

"We," Lenin wrote, "are not afraid of so broad and mixed a composition—indeed, we want it, for unless the proletariat and the peasantry unite and unless the Social Democrats and revolutionary democrats form a fighting alliance, the great Russian revolution cannot be fully successful. It will be a temporary alliance that is to fulfil clearly defined immediate practical tasks, while the more important interests of the socialist proletariat, its fundamental interests and ultimate goals, will

be steadfastly upheld by the independent and consistently principled Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party . . . The essential thing is that the main, purely proletarian body of the provisional revolutionary government should be strong."

Lenin considered the "Left-bloc policy" an important question of principle. Whether in a revolution or in parliamentary struggle, it means joint action by the working class and non-proletarian segments of the working people and the petty bourgeoisie; the right and the duty of the Marxist proletarian party to guide the petty-bourgeois democratic parties; and proletarian leadership in the struggle waged by the entire revolutionary democracy against autocracy and the vacillating counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie. In the democratic movement, Lenin emphasized, it is necessary for the proletarian party to adopt this policy.

Lenin attached great significance to the work carried on by the proletariat and its party among the younger generation, and to their effort to draw the youth into the revolutionary movement led by the working class. In his articles "The Tasks of the Revolutionary Youth," and "The Student Movement and the Present Political Situation" he urged revolutionary Social Democrats to take an active part in the youth and student movement, to propagate within it the ideas of scientific socialism, to combat the influence of Right-wing and "Leftist" adventurists, to rally it around the working class and to secure joint action by the working-class and student youth. Contact with the proletariat, he observed, helps instill healthy revolutionary spirit among the student youth. Only under the guidance of the working class will

the student movement acquire determination and consistency.

Meanwhile, in the specific conditions obtaining during the 1905 revolution, Lenin maintained that only a popular nationwide armed uprising could depose the tsar and crush the resistance of tsarism's bureaucratic-police state machinery. He analyzed and argued the need for such forms of struggle as mass political strike and political demonstration and examined the relationship between strike and armed uprising.

The Mensheviks believed that in Russia too, as during earlier bourgeois revolutions in Western Europe, revolution should be directed by the bourgeoisie and should lead to the victory of the bourgeoisie. They spurned the idea of proletarian hegemony and denied the peasantry its revolutionary role. They were opposed to an armed uprising, which, they said, would alienate the bourgeoisie from revolution.

Equally fallacious was the approach taken by Trotsky. With borrowings from the German Social Democrat Parvus, Trotsky put together his so-called "theory of permanent revolution." The term "permanent revolution" was used by Marx and Engels when they attacked the idea of subordinating the working-class movement to the bourgeoisie in a bourgeois-democratic revolution and emphasized that the proletariat should advance beyond a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois democracy. Trotsky's "theory," however, had nothing in common with this, and, as he himself had admitted, it fundamentally differed from Lenin's thesis on developing the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one.

In Trotsky's writings, "permanency" does not

mean the phased development of revolution, it means the simultaneous tackling of all the political tasks confronting the proletariat. He maintained that the proletariat must at once depose tsarist autocracy, establish its own dictatorship, effect democratic reforms, remake society along socialist lines, ensure the victory of the revolution on a national scale, and promote it on an international plane. And, like the Mensheviks, he denied the peasantry's revolutionary role and the need for a worker-peasant alliance and rejected proletarian hegemony.

In place of painstaking effort to win the masses over to revolution, Trotsky was in effect calling for haphazard, unorganized and unprepared riots.

Confusing the aims of the two—democratic and socialist—phases of revolution, Trotsky advanced the formally "Leftist" but actually opportunistic, adventuristic slogan of "No tsar, but a workers' government." As Lenin said, "Trotsky's major mistake is that he ignores the bourgeois character of the revolution and has no clear conception of the transition from this revolution to the socialist revolution," and, "...he has never been able to form any definite views on the role of the proletariat in the Russian bourgeois revolution." Later, speaking ironically of Trotsky's "original" theory, Lenin remarked that "life has been bypassing this splendid theory."

With every month, in 1905, the revolution in Russia gained momentum. By autumn, the class struggle had reached an acute stage. The nationwide political strike in October forced the tsar to issue a manifesto that hypocritically proclaimed certain political liberties and announced the

formation of a parliamentary body with legislative functions—the State Duma.

Only then could Lenin safely return home from "hateful emigration." On November 8, 1905 he arrived in St. Petersburg. With characteristic vigour he directed the activities of both the Central and St. Petersburg Bolshevik Committees, preparations for an armed uprising, and the work of the editors of the newspapers *Vperyod*, *Novaya Zhizn* and *Proletary*. He gathered around *Novaya Zhizn* (New Life), the first legal Bolshevik paper which had close ties with party organizations and revolutionary workers, the party's best writers including M. S. Olminsky, V. V. Vorovsky, A. V. Lunacharsky and V. D. Bonch-Bruyevich; Maxim Gorky, father of proletarian literature, also wrote for the paper.

The culmination of the revolution was the December armed uprising in Moscow. But the odds were too great. The Moscow uprising was not supported by similar revolutionary actions in other cities, and it was quashed. A period of decline of the revolutionary movement set in, though there was fierce rearguard fighting.

The Fourth (Unity) Congress of the RSDLP, which both Bolsheviks and Mensheviks attended, was held in Stockholm in April 1906. Against fierce attacks by the Mensheviks, Lenin upheld the Bolshevik tactics in the revolution and elaborated upon its prospects. In his report on the agrarian question he argued that it was imperative to confiscate the landed estates and nationalize the land. This, he pointed out, accorded with the aspirations of the peasantry and the interests of the development of the revolution.

In the late summer of 1906 intensified police

persecution forced Lenin once again to leave Russia, this time for Finland.

In the spring of 1907 the RSDLP held in London its Fifth Congress, to discuss questions concerning the Party's attitude to bourgeois parties, its tactics in the State Duma and relations between the proletarian party and the trade unions. Gorky, who was present at the Congress, has left the following vivid portrait of Lenin as orator and as the tribune of the revolution. "Lenin," wrote Gorky, "did not try to invent fine phrases. He set things forth word by word, revealing each in its precise meaning, and with amazing ease. It is very difficult to convey the striking impression he made.

"His arm outstretched and slightly raised, as if he was weighing every word in his open palm, winnowing away his opponents' fine talk and replacing it with telling arguments, demonstrating the right and the duty of the working class to take its own way rather than follow, or even accompany the liberal bourgeoisie. All this was unusual, and it was said not as though coming from him, Lenin, but as the dictate of history. There was a monolithic completeness, directness and force in his speech, and his entire figure as he stood on the rostrum produced the impression of a classical statue with everything that was needed and not one unnecessary detail, not one embellishment. Indeed, if there were any, they could not be seen, being as natural as the two eyes in one's face or the five fingers on one's hand... His speech always produced the physical sensation of incontestable truth."

Though the first Russian revolution failed, it was of great historical significance, for it had

schooled the proletariat and the broad masses in the class struggle. Later Lenin called it the dress rehearsal for the Great October Revolution of 1917.

Having held out in the face of the revolutionary onslaught, tsarism now sought revenge. What Lenin called the hellishly difficult years of reaction began. Revolutionaries, and above all, Bolsheviki, were subjected to cruel reprisals. Hundreds were executed and thousands more were imprisoned or exiled or sentenced to penal servitude. Lenin had to flee Russia; in December 1907, dodging police sleuths, he walked, at great risk, across the as yet thin ice of the Gulf of Finland towards a place where a steamer was to pick him up and take to Stockholm. Nadezhda Krupskaya soon joined him, and together they left for Geneva to begin a second period in emigration that was to last for almost ten years. After a year in Switzerland, in late 1908 they moved to Paris. "It was difficult for us, after the revolution, to get used to life in emigration again," Krupskaya recollected later.

Here is an account of their stay in Geneva provided by a Swiss Social-Democratic leader: "The year is 1908. Lenin and his wife have just returned to Geneva and are living at 61, rue des Maraichers. The furniture of this tiny two-room flat consisted of two iron bedsteads, a rickety table covered with piles of magazines and brochures, a few kitchen utensils, three stools, and that was the lot.

"One day I arrived at the rue des Maraichers... to find Comrade Lenin helping his wife with the house-work...

"When his wife was not at home Comrade Lenin would go and have a meal for 80 centimes in a

small restaurant on the rue de Carouge, run by a Russian emigrée.

"... The political refugee Ulyanov, a man of remarkable intelligence, could speak and write German, English and French fluently.

"... He was a frequent visitor to the University library and the Lecture Society."

Interesting too is the recollection of Pal Petrovski, a young Hungarian worker, who attended gatherings of Russian emigre Social Democrats. He wrote:

"I visited them for the first time in 1908. There were about thirty people, most of them workers, gathered in the premises of a club for Russian emigrés. They were sitting round a table listening carefully to a simply-dressed man with a gingery beard.

"That's Vladimir Ilyich,' they explained to me.

"I had never seen Ilyich before. At the first glance there was nothing particularly striking about him. His clothes and small pointed beard were just the same as those worn by many French workers at that time. He would have not attracted anyone's attention in a factory or on the street. But here among the Russian emigrés it was obvious at once that Vladimir Ilyich was a leader. He was the person to whom everyone put their questions, from whom everyone expected an answer to difficult problems, who explained everything. He was always the centre of attention and was an acknowledged leader. You could see this immediately because all the members of the circle treated him with great affection and respect."

From Russia, meanwhile, came news about

the reprisals of reaction and of pessimism and confusion, especially among the intellectuals. The Mensheviks were panic-stricken and cried: "They should not have taken up arms." They now tried to adapt to tsarism by liquidating the revolutionary proletarian party and replacing it by a legal, in effect, non-party organization—for which they came to be known as the Liquidators.

Lenin described the Bolshevik approach as follows: "We knew how to work during the long years preceding the revolution. Not for nothing do they say we are as hard as rock. The Social Democrats have built a proletarian party which will not be disheartened by the failure of the first armed onslaught, will not lose its head, nor be carried away by adventures. That party is marching to socialism, without tying itself or its future to the outcome of any particular period of bourgeois revolutions. That is precisely why it is also free of the weaker aspects of bourgeois revolutions. And this proletarian party is marching to victory."

Belief in the ultimate victory of the revolution, coupled with an unflagging effort to win this victory, and political realism and optimism were ever characteristic of Lenin.

At this juncture Lenin believed that the main task was to preserve and consolidate the illegal proletarian party in Russia, to uphold the principles of Marxism and the party's programme and strategy, and to sum up the experience of the 1905-07 revolution. Lenin directed party conferences, Central Committee plenary meetings and a meeting of the enlarged editorial board of the newspaper *Proletary* held to chart the party line. He was the moving spirit behind the

RSDLP's central organ *Sotsial-Demokrat* which began to be published underground from February 1908. To teach theory to party workers, in 1911 Lenin organized at Longjumeau, outside Paris, a party school, where he gave more than fifty lectures.

He fought not only the Menshevik-Liquidators but also the "Left-wing" opportunists, the Otzovists, so called because they demanded that the Social Democrats recall ("otzvat" in Russian) their deputies from the State Duma. The Otzovists held that the party should renounce all legal forms of activity; this, if carried out, would mean renouncing ties with the masses.

And, finally, Lenin exposed the double-cross stand of Trotsky, who while declaring that he was with neither the Bolsheviks nor the Mensheviks, actually helped the Liquidators. "Trotsky," wrote Lenin, "follows in the wake of the Mensheviks, taking cover behind particularly sonorous phrases." And further: "Trotsky's particular task is to conceal liquidationism by throwing dust in the eyes of the workers." Of Trotsky's anti-party doings, Lenin said: "Trotsky behaves like a despicable careerist and factionalist. . . He pays lip-service to the Party and behaves worse than any other of the factionalists." And: "Trotsky groups all the enemies of Marxism. . . Trotsky unites all to whom ideological decay is dear."

Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, which appeared in 1909, played an exceptionally important role in routing the Liquidators and Otzovists ideologically, and in further developing Marxist philosophical thought. It provided a critical analysis of bourgeois idealist philosophy and

revisionist concepts. On the basis of the latest achievements and discoveries in the natural sciences, Lenin examined the main questions of dialectical materialism, showed that matter is an objective reality, which is inexhaustible, multiple in form and motion, and analysed various aspects of the theory of reflection and of the theory of knowledge. Of particular importance is what Lenin said about the relationship between social being and social consciousness and the class and gnosiological roots of various philosophies.

In the years that followed Lenin continued to devote great attention to philosophical problems. For a book on materialist dialectics, which he had planned to write, he amassed a wealth of material published later under the title *Philosophical Notebooks* (which eventually made up one whole volume in his *Collected Works*). Though he did not finish writing the book, the various notes and remarks are of tremendous significance and show Lenin's painstaking work to develop Marxist dialectics and to broaden comprehension of the laws and categories of Marxist materialistic philosophy.

It should be noted here that Lenin's contribution to Marxist philosophy is found not only in these two works, but in many other writings in which he elaborated upon the key precepts of dialectical and historical materialism and sociology and displayed an ability to apply dialectics to social analysis, party policy and the working-class struggle.

The agrarian question was always one of Lenin's major concerns. Many of his works deal with agrarian problems under capitalism, and the

role of the peasants in the working people's movement against social oppression.

He showed that capitalism meant ruin for a majority of the rural population and that only a socialist transformation of society could bring genuine freedom, well-being and cultural advance to the peasantry. He pointed out that the vital interests of the working class and working peasantry were identical, and proved that their firm unity was essential in the struggle for democracy. Lenin also explained that such a struggle could be successful only provided that the working class led the peasantry, a class which was disunited and vacillating because it consisted of working people who were also private owners, and whose social position was that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

In 1908 Lenin wrote his *Agrarian Programme of Social Democracy in the First Russian Revolution, 1905-07*. Drawing on the experience of that revolution, Lenin proved the necessity of confiscating big private landed estates and nationalizing all land, and the importance of these measures for involving the peasants in the struggle against tsarist autocracy and feudal survivals and for turning the bourgeois democratic revolution into a socialist revolution.

Lenin believed that nationalization of land would make it possible to create an agrarian system that would be very flexible from the standpoint of the transition to socialism and provide the best opportunities for the proletarian state to effect the transition to socialism in agriculture. He pointed out, however, that in countries, where the survivals of feudalism were not very pronounced and the traditional attachment of the

peasants to private property was relatively strong, agrarian reforms could be carried out without nationalization of all land.

Lenin never lost faith in the early advent of revolution, even in the darkest days of tsarist reaction. His optimism was fully confirmed when a new upsurge of the revolutionary movement started in late 1910.

The Sixth All-Russia Conference of the RSDLP was held in Prague in January 1912 under Lenin's direction. It was attended also by a group known as the pro-party Mensheviks, who believed it necessary to preserve a Marxist party in Russia. The conference expelled the Liquidators from the RSDLP, defined the party's tasks in the new situation of revolutionary upswing, and elected a new Central Committee. The conference greatly promoted the consolidation of the proletarian party as the leading force in Russia's working-class movement.

The legal Bolshevik paper *Pravda* (The Truth), which was started at Lenin's initiative and whose first issue came out in St. Petersburg on May 5, 1912, provided the Party with a powerful ideological weapon. In this paper, which served as the Party's tribune, as a militant Bolshevik organ that schooled a legion of working-class revolutionaries, Lenin discussed major social problems in and outside Russia, explained the Party's policies and propagated Marxism. As he said: "*Pravda* was more than a *workers' paper in name*; that is something any paper could call itself. It was a *workers' paper in fact* in its approach and in its working-class readership and in its contents in general, and more particularly in its numerous workers' dispatches (more than 17,000

were published—*Ed.*) and, finally, in the *support* given it by the workers. . .”

In the effort to win over the masses, Lenin attached great importance to the work done by the Bolsheviks who were members of the State Duma. He took particular care to instruct the Bolshevik deputies in how to use the parliamentary rostrum in the interests of the revolutionary movement. He emphasized that they must constantly keep in mind the decisions and directives of the Central Committee, obey it and subordinate their activities in the Duma to the overall tasks of the party and combine them with other, more decisive, non-parliamentary, forms of revolutionary struggle.

To be closer to Russia and more efficiently to direct the activities of the Central Committee's Russian Bureau, *Pravda* and the Bolshevik group in the Duma in June 1912 Lenin moved to the Polish city of Cracow. Here he stayed till the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914. Soon after he and his wife again moved to neutral Switzerland. During the war they were almost penniless though they had always lived in the most modest conditions. Lenin never complained, but once he wrote in a letter: "As for myself, I need to earn something. Otherwise we'll starve to death! Everything's so hellishly dear, and there's nothing to live on."

Lenin had long warned of the impending battle between the imperialist predators for a redivision of the world. "There's going to be a war. That's for certain," he wrote. "The capitalist world has reached a stage of putrid decomposition; already people are beginning to be poison-

ed with the venom of chauvinism and nationalism."

At its congresses the Second International had discussed the question of struggle against imperialist war and militarism and passed many fine-sounding resolutions pointing out the need to avert a world war or to seize the opportunity provided by the political crisis that would inevitably erupt should war break out, to struggle for a socialist revolution. However, when war did break out, the Second International's opportunist leaders, including the Mensheviks, reneged on the decisions of the socialist congresses, and, siding with their respective imperialist governments, adopted a social-chauvinist position. Some did this openly, while others, including Kautsky and Trotsky and their supporters, declared allegiance, as Lenin put it, to "Marxism in word" and showed "subordination to opportunism in deed," disguising their social-chauvinism behind beautiful phrases. This, Lenin said, meant "the Second International is dead, overcome by opportunism."

Only the Bolsheviks led by Lenin and a few groups of socialist internationalists, such as Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Klara Zetkin in Germany, D. Blagoev and K. Kabakchiev in Bulgaria, and Fritz Platten in Switzerland, adhered to revolutionary positions. Lenin held aloft the banner of proletarian internationalism, declared war on war, proclaimed the slogan of turning the imperialist war into a civil war against the imperialist governments, and exposed the social-chauvinism of the leaders of the Second International.

In August 1914 Lenin presented his theses on

the tasks of revolutionary Social Democracy in the war in Europe, which were adopted as a resolution by the Berne group of Bolshevik emigrants. Smuggled into Russia, this document gained wide currency and was discussed and approved by the Central Committee's Russian Bureau, the Bolshevik group in the State Duma and party organizations. Despite war-time difficulties, Lenin started the systematic publication of the paper *Sotsial-Demokrat*, contacted party organizations inside Russia and directed their work. On November 1, 1914, in *Sotsial-Demokrat* No.33, the first war-time issue, appeared as the leading article an RSDLP Central Committee appeal, which Lenin had drawn up, entitled "The War and Russian Social Democracy." In subsequent articles and pamphlets, including "On the National Pride of the Great Russians," "The Collapse of the Second International," and "Socialism and War," Lenin defined the war-time strategy and tactics of the Bolsheviks and international revolutionary Social Democracy, and also discussed crucial theoretical issues.

A major contribution to Marxism was Lenin's teaching on imperialism. Even at the beginning of the century Lenin had noted new phenomena in capitalism's development. During the war he made a comprehensive study of imperialism's economics and politics. His *Notebooks on Imperialism*, a work of great scholarship, contains quotations from 148 books and 232 articles in Russian, German, French, English and other languages, and along with outlines, synopses and notes add up to a volume of more than 1,000 pages. In 1916 he wrote *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. Of programmatic importance were his

articles "On the Slogan for a United States of Europe" and "A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism," in which, as in a number of his other writings, he revealed the essence of imperialism as monopoly and state-monopoly capitalism, described its main features, and showed how the law of the uneven development of capitalism operated in the imperialist epoch. He demonstrated that imperialism exacerbates to the extreme the contradictions characteristic of capitalism, creates the material requisites for the victory of socialism, and paves the way for proletarian revolution.

Bourgeois scholars, social reformists and revisionists of Marxism have long tried to prove that in the imperialist stage capitalism becomes "organized" and that the greater role played by the imperialist state as economic regulator, along with elements of planning and the integrative processes occurring in the imperialist world, would transform capitalism into socialism. Such concepts were demolished by Lenin when he wrote: "...the erroneous bourgeois reformist assertion that monopoly capitalism or state-monopoly capitalism is *no longer* capitalism, but can now be called 'state socialism' and so on, is very common. The trusts, of course, never provided, do not now provide, and cannot provide complete planning. But however much they do plan, however much the capitalist magnates calculate in advance the volume of production on a national and even on an international scale, and however much they systematically regulate it, we still remain under *capitalism*—at its new stage, it is true, but still capitalism, without a doubt. The 'proximity' of *such* capitalism to socialism should serve genuine rep-

representatives of the proletariat as an argument proving the proximity, facility, feasibility and urgency of the socialist revolution, and not at all as an argument for tolerating the repudiation of such a revolution and the efforts to make capitalism look more attractive, something which all reformists are trying to do."

With his analysis of imperialism Lenin enriched the theory of socialist revolution. He advanced the idea of the world revolution as an integral process, noting at the same time the inevitable ripening of revolution at different times in different countries by virtue of the law of capitalism's uneven economic and political development in the imperialist stage. Lenin drew the conclusion, which is of tremendous theoretical and political importance, that socialism could win initially in a few or even in one single capitalist country. The world socialist revolution, he said, constitutes a whole epoch that combines the struggle for socialism waged by the proletariat and its allies with a series of democratic movements, including national-liberation. In pointing out that imperialism meant all-out reaction, Lenin showed the increasing importance of the fight for democracy; he emphasized that the task before the working class and its party was to know how to combine the struggle for democracy with the struggle for a socialist revolution, with the former being subordinated to the latter.

Lenin paid much attention to developing a theory and a programme and policy of the Communist Party on the national question. Before the war he wrote *Critical Remarks on the National Question* and *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*, and during the war *The Socialist Re-*

volution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination and *The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up*.

He explained the importance of the national question, and at the same time showed that this question was subordinate to socialism's supreme interests. He argued the need for the full equality of nations, underscored the right of the oppressed colonial and dependent peoples to self-determination (including secession and independent statehood), and simultaneously called attention to the internationalist principles of the working-class movement and proletarian organizations. He pointed out that it was essential for working people of all nationalities to unite in their fight against tsarism and capitalism in order to achieve social and national emancipation and establish a close voluntary alliance of peoples. Finally, he proposed the setting up of a worldwide front of the proletariat and oppressed nations against their common foe—imperialism—and stressed the importance of giving the most resolute support to progressive national movements.

Lenin was firmly opposed to racialism and chauvinism. He attacked bourgeois nationalism and the attempts to place one nation above others and secure privileges to it, to divide working people of different nationalities from one another, to conceal class contradictions and sacrifice the interests of the world-wide movement for emancipation to the interests wrongly understood, of one or another nation. He wrote: "Bourgeois nationalism and proletarian internationalism—these are the two irreconcilably hostile trends that correspond to the two great class camps throughout the capitalist world, and

express the *two* policies (nay, the two world outlooks) in the national question."

The First World War, which brought the peoples untold suffering, exacerbated imperialism's contradictions to the extreme. A revolutionary situation developed in many countries. As Lenin had foreseen, Russia proved to be the weakest link in the chain of world imperialism. The bourgeois-democratic revolution that broke out in Russia in February 1917 overthrew the tsar and became the prologue to the Great October Socialist Revolution. Lenin's foresight was truly astounding; indeed world history knows of no other case where revolutionary practice would have so brilliantly and unerringly confirmed theoretical prevision.

LEADER OF A REVOLUTION THAT USHERED IN A NEW ERA

Those who were fortunate enough to witness what Lenin did in the times of social upheavals, agreed that he was a born revolutionary. Lenin dedicated all his life to the attainment of the great humanitarian aim of freeing the working masses from social and national oppression. The road lay through a social revolution which he described as a profound, difficult and complex science. And he himself was a great master of this science. He directed the revolutionary battles with extraordinary skill. Veteran Bolshevik V. A. Karpinsky wrote the following about Lenin as a revolutionary leader: "Unerringly determining the alignment of the class forces and the aims that each class sought, he *foresaw* developments,

correctly charted party policy and tactics, boldly advanced new slogans, and even named the latest possible day on which the Party must mount the decisive action." The entire course of the Great October Socialist Revolution demonstrates that.

As soon as he learned of the February bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia, Lenin set about charting the tasks of the working class and its party. In his *Letters from Afar* he formulated the basic principles of the party's new policy and advanced the task of striving for a triumphant socialist revolution.

The February revolution brought about the extraordinary situation of dual power. In St. Petersburg, renamed Petrograd, and other cities, the masses, profiting by the experience of the first Russian revolution of 1905, established the Soviets. On their part, the bourgeois and landlord parties set up their provisional government as the organ of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The revolution had roused to political activity tens of millions of people, mostly from petty bourgeoisie vacillating between the bourgeoisie and the working class. As a result, many of the Soviets, including the Petrograd Soviet, were dominated by the petty-bourgeois parties of the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries, who did not believe that socialism could triumph in Russia and did not want the revolution to go any further. They in effect made the Soviets yield full power to the bourgeois Provisional Government, which was later joined by representatives of the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries. The Socialist Revolutionary Kerensky even became prime minister.

But this did not alter the bourgeois character of the government which continued to pursue an anti-popular, imperialist policy.

What was the proletarian party to do in such a situation? Lenin furnished a clear-cut, scientifically-founded answer, by working out a concrete plan of action to accomplish a victorious socialist revolution.

Lenin returned from emigration to Russia on April 16, 1917. He was given a rousing welcome in Petrograd by thousands of workers and soldiers. At the railway station he made a brief speech which he concluded with these words: "Long live the socialist revolution!" thereby determining the further development of the revolution.

On the evening of that same day he addressed party workers and explained his views on the obtaining situation. "One experienced an extraordinary feeling, which is hard to convey in words, on seeing Lenin, the founder of our party, so near at hand," recalled A. A. Andreyev, who was present at the meeting. "How many times had we Bolsheviks in the underground movement dreamed of seeing and hearing Lenin in person, and now, at last, this had come true." Everything that Lenin said was memorable, because it was "novel, unusual, fresh, interesting and inspiring... Wings seemed to sprout from our shoulders."

The next morning at a meeting of Bolshevik delegates to the All-Russia Conference of the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies held at the moment, Lenin presented a report entitled "The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution," which he later also delivered at a joint assembly of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks

at the Tauride Palace. A summary of his report was published in *Pravda* and it has since become known as the *April Theses*. This document sets out a clear-cut programme of action for the party and the working class and its allies in the effort to transform the bourgeois-democratic revolution into a socialist one. "The specific feature of the present situation in Russia," the theses said, "is that the country is *passing from* the first stage of the revolution—which, owing to the insufficient class-consciousness and organization of the proletariat, placed power in the hands of the bourgeoisie—to its *second* stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the poorest sections of the peasants."

The stupendous prospects that had opened up and the emergence of many new theoretical and tactical problems led to a debate within the Party. L. B. Kamenev, A. I. Rykov, G. L. Pyatakov and their handful of followers opposed the *April Theses* on the ground that Russia was still not ripe for a socialist revolution. But the majority of the Party members supported Lenin's line and rallied to his platform.

In his "Letters on Tactics," "On Dual Power," and "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution" (Draft Platform for the Proletarian Party) and in his reports and speeches at the Seventh (April) All-Russia Conference of the RSDLP (Bolsheviks), Lenin outlined the strategy and tactics in the struggle for a triumphant socialist revolution.

In Lenin's view the bourgeois revolution in Russia could be considered completed, insofar as power, the crucial issue of revolution, had passed into the hands of the bourgeoisie. Such basic

issues of the bourgeois-democratic revolution as confiscation of the landed estates and the abolition of national oppression still awaited solution, but the Provisional Government showed no intention of tackling them. Only a socialist revolution could do that, and only a socialist revolution could give the people peace which was the most urgent question at that time.

In mapping out the course for a socialist revolution, Lenin took into consideration the fact that Russia had the material and socio-political requisites for it to succeed. Though economically it was far behind the leading capitalist states, Russia was an imperialist power with a highly concentrated industry, developing capitalist monopolies, and, owing to the war, an emerging state-monopoly capitalism. It had a strong proletariat, steeled in class struggles and led by the Communist Party. Moreover, Russia's proletariat had a powerful ally in the millions upon millions of toiling peasants.

Lenin was the first to recognize the Soviets created by the revolutionary endeavour of the working class as the form of government of proletarian dictatorship in Russia. This was of immense importance for accomplishing a socialist revolution and represented the further development of the Marxist teaching on the proletarian state and on the forms of society's political organization in the period of transition from capitalism to communism. Lenin put forward the slogan "All Power to the Soviets!"

This, Lenin wrote, "means radically reshaping the entire old state apparatus, that bureaucratic apparatus which hampers everything democratic. It means removing this apparatus and substitut-

ing for it a new, popular one, i.e., a truly democratic apparatus of Soviets, i.e., the organized and armed majority of the people—the workers, soldiers and peasants. It means allowing the majority of the people initiative and independence not only in the election of deputies, but also in state administration, in effecting reforms and various other changes."

Lenin evolved a programme for radical social changes, a programme of action for a future Soviet government. The programme called for the following: immediate proposal to all the belligerents that they conclude peace on just and democratic terms; confiscation of landed estates and nationalization of all the land; nationalization of the banks and major industries; introduction of statewide workers' control over the manufacture and distribution of produce; abolition of national oppression and the granting to all nations of the right to self-determination, and resolute and consistent struggle against landlord and capitalist counter-revolution. All these demands expressed the vital interests of the broad masses and rallied them for the fight to establish Soviet power and effect the transition to socialism.

The motive forces of the socialist revolution were the proletariat and the poorest peasantry—classes that had the most interest in consummating the revolution. This was the view held by the Bolsheviks whose strategy envisaged an alliance between these two forces, with the working class playing the role of leader. At the same time Lenin maintained that the socialist revolution should involve the broadest segments of the people, and that the party must rally around itself all revolutionary democratic forces, espe-

cially since the socialist revolution in Russia had also to tackle problems which the bourgeois democratic revolution had left unsolved. Lenin put forward the task, which the Bolshevik Party successfully carried out, of directing to a single aim—that of overthrowing imperialism—all the currents of the revolutionary movement: the struggle of the working class for socialism; the nationwide popular struggle for peace; the peasantry's movement for land; and the fight waged by Russia's oppressed peoples for liberation.

In the conditions of dual power then obtaining in Russia, the call of "All Power to the Soviets!" was not a call for an immediate armed uprising to depose the Provisional Government. For, Lenin explained, to overthrow this government by force would mean to come out against the Soviets which, led by the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries, had made a deal with the Provisional Government and were supporting it. But there existed a real possibility of effecting a peaceful transfer of all power to the Soviets, which relying on the resolve and strength of an armed nation, represented the majority of the population. Indeed, if the Soviets announced that they intended to assume full power, the capitalists and landed gentry could do nothing to prevent it. "What really mattered was that arms were in the hands of the people," Lenin wrote, "and that there was no coercion of the people from without. That is what opened up and ensured a peaceful path for the progress of the revolution." This path, he said, envisaged, following the transfer of all power to the Soviets, "a peaceful struggle of parties inside the Soviets... Power could pass peacefully from one party to

another..." The Bolsheviks believed that educational work and especially experience would lead the masses to transfer their allegiance from the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries to the Communists who expressed their vital interests and whom they would entrust with state power.

While guiding the work of the party in accordance with the idea of peaceful development of the revolution, Lenin at the same time emphasized that it was always possible that the political situation in the country might change abruptly, in which case an armed uprising would be necessary. And even in the case of peaceful transition the revolutionary forces must have sufficient strength to ensure this transition and to provide the Soviets with armed safeguards. Thus, the Bolsheviks worked to mobilize the armed forces for revolution; they formed and trained the volunteer Red-Guard detachments of revolutionary workers and strove to win the army over to the side of the revolution.

Lenin's idea of peaceful development of the revolution and the party's consistent implementation of this line represented a contribution both to Marxist theory and to the revolutionary practice of the international working-class movement. The bourgeois ideologists' assertion that Lenin and the Bolsheviks had thirsted for blood and violence, for civil war, as the only way to power, is a malicious slander. Long before the October Revolution, Lenin wrote: "The working class would, of course, prefer to take power *peacefully*." And when, in 1917, the peaceful transfer of power appeared to be a real possibility, Lenin called the opportunity "extremely valuable" and "extremely rare in history" and urged the Com-

munists to use it and even strike a compromise with the other parties for the sake of ensuring the victory of socialism. Thus, the Bolsheviks sought to evade a civil war. Indeed, as Lenin said, "an immediate transfer of all power to the Soviets would make civil war in Russia impossible."

Led by Lenin the Bolshevik Party carried out large-scale political and organizational work among the masses. Lenin directed the activities of the Party Central Committee and edited *Pravda*, now the party's central organ. In the four months between April and the July events he wrote more than 170 articles, pamphlets, draft resolutions for Bolshevik conferences and Central Committee meetings, and appeals. He spoke at rallies of factory workers and soldiers, and he addressed the First All-Russia Congress of Peasants' Deputies and the First All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. As one man who attended a meeting at the Putilov works recollected: "It was as if everything that the workers had pent up inside them was being voiced by Lenin. Everything that each one of us had thought and felt but could not find the words for or the opportunity to express clearly and fully to a comrade, everything suddenly took shape and came out." The truth of history as interpreted by Lenin and his own ideas and theories which he forcefully presented in his speeches and writings came home with irrefragable force to the party rank and file and through them to the masses, rousing them to fight for victory of the socialist revolution.

Each day brought new proof of the correctness of the policy of revolution which Lenin had chart-

ed and which the Bolshevik Party was carrying out. This was particularly clear during the political crises of April, June and July 1917, when popular discontent found expression in peaceful demonstrations against the government. Lenin called them "something considerably more than a demonstration, but less than a revolution." The masses were impelled towards revolution through participation in revolutionary actions.

Developments in July marked a turning point in the revolution. On July 3, in Petrograd, mass political demonstrations of workers and soldiers were held—for that time this was nothing out of the ordinary. The demonstrators put forth an urgent demand: "All Power to the Soviets!" The demand was voiced again the next day during a mammoth demonstration more than half a million strong. The Provisional Government, which by that time had managed to move counter-revolutionary troops into the capital, met the marchers with armed force, thus starting a fierce onslaught against the revolution. There were mass reprisals against the workers, soldiers and peasants. Punitive squads were sent out and the premises of the Central and Petersburg Committees of the Bolshevik Party and also of the *Pravda* editorial offices were ransacked. With the aid of provocateurs Lenin was falsely accused of high treason, and the Provisional Government ordered his arrest and arraignment for trial. As police spies searched for him, the Central Committee decided that he should go into hiding. On July 6 Lenin went underground for the last time for a period lasting more than three months.

Lenin had to leave Petrograd. At first he lived

in a hayloft on the shore of a large lake near the Razliv station not far from the capital, where N. A. Yemelyanov, a worker-revolutionary, owned a small cottage. In this hayloft, which could be reached by means of a very steep ladder, Lenin had, besides a bed, a small table and two chairs. However, even this was thought too risky and it was decided that Lenin should move to a hut on the other side of the lake, where Finnish peasants came to make hay. The hut itself was constructed of branches and thatched with straw. Scythes and rakes lay nearby and a soot-covered pot hung over a camp fire from a couple of supporting stakes. Lenin, who had shaved off his beard and moustache, was provided with an identity card made out in the name of Konstantin Petrovich Ivanov, a worker at the Sestroretsk arsenal.

This was a remote, desolate place. To reach it one first travelled by boat for about four kilometres across the lake and then went on foot along a narrow, winding path leading towards the hut. A small clearing, a kind of green arbour, was made in the thick bushes, and here two tree stumps served as table and chair. Lenin called this his "green study" and it was here that he lived and worked all through the summer of 1917 and discussed questions of party activity in that complex period of revolutionary development with other party leaders whom Yemelyanov or some member of his family would guide to the spot. With autumn it grew colder and riskier and Lenin secretly went to Finland. There he continued to maintain close contact with the party Central Committee and receive through diverse channels information on party activity, the

plans of the reactionaries and the development of the revolutionary process.

"After the July days," Lenin recalled later, "thanks to the extremely solicitous attention with which the Kerensky government honoured me, I was obliged to go underground. Of course, it was the workers who sheltered people like us. . .

"My thoughts had been revolving around the political significance of those events, weighing the role they played in the general course of events, analyzing the situation that caused this zigzag in history and the situation it would create, and how we ought to change our slogans and alter our party apparatus to adapt it to the changed situation."

In conditions of revolutionary ferment, at a time when the further trend of political developments was barely discernible, Lenin was able with astounding accuracy to grasp the substance of the moment and chart the party's tasks and tactics in the new situation. In his theses *The Political Situation*, written immediately after the July events, he drew the following important conclusions: dual power had come to an end; the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie had virtually seized all power; the Mensheviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries had definitely defected to the camp of counter-revolution, and the call of "All Power to the Soviets!," which was a call for the peaceful transfer of power, had become obsolete and must for the time being be laid aside. Without abandoning the effort to set up a Republic of Soviets, the party now had to prepare the masses for an armed uprising, utilizing to that end every possible form of legal and illegal activity and every opportunity to organize

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the masses. In other essays and articles that followed, such as "On Slogans," "An Answer," "Constitutional Illusions," "The Beginning of Bonapartism," and "Lessons of the Revolution," Lenin elaborated upon the foregoing points.

This is one more example showing Lenin's ability to go straight to the heart of the matter in analyzing complex social phenomena, to foresee the future course of events, and to work out a realistic party policy at a crucial moment of the revolution. Lenin formulated his basic conclusion as follows: "This is the objective situation: either complete victory for the military dictatorship, or victory for the workers' armed uprising; the latter victory is only possible when the insurrection coincides with a deep, mass upheaval against the government and the bourgeoisie caused by economic disruption and the prolongation of the war... The aim of the insurrection can only be to transfer power to the proletariat, supported by the poor peasants, with a view to putting our Party programme into effect."

Lenin outlined a programme for the party in this new stage of the revolution. And the Sixth RSDLP(B) Congress, held in late July 1917, mapped out the course of preparing for an armed uprising.

While in hiding, Lenin completed his book *The State and Revolution* and wrote two pamphlets entitled *The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It* and *Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?* They are of great theoretical and practical importance, for in them Lenin outlined the basic principles of the party's policy in the struggle to effect a victorious socialist revolution and establish the state of the dictatorship of the

proletariat. He also gave a detailed analysis of imperialism, elaborated several basic concepts concerning state-monopoly capitalism, developed the idea about the blending of the democratic and socialist goals of the proletariat and its allies under imperialism, presented a programme of struggle against monopoly capitalism, and outlined plans for the establishment of a worker-led revolutionary democratic regime as the essential condition for the remaking of society along socialist lines. He pointed out the need to introduce a system for democratic control of the state's economic affairs in the interests of the masses and with the participation of the masses, and to nationalize the biggest monopolies, the banks and the key industries, emphasizing that these measures were not simply democratic reforms but changes of a revolutionary-democratic nature and that to carry them out it was necessary to establish a "revolutionary dictatorship of the democracy" led by the revolutionary proletariat.

In Lenin's opinion such revolutionary-democratic changes were in themselves a step towards socialism. "We," he said, "cannot be revolutionary democrats in the twentieth century and in a capitalist country if *we fear* to advance towards socialism." The objective development of history is such that "it is *impossible*" to advance from state-monopoly capitalism "without advancing to socialism." To attain genuine revolutionary democracy, true democrats must "march in very close alliance with the proletariat, supporting it in its struggle as the only thoroughly revolutionary class."

At the same time, however, Lenin emphasized that the most serious democratic reforms, if

undertaken within the framework of capitalism, would still not mean a transition to socialism. Combatting social-reformist and anarchistic views, Lenin upheld and further developed the thesis of Marx and Engels about the need to carry out a socialist revolution and establish a proletarian dictatorship, the need to break up the old bourgeois state machinery.

Lenin defined the tasks that would face the working class when it came to power. Using the Marxist approach Lenin discussed the problems of the transition period from capitalism to socialism, examined the role of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and developed the Marxist thesis on socialism and communism as the initial and the highest phase respectively of the communist socio-economic formation.

Lenin summed up the experience of the revolution in Russia and analyzed the forms and methods of struggle. In such articles as "On Compromises," "One of the Fundamental Issues of the Revolution," "The Russian Revolution and Civil War," and "The Tasks of the Revolution" he discussed the possibility of revolution and the conditions needed for it to develop.

By mid-September 1917 Lenin once again set forth the task of making preparations for an armed uprising. Fully aware of his responsibility to the party and the people and to history for the decisions taken Lenin in his famous letters to the Central, Petersburg and Moscow Committees of the party known as "The Bolsheviks Must Assume Power" and "Marxism and Insurrection" and also in his essay "The Crisis Has Matured" gave a comprehensive analysis of the alignment of class forces in Russia and throughout the

world and stated his conclusion that a nationwide crisis had erupted. Led by the heroic Russian proletariat, the millions of poor peasants had risen up against capitalist rule, they had the majority of the soldiers on their side. In the struggle against the bourgeoisie and landlords the working people of all nations and nationalities inhabiting Russia had rallied around the proletariat. Conditions developed in the country under which a successful armed uprising to overthrow the bourgeois government and place the working class, the Soviets, in power could take place.

"To be successful," Lenin wrote, "insurrection must rely not upon conspiracy and not upon a party, but upon the advanced class. That is the first point. Insurrection must rely upon *a revolutionary upsurge of the people*. That is the second point. Insurrection must rely upon that *turning-point* in the history of the growing revolution when the activity of the advanced ranks of the people is at its height, and when the *vacillations* in the ranks of the enemy and *in the ranks of the weak, half-hearted and irresolute friends of the revolution* are strongest. That is the third point."

After a careful analysis of the situation inside the country, Lenin concluded that all the objective conditions needed for a successful armed insurrection were present:

"We have the following of the majority of a *class*, the vanguard of the revolution, the vanguard of the people, which is capable of carrying the masses with it.

"We have the following of the *majority* of the people...

"We are in the advantageous position of a party that knows for certain which way to go at a time when *imperialism as a whole* and the Menshevik and Socialist Revolutionary bloc as a whole are vacillating in an incredible fashion.

"Our victory is assured."

Lenin regarded what he called the "Bolshevization" of the Soviets, that is, the winning by the Bolsheviks of an elected majority in the Soviets, as essential for victory of the revolution as this would enable the Party to once again issue the call of "All Power to the Soviets!" which in September-October 1917 became a call for an armed uprising to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat which would be allied with the non-proletarian segments of the working people.

"The Bolsheviks," Lenin emphasized, "can and *must* take state power into their own hands." Whereas, prior to the July events, Lenin had condemned the Left-opportunist and adventuristic cries for an armed insurrection, now he criticized those who underestimated the importance of armed insurrection and of its military-technical preparation, who failed to understand the urgent need for such an insurrection.

Early in October 1917 Lenin secretly returned to Petrograd from Vyborg to personally direct preparations for the uprising. He took up lodgings in a flat in a working-class neighbourhood, which had been provided for him by the party activist M. V. Fofanova. There Lenin wrote a document of paramount importance, which for reasons of secrecy he called *Advice of an Onlooker*. In it he set out the concrete tasks of organizing and conducting armed insurrection, which "is a *special* form of political struggle, one subject to

special laws." He referred to the Marxist principles that characterized an uprising as an art:

"(1) *Never play* with insurrection, but when beginning it realize firmly that you must *go all the way*.

"(2) Concentrate a *great superiority of forces* at the decisive point and at the decisive moment, otherwise the enemy, who has the advantage of better preparation and organization, 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* successes, however small (one might say hourly, if it is the case of one town), and at all costs retain '*moral superiority*.'"

Lenin's plan for insurrection, though taking into account the countrywide alignment of class forces, concentrated on scoring a decisive victory in Petrograd. It called for combined operations by armed workers, sailors and soldiers, the formation of shock detachments and the capture of such key points as the telegraph and telephone offices, the railway stations, the bridges over the Neva, government buildings, the officer cadet schools and the army headquarters.

On October 23 Lenin addressed a secret gathering of the Bolshevik Central Committee with a report analyzing the obtaining situation in the country. On his suggestion a resolution to launch an armed uprising was adopted, and the Central

Committee formed a Political Bureau, with Lenin at its head, to direct the insurrection. On October 29 the Central Committee held an enlarged meeting together with Party activists, at which Lenin spoke forcefully on the need for thorough preparation for the armed uprising.

Kamenev and Zinoviev were opposed to the uprising. Failing to win support for their position in the Central Committee, they published in a non-Bolshevik paper a statement, in which, contrary to the Central Committee line, they defended their point of view and thus made known the Committee's secret resolution on the uprising. As soon as he learned of this, Lenin, in a "Letter to Bolshevik Party Members," vehemently denounced the betrayal and capitulation and asked that both Kamenev and Zinoviev be expelled from the party.

Meanwhile Trotsky adopted a totally erroneous stand. It is all the more necessary to stress this, as bourgeois historians have tried to portray him as almost the leader of the October uprising.

Actually, it was only in July 1917 that Trotsky was admitted to membership in the Bolshevik Party. And even then he had not sided completely with Lenin and the Bolsheviks. He himself had said: "I cannot call myself a Bolshevik... We cannot be demanded to accept Bolshevism." Earlier Trotsky and his followers had opposed Lenin's theory of imperialism, and questioned Lenin's conclusion that a socialist revolution could win, initially, in one separate country. After the February Revolution Trotsky continued to adhere to his anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist "theory of permanent revolution." Like the Mensheviks, he asserted that Russia was not

ripe for victory of socialist revolution. As for the planned armed insurrection, he insisted that it be postponed till after the Second Congress of Soviets. Rejecting such a position, Lenin said: "If we 'wait' for the Congress of Soviets and let the present moment pass, we shall *ruin* the revolution." Trotsky was not appointed either to the Political Bureau, which the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party had set up to direct the insurrection, or to the Revolutionary Military Centre, whose members included A. S. Bubnov, F. E. Dzerzhinsky, J. V. Stalin, Y. M. Sverdlov, and M. S. Uritsky. False too is the assertion that Trotsky was chairman of the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, the legal headquarters of the uprising; actually its chairman was N. I. Podvoisky. Documents show that Trotsky did not play any special role in the armed uprising.

The activities of the Military Revolutionary Centre, the Military Revolutionary Committee and the Central Committee's Military Organization were directed by Lenin, who, Krupskaya recalled later, "that last month thought of nothing else, lived for nothing else but the insurrection. His mood and his deep conviction communicated themselves to his comrades."

The day of the insurrection was approaching. The Bolsheviks had gone out everywhere—to the factories, and the peasant meetings, to the army barracks and the warships, employing every available means to mobilize the masses for the fight for Soviet power. When, on the morning of November 6, the Provisional Government tried to crush the revolution, it was repulsed. As Lenin

had foreseen, developments proceeded at lightning speed.

While still in hiding, on November 6 (October 24 according to the old calendar), Lenin wrote to the members of the Central Committee: "I am writing these lines on the evening of the 24th. The situation is critical in the extreme. In fact it is now absolutely clear that to delay the uprising would be fatal." In calling for resolute action, he had proceeded from the experience of all previous revolutions and from a careful assessment of the alignment of class forces and of the class struggle, which had now reached a climax. "With all my might," he continued, "I urge comrades to realize that everything now hangs by a thread; that we are confronted by problems which are not to be solved by conferences or congresses (even congresses of Soviets), but exclusively by peoples, by the masses, by the struggle of the armed people... We must at all costs, this very evening, this very night, arrest the government, having first disarmed the officer cadets (defeating them, if they resist), and so on.

"We must not wait! We may lose everything!"

And further: "The government is tottering. It must be *given the death-blow* at all costs.

"To delay action is fatal."

On the day of November 6, powerful revolutionary forces, made up of armed workers, the soldiers of the garrison, and the sailors of the Baltic Fleet, were sent into action. Within the space of a few hours they were in full control in the factory districts and had seized eight of the ten bridges across the Neva. Towards nightfall they had occupied the premises of the Central Telegraph Office and of the Petrograd Wire Ser-

vice. Lenin's plan for insurrection was being successfully carried out. Closer to midnight, Lenin accompanied by Eino Rahja, a liaison agent for the Central Committee, arrived at Smolny Institute, then the headquarters of the revolution, and personally assumed direction of the uprising. As G. K. Ordzhonikidze, a leading Bolshevik who took an active part in the events, later recalled, "Lenin took the organization of the October uprising into his own iron hands and pursued it to its victorious conclusion."

With every hour the uprising gathered momentum. In the course of the night the revolutionary forces took over the railway stations, the telephone exchange, the power station, the State Bank and other points of strategic importance. Kerensky fled, heading for the Northern Front area. His cabinet remained in the Winter Palace protected by the cadets and Cossacks.

At 10 a.m. on November 7, the Revolutionary Military Committee published Lenin's appeal "To the Citizens of Russia!" It read:

"The Provisional Government has been deposed. State power has passed into the hands of the organ of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies—the Revolutionary Military Committee, which heads the Petrograd proletariat and garrison.

"The cause for which the people have fought, namely, the immediate offer of a democratic peace, the abolition of landed proprietorship, workers' control over production, and the establishment of Soviet power—this cause has been secured.

"Long live the revolution of workers, soldiers and peasants!"

At 9:40 p.m. the cruiser *Aurora* fired a blank shot as the signal for the final assault on the Winter Palace. Towards midnight revolutionary forces had burst into the building but fighting continued inside, the officer cadets offering furious resistance from almost each of the palace's more than one thousand rooms. However, by 2 a.m. the palace was taken, and the ministers of the Provisional Government arrested.

The Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies opened at 10:40 p.m. In attendance were 649 delegates from Soviets from all over the country. Of this number 390 were Bolsheviks. They carried mandates demanding that all power be transferred to the Soviets. Such was the voice of the people, of the nations of revolutionary Russia. The Congress announced that the Soviets were assuming full power, thus legalizing the victory of the armed uprising. "Backed by the will of the vast majority of the workers, soldiers and peasants, backed by the victorious uprising of the workers and the garrison which has taken place in Petrograd, the Congress takes power into its own hands," proclaimed the appeal issued by the Congress. "The Provisional Government has been overthrown."

On the following day, November 8, the Congress heard Lenin's report on peace, and adopted the Decree on Peace drafted by Lenin which called on all the belligerent nations and their governments to end the war and conclude a just and democratic peace.

Lenin's Decree on Peace exemplified a new type of international relations, unprecedented in

history. It laid the groundwork for all foreign policies of the Soviet state.

Lenin next proposed the Decree on Land whereby all landed estates, as well as crown, monastery, and church lands, with their buildings, livestock, etc., were to be turned over to the local bodies, the volost Land Committees and the uyezd Soviets of Peasants' Deputies. The peasants would thus receive gratis from Soviet power more than 150 million hectares of land. They would also be absolved of their debts and arrears to the state and the landed gentry.

The Congress of Soviets discharged its historic mission. It enacted Lenin's Decrees on Peace and on Land, formed the Soviet government—the Council of People's Commissars—with Lenin at its head, and appointed the All-Russia Central Executive Committee.

After the Petrograd uprising the entire working people of Russia rose under Bolshevik leadership to carry the revolution forward, and Soviet power set out on its triumphant march throughout the country.

The victory of the Great October Revolution ushered in a new era in world history, the era of the transition to socialism and communism. The world's first victorious socialist revolution was inspired, organized and led by the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin.

GREAT BUILDER OF SOCIALISM

From November 7, 1917, Smolny, which had served as the headquarters of the revolution, became the residence of the Soviet Government and of the Central Committee of the now ruling

Bolshevik Party. This was where Lenin lived and worked in the early months of Soviet power.

At Smolny activity continued round the clock. Nadezhda Krupskaya later recalled: "Ilyich was the centre of all that activity, he organized it. That work was more than strenuous, it was work at high pressure that absorbed all of one's energies and strained one's nerves to breaking point... No wonder that, coming into his room behind the partition of our Smolny apartment late in the night, Ilyich could not fall asleep; he would get up again to ring someone up on the telephone and issue some urgent orders, and when he did fall asleep at last he would talk business in his sleep... Work at Smolny went on day and night. In the early days it was the centre of all activities—Party meetings and sittings of the Council of People's Commissars were held there, the different Commissariats carried on their work there, telegrams and orders were issued from there, and people flocked there from all over... They were swamped with work, and Ilyich was often obliged to do ordinary office jobs... The old machinery of state had to be broken up link by link."

The chief aim now of the working class and its party, of the entire people, was to scrap all that was old and moribund and build a new socialist society. This involved coping with tasks which had never before been tackled. All that had been said in Marxist teachings about the transition to socialism, all that had been put forward in the Communist Party's programme as theoretical issues, as the goal and ideal, now had to be translated into practice in the turmoil of the revolution, day after day. It cannot be too

strongly emphasized that this gigantic effort to build a new world began during a world war, in the midst of chaos and devastation and in the face of the furious resistance offered by the exploiting classes, to whose assistance world imperialism at once rushed with all its might.

Lenin was a statesman of the new, proletarian type. He put government policies on a scientific foundation. He knew what were the people's most cherished thoughts and aspirations, and had boundless faith in the creative energies of the masses and relied on their support. He was tied by a thousand threads with the workers and peasants who in turn had infinite confidence in him. As leader of the ruling party and head of the Soviet Government he carried on a stupendous amount of work. He directed affairs of state, the country's economic and cultural development, military matters and foreign policy, actively participated in various conferences and meetings, and took time to address factory workers and rural dwellers. But as before, he continued to combine his immense practical activity with intensive theoretical study; what he wrote after the October Revolution represented a new stage in the development of Marxist thought.

But the most strenuous period of his life was at Smolny in Petrograd, immediately after the revolution. In an interview given to a correspondent of the Swedish paper *Folkets Dagblad Politiken*, in February 1918, Lenin said that he felt fine despite the enormous load of work which hardly left him any time for sleep. "I have but one dream," he added, "and that is to get a little rest, if only for half an hour."

"At meetings of the Council of People's Com-

missars," recalled the veteran Communist G. I. Petrovsky, then People's Commissar for the Interior, "we discussed the most important questions—the very first steps in socialist construction and the organization of Soviet power both on a state and local level. Questions of abolishing all bourgeois institutions were decided on. The first measures were taken in socialist production and trade. Lenin taught us how to work as a team... This was the world's first and at that time the only university where the People's Commissars learned how to build worker and peasant power".

Under Lenin's leadership the Communist Party and the Soviet Government organized a new state apparatus, confiscated the landed estates, nationalized all the land, banks, the bigger industries and transport, promulgated a state monopoly on foreign trade, abolished national oppression, formed a worker-and-peasant militia in place of the old police force, and set up the Red Army.

From all over Russia factory workers, soldiers, and peasant delegates flocked to Smolny to see Lenin. They wanted him to tell them what the Soviets should do now that they had become the full-fledged bodies of power, how to run the factories and mills, and how to apportion among peasants the landed estates which the Decree on Land had made over to them. They wanted to know when the war would end and when peace would be concluded as the Congress of Soviets had announced. They wanted to know the answers to a thousand other equally vital and pressing questions. Summing up his conversations with the envoys of the people, Lenin once said: "And I said to them: you are the power,

do all you want to do, take all you want, we shall support you, but take care of production, see that production is useful." And all who came to Smolny left feeling confident that the cause of the Great October Revolution would triumph.

The people worked hard and energetically in order to use to full advantage the vast creative opportunities, opportunities for achieving humanist aims, opened up by the revolution. At the same time they had to wage a bitter struggle against the exploiting classes and their parties, which the revolution had overthrown. The first attempt against Soviet power was made by Kerensky, Prime Minister of the deposed Provisional Government. But, he failed to rally any appreciable support from the army and the revolt was put down in a few days. Other counter-revolutionary acts followed in rapid succession. On January 1, 1918, an attempt was made on Lenin's life, but he escaped unhurt.

The enemies resorted to every means at their disposal—sabotage, conspiracy, subversion and terror, in an attempt to topple Soviet power. However, all the anti-Soviet sallies undertaken by domestic or foreign counter-revolution came to nothing. The revolution continued on its triumphant march through the country. "We achieved victory with extraordinary ease precisely because the fruit had ripened...", Lenin observed. "Our slogan 'All Power to the Soviets,' which the masses had tested in practice by long historical experience, had become part of their flesh and blood."

After the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries had failed to set up a "homogeneous socialist government," in which the opponents of

the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship would have constituted a decisive majority, they pinned their hopes on the Constituent Assembly. Although elections to the Assembly took place in November, they were held on the basis of lists of candidates that the deposed Provisional Government had compiled still before the revolution. As a result the Assembly's composition did not at all reflect the new balance of class forces that had emerged after the revolution, and did not express the will of the masses. Nevertheless Lenin believed that it should be convened in order to make it face the demands of the victorious revolutionary masses. The Assembly's counter-revolutionary majority refused to recognize the decisions of the Second Congress of Soviets and the decrees of Soviet power. At this point the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, as the supreme body of power formed by the Congress of Soviets, resolved to disband the Constituent Assembly.

The new state apparatus was organized in accordance with the decisions taken at the Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets in January 1918. After hearing Lenin's report on the activities of the Council of People's Commissars, the report of Y. M. Sverdlov, Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, and the report presented by J. V. Stalin, the People's Commissar for the Affairs of Nationalities, on the federal structure of the Soviet republic and its nationality policy, the Congress adopted the Declaration of Rights of the Working and Exploited People drafted by Lenin. As the groundwork for the Soviet Constitution, it summed up the experience accumulated in the process of organizing the

Soviet state and proclaimed and guaranteed to the people their rights, liberties and gains. Russia was declared a socialist republic of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies established on the basis of a free union of nations as a federation of national Soviet republics. All power, both on a state and local level, was invested in the Soviets. The historic task of Soviet power was defined as follows: abolition of all exploitation, ruthless suppression of the exploiters, and the building of a socialist society.

Pointing out the importance of the Third Congress of Soviets, Lenin said that it had "projected the lines of future socialist construction for the whole world, for the working people of all countries."

In its defence of the gains of the revolution from the hostile actions of its numerous enemies, the Soviet Government launched a resolute campaign for securing peace. Its first legislative act was, as earlier mentioned, Lenin's Decree on Peace, which incorporated the humanist essence of the socialist revolution.

However, many difficulties had to be overcome before peace could be attained. The imperialist ruling quarters met the Soviet Government's peace bids with preparation for outright intervention. "It was the Anglo-French and the American bourgeoisie," Lenin wrote in his *Letter to American Workers*, "who refused to accept our proposal; it was they who even refused to talk to us about a general peace! It was *they* who betrayed the interests of all nations; it was they who prolonged the imperialist slaughter!

"It was they who, banking on the possibility

of dragging Russia back into the imperialist war, refused to take part in the peace negotiations and thereby gave a free hand to the no less predatory German capitalists. . . ."

The Soviet Government, wishing to extricate Russia from the war and to obtain breathing space in which to strengthen the Soviet Republic, decided to initiate talks with the German-Austrian bloc.

The struggle that flared up within the Party's Central Committee and the Soviet Government over the question of concluding peace was most bitter. Lenin's policy towards the signing of a peace treaty was opposed by Trotsky and by "Left Communists" led by Bukharin. Trotsky put forward the adventurist slogan of "neither peace nor war"; he asserted that the Germans would not advance into Russia and proposed that the war be declared over and the army be demobilized, but that no treaty be signed. This would have spelled disaster for the Soviet Republic, as it would have opened the way into the country for German troops and would have meant the continuation of war at a time when Soviet Russia had still not formed its own, new army. Meanwhile the "Left Communists" demanded that Soviet Russia declare a "revolutionary war" on the imperialists, arguing that this would spur revolution in Germany and elsewhere. On that occasion Lenin observed that it would be a mistake for the Russian socialist government to try to determine whether a revolution would occur throughout Europe and especially in Germany, "within the next half a year," as that could not be done, and would simply amount to reckless gambling.

In the final analysis, the position of both the "Left Communists" and Trotsky was rooted in a rejection of the idea that socialism could win in one country, namely Russia, if the tempo of the world revolution was to slacken. They were unwilling to acknowledge that Soviet Russia was now the bulwark and stronghold of the world revolutionary process. The "Left Communists" went so far as to say that Soviet power could be sacrificed in the interests of world revolution. Trotsky said that the land of the victorious proletariat should "carry the revolution on its bayonets" to other countries. This meant that Soviet Russia must either declare a "revolutionary war" on capitalism or admit that "Soviet power is too heavy a burden for us, that we have arrived prematurely. . . ."

Lenin called "strange and monstrous" the assertion that Soviet power could be sacrificed in the interests of world revolution. He stressed that, on the contrary, precisely by preserving and strengthening the Soviet Republic would the cause of the worldwide emancipation of the working people best be served. As for the calls to declare war, he said in connection with one such resolution: "Perhaps the authors believe that the interests of the world revolution require that it should be *given a push*, and that such a push can be given only by war, never by peace, which might give the people the impression that imperialism was being 'legitimised?' Such a 'theory' would be completely at variance with Marxism, for Marxism has always been opposed to 'pushing' revolutions, which develop with the growing acuteness of the class antagonisms that engender revolutions."

Lenin maintained that in opposing peace, the "Left Communists" and Trotsky were in fact urging the Party to gamble with the lot of the Soviet socialist republic which was the bulwark of the worldwide struggle of the working people for liberation.

Both at Central Committee meetings and through the medium of the press, Lenin, exercising great restraint, proved to the "Left" phrasemongers total groundlessness and dangerous adventurism of their attitude. "We must fight against the revolutionary phrase," he said, "we have to fight it, we absolutely must fight it, so that at some future time people will not say of us the bitter truth that 'a revolutionary phrase about revolutionary war ruined the revolution.'" Lenin overcame his opponents owing to his fidelity to principle, his prestige and his ability to drive his point home. In the Central Committee the majority voted for Lenin's proposals, and a peace treaty with Germany was signed on March 3, 1918. At its Seventh Emergency Congress, the Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks or RCP(B) (it was thus renamed at this Congress) formally approved Lenin's line. The Brest Peace was ratified by the Fourth Extraordinary All-Russia Congress of Soviets.

To secure peace and strengthen the international position of the Republic of Soviets, Lenin formulated the basic principles of the socialist state's foreign policy.

A basic principle of Soviet socialist foreign policy is the preservation of peace, the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, or what Lenin termed in an interview to foreign correspondents "peaceful cohabitation" with

other nations. A stable peace creates favourable conditions on the international scene for the building of a new society, and for the development of the entire world revolutionary process. The struggle against unjust wars, the effort to avert new world wars which would bring nations fearful sacrifice and destruction, accords with the vital interests of the majority of mankind. Lenin regarded peaceful, businesslike and equal relations between states with different social systems, between Soviet Russia and the capitalist world, "as the only correct way out of the difficulties, chaos and danger of wars," so long as the two opposing systems—socialism and capitalism—remained.

Lenin's line of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems does not preclude, but, on the contrary, presupposes competition between socialism and capitalism, the carrying on of the class struggle in all forms in the capitalist countries, the furtherance of the national-liberation movement waged by the oppressed peoples against imperialism, and support from the socialist state for the world revolutionary process. Lenin said that "the interests of the world revolution demand that Soviet power, having overthrown the bourgeoisie in our country, should *help* that revolution, but that it should choose a *form* of help which is commensurate with its own strength."

The Soviet Government, with Lenin at its head, made a consistent effort to secure peace and avert another world war, and strove to establish economic and diplomatic relations with other countries. "The Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic wishes to live in peace with all

peoples and devote all its efforts to internal development," declared a resolution drafted by Lenin and adopted by one of the congresses of Soviets. In an interview given to a foreign newsman, Lenin said: "I know of no reason why a socialistic commonwealth like ours cannot do business indefinitely with capitalistic countries." At the same time the Soviet people gave all the help they could at that time to revolutionary movements and oppressed peoples fighting against imperialism. Lenin attached great significance to the establishment and further promotion of Soviet links with Eastern nations newly embarked upon the road of independent development.

On March 11, 1918 the Soviet Government and the Central Committee moved to Moscow, henceforth capital of the Soviet Republic. Lenin, his wife and his sister Maria lived in a small four-room flat in one of the Kremlin buildings housing the Council of People's Commissars. All three bedrooms and the dining room were simply furnished. Lenin's bedroom, which also served as his study, had only a desk by the window and an iron bedstead covered by a chequered traveling rug, which he greatly cherished as a gift which his mother had given him in 1910. His office in the same building was as modestly furnished.

Now both the flat and the office are a museum, where everything is preserved as it was in Lenin's lifetime. Below are a few comments taken from the museum visitors' book.

"Everything here speaks of his simplicity, his great modesty and unremitting work for the people, which will always remain as an example

to each of us," wrote the workers of Moscow's Krasny Proletary Tool Works.

"The group of Danish trade-unionists who came here are most grateful for this very interesting visit. We were tremendously impressed by the modesty that was characteristic of the entire life of this great statesman."

A group of visitors from Nepal wrote: "We are tremendously impressed by this historical museum dedicated to a remarkable man who by the great things he did and by his profound philosophy made come true the motto of a simple life but lofty ideas. We render homage to this man who founded this wonderful land of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

Summing up the achievements of Soviet power in the first few months after the October Revolution, Lenin noted: "We established and consolidated a Soviet Republic, a new type of state, which is infinitely superior to, and more democratic than, the best of the bourgeois-parliamentary republics. We established the dictatorship of the proletariat supported by the poor peasantry, and began a broadly conceived system of socialist reforms. We awakened the faith of the millions upon millions of workers of all countries in their own strength and kindled the fires of enthusiasm in them."

Following the conclusion of the Brest Treaty, Lenin evolved a concrete programme for Russia's socialist reconstruction. "We, the Bolshevik Party," he said, "have *convinced* Russia. We have *won* Russia from the rich for the poor, from the exploiters for the working people. Now we must *govern* Russia."

The chief tasks facing the Bolshevik Party

and the Soviet people then were to administer and build up the country. Lenin set about carrying out these tasks. In late March and early April 1918 he wrote "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," in which he summed up the initial experience of socialist reforms and indicated what lay ahead in the effort to build a new world. The immediate tasks as outlined by Lenin were: the further socialization of the means of production, the laying of the economic groundwork for a socialist society, the introduction of planning, stock-taking and control, the launching of socialist emulation movement, the strengthening of labour discipline, the promotion of initiative and a creative attitude to work, and a steady effort to increase labour productivity. "Keep regular and honest accounts of money, manage economically, do not be lazy, do not steal, observe the strictest labour discipline—it is these slogans, justly scorned by the revolutionary proletariat when the bourgeoisie used them to conceal its rule as an exploiting class, that are now, since the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, becoming the immediate and the principal slogans of the moment."

The successes of the socialist revolution and its penetration into the countryside met with savage resistance from the village bourgeoisie, the kulaks, or rich farmers, who declared an open war against Soviet power. As Lenin pointed out, the fight for bread, for food for the people, became the fight for socialism.

With every passing day Soviet Russia's position, both home and international, grew more and more complex. All the forces of the old world had clubbed together in a "crusade" against

the Soviet Republic. As Winston Churchill, then Britain's Secretary for War, put it, the "Bolshevik infant must be strangled in its cradle." From now on, the task of defending the gains of the Great October Revolution by force of arms assumed top priority.

A powerful coalition of anti-Soviet forces was formed, uniting White-Guard counter-revolution at home and foreign interventionists, including Britain, Germany, Italy, the USA, France and Japan. They seized vast areas in Northern Russia, the Far East, Siberia, Central Asia and Transcaucasia, and overran the Baltic states, the Ukraine and Byelorussia. Meanwhile, in the interior regions counter-revolutionary elements staged numerous insurrections. The Young Soviet Republic stood in mortal danger.

The number of "prophets" who have predicted the inevitable and early downfall of Soviet power has been legion. But the young Soviet Republic mustered strength, and despite the tremendous odds vanquished its countless enemies. In their truly titanic struggle against the interventionists and White-Guard hordes the Soviet people were led by the party headed by Lenin.

The counter-revolutionary elements engineered a dastardly attempt on Lenin's life. On August 30, 1918, when he came out of the gates of a factory after addressing a meeting there and was about to get into his car, the Socialist Revolutionary Kaplan shot at and seriously wounded him. Deeply shocked, Communists, factory workers, peasants, Red Army men, all honest men and women, followed with great anxiety the medical bulletins on Lenin's condition and in countless telegrams and letters wished him a speedy recov-

ery. Happily, owing to his sturdy constitution his wounds quickly healed and a mere fortnight later Lenin was back in his office.

The Kremlin, where he lived and worked, was the guiding centre that mobilized the entire nation for the fight against the enemy and planned military strategy. The Council of Workers' and Peasants' Defence, set up in November 1918 and headed by Lenin, co-ordinated and directed the activities of all military and civilian agencies, both on a state and local level, uniting the front and the rear.

Although Lenin was not a trained military strategist, he was well familiar with military history and had studied numerous treatises on the art of warfare. Experts in the field were often amazed by his ability to grasp quickly the fine points of military questions. He outlined the principles underlying the organizational set-up of the armed forces of the socialist state, directed the country's defence, and brought about the defeats of the interventionists and White-Guard forces.

Meanwhile the Red Army grew stronger and became a regular and well-trained fighting force. It brought to the fore many brave and talented commanders, and among them V. A. Antonov-Ovseyenko, V. K. Blyukher, K. Y. Voroshilov, M. V. Frunze, M. N. Tukhachevsky, I. E. Yakir, S. M. Budenny, G. I. Kotovsky, V. I. Chapayev and N. A. Shchors, who inflicted one crushing defeat after another on the interventionists' armies and the troops led by former tsarist generals. In this they were assisted by the political workers whom the Party had sent, the commissars who won the respect of the rank and file by their

dedication and bravery. Lenin considered the Party's guidance as the source of the Red Army's strength.

The Red Army won its first impressive victories in the field in the second half of 1918. When Lenin's birthplace, Simbirsk, was freed from the enemy in September, the Red Army men sent Lenin, who was then recuperating from the wounds he had received in the assassination attempt, the following affectionately worded cable: "Dear Vladimir Ilyich, the capture of your native town is our reply for one of your wounds, the capture of Samara will be for the other!" Lenin's reply ran: "The capture of Simbirsk, my home town, is a wonderful tonic, the best treatment for my wounds. I feel a new lease of life. . . Congratulations to the Red Army men on their victory, and, on behalf of all working people, thanks for all their sacrifices." This was followed by news of more victories scored by the Red Army elsewhere along the Volga, and also in the Ukraine, Byelorussia and in the Baltic states. On hearing the news Lenin said: "We have won enormous victories."

The year 1919 was marked by still more fierce battles fought to defend the gains of the socialist revolution. The overall situation of the country remained extremely grave. Responding to Lenin's calls to defeat the enemy, the men of the Red Army displayed peerless heroism and won more resounding victories—over Kolchak in Siberia, Yudenich at Petrograd, and Denikin in the South. Of the Red Army's victories won in 1919, Lenin said that the year "will be called that of the onslaught of Anglo-American imperialism and of victory over that onslaught." By the close of

1920, with the exception of a few nests of counter-revolutionary resistance that were wiped out later, the White Guards had been completely routed and all foreign forces driven out of the country.

Of particular importance in ensuring these epoch-making victories of the Soviet people were the decisions taken by the Communist Party at its Eighth Congress in March 1919 on consolidating the worker-peasant alliance and the organization of the Red Army. Also adopted at this Congress was a new party programme for the building of socialism, which had been drafted by a special commission headed by Lenin.

Even in those days of bitter struggle against the united forces of domestic counter-revolution and world imperialism, Lenin continued to devote attention to questions of theory. In the autumn of 1918 he wrote *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, in 1919 the articles "A Great Beginning" and "Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," and in June 1920 his famous book "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—An Infantile Disorder* in which he summed up the Bolshevik experience and underscored its importance for the world communist movement. In these writings Lenin analyzed the specific features and forms of the class struggle in the transition period from capitalism to socialism and evolved the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He discussed such important questions as the initial and the highest phases of communist society, the dialectics of socialism's development into communism, the material and technical foundations of the new society and how to build them up,

the significance of socialism's victory over capitalism in the field of economics, and the formation of socialist and communist social relationships.

Why did Lenin call political power of the working class "the dictatorship of the proletariat," insist upon the demand for a dictatorship of the proletariat and set the task of establishing such a dictatorship as the prerequisite for the transition from capitalism to socialism?

In any society with antagonistic classes, said Lenin, the state is a dictatorship of the ruling class; that is, the state represents power of this ruling class which is bolstered up by armed force. It is a dictatorship of the class that uses political power to safeguard the economic foundations of its rule and to suppress its class adversaries.

Under a proletarian dictatorship, it is the working class that is the leading and directing force in society, the most revolutionary and best organized class, united by the very conditions of large-scale industrial production. However, this does not at all imply that the working class stands in opposition to the non-proletarian segments of the working people. On the contrary, Lenin defined the dictatorship of the proletariat as a "specific form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the working people, and the numerous non-proletarian strata of the working people (petty bourgeoisie, small proprietors, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, etc.), or the majority of these strata, an alliance against capital, an alliance whose aim is the complete overthrow of capital, complete suppression of the resistance offered by the bourgeoisie as well as of attempts at restoration on its part, an alli-

ance for the final establishment and consolidation of socialism." He called the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and other non-proletarian sections of the working people the supreme principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Just as there is no, nor can there be dictatorship in general, so there is no, nor can there be "pure democracy," nor democracy in general, Lenin explained.

When the proletariat takes power into its own hands, it is compelled to restrict to a greater or lesser degree—depending on the intensity of the resistance offered by the deposed exploiting classes—the freedom of the former exploiting classes; it cannot grant freedom to counter-revolutionary, anti-socialist elements, who acting hand in glove with world imperialism, seek to exercise democratic rights solely for the purpose of restoring capitalism. The dictatorship of the proletariat makes possible the development on an unprecedented scale and the broadening of democracy for the overwhelming majority of the population, for the working people.

As Lenin said: "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."

The extent to which revolutionary force is used by the working class against the exploiting classes depends, as was mentioned, on the extent of the resistance offered by the deposed exploiters. Directly after the October Revolution, Lenin observed, even bourgeois newspapers were not shut down, and there was no sign of terror. Soviet

power released not only many of the ministers in the previous Provisional Government but even General Krasnov, the leader of a revolt, who gave his "word of honour" that he would never again take up arms against Soviet power (though soon he broke his promise and became head of a White-Cossack army active in the river Don valley). It was bourgeois sabotage and terror that forced Soviet power to take stern retaliatory measures. But, Lenin noted, in those countries where the bourgeoisie did not offer such frenzied resistance the proletariat would have much easier tasks and would be able to dispense with the violence that imperialism and domestic counter-revolution had compelled Soviet power to employ. The chief point here is that this function is not the basic or main function in the activity of the proletarian state.

"The essence of proletarian dictatorship," Lenin said, "is not in force alone, or even mainly in force. Its chief feature is the organization and discipline of the advanced contingent of the working people, of their vanguard, of their sole leader, the proletariat, whose object is to build socialism, abolish the division of society into classes, make all members of society working people, and remove the basis for all exploitation of man by man."

This constructive role of the working-class dictatorship and the proletarian state, as organizer and administrator of the country's economy and cultural development, assumes ever-increasing importance when the task of quelling the resistance of the exploiters is accomplished and when the building of socialism is under way.

Lenin made an important contribution to Marx-

ist theory by developing and substantiating the thesis of the Communist Party's role as leader under the system of the proletarian dictatorship and in the building of socialism and communism. "By educating the workers' party," Lenin wrote, "Marxism educates the vanguard of the proletariat, capable of assuming power and *leading the whole people* to socialism, of directing and organizing the new system, of being the teacher, the guide, the leader of all the working and exploited people in organizing their social life without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie."

It is the Communist Party that is capable of uniting, educating, and organizing the working class and the entire working people, of checking and correcting the effect of inevitable relapses into professional narrow-mindedness and prejudice which are traditionally observed among the working people, as well as the parochialism of various institutions and organizations. It is the Communist Party that formulates the policy for the running of society's affairs, that unites, coordinates and directs the work of all administrative bodies, of all public organizations.

Lenin, it should be noted, never maintained that proletarian dictatorship necessarily meant a one-party system. In November 1917, shortly after the Second Congress of Soviets, which set up a Bolshevik government, Lenin said that the Bolsheviks "agreed and *still agree* to share power with the minority in the Soviets, provided that minority loyally and honestly undertake to submit to the majority and carry out the programme *approved by the whole* Second All-Russia Con-

gress of Soviets, for gradual, but firm and un-deviating steps towards socialism." The fact that the bloc which included Bolsheviks, Mensheviks and "Left-wing" Socialist Revolutionaries was short-lived and that afterwards there remained only one political party, namely, the Communist Party, is explained by the petty-bourgeois Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary parties going over to the side of the counter-revolutionary forces, thereby sustaining a political fiasco. What Lenin did maintain was that even in the case of a multi-party system within the framework of the dictatorship of the proletariat the Communist Party should play the leading role since it knew best the tasks of the working class and most fully expressed the interests of the entire working people, since it most correctly understood how to effect the transition to socialism, and was capable of most consistently implementing the chief aims of the proletariat and its allies and of making the greatest sacrifices in this effort.

One should note that capitalism's apologists well realize that the state power of the working class derives its strength from its Communist leadership. For this reason, as the history of the socialist countries has shown, the enemies of socialism do not always at once mount an open attack against the new system, but invariably strive first of all to undermine the Communist Party's role as leader, and by relying on opportunists, to achieve their counter-revolutionary aims by, as Lenin observed, putting power in the hands of a political group or organization which outwardly comes closest to acknowledging working-class rule, in the hope of eventually restoring capital-

ism. Lenin said that such attempts must be most resolutely rebuffed.

The experience of the socialist countries has confirmed Lenin's thesis, and has disclosed the true essence of the various revisionist concepts that reject Communist leadership.

Lenin expounded the assertion that proletarian dictatorship could take different political forms. It was inevitable, he said, that all nations should arrive at socialism. However, each one would do so in its own way, contributing something of its own to one or another form of democracy, to one or another form of proletarian dictatorship and to the rates of transformation in the different aspects of social life. The transition from capitalism to socialism could, of course, take diverse political forms, but, as Lenin emphasized, their essence will be one and the same—the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is important to note in this connection that Lenin warned against exaggerating the significance of the specific features of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia; on the contrary, he underlined the decisive importance of the common general laws governing the transition from capitalism to socialism, which the proletarian dictatorship in Russia embodied.

While fighting was still going on at the Civil-War fronts, Lenin began working on a plan for the recovery of the national economy which had been disrupted by the First World War and foreign intervention. This was the famous plan for the electrification of Russia (GOELRO), plan for the creation of the first socialist society in the history of man. This task of unparalleled complexity was carried out in a titanic effort by the party and people, in the midst of hunger and

economic dislocation, in conditions of the capitalist encirclement. At its Tenth Congress in March 1921, the Communist Party mapped out the strategy for the building of socialism, that of transition from what was known as War Communism to the New Economic Policy.

War Communism was an emergency policy adopted because of the tremendous difficulties resulting from the Civil War, from imperialist intervention and blockade. Its object was to mobilize all of Soviet Russia's industrial, food and raw material resources for achieving victory. A keystone of this policy was what was known as the food-surplus requisitioning system, under which the peasants were to hand over to the state all food surplus in order to supply the army and the factory workers with food. But when the war ended this policy was no longer called for. Promulgated in place of it was the New Economic Policy, a start upon which had already been made in 1918, during the brief respite following the conclusion of the Brest Peace treaty.

On the basis of Lenin's report, the Communist Party resolved at its Tenth Congress to replace the surplus-requisitioning system by a fixed tax in kind. This encouraged the peasant to expand production, since after delivering to the state the required amount he could sell the surplus on the market. The peasantry welcomed this new policy.

In his reports to the Tenth and Eleventh Party Congresses, and in the brochure *The Tax in Kind* and a series of articles, Lenin explained that the New Economic Policy was a policy of the transition period from capitalism to socialism, whose prime objective was to strengthen the alliance of the working class and the toiling

peasantry, build up the industrial base of socialism, abolish the multi-sectoral pattern of the country's economy and ensure the domination of the socialist sector.

The New Economic Policy, Lenin said, provided the political and economic conditions for building the foundations of socialism. The conclusions that he drew about the need for preserving and making use in the proletarian state of the system of commodity-money relations, about the management of enterprises on a profit-and-loss basis and the combined application of material and moral incentives in work for everyone—worker, peasant, or intellectual—represented a great contribution to the theory of how to build the new society. The experience of socialist construction has confirmed the importance of combining centralized economic planning and guidance with initiative of local agencies and enterprises.

At this time of a sharp change from war to peace in the country, Trotsky, Bukharin and others of the opposition resumed their attacks on Lenin's course of building socialism. The ostensible point at issue was the role of the trade unions in Soviet society. The real issue, however, concerned the methods used by the party in its guidance of the working people in socialist construction. Trotsky put forward the anti-democratic plan of making the trade unions part of the state machinery and of introducing army discipline in purely voluntary workers' associations. If that were done, the proletariat would inevitably become dissatisfied with the party's policy; in other words, Trotsky's plan would have subverted the working-class dictatorship. Thus, Lenin regarded

the plan as theoretically erroneous and politically tactless and harmful. Though Bukharin assumed a "middle-of-the-road" position, he in reality supported Trotsky. Meanwhile the so-called Workers' Opposition (led by A. G. Shlyapnikov, A. M. Kollontai and others), which represented an anarcho-syndicalist trend within the party, demanded that economic administration be made the function of a Congress of Producers. This was again tantamount to calling for the abolition of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. These and other anti-party groups, undermining the unity of party ranks, led to a crisis within the party. At its Tenth Congress the party summed up the results of the discussion and adopted a special resolution "On Party Unity," which Lenin had drawn up and which, by barring all factionalism, was of exceptional importance for strengthening party unity.

During this period Lenin concentrated on problems of economic recovery and advancement. On his initiative, in February 1921 the State Planning Commission was set up as the main body responsible for overall planning. Lenin both defined the new commission's tasks and directed its activities. The statute that the government adopted with regard to the commission said that its principal task was "to draft one overall state economic plan, along with the ways and means and procedure for its implementation."

Lenin attached particular importance to industrial recovery and progress and showed a keen interest in the development of every branch of industry and of its key enterprises and held talks with numerous economic administrators and rank-and-file factory workers. He also paid close

attention to problems of agriculture. Another priority task in his view was the expansion of the trade network, and the building up of a stable financial system. He was particularly concerned about scientific and technological development, looked into the needs of research and other scientific institutions, and supported and encouraged all scientists who dedicated themselves to serving the people. He pointed out time and again that socialist economy must rely on scientific achievements and advanced technology.

Lenin was the first Marxist comprehensively to examine the question of what attitude the triumphant proletariat should take to the old bourgeois intelligentsia. He pointed out that it was essential to enlist its co-operation in the effort to build socialism. At the same time he emphasized the need to educate a new and truly people's intelligentsia from among the working masses.

Society's transition from capitalism to socialism is accompanied by notable cultural progress. Lenin defined this process as a cultural revolution. "The entire people," he said, "must go through a period of cultural development." This means the attainment of complete literacy, scientific progress, and progress in literature and the arts. It also means a deep-going change in the working people's mentality and outlook, their re-education in the socialist spirit and the acquisition by the broadest masses of increasing political knowledge and esthetic awareness. Lenin condemned a nihilistic attitude to the world's cultural heritage; he pointed out that socialist culture should logically rise from the intellectual wealth that man had accumulated from the dawn of civilization.

Is there any need to note how alien to all this are the Maoist slogans of "the great proletarian cultural revolution," under cover of which the classical literary and artistic heritage was renounced, a military-bureaucratic dictatorship, an "army-barracks socialism" was imposed, and true Marxists-Leninists and internationalists were repressed?

Lenin paid great attention to the development of the social sciences, to the ideological work of the party, to the system of educating the working people in the spirit of communism, and to the struggle against bourgeois influences. "We," he said, "must overcome resistance from the capitalists in all its forms, not only in the military and the political spheres, but also ideological resistance, which is the most deep-seated and the strongest."

The Soviet people successfully accomplished the task of economic recovery. With every year the record of achievement grew. Within the space of a few years Soviet Russia reached pre-war figures in the key fields of industrial production. Its international standing became stronger, and gradually it established trade links with capitalist countries, which one after another extended diplomatic recognition to the Soviet Republic. The Soviet people celebrated the fifth anniversary of the October Revolution in an atmosphere of confidence.

The enormous load of work, extreme fatigue and the consequences of the grave wounds, all combined, undermined Lenin's health. In May 1922 he fell seriously ill. In early October he returned to his duties, working as intensively as before. A secretarial note on what he did bet-

ween October 2 and December 16, 1922, reads as follows: "Wrote 224 business letters and notes, received 171 persons (125 audiences), chaired 32 meetings and conferences of the Council of People's Commissars, the Council of Labour and Defence, the Politbureau and various commissions."

The paramount task at the time was that of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Lenin had always paid special attention to problems of national statehood and socialist reforms in the national areas, for the destinies of socialism itself largely depended on the solution found for these problems in a multi-national state. He drafted the Communist Party's national policy within the framework of the proletarian dictatorship and directed its implementation.

Lenin showed great concern for the well-being of all the nations and nationalities of the Soviet republics without exception, and took a personal interest in cultural and economic development and the administration of government affairs in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkmenia, Kazakhstan, Daghestan, Bashkiria, Tataria, Karelia, Yakutia and other national republics and regions. The recollections of representatives of many nationalities who saw Lenin and talked with him as well as the minutes of his conversations with them and other documents show what attention he gave to their needs, how well he understood their national psychology, and what tremendous help he rendered them in their effort to build a new life.

In his letter, "To the Comrades Communists of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Daghestan and

the Mountaineer Republic," he drew the attention of the party organizations in the national regions to the necessity for the Communists in the Caucasus to realize the difference between their republics and the Russian Federation and not to blindly follow the example of party organizations in the economically and culturally more advanced regions of Central Russia. The national regions, he observed, were still more rustic than Russia, and thus a still more cautious approach had to be used in the effort to introduce socialism there, in short, a still more tolerant and lenient attitude to the petty bourgeoisie, the intelligentsia, and, especially the peasantry there.

Lenin set the objective of making the previously oppressed and backward nations and nationalities genuinely equal with the more advanced nations. Particularly important for achieving this was the fraternal, disinterested assistance extended to the working masses of the previously oppressed nations by the working class and people of Soviet Russia. Much money was invested in the development of the national outskirts, to which Central Russia sent its skilled workers and scientists besides substantial material supplies.

Lenin defined the principles that should govern the relations between the different Soviet republics. Of exceptional theoretical and practical significance in this respect were the conclusions he drew in his "Letter to the Workers and Peasants of the Ukraine Apropos of the Victories over Denikin."

Soviet Russia, he emphasized, does not question the right to self-determination of peoples

embarked on socialist development. The working masses themselves, through the Congresses of Soviets, should decide matters of national statehood, and forms of alliance between the different Soviet republics. From the standpoint of the interests of the working class and the peasantry and of the effort to build socialism, the correct handling of these matters is as follows:

First, the Communists of the different nations should agree on such basic issues as the need for a proletarian dictatorship, for working-class leadership with respect to the peasantry and other non-proletarian strata of the working people, for a firm alliance between them in the fight against domestic counter-revolution and international imperialism, and for the consistent, undeviating implementation of these points.

Secondly, whatever the solution evolved for national statehood, the workers and peasants of all the nations which embarked upon the building of socialism should maintain what Lenin termed "a close military and economic alliance," for otherwise the imperialists would "crush and strangle us separately." They also should realize that anyone violating this unity and alliance would be assisting capitalism and international imperialism.

And, thirdly, as Lenin stressed: "We want a *voluntary* union of nations—a union which precludes any coercion of one nation by another—a union founded on complete confidence, on a clear recognition of brotherly unity, on absolutely voluntary consent. Such a union cannot be effected at one stroke; we have to work towards it with the greatest patience and circumspection, so as not to spoil matters and not to arouse dis-

trust, and so that the distrust inherited from centuries of landowner and capitalist oppression, centuries of the enmity caused by divisions and redivisions of private property, may have a chance to wear off."

Everything that the party did under Lenin's guidance shows how it slowly but steadily, and acting "with the greatest patience and circumspection," built up and strengthened that voluntary union of nations which finally became the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

There has come true Lenin's prophecy that the implementation of the principle of self-determination of nations and the help extended by the proletariat of the more developed countries, would prompt the working people of the smaller, previously oppressed and backward, nations and nationalities to ally themselves with the bigger and more advanced socialist nations. All the Soviet republics formed in the process of the revolution by the peoples of the former tsarist empire naturally gravitated towards the idea of establishing a federation. Their road to union was pointed out by Lenin.

Lenin evolved the idea of federation as one of the most expedient forms of union during the transition period from capitalism to communism in countries inhabited by several or many nations and nationalities. Summing up the experience of building up national statehood, Lenin, when drafting the Second Party Programme (1919) and his theses on the national and colonial questions for the Second Comintern Congress, pointed out that the various Soviet republics should strive towards an ever closer political, military and economic federal union, as this was necessary for

restoring and further developing their productive forces, for ensuring the well-being of their working people, and for establishing a single planned economy.

In both his writings and speeches Lenin explained the principles underlying the federation of socialist republics and the fundamental difference between such a federation and multi-national state formations under capitalism.

Ties between the different Soviet republics found expression both in bilateral treaties and in the unification of several Soviet republics such as the Russian Federation, the Transcaucasian Federation and the military and political alliance of the Soviet republics during the years of the Civil War and foreign intervention. The objective march of historical development, the tasks of socialist construction, the strengthening of defences, the common interests, and the striving for fraternal co-operation of the working masses of diverse nationalities, all demanded the integration of the Soviet republics into one federalized state that would be capable of safeguarding against outside encroachment, and ensuring economic prosperity and the unfettered development of all the different peoples inhabiting the country.

Voicing the sentiments of the masses, in the spring and summer of 1922 the central party organizations of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Azerbaijan, Georgian and Armenian Soviet republics raised the question of adjusting the relations between themselves and the Russian Federation with the object of strengthening their federal links.

In his letter to the Politbureau members of the Russian Communist Party's Central Committee, dated September 26, 1922, Lenin presented a plan

for the establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a federation of equal and sovereign Soviet republics. He proposed that the first paragraph of the corresponding resolution should state that the independent national Soviet republics were not entering the Russian Federation but were uniting with it to form a new state. "We," he explained, having the Russian Federation in mind, "regard ourselves as equal with the Ukrainian SSR and the others, and on an equal footing with them enter a new union, a new federation..." He suggested that an All-Union Central Executive Committee of Soviets and a number of All-Union People's Commissariats be set up.

Lenin thus greatly enriched Marxist theory on the national question by introducing the concept of a new type of federalized proletarian state—a united multi-national socialist state which is a voluntary union of equal and sovereign republics based on the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Lenin's plan for the creation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was greeted with enthusiasm by the working class, the toiling peasantry and progressive intelligentsia, and soon a country-wide movement for unification was under way. The question was extensively discussed at mass meetings and rallies and at congresses of Soviets at various administrative levels. The working people of all the nationalities expressed their resolve to pool their efforts and resources to accomplish the common goal of building socialism. At congresses of Soviets in all the republics the decision was adopted to form a federal state.

The First All-Union Congress of Soviets opened on December 30, 1922. Lenin could not attend in person; in mid-December he had another relapse, and his doctors ordered complete rest. But the entire work of the Congress, which elected Lenin its honorary chairman, was an embodiment of his ideas. It adopted the Declaration and Treaty on the Formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which was signed by the Russian Federation, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republics and the Transcaucasian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic incorporating Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia. The voluntary integration of the Soviet republics into one federal state attested to their socialist sovereignty and at the same time provided reliable guarantees for it.

Lenin regarded the further consolidation of the USSR as one of the paramount tasks of the party and the multi-national Soviet people. "Of this there can be no doubt," he said in a letter on the national question which he dictated on December 30-31, 1922. "This measure is necessary for us and it is necessary for the world communist proletariat in its struggle against the world bourgeoisie and its defence against bourgeois intrigues."

In terms of political, economic and social significance, the formation of the USSR is an outstanding event in Soviet history. It is one of decisive factors in the economic and cultural advancement of all Soviet constituent republics and the consolidation of the multi-national socialist state's defence potential and international prestige.

Though, following a serious deterioration of

his health in December 1922, Lenin acceded to the physicians' demand that he retire from the active conduct of the affairs of state, he continued to work. In late 1922 and early 1923 Lenin dictated *Pages From a Diary, On Co-operation, Our Revolution, How We Should Reorganize the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, and Better Fewer, But Better*, which have been rightly called Lenin's political testament to the party and the country; in them he outlined a programme for turning Russia into a socialist land and discussed the prospects for the world revolutionary process.

Bourgeois "biographers" of Lenin assert that these final writings reveal a feeling of disillusionment and pessimism. Actually, however, they testify to a profound faith in the strength and power of the working class, of the entire working people under the Communist Party's leadership, and in the triumph of socialism. In contrast to the Mensheviks and Western social-reformists, to the Right-wing opportunists and capitulators inside the Party, and also to Trotsky who in 1922 contended that it was impossible to build socialism in one country, in one national state, Lenin emphasized that the USSR had "all that is necessary to build a complete socialist society."

Lenin regarded as the main tasks in socialist construction the country's industrialization, the establishment of co-operative farming which would enable the peasantry to turn to large-scale social production, and the accomplishment of a cultural revolution.

Lenin's plan for the building of socialism in the USSR provides a model of a scientific, re-

alistic approach to the task of shaping a new society. This plan was adopted by the Party as the Soviet people's general line in their effort to turn the country into a socialist power, an effort which is of worldwide significance.

On March 10, 1923, Lenin had another serious relapse, and he was moved to a country house in Gorki near Moscow. There he gradually began to recover. But in January 1924 his condition took a sudden turn for the worse and at 6:50 p. m. on January 21 he died. That night the Central Committee of the Party called an emergency meeting and adopted an appeal "To the Party, to All Working People," which was broadcast the next morning.

"Never since Marx," the appeal said, "has the history of the great liberation movement of the proletariat produced such a titanic figure as our departed leader, teacher and friend. All that is truly great and heroic in the proletariat—a fearless mind, a will of iron, unbending, persistent and able to surmount all obstacles, a burning, undying hatred of slavery and oppression, a revolutionary passion that moves mountains, boundless faith in the creative energies of the masses, vast organizational genius—all this found splendid embodiment in Lenin, whose name has become the symbol of the new world from East to West, from North to South. . .

"The death of our teacher, a heavy blow, will unite our ranks even more closely. We are marching against capital in a solid militant body and no force on earth will be able to prevent our ultimate victory.

"This victory will be the finest monument to

Comrade Lenin, to the man whom as their best friend the masses called their 'Ilyich.' "

More than 900,000 people filed past the bier with Lenin's remains, in Moscow's Trade Unions House, to pay their last respects to the leader and founder of the Communist Party and the Soviet State. Meanwhile millions throughout the country gathered at funerary meetings to pledge to the Party and the government that they would dedicate all their energies to carrying out Lenin's behests. Working people all over the world voiced deep sorrow on the occasion.

On the morning of January 27 the casket with Lenin's remains was brought to the Red Square and placed on a specially erected podium. Again Moscow's working people, along with numerous delegations from all the Soviet republics, passed by to render their last homage. Then, at 4 p. m. the coffin was placed in the Mausoleum by the Kremlin Wall to the solemn strains of funeral music, the strident, shrill blasts of thousands of factory whistles and the salvoes of artillery salute. Ever since, people from all over the world have visited Lenin's tomb to pay tribute to the revolutionary leader and vow their fidelity to his teaching and cause.

* * *

Carrying out Lenin's behests, the Communist Party and the Soviet people have covered a glorious, though difficult, path.

In the shortest of historical periods and without any outside help, the Soviet Union built up a large-scale, modern industry. By the end of the

first three five-year plan periods, i.e., from 1929 to the time of the outbreak of the war in 1941, the country had been transformed into a mighty and economically independent socialist power. The age-old problem of the peasantry had at last found a solution based on Lenin's programme for co-operation in farming. The peasants went on the road of socialism, with the millions of small landholders voluntarily uniting to form collective farms. Collectivization forever rid them of kulak oppression, class stratification, ruin and beggary. A wide network of state farms was set up. Meanwhile the accomplishment of a cultural revolution led the working masses out of the slough of ignorance and spiritual slavery, and opened up before them the wealth of cultural treasures that mankind had amassed. This country, in which prior to revolution the majority of the population could neither read nor write, has scaled the summits of science and culture in one gigantic leap.

As a result of the titanic struggle and selfless effort by the Soviet people, under the Communist Party's leadership, a socialist society was built. By the 1930's socialism had been firmly established in every aspect of Soviet life. And for the first time in world history, socialism, whose inevitable triumph Marx and Engels had scientifically forecasted and a plan for whose implementation Lenin had evolved, became a reality in the USSR.

The Soviet social and state system was put to a gruelling test in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-45 against fascism, the most brutal the world has ever known. The victory which the

Soviet people won in that war showed that nothing could halt socialism's triumphant advance.

Further economic and cultural achievements in the USSR, socialism's consolidation, the strengthening of the Soviet economic and defence might and the emergence of the world socialist system tilted the world balance of forces in favour of socialism and barred any possibilities of the restoration of capitalism. Socialism has triumphed in the USSR once and for all: a developed socialist society has been built and the way has been paved for successful communist construction.

The vast Soviet economic potential rests on a diversified industry, large-scale socialist farming, advanced science and an immense pool of skilled workers, specialists and managerial personnel. Meanwhile, thanks to scientific and technological progress and the fuller use of all reserves, the efficiency of social production is steadily rising.

Socialism solved one of the biggest social problems when it did away with the exploiting classes and the causes of man's exploitation of man. In the USSR there are two friendly classes, the workers and the farmers, and they are now entirely different from what they were before. The common nature of the two forms of socialist property—that owned by the state, that is, by the entire people, and that owned co-operatively by the collective farmers—has brought these two classes much closer together, strengthening their alliance and making their friendship truly indissoluble. The new intelligentsia has been formed that sprang from the midst of the people and is devoted to the cause

of socialism. The essential distinctions between town and country and between manual and mental labour are gradually being erased. The common vital interests of the workers, farmers and intellectuals underlie the indestructible social, political and ideological unity of the Soviet people.

In the USSR the socialist principle of "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work" has become a reality. This principle secures all members of society interests in the results of their work and at the same time serves to combine personal and public interests, and makes it possible to increase labour productivity and to raise the living standard of the people. The awareness that they are working for their own benefit, for their own society, and not to enrich the exploiters, makes people work with enthusiasm and creatively, and this leads to a truly mass socialist emulation movement. In a socialist society it is logical and natural for people to work with increasing vigour in the effort to build a new life.

The object of socialism is to ever more fully satisfy the growing material and cultural requirements of the people by consistently increasing and improving social production. The Communist Party and Soviet Government are steadily pursuing the Leninist line of raising the nation's material and cultural standards. Unemployment has been abolished long ago. A seven-hour day has been introduced. Everything has been done to make working conditions healthier. Housing is greatly improved and now the USSR builds more flats than any other country in the world. Education is universal and is state maintained.

The state covers a considerable share of the expenses involved in bringing up the rising generation. A uniform pension scheme with pensions granted and paid either by the state or by the collective farms has been introduced, and the retirement age is lower than in most countries. The health services and mother-and-child care are free. In the past fifty years the life expectancy has more than doubled and now exceeds seventy years—one of the highest in the world.

Life in socialist society rests on a broad democratic foundation. Through the Soviets, the trade unions and other public organizations, the broadest masses actively participate in the administration of state affairs and in the solution of economic and cultural problems. More than 25 million people, almost a quarter of the able-bodied population, are either elected deputies to Soviets at various levels or actively help the Soviets in their work. Socialist democracy incorporates both political liberties and social rights. In contrast to bourgeois democracy it not only proclaims these rights and freedoms but also guarantees their exercise.

Socialism has created the most favourable conditions for the development of science. The achievements of Soviet science strikingly demonstrate the advantages and superiority of the socialist system; they are indicative of the infinite opportunities that socialism provides for science to develop and assume an ever-mounting significance. That the land of victorious socialism pioneered the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and blazed the trail into outer space is only natural.

Under socialism scientific and technological

progress serves to stimulate the advance of all society, to raise the material and cultural standards of the entire people, and to promote the all-round development of the individual.

One of socialism's greatest gains is the solution it has provided for the national question. It has not only ensured the political equality of all nations and nationalities and made it possible to establish the Soviet multi-national state, but has also led to the abolition of the economic and cultural inequality of nations and nationalities bequeathed by the bourgeois-landowner regime. The previously backward national areas of the old tsarist empire have become prosperous socialist republics with a modern industry and agriculture and a culture that is national in form and socialist in content. This achievement is all the more remarkable since peoples that had been at different levels of development advanced to socialism more or less simultaneously, with many of them moving straight out of a pre-capitalist formation.

In the years of socialist and communist construction there has emerged in the USSR a new historical community of people—the Soviet nation. It has developed on the basis of public ownership of the means of production, a common economic, social, political and cultural way of life, the Marxist-Leninist ideology, and the interests and communist ideals of the working class. The new Soviet man is devoted to the communist cause, has a deep sense of socialist patriotism and internationalism, is hard-working and socially and politically active, intolerant of exploitation, oppression, and national and racial prejudices, and has a profound feeling of solidarity with work-

ing people all over the world. Generations of true internationalists and champions of communism have come into being in the USSR.

The Leninist policy pursued by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is designed to promote the growth of each and every Soviet nation and nationality and at the same time bring them ever closer together. The achievements of the Soviet republics are due to their being members of a voluntary union which is the USSR, the friendship and mutual assistance between all the different nations and nationalities inhabiting the country. Life proved the viability of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a form of statehood enabling a union of free peoples to strive conjointly for their communist ideals.

As Lenin foresaw, the successful solution of the national question in the Soviet Union has acquired world-historic significance, for it shows that only the road of socialism and communism can ensure all nations and nationalities genuine equality and prosperity and make it possible for them to become friends and brothers. The entire world has recognized the Soviet experience in creating a multi-national socialist state, in rallying all the Soviet peoples for the building of a developed socialist society, and in providing a solution for the complex national question. This experience is of inestimable importance to all who are fighting for social and national liberation.

1972, the year of the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the USSR, found the country at the peak of its might.

By building a socialist society the Soviet people have erected a fitting monument to Vladimir

Ilyich Lenin, their leader and teacher, who blazed for all mankind the road to socialism.

As a living teaching, Leninism provides the guidelines for the Soviet people and the Communist Party in their effort to build a new society. Remaining loyal to Lenin's ideological heritage, the Party regards solving all problems of communist construction on the basis of Lenin's ideas and methods as its prime task.

The decisions adopted by the CPSU at its 25th Congress are an embodiment of Leninist ideas. The Congress was one more milestone in the work of the Soviet people and the Party to build communism, and was thus also a stride forward in the development of the world revolutionary process. The report to the Party Congress, delivered by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, is in effect a manifesto of advanced socialism. It contains, in Lenin's words, a complex of ideas "not only in the sense of explaining the past but also in the sense of a bold forecast of the future and of bold practical action for its achievement."

The general line of the Communist Party policy is expressed above all in the defining of the main task of the tenth five-year plan period, which is to consistently implement the Party's programme of raising the material and cultural standards of the people by developing, dynamically and proportionately, social production and increasing its efficiency, as well as by accelerating scientific and technological progress, raising labour productivity and comprehensively improving the quality of work in all branches of the national economy.

The 25th Congress summed up the results of

the political and organizational work carried out by the CPSU and adopted a concrete programme of action both for the immediate future and for many years ahead. The Congress also adopted a programme of further struggle for peace and international co-operation, and for freedom and independence of the peoples, which is the reflection of the CPSU foreign-policy general course initiated by Lenin's Decree on Peace.

INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF LENINISM

Lenin was a staunch internationalist who regarded all questions relating to the revolution and socialist construction in Russia from the standpoint of the interests of the worldwide working-class movement for emancipation. The fact that he so skilfully applied Marxist methods in solving the problems facing the Russian proletariat, does not at all warrant the conclusion that Leninism is merely the Russian variant of Marxism, whose significance is limited to Russia; on the contrary, it demonstrates the internationalistic character of Leninism.

Owing to a number of historical reasons, Russia at the beginning of the 20th century was the country where all of imperialism's basic antagonisms were revealed at their sharpest, and the Great October Socialist Revolution thus came to be a point of departure and the cornerstone for the entire contemporary international revolutionary movement. The main laws governing the world revolutionary process were confirmed in Russia's three revolutions, which succeeded

one another, each larger in scope than the preceding one, and which historically are the most important events in the early 20th century. All three, and especially the October 1917 Revolution, were of epoch-making significance and had a tremendous impact on the revolutionary movement in every country. The problems posed by the Russian working-class movement and these three revolutions were problems that confronted the entire world revolutionary movement. Thus, Lenin's approach to questions of Russia's social and political development is of international significance.

In Russia were found all the most diverse socioeconomic patterns; what Lenin called "the most modern capitalistic imperialism" existed side by side with survivals of feudal serfdom, and regions where capitalism was more or less developed bordered on parts where pre-capitalist, semi-feudal, patriarchal-feudal and even patriarchal-clan relations dominated. Here, taking place simultaneously were a nationwide struggle against tsarist autocracy and the survivals of feudal serfdom, and for socialism by the working class in alliance with the poor peasantry and other non-proletarian segments of the working masses, a working-class movement, a peasant movement, a national-liberation movement, and, finally, a popular campaign for peace. Here, in Russia, on one-sixth of the world's land surface, the working people for the first time in history overthrew capitalism and set about building socialism in the highly diversified conditions obtaining over the vast expanses of the country. This fact gave Lenin the ground to say that in Russia, as in no other country, there was a great variety of forms, nuances and methods of strug-

gle which were used by all the classes of contemporary society, and that Bolshevism had gained a wealth of historical experience which was without precedent. He noted that the laws of social development manifested in the Russian revolution were applicable to all countries.

"Experience has proved," Lenin wrote in 1920, in speaking of both the Russian revolution and the post-October development of the world revolutionary process, "that, on certain very important questions of the proletarian revolution, all countries will inevitably have to do what Russia has done."

In his book *"Left-wing" Communism—an Infantile Disorder* Lenin examined the Russian experience from the standpoint of the pressing problems relating to international Communist tactics, and of applying to the work and the policies of the Communist Parties of other countries "whatever is universally practicable, significant and relevant in the history and the present-day tactics of Bolshevism."

Thus, the internationalist character of Leninism is also explained by its incorporation of the vast experience of the Bolshevik Party, which had been called upon to carry out tasks that faced both the leading industrial capitalist countries and the relatively underdeveloped countries, including those where pre-capitalist formations dominated.

At the same time—and this is to be emphasized—Leninism emerged and developed as a summation of the experience of the worldwide, and not only Russian, working-class and national-liberation and anti-colonialist movements. In Lenin's writings one finds the most profound ana-

lyses of the economic, social and political development and the revolutionary movement in such countries as the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan. Many of his articles deal with the national-liberation and revolutionary movements in China, India, Indonesia, and the Middle East. Lenin also showed a keen interest in the events in Latin America and Africa.

A great number of his works deal with the general laws of historical development and of the working people's struggle for emancipation in the epoch of imperialism and socialist revolutions, and of the transition from capitalism to socialism. Problems of the world revolutionary process are also discussed at length in works devoted mainly to Russia, its revolutionary movement and to socialist construction there. Lenin had also drawn up a number of important, including some programmatic, documents for the international working-class and communist movement.

All this shows that Leninism is an international teaching, a guide to action for working people everywhere. It is not surprising, therefore, that millions upon millions of workmen throughout the world regard Lenin as their teacher and leader.

As a leader of the international working-class movement Lenin emerged at the beginning of the 20th century. From October 1905 to 1912 he represented the RSDLP in the International Socialist Bureau of the Second International and actively participated in discussions of major questions of the world revolutionary movement and of the tasks of the working-class parties of different countries. He headed the Bolshevik de-

legations at the 1907 Stuttgart and 1910 Copenhagen International Socialist Congresses, to which he devoted the articles "The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart" and "The Question of Co-operative Societies at the International Socialist Congress in Copenhagen."

Already then, Lenin resolutely fought the opportunists on an international scale, and tried to rally together all Left-wing revolutionaries. The meetings which he organized during the Stuttgart Congress with K. Zetkin, R. Luxemburg, L. Tyszka, G. Ledebour and other Left-wingers were one of the first steps ever taken to unite revolutionary Marxists in the international socialist movement in the imperialist epoch. As a member of the "Militarism and International Conflicts" Committee, set up at the Congress, he introduced important amendments, which were seconded by Polish Social Democrats, to A. Bebel's draft resolution so that the final version reflected the spirit of revolutionary Marxism. At the Copenhagen Congress he again conferred with the Left-wingers in the Second International and also drafted the resolution on co-operatives which the RSDLP delegation put before the Co-operatives Committee of the Congress.

Georg Ledebour, a leading German Social Democrat, whom, incidentally, Lenin earlier criticized for his middle-of-the-road position during and after the First World War, wrote of Lenin in 1924: "I had occasion to work with Lenin at international congresses in the pre-war days. Even at that early time Lenin's clear, logical thinking and his capacity for decisive action had convinced all of us that he was destined to achieve great things when the time came."

When the Second International disintegrated during the First World War, Lenin put forth the task of setting up a new, and truly revolutionary, Third International. He worked hard to convene the two international socialist conferences that took place in 1915 and 1916 in Zimmerwald and Kienthal in Switzerland. At these gatherings he upheld revolutionary Marxist principles and fought against social-chauvinism and Kautskyism. Lenin proved to be a leader around whom all true internationalists in the world working-class movement rallied.

Willi Münzenberg, who in 1914-17 was a leader of the Swiss Social-Democratic Youth organization, wrote later that long before the war, after it had begun, and during the war members of the organization had always taken a strong anti-war stand. The betrayal by the Social-Democratic leadership at the beginning of the war aroused their contempt. They were young revolutionaries and the only thing they knew then was that they wanted to bring about a revolution and change the world. However, in this ardent desire to accomplish a revolution they sometimes seized on the wrong things and went astray. But when they came to know Lenin personally in the spring and summer of 1915 they realized that they had before them a genuinely great leader who could lead them onto the road of fruitful revolutionary activity and this attracted them to him.

The Great October Socialist Revolution opened up a new era in the working people's worldwide struggle for emancipation. Soviet Russia became the base and stronghold and a catalyst of the world revolutionary process. "Our socialist Republic of Soviets," Lenin said with fervour in one

of his speeches, "will stand secure, as a torch of international socialism and as an example to all the working people. Over there—conflict, war, bloodshed, the sacrifice of millions of people, capitalist exploitation; here—a genuine policy of peace and a socialist Republic of Soviets."

During the Civil War (1918-20), Lenin addressed a number of letters to the workingmen of Western Europe and America, in which he explained the meaning of the October Revolution, pointing out that the Soviet people were waging a struggle to liberate themselves, and urged the workers of Europe and the United States to protest against the imperialist intervention. In August 1918 in his famous *Letter to American Workers* he condemned imperialism, especially US imperialism, explained Bolshevik tactics, and described the large-scale revolutionary reforms undertaken by Soviet power.

Rebuffing the slanderous attacks on Soviet power and the Bolshevik Party by the bourgeois and Right-wing socialist press, Lenin wrote:

"Let the corrupt bourgeois press shout to the whole world about every mistake our revolution makes. We are not daunted by our mistakes. People have not become saints because the revolution has begun. . .

"For every hundred mistakes we commit, and which the bourgeoisie and their lackeys. . .shout about to the whole world, 10,000 great and heroic deeds are performed. . .

"But even if the contrary were true—although I know such an assumption is wrong—even if we committed 10,000 mistakes for every 100 correct actions we performed, even in that case our revolution would be great and invincible, and so

it will be in the eyes of world history, because, for the first time... the real people, the vast majority of the working people, are themselves building a new life, are by their own experience solving the most difficult problems of socialist organization."

One would do well to recall these words of Lenin's today when the propagandists of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are doing their best to falsify Soviet history, "forgetting" the colossal difficulties that the Soviet people had to overcome and slurring over their stupendous achievements and the fact that they have built socialism and in the last war saved mankind from the menace of fascist enslavement. Concentrating instead on the setbacks, shortcomings and mistakes they are gloating over the tragic pages in the annals of Soviet history.

Notwithstanding the spate of lies and vile slander that the bourgeois press slung at the Bolsheviks, the truth about the Republic of Soviets and the October Revolution continued to reach working people all over the world. In many countries the masses launched big campaigns in support of Soviet Russia. Soldiers of the interventionist armies that had overrun Russia refused to fight her people. Meanwhile workers went on strike, refusing to load arms shipments for the White Guards, and set up Councils of Action under the motto of "Hands off Russia!". Lenin regarded as a most striking manifestation of proletarian internationalism the formation of international detachments in which the best of the working class of different countries fought shoulder to shoulder with the Red Army

against the troops of the interventionists and the White Guards.

"There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism," Lenin said, "and that is—working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own* country, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy and material aid) *this struggle, this, and only this*, line, in *every* country without exception." The Soviet republic's Leninist Party has always pursued this internationalist policy.

Lenin closely followed revolutionary developments in the West. In connection with the growing revolutionary movement in Germany, he wrote: "...for the German worker masses, the German working people in their millions... we are beginning to prepare a fraternal alliance, bread, military aid."

In his message of greeting to the revolutionary government set up in Bavaria after a Soviet republic was proclaimed there, Lenin pointed out the priority tasks before the proletarian party that had assumed power. He noted that it was necessary to organize bodies of revolutionary authority in town and country, arm the proletariat and disarm the bourgeoisie, and at once take steps to improve the conditions of the factory workers, farm labourers, and small landholders.

The people of Soviet Russia greeted with enthusiasm the proclamation in March 1919 of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. In a message to the Hungarian Communist leader Béla Kun Lenin said that it was necessary creatively to apply Marxism and the Russian experience and that the Hungarian Government should establish a work-

ing-class dictatorship. Of great theoretical and practical significance is his "Greetings to the Hungarian Workers" in which he explained the tasks of the proletarian dictatorship. When the imperialists intervened in Soviet Hungary, Soviet Russia, loyal to its internationalist duty, did all in its power to help; unfortunately, however, the Red Army, owing to the situation then obtaining on the Civil War fronts, was unable to come to Hungary's aid. The betrayal by the Right-wing Socialists in Hungary helped the imperialists destroy the Hungarian Soviet Republic.

Lenin was the inspirer and leader of the world communist movement. On his initiative, in 1919, the Communist parties set up the Third, Communist International (Comintern), which played an important role in promoting the emancipation movement of the working people, in forming and strengthening Communist parties, in evolving working-class tactics and strategy, and in bringing to the fore and training prominent leaders of the communist movement.

The Comintern held its congresses under Lenin's direction. At the First Congress he delivered the main report which was on bourgeois democracy and the proletarian dictatorship. He drafted the key resolutions adopted at the Second Congress, in 1920—the theses on the Congress's main tasks; on the agrarian question, and on the national and colonial questions. At this Congress he presented a report on the international situation and the Comintern's basic tasks, took part in the work of several of the commissions, delivering the report of the commission on the national question, and spoke about the role of the Communist Party and other matters. At the Third

Congress, in 1921, he spoke of the tactics of the Russian Communist Party and brilliantly defended the Comintern's tactics; he also took part in drafting the "Theses on the Organizational Structure of Communist Parties and the Methods and Content of Their Work." At the Fourth Congress (1922), the last attended by Lenin, he delivered a report entitled "Five Years of the Russian Revolution and the Prospects of the World Revolution," and, as head of the Russian Communist Party delegation, directed all its activities and took part in drafting Congress resolutions and decisions.

Of tremendous importance, both for individual Communist parties and for the entire international communist movement, are the letters which Lenin addressed to Communists and working-class leaders of different countries.

Before, during and after the Comintern congresses, Lenin would meet with individual delegates and also whole delegations to learn about the situation and the working-class movement in their countries and to discuss questions of Communist parties' organization and activity. All who talked with him were astounded by his grasp of the problems facing various countries. His speeches, writings and letters and also talking or working together with him left an indelible impression upon foreign Communists and greatly helped them attain political maturity. Many of them later became leaders of national Communist parties and of the international communist and working-class movement.

Paul Vaillant-Couturier, a poet and publicist, who was one of the founders of the French Communist Party, said of Lenin:

"Vladimir Ilyich was and still is the personification of ceaseless activity, and at the same time a Marxist from head to foot. Contact with him had the effect of a gust of wind sweeping into a stuffy room; it refreshed the mind burdened by prejudice and formal doctrines. . .

"Lenin, the intellectual, could think like a worker. Lenin, the orator, spoke without rhetoric or bombast. The man who had shaken the whole world, whose mind was constantly absorbing all that constituted the living breath of that world, this man, to the end of his life, preserved a remarkable ability to feel and think in terms of a Chinese coolie or a Negro porter. The oppressed Annamite or Hindu were as much of an open book to him as the Leningrad metal-worker, the Paris textile-worker, or the miner from Virginia. Lenin was the perfect type of the new man; he was for us the prototype of the future."

"Lenin's thoughts," wrote the well-known Danish writer Martin Andersen-Nexo, when recollecting the report which Lenin delivered at the Comintern's Fourth Congress, "flowed limpid and clear, even when he touched upon great human problems and showed with a clarity comprehensible to one and all that the future is inevitably and assuredly developing out of the present. He seemed to be living all these human lives himself. . .

" 'This is a real man,' a Norwegian worker beside me whispered, 'He looks like any of us, yet he sees a thousand times farther!'"

Sen Katayama, founder of the Japanese Communist Party, in describing Lenin's conversations with delegates to the First Congress of Revolutionary Organizations of the Far East (from Chi-

na, Japan, Indonesia and Mongolia) recalled that Lenin chatted with each delegation in turn, but so that all could hear the questions put and his answers, and that he discussed with each delegation both the problems arising in its own country and the issues facing the entire Far East.

"He," Sen Katayama wrote, "was very attentive to everyone who spoke to him. He was also a very good listener. His answers satisfied and encouraged everyone. We all felt perfectly at ease with him. He was a fine conversationalist and all of us were interested in everything he had to say. Comrade Lenin gave many useful suggestions and advice to each delegation in this brief but extremely important talk with the Congress delegates."

At one of the sessions of the Second Comintern Congress the delegates decided to write down what they thought of Lenin. Their notes were later put together as an album. Below are some of the notes.

Giacinto Menotti Serrati, a prominent figure in Italy's working-class movement and a leader of the Italian Socialist Party who later became a Communist, wrote: "We are no lovers of fetishes, and in our communist view of things some individuals may act as guides in historical events but not as their driving force. But when, as Engels remarked in connection with the death of Karl Marx, these individuals embody the mind of their age and the hopes of a class, their names become sacred for mankind and history. Today Lenin personifies the age of the proletarian revolution and the struggle between oppressors and oppressed. His name is synonymous with protest, struggle and liberation."

Edward Martin, a member of the US Communist Party, wrote: "Lenin stands with Marx, as the greatest of socialist students, whose name will live for ages."

John Reed, the American Communist writer, said: "*Lenin*, simple, most human; and yet most far-seeing and immovable."

Delegates from the colonies and the dependent countries wrote that Lenin had awakened fresh hopes in the hearts of the Eastern peoples and had pointed out to them the way to happiness. "Mankind's noblest son," an Indian delegate noted.

Luis Emilio Recabarren Serrano, founder of the Chilean Communist Party, who attended the Fourth Comintern Congress, described Lenin as "the greatest man of his time, a man whom all the world's scholars and reverend people esteem, whom the world proletariat sacredly reveres."

Finally, here is what two other prominent men said of Lenin. They had never met Lenin but, being his contemporaries, they were greatly influenced by his ideas and personality.

Ho Chi Minh, leader of the Vietnamese people and an outstanding figure in the world Communist movement, said: "In his lifetime he was our father, teacher, comrade and counsellor. Today he is our lodestar, leading us to social revolution."

William Du Bois, the Negro leader and scholar, wrote that Lenin's books translated into the local languages would provide the embattled African peoples with clear-shining, guiding beacons on the way to a bright and historic future.

In his writings, and above all in his "*Left-Wing*" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder*, in the

theses and resolutions he drafted for Comintern Congresses as well as in the letters he addressed to Communist parties and working-class leaders, Lenin outlined the basic principles for the programmes, strategy and tactics of the worldwide communist movement.

Lenin described the essence of the present epoch which was ushered in by the October Revolution in Russia as one of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism, as "the abolition of capitalism and its vestiges, and the establishment of the fundamentals of the communist order." He pointed out that the main contradiction of this epoch is that between socialism and capitalism, and that the struggle between these two systems determines "world political developments." He described the principal revolutionary forces of modern times and the prospects before the working people's worldwide movement for emancipation following the world's division into two systems.

Lenin regarded the socialist system, represented then by Soviet Russia, as the leading force in the struggle against imperialism. He emphasized that the Land of Soviets was inevitably grouping around itself, both the socialist "movements of the advanced workers in all countries," and "all the national-liberation movements in the colonies and among the oppressed nationalities." He defined the principles underlying the relations between countries where a socialist revolution had been accomplished, pointing out that it would be essential for them to unite, cooperate and extend mutual assistance; he insisted that the Communists and all working people should render "unselfish support" to each socia-

list republic "in its struggle against counter-revolutionary forces."

Lenin attached paramount importance to the working-class struggle in the capitalist countries, and, above all, in imperialism's citadels. He sharply criticized those who underestimated the opportunities for revolutionary action by the proletariat of the leading capitalist countries. It would be stupid, he said, to exclude from the revolutionary forces the proletariat of Europe and the United States.

Summing up the newly accumulated experience of the working-class movement, he further developed the thesis about the proletariat's allies, stressing the importance of work among the peasantry and the need to win the progressive intelligentsia over to communism and rally the broadest masses around the working class. Noting that unity in the working-class movement was one of the decisive factors enabling the working class to discharge its historic mission, he proposed a united working-class front and defined the tactics for achieving joint working-class action.

Lenin regarded the national-liberation movement as a powerful revolutionary force in the modern world. He discussed at length the question of the driving forces of this movement, noting how the relationship between them would change as the movement developed, and pointed out that "the movement of the majority of the population of the globe, initially directed towards national liberation, will turn against capitalism and imperialism."

In connection with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the prospect of

the emergence of the world system of socialism, he considered the possibility of backward countries embarking upon socialism and skipping the capitalist stage of development. Prerequisites for this Lenin saw in the establishment in these countries of a government that would truly represent the interests of the people, a revolutionary democracy, and co-operation between these countries and the socialist states. He urged both oppressed nations and nations that had thrown off the chains of imperialist bondage to closely cooperate with the socialist system, with the Republic of Soviets.

He maintained that it was inevitable that revolutions in the East, Africa and Asia would have their own specific features. But he emphasized that, despite these specific features, social evolution and the class struggle in these countries would be governed by the general laws of historical development which the founders of Marxism had disclosed.

Lenin said that the decisive factors in the worldwide triumph of socialism were: unity of all forces of revolution, the leading role of the working class and the Communist Parties, their correct strategy and tactics, a most determined fight against social-reformism, revisionism, dogmatism, sectarianism and nationalism, and cohesion of the international communist movement.

In the capitalist countries the opportunists and revisionists are opposed to a socialist revolution. They call for reforms that do not impinge upon the mainstays of the capitalist order. They, in effect, deny proletarian leadership in the struggle against imperialism.

Lenin had noted on several occasions that on

many fundamental points the positions of Right-wing and "Left" revisionism and opportunism coincided and interwove. Thus, they attack from different standpoints the ideas of working-class hegemony, proletarian dictatorship and the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the role and organizational principles of the proletarian party of a new type. An example of this is Trotskyism, which is a hodgepodge of adventurism and capitulatory views.

Lenin vigorously rebuffed nationalistic tendencies in the international working-class and communist movement, noting the link between them and both Right-wing and "Left" opportunism. He wrote: "The ideological and political affinity, connection and even identity between opportunism and social-nationalism are beyond doubt." He called on the Communist parties and the world communist movement to combat opportunistic distortion of the concept and policy of internationalism and the practice of paying lip-service to internationalism in order to camouflage nationalism. He was for the unswerving implementation of proletarian internationalism, emphasizing that it was essential correctly to combine the national and the international tasks of the Communist parties and that "the interests of the proletarian struggle in any one country should be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a worldwide scale."

Time and again Lenin pointed out that in formulating their policies the Communist parties must take into account the national and other specific features of their respective countries. At the same time he emphasized the importance of the common laws of development governing the

socialist revolution and the transition from capitalism to communism, which applied to all countries. He said that the question was one of correctly modifying the basic principles of communism in accordance with the particular features of one or another country, of correctly adapting and applying them with account being taken of national distinctions.

At total variance with Leninism are social-reformist ratiocinations about "different models of socialism," about a "special" road to socialism for one or another country, notions that reflect opportunistic deviations from the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

All of Lenin's writings are permeated with a feeling of confidence in the inevitable triumph of communist ideals. "Communism is bound to win. It will win," he wrote. In his last article "Better Fewer, But Better," which he completed on March 2, 1923, he once again noted that the complete worldwide victory of socialism was inevitable, "fully and absolutely assured."



Our epoch is one of the triumph of Leninism. The universality and efficacy of Lenin's teaching on socialist construction have been fully confirmed by the experience of many countries on three continents. The world system of socialism is growing and gaining in strength. The system of international co-operation that has been established within the framework of the world socialist community demonstrates the viability of Lenin's principles concerning a new type of relations between nations.

The entire world revolutionary movement has attained new and higher levels under the banner of Leninism.

Practice has disproved the outdated thesis of bourgeois-reformist and petty-bourgeois anarchistic theorists on the alleged "waning" of the revolutionary spirit among the working people in the West. In class battles fought over recent years the working class has displayed a gift for organization, militancy, and a readiness to take decisive action in the name of democratic and socialist ideals. It has demonstrated its ability to lead the masses in the new conditions of deep-going changes in economy, social relations and the social outlook of the working people. In most capitalist countries it is the peasants who remain the proletariat's main ally. The progressive intelligentsia is playing an increasingly important role as an ally of the proletariat. More groups of young people are joining the revolutionary movement.

Lenin's ideas about the national-liberation movement and the strategy of forging a firm alliance between the world socialist system and the international proletariat, on the one hand, and the oppressed peoples, on the other, have shown the road to victory in the struggle against colonialism and for national independence, freedom and social progress. Imperialism's colonial system has disintegrated under the blows of the national-liberation movement, and hundreds of millions of people have thrown off the chains of imperialist bondage. Tens of former colonial and semi-colonial nations have begun to pursue an independent course of social and political development. As Lenin had foreseen, in many coun-

tries the national-liberation movement has developed into a fight against every kind of exploitation, feudal and capitalist. Many countries that have cast off the imperialist yoke have taken a non-capitalist road of development with the ultimate aim of building a socialist society.

A salient feature of our time is the popular movement to preserve and strengthen peace and prevent another world war. In the van of the peace movement are the socialist countries and the world's Communists. The peace movement confirms Lenin's view that the maintenance of peace, the prevention of world wars, provides the most favourable conditions for socialist and communist construction and for the entire revolutionary process and accords with the vital interests of the overwhelming majority of mankind.

Loyal to Lenin's behests, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government consistently strengthen the unity and fraternal friendship of the socialist countries, pursue a policy of international solidarity with the working-class movement in the capitalist countries, support the national-liberation movement and cooperate with the developing countries, uphold the principle of the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems, resolutely repulse the aggressive forces of imperialism, and do all in their power to safeguard humanity from another world war. And now that major progress in carrying out the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems has been made, and that the peace movement in all parts of the world has been growing in scope, the following words said by Lenin many years ago acquire particular importance: "...our peace

policy is approved by the vast majority of people all over the world."

The unceasing striving of peoples for peace on earth has been most vividly demonstrated at the World Congress of Peace Forces which was held in Moscow in October 1973 and attended by more than 3,000 delegates from 144 countries. In his speech at the Congress, met with warm approval, Leonid Brezhnev noted: "The principles of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems are winning ever broader recognition. They are assuming more and more practical content, gradually becoming a generally accepted standard of international relations." Addressing the world army of peace champions he said: "You can depend on the Soviet people, who have always—in the early years after their great revolution, in the years of building socialism, in the battle against fascism, in the post-war decades, and at the present time—stood and will continue to stand in the front line of the struggle for the interests of humanity."

The USSR stands forth before the world today as the land which is building communism, as the citadel of international friendship, as the bulwark of the world revolutionary movement for liberation.

In league with the other fraternal parties the Communist Party of the Soviet Union steadily works for firmer political cohesion of the communist movement, which must play a still greater role in the struggle against imperialism. The CPSU, faithful to the ideas of proletarian internationalism, has never regarded the Soviet Union's destiny as separated from the destinies of other nations, and the world as a whole. As Leonid

Brezhnev put it at the Berlin Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Europe, "The USSR's foreign policy, whose aim is to promote peace and peoples' freedom, and our domestic policy whose aim is to build communism, not only meet the vital interests of the Soviet people, but constitute, we are certain, our contribution to the common struggle of Communists throughout the world for a better future for mankind."

"This path of ours", Lenin said, "is the right one, for it is the path which, sooner or later, all other countries must inevitably take." The entire course of social development has confirmed this, thus proving the international significance and historical truth of Leninism.

Lenin's ideological heritage, an inexhaustible source of revolutionary thought and inspiration, is truly invaluable.

Leninism has always been and remains the victorious banner of the fighters against imperialism, and for peace, national independence, social progress, democracy and socialism.

I L L U S T R A T I O N S

1. Lenin's statue in Ulyanovsk.
2. The Ulyanov family in 1879. Lenin is seen here with his parents Maria Alexandrovna and Ilya Nikolayevich and his sisters and brothers: Olga, Maria, Alexander, Dmitri, and Anna.
3. *We shall take a different path*, a painting by P. Belousov.
4. Copies of Lenin's books *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* (1899), *What Is To Be Done?* (1902), *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* (1905), and issues of *Iskra* (1900-03), and *Pravda* and other Party's newspapers.
5. Lenin in emigration in Paris in 1910.
6. *Barricades in Krasnaya Presnya. December 1905*, a painting by I. Vladimirov.
7. Lenin in emigration near Zakopane in 1914.
8. Lenin in Stockholm on March 31, 1917, with a group of Russian political emigres who were returning to Russia.

9. Lenin speaking in Red Square on November 7, 1918, the first anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.
10. July 4, 1917. Workers, soldiers and sailors staging anti-government demonstration in Petrograd.
11. The hut at Razliv where Lenin hid in July and August, 1917.
12. An identity card made out in the name of a worker, Konstantin Ivanov, which Lenin used to escape the police spies of the Provisional Government in 1917.
13. *Going to Petrograd*, a painting by A. Lopukhov.
14. November 7, 1917. Petrograd's insurgent masses stormed the Winter Palace, last stronghold of the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government.
15. Painting by V. Serov showing Lenin addressing the Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets.
16. Russia's working people enthusiastically acclaimed the Decrees on Peace and Land, the first decrees that Lenin drafted and that were enacted by Soviet power.
17. Lenin addressing a Vsevobuch (Universal Military Training) meeting in Red Square in Moscow on May 25, 1919.
18. Lenin talking with H. G. Wells in Moscow on October 6, 1920.
19. Lenin in Red Square on May 25, 1919.
20. Lenin and Sverdlov by the Kremlin Wall in Red Square watching the November 7 demonstration in 1918.
21. Lenin and his wife, Krupskaya, with local peasants at the opening of the Kashino power station on November 14, 1920.
22. Lenin speaking at the funeral of Yakov Sverdlov in Moscow on March 18, 1919.
23. Lenin participating in the All-Russia Subbotnik in the Kremlin on May Day, 1920.

24. Lenin laying the foundation stone of a monument to Karl Marx in Moscow on May Day, 1920.
25. Lenin in his Kremlin office on October 16, 1918.
26. Lenin and Krupskaya leaving the Trade Unions House in Moscow on May 6, 1919, after a session of the All-Russia Congress on extra-mural education.
27. Copies of Lenin's works *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government* (1918), and "*Left-wing*" *Communism—an Infantile Disorder* (1920).
28. Lenin at a session of the Third Comintern Congress in Moscow, held in June-July 1921.
29. Lenin at the First All-Russia Congress on Education in Moscow on August 28, 1918.
30. Lenin with the staff of the secretariat of the Council of People's Commissars at the Kremlin in October 1918, following his recovery from the wounds he received during an attempt on his life.
31. Lenin in Moscow on May Day, 1920.
32. Lenin watching try-outs of the first Soviet-made electric plough at the experimental farm of the Moscow Zootechnical College on October 22, 1921.
- 33—34. Lenin with delegates to the Tenth All-Russia Communist Party Conference on May 26-28, 1921.
35. Lenin as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars in Moscow on October 16, 1918.
36. Lenin in Moscow in 1920.
37. Lenin with his wife Nadezhda Krupskaya, his sister Anna Ulyanova-Yelizarova, his nephew Victor, and Vera, a worker's daughter, in Gorki in August 1922.
38. Lenin and Krupskaya at their flat in the Kremlin in February 1920.
39. Lenin taking a walk in Gorki in 1922.
40. People render their last respects to Lenin, their leader, friend and teacher on January 27, 1924.
41. Lenin's desk in his Kremlin study.

42. The first volume of Lenin's 55-volume *Complete Works*.
43. Lenin's works in foreign languages.
44. At the 25th Party Congress which took place at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow in February-March, 1976.
- 45—47. Following an established tradition, Leonid Brezhnev is signing the Party card No. 1 for Vladimir I. Lenin during the recent exchange of the CPSU membership cards.
48. May Day demonstration in Red Square in Moscow.

В. И. Ленин (Ленин)

РАЗВИТИЕ КАПИТАЛИЗМА

ВЪ РОССИИ.

Что дѣлать?

Наболѣвшіе вопросы нашего движенія

Н. ЛЕНИНА.

РОССИЙСКАЯ СОЦІАЛЪ-
ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКАЯ
РАБОЧАЯ ПАРТІЯ

ИСКРА

„Искра освѣтитъ намъ путь“
Отъ редактора Бушана

№ 1

ДЕКАБРЬ 1900 ГОДА

№ 1

НАСТУПАЮЩАЯ ЗАДАЧА НАШЕГО ДВИЖЕНІЯ

Русское революционное движение за последние годы пережило ряд важных изменений. Оно вышло из-под влияния либеральной оппозиции, оно стало самостоятельным движением, оно стало движением масс. Оно стало движением, которое не боится борьбы, которое не боится жертв, которое не боится смерти. Оно стало движением, которое не боится борьбы, которое не боится жертв, которое не боится смерти.

ОБЪЕДИНЕНІЕ РАБОЧИХЪ ПАРТІЙ

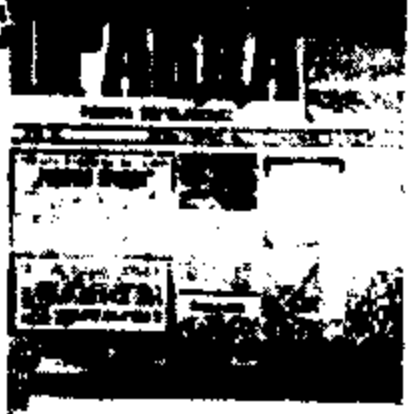
Вопросъ объединенія рабочихъ партій является однимъ изъ главныхъ вопросовъ нашего движенія. Мы должны объединиться, мы должны бороться, мы должны жертвовать, мы должны умирать. Мы должны объединиться, мы должны бороться, мы должны жертвовать, мы должны умирать.

ОБЪЕДИНЕНІЕ РАБОЧИХЪ ПАРТІЙ

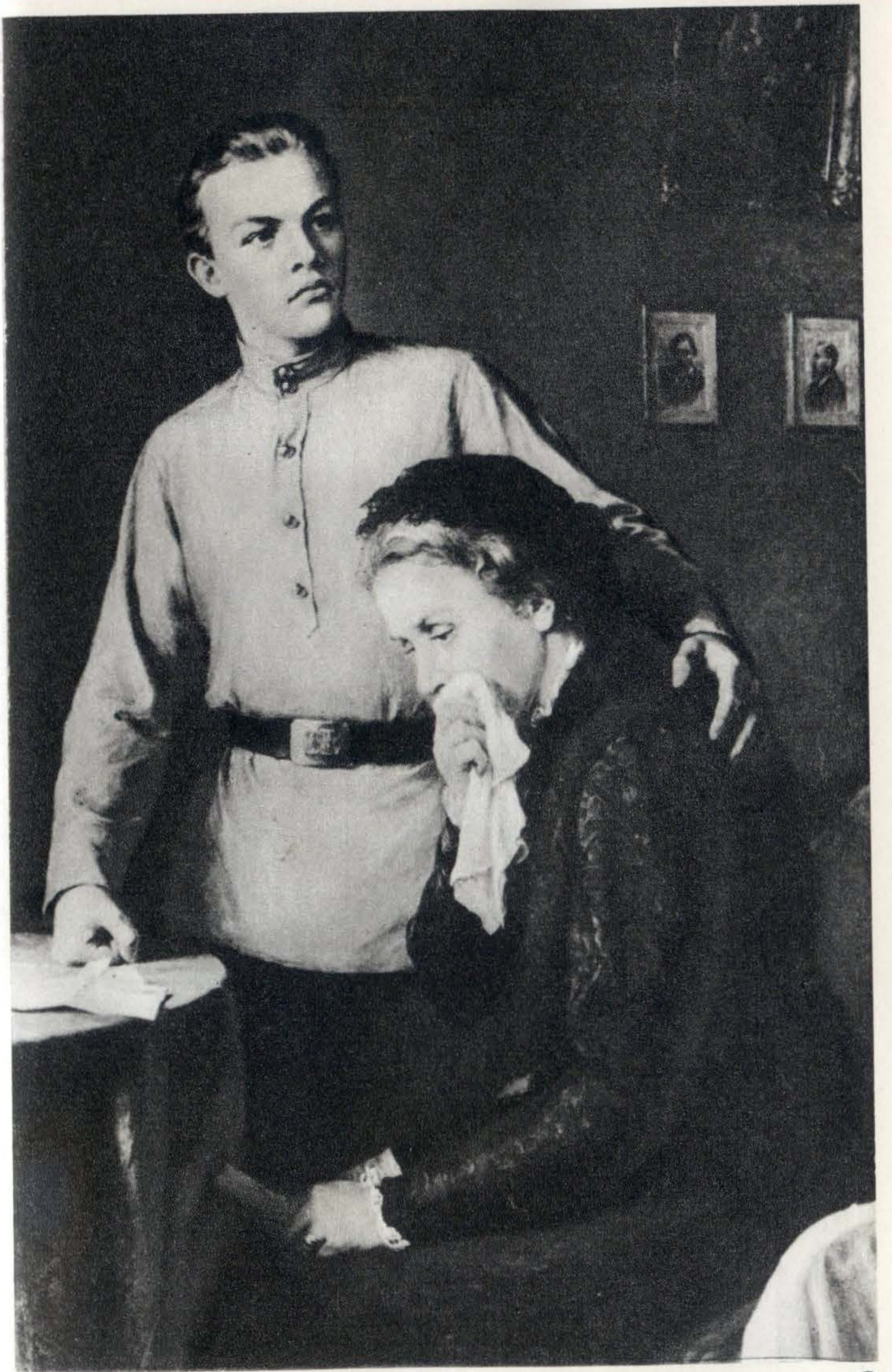
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Н. ЛЕНИНЪ.

Двѣ тактики СОЦІАЛЪДЕМОКРАТИИ въ демократической революціи.







Владимир Ильич

РАЗВИТИЕ КАПИТАЛИЗМА

ВЪ РОССИИ.

Что дѣлать?

Наболѣвшіе вопросы нашего движенія

Н. ЛЕНИНА.

РОССІЙСКАЯ СОЦІАЛЬ-
ДЕМОКРАТИЧЕСКАЯ
РАБОЧАЯ ПАРТІЯ

ИСКРА

„Искра возгорела пламя“
Отвѣтъ дряхлостямъ Бухарину

№ 1

ДЕКАБРЬ 1900 ГОДА

№ 1

НАСТУПАЮЩІЯ ЗАДАЧА НАШЕГО ДВИЖЕНІЯ

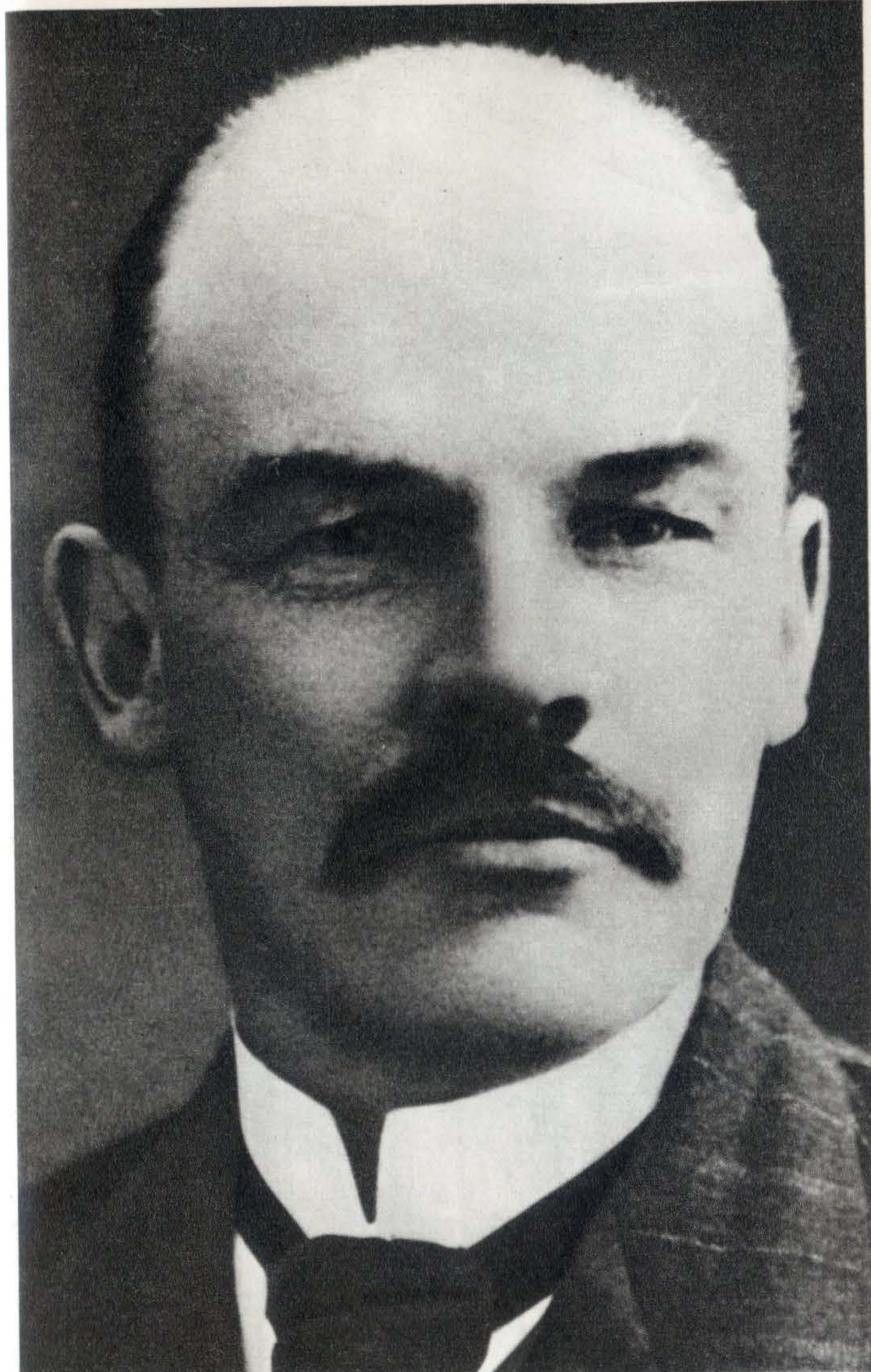
Русская социал-демократическая рабочая партия должна быть исключительно пролетарской, исключая всякой буржуазной примеси. Это выдвинула программа 1903 года на съезде социал-демократической рабочей партии в Лондоне. Этот съезд был историческим событием, так как он впервые в истории русского социал-демократического движения окончательно утвердил программу 1903 года. Программа 1903 года была историческим событием, так как она впервые в истории русского социал-демократического движения окончательно утвердила программу 1903 года.

Чемъ ближе къ началу, тѣмъ ближе къ концу. Это выдвинула программа 1903 года на съезде социал-демократической рабочей партии в Лондоне. Этот съезд был историческим событием, так как он впервые в истории русского социал-демократического движения окончательно утвердил программу 1903 года.

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Н. ЛЕНИНЪ.

Двѣ тактики СОЦІАЛЬДЕМОКРАТІИ въ демократической революціи.











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Сестрорѣцкій Оружейн. Заводъ.
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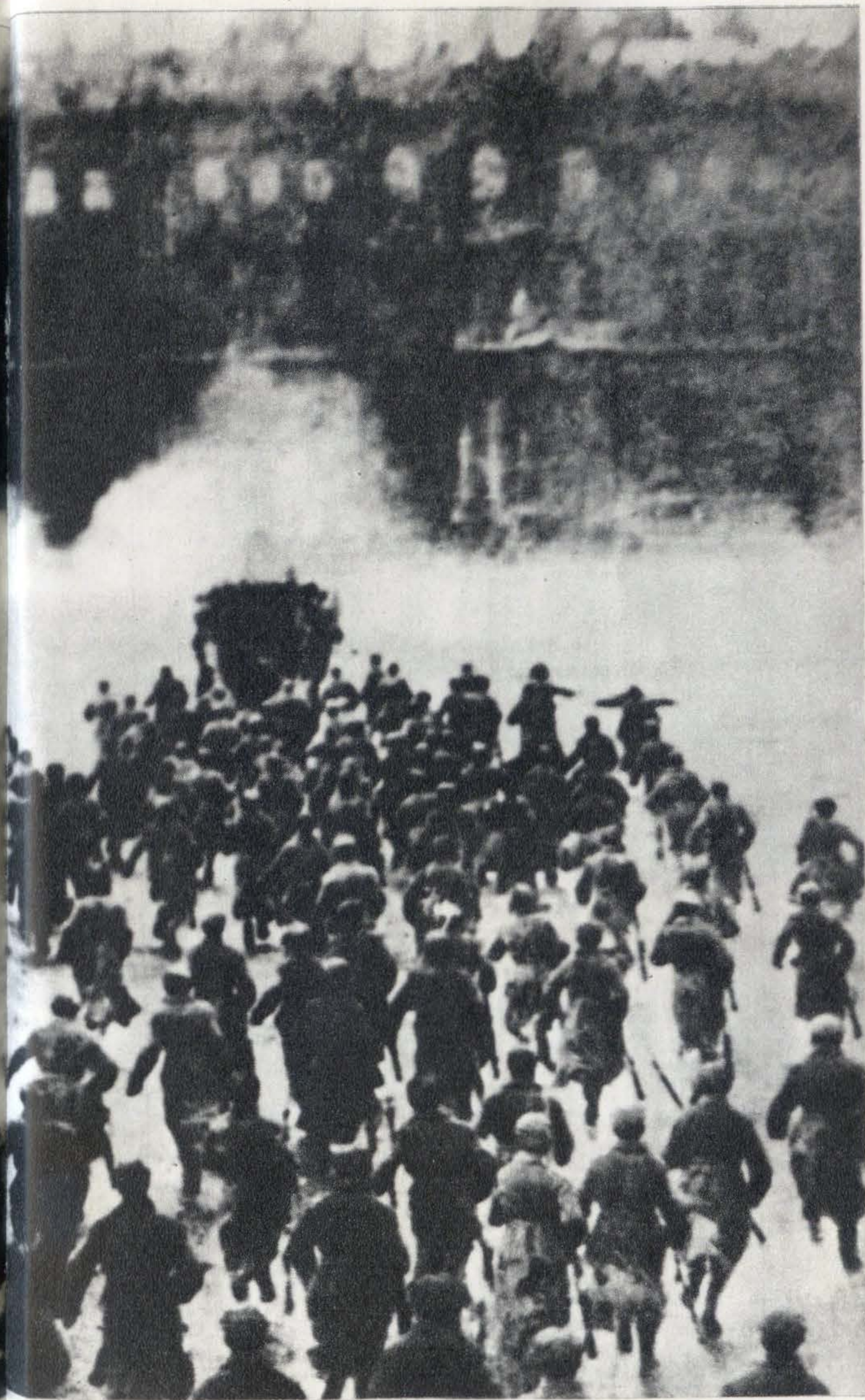
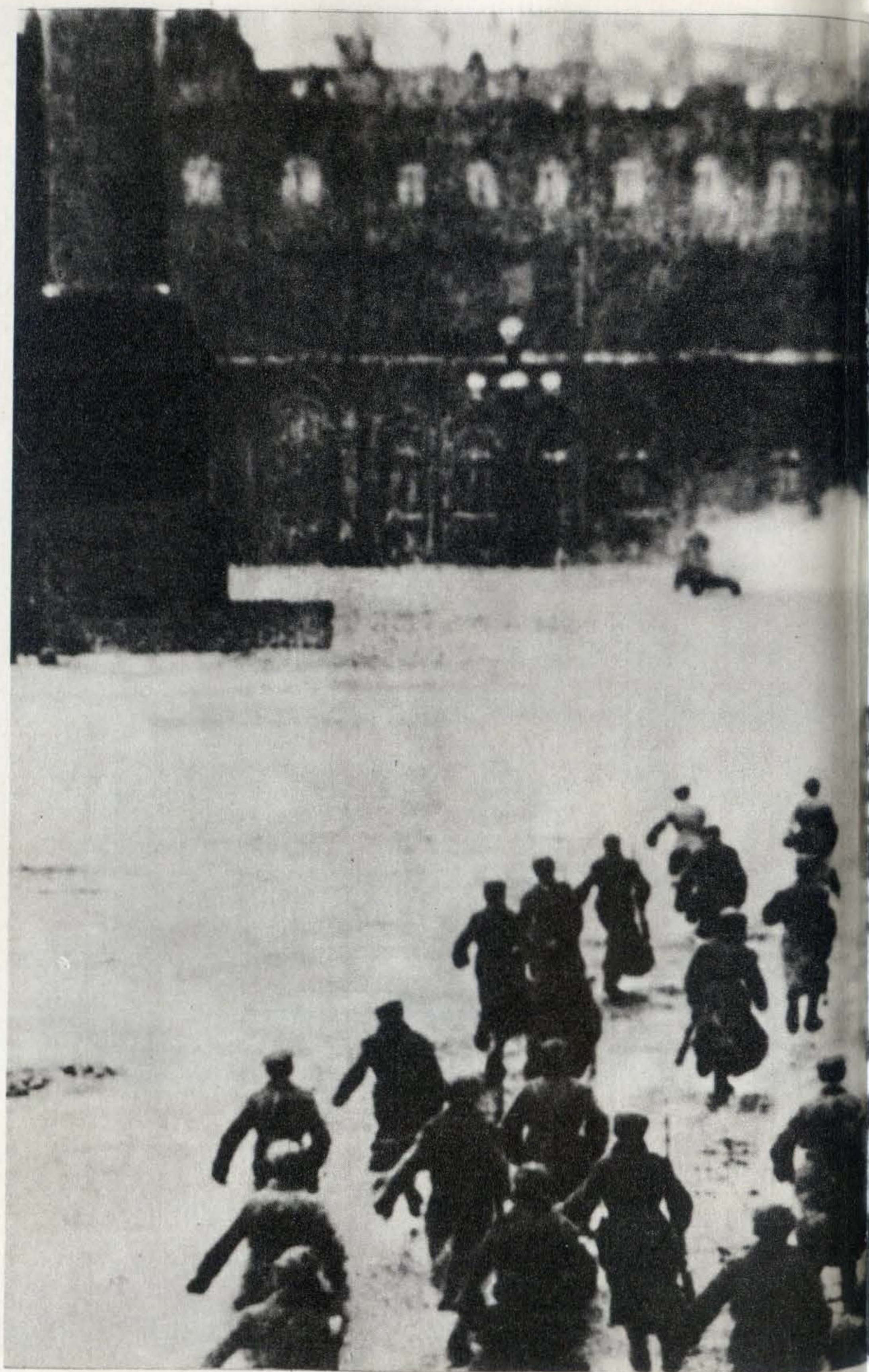
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дому моему Завода въ
1 Января 1918 г.

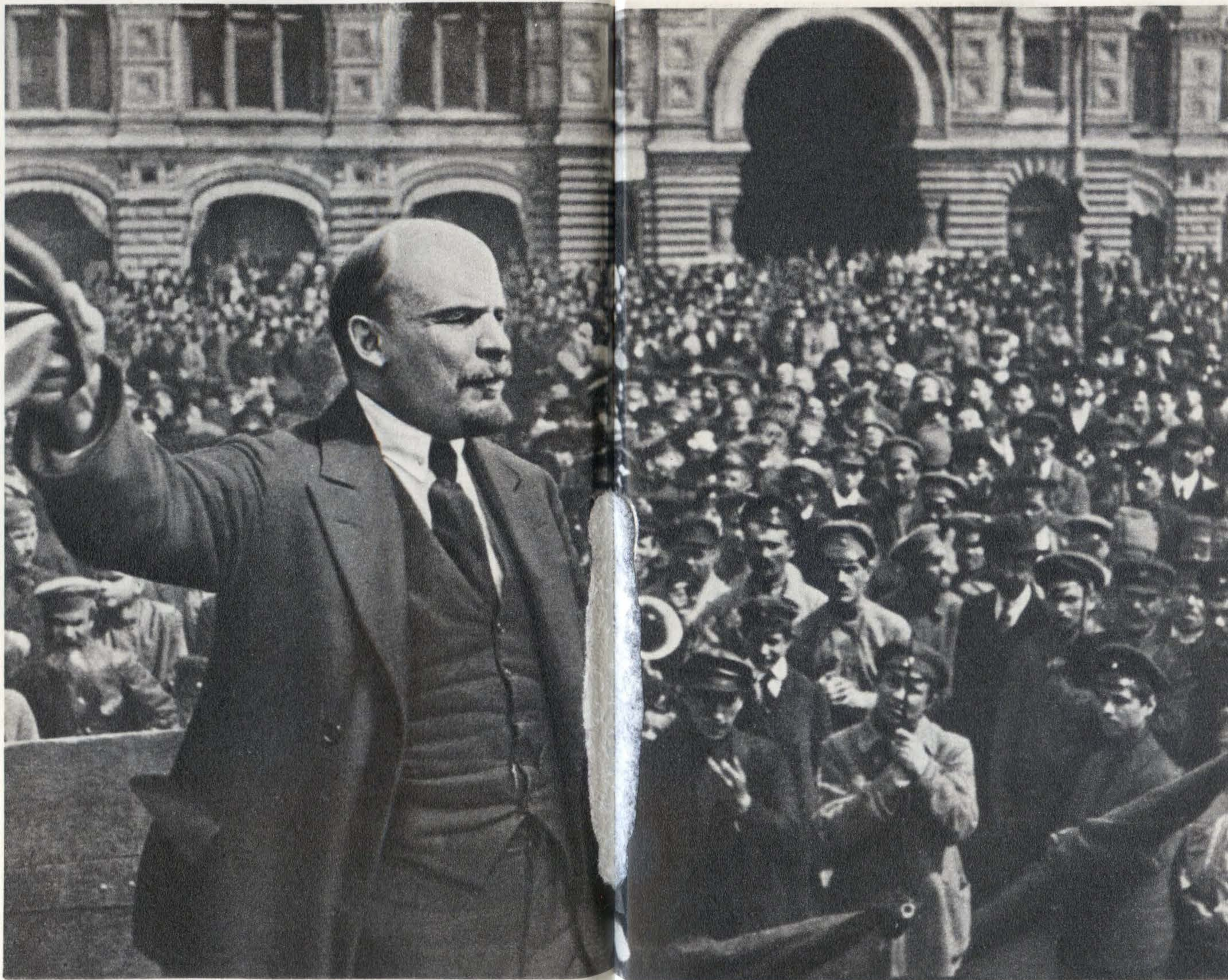
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Помощник Начальника Завода
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М. А. А.



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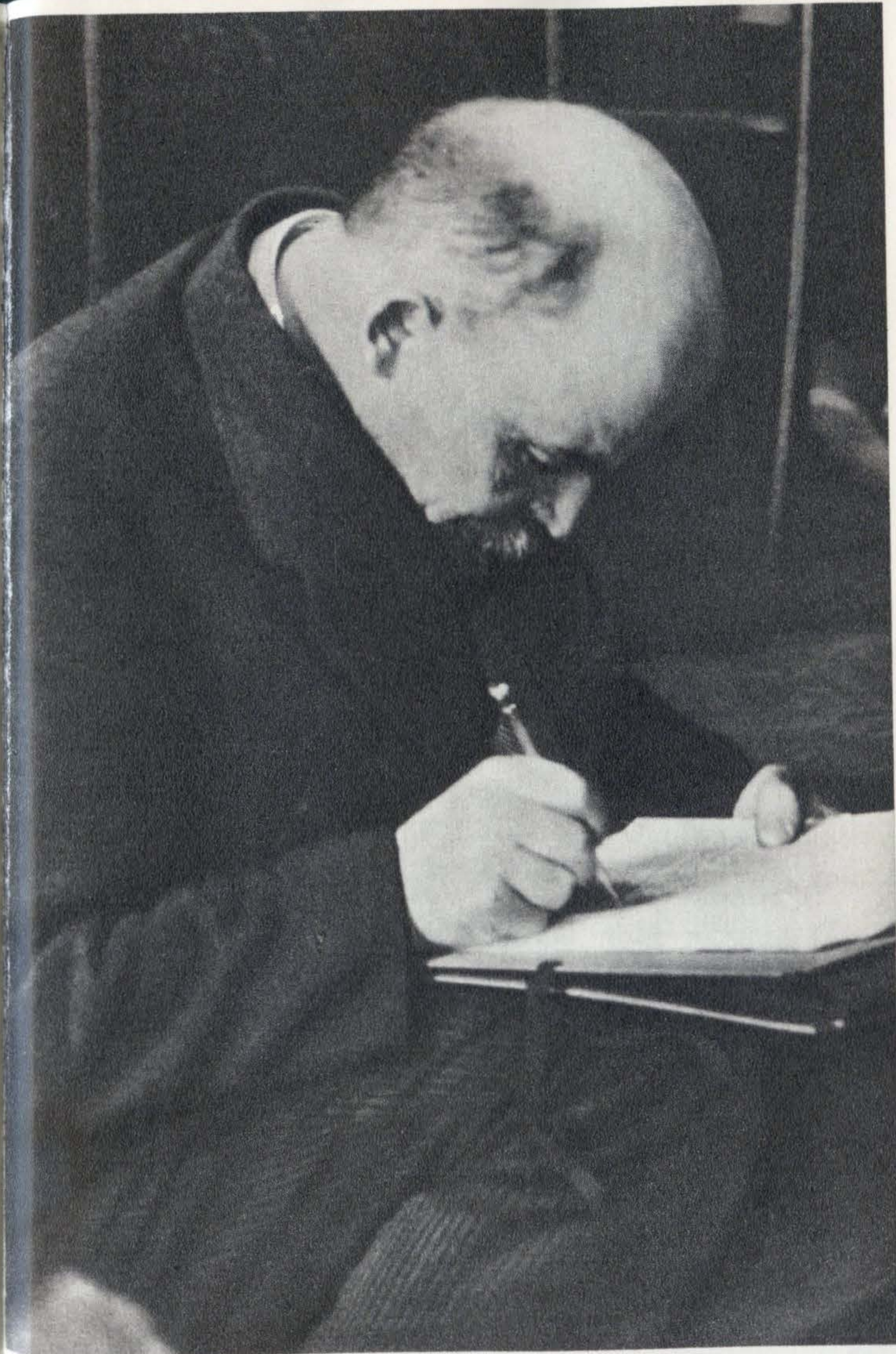
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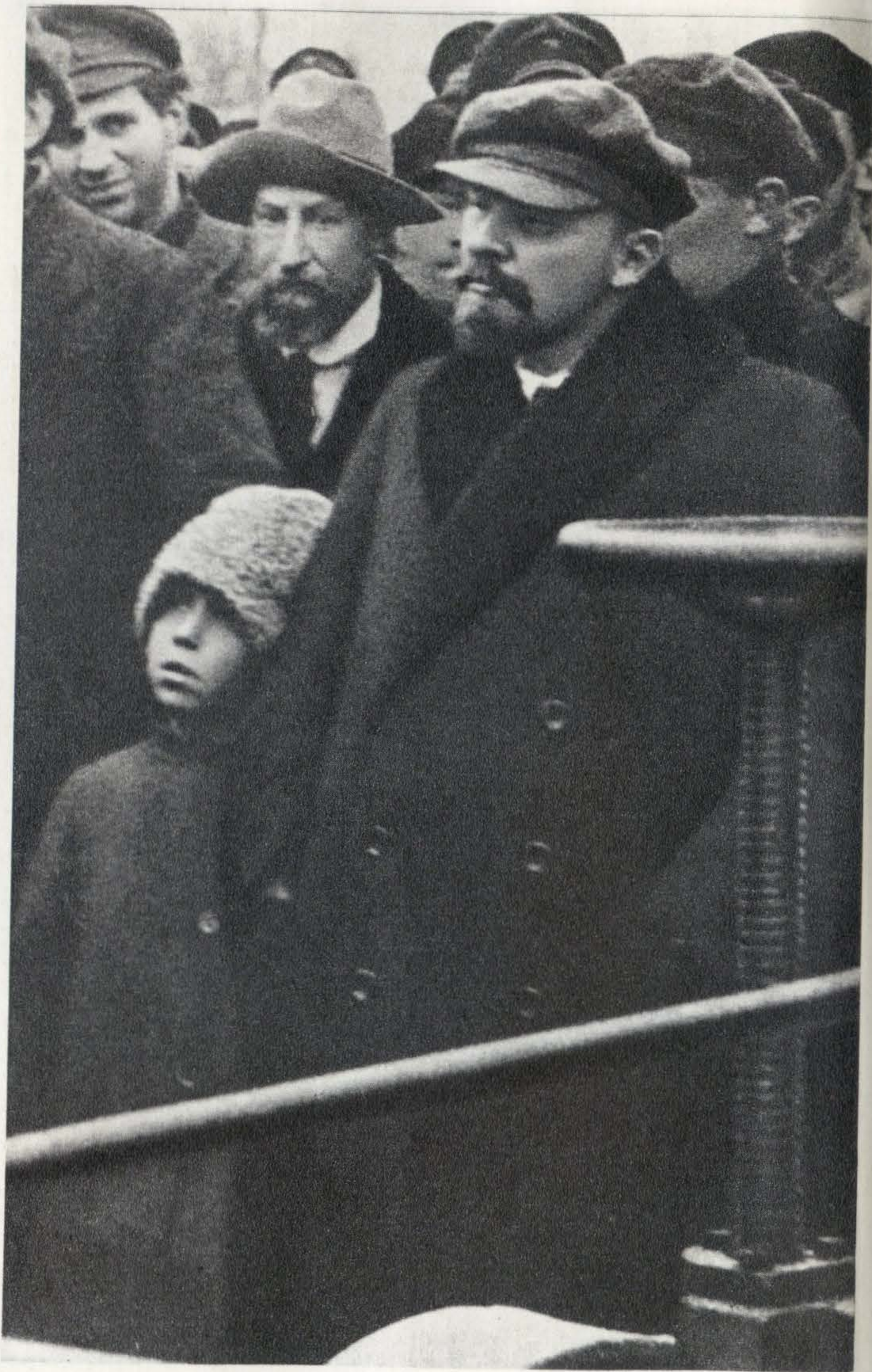
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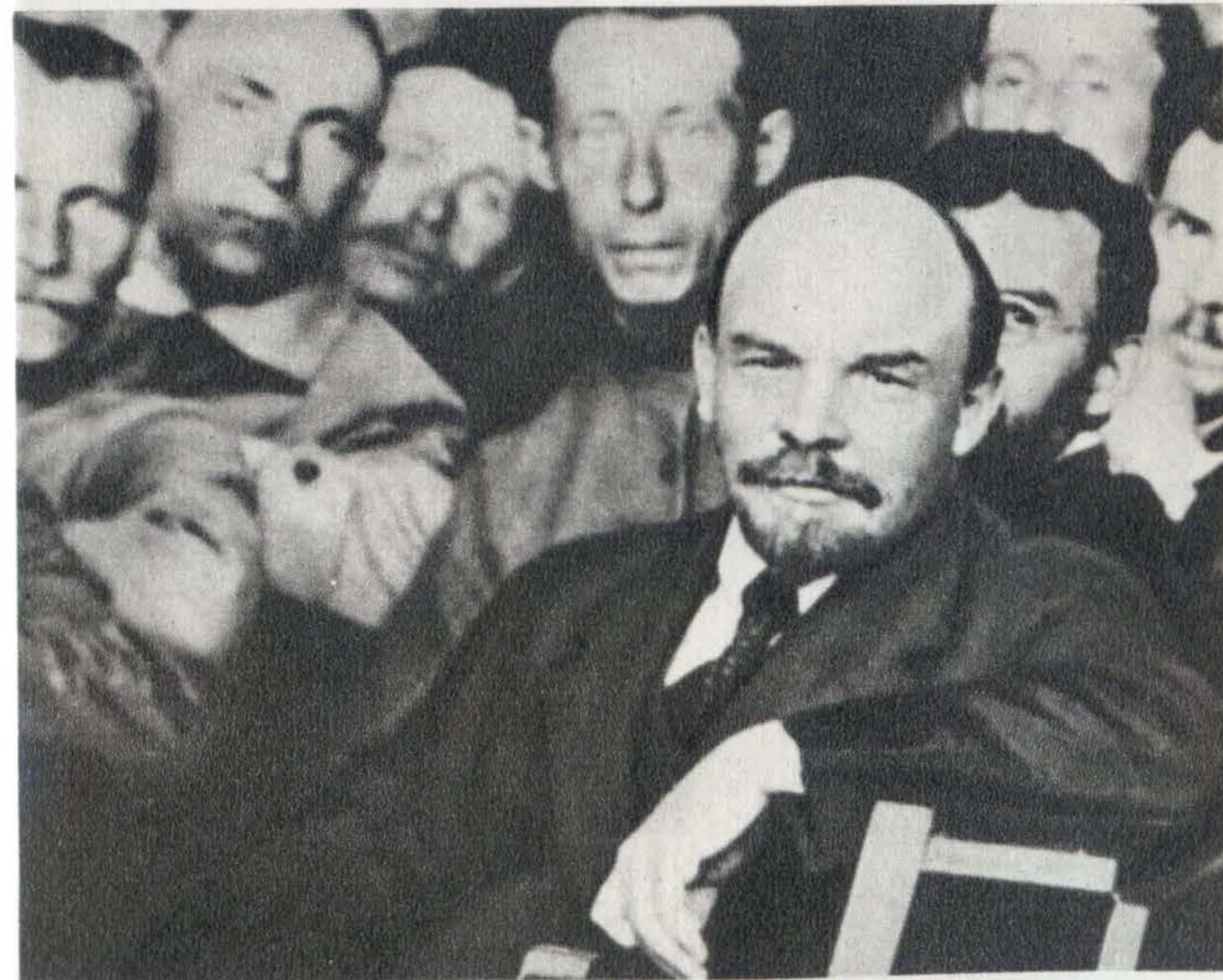
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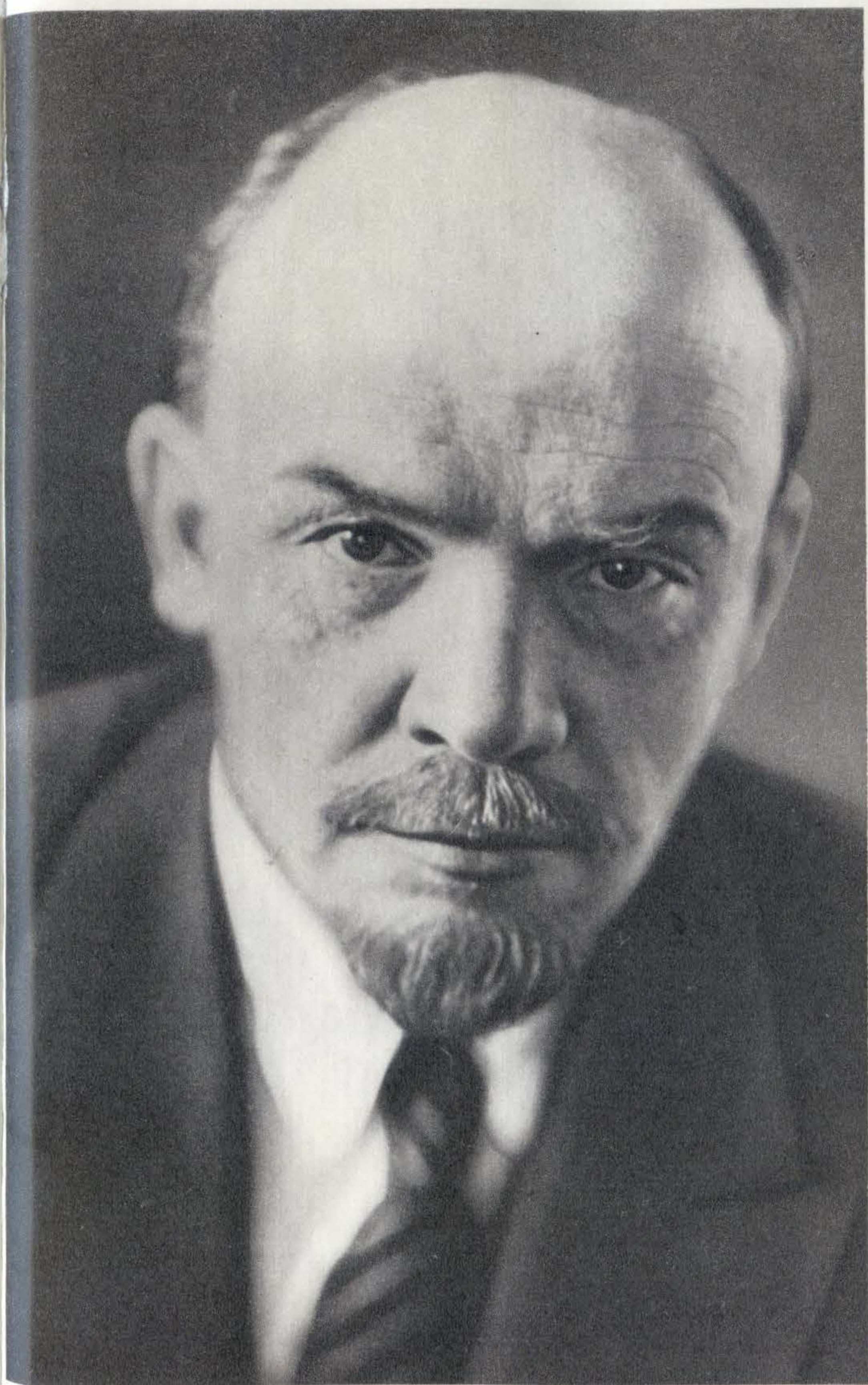
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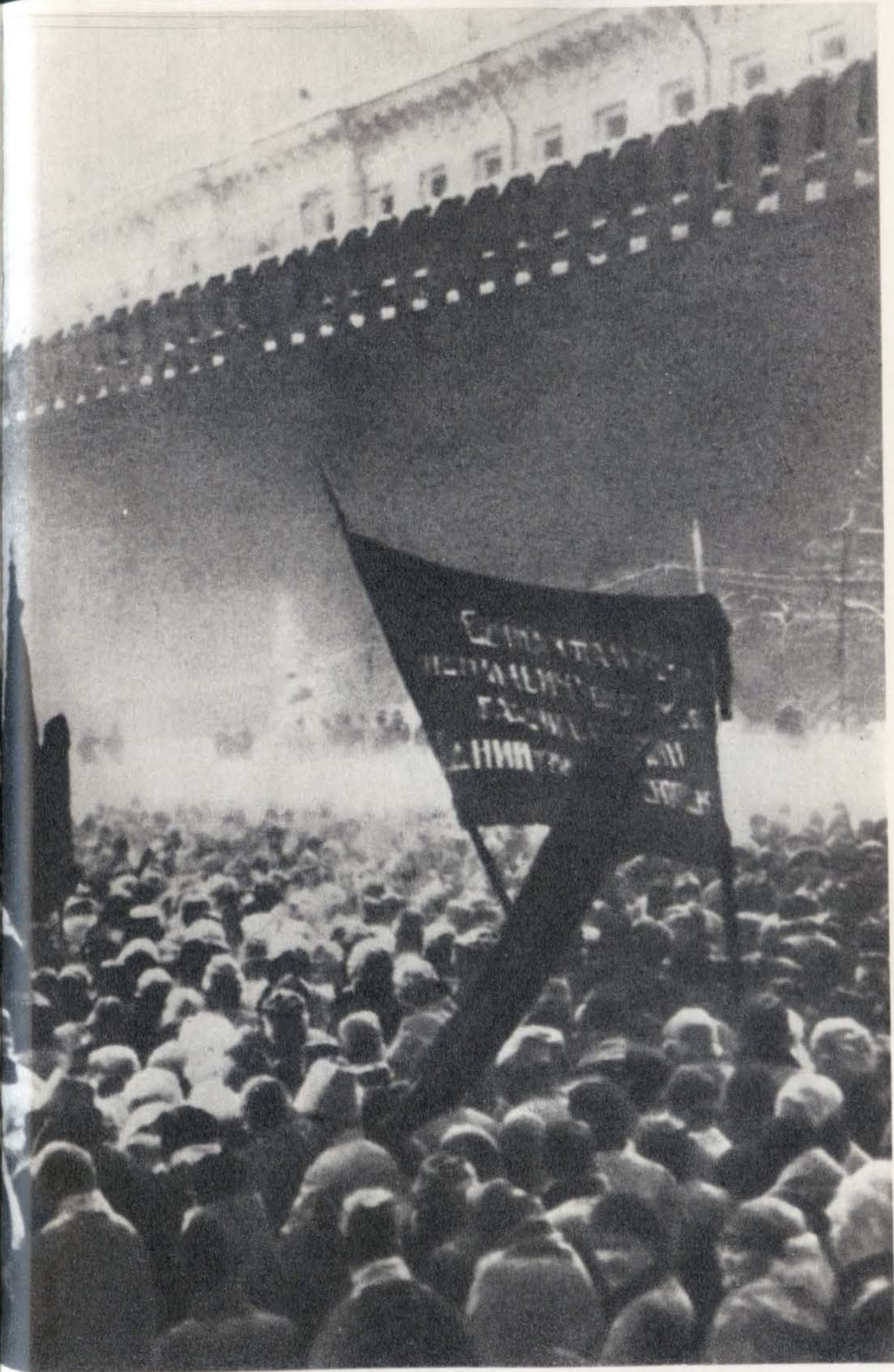
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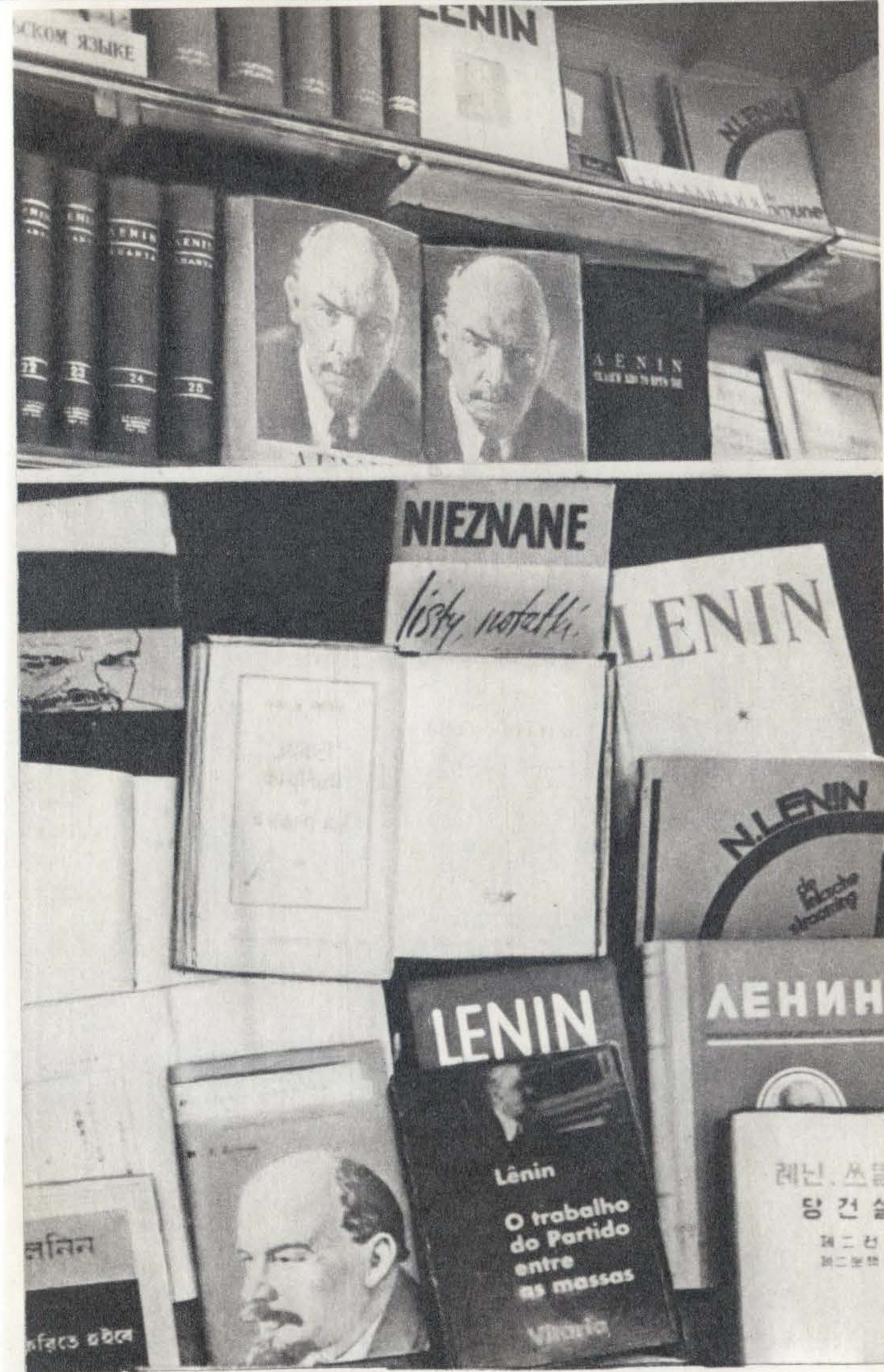
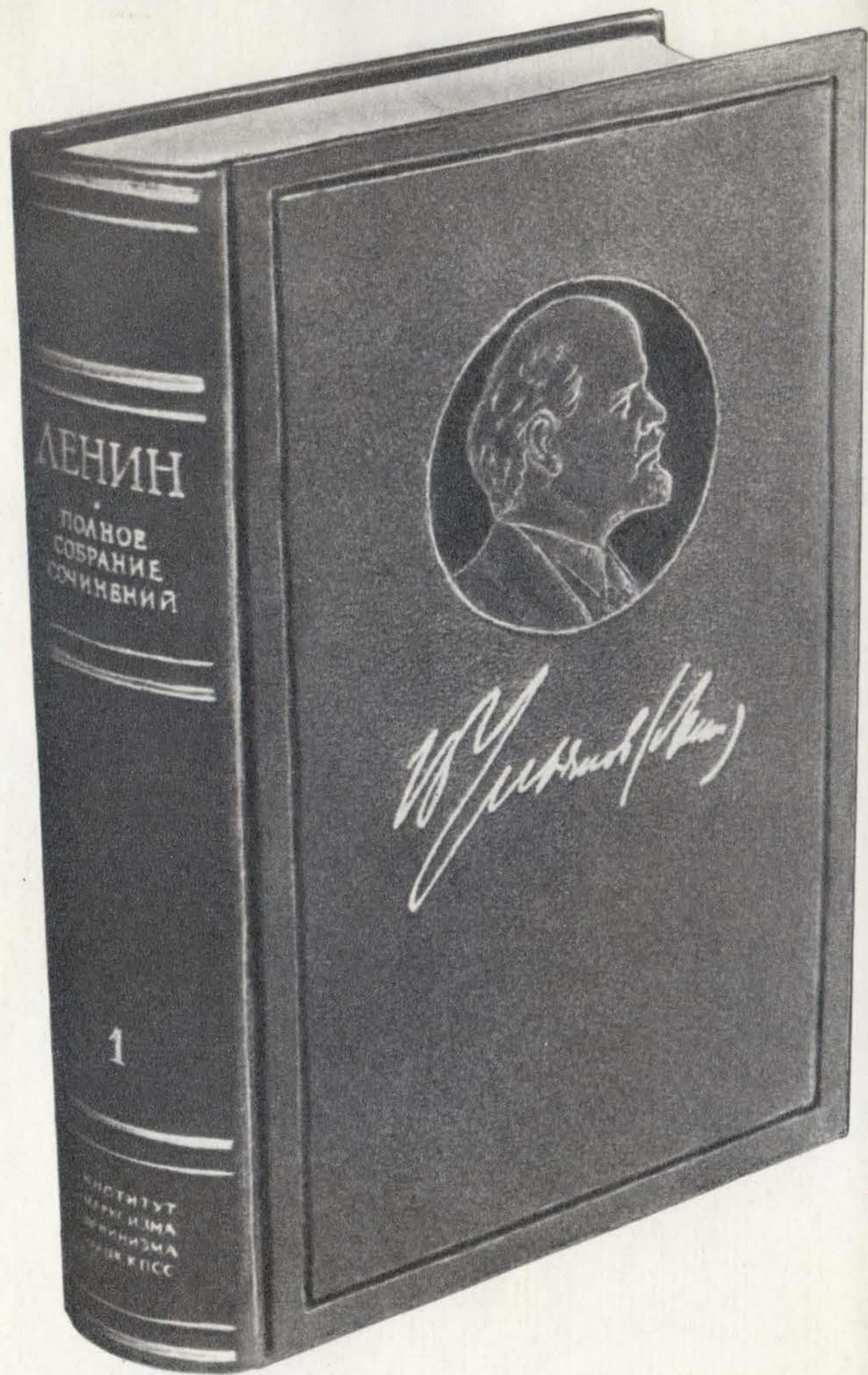
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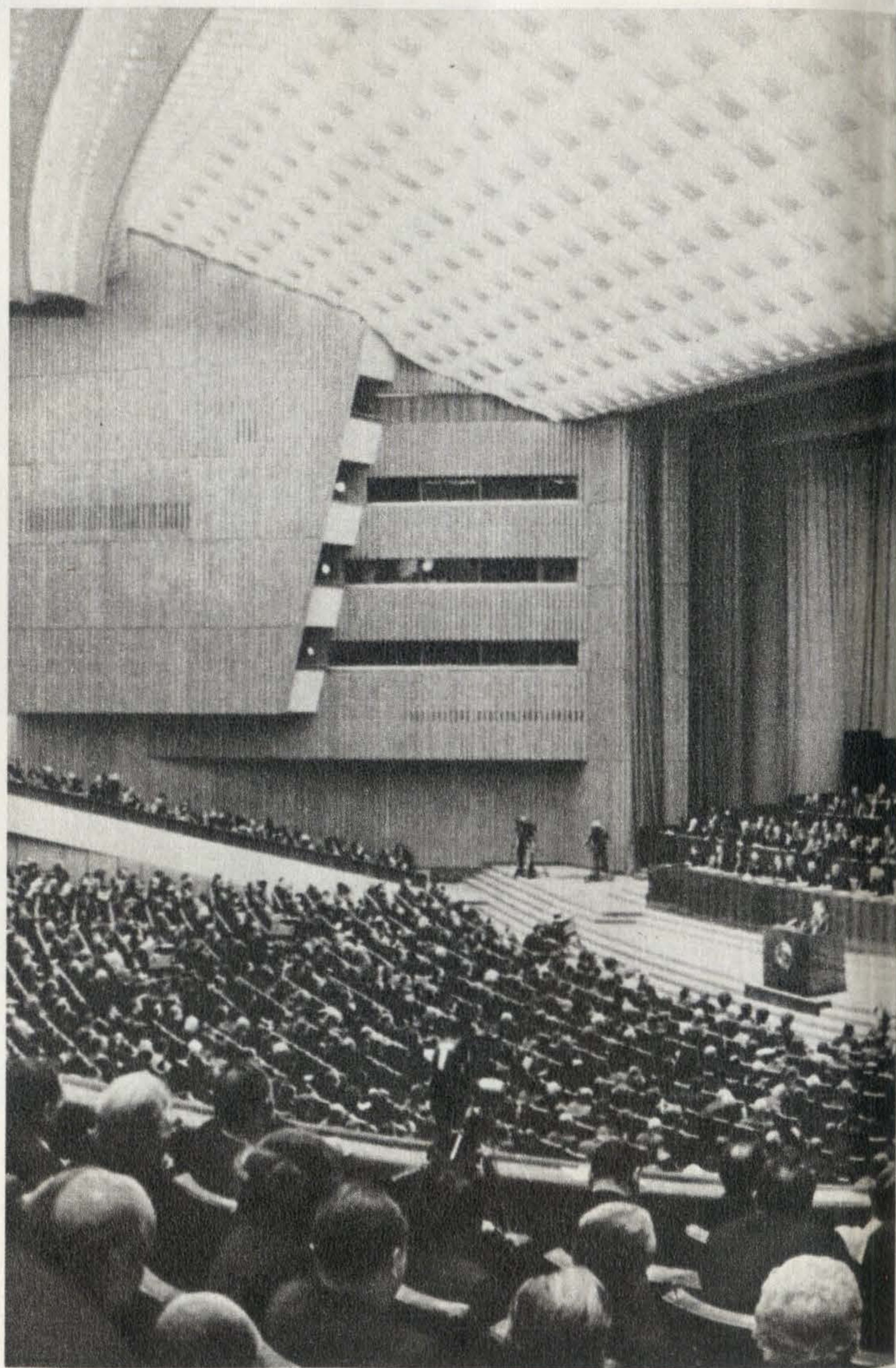


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Пролетарии всех стран, соединитесь!

КОММУНИСТИЧЕСКАЯ
ПАРТИЯ
СОВЕТСКОГО СОЮЗА

ПАРТИИ —
УМ, ЧЕСТЬ И СОВЕСТЬ
НАШЕЙ ЭПОХИ

В.И. Ленин

ЦК КПСС

ПАРТИИНЫИ БИЛЕТ
№ 00000001

Фамилия *Ульянов (Ленин)*
Имя *Владимир*
Отчество *Ильич*
Год рождения *1870*
Время вступления в партию *1893*

Наименование партийного органа, выдавшего билет
*Центральный Комитет
Коммунистической партии
Советского Союза*



Дата выдачи *1 марта 1973 г.*

УПЛАТА ЧЛЕНСКИХ ВЗНОСОВ
19 год

Месяц	Месячный заработок	Сумма взноса	Подпись секретаря
Январь			
Февраль			
Март			
Апрель			
Май			
Июнь			
Июль			
Август			
Сентябрь			
Октябрь			
Ноябрь			
Декабрь			



We present a short biography of Lenin, revolutionary, statesman and theoretician, a man who was both profound scholar of unsurpassed objectivity, and daring and resolute strategist of class battles, the man who led the Great October Socialist Revolution and headed the world's first socialist state.

Millions of people throughout the world are keenly interested in Lenin's life and work. UNESCO statistics show that Lenin is "the most read author," and his works hold first place in the world for the number of editions published.

The Leninist political theory stands at the very centre of contemporary world events, providing a key to understanding the intricate processes taking place in the international arena and to assessing the direction of their future development.

