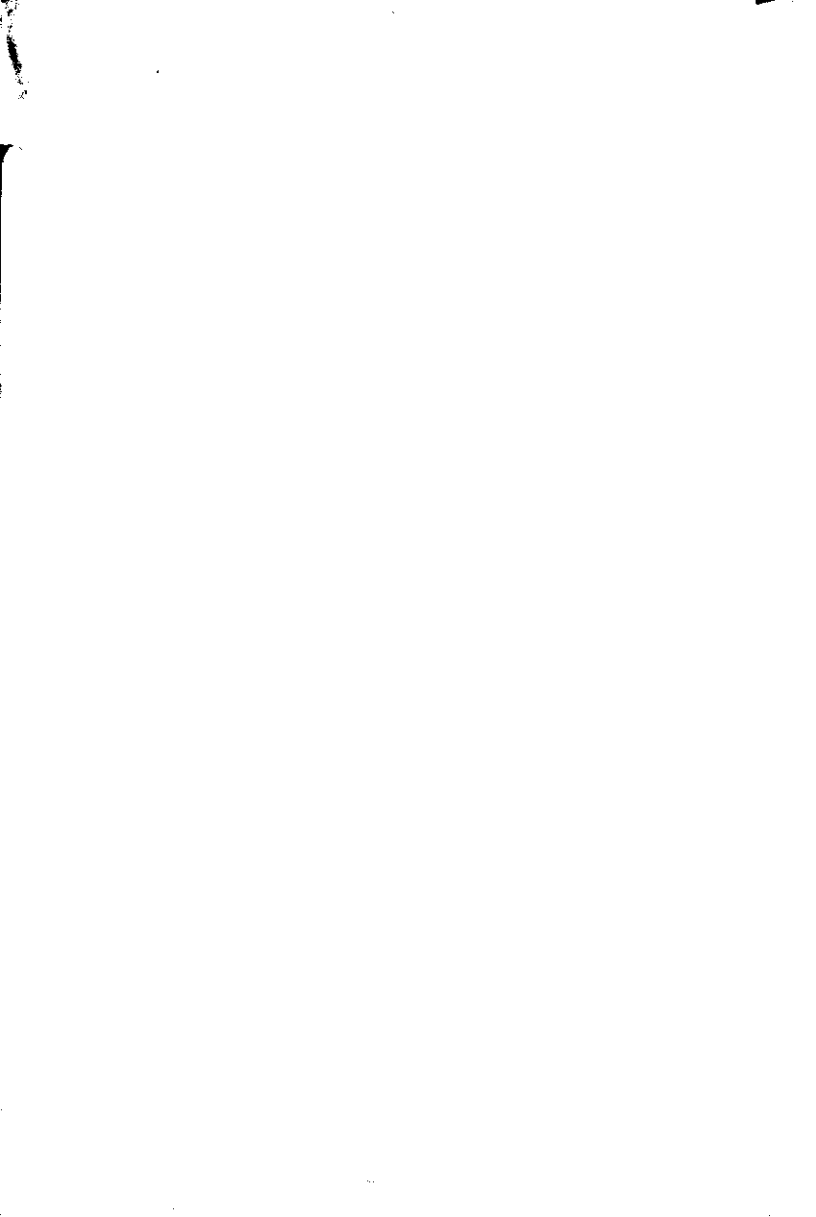


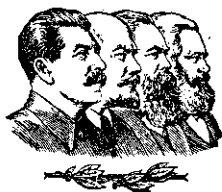
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THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT



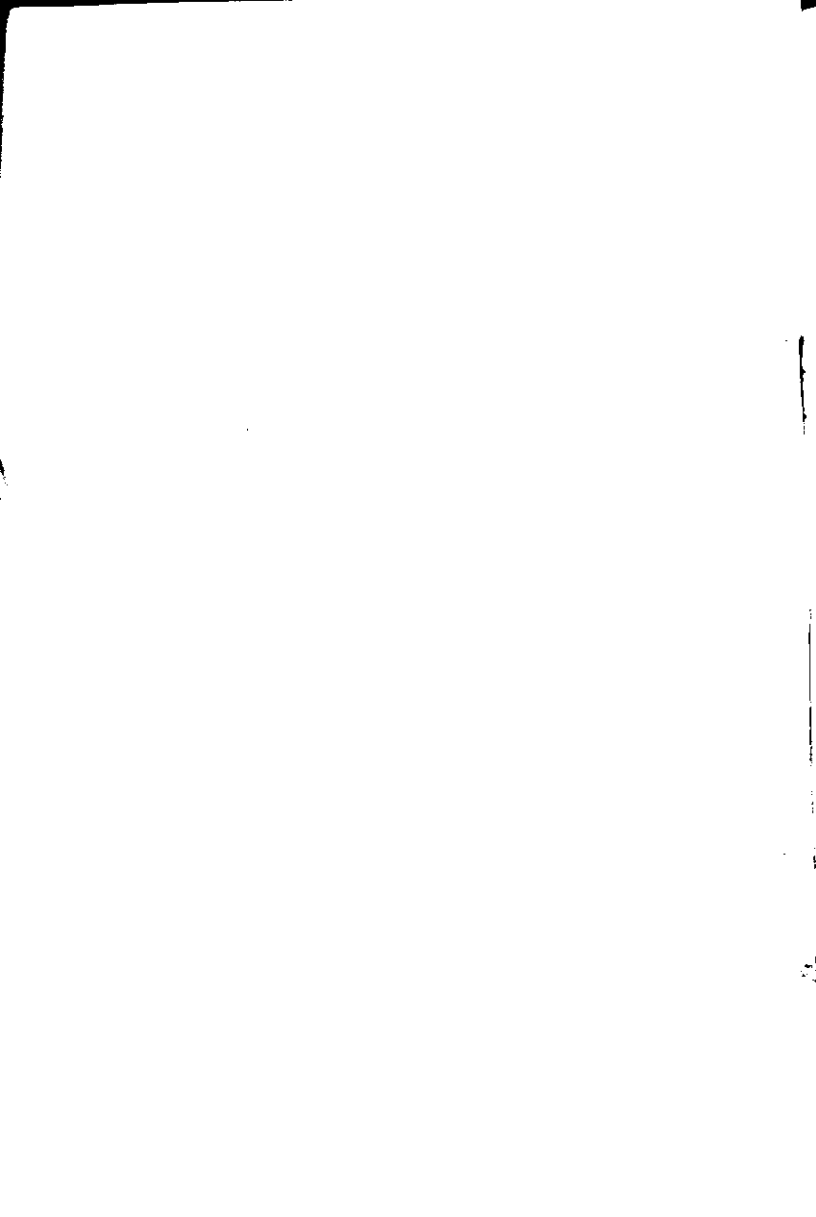
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THE IMMEDIATE TASKS
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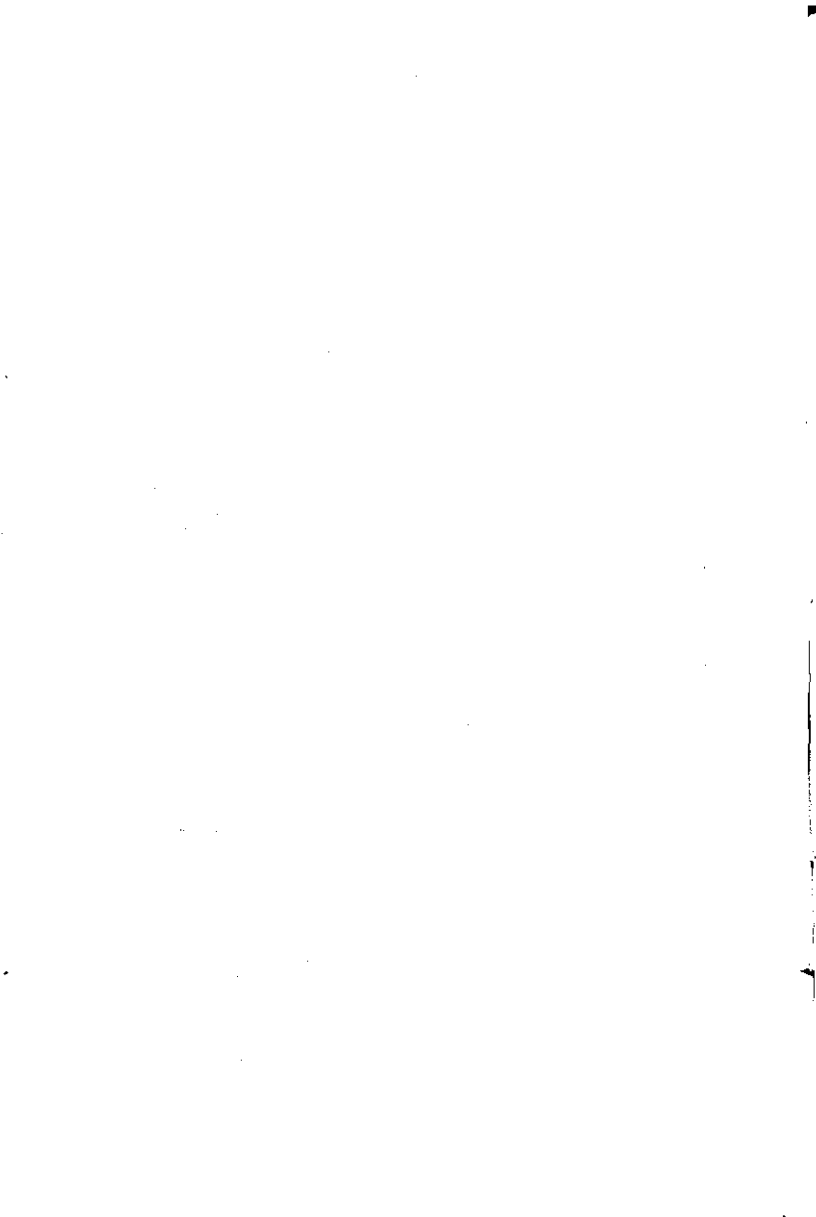
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THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT¹

THE INTERNATIONAL POSITION OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET REPUBLIC AND THE FUNDAMENTAL TASKS OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Thanks to the peace which has been achieved— notwithstanding its extremely onerous character and extreme instability—the Russian Soviet Republic has received an opportunity for a certain period of time to concentrate its efforts on the most important and most difficult aspect of the socialist revolution, namely, the organizational task.

This task was clearly and definitely set before all the toilers and the oppressed masses in the fourth paragraph (Part 4) of the resolution adopted at the Extraordinary Congress of Soviets in Moscow on March 15, 1918, in the very paragraph (or part) which speaks of the self-discipline of the toilers and of the ruthless struggle against chaos and disorganization.²

Of course, the peace achieved by the Russian Soviet Republic is unstable not because the lat-

ter is now thinking of resuming military operations; apart from bourgeois counterrevolutionaries and their henchmen (the Mensheviks and others) not a single sane politician thinks of doing that. The instability of the peace is due to the fact that in the imperialist states bordering on Russia on the west and the east, which command enormous military forces, the military party, tempted by the momentary weakness of Russia and egged on by capitalists who hate Socialism and are eager for plunder, may gain the upper hand at any moment.

Under these circumstances the only real, not paper, guarantee of peace we have is the antagonism between the imperialist powers, which has reached extreme limits, and which finds its expression on the one hand in the resumption of the imperialist butchery of the peoples in the West, and on the other hand in the extreme intensification of the imperialist rivalry between Japan and America for supremacy in the Pacific and on the Pacific coast.

It goes without saying that with such an unreliable guard to protect it, our Soviet Socialist Republic is in an extremely unstable and certainly critical international position. All our efforts must be exerted to the very utmost to make use of the respite which has been given us by the combination of circumstances in order to heal the very severe wounds that the war has inflicted

upon the whole of the social organism of Russia and to bring about the economic revival of the country, without which a real enhancement of the defensive capacity of the country is inconceivable.

It goes without saying also that we shall be able to render effective assistance to the socialist revolution in the West, which has been delayed for a number of reasons, only to the extent that we are able to fulfil the organizational task that confronts us.

A fundamental condition for the successful accomplishment of the primary organizational task that confronts us is that the political leaders of the people, i.e., the members of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks), and following them all the class-conscious representatives of the masses of the toilers, shall fully appreciate the fundamental difference between previous bourgeois revolutions and the present socialist revolution in this respect.

In bourgeois revolutions, the principal task of the masses of the toilers was to fulfil the negative or destructive work of destroying feudalism, monarchy and medievalism. The positive or constructive work of organizing the new society was carried out by the property-owning bourgeois minority of the population. And the latter carried out this task with relative ease, notwithstanding the resistance of the workers and the poor peasants, not only because the resistance of the

masses that were exploited by capital was then extremely weak since they were scattered and lacked education, but also because the chief organizing force of anarchically-built capitalist society is the spontaneously growing and expanding national and international market.

On the contrary, in every socialist revolution—and consequently in the socialist revolution in Russia which we began on October 25, 1917—the principal task of the proletariat, and of the poor peasantry which it leads, is the positive or constructive work of setting up an extremely intricate and delicate system of new organizational relationships extending to the planned production and distribution of the goods required for the existence of tens of millions of people. Such a revolution can be successfully carried out only if the majority of the population, and primarily the majority of the toilers, engage in independent creative work as makers of history. Only if the proletariat and the poor peasantry display sufficient class consciousness, devotion to principles, self-sacrifice and perseverance will the victory of the socialist revolution be assured. By creating a new, Soviet type of state, which gives the opportunity to the toiling and oppressed masses to take an active part in the independent building up of a new society, we solved only a small part of this difficult problem. The principal difficulty lies in the economic sphere, viz., the introduction of

the strictest and universal accounting and control of the production and distribution of goods, raising the productivity of labour and *socializing* production *in actual practice*.

* * *

The development of the Bolshevik Party, which today is the governing party in Russia, very strikingly indicates the nature of the historical turn we are now passing through, which represents the peculiar feature of the present political situation and which calls for a new orientation of the Soviet power, i.e., for a new presentation of new tasks.

The first task of every party of the future is to convince the majority of the people that its program and tactics are correct. This task stood in the forefront in the tsarist times as well as in the period of the Chernovs' and Tseretelis' policy of compromise with the Kerenskys and Kishkins. This task has now been fulfilled in the main for, as the recent Congress of Soviets in Moscow incontrovertibly proved, the majority of the workers and peasants of Russia are obviously on the side of the Bolsheviks; but of course, it is far from being completely fulfilled (and it can never be completely fulfilled).

The second task that confronted our Party was to capture political power and to suppress

the resistance of the exploiters. Nor has this task been fulfilled completely, and it cannot be ignored because the monarchists and Cadets on the one hand, and their henchmen and hangers-on, the Mensheviks and Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, on the other, are continuing their efforts to unite for the purpose of overthrowing the Soviet power. But in the main the task of suppressing the resistance of the exploiters was fulfilled in the period from October 25, 1917, to (approximately) February 1918, or to the surrender of Bogayevsky.

A third task is now coming to the fore as the immediate task and one which represents the peculiar feature of the present situation, viz., the task of organizing the *administration* of Russia. Of course, we advanced and tackled this task on the very next day after October 25, 1917. But up to now, inasmuch as the resistance of the exploiters still took the form of open civil war, up to now the task of administration *could not* have become the *main*, the *central* task.

Now it has become the main and central task. We, the Bolshevik Party, have *convinced* Russia. We have *won* Russia from the rich for the poor, from the exploiters for the toilers. Now we must *administer* Russia. And the whole peculiarity of the present situation, the whole difficulty, lies in understanding *the specific features of the transition* from the principal task of convincing the

people and of suppressing the exploiters by armed force to the principal task of *administration*.

For the first time in human history a Socialist party has managed to complete in the main the conquest of power and the suppression of the exploiters, and has managed to *approach directly* the task of *administration*. We must prove worthy executors of this most difficult (and most grateful) task of the socialist revolution. We must *ponder over the fact* that *in addition* to being able to convince people, in addition to being able to win civil war, it is necessary to be able to do *practical organizational* work in order to administer successfully. It is the most difficult task, because it is a matter of organizing in a new way the most deep-rooted, the economic, foundations of life of scores of millions of people. And it is the most grateful task because, only *after* it has been fulfilled (in the principal and main outlines) will it be possible to say that Russia *has become* not only a Soviet, but also a Socialist Republic.

THE GENERAL SLOGAN OF THE MOMENT

The objective situation reviewed above, which was created by the extremely onerous and unstable peace, the terrible state of ruin, the unemployment and famine we inherited from the war

and the rule of the bourgeoisie (represented by Kerensky and the Mensheviks and Right Socialist-Revolutionaries who supported him), all this inevitably caused extreme weariness and even exhaustion of the broad masses of the toilers. These masses insistently demand—and cannot but demand—a respite. The task of restoring the productive forces destroyed by the war and the mismanagement of the bourgeoisie comes to the fore, viz., the healing of the wounds inflicted by the war, by the defeat in the war, by the profiteering of the bourgeoisie and its attempts to restore the overthrown rule of the exploiters; the economic revival of the country; the reliable protection of elementary order. It may sound paradoxical, but in actual fact, considering the objective conditions indicated above, it is absolutely certain that at the present moment the Soviet system can secure Russia's transition to Socialism only if these very elementary and most elementary problems of maintaining public life are solved practically in spite of the resistance of the bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks and the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries. In view of the specific features of the present situation, and in view of the existence of the Soviet state with its land socialization law, workers' control law, etc., the practical solution of these most elementary problems and the overcoming of the organizational difficulties of the first

stages of progress toward Socialism now represent two sides of the same medal.

Keep regular and honest accounts of money, manage economically, do not be lazy, do not steal, observe the strictest labour discipline—precisely such slogans, which were justly scorned by the revolutionary proletariat when the bourgeoisie used them to conceal its rule as an exploiting class, are now, after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, becoming the immediate and the principal slogans of the moment. On the one hand, the practical application of these slogans by *the masses* of the toilers is the *sole* condition for the salvation of the country which has been tortured almost to death by the imperialist war and by the imperialist robbers (headed by Kerensky); on the other hand, the practical application of these slogans by the *Soviet* state, by *its* methods, on the basis of *its* laws, is a necessary and *sufficient* condition for the final victory of Socialism. This is precisely what those who contemptuously brush aside the idea of putting such “hackneyed” and “trivial” slogans in the forefront fail to understand. In a small-peasant country, which overthrew tsarism only a year ago, and which liberated itself from the Kerenskys less than six months ago, there has naturally remained not a little of spontaneous anarchism, intensified by the brutality and savagery that accompanies every protracted and reactionary war, and not a little

of despair and aimless bitterness has arisen. And if to this we add the provocative policy of the lackeys of the bourgeoisie (the Mensheviks, the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, etc.) it will become perfectly clear what prolonged and persistent efforts must be exerted by the best and most class-conscious workers and peasants in order to bring about a complete change in the mood of the masses and to bring them on to the proper path of steady and disciplined labour. Only such a transition brought about by the masses of the poor (the proletarians and semiproletarians), can consummate the victory over the bourgeoisie and particularly over the more stubborn and numerous peasant bourgeoisie.

THE NEW PHASE OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE

The bourgeoisie in our country has been vanquished, but it has not yet been uprooted, not yet destroyed, and not even utterly broken. That is why a new and higher form of struggle against the bourgeoisie is on the order of the day, the transition from the very simple task of further expropriating the capitalists to the much more complicated and difficult task of creating conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist, or for a new bourgeoisie to arise. Clearly,

this task is immeasurably more significant than the previous one; and until it is fulfilled there will be no Socialism.

If we measure our revolution by the scale of West-European revolutions we will find that at the present moment we are approximately at the level reached in 1793 and 1871. We can be legitimately proud of having risen to this level, and in one respect we have certainly advanced somewhat further, namely: we have decreed and introduced in the whole of Russia the highest *type* of state—the Soviet power. But under no circumstances can we rest content with what we have achieved, because we have only just started the transition to Socialism, we have *not yet* done the decisive thing in *this* respect.

The decisive thing is the organization of the strictest and nation-wide accounting and control of production and of the distribution of goods. And yet, we have *not yet* introduced accounting and control in those enterprises and in those branches and fields of economy which we have taken away from the bourgeoisie; and without this there can be no thought of achieving the second and equally essential material condition for the introduction of Socialism, viz., raising the productivity of labour on a national scale.

That is why the task of the present moment could not be defined by the simple formula: continue the offensive against capital. Although we

have certainly not finished off capital and although it is certainly necessary to continue the offensive against this enemy of the toilers, such a definition would be inexact, would not be concrete, would not take into account the *peculiarity* of the present situation in which, in order that the *future* offensive may be successful, it is necessary to "halt" the offensive *for the time being*.

This can be explained by comparing our position in the war against capital with the position of a victorious army that has captured, say, a half or two-thirds of the enemy's territory and is compelled to halt in order to muster up its forces, to replenish its supplies of munitions, repair and reinforce the communication lines, build up new storehouses, bring up new reserves, etc. To suspend the offensive of a victorious army under such conditions is necessary precisely in order to gain the rest of the enemy's territory, i.e., in order to achieve complete victory. Those who have failed to understand that the objective state of affairs at the present moment dictates to us precisely such a "suspension" of the offensive against capital have failed to understand anything at all about the present political situation.

It goes without saying that we can speak about the "suspension" of the offensive against capital only in quotation marks, i.e., only metaphorically. In ordinary war, a general order can be issued to stop the offensive, the advance can

actually be stopped. In the war against capital, however, the advance cannot be stopped, and there can be no thought of our abandoning the further expropriation of capital. What we are discussing is the shifting of the *centre of gravity* of our economic and political work. Up to now measures for the direct expropriation of the expropriators were *in the forefront*. Now the organization of accounting and control in those branches of economy in which the capitalists have already been expropriated, and in all other branches of economy, advances *to the forefront*.

If we decided to continue to expropriate capital at the same rate at which we have been doing it up to now, we would certainly suffer defeat, because our work of organizing proletarian accounting and control has obviously—obviously to every thinking person—*fallen behind* the work of *directly* “expropriating the expropriators.” If we now concentrate all our efforts on the organization of accounting and control, we shall be able to solve this problem, we shall be able to make up for lost time, we shall *completely* win our “campaign” against capital.

But is not the admission that it is necessary to make up for lost time tantamount to admission of some kind of an error? Not in the least. We will again use a military example. If it is possible to defeat and push back the enemy merely with detachments of light cavalry, it should be done.

But if this can be done successfully only up to a certain limit, then it is quite conceivable that when this limit has been reached, it will be necessary to bring up heavy artillery. By admitting that it is now necessary to make up for lost time in bringing up heavy artillery, we do not admit that the successful cavalry attack was a mistake.

Frequently, the lackeys of the bourgeoisie reproached us for having launched a "Red Guard" attack on capital. The reproach is absurd, it is worthy only of the lackeys of the moneybags, because *at one time* the "Red Guard" attack on capital was absolutely dictated by circumstances: firstly, at that time capital put up military resistance through the medium of Kerensky and Krasnov, Savinkov and Gotz (Gegechkori is putting up such resistance even now), Dutov and Bogayevsky. Military resistance cannot be broken except by military means, and the Red Guards fought in the noble and supreme historical cause of liberating the toilers and the exploited from the yoke of the exploiters.

Secondly, we could not at that time put the method of administration in the forefront in place of the methods of suppression, also because the art of administration is not innate, it is acquired by experience. At that time we lacked such experience; now we have it. Thirdly, at that time we could not have specialists in the various fields

of knowledge and technology at our disposal because those specialists were either fighting in the ranks of the Bogayevskys, or were still able to put up systematic and stubborn passive resistance in the form of *sabotage*. Now we have broken the sabotage. The "Red Guard" attack on capital was successful, was victorious, because we broke both the military resistance of capital and the sabotaging resistance of capital.

Does that mean that a "Red Guard" attack on capital is *always* appropriate, under *all* circumstances, that we have *no* other means of fighting capital? It would be childish to think that. We achieved victory with the aid of light cavalry, but we also have heavy artillery. We achieved victory by methods of suppression; we can achieve victory also by methods of administration. We must know how to change our methods of fighting the enemy in accordance with the changes in the situation. We will not for a moment renounce "Red Guard" suppression of Messieurs the Savinkovs and Gegechkoris and all other landlord and bourgeois counterrevolutionaries. But we will not be so foolish as to put "Red Guard" methods in the forefront at a time when the epoch when Red Guard attacks were necessary has, in the main, drawn to a close (and to a victorious close), and when the epoch of utilizing bourgeois specialists by the proletarian state power for the purpose of reploughing the soil in order to prevent the

growth of any bourgeoisie whatever is knocking at the door.

This is a peculiar epoch, or rather stage of development, and in order to utterly defeat capital, we must be able to adapt the forms of our struggle to the peculiar conditions of this stage.

Without the guidance of specialists in the various fields of knowledge, technology and experience, the transition to Socialism will be impossible, because Socialism calls for a conscious mass advance to greater productivity of labour compared with capitalism, and on the basis achieved by capitalism. Socialism must achieve this advance *in its own way*, by its own methods—or, to put it more concretely, by *Soviet* methods. And the specialists, because of the entire environment of the social life which made them specialists, are, in the main, unavoidably bourgeois. Had our proletariat, after capturing power, quickly solved the problem of accounting, control and organization on a national scale (which was impossible owing to the war and the backwardness of Russia), then we, after breaking the sabotage, would have also completely subordinated these bourgeois specialists to ourselves by means of universal accounting and control. Owing to the considerable “delay” in introducing accounting and control generally, we, although we have managed to vanquish sabotage, have *not yet* created the conditions which would place the bourgeois

specialists at our disposal. The mass of saboteurs are "going to work," but the best organizers and the biggest specialists can be utilized by the state either in the old way, in the bourgeois way (i.e., for high salaries), or in the new way, in the proletarian way (i.e., creating the conditions of national accounting and control from below, which would inevitably and of itself subordinate the specialists and enlist them for our work).

Now we have to resort to the old bourgeois method and to agree to pay a very high price for the "services" of the biggest bourgeois specialists. All those who are familiar with the subject appreciate this, but not all ponder over the significance of this measure being adopted by the proletarian state. Clearly, such a measure is a compromise, a departure from the principles of the Paris Commune and of every proletarian power, which call for the reduction of all salaries to the level of the wages of the average worker, which call for fighting careerism, not with words, but with deeds.

Moreover, it is clear that such a measure not only implies the cessation—in a certain field and to a certain degree—of the offensive against capital (for capital is not a sum of money, but a definite social relation); it is also *a step backward* on the part of our socialist Soviet state power, which from the very outset proclaimed and pur-

sued the policy of reducing high salaries to the level of the wages of the average worker.³

Of course, the lackeys of the bourgeoisie, particularly the small fry, such as the Mensheviks, the *Novaya Zhizn*-ites⁴ and the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, will giggle over our confession that we are taking a step backward. But we need not mind their giggling. We must study the peculiar features of the extremely difficult and new path to Socialism without concealing our mistakes and weaknesses, and strive in good time to do what has been left undone. To conceal from the masses the fact that the enlistment of bourgeois specialists by means of extremely high salaries is a retreat from the principles of the Paris Commune would be sinking to the level of bourgeois politicians and to deceiving the masses. Frankly explaining how and why we took this step backward, and then publicly discussing what means are available for making up for lost time, means educating the masses and learning from experience, learning together with the masses how to build Socialism. There is hardly a single victorious military campaign in history in which the victor did not commit certain mistakes, suffer partial reverses, temporarily yield something and in some places retreat. The "campaign" which we have undertaken against capitalism is a million times more difficult than the most difficult military campaign, and it will be silly and disgraceful to

give way to despondency because of a particular and partial retreat.

We will now discuss the question from the practical point of view. Let us assume that the Russian Soviet Republic requires one thousand first-class scientists and specialists in various fields of knowledge, technology and practical experience for the purpose of directing the labour of the people with a view to securing the speediest possible economic revival of the country. Let us assume also that we will have to pay these "stars of the first magnitude"—of course the majority of those who shout loudest about the corruption of the workers are themselves utterly corrupted by bourgeois morals—25,000 rubles per annum each. Let us assume that this sum (25,000,000 rubles) will have to be doubled (assuming that we have to pay bonuses for particularly successful and rapid fulfilment of the most important organizational and technical tasks), or even quadrupled (assuming that we have to enlist several hundred foreign specialists who are more exacting). The question is, would the expenditure of fifty or a hundred million rubles per annum by the Soviet Republic for the purpose of reorganizing the labour of the people according to the last word in science and technology be excessive or too heavy? Of course not. The overwhelming majority of the class-conscious workers and peasants will approve of this expenditure because they know from

practical experience that our backwardness causes us to lose billions, and that we have *not yet* reached that degree of organization, accounting and control which would induce all the "luminaries" of the bourgeois intelligentsia to participate voluntarily in *our* work.

It goes without saying that this question has another aspect. The corrupting influence of high salaries—both upon the Soviet authorities (especially since the revolution occurred so rapidly that it was impossible to prevent a certain number of adventurers and rogues from getting into positions of authority, and they, together with a number of inept or dishonest commissars, would not be averse to becoming "star" embezzlers of state funds) and upon the masses of the workers—is indisputable. But every thinking and honest worker and poor peasant will agree with us, will admit, that we cannot immediately rid ourselves of the evil heritage of capitalism, and that we can liberate the Soviet Republic from the duty of paying a "tribute" of fifty million or one hundred million rubles per annum (a tribute for our own backwardness in organizing *nation-wide* accounting and control *from below*) only by organizing ourselves, by tightening up discipline in our own ranks, by purging our ranks of all those who are "preserving the heritage of capitalism," who "follow the traditions of capitalism," i.e., of idlers, parasites and embezzlers of state funds

(now all the land, all the factories and all the railways are the "state funds" of the Soviet Republic). If the class-conscious advanced workers and poor peasants manage with the aid of the Soviet institutions to organize, become disciplined, pull themselves together, create powerful labour discipline in the course of one year, then in a year's time we shall throw off this "tribute," which can be reduced even before that . . . in exact proportion to the successes we achieve in our workers' and peasants' labour discipline and organization. The sooner we ourselves, workers and peasants, learn the best labour discipline and the most modern technique of labour, using the bourgeois specialists to teach us, the sooner shall we liberate ourselves from any "tribute" to these specialists.

Our work of organizing nation-wide accounting and control of production and distribution under the supervision of the proletariat has lagged very much behind our work of directly expropriating the expropriators. This proposition is of fundamental importance for understanding the specific features of the present situation and the tasks of the Soviet government that follow from it. The centre of gravity of our struggle against the bourgeoisie is shifting to the organization of such accounting and control. Only with this as our starting point will it be possible correctly to determine the immediate tasks of eco-

conomic and financial policy in the sphere of nationalization of the banks, monopolization of foreign trade, the state control of money circulation, the introduction of a property income tax satisfactory from the proletarian point of view, and the introduction of compulsory labour service.

We have been lagging very far behind in introducing socialist reforms in these spheres (very, very important spheres), and that precisely because accounting and control are insufficiently organized in general. It goes without saying that this is one of the most difficult tasks, and in view of the ruin caused by the war, it can be fulfilled only over a long period of time; but we must not forget that it is precisely here that the bourgeoisie—and particularly the numerous petty and peasant bourgeoisie—is putting up the most serious fight, disrupting the control that is already being organized, disrupting the grain monopoly, for example, and is winning positions for profiteering and speculative trade. We have far from adequately carried out the things we have decreed, and the principal task of the moment is to concentrate all efforts on the businesslike, practical *realization* of the principles of the reforms which have already become a law (but not yet a reality).

In order to proceed with the nationalization of the banks⁵ and to march unswervingly towards transforming the banks into nodal points of public

accounting under Socialism, we must first of all, and above all, achieve real success in increasing the number of branches of the People's Bank, in attracting deposits, in simplifying the paying in and withdrawal of deposits by the public, in abolishing queues, in catching and *shooting* bribetakers and rogues, etc. At first we must really carry out the simplest things, properly organize what is available, and then prepare for the more intricate things.

Consolidate and improve the state monopolies (in grain, leather, etc.) which have already been introduced, and by that prepare for the state monopoly of foreign trade. Without this monopoly we shall not be able to "rid ourselves" from foreign capital by paying "tribute." And the possibility of building up Socialism depends entirely upon whether we shall be able, by paying a certain tribute to foreign capital during a certain transitional period, to safeguard our internal economic independence.

We are also lagging very far behind in regard to the collection of taxes generally, and of the property and income tax in particular. The imposing of indemnities upon the bourgeoisie—a measure which in principle is absolutely permissible and deserves proletarian approval—shows that in this respect we are still nearer to the methods of warfare (to win Russia from the rich for the poor) than to the methods of administration.

But in order to become stronger, in order to be able to stand firmer on our feet, we must adopt the latter methods, we must substitute for the indemnities imposed upon the bourgeoisie the constant and regular collection of a property and income tax, which will bring a *greater* return to the proletarian state, and which calls for better organization on our part and better accounting and control.

The fact that we are late in introducing compulsory labour service also shows that the work that is coming to the front at the present time is precisely the preparatory organizational work that, on the one hand, will finally consolidate our gains and that, on the other, is necessary in order to prepare for the operation of "encircling" capital and compelling it to "surrender." We ought to begin introducing compulsory labour service immediately, but to do so more gradually and circumspectly, testing every step by practical experience, and, of course, taking the first step by introducing compulsory labour service *for the rich*. The introduction of labour and consumers' budget books for every bourgeois, including every rural bourgeois, would be an important step towards completely "encircling" the enemy and towards the creation of a truly popular accounting and control of the production and distribution of goods.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR NATION-WIDE ACCOUNTING AND CONTROL

The state, which for centuries has been an organ of oppression and robbery of the people, has left us a heritage of the masses' supreme hatred and suspicion of everything that is connected with the state. It is very difficult to overcome this, and only a Soviet government can do it. But even a Soviet government will require plenty of time and enormous perseverance to accomplish it. This "heritage" is felt with particular acuteness in the problem of accounting and control—the fundamental problem facing the socialist revolution on the morrow of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. A certain amount of time will inevitably pass before the masses, who for the first time feel free after the overthrow of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, will understand—not from books, but from their own, *Soviet* experience—will understand and *feel* that without all-sided state accounting and control of production and distribution of goods, the power of the toilers, the freedom of the toilers, *cannot* maintain itself, and that a return under the yoke of capitalism is *inevitable*.

All the habits and traditions of the bourgeoisie, and of the petty bourgeoisie in particular, also oppose *state* control, and uphold the inviolability of "sacred private property," of "sa-

cred" private enterprise. It is now particularly clear to us how correct is the Marxian thesis that anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism are *bourgeois* trends, how irreconcilably opposed they are to Socialism, proletarian dictatorship and Communism. The fight to instil into the minds of the masses the idea of *Soviet* state control and accounting, and to carry out this idea in practice; the fight to break with the accursed past, which taught the people to regard the procurement of bread and clothes as a "private" affair, as buying and selling, as a transaction "which concerns only myself"—is a great fight of world-historical significance, a fight between socialist consciousness and bourgeois-anarchist spontaneity.

We have introduced workers' control as a law, but this law is only just beginning to operate and is only just barely beginning to penetrate the minds of the broad masses of the proletariat. In our agitation we do not sufficiently explain that lack of accounting and control in the production and distribution of goods means the death of the rudiments of Socialism, means the embezzlement of state funds (for all property belongs to the state and the state is the Soviet state in which power belongs to the majority of the toilers), that carelessness in accounting and control is downright aiding and abetting the German and the Russian Kornilovs who can overthrow the power of the toilers *only* if we fail to cope with the task

of accounting and control and who, with the aid of the whole of the muzhik bourgeoisie, with the aid of the Cadets, the Mensheviks and the Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, are "watching" us and waiting for an opportune moment to attack us. Nor do the advanced workers and peasants think and speak about this sufficiently. And until workers' control has become a fact, until the advanced workers have organized and carried out a victorious and ruthless crusade against the violators of this control, or against those who are careless in matters of control, it will be impossible to pass from the first step (from workers' control) to the second step towards Socialism, i.e., to pass on to workers' regulation of production.

The socialist state can arise only as a network of producers' and consumers' communes, which conscientiously keep account of their production and consumption, economize labour, steadily raise the productivity of labour, thus making it possible to reduce the working day to seven, six and even less hours per day. Nothing will be achieved unless the strictest, nation-wide, all-round accounting and control of *grain* and *the production of grain* (and later of all other necessities) are set going. Capitalism left us a heritage of mass organizations which can facilitate our transition to the mass accounting and control of the distribution of goods, viz., the consumers' cooperative societies. In Russia these societies

are not so well developed as in the advanced countries, nevertheless, they have over ten million members. The decree on Consumers' Cooperative Societies⁶ issued the other day, is an extremely remarkable phenomenon, which strikingly illustrates the peculiar position and the tasks of the Soviet Socialist Republic at the present moment.

The decree represents an agreement with the bourgeois cooperative societies and the workers' cooperative societies which still adhere to the bourgeois point of view. The agreement, or compromise, consists firstly in that the representatives of the above-mentioned institutions not only took part in discussing the decree, but actually were granted the right of vote, for the parts of the decree which were strongly opposed by these institutions were dropped. Secondly, in essence the compromise consists in that the Soviet government has abandoned the principle of admission of new members to cooperative societies without entrance fees (which is the only consistently proletarian principle) and also the principle of uniting the whole of the population in a given locality in *a single* cooperative society. An exception was made from this principle, which alone is a socialist principle and which corresponds to the task of abolishing classes, only for the "working-class cooperative societies" (which in this case call themselves "class" societies only because they

subordinate themselves to the class interests of the bourgeoisie) which were given the right to exist further. Finally, the Soviet government's proposal to expel the bourgeoisie entirely from the boards of the cooperative societies was also considerably modified, and only owners of private capitalist commercial and industrial enterprises were forbidden to serve on the boards.

Had the proletariat, acting through the Soviet government, managed to organize accounting and control on a national scale, or at least laid the foundation of such control, it would not have been necessary to make such compromises. Through the food departments of the Soviets, through the supply organizations under the Soviets we would have organized the population into a single cooperative society under proletarian management—without the assistance of the bourgeois cooperative societies, without making any concession to the purely bourgeois principle which prompts the workers' cooperative societies to remain workers' societies *side by side with* bourgeois societies, *instead of* subordinating these bourgeois cooperative societies entirely to themselves, merging the two together and taking the *entire* management of the society and the supervision of the consumption of the rich *in their own hands*.

In concluding such an agreement with the bourgeois cooperative societies, the Soviet gov-

ernment concretely defined its tactical tasks and its peculiar methods of action in the present stage of development, as follows: by directing the bourgeois elements, utilizing them, making certain partial concessions to them, we create the conditions for further progress that will be slower than we at first anticipated, but surer, with the base and lines of communication better secured and with the positions which have been won better consolidated. The Soviets can (*and should*) now gauge their successes in the field of socialist construction, among other things, by extremely clear, simple and practical standards, viz., in how many communities (communes or villages, or blocks of houses, etc.), cooperative societies have been organized, and to what extent their development has approached the point of embracing the whole population.

RAISING THE PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOUR

In every socialist revolution, after the proletariat has solved the problem of capturing power, and to the extent that the task of expropriating the expropriators and suppressing their resistance has been carried out in the main, there necessarily comes to the forefront the fundamental task of creating a social system that is superior

to capitalism, viz., raising the productivity of labour, and in this connection (and for this purpose) securing better organization of labour. Our Soviet state is precisely in the position where, thanks to the victories over the exploiters—from Kerensky to Kornilov—it is able to approach this task directly, to tackle it in earnest. And here it becomes immediately clear that while it is possible to capture the central government in a few days, while it is possible to suppress the military resistance (and sabotage) of the exploiters even in different parts of a great country in a few weeks, the capital solution of the problem of raising the productivity of labour requires, at all events (particularly after a most terrible and devastating war), several years. The protracted nature of the work is certainly dictated by objective circumstances.

The raising of the productivity of labour first of all requires that the material basis of large-scale industry shall be assured, viz., the development of the production of fuel, iron, the engineering and chemical industries. The Russian Soviet Republic enjoys the favourable position of having at its command, even after the Brest-Litovsk Peace, enormous reserves of ore (in the Urals), fuel in Western Siberia (coal), in the Caucasus and the Southeast (oil), in the midlands (peat), enormous timber reserves, water power, raw materials for the chemical industry (Karabugaz),

etc. The development of these natural resources by methods of modern technology will lay the basis for the unprecedented progress of productive forces.

Another condition for raising the productivity of labour is, firstly, the raising of the educational and cultural level of the masses of the population. This is now taking place extremely rapidly, which those who are blinded by bourgeois routine are unable to see; they are unable to understand what an urge towards light and initiative is now developing among the "lower ranks" of the people thanks to the Soviet form of organization. Secondly, a condition for economic revival is the raising of the discipline of the toilers, their skill, their dexterity, increasing the intensity of labour and improving its organization.

In this respect the situation is particularly bad and even hopeless if we are to believe those who allowed themselves to be intimidated by the bourgeoisie or by those who are serving the bourgeoisie for their own ends. These people do not understand that there has not been, nor could there be, a revolution in which the supporters of the old system did not raise a howl about chaos, anarchy, etc. Naturally, among the masses who have only just thrown off an unprecedentedly savage yoke there is deep and widespread seething and ferment, the working out of new principles of labour discipline by the masses is a very protract-

ed process, and this process could not even start until complete victory had been achieved over the landlords and the bourgeoisie.

But without in the least yielding to despair, very often pretended, which is spread by the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois intellectuals (who have despaired of retaining their old privileges), we must under no circumstances conceal an obvious evil. On the contrary, we shall expose it and intensify the Soviet methods of combating it, because the victory of Socialism is inconceivable without the victory of proletarian conscious discipline over spontaneous petty-bourgeois anarchy—this real guarantee of a possible restoration of Kerenskyism and Kornilovism.

The more class-conscious vanguard of the Russian proletariat has already set itself the task of raising labour discipline. For example, both the Central Committee of the Metalworkers' Union and the Central Council of Trade Unions have begun to draft the necessary measures and decrees.⁷ This work must be supported and pushed forward with all speed. We must raise the question of piecework and apply and test it in practice; we must raise the question of applying much of what is scientific and progressive in the Taylor system, we must make wages correspond to the total amount of goods turned out, or to the amount of work done by the railways, the water transport system, etc., etc.

The Russian is a bad worker compared with the advanced peoples. Nor could it be otherwise under the tsarist regime and in view of the tenacity of the remnants of serfdom. The task that the Soviet government must set the people in all its scope is—learn to work. The Taylor system, the last word of capitalism in this respect, like all capitalist progress, is a combination of the refined brutality of bourgeois exploitation and a number of greatest scientific achievements in the field of analyzing mechanical motions during work, the elimination of superfluous and awkward motions, the elaboration of correct methods of work, the introduction of the best system of accounting and control, etc. The Soviet Republic must at all costs adopt all that is valuable in the achievements of science and technology in this field. The possibility of building Socialism is conditioned precisely upon our success in combining the Soviet power and the Soviet organization of administration with the up-to-date achievements of capitalism. We must organize in Russia the study and teaching of the Taylor system and systematically try it out and adapt it to our purposes. At the same time, in working to raise the productivity of labour, we must take into account the specific features of the transition period from capitalism to Socialism, which, on the one hand, require that the foundations be laid of the socialist organization of competition, and on

the other hand the use of compulsion, so that the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat shall not be desecrated by the practice of a jellyfish proletarian government.

THE ORGANIZATION OF COMPETITION

Among the absurdities which the bourgeoisie are fond of spreading about Socialism is the allegation that Socialists deny the importance of competition. In fact, it is only Socialism which, by abolishing classes, and consequently, by abolishing the enslavement of the masses, for the first time opens the way for competition on a really mass scale. And it is precisely the Soviet form of organization, which ensures transition from the formal democracy of the bourgeois republic to the real participation of the masses of the toilers in *administration*, that for the first time puts competition on a broad basis. It is much easier to organize this in the political field than in the economic field; but for the success of Socialism, precisely the latter is important.

Take, for example, such means of organizing competition as publicity. The bourgeois republic ensures publicity only formally; as a matter of fact, it subordinates the press to capital, entertains the "mob" with thrilling political trash, conceals what takes place in the workshops, in com-

mercial transactions, contracts, etc., behind a veil of "commercial secrets," which protect "the sacred right of property." The Soviet government has abolished commercial secrets; it has entered a new path; but we have done hardly anything to utilize publicity for the purpose of encouraging economic competition. While ruthlessly suppressing the thoroughly mendacious and insolently slanderous bourgeois press, we must set to work systematically to create a press that will not entertain and fool the masses with political thrillers and trivialities, but which will place the questions of everyday economic life before the court of the people and assist in the serious study of these questions. Every factory, every village, is a producers' and consumers' commune, whose right and duty it is to apply the general Soviet laws in their own way ("in their own way," not in the sense of violating them, but in the sense that they can apply them in various forms) and in their own way to solve the problems of accounting in the production and distribution of goods. Under capitalism, this was the "private affair" of the individual capitalist, landlord or kulak. Under the Soviet system, it is not a private affair, but the most important affair of state.

And we practically have not yet started on the enormous, difficult, but grateful task of organizing competition between communes, of introducing accounting and publicity in the process of the

production of grain, clothes and other things, of transforming dry, dead, bureaucratic accounts into living examples, some repulsive, others attractive. Under the capitalist mode of production, the significance of individual example, say the example of some cooperative workshop, was inevitably exceedingly restricted, and only those imbued with petty-bourgeois illusions could dream of "correcting" capitalism by the influence of example of virtuous institutions. After political power has passed to the proletariat, after the expropriators have been expropriated, the situation radically changes and—as prominent Socialists have repeatedly pointed out—force of example for the first time is able to exercise influence on the masses. Model communes should and will serve as educators, teachers, helping to raise the backward communes. The press must serve as an instrument of socialist construction, give publicity to the successes achieved by the model communes in all their details, study the causes of these successes, the methods of management these communes employ, and on the other hand, put on the "black list" those communes which persist in the "traditions of capitalism," i.e., anarchy, laziness, disorder and profiteering. In capitalist society, statistics were entirely a matter for "bureaucrats," or for narrow specialists; we must carry statistics to the masses and make them popular so that the working people themselves may grad-

ually learn to understand and see how long and how it is necessary to work, how much time and how one may rest, so that *the comparison of the business results* of the various communes may become a matter of general interest and study, and that the most outstanding communes may be rewarded immediately (by reducing the working day for a certain period of time, raising the remuneration, placing a larger amount of cultural or esthetic facilities or values at their disposal, etc.).

When a new class ascends the historical scene as the leader and guide of society, a period of strong "tossing," shocks, struggle and storm on the one hand, of uncertain steps, experiments, wavering, hesitation in regard to the selection of new methods corresponding to new objective circumstances, on the other, is inevitable. The moribund feudal nobility avenged themselves on the bourgeoisie which vanquished them and took their place, not only by conspiracies and attempts at rebellion and restoration, but also by pouring ridicule over the lack of skill, the clumsiness and the mistakes of the "upstarts" and the "insolent" who dared to take hold of the "sacred helm" of state without the centuries of training which the princes, barons, nobles and dignitaries had had, in exactly the same way as the Kornilovs and Kerenskys, the Gotzes and Martovs and the whole of that fraternity of heroes of bourgeois swin-

ding or bourgeois scepticism avenge themselves on the working class of Russia for having had the "audacity" to take power.

Of course, not weeks, but long months and years are required in order that the new social class, and the class which up to now has been oppressed and crushed by poverty and ignorance at that, may get used to its new position, look around, organize its work and promote its *own* organizers. It goes without saying that the Party which leads the revolutionary proletariat could not acquire the experience and habits of large organizational undertakings embracing millions and tens of millions of citizens; the remoulding of the old, almost exclusively agitators' habits is a very lengthy process. But there is nothing impossible in this, and as soon as the necessity for a change is clearly appreciated, as soon as there is firm determination to effect the change and perseverance in pursuing a great and difficult aim, we shall achieve it. There is an enormous amount of organizing talent among the "people," i.e., among the workers and the peasants who do not exploit the labour of others. Capital crushed these talented people in thousands; it killed them and threw them on the scrap heap. We are not yet able to find them, encourage them, put them on their feet, promote them. But we will learn to do so if we set about it with all the revolutionary enthusiasm,

without which there can be no victorious revolutions.

No profound and mighty popular movement has ever occurred in history without dirty scum rising to the top, without adventurers and rogues, boasters and shouters, attaching themselves to the inexperienced innovators, without senseless fuss, confusion, aimless bustling, without individual "leaders" trying to deal with twenty matters at once and not finishing any one of them. Let the lap dogs of bourgeois society, from Belorussov to Martov, squeal and yelp about every extra chip that is sent flying in cutting down the big, old wood. What else are lap dogs for if not to yelp at the proletarian elephant? Let them yelp. We shall go our road and try as carefully and as patiently as possible to test and discover real organizers, people with sober minds and a practical intelligence, people who combine loyalty to Socialism with ability without fuss (and in spite of bustle and fuss) to organize the strongly-welded and concerted joint work of a large number of people within the framework of Soviet organization. *Only* such people, after testing them a dozen times, by transferring them from the simplest to the more difficult tasks, should be promoted to the responsible posts of leaders of the people's labour, leaders of administration. We have not yet learned to do this, but we shall learn.

"HARMONIOUS ORGANIZATION" AND DICTATORSHIP

The resolution adopted by the recent Congress of Soviets in Moscow advanced as the primary task of the moment the establishment of a "harmonious organization," and the tightening of discipline.⁸ Everyone now readily "votes for" and "subscribes to" resolutions of this kind; but usually people do not ponder over the fact that the application of such resolutions calls for coercion—coercion precisely in the form of dictatorship. And yet it would be extremely stupid and absurdly utopian to assume that the transition from capitalism to Socialism is possible without coercion and without dictatorship. Marx's theory very definitely opposed this petty-bourgeois-democratic and anarchist absurdity long ago. And Russia of 1917-18 confirms the correctness of Marx's theory in this respect so strikingly, palpably and imposingly that only those who are hopelessly dull or who have obstinately decided to turn their backs on the truth can be under any misapprehension concerning this. Either the dictatorship of Kornilov (if we take him as the Russian type of bourgeois Cavaignac), or the dictatorship of the proletariat—any other choice is *out of the question* for a country which has gone through an extremely rapid development with extremely sharp turns and amidst desperate ruin created by one

of the most horrible wars in history. Every solution that offers a middle path is either a deception of the people by the bourgeoisie—for the bourgeoisie dare not tell the truth, dare not say that they need Kornilov—or an expression of the dull-wittedness of the petty-bourgeois democrats, of the Chernovs, Tseretelis and Martovs who chatter about the unity of democracy, the dictatorship of democracy, the general democratic front, and similar nonsense. Those whom even the progress of the Russian Revolution of 1917-18 has not taught that a middle course is impossible are hopeless.

On the other hand, it is not difficult to see that during every transition from capitalism to Socialism, dictatorship is necessary for two main reasons, or along two main channels. Firstly, capitalism cannot be defeated and eradicated without the ruthless suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, who cannot at once be deprived of their wealth, of their advantages of organization and knowledge, and consequently for a fairly long period will inevitably try to overthrow the hated rule of the poor; secondly, every great revolution, and a socialist revolution in particular, even if there were no external war, is inconceivable without internal war, i.e., civil war, which is even more devastating than external war, and involves thousands and millions of cases of wavering and desertion from one side to

another, implies a state of extreme indefiniteness, lack of equilibrium and chaos. And of course, all the elements of disintegration of the old society, which are inevitably very numerous and connected mainly with the petty bourgeoisie (because it is the petty bourgeoisie that every war and every crisis ruins and destroys first) cannot but "reveal themselves" during such a profound revolution. And these elements of disintegration *cannot* "reveal themselves" otherwise than in the increase of crime, hooliganism, corruption, profiteering and outrages of every kind. To put these down requires time and *requires an iron hand*.

There has not been a single great revolution in history in which the people did not instinctively realize this and did not reveal salutary firmness by shooting thieves on the spot. The misfortune of previous revolutions was that the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses, which sustained them in their state of tension and gave them the strength ruthlessly to suppress the elements of disintegration, did not last long. The social, i.e., the class reason for this instability of the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses was the weakness of the proletariat, which *alone* is able (if it is sufficiently numerous, class conscious and disciplined) to win over to its side *the majority* of the working and exploited people (the majority of the poor, to speak more simply and

popularly) and retain power sufficiently long to suppress completely all the exploiters as well as all the elements of disintegration.

It was this historical experience of all revolutions, it was this world-historical—economic and political—lesson that Marx summed up in giving his short, sharp, concise and expressive formula: dictatorship of the proletariat. And the fact that the Russian revolution correctly approached this world-historical task *has been proved* by the victorious progress of the Soviet form of organization among all the peoples and tongues of Russia. For Soviet power is nothing but an organizational form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the dictatorship of the advanced class, which raises to a new democracy and to independent participation in the administration of the state tens upon tens of millions of toiling and exploited people—who by their own experience learn to regard the disciplined and class-conscious vanguard of the proletariat as their most reliable leader.

But dictatorship is a big word, and big words should not be thrown about carelessly. Dictatorship is iron rule, government that is revolutionarily bold, swift and ruthless in suppressing the exploiters as well as hooligans. But our government is excessively mild, very often it resembles jelly more than iron. We must not forget for a moment that the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois element is fighting against the Soviet system in

two ways: on the one hand, it is operating from without, by the methods of the Savinkovs, Gotzes, Gegechkoris and Kornilovs, by conspiracies and rebellions, and by their filthy "ideological" reflection, the flood of lies and slander in the Cadet, Right Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik press; on the other hand, this element operates from within and takes advantage of every manifestation of disintegration, of every weakness, in order to bribe, to increase indiscipline, laxity and chaos. The nearer we approach the complete military suppression of the bourgeoisie, the more dangerous does the element of petty-bourgeois anarchy become. And the fight against this element cannot be waged solely with the aid of propaganda and agitation, solely by organizing competition and by selecting organizers. The struggle must also be waged by means of compulsion.

As the fundamental task of the government becomes, not military suppression, but administration, the typical manifestation of suppression and compulsion will be, not shooting on the spot, but trial by court. In this respect also the revolutionary masses after October 25, 1917, entered the right path and demonstrated the virility of the revolution by setting up their own workers' and peasants' courts, even before the decrees dissolving the bourgeois bureaucratic judiciary were passed. But our revolutionary and people's courts

are extremely, incredibly weak. One feels that we have not yet done away with the people's attitude towards the courts as towards something official and alien, an attitude inherited from the yoke of the landlords and of the bourgeoisie. It is not yet sufficiently realized that the court is an organ which enlists precisely the poor, everyone of them, in the work of state administration (for the work of courts is one of the functions of state administration), that the court is an *organ of the power* of the proletariat and of the poor peasants, that the court is an instrument *for inculcating discipline*. There is not yet sufficient appreciation of the simple and obvious fact that if the principal misfortunes of Russia at the present time are hunger and unemployment, these misfortunes cannot be overcome by spurts, but only by all-sided, all-embracing nation-wide organization and discipline in order to increase the output of food for the people and food for industry (fuel), to transport these in proper time to the places where they are required, and to distribute them properly; and it is not fully appreciated that, consequently, it is *those* who violate labour discipline at any factory, in any undertaking, in any matter, who are *responsible* for the sufferings caused by the famine and unemployment, that we must know how to find the guilty ones, to bring them to trial, and ruthlessly punish. The petty-bourgeois element against which we must now wage a most

persistent struggle finds its expression precisely in the failure to appreciate the economic and political connection between famine and unemployment on the one hand and general laxity in matters of organization and discipline on the other—in the tenacity of the *small-proprietor* outlook, viz., I'll grab all I can for myself; what do I care about the rest?

In the railway transport service, which perhaps most strikingly embodies the economic ties of an organism created by large-scale capitalism, the struggle between the element of petty-bourgeois laxity and proletarian organization is particularly evident. The "administration" elements provide a host of saboteurs and bribetakers; the best part of the proletarian elements fight for discipline; but among both elements there are, of course, many waverers and "weak" characters who are unable to withstand the "temptation" of profiteering, bribery, personal gain obtained by spoiling the whole apparatus—upon the proper working of which the victory over famine and unemployment depends.

The struggle that was developing around the recent decree on the management of the railways, the decree which grants individual executives dictatorial powers (or "unlimited" powers)⁹ is characteristic. The conscious (and mostly, probably, unconscious) representatives of petty-bourgeois laxity would like to see in this granting of

“unlimited” (i.e., dictatorial) powers to individual persons a departure from the collegiate principle, from democracy and from the principles of Soviet government. Here and there, among Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, a positively hooligan agitation, i.e., agitation appealing to the base instincts and to the small proprietor’s striving to “grab all he can” has been developed against the dictatorship decree. The question has become one of really enormous significance: firstly, the question of principle, viz., is the appointment of individual persons, dictators with unlimited powers, in general compatible with the fundamental principles of Soviet government? Secondly, what relation has this case—this precedent, if you will—to the special tasks of the government in the present concrete situation? We must deal very thoroughly with both these questions.

That in the history of revolutionary movements the dictatorship of individuals was very often the expression, the vehicle, the channel of the dictatorship of the revolutionary classes has been shown by the irrefutable experience of history. Undoubtedly, the dictatorship of individuals was compatible with bourgeois democracy. But on this point the bourgeois defamers of the Soviet system, as well as their petty-bourgeois henchmen, always display remarkable legerdemain: on the one hand, they declare the Soviet system to be something absurd and anarchistically savage, and

they carefully pass in silence all our historical examples and theoretical arguments which prove that the Soviets are a higher form of democracy, and even more, the beginning of the *socialist* form of democracy; on the other hand, they demand of us a higher democracy than bourgeois democracy and say: personal dictatorship is absolutely incompatible with your, Bolshevik (i.e., not bourgeois, *but socialist*) Soviet democracy.

These are exceedingly poor arguments. If we are not anarchists, we must admit that the state, *that is, compulsion*, is necessary for the transition from capitalism to Socialism. The form of compulsion is determined by the degree of development of the given revolutionary class, and also by special circumstances, such as, for example, the heritage of a long and reactionary war and the forms of resistance put up by the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie. Hence, there is absolutely *no* contradiction in principle between Soviet (*that is, socialist*) democracy and the exercise of dictatorial powers by individuals. The difference between proletarian dictatorship and bourgeois dictatorship is that the former strikes at the exploiting minority in the interests of the exploited majority, and that it is exercised—*also through individuals*—not only by the toiling and exploited masses, but also by organizations which are built in such a way as to rouse these masses to the work of history-making. (The

Soviet organizations are organizations of this kind.)

In regard to the second question concerning the significance of precisely individual dictatorial powers from the point of view of the specific tasks of the present moment, it must be said that large-scale machine industry—which is precisely the material source, the productive source, the foundation of Socialism—calls for absolute and strict *unity of will*, which directs the joint labours of hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands of people. The technical, economic and historical necessity of this is obvious, and all those who have thought about Socialism have always regarded it as one of the conditions of Socialism. But how can strict unity of will be ensured?—By thousands subordinating their will to the will of one.

Given ideal class consciousness and discipline on the part of those taking part in the common work, this subordination would rather remind one of the mild leadership of a conductor of an orchestra. It may assume the sharp forms of a dictatorship if ideal discipline and class consciousness are lacking. But be that as it may, *unquestioning subordination* to a single will is absolutely necessary for the success of processes organized on the pattern of large-scale machine industry. On the railways it is twice and three times as necessary. In this transition from one polit-

ical task to another, which *on the surface* is totally dissimilar to the first, consists the peculiar nature of the present situation. The revolution has only just smashed the oldest, strongest and heaviest fetters to which the masses submitted under duress. That was yesterday. But today the same revolution demands—precisely in the interests of its development and consolidation, precisely in the interests of Socialism—that the masses *unquestioningly obey the single will* of the leaders of the labour process. Of course, such a transition cannot be made at one step. Clearly, it can be achieved only as a result of tremendous jolts, shocks, reversions to old ways, the enormous exertion of effort on the part of the proletarian vanguard, which is leading the people to the new ways. Those who drop into the philistine hysterics of *Novaya Zhizn*¹⁰ or *Vperyod*,¹¹ *Dyelo Naroda*¹² or *Nash Vek*¹³ do not stop to think about this.

Take the psychology of the average rank-and-file representative of the toiling and exploited masses; compare it with the objective, material conditions of his social life. Before the October Revolution he did *not* see a single instance of the propertied exploiting classes making any real sacrifice for him, giving up anything for his benefit. He did *not* see them giving him land and liberty that had been repeatedly promised him, giving him peace, sacrificing "Great Power" interests and the

interests of Great Power secret treaties, sacrificing capital and profits. He saw this only *after* October 25, 1917, when he took this himself by force, and had to defend by force what he had taken against the Kerenskys, the Gotzes, the Gegechkoris, Dutovs and Kornilovs. Naturally, for a certain time, all his attention, all his thoughts, all his spiritual strength, were concentrated on taking breath, on unbending his back, on straightening his shoulders, on taking the blessings of life which became immediately accessible and which the overthrown exploiters had never given him. Of course, a certain amount of time is required to enable the rank-and-file representative of the masses not only to see for himself, not only to become convinced, but also to feel that he cannot simply "take," snatch, grab things, that this leads to increased dislocation, to ruin, to the return of the Kornilovs. The corresponding change in the conditions of life (and consequently in the psychology) of the rank-and-file toiling masses is only just beginning. And our whole task, the task of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks), which is the class-conscious spokesman for the strivings of the exploited for emancipation, is to appreciate this change, to understand that it is necessary, to take the lead of the exhausted masses who are wearily seeking a way out and lead them along the true path, along the path of labour discipline, along the path of coordinating the task of arguing

at mass meetings *about* the conditions of work with the task of unquestioningly obeying the will of the Soviet leader, of the dictator, *during* the work.

The "mania for meetings" is an object of the ridicule, and still more often of the spiteful hissing of the bourgeoisie, the Mensheviks, the *Novaya Zhtzn*-ites, who see only the chaos, the confusion and the outbursts of small-proprietor egoism. But without the discussions at public meetings the masses of the oppressed could never have gone over from the discipline forced upon them by the exploiters to conscious, voluntary discipline. The airing of questions at public meetings is the genuine democracy of the toilers, their way of unbending their backs, their awakening to a new life, their first steps along the road which they themselves have cleared of vipers (the exploiters, the imperialists, the landlords and capitalists) and which they want to learn to build themselves, in their own way, for themselves, on the principles of their own *Soviet*, and not alien, not aristocratic, not bourgeois rule. It required precisely the October victory of the toilers over the exploiters, it required a whole historical period in which the toilers themselves could first of all discuss the new conditions of life and the new tasks, in order to make possible the durable transition to superior forms of labour discipline, to the conscious appreciation of the necessity of the

dictatorship of the proletariat, to unquestioning obedience to the orders of individual representatives of the Soviet government during the work.

This transition has now commenced.

We have successfully fulfilled the first task of the revolution; we have seen how the masses of the toilers created in themselves the fundamental condition for its success: they united their efforts against the exploiters in order to overthrow them. Stages like that of October 1905, February and October 1917 are of world-historical significance.

We have successfully fulfilled the second task of the revolution: to awaken, to raise precisely those social "lower ranks" whom the exploiters had pushed down, and who only after October 25, 1917, obtained complete freedom to overthrow the exploiters and to begin to take stock of things and arrange life in their own way. The airing of questions at public meetings of precisely the most oppressed and downtrodden, of the least educated masses of the toilers, their going over to the side of the Bolsheviks, establishment by them everywhere of their own Soviet organization—this was the second great stage of the revolution.

The third stage is now beginning. We must consolidate what we ourselves have won, what we ourselves have decreed, made law, discussed, planned—consolidate all this in stable forms of *everyday labour discipline*. This is the most difficult, but the most grateful task, because only its

fulfilment will give us socialist conditions. We must learn to combine the "public meeting" democracy of the toiling masses—turbulent, surging, overflowing its banks like a spring flood—with *iron* discipline while at work, with *unquestioning obedience* to the will of a single person, the Soviet leader, while at work.

We have not yet learned to do this.

We will learn it.

Yesterday we were menaced with the restoration of bourgeois exploitation personified by the Kornilovs, Gotzes, Dutovs, Gegechkoris and Bogayevskys. We vanquished them. This restoration, this very same restoration menaces us today in another form, in the form of the element of petty-bourgeois laxity and anarchism, or small-proprietor "it's not my business" psychology, in the form of the daily, petty, but numerous sorties and attacks of this element against proletarian discipline. We must vanquish this element of petty-bourgeois anarchy, and we will vanquish it.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET ORGANIZATION

The socialist character of Soviet, i.e., *proletarian*, democracy, as concretely applied today, consists first in that the electors are the toiling and exploited masses; the bourgeoisie is excluded. Sec-

ondly, it consists in the fact that all bureaucratic formalities and restrictions of elections are abolished; the masses themselves determine the order and time of elections, and are completely free to recall any elected person. Thirdly, it consists in the fact that the best mass organization of the vanguard of the toilers, i.e., the proletariat engaged in large-scale industry, is created, which enables it to lead the vast masses of the exploited, to draw them into independent political life, to educate them politically by their own experience and thus for the first time a start is made by the *whole* of the population in learning the art of administration, and in beginning to administer.

Such are the principal distinguishing features of the democracy now applied in Russia, which is a higher *type* of democracy, a break with the bourgeois distortion of democracy, its transition to socialist democracy and to the conditions in which the state can begin to wither away.

It goes without saying that the element of petty-bourgeois disorganization (which must *inevitably* manifest itself to some extent in *every* proletarian revolution, and which manifests itself with especial strength in our revolution, owing to the petty-bourgeois character of our country, its backwardness and the consequences of a reactionary war) cannot but leave its impress upon the Soviets as well.

We must work unremittingly to develop the organization of the Soviets and of the Soviet government. There is a petty-bourgeois tendency to transform the members of the Soviets into "parliamentarians," or else into bureaucrats. We must combat this by drawing *all* the members of the Soviets into the practical work of administration. In many places the departments of the Soviets are gradually becoming merged with the Commissariats. Our aim is to draw *the whole of the poor* into the practical work of administration, and every step that is taken in this direction—the more varied they are, the better—should be carefully recorded, studied, systematized, tested by wider experience and embodied in law. Our aim is to ensure that *every* toiler, after having finished his eight hours' "task" in productive labour, shall perform state duties *without pay*: the transition to this is particularly difficult, but this transition alone can guarantee the final consolidation of Socialism. Naturally, the novelty and difficulty of the change cause an abundance of steps taken, as it were, gropingly, an abundance of mistakes, vacillation—without this, any marked progress is impossible. The reason why the present position seems peculiar to many of those who would like to be regarded as Socialists is that they have been accustomed to contrasting capitalism to Socialism abstractly and that they profoundly put between the two the word: "leap" (some of them,

recalling fragments of what they have read of Engels' writings, still more profoundly add the phrase: "leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom"¹⁴). The majority of these so-called Socialists, who have "read in books" about Socialism but who have never seriously pondered over the matter, are unable to understand that by "leap" the teachers of Socialism meant turning points on world-historical scale, and that leaps of this kind extended over decades and even longer periods. Naturally, in such times, the notorious "intelligentsia" provide an infinite number of mourners of the dead. Some mourn over the Constituent Assembly, others mourn over bourgeois discipline, others again mourn over the capitalist system, still others mourn over the cultured landlord, and still others again mourn over imperialist Great Power policy, etc., etc.

The real interest of the epoch of great leaps lies in that the abundance of fragments of the old, which sometimes accumulate more rapidly than the rudiments (not always immediately discernible) of the new, calls for the ability to discern what is most important in the line or chain of development. History knows moments when the most important thing for the success of the revolution is to heap up as large a quantity of the fragments as possible, i.e., to blow up as many of the old institutions as possible; moments arise when enough has been blown up and the next

task is to perform the "prosaic" (for the petty-bourgeois revolutionary, the "boring") task of clearing away the fragments; and moments arise when the careful nursing of the rudiments of the new system, which are growing among the wreckage on a soil which as yet has been badly cleared of rubble, is the most important thing.

It is not enough to be a revolutionary and an adherent of Socialism or a Communist in general. One must be able at each particular moment to find the particular link in the chain which one must grasp with all one's might in order to hold the whole chain and to prepare firmly for the transition to the next link; the order of the links, their form, the manner in which they are linked together, their difference from each other in the historical chain of events, are not as simple and not as senseless as those in an ordinary chain made by a smith.

The fight against the bureaucratic distortion of the Soviet form of organization is assured by the firmness of the connection between the Soviets and the "people," meaning by that the toilers and exploited, and by the flexibility and elasticity of this connection. Even in the most democratic capitalist republics in the world, the poor never regard the bourgeois parliament as "their own" institution. But the Soviets are "their own" and not alien institutions to the masses of workers and peasants. The modern "Social-Demo-

crats" of the Scheidemann or, what is almost the same thing, of the Martov type are repelled by the Soviets, and they are drawn towards the respectable bourgeois parliament, or to the Constituent Assembly in the same way as Turgenev, sixty years ago, was drawn towards a moderate monarchist and nobleman's Constitution and was repelled by the muzhik democracy of Dobrolyubov and Chernyshevsky.

It is precisely the closeness of the Soviets to the "people," to the toilers, that creates the special forms of recall and other means of control from below which must be most zealously developed now. For example, the Councils of Public Education, as periodical conferences of Soviet electors and their delegates called to discuss and control the activities of the Soviet authorities in the given field, are deserving of full sympathy and support. Nothing would be sillier than to transform the Soviets into something congealed and self-contained. The more resolutely we now have to stand for a ruthlessly firm government, for the dictatorship of individuals *in definite processes of work*, in definite aspects of *purely executive* functions, the more varied must be the form and methods of control from below in order to counteract every shadow of possibility of distorting the principles of Soviet government, in order repeatedly and tirelessly to weed out bureaucracy.

CONCLUSION

An extraordinarily difficult, complex and dangerous situation in international affairs; the necessity of manoeuvring and retreating; a period of waiting for new outbreaks of the revolution which is maturing in the West at a painfully slow pace; within the country a period of slow construction and ruthless "tightening up," of prolonged and persistent struggle waged by stern, proletarian discipline against the menacing element of petty-bourgeois laxity and anarchy—such in brief are the distinguishing features of the special stage of the socialist revolution we are now living in. Such is the link in the historical chain of events which we must at present grasp with all our might in order to prove equal to the tasks that confront us before passing to the next link which is attracting us by its particular brightness, the brightness of the victories of the international proletarian revolution.

Try to compare the slogans that follow from the specific conditions of the present stage, viz., manoeuvre, retreat, wait, build slowly, ruthlessly tighten up, rigorously discipline, smash laxity—with the ordinary everyday concept "revolutionary." . . . Is it surprising that when certain "revolutionaries" hear this they are seized with noble indignation and begin to "thunder" abuse at us for forgetting the traditions of the October Revo-

lution, for compromising with the bourgeois specialists, for compromising with the bourgeoisie, for being petty bourgeois, reformists, and so on and so forth?

The misfortune of these sorry "revolutionaries" is that even those of them who are prompted by the best motives in the world and are absolutely loyal to the cause of Socialism fail to understand the particular, and particularly "unpleasant," state that a backward country, lacerated by a reactionary and disastrous war and which began the socialist revolution long before the more advanced countries, inevitably has to pass through; they lack stamina in the difficult moments of a difficult transition. Naturally, it is the "Left Socialist-Revolutionaries" who are acting as an "official" opposition of *this* kind against our Party. Of course, there are and always will be individual exceptions from group and class types. But social types remain. In the land in which the small-proprietor population greatly predominates over the purely proletarian population, the difference between the proletarian revolutionary and petty-bourgeois revolutionary will inevitably make itself felt, and from time to time will make itself felt very sharply. The petty-bourgeois revolutionary wavers and vacillates at every turn of events; he is an ardent revolutionary in March 1917 and praises "coalition" in May, hates the Bolsheviks (or laments over their

“adventurism”) in July and apprehensively turns away from them at the end of October, supports them in December, and finally in March and April 1918 such types, more often than not, turn up their noses contemptuously and say: “I am not one of those who sing hymns to ‘organic’ work, to practicalness and gradualness.”

The social source of such types is the small proprietor who has been driven to frenzy by the horrors of war, the sudden ruin, the unprecedented torments of famine and ruin, who hysterically rushes about seeking a way out, seeking salvation, places his confidence in the proletariat and supports it at one moment and gives way to fits of despair at another. We must clearly understand and firmly remember the fact that Socialism cannot be built on such a social basis. The only class that can lead the toiling and exploited masses is the class that unswervingly follows its path without losing courage and without giving way to despair even at the most difficult, arduous and dangerous stages. Hysterical spurts are of no use to us. What we need is the steady march of the iron battalions of the proletariat.

Written in March-April 1918

Pravda, No. 83, and *Izvestia*
of the All-Russian Central

Executive Committee, No. 85,
April 28, 1918

Signed: *N. Lenin*

SIX THESES ON THE IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

1. The international situation of the Soviet Republic is extremely difficult and critical, because the deepest and fundamental interests of international capital and imperialism induce it to strive not only for a military onslaught on Russia, but also for an agreement on the partition of Russia and the strangulation of the Soviet state.

Only the intensification of the imperialist slaughter of the peoples in Western Europe and the imperialist rivalry between Japan and America in the Far East paralyzes, or restrains, these strivings, and then only partially, and only for a certain, probably short, time.

Therefore, the obligatory tactics of the Soviet Republic must be, on the one hand, to exert all efforts to the utmost to ensure the speediest economic recovery of the country, to increase its defence capacity, to build up a powerful socialist army; on the other hand, in international policy, the obligatory tactics are those of manoeuvring, retreat, waiting for the moment when the inter-

national proletarian revolution—which is now maturing more quickly than before in a number of advanced countries—fully matures.

2. In the sphere of domestic policy, the task that comes to the forefront at the present time in conformity with the resolution adopted by the All-Russian Congress of Soviets of March 15, 1918, is the organizational task. It is this task, in connection with the new and higher organization of production and distribution on the basis of socialized large-scale machine (labour) production, that constitutes the chief content—and chief condition of complete victory—of the socialist revolution that was begun in Russia on October 25, 1917.

3. From the purely political standpoint, the pivot of the present situation is that the task of convincing the working people of Russia that the program of the socialist revolution is correct, and the task of winning Russia from the exploiters for the working people have, in main and fundamental outline, been carried out, and the chief problem that comes to the forefront now is—how to administer Russia. The organization of proper administration, the undeviating fulfilment of the decisions of the Soviet government—such is the urgent task of the Soviets, such is the condition of the complete victory of the Soviet type of state, which it is not enough to proclaim in formal decrees, it is not enough to establish and introduce

in all parts of the country, but must also be practically organized and tested in the course of the regular, everyday work of administration.

4. In the sphere of the economic building of Socialism, the pivot of the present situation is that our work of organizing the nation-wide and all-embracing accounting and control of production and distribution, and of introducing proletarian control of production, lags greatly behind the direct expropriation of the expropriators—the landlords and capitalists. This is the fundamental fact that determines our tasks.

From it follows, on the one hand, that the struggle against the bourgeoisie is entering a new phase, namely: the centre of gravity is shifting to accounting and control. Only in this way is it possible to consolidate all the economic achievements directed against capital, all the measures in nationalizing individual branches of the national economy, that we have carried out since October; and only in this way is it possible to prepare for the successful consummation of the struggle against the bourgeoisie, i.e., the complete consolidation of Socialism.

From the foregoing major fact follows, on the other hand, the explanation as to why the Soviet government was obliged in certain cases to take a step backward, or to agree to compromise with bourgeois tendencies. Such a step backward and departure from the principles of the Paris Com-

mune was, for example, the introduction of high salaries for a number of bourgeois specialists. Such a compromise was the agreement with the bourgeois cooperatives concerning steps and measures for gradually bringing the entire population into the cooperatives. Compromises of this kind will be necessary until the proletarian government has put nation-wide control and accounting firmly on its feet; and our task is, while not in the least concealing their unfavourable features from the people, to exert efforts to improve accounting and control as the only means and method of completely eliminating all compromises of this kind. Compromises of this kind are needed at the present time as the sole (because we are belated with accounting and control) guarantee of slower, but surer progress. When the accounting and control of production and distribution is fully introduced the need for such compromises will fall away.

5. A particular item that is coming on the order of the day are measures for raising labour discipline and productivity of labour. All efforts must be exerted so that the steps already undertaken in this direction, especially by the trade unions, should be sustained, consolidated and increased. Appertaining to this are, for example, the introduction of piecework, the adoption of much that is scientific and progressive in the Taylor system, the payment of wages commensurate

with the general results of the work of a factory, the exploitation of railway and water transport, etc. Appertaining to this also are the organization of competition between individual producers' and consumers' communes, selection of organizers, etc.

6. The proletarian dictatorship is absolutely indispensable in the transition from capitalism to Socialism, and in our revolution this truth has found full practical confirmation. But dictatorship presupposes revolutionary government that is really firm and ruthless in crushing both exploiters and hooligans, and our government is too mild. Obedience, and unquestioned obedience at that, during work, to the orders of the individual, Soviet directors, dictators, elected or appointed by Soviet institutions, vested with dictatorial powers (as is demanded, for example, by the railway decree) is far, very far from being guaranteed as yet. This is the effect of the influence of petty-bourgeois anarchy, the anarchy of small-proprietor habits, strivings and sentiments, which fundamentally contradict proletarian discipline and Socialism. The proletariat must concentrate all its class consciousness on the task of combating this petty-bourgeois anarchy, which finds not only direct expression (in the support given by the bourgeoisie and their hangers-on, the Mensheviks, Right Socialist-Revolutionaries, etc., to every kind of resistance to the proletarian government),

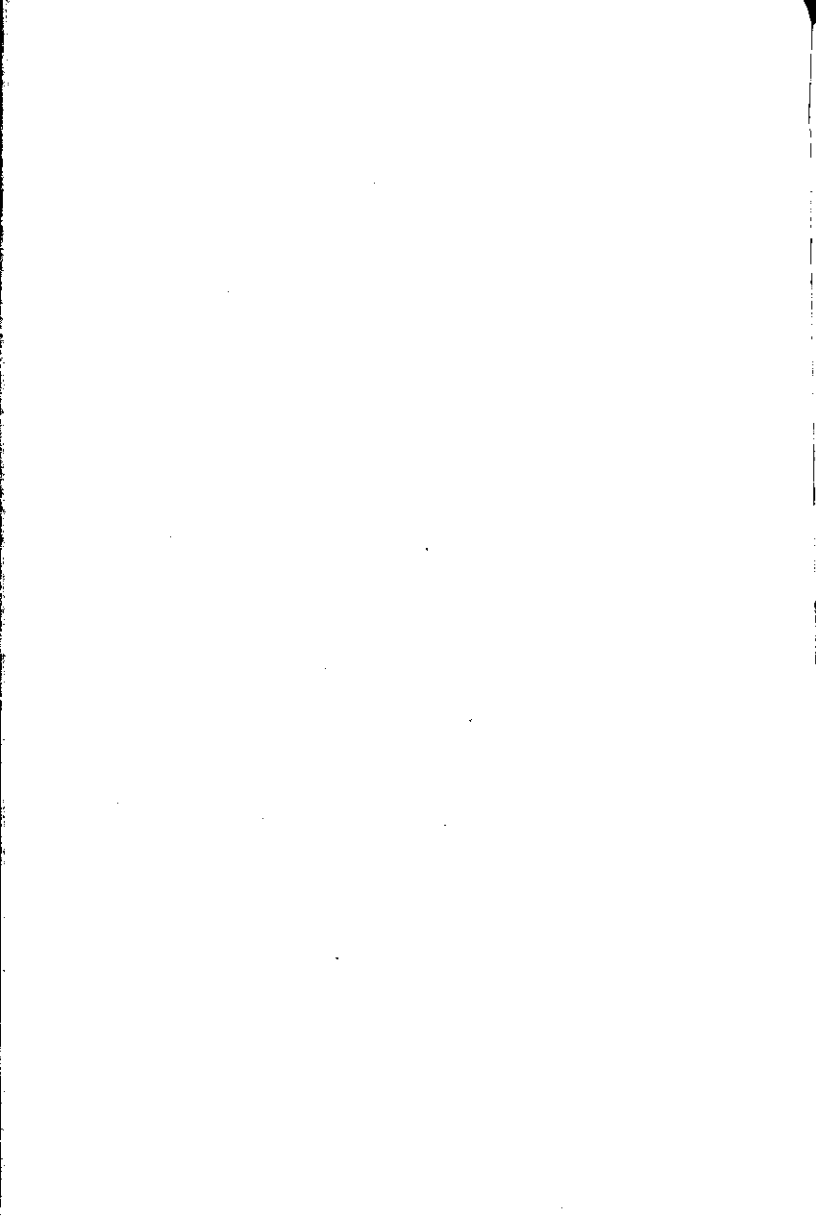
but also indirect expression (in the historical vacillation displayed on the major questions of policy by that petty-bourgeois party, the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, and also by the trend in our Party called "Left Communist," which descends to the methods of petty-bourgeois revolutionariness and copies the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries).

Iron discipline and the thorough exercise of proletarian dictatorship against petty-bourgeois vacillation—such is the general and summarizing slogan of the present day.

Written between April 30
and May 3, 1918

Published in 1918, in pamphlet:

N. Lenin, *The Immediate Tasks
of the Soviet Government*. VTsIK Publishers



NOTES

- ¹ The manuscript of Lenin's work *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government* bore the title "Theses on the Tasks of the Soviet Government at the Present Moment." Lenin's Theses were discussed at a meeting of the Central Committee of the Party on April 26, 1918. The Central Committee approved them and decided to publish them in the form of an article in *Pravda* and in *Izvestia VTsIK*, and also in pamphlet form. At this same meeting the Central Committee instructed Lenin to deliver a report "On the Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government" at a meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee (the VTsIK), for which he prepared a brief synopsis of the "Theses" in the form of a resolution (see this pamphlet, pp. 70-75). In Vol. 27, 4th Russ. ed. of Lenin's *Collected Works*, the work, *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*, is reprinted from the pamphlet: N. Lenin, *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*, 2nd Russ. ed., Moscow, 1918, checked with the manuscript. p. 7
- ² See V. I. Lenin, "Fourth Extraordinary All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Resolution on Ratification of the Brest Treaty," *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 27, p. 173. p. 7
- ³ By a decision of the Council of People's Commissars of November 18 (December 1) 1917, the top monthly salary of People's Commissars was fixed at 500 rubles. Soon after, at the request of the People's Commissariat

for Labour, the Council of People's Commissars adopted a decision permitting highly skilled specialists in science and technology to be paid higher salaries.

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⁴ *Novaya Zhizn*-ites—a Menshevik group formed around the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn* (*New Life*) which started publication in Petrograd in April 1917. The group united the Menshevik followers of Martov, who called themselves Internationalists, and individual intellectuals of a semi-Menshevik persuasion. In October 1917, the *Novaya Zhizn*-ites, together with all the Mensheviks, opposed the armed insurrection. After October, except for a few who joined the Bolsheviks, they took a hostile stand against the Soviet government. In July 1918, *Novaya Zhizn* was suppressed together with the other counterrevolutionary newspapers.

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⁵ The Decree on the Nationalization of the Banks was endorsed by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on December 14 (27), 1917, and published in *Izvestia TsIK*, No. 252, of December 15 (28), 1917.

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⁶ The Decree on Consumers' Cooperative Organizations was adopted by the Council of People's Commissars on April 10, endorsed at a meeting of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee on April 11, 1918 and, over the signature of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, Vl. I. Ulyanov (Lenin), was published in *Pravda*, No. 71, of April 13 (March 31), 1918, and *Izvestia VTsIK*, No. 75, of April 16, 1918. Lenin introduced a number of amendments in the decree, and Clauses 11, 12 and 13 were written entirely by him.

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⁷ This refers to "Regulations Governing Labour Discipline Adopted by the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions," published in the magazine *Narodnoye Khozyaistvo* (*National Economy*), No. 2, of April 1918.

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⁸ See V. I. Lenin, "Fourth Extraordinary All-Russian Congress of Soviets. Resolution on Ratification of the Brest Treaty," *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 27, p. 173.

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⁹ This refers to the decree of the Council of People's Commissars "On Centralization of the Administration and Protection of Roads and Increasing Their Traffic Capacity." The decree was endorsed by the Council of People's Commissars on March 23, 1918, and was published on March 26, 1918, over the signature of the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars V. Ulyanov (Lenin). The decree was drafted by a special commission on lines indicated by Lenin. The draft presented by the commission was amended, supplemented and finally edited by Lenin.

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¹⁰ Concerning the newspaper *Novaya Zhizn*, see Note 4 on the *Novaya Zhizn*-ites.

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¹¹ *Vperyod (Forward)*—a daily Menshevik newspaper, organ of the committees of the Moscow organization and of the Central Region of the R.S.D.L.P. (Mensheviks); on April 2, 1918, it became the organ also of the Menshevik Central Committee; was published in 1917-18; at the end of April 1918 was suppressed as a counterrevolutionary organ.

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¹² *Dyelo Naroda (The People's Cause)*—organ of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party. Appeared in Petrograd, and later in Samara and in Moscow, with interruptions and under different titles from March 1917 to March 1919.

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¹³ *Nash Vek (Our Age)*—one of the titles of *Rech (Speech)*, the central organ of the Constitutional Democratic Party (the Cadets).

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¹⁴ Lenin here refers to and quotes F. Engels' *Anti-Dühring* (see F. Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, Moscow, 1947, p. 421).

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Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

