

JOSEPH STALIN

a short biography

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JOSEPH STALIN



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JOSEPH STALIN

A SHORT BIOGRAPHY

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

No definitive collected edition of Joseph Stalin's voluminous writings has as yet been published in English. This note is intended, therefore, as a guide to the available English translations, which are published, unless otherwise stated, by Messrs. Lawrence and Wishart, Ltd.

Two collections of Stalin's writings appeared, in 1927 and 1932 respectively, under the title of *LENINISM I AND II*, but these are now out of print (Messrs. Allen and Unwin, Ltd.). The author has, however, authorised a new edition of *LENINISM* which has already appeared in Russian and contains three of the items from Volume I, most of Volume II and a considerable amount of new material including his Report at the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.[B.] (1939). A completely new translation has been made and we hope to publish this shortly under the title *LENINISM*.

Collections of Stalin's speeches and articles on various subjects published in English are: *THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION* (Marxist-Leninist Library, No. 11); *MARXISM AND THE NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTION* (Marxist-Leninist Library, No. 12); *THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION* (in conjunction with V. I. Lenin).

In collaboration with others Stalin has also edited the *SHORT HISTORY OF THE C.P.S.U.[B.]* (distributed in this country by Messrs. Collets) and *THE HISTORY OF THE CIVIL WAR IN THE U.S.S.R.*, of which Volume I has so far appeared.

Lastly, two shorter works deserve notice. *THE FOUNDATIONS OF LENINISM*, a series of lectures delivered in 1924, which is included in *LENINISM*, will shortly be published as a separate pamphlet. *DIALECTICAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM*, one of the chapters contributed by Stalin to the *SHORT HISTORY OF THE C.P.S.U.[B.]*, is now available as a pamphlet (Messrs. Collets, Ltd.).

I

JOSEPH STALIN (Djugashvili) was born on December 21, 1879, in Gori, a town in the province of Tiflis. His father, Vissarion Djugashvili, a Georgian peasant from the village of Didi-Lilo in the same province, was a shoemaker by trade, subsequently employed as a wage labourer at the Adelkhanov footwear factory in Tiflis. His mother, Yekaterina Djugashvili, was the daughter of a serf, named Geladze, from the village of Gambareuli.

In the autumn of 1888 Stalin was enrolled in the Gori Ecclesiastical School, and in 1894 he graduated from this school and entered the Tiflis Theological Seminary.

At this time the study of Marxism was already becoming widespread in Russia as a result of the development of industrial capitalism and the attendant growth of the working-class movement. The St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, founded and led by Lenin, gave a powerful impetus to the development of the Social-Democratic movement throughout the country, and the working-class movement spread to Transcaucasia, where capitalism had already penetrated and where the people suffered under the yoke of national and colonial oppression. Transcaucasia was a typical Tsarist colony, an economically backward, agrarian country, where the survivals of feudalism were still strong; a country inhabited by numerous nationalities. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century capitalism began to develop at a rapid pace in Transcaucasia, subjecting the workers and peasants to barbarous exploitation, and aggravating the national and colonial oppression. This development was particularly rapid in mining and the extraction and refining of oil, in which industries the key positions had been captured by foreign capital.

"Russian capitalism," wrote Lenin, "drew the Caucasus into the sphere of world commodity circulation, obliterated its local peculiarities—the remnants of ancient patriarchal isolation—and *created for itself a market* for its goods. A country which was thinly populated at the beginning of the post-Reform epoch, or populated by mountaineers who lived out of the course of world economy and even out of the course of history, was being transformed into a land of oil operators, wine merchants, wheat and tobacco growers. . . ."¹ Side by side with the appearance of railways and of the first factories and plants, there came into existence a proletarian working class in the Caucasus. This process was most rapid in Baku, the centre of the oil industry, which became the chief industrial and proletarian centre of the Caucasus.

As industrial capitalism developed, the working-class movement grew apace. Revolutionary activities were carried on in Transcaucasia in the 'nineties by Russian Marxists who had been exiled there by the authorities, and thus began the propaganda of Marxism.

The Tiflis Seminary was at that time a breeding ground of all kinds of libertarian ideas among the youth, from Narodism² and nationalism to Marxist internationalism, and it was honeycombed with secret groups of various kinds. The Jesuitical régime in the Seminary aroused in Stalin a burning sense of protest, which intensified his revolutionary sentiments, so that at the age of fifteen he became a revolutionary.

As he said in an interview he gave to the German author, Emil Ludwig, "I joined the revolutionary movement at the age of fifteen, when I became connected with certain illegal groups of Russian Marxists in Transcaucasia. These groups exerted a great influence on me and instilled in me a taste for illegal Marxist literature."

In 1897 Stalin became the leader of the Marxist circles in

¹ V.I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 378.

² See *Short History of the C.P.S.U.[B.]*, Chapter I, for an account of Narodism and the Narodniki.

the Seminary, and in August, 1898, he officially joined the Tiflis organisation of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, becoming a member of the Messameh Dassy group, the first Georgian Social-Democratic organisation, which in the period between 1893 and 1898 played a certain positive part in the propagation of Marxist ideas. The Messameh Dassy was not a politically homogeneous organisation—the majority of the membership adhered to the principles of "legal Marxism" and leaned towards bourgeois nationalism. But the revolutionary Marxist minority, the embryo from which the revolutionary Social-Democratic movement in Georgia developed, was led by Stalin, Ketskhoveri and Tsulukidze.

Stalin worked hard and perseveringly on his education. He studied Marx's *Capital*, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* and other works by Marx and Engels, and read Lenin's works and his polemics against Narodism, "legal Marxism" and Economism. Indeed, his theoretical interests were encyclopædic. He studied philosophy, political economy, history, the natural sciences, and read widely in the classics of literature, thus becoming an educated Marxist. Even at that time Lenin's writings made a profound impression on him, and one of his close comrades of the time recalls his comment after reading a book by Tulin (one of Lenin's pseudonyms): "I absolutely must meet him."

During this period Stalin was very busy conducting propaganda in working-men's study circles, taking part in illegal meetings of workers, writing leaflets and organising strikes, and these activities among the militant proletarians of Tiflis were his first education in practical revolutionary work.

"I recall," he wrote later,¹ "the year 1898, when I was first put in charge of a study circle of workers from the railway shops. It was here among these comrades that I received my first revolutionary baptism of fire. . . . My first teachers were the workers of Tiflis."

At the Seminary, where a strict watch was kept on

¹ *Pravda*, June 16, 1926.

"suspicious elements," the school authorities soon learned of Stalin's secret revolutionary activities, with the result that, on May 29, 1899, he was expelled from the Seminary for spreading Marxist propaganda. For a time he managed to make a living by giving lessons, but later found employment at the Physical Observatory in Tiflis as an observer, continuing his revolutionary activities as before. By this time he had become one of the most active and prominent members of the Social-Democratic organisations in Tiflis.

"In 1898-1900 a leading, central Social-Democratic group of the Tiflis organisation arose and took shape. . . . The central Social-Democratic group of Tiflis did an enormous amount of revolutionary propagandist and organisational work for the formation of an illegal Social-Democratic Party organisation."¹

Stalin was the leader of this group, and Lenin's League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class was the model consistently and unswervingly followed by the revolutionary Social-Democrats of Tiflis in their activities. Under the leadership of the revolutionary minority of the Messameh Dassy (Stalin, Ketskaveli, Tsulukidze) the labour movement in Tiflis began in this period to advance beyond mere propaganda amongst the "enlightened few" of the working class. Political events now called for mass agitation by means of leaflets on the burning questions of the day, extempore meetings and political demonstrations against Tsarism. These new tactics were strenuously opposed by the opportunist majority of the Messameh Dassy, who leaned strongly to Economism, fought shy of revolutionary methods and disapproved of political struggle against the autocracy "on the streets." But against these opportunists Stalin and the revolutionary minority of the Messameh Dassy waged a strenuous and implacable struggle for the adoption of new tactics, the tactics of mass political agitation, and they were warmly supported in this by the militant workers of Tiflis.

¹ L. Beria, *On the History of the Bolshevik Organisations in Transcaucasia*, p. 20.

A prominent part in winning over the Social-Democrats of Tiflis to the new methods of work was played by Victor Kurnatovsky, an educated Marxist, a staunch supporter and close colleague of Lenin, and a propagator of his ideas in Transcaucasia. On his arrival in Tiflis in the autumn of 1900, he established close contact with Stalin and the minority of the Messameh Dassy, becoming a close friend and comrade-in-arms of Stalin.

When Lenin's *Iskra* began publication in December, 1900, Stalin wholeheartedly supported its policies, immediately seeing in Lenin the creator of a real Marxist Party, a leader and teacher.

"My knowledge of Lenin's revolutionary activities since the end of the 'nineties, and especially after 1901, after the appearance of *Iskra*," Stalin says, "had convinced me that in Lenin we had a man of extraordinary calibre. I did not regard him as a mere leader of the Party, but as its actual founder, for he alone understood the inner essence and urgent needs of our Party. When I compared him with the other leaders of our Party, it always seemed to me that he was head and shoulders above his colleagues—Plekhanov, Martov, Axelrod and the others; that, compared with them, Lenin was not just one of the leaders, but a leader of the highest rank, a mountain eagle, who knew no fear in the struggle, and who boldly led the Party forward along the unexplored paths of the Russian revolutionary movement."¹

Stalin was filled with boundless confidence in Lenin's revolutionary genius and followed the path he mapped out. From this path he has never once swerved, and since the death of Lenin he has boldly and confidently continued his work.

In 1900 an economic crisis broke out in Russia, and as a result of the conditions it created, as well as the influence exerted by the labour movement in Russia and the activities of the Social-Democrats, a wave of economic strikes swept Tiflis in 1900 and 1901, spreading from factory to factory.

¹ Stalin, *On Lenin*, pp. 35-6.

In August, 1900, came the great strike of the railway shop and depot workers, in which M. I. Kalinin, who had been exiled from St. Petersburg to the Caucasus, played an active part. In 1901, a May Day demonstration was held in the centre of Tiflis, which was organised and led by Stalin, and which Lenin's *Iskra* hailed as an event of historic importance for the whole of the Caucasus. Its influence on the whole subsequent development of the working-class movement in the Caucasus was enormous.

Thus, under the leadership of Stalin and the revolutionary minority of the Messameh Dassy, the working-class movement of Georgia advanced during these years from the stage of narrow propaganda circles to that of mass political agitation. That is to say, the working-class movement in the Caucasus became integrated with the struggle for Socialism, a task that had been brilliantly carried out several years before by the St. Petersburg League of Struggle, led by Lenin.

Alarmed by the increasing revolutionary militancy of the Transcaucasian proletariat, the Tsarist Government intensified its repressions, hoping in this way to halt the movement. During the night of March 21, 1901, the police searched the premises of the Observatory, where Stalin worked and at that time lived. As a result of this, Stalin, having learned that the Secret Police had issued a warrant for his arrest, went into hiding, and from this moment right up to the Revolution in February, 1917, he was to lead the strenuous, heroic life of a professional revolutionary of the Leninist school.

The Tsarist authorities, however, were powerless to halt the growing revolutionary movement. In September, 1901, Stalin and Ketskhoveli started the *Brdzola* (*Struggle*), the first illegal Social-Democratic newspaper in Georgia, in which they consistently advocated the principles of Lenin's *Iskra* and declared a war to the knife against all manifestations of opportunism. With the exception of *Iskra*, this was the best Marxist newspaper in Russia. The publication of leaflets in

the languages of the numerous nationalities of Transcaucasia was also carried on on a wide scale. "Splendidly written leaflets have been published in Russian, Georgian and Armenian, and every district in Tiflis has been flooded with them," Lenin's *Iskra* stated in speaking of the activities of the Social-Democrats in Tiflis. Laddo Ketskhoveli, one of Stalin's closest colleagues, who kept in constant touch with him, organised in Baku a Leninist *Iskra* Committee and set up a secret printing plant.

On November 11, 1901, the Tiflis Social-Democratic organisation held a conference, which elected the Tiflis Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.¹ Stalin was among those elected, though he did not remain in Tiflis very long, for at the end of November, on the instructions of the Tiflis Committee, he went to Batum, the third largest proletarian centre in the Caucasus (next to Baku and Tiflis).

In Batum Stalin immediately set to work, establishing contact with politically advanced workers, organising study circles, some of which he conducted himself, starting a secret printing plant, writing stirring leaflets, printing and distributing them, directing the struggle carried on by workers at Rothschild's and Mantashev's plants, organising revolutionary propaganda in the countryside. Here, also, he organised a Party local and founded the Batum Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. He led a number of strikes in local factories, and on March 9, 1902, organised the famous political demonstration of the Batum workers, marching at the head of it. Here Stalin accomplished in practice the combination of the strike with the political demonstration.

Thus, in the course of a determined struggle against opportunism, a strong Leninist *Iskra* organisation arose in Transcaucasia in this period, its chief organiser and leader being Stalin, already known among the Batum workers as the "workers' teacher." It was built on the sound principles of proletarian internationalism, and thus united in its ranks

¹ The Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, whose first Congress had been held in Minsk in March, 1898.

proletarian militants of different nationalities—Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, Russians, etc. So effectively did it do this, moreover, that later on Lenin frequently held up the Transcaucasian Party organisation as a model of proletarian internationalism.

In Batum, too, the rising militancy of the workers seriously disquieted the Government, and police spies made desperate efforts to find out who were the “ringleaders.” On April 5, 1902, Stalin was arrested. But during his imprisonment (first in Batum, then under the notoriously hard conditions at the Kutais Penitentiary, to which he was transferred on April 19, 1903, and then again in Batum gaol) he did not lose contact with revolutionary activities. While in prison he heard from delegates who had returned from the Second Party Congress of the serious dissensions between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, and he took his stand firmly on the side of Lenin, on the side of the Bolsheviks.

At the end of November, 1903, Stalin was exiled for three years to Novaya Uda, a village in the Province of Irkutsk, Eastern Siberia, where he received a letter from Lenin.

“I first became acquainted with Lenin in 1903,” Stalin relates. “True, it was not a personal acquaintance; it was maintained by correspondence. But it made an indelible impression upon me, one which has never left me throughout all my work in the Party. I was in exile in Siberia at the time. . . . Lenin’s note was comparatively short, but it contained a bold and fearless criticism of the practical work of our Party, and a remarkably clear and concise account of the entire plan of work of the Party in the immediate future.”¹

But Stalin did not stay in exile for long. He was anxious to recover his freedom in order to work for the realisation of Lenin’s plan for the building up of a Bolshevik Party, and on January 5, 1904, he made his escape, and a month later we find him back in the Caucasus, first at Batum, then Tiflis.

¹ J. Stalin, *On Lenin*, pp. 35-6.



STALIN IN HIS YOUTH

II

STALIN had spent about two years in prison and exile. In these two years the revolutionary movement had made considerable headway in all parts of the country. The Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. had been held, consolidating the victory of Marxism over Economism. But though these opportunists, the Economists,¹ had been defeated by the Party, a new type of opportunists had come forward—the Mensheviks. After the Congress, therefore, Lenin and the Bolsheviks launched a strenuous struggle against the Mensheviks, against their opportunist ideas, and their attempts to split and disorganise the Party. The outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War and the gathering revolutionary storm intensified this struggle, and Lenin considered that the only way to end the crisis in the Party was to convene a new congress of the Party; and the struggle for the convocation of the Third Congress thus became the principal task of all the Bolsheviks.

In the Caucasus, Stalin, the leader of the Transcaucasian Bolsheviks, was the man on whom Lenin could fully rely in this struggle. All his energies were concentrated in this period on combating Menshevism, and directing the activities of the Caucasian Federal Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. to the same end. He was indefatigable. He toured Transcaucasia regularly, visiting Batum, Chiaturi, Kutais, Tiflis, Baku, the rural districts of West Georgia, strengthening the old Party organisations and creating new ones, taking a vigorous part in the vehement controversies with the Mensheviks and other enemies of Marxism, stoutly upholding the Bolshevik principles, exposing the Jesuitry and opportunism of the Mensheviks and those who advocated conciliation with them.

¹ For an understanding of Economism, see Lenin's *What is to be Done?* (*Selected Works*, Vol. II, and *The Little Lenin Library*, No. 4).

"In December, 1904, under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, there was a huge strike of the Baku workers, which lasted from December 13 to December 31, and ended with the conclusion of a collective agreement with the oil magnates, the first collective agreement in the history of the Russian working-class movement.

"The Baku strike was the beginning of the revolutionary upsurge in Transcaucasia. It served as the 'signal for the glorious actions in January and February all over Russia.'"¹

"This strike," says the *History of the C.P.S.U.[B.]*, "was like a clap of thunder heralding a great revolutionary storm."

Stalin firmly applied all Lenin's directives, upholding and enlarging upon the Bolshevik principles before the masses, organising the fight for the convocation of a Third Congress; and all through this period Lenin maintained close contact with the Caucasian Federal Committee.

It was Stalin, too, who led the ideological and political struggle of the Caucasian Bolsheviks against the Mensheviks, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the nationalists, and the anarchists in the period of the first Russian revolution. Bolshevik Party literature was the most powerful weapon used in this struggle, and Stalin was the organiser and initiator of practically all the Bolshevik publications in the Caucasus. He developed the publication of illegal books, newspapers, pamphlets and leaflets to an extent unprecedented under Tsarist Russian conditions. One remarkably bold enterprise of the Caucasian League, and an outstanding example of Bolshevik practical work under illegal conditions, was the Avlabar secret printing press in Tiflis, which functioned from the beginning of 1904 to April, 1906. Among the materials printed there were Lenin's works, "The Revolutionary-Democratic Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Peasantry," "To the Rural Poor," Stalin's own pamphlets *A Glance at the Disagreements in the Party*, *Two Conflicts* and others, the programme and rules of the Party,

¹ L. Beria, *On the History of the Bolshevik Organisations in Transcaucasia*, p. 49.

and scores of leaflets, many of them written by Stalin. Other publications printed there were the newspapers, *Borba Proletariata* and *Listok Borby Proletariata*. Books, pamphlets, newspapers and leaflets, in three languages, were run off this press in thousands of copies.

A decisive part in defending the principles of Bolshevism in the Caucasus, in the propagation and elaboration of Lenin's ideas, was played by *Borba Proletariata*, the organ of the Caucasian League of the R.S.D.L.P., edited by Stalin. It was a worthy successor of *Brdzola*. Next to *Proletary*, the Central Organ of the Party, edited by Lenin, *Borba Proletariata* was the largest and best Bolshevik newspaper. Lenin's articles which appeared in *Proletary* were reprinted in practically every issue of the Caucasian newspaper, and many important articles were written by Stalin. In these articles he comes forward as a talented controversialist, as a great literary and theoretical force in the Party, a political leader of the proletariat, and a true follower of Lenin, and he elaborated a number of theoretical and political problems, dissecting with unflinching accuracy the ideological fallacy of the anti-Bolshevik trends and factions, their opportunist and treacherous nature. Every blow at the enemy took unerring effect, and Lenin paid glowing tribute to this newspaper for its Marxist consistency and high literary merit.

Stalin, the most profound of Lenin's pupils and fellow-champions, the one who always carried Lenin's ideas to their logical conclusion, played a foremost part in the ideological defeat of Menshevism and the defence of the ideological, organisational and tactical principles of the Marxist Party in the Caucasus. His writings of this period are a model of consistency in the defence of the principles of Leninism, and are remarkable for their theoretical depth and implacable hostility to opportunism.

In his pamphlet *A Glance at the Disagreements in the Party* and an article entitled, "Reply to a Social-Democrat," Stalin fought resolutely in defence of the ideological principles of the Marxist Party. His "A Glance at the

Disagreements in the Party" (written at the beginning of 1905 and published illegally in the summer of 1905) is an outstanding contribution to Bolshevik thought. It is closely related to *What Is To Be Done?* the historic work of Lenin, whose inspired ideas it vigorously upholds, and in it Stalin levelled his devastating criticism against the opportunist theory of spontaneity and explained the purpose of a revolutionary party and revolutionary theory, and their significance for the working class.

"The working-class movement," he wrote, "must unite with Socialism; practical activity must be closely bound up with theory, and so give the spontaneous working-class movement a Social-Democratic meaning and character. . . . We Social-Democrats must prevent the spontaneous working-class movement from following the course of craft unionism. We must direct it into a Social-Democratic channel, introduce Socialist consciousness into this movement, and consolidate the advanced forces of the working class in a centralised party. Our duty is always and everywhere to lead the movement, energetically to combat everyone—be he friend or foe—who obstructs the realisation of our sacred aim."

Stalin's article met with the wholehearted approval of Lenin, who, in his review of it in *Proletary*, the central organ of the Party, noted the "excellent formulation of the famous 'introduction of consciousness from without.'"

Stalin wrote a number of articles in support of Lenin's line at the Second Congress and after it. In an article entitled "The Proletarian Class and the Proletarian Party" (published January 1, 1905, in *Borba Proletariata*, No. 8), dealing with paragraph 1 of the Party Rules, he upheld the organisational principles of the Party, basing himself entirely on Lenin's doctrine of the Party, setting forth and enlarging upon Lenin's ideas. This article defends the organisational principles of Bolshevism propounded by Lenin in his famous book, *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*.¹

¹ See Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. II.

"Hitherto," Stalin wrote, "our Party has resembled a hospitable patriarchal family, ready to take in all who sympathise. But now that our Party has become a centralised *organisation* it has thrown off its patriarchal aspect and has become in all respects like a *fortress*, the gates of which open only to those who are worthy. And this means a lot to us. At a time when the autocracy is trying to corrupt the class consciousness of the proletariat with craft unionism, nationalism, clericalism and the like, when, on the other hand, the liberal intelligentsia is striving persistently to kill the political independence of the proletariat and assert its tutelage over the proletariat, we must be extremely vigilant and never forget that our Party is a *fortress*, the gates of which open only to those who are worthy."

The article, "How does Social-Democracy understand the National Question?" (published in *Borba Proletariata*, No. 7, September 1, 1904), is a brilliant commentary on the programme of the R.S.D.L.P. on the national question. In this article, Stalin sets forth and explains the Party programme on the national question, devastatingly criticises the opportunist principle of the national sectionalisation of the proletariat, and consistently upholds the internationalist type of proletarian class organisation. Moreover he reveals himself to be an outstanding authority on the national question, a master of the Marxist dialectical method, thus foreshadowing the ideas which he subsequently enlarged upon in his "Marxism and the National Question."¹

From the very outset of the first Russian revolution, Stalin resolutely advocated and practised Lenin's strategy and tactics, supporting Lenin's principle of the *hegemony of the proletariat* in the revolution and his idea of the bourgeois-democratic revolution passing into the Socialist revolution. To quote a leaflet issued by the Tiflis Committee of the Caucasian Social-Democratic League in connection with the Banquet Campaign of the Tiflis liberals: "Not the

¹ Published in *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question* (The Marxist-Leninist Library, No. 12).

cowardly word of the liberals, but our bold, straightforward word must echo throughout Russia. It is not the liberals, but we, who must give the tone to the whole revolutionary movement. We must demand a democratic republic with universal suffrage. We must fight both against the autocracy and against the bourgeoisie."

Under the leadership of Stalin, the Caucasian Federal Committee worked indefatigably to popularise the decisions of the Third Congress, invoking the workers and peasants to armed insurrection. His leaflets of the year 1905 are a model of Bolshevik mass propaganda, and in his articles, "Armed Insurrection and Our Tactics," "Reaction is Growing," and others, he castigated the Menshevik leaders, consistently urging and explaining the necessity of armed insurrection.

The general strike of October, 1905, which revealed the strength of the proletarian movement, terrified the Tsar into issuing his manifesto of October 17. This manifesto, in which the people were promised all kinds of liberties, was intended to deceive the masses. It was a stratagem, by which the Tsar hoped to lull the gullible, so that he might gain a breathing space in which to marshal his own forces and then strike back at the revolution. It was the Bolsheviks who explained to the masses the trickery of this manifesto, and accordingly, at Tiflis, Stalin was to be found in the heat of the struggle for Lenin's tactical plan, for the ascendancy of the Bolshevik slogans in the revolution. Addressing a meeting of workers on the day it was published, Stalin said: "What do we need in order to really win? We need three things: first, arms; second, arms; third, arms, and arms again."¹

Insisting that the victory of the revolution depended upon a nation-wide armed insurrection, Stalin wrote in a leaflet issued by the Tiflis Committee of the Caucasian League in November, 1905:

"The general political strike which is now in swing, and which for its grandeur is unprecedented, unparalleled in

¹ *History of the C.P.S.U.[B.]*, p. 81.

the history, not only of Russia, but of the whole world, may perhaps end to-day without developing into an uprising of the whole people; but if that is the case, it will only do so to shake the country again to-morrow with even greater force and to develop into that great armed uprising which will settle the age-old conflict between the Russian people and the Tsarist autocracy and dash out the brains of this vile monster. . . . An armed uprising of the whole people—that is the great task which now confronts the proletariat of Russia and imperatively demands accomplishment!"

In this period Stalin performed tremendous work in the revolutionary cause in Transcaucasia. The Fourth Bolshevik Conference of the Caucasian League of the R.S.D.L.P. (November, 1905), under his leadership, passed a resolution to exert greater effort for the preparing and carrying out of an armed insurrection, to boycott the Tsarist Duma and to extend and consolidate the revolutionary organisations of the workers and peasants—the Soviets of workers' deputies, the strike committees and the revolutionary peasant committees. Stalin exposed and fought the Mensheviks as opponents of the revolution and the armed insurrection, and assiduously prepared the workers for decisive action against the autocracy. The revolutionary conflagration swept the whole of Transcaucasia. The Third Congress of the Party, in the resolution, "On the Events in the Caucasus," moved by Lenin, had already made special note of the activities of the Bolshevik organisations in Transcaucasia, characterising them as "the most militant organisations in our Party" and calling upon the whole Party membership to lend them the utmost support.

In December, 1905, Stalin went as a delegate from the Transcaucasian Bolsheviks to the first All-Russian Bolshevik Conference in Tammerfors (Finland), where Lenin and he met for the first time. At this Conference he was elected to the Political Committee, which edited the resolution of the Conference; and he worked alongside of Lenin as one of the outstanding leaders of the Party.

After the defeat of the December insurrection in Moscow, the tide of the revolution gradually began to ebb. The Party was preparing for its Fourth Congress. The struggle between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks flared up with renewed force; anarcho-syndicalist elements came to the surface and began to make themselves conspicuous, particularly in Tiflis; but, as ever, Stalin was at the centre of the struggle against all the anti-proletarian trends in Transcaucasia.

He took an active part in the Fourth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. (Stockholm, April, 1906), and, together with Lenin, defended against the Mensheviks the line which the Bolsheviks had followed in the revolution. Stalin put the question squarely:

"Either the hegemony of the proletariat or the hegemony of the democratic bourgeoisie—that is how the question stands in the Party, and herein lie our differences."

Soon after the Congress, he wrote a pamphlet entitled *The Present Moment and the Unity Congress of the Workers' Party*, in which he analysed the lessons of the December insurrection, defended the line followed by the Bolsheviks in the revolution and summed up the results of the Fourth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.

After the Congress, Stalin returned to Tiflis, where he continued his implacable fight against the Mensheviks and other anti-proletarian trends. He directed the Bolshevik newspapers which were being published legally in Georgian—*Akhali Tskhovreba* (*New Life*), *Ahkali Droyeba* (*New Age*), *Chveni Tskhovreba* (*Our Life*) and *Dro* (*Time*).

To this period belongs the series of remarkable articles under the heading, *Anarchism or Socialism*, written by Stalin in connection with the activities of the Kropotkin anarchists in Transcaucasia. In view of the ebb in the revolutionary wave and the onset of reaction, the principal immediate Party task was now to defend the theoretical foundations of Bolshevism. This was the period when Lenin wrote his great work, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. Stalin, too, came out in defence of the theoretical principles of Marxism in a series

of articles—defending and enlarging upon the theoretical foundations of the Marxist Party—dialectical and historical materialism. These articles were published in 1906 and 1907 in the Bolshevik newspapers of Transcaucasia. They were written in an easily understandable and popular form, and explained the principles of materialism and dialectics, and the meaning of historical materialism. They contained a profound treatment of the fundamental questions of Marxist-Leninist theory: the inevitability and inavertibility of the Socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the necessity for a militant proletarian party, a party of a *new* type, different from the old, reformist parties of the Second International; and they also expounded the principles of the Party's strategy and tactics.

These articles are part of the ideological treasury of our Party, a substantial contribution to the theory of Marxism-Leninism. They are a model of how to treat profoundly the problems of the theory of Marxism-Leninism in direct application to the immediate tasks of the revolutionary class struggle of the proletariat.

In April and May, 1907, the Fifth (London) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. was held, which consolidated the victory of the Bolsheviks over the Mensheviks. Stalin attended this Congress and took an active part in its work. After his return, he published his "Notes of a Delegate" in which he evaluated the decisions of the results of the Congress, defended the ideological and tactical positions of the Bolsheviks, exposed the bourgeois-liberal line followed by the Mensheviks in the revolution and their policy of liquidationism with regard to the Party, and revealed the class nature of Menshevism as a petty-bourgeois political trend.

III

THE first Russian revolution was defeated. Between the end of the first and the beginning of the second revolution ten years intervene, years during which the Bolsheviks worked heroically and self-sacrificingly, perseveringly and indefatigably to organise the masses, and train them in the spirit of revolution, guiding their struggle and preparing the ground for the coming victory of the revolution.

For Lenin and Stalin these were years of relentless struggle for the preservation and consolidation of the underground revolutionary party, for the application of the Bolshevik line in the new situation, years of strenuous labour in the organisation and education of the masses of the working class, years that required especial perseverance in contending with the Tsarist police. The Tsarist authorities sensed in Stalin an outstanding revolutionary militant and were at great pains to deprive him of all opportunities for revolutionary work. Arrests, imprisonment and exile became frequent occurrences in his life, and between 1902 and 1913 he was eight times arrested and seven times exiled. He escaped from his place of exile six times. Hardly had the Tsarist police stowed him away in some new place of exile, when he would be "at large" again, mobilising the revolutionary energy of the masses. His last term of exile was the only one from which he did not escape, but he was released by the Revolution of February, 1917.

In 1907 began the Baku period of Stalin's revolutionary career. On his return from the Fifth (London) Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., he left Tiflis and, on the instructions of the Party, settled in Baku, the largest industrial city in Transcaucasia and one of the most important centres of the working-class movement in Russia. Here he threw his

energies into the work of rallying the Baku organisation to Lenin's slogans and winning the working masses to the banner of Bolshevism. It was Stalin who led the attack to oust the Mensheviks from the working-class districts of Baku (Balakhany, Bibi-Eibat, Chorny Gorod and Byely Gorod). He directed the legal and illegal Bolshevik Press (*Bakinsky Proletary*, *Cudok*, *Bakinsky Rabochy*) and led the struggle of the Baku workers. His leadership of the big campaign, which developed around the negotiations between the workers and the oil magnates for a collective agreement, was a brilliant example of the application of the flexible Leninist line calling for a combination of illegal and legal activities. By skilfully applying Lenin's tactics of mobilising the workers for political struggle against the autocracy through the struggle for their immediate economic interests, Stalin achieved the victory for the Bolsheviks in this campaign.

In dazzling contrast to the surrounding gloom of Stolypin reaction, proletarian Baku was seething with struggle, and the voice of the legal Bolshevik newspapers, which Stalin had founded there, reverberated throughout Russia.

"The last of the Mohicans of the mass political strike!" was Lenin's comment on the heroic struggle of the workers of Baku in 1908.

Stalin gathered around himself a strong nucleus of tried Bolshevik Leninists—Orjonikidze, Voroshilov, Djaparidze, Shaumyan, Spandaryan and others—and finally secured the complete victory of Bolshevism in the Baku organisation, so that Baku became a stronghold of Bolshevism. Under his leadership, the proletariat of Baku carried on the heroic struggle, marching in the front ranks of the revolutionary movement in Russia.

The Baku period was one of the great landmarks in the life of Stalin. Here is what he himself says of it:

"The two years of revolutionary work among the workers in the oil industry steeled me as a practical fighter and as one of the practical leaders. Contact with advanced workers

in Baku, with men like Vatsék and Saratovetz, on the one hand, and the storm of acute conflicts between the workers and oil-owners, on the other, first taught me what leading large masses of workers meant. It was in Baku that I thus received my second revolutionary baptism of fire.”¹

On March 25, 1908, Stalin was arrested and after eight months’ imprisonment was exiled for two years to Solvychevodsk, in the province of Vologda. On June 24, 1909, he escaped and made his way back to Baku, to continue his illegal work, where he unreservedly supported the stand taken by Lenin and vigorously opposed the Liquidators and Otvovists. He wrote a series of articles for the central Party Press—“Letters from the Caucasus”—which have become historic. They are a devastating criticism of the Liquidators. Citing the example of the Tiflis Mensheviks, Stalin exposed the renegacy of the Liquidators on questions of programme and tactics. He severely condemned the treacherous activities of the auxiliaries of Trotskyism and formulated the immediate tasks, which were subsequently accomplished by the Prague Conference of the Party—namely, the convocation of a general Party conference, the publication of a legal Party newspaper and the organisation of an illegal Party centre for practical work in Russia.

On March 23, 1910, Stalin was again arrested in Baku, and after six months’ imprisonment was escorted back to Solvychevodsk. While in exile there, he got in touch with Lenin, and in a letter which he wrote to him at the end of 1910, he expressed his full support for Lenin’s tactic of forming a Party *bloc* with all those who advocated the preservation and consolidation of the illegal proletarian Party. In this same letter he castigated the “rank unprincipledness” of the traitor Trotsky and put forward a plan for the organisation of the Party’s work in Russia.

In 1911, at the end of the summer, Comrade Stalin made his third escape from exile and arrived in St. Petersburg. Here he organised and directed the struggle against the

¹ *Pravda*, June 16, 1926.

Menshevik Liquidators and the Trotskyites, rallying and strengthening the Bolshevik organisations in the capital. On September 9, 1911, he was arrested in St. Petersburg and sent back to the province of Vologda, from which he again managed to escape in February, 1912. This was a month after a momentous event in the life of the Party: the Prague Conference of the R.S.D.L.P., in January, 1912, which expelled the Mensheviks from the Party and inaugurated a Party of a new type, the Party of Leninism, the Bolshevik Party.

This was the “Party of a new type” which the Bolsheviks had been steadfastly and perseveringly working for ever since the days of the old *Iskra*. The whole history of the struggle against the Economists, the Mensheviks, the Trotskyites, the Otvovists, and the idealists of every shade down to the empirio-critics, is the history of preparation for just such a party. The main stepping-stones in this advance were Lenin’s *What Is To Be Done?*,¹ *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*,² *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*,³ and *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*,⁴ which played a decisive role in paving the way for the Party of a new type. *Stalin was the true comrade-in-arms of Lenin in this struggle against innumerable enemies, his right hand in the struggle for a revolutionary Marxist Party, the Bolshevik Party.*

¹ Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. II, and Little Lenin Library, No. 4.

² Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. II.

³ Lenin, *ibid.*, Vol. III, and Little Lenin Library, No. 17.

⁴ Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XIII, *Selected Works*, Vol. XI.

IV

IN its resolutions the Prague Conference predicted a revolutionary revival in the near future and took all the necessary measures to prepare the Party for it. The Conference elected a Bolshevik Central Committee, formed a practical centre for the direction of the revolutionary activities in Russia (the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee) and decided upon the publication of a newspaper—*Pravda*. Stalin, who had been an agent of the Central Committee since 1910, was elected to the Central Committee in his absence, and, on Lenin's proposal, he was put in charge of the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee. But Stalin was in exile and arrangements had to be made to effect his escape. On Lenin's instructions, Sergo Orjonikidze went to Vologda to inform Stalin of the decisions of the Prague Conference. Then, on February 29, 1912, Stalin escaped again. He had a brief spell of freedom, which he turned to good account. On the instructions of the Central Committee, he toured the most important districts in Russia, made preparations for the traditional May Day demonstration, wrote the famous May Day leaflet issued by the Central Committee and edited the Bolshevik weekly *Zvezda* in St. Petersburg during the strikes that followed the shooting down of a workers' demonstration at the Lena goldfields.

A powerful instrument used by the Bolshevik Party to strengthen its organisations and to spread its influence among the masses was the Bolshevik daily mass newspaper *Pravda*, published in St. Petersburg. It was founded according to Lenin's instruction, on the initiative of Stalin. The first number was prepared under his direction and it was he, also, who decided on the policy of the paper. *Pravda* was born simultaneously with the new rise of the revolutionary movement. Its first issue appeared on April 22 (May 5, new style),

1912. This was a day of real celebration for the workers and, in honour of *Pravda's* appearance, it was decided henceforward to celebrate May 5 as workers' Press day.

"The *Pravda* of 1912," Comrade Stalin wrote on the occasion of its tenth anniversary, "was the corner-stone for the victory of the Bolsheviks in 1917."

On April 22, 1912, Stalin was arrested on the street in St. Petersburg and, after several months' imprisonment, was exiled again, this time to the remote Narym territory, for three years. But on September 1 in the same year, he once more escaped and returned to St. Petersburg. Here he edited the Bolshevik newspapers *Zvezda* and *Pravda*, and directed the Bolshevik campaign during the elections to the Fourth Duma. Dogged by the police at every step, and at great risk to himself, he addressed a number of factory meetings, but the workers' organisations and the workers themselves guarded and protected him from the police.

A great part in this campaign, which culminated in victory for the Party over the Liquidators, was played by Stalin's "Mandate of the Working Men of St. Petersburg to their Labour Deputy," which was highly praised by Lenin. When he sent this "Mandate" off to the Press, Lenin wrote on the manuscript: "*Return without fail!! Keep clean. Highly important to preserve this document.*" In a letter to the Editors of *Pravda*, Lenin said: "Be sure to print this Mandate to the St. Petersburg Deputy in a prominent place in bold type." The "Mandate" called the attention of the workers to the unaccomplished tasks of the 1905 Revolution and called upon them to wage a revolutionary struggle on two fronts—against the Tsarist Government and against the liberal bourgeoisie, which was seeking to come to terms with Tsardom. After the elections Stalin guided the activities of the Bolshevik group in the Duma. Among his colleagues in St. Petersburg was Molotov, who took an active part in editing the *Pravda* as well as in the election campaign and in the guidance of the Bolshevik group in the Duma. In this period the contact between Lenin and Stalin became even

closer, and in his letters Lenin expressed his entire approval of Stalin's activities and of his speeches and articles. He visited Lenin twice in Cracow: in November, 1912, and, at the end of the year, at a conference of the Central Committee with leading Party members.

While he was abroad, Stalin wrote *Marxism and the National Question*, which was highly praised by Lenin, who said: "In theoretical Marxist literature . . . the principles of the programme of the Social-Democratic Party on the national question have lately been explained (I have in mind primarily Stalin's article)." This treatise was the most outstanding exposition of the Bolshevik views on the national question made in international literature during the pre-War period. *It was a declaration setting forth the programme of Bolshevism as regards the national problem.* Two methods, two programmes, two outlooks on the national question were sharply contrasted in this work—those of the Second International and of Leninism. Stalin, together with Lenin, demolished the opportunist views and dogmas of the Second International on the national question.

The Marxist programme with regard to the national question is the joint work of Lenin and Stalin. In his own treatise, Stalin gave the Marxist definition of a nation, formulated the principles of the Bolshevik approach to the solution of the national problem (demanding that the national problem should be regarded as part of the general problem of proletarian revolution, and should be treated with constant reference to the entire international situation in the era of imperialism), and upheld the Bolshevik principle of international proletarian solidarity.

On February 23, 1913, Stalin was arrested at a concert organised by the St. Petersburg Bolshevik Committee, in the auditorium of the Kalashnikov Exchange. This time the Tsarist authorities exiled him for four years to the remote region of Turukhansk. At first, he lived at Kostino, then, at the beginning of 1914, fearful lest he should escape again, the Tsarist gendarmes transferred him even further north, to

Kureika, at the very edge of the Arctic Circle. Here he spent three years—1914, 1915, and 1916. This was the worst place for political exile in all the vast remoteness of Siberia.

When the first imperialist War broke out in the summer of 1914 and the parties of the Second International shamefully betrayed the proletariat and went over to the imperialist bourgeoisie, only Lenin and the Bolsheviks remained true to the banner of internationalism. The Bolshevik Party was the only party that raised immediately and unhesitatingly the banner of resolute struggle against the imperialist war. Though cut off from the outside world and isolated from Lenin and the Party centres, Stalin took the Leninist, internationalist stand on the questions of war, peace, and revolution. In a letter to Lenin in 1915, he stated his views, and in a speech at a meeting of exiled Bolsheviks at the village of Monastyrskoye in the same year, stigmatised the cowardly and treacherous conduct of Kamenev during the trial of the Bolshevik members of the Fourth Duma. In 1916, he sent a message of greetings on behalf of a group of exiled Bolsheviks to the legally published Bolshevik magazine, *Insurance Questions*, in which he pointed out that it was the duty of this magazine "to devote all its efforts and energies to the ideological insurance of the working class of our country against the deeply corrupting, anti-proletarian preaching of gentry like Potressov, Levitsky, and Plekhanov, preaching running directly counter to the principles of internationalism."

In December, 1916, Stalin was sent under convoy to Krasnoyarsk and thence to Achinsk. Here he heard the tidings of the February Revolution of 1917, and he was soon on his way back from exile, sending a telegram of greetings to Lenin, who was in Switzerland.

On March 12 (25), 1917, Stalin, after all the hardships he had so bravely endured in Turukhansk, found himself back in Petrograd—Russia's revolutionary capital. On the same day the Central Committee of the Party put him in charge of *Pravda*.

The Bolshevik Party had only just emerged from underground. Many of the most prominent and active members of the Party were still on their way back from remote places of exile and imprisonment. Lenin was abroad, and the bourgeois Provisional Government was using every possible method to delay his return. In this crucial period Stalin rallied the Party to fight for the bourgeois-democratic revolution passing into a Socialist revolution, directing the activities of the Central Committee and of the Petrograd Committee of the Bolshevik Party. In the articles written by him, the Bolsheviks found theoretical guidance in their work, and in the very first article he wrote upon his return from exile, "The Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies," he pointed out that the main task of the party was:

"To consolidate these soviets, make them universal, and link them together under the ægis of the Central Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies as the organ of revolutionary power of the people."¹

Stalin showed that the character of the imperialist War had not changed with the assumption of power by the Provisional Government, that even with a bourgeois Provisional Government in power the war of 1914-17 remained a predatory and unjust war.

Together with Molotov and others, and supported by the majority of the Party membership, he upheld the policy of "no confidence" in the imperialist Provisional Government, and denounced both the defencism of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries and the semi-Menshevik position of conditional support for the Provisional Government advocated by Kamenev and other opportunists.

¹ Lenin and Stalin, 1917, p. 12.

V

ON April 3 (16), 1917, after a long period of exile abroad Lenin returned to Russia. The news of the arrival of their beloved leader was hailed with enthusiasm by the advanced workers of Petrograd, and Comrade Stalin, at the head of a delegation of workers, went to Byelo-ostrov to meet him on his way to Petrograd. His welcome at the Finland Station turned into a mighty revolutionary demonstration, and immediately after his arrival he came out with his famous April Theses,¹ which laid down for the Party a brilliant plan of struggle for the transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the Socialist revolution. Lenin's theses gave the Party a new orientation in the new conditions of struggle after the overthrow of Tsardom. On April 24, 1917, the Seventh (April) Conference² of the Bolshevik Party, at which the decisions were based on these theses, opened and aligned the Party to fight for the bourgeois-democratic revolution passing into the Socialist revolution.

At this Conference, speaking in support of Lenin's policy, Stalin sharply rebuffed Kamenev and Rykov for their camouflaged defence of capitalism. He also delivered a report on the national question, setting forth the Bolshevik national policy, which championed the right of nations to self-determination, even to the point of secession and formation of independent states. It was this national policy of Lenin and Stalin which secured for the Party the support of the oppressed nationalities in the Great October Socialist Revolution.

In May, 1917, after the Conference, the Political Bureau of

¹ Contained in *The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution* (Little Lenin Library, No. 9).

² See *The April Conference* (Little Lenin Library, No. 10).

the Central Committee was formed, to which Stalin was elected and of which he has been a member ever since.

On the basis of the decisions of the April Conference, the Party launched a wide campaign to win over the masses, and to train and organise them for militant action. And it was Lenin and Stalin who, in this complex period of the Revolution, a time of swift-moving events, requiring skilful and flexible tactics on the part of the Party, led this struggle.

"I recall the year 1917," says Stalin, "when, after my wanderings from one prison and place of exile to another, I was transferred by the decision of the Party to Leningrad. There, in the society of Russian workers and in contact with Comrade Lenin, the great teacher of the proletarians of all countries, in the midst of the storm of mighty conflicts between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, in the midst of the imperialist War, I first learnt what it meant to be one of the leaders of the great Party of the working class. There, in the society of Russian workers—the liberators of oppressed nationalities and the pioneers of the proletarian struggle in all countries and among all peoples—I received my third revolutionary baptism of fire. There, in Russia, under Lenin's guidance, I became a master of revolution."¹

Stalin was at the centre of all the Party's practical activities. As a member of the Central Committee, he took a direct and leading part in the work of the Petrograd Committee of the Party, supervised *Pravda*, wrote articles for it and for the *Soldatskaya Pravda* as well, and directed the campaign of the Bolshevik Party in the Petrograd Municipal Elections. He also took part in the All-Russian Conference of the Army organisations of the Party, where he delivered a report. With Lenin, he organised the historic demonstration of June 18, which marched under the slogans of the Bolshevik Party, and in the name of the Central Committee he drew up the appeal to the workers and revolutionary soldiers of Petrograd.

After the July events of 1917, when Lenin was driven

¹ *Pravda*, June 16, 1926.

underground by the persecutions of the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government, it was Stalin who directed the work of the Central Committee and looked after the Central Party organ, then being issued under different names (*Rabochy i Soldat*, *Proletary*, *Rabochy*, *Rabochy Put*). It was he who saved for the Party, for our people and for all humanity, the precious life of Lenin by securing the defeat of a proposal made by the traitors Kamenev, Rykov and Trotsky to surrender Lenin for trial to the courts of the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government.

The brutal suppression of the July demonstration changed the whole development of the revolution, and Lenin worked out new tactics for the Party to pursue in the new conditions of the struggle. Together with Sverdlov, Stalin played a leading part in the work of the Sixth Party Congress which was held secretly in August, 1917, and delivered the political report on behalf of the Central Committee, as well as a report on the political situation. In these reports Stalin formulated clearly and precisely the aims and tactics of the Party in the struggle for the Socialist revolution, refuting the arguments of the Trotskyites, who considered the victory of Socialism in Russia an impossibility. The Congress rallied around him, and under his leadership, acting upon the directives of Lenin, the Sixth Congress worked out the necessary preparations for insurrection. It definitely set the Party's course for armed insurrection and the achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In August, 1917, General Kornilov launched his revolt in a desperate attempt to restore Tsardom in Russia, but the Bolsheviks were able to rally the masses of the working people against this *coup* and secured its defeat, thus opening a new phase in the history of the Revolution: the massing of forces for the final attack.

Lenin and Stalin boldly and confidently, firmly and circumspectly guided the Party and the working class towards Socialist revolution, towards armed insurrection. It was they who inspired and organised the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and Stalin, as

Lenin's closest associate, was personally in charge of all the preparations for the insurrection. His articles in the central Press were reprinted in the provincial Bolshevik newspapers, and he conferred with the representatives of the district and regional organisations, giving them instructions and drawing up the plan of campaign for each locality.

On October 16 (29), the Central Committee elected a Party Centre, headed by Comrade Stalin, to direct the uprising. This Party Centre was incorporated in the Revolutionary Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, and became the soul of that organisation. The plan for the uprising was worked out, and the date was set, when, early in the morning of October 24, Kerensky ordered the suppression of the central organ of the Party, *Rabochy Put*, and sent a force of armoured cars to the editorial and printing premises of the newspaper. But by ten o'clock on the same morning, a force of Red Guards and revolutionary soldiers, acting on Comrade Stalin's instructions, had driven back the armoured cars and placed a reinforced guard over the printing plant and the editorial offices. By eleven o'clock the *Rabochy Put* was out, with a leading article by Stalin, "What do we Need?" in which he called upon the masses to overthrow the bourgeois Provisional Government. Simultaneously, on the instructions of the Party Centre, detachments of revolutionary soldiers and Red Guards were rushed to the Smolny Institute. The insurrection had started, and by the end of the day was victoriously concluded, for the Second Congress of Soviets, which opened on the evening of October 25, transferred all power to the soviets.

Stalin now became a member of the first Council of People's Commissars, which was headed by Lenin, and which was elected at the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets after the victory of the October Revolution.

The Great October Socialist Revolution wrought a fundamental change in the situation, for it divided the world into two systems—capitalism and Socialism. The Bolshevik Party was thus faced with new conditions, new and gigantic

tasks, and the forms of struggle of the working class had also fundamentally changed.

From the inception of the Soviet Government up to 1923, Stalin was People's Commissar for the Affairs of the Nationalities. He personally directed all the work of the Party and of the Soviet Government in the solution of the national problem in the Soviet Union, and it was he who wrote the historic "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia," which ushered in a new era in the relations between nations. In place of the old domination and subjection, tyranny and violence, there was henceforward the complete equality, fraternal confidence and amity between the peoples of our country. In place of the Tsarist colonies, the workers and peasants, aided and led by the Communists, created free and thriving soviet republics; and to-day there is not a single soviet republic in the organisation of which Stalin has not taken an active and leading part. He directed the struggle for the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, for the formation of the Byelo-Russian Republic and the soviet republics in Transcaucasia and Central Asia, and helped the numerous nationalities of the Soviet Union to build their own autonomous soviet republics and regions.

Stalin and Sverdlov were Lenin's closest assistants in the organisation of the Soviet State, leading the struggle against Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov and the other despicable strike-breakers and deserters of the Revolution, and during Lenin's illness Stalin took his place in the Council of People's Commissars. The organisation of the defeat of Kerensky and Krasnov, the suppression of the sabotage by the old State officials, the liquidation of the counter-revolutionary staff headquarters and the removal of the Tsarist generals, the suppression of the bourgeois Press, the struggle against the counter-revolutionary Ukrainian *Rada*, the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly, the drafting of the first Soviet Constitution (1918)—in all these momentous events Stalin took an active and pre-eminent part.

On the instructions of the Central Committee, he organ-

ised, in January, 1918, a conference of representatives of the revolutionary wing of the Socialist parties of various European countries and of America, which played a considerable part in the campaign for the formation of the Third Communist International, and in the trying days of the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations, when the fate of the Revolution hung in the balance, Stalin, side by side with Lenin, firmly upheld the Bolshevik strategy and tactics against the traitor Trotsky and his henchman Bukharin, who, in collusion with the British and French imperialists, sought to expose the young and weak Soviet Republic to the blows of German imperialism.

VI

OVERTHROWN by the October Socialist Revolution, the Russian landlords and capitalists began to conspire with the capitalists of other countries for the organisation of military intervention against the Soviet Republic. Their aim was to defeat the workers and peasants, overthrow the Soviet Government and again enslave our country. Civil war and military intervention began. The Soviet Government announced that the Socialist fatherland was in danger and called upon the whole people to rise in its defence. The Bolshevik Party roused the workers and peasants to fight *a war for the fatherland*, a war against the foreign marauders and the bourgeois and landlord White Guards.

In the spring of 1918, the British and French imperialists instigated a revolt of the Czechoslovakian Corps, which had been formed of prisoners of war from the Austro-Hungarian Army, and was now, after the conclusion of peace with Germany, on its way to France through Siberia. The revolt of the Czechoslovaks, which was timed to coincide with revolts engineered by White Guards and Socialist-Revolutionaries in twenty-three cities on the Volga, the revolt of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries in Moscow and the landing of British troops in Murmansk, unleashed all the forces of counter-revolution. The Czechoslovak revolt came at a very critical moment. The country had only just extricated itself from the imperialist War. The years of misrule of the capitalists and landlords had brought the country to catastrophe. The workers in Moscow and Petrograd were receiving no more than 2 oz. of bread a day. The Republic was cut off from the Ukrainian and Siberian grain supplies. The only region where grain could be obtained was the south-east, the Volga regions and North Caucasus, access to which lay along the Volga through Tsaritsyn. To save the

Revolution, it was imperative to get grain. Lenin appealed to the workers of Petrograd to organise expeditions into the countryside to help the poor peasants against the grain profiteers, the *kulaks* and the usurers. The Central Committee sent Stalin to the south with extraordinary powers to superintend the mobilisation of supplies in the south of Russia.

On June 6, 1918, Stalin, accompanied by a detachment of workers, arrived in Tsaritsyn. His foresight as a political leader, combined with a natural talent for military leadership, enabled him to recognise at once the vital importance of Tsaritsyn as the chief point of attack of the counter-revolutionary forces. The capture of this city would have cut off the Republic, not only from its last supplies of grain, but also from its Baku oil supply, and would, moreover, have enabled the counter-revolutionaries in the Don to join forces with the Czechoslovaks and thus form a common front for an advance on Moscow. It was necessary to hold Tsaritsyn at all costs. After making a clean sweep of the White Guard plotters in the city, and after shipping off substantial replenishments of food supplies to the starving capitals, Stalin turned his whole attention to the defence of Tsaritsyn. Ruthlessly crushing the resistance of the counter-revolutionary military experts sent there and supported by Trotsky, he took swift and strong measures to reorganise the disjointed detachments and expedite the arrival of Voroshilov's units, which were to become the nucleus of the Tenth Army formed soon afterwards. It was due to Stalin's iron will and inspired foresight that Tsaritsyn was held and that the Whites were prevented from breaking through to Moscow.

The epic defence of Tsaritsyn coincided with the débâcle of German imperialism in the Ukraine. In November, 1918, revolution broke out in Germany and Austria-Hungary. The Central Committee therefore commissioned Stalin to go to the assistance of the Ukrainian workers and peasants and organise the Ukrainian front, and twenty leading Party workers from the Tenth Army, headed by Comrade

Voroshilov, were placed at his disposal. At the end of November the Ukrainian insurrectionary troops advanced against Petlura and the Germans and liberated Kharkov, while in the west, the city of Minsk was freed. Stalin performed a tremendous amount of work to bring about the liberation of the western regions and to set up the Byelo-Russian Republic.

On November 30, 1918, the Council of Workers' and Peasants' Defence, headed by Lenin, was formed to direct all the work of defence at the front and in the rear and to mobilise industry and transport—in fact, to mobilise all the resources of the country. Stalin was appointed to the Council as the representative of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, and virtually became Lenin's deputy.

At the end of 1918 a catastrophic situation had developed on the Perm front. Kolchak's army was rapidly advancing to join forces with the British troops marching from the north. On behalf of the Council of Defence, Lenin insisted on the necessity of adopting immediate measures to remedy the situation at Perm, and proposed to the Central Committee that Stalin and Dzerzhinsky should be sent there for this purpose. By swift and drastic measures, Stalin improved the situation at Perm. In the south, at Tsaritsyn, his mighty will had prevented the counter-revolutionaries on the Don from joining forces with the counter-revolutionaries in the Urals and the Volga. Now, in the north, he frustrated the attempts of the forces of intervention to join with the Czechs and Kolchak. The Red forces began to overwhelm Kolchak, who found himself cut off from his allies both in the south and in the north.

On returning from the eastern front, Stalin addressed himself to the task of organising State control, and in March, 1919, was appointed, at Lenin's suggestion, People's Commissar of State Control, later reorganised as the People's Commissariat of Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, a post at which he remained until April, 1922. His activities in this sphere were of tremendous significance in that they helped

to draw the working people into the task of administering the State.

In May, 1919, General Yudenich, with the support of the Finnish Whites and Esthonian troops, advanced swiftly on Petrograd, his aim being to divert the Red forces from attacking Kolchak. He was also supported by a British naval squadron, while, in the rear of the Red Army, a revolt was organised in the forts of Krasnaya Gorka and Seraya Loshad. The Red front wavered and the enemy broke through, reaching the very gates of Petrograd.

The man chosen by the Central Committee to repulse the Whites here was Stalin, who quickly put an end to the panic. Making short work of enemies and traitors, Communists were sent to the front, the mutinous forts were captured by a combined blow from land and sea, and the White troops were hurled back. Thus the threat to Petrograd was removed and the plan of the Entente frustrated. Yudenich and his army were routed, the remnants fleeing to Esthonia.

In the summer of 1919, Stalin worked at Smolensk, on the western front, organising resistance to the Polish offensive.

Beaten in their first campaign, the Entente, having crushed the Soviets in Bavaria, Hungary, Esthonia and Latvia, launched a new campaign in the autumn of 1919. Besides their own troops and the Whites, they enlisted the armies of the small states on the borders of Russia in a campaign which the British Secretary of War boastfully called "the march of fourteen states."

While the Red Army was engaged in routing Kolchak in the East, Denikin captured the Donetz Basin and invaded the Ukraine on a broad front. Trotsky treacherously disorganised the Southern front, and the Red forces suffered defeat after defeat. Denikin was supported by the Polish Whites, who captured Minsk. At Petrograd, Yudenich launched a new offensive, while Kolchak tried to make a stand on the Tobol. Never had the enemy been so near to the Soviet capital. The capitalists of the Donetz Basin even

offered a million roubles reward to the first White regiment to enter Moscow.

In face of this White offensive, Lenin issued an impassioned appeal on behalf of the Central Committee to all the Party organisations, with the slogan "All for the fight against Denikin!" Mass reinforcements and munitions were rushed to the southern front, but a leader was yet needed to weld together the hundreds of thousands of men, to cement them with a single purpose and hurl them against the enemy, and it was Stalin who was chosen by the Central Committee for the job.

When he arrived at the front, Stalin found chaos, consternation and a total lack of any plan of operations. After driving Trotsky's discredited placemen from the staffs and demanding absolute non-intervention on the part of Trotsky in all front-line operations, he scrapped the old plan, which was a criminally impracticable scheme to break through Denikin's front by an advance from the Volga to Novorossisk, and drew up one of his own, a masterpiece of strategy which solved the problem perfectly. He proposed that the main blow at Denikin should be aimed through Kharkov and the Donetz Basin at Rostov, in order to split the counter-revolutionary army in two. This plan would ensure the rapid advance of the Red Army, as the proposed route lay through districts with proletarian centres where the population was waiting with open sympathy for the Red Army, and where there was an extensive network of railways which would enable the troops to receive all necessary supplies. At the same time, it would free the Donetz Basin—a mighty reserve of revolutionary forces—and give the country fuel. This plan was accepted by the Central Committee.

Stalin left nothing undone to ensure victory. He followed the progress of the operations, corrected mistakes on the spot, selected the commanders and political commissars, and instilled his own spirit into them. Under his direction on the southern front instructions for regimental commissars were drawn up which defined their duties in the following striking words:

"A regimental commissar is the political and moral leader of his regiment, the first to defend its material and spiritual interests. The regimental commander is the head of the regiment; the commissar must be its father and soul."

Stalin's plan brought about the complete rout of Denikin, and on his initiative the First Mounted Army was formed, under Budyonny, Voroshilov and Shchadenko, the glorious Army, which, supported by the other armies of the southern front, wiped out Denikin's troops.

In 1920, the Central Committee sent Stalin to the south-western front against the Polish gentry, who were leading the third Entente expedition against the Soviet Republic. Here he took a leading part in the break-through of the Polish front, the liberation of Kiev and the advance of our troops to within sight of Lwow. Later in the same year he worked on the defence of the South Ukraine against Wrangel, and drew up a plan for the destruction of the latter, his directions serving as the basis of Frunze's plan of operations by which Wrangel was utterly defeated.

In the years of the Civil War, the Central Committee of the Party and Lenin personally sent Stalin to the most important fronts, wherever the revolution was in danger. He was a member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Republic and of the Revolutionary Military Councils of the western, southern and south-western fronts. Wherever the Red Army, for various reasons, found itself in mortal danger, wherever the advance of the forces of the counter-revolution and intervention threatened the very existence of the Soviet power, he was sent to take charge. "Wherever alarm and panic might at any moment develop into helplessness and catastrophe," writes Voroshilov, "there Comrade Stalin was always sure to appear."¹

Wherever he went Stalin organised the rank and file of the Party and the workers, and took the reins of leadership into his strong hands. Relying on the masses, he ruthlessly crushed all sabotage, suppressing with an iron hand all the

¹ K. E. Voroshilov, *Stalin and the Red Army*, p. 10.

conspiracies of traitors and spies in the rear and at the front. By his personal example of selfless labour and clear revolutionary understanding, he roused the fighting spirit and the revolutionary enthusiasm of the workers and peasants and the men of the Red Army, radically and swiftly improving the efficiency of the latter and turning imminent defeats into magnificent victories. He saw through and foiled the most skilful strategic plans of the enemy, confounding all their military science, art and training.

His services in the Civil War were noted by a decision of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, issued on Lenin's initiative on November 27, 1919, which reads:

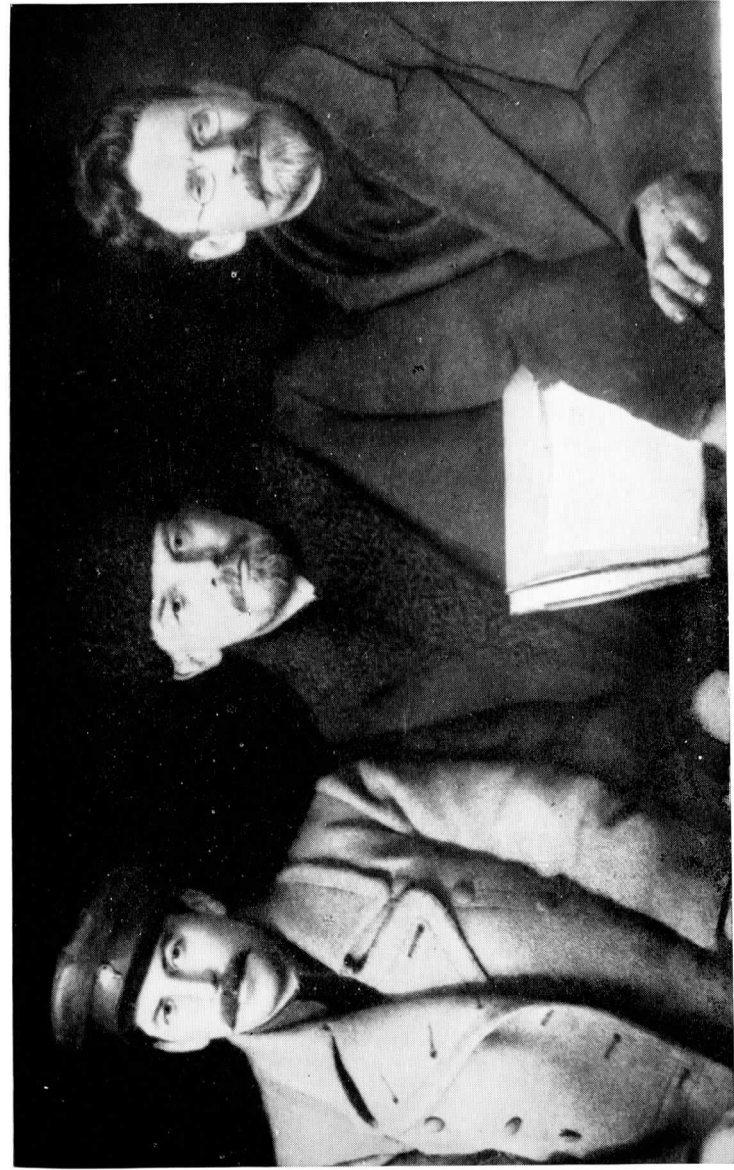
"At a moment of mortal danger, when Soviet Russia, hemmed in on all sides by a close ring of foes, was repulsing the blows of the enemy; at a moment when in July, 1919, the enemies of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolution were approaching Red Petrograd and had already captured Fort Krasnaya Gorka, at this hour of Soviet Russia's dire need, Joseph Vissarionovich Djughashvili (Stalin), appointed by the Presidium of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to the post of danger, by his energy and indefatigable efforts succeeded in rallying the faltering ranks of the Red Army.

"By personal example in the fighting line, under the fire of the enemy, he lent inspiration to the ranks of the defenders of the Soviet Republic.

"As a reward for his services in the defence of Petrograd, as well as for his subsequent self-sacrificing work on the Southern front, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee resolves to confer on J. V. Djughashvili (Stalin) the Order of the Red Banner."

It was the Bolshevik Party, headed by Lenin and Stalin, that created the Red Army—the first Red Army in the world, in which the emancipated workers and peasants were trained in the spirit of the brotherhood of peoples and of internationalism. *And it was Stalin who directly inspired and organised the major victories of the Red Army.* Wherever the destinies of the Revolution hung in the balance, the Party

sent him to the front. It was he who drew up the most important strategic plans and personally directed the decisive military operations. At Tsaritsyn and Perm, at Petrograd and on the front against Denikin, in the west against the gentry of Poland and in the south against Wrangel, everywhere his iron will and strategic genius won victory for the Revolution. And, finally, it was he who trained and led the military commissars, without whom, Lenin said, there would have been no Red Army, so that his name is forever linked with the most glorious victories of our Red Army.



WITH LENIN AND KALININ AT THE EIGHTH PARTY CONGRESS, 1918

VII

VICTORIOUS in the war against the forces of intervention, the Soviet Government now had to turn to the work of peaceful economic development. Four years of imperialist War and three years of civil war had reduced the country to a state of ruin, and when the Civil War was over the peasantry began to show signs of discontent at having to surrender all their surplus grain, under the surplus-appropriation system, and to demand a sufficient supply of manufactured goods.

Moreover, as a result of hunger and exhaustion a section of the workers also began to show signs of discontent, while the class enemy tried to exploit the distressing economic situation in the country to their own advantage.

The Party was thus confronted with the necessity of working out a new line of policy on all questions affecting economic life. The Central Committee saw that, now the War was over and the country had turned to peaceful economic development, nothing more was to be gained from the system of war Communism. The need for the surplus-appropriation system had passed, and it was necessary to give the peasants the opportunity to use the greater part of their surplus products at their own discretion. Only in this way would it be possible to revive agriculture and trade, rehabilitate industry, improve supplies in the towns and create a new foundation, a sound economic foundation, for the alliance of the workers and peasants.

But the anti-Party groups inside the Party tried to obstruct the adoption of this new policy. At the end of 1920 they raised a controversy within the Party, the so-called trade-union discussion, though actually this discussion was of much wider import than the trade-union question. The real point at issue was the policy to be adopted towards the peasantry,

the policy to be adopted towards the mass of the non-Party workers, and, in general, what was to be the Party's approach to the masses in the new situation. The Trotskyites proposed a "tightening of the screws" of war Communism. By their treasonable policy of sheer coercion and dictation the Trotskyites were aiming to set the mass of the non-Party workers against the Party, and so to endanger the very existence of Soviet power. Their lead was followed by other anti-Party groups, such as the "Workers' Opposition," the "Democratic Centralists" and "Left Communists."

In conjunction with Lenin, Stalin consistently followed and upheld the Party line against all these enemies of the Party and, during the trade-union discussion, directed the organisation of the struggle against the anti-Leninist groupings, rallying the Party around Lenin's platform. All information as to the progress of the fight for the Party line in the various Party locals came to him, and he sent regular reports to *Pravda* on the results of the discussion in the local organisations, demonstrating the victory of the Party and the defeat of the anti-Leninist factions. Indeed, one of the most important contributions to securing the victory of the Party line and rallying the majority of the Central Committee was the publication in *Pravda* (January 19, 1921) of an article by Stalin, entitled "Our Differences."

Thus united on Lenin's principles, the Party held its Tenth Congress, which was to decide the main lines to be adopted in order to ensure a further victorious advance of the revolution. This Congress, held in March, 1921, summed up the discussion on the trade unions and endorsed Lenin's platform by an overwhelming majority. It passed the momentous resolution to supersede the surplus appropriation system, by introducing a tax in kind and it adopted the New Economic Policy, which was originated and inspired by Lenin, thus ensuring a durable alliance of the working class and the peasantry for the building of Socialism.

This prime object was served by yet another decision of the Congress, the decision on the national question, which

resulted from the report made by Stalin on "The Immediate Tasks of the Party and the National Question."

This report, and the Congress resolution, clearly and definitely formulated the fundamental practical tasks for the solution of the national problem. As Stalin pointed out, though national oppression had been abolished, this was not enough. The task still remained of doing away with the evil heritage of the past—the economic, political and cultural backwardness of the formerly oppressed peoples. They had to be helped if they were to catch up with Central Russia, and Stalin called upon the Party to fight against Great-Russian chauvinism, as the chief danger, and also against local nationalism.

A year later, at its Eleventh Congress (March, 1922), the Party was able to review the first results of the New Economic Policy, results which entitled Lenin to declare:

"For a year we have been retreating. In the name of the Party, we must now call a halt. The purpose pursued by the retreat has been achieved. This period is drawing, or has drawn, to a close. Now our purpose is different—to regroup our forces."¹

After the Congress it was necessary to carry out in practice the historic tasks Lenin had set before the Party and, on his proposal, the Plenum of the Central Committee elected as the General Secretary of the Central Committee his best and truest disciple and associate, Stalin; a post in which he has remained ever since.

The wound sustained by Lenin in the attempt on his life, in 1918, and his continual overwork since had undermined his health, so that from the end of 1921 onward he had to absent himself from his work more and more frequently. Thus the whole work of guiding the Party fell on Stalin's shoulders.

To these years belong Stalin's great labours in the formation of the national Soviet Republics and subsequently in the amalgamation of all the Soviet Republics into one federal

¹ V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. IX, p. 370.

state—the U.S.S.R. On December 30, 1922, the First All-Union Congress of Soviets, on the motion of Lenin and Stalin, passed the historic decision on the formation of a voluntary State union of the Soviet nations—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the U.S.S.R. In his report to the Congress, Stalin said:

“Comrades, this day marks a turning point in the history of the Soviet system. It places a landmark between the old period, now past, when the Soviet republics, although they acted in common, yet each followed its own path and was concerned primarily with its own preservation, and the new period, already begun, when an end is being put to the isolated existence of each of the Soviet Republics, when the Republics are amalgamating into a single confederate state in order successfully to cope with economic disruption, and when the Soviet Government is concerned not only with its preservation, but with developing into an important international power, capable of influencing the international situation and of modifying it in the interests of the toilers.”¹

The formation of the U.S.S.R. was a great victory for the national policy of Lenin and Stalin. The Soviet Union was built on the sure foundation of the confidence in the great Russian people felt by the peoples that were formerly oppressed by Tsarism, on the firm foundation of friendship among the peoples of the Land of Soviets.

In April 1923, the Party held its Twelfth Congress. This was the first Congress since the October Revolution which Lenin, as a result of his illness, was unable to attend. Its discussions were guided by Stalin, and in its decisions it embodied the recommendations made by Lenin in his last articles and letters. The Congress sharply rebuked those who sought to represent NEP as a retreat from the Socialist positions and who urged that the country should deliver itself into bondage to capitalism, stigmatising the capitulatory proposals of the Trotskyites and Bukharinites as treachery.

At this Congress Stalin made the report on the work of the

¹ J. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, p. 109.

Central Committee and another on “National Factors in the Development of our Party and State.” In the former he gave the Congress an exhaustive picture of the activities of the Party, its growth, the strengthening of the transmission belts from the Party to the masses (the trade unions, the Y.C.L., the Soviets, etc.), reviewed the results of two years of NEP and indicated the lines of further development.

“Our Party has remained solid and united; it has stood the test of a momentous turn, and is marching on with flying colours,” he declared at the conclusion of his report.

The Congress also devoted much attention to the national question. In his report on this question, Stalin stressed the vast international significance of our national policy, and pointed out that the subject nations in the East and the West saw in the Soviet Union a model of the solution of the national question. He pointed out that energetic measures were needed to do away with economic and cultural inequality among the peoples of the Soviet Union, and called upon the Party to put up a determined fight against Great-Russian chauvinism and local nationalism, which were becoming stronger with the partial revival of capitalism in the country. In particular, he exposed the Georgian Nationalist deviators, who were being supported by the Trotskyites.

Hardly had the Twelfth Party Congress come to an end when a serious menace to the Soviet Union loomed on the horizon. The arch-reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie, who stood for intervention, had come to power in Britain and France and were trying to organise a new crusade against the Soviet Union. Under the leadership of Stalin, the Party came out of this critical situation with flying colours and gained a resounding victory on the diplomatic front. By 1924 the tune had changed from threats and ultimatums to recognition of the U.S.S.R. on the part of all the big capitalist states in Europe. “The fact that we emerged from our difficulties then without detriment to our cause,” Stalin said later, “undoubtedly shows that Comrade Lenin’s

disciples had already learned a thing or two from their teacher.”¹

On January 21, 1924, Lenin, the leader and founder of the Bolshevik Party, the leader of the working people of the whole world, passed away in the village of Gorki, near Moscow, but his banner, the banner of the Party and the Comintern, was taken up and carried on by Stalin—the finest son of the Bolshevik Party, Lenin’s worthy successor and the great continuator of Lenin’s aims.

On January 26, the Second All-Union Congress of Soviets held a memorial meeting, at which Stalin took a solemn vow in the name of the Party:

“We Communists are people of a special mould. We are made of a special stuff. We are those who form the army of the great proletarian strategist, the army of Comrade Lenin. There is nothing higher than the honour of belonging to this army. There is nothing higher than the title of member of the Party whose founder and leader was Comrade Lenin. . . .

“Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to hold high and guard the purity of the great title of member of the Party. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will fulfil your behest with credit! . . .

“Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to guard the unity of our Party as the apple of our eye. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that this behest, too, we will fulfil with credit! . . .

“Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to guard and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will spare no effort to fulfil this behest, too, with credit! . . .

“Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to strengthen with all our might the alliance of the workers and the peasants. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that this behest, too, we will fulfil with credit! . . .

“Comrade Lenin untiringly urged upon us the necessity of maintaining a voluntary union of the nations of our country, the necessity for fraternal co-operation among them within the framework of the Union of Republics.

¹ J. Stalin, *On the Opposition*, Russ. ed., p. 74.

“Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to consolidate and extend the Union of Republics. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that this behest, too, we will fulfil with credit! . . .

“Time and again did Lenin point out to us that the strengthening of the Red Army and the improvement of its condition is one of the most important tasks of our Party. . . . Let us then vow, comrades, that we will spare no effort to strengthen our Red Army and our Red Navy. . . .

“Departing from us, Comrade Lenin adjured us to remain faithful to the principles of the Communist International. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our lives to strengthen and extend the Union of the toilers of the whole world—the Communist International! . . .”¹

This was the vow made by the Bolshevik Party to its leader, Lenin, whose memory will live through the ages, and under the leadership of Stalin the Party has kept it faithfully and remains true to it.

Taking advantage first of Lenin’s illness and then of his death, the enemies of Socialism tried to turn the Party from the path of Leninism and thus prepare the ground for the restoration of capitalism in our country. Foremost in the attack were Trotsky, the arch-enemy of Leninism, and his henchmen. The Trotskyites forced a new discussion on the Party, and the resulting fight took a most bitter form. Stalin, however, laid bare the political essence of the Trotskyite arguments, showing that it was a question of life and death for the Party, and succeeded in rallying the Party forces and organising the rout of Trotskyism.

In January, 1924, the Party held its Thirteenth Conference, which, after hearing the report by Stalin, summing up the results of the discussion, unhesitatingly condemned the Trotskyites. The decisions of the Conference were subsequently endorsed by the Thirteenth Party Congress (May, 1924) and the Fifth Congress of the Communist International, which met in the summer of 1924.

In the fight against Trotskyism in this period Stalin

¹ J. Stalin, *On Lenin*, pp. 27–32.

pointed out that "it is the duty of the Party to *bury Trotskyism as an ideological trend*," and warned the Party that in the conditions then existing Trotskyism was the chief danger.

"At the present moment," he said, "after the victory of the October Revolution, under the present conditions of NEP, Trotskyism must be regarded as the most dangerous trend, for it strives to instil scepticism as regards the forces of our revolution, scepticism as regards the cause of the alliance of the workers and peasants, scepticism as regards the cause of converting NEP Russia into Socialist Russia."¹

Stalin proved that Trotskyism had to be ideologically demolished if the further victorious advance to Socialism was to be ensured. He said: "Unless Trotskyism is defeated, it will be impossible to achieve victory under the conditions of NEP, it will be impossible to convert present-day Russia into a Socialist Russia."²

An exceptionally important part in the fight to secure the ideological rout of Trotskyism and in the defence, explanation and development of Leninism was played by Stalin's theoretical work, *The Foundations of Leninism*,³ published in 1924. This book is a masterly exposition and a profound theoretical substantiation of Leninism, and to-day it is one of the most trenchant weapons of Marxist-Leninist theory in the hands of Bolsheviks all over the world.

This work of genius gives an exposition of the fundamental principles of Leninism, i.e. of the distinctive and new that is associated with Lenin's name as his contribution to the development of Marxist theory. The very fact that the problems of Leninism had been generalised in this way, that the whole ideological content of Lenin's lifework had been systematised and examined with reference to the new historical epoch, signified a tremendous step forward in the

¹ J. Stalin, *The Peasant Question*, a Collection of Articles, Russ. ed., p. 55.

² *Ibid.*

³ *The Foundations of Leninism* consists of a series of lectures delivered at the Svendlov University in 1924. It is contained in Stalin's collected works, but will also shortly be published in a separate volume.

development of the science of Marxism-Leninism. Not only does Stalin here give a classical definition of Leninism; he also shows how Lenin developed Marxism further in the conditions of a new era, the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

The restoration of the national economy was nearing completion. A change had taken place in the international position of the Soviet Union and in the internal situation. In the capitalist countries a temporary ebb in the tide of revolution set in, and a temporary partial stabilisation of capitalism began. In the U.S.S.R. the pre-war level of production had been reached but the advance had to be continued beyond this point, and a most urgent question now arose—the question as to what were to be the perspectives of our development, what was to be the destiny of Socialism in the Soviet Union.

Stalin's genius and foresight provided the answer to this question and laid down the proper lines for the further development of the Revolution.

"My wish to the workers of the Dynamo Plant," he wrote, "and to the workers of all Russia, is that industry should forge ahead, that the number of proletarians in Russia should increase in the near future to twenty or thirty million; that collective farming in the countryside should develop fully and predominate over individual farming; that advanced industry and collective farming in the countryside should finally weld the proletarians of the factories and the labourers of the soil into a single Socialist army; that the victory in Russia should culminate in victory throughout the world."¹

Theoretically generalising the experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and the experience of the first years of Socialist construction under the conditions of a capitalist encirclement, Stalin upheld and developed Lenin's doctrine of the victory of Socialism in one country.

In December, 1924, he published *The October Revolution and*

¹ Cf. G. K. Orjonikidze, *Selected Articles and Speeches*, Russ. ed., p. 450.

*the Tactics of the Russian Communists.*¹ Citing proof in substantiation of Lenin's thesis on the victory of Socialism in one country, he showed that this question should be viewed from two aspects: the domestic and the international. The domestic aspect involves the class relations inside the country which is building Socialism; the international aspect, the relations between the U.S.S.R.—so far the only Socialist country—and the surrounding capitalist states. The workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. are fully capable of overcoming the internal difficulties by their own efforts, are fully capable of vanquishing their own bourgeoisie economically and building a complete Socialist society. But as long as the country is surrounded by capitalist states the danger of capitalist intervention against the U.S.S.R., the danger of the restoration of capitalism, will still persist. In order to eliminate this danger, it is necessary to destroy the capitalist encirclement, and this can be accomplished only as a result of a victorious proletarian revolution in at least several countries. Only then can the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. be considered complete and final.

The theses here put forward were embodied in the historic resolution of the Fourteenth Party Conference (April, 1925), which endorsed the Lenin-Stalin line of working for the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. as the law of the Party, binding on all members.

In December, 1925, the Party held its Fourteenth Congress. In the political report which Stalin delivered on behalf of the Central Committee, he drew a vivid picture of the growth of the political and economic might of the Soviet Union, but, he went on, we could not rest there, for our country still remained a backward, agrarian country. In order to secure the economic independence of our country and strengthen its defensive power, in order to create the economic base necessary for the victory of Socialism, our country had to be converted from an agrarian into an industrial country.

¹ *Leninism*. Vol. I, p. 103.

From the tribune of the Fourteenth Congress, the leader of the Party declared:

“To convert our country from an agrarian into an industrial country able to produce the machinery it needs by its own efforts—that is the essence, the basis of our general line.”

Against this plan for Socialist industrialisation, Zinoviev and Kamenev, those defenders of capitalism, tried to set up their own “plan,” under which the U.S.S.R. would remain an agrarian country. This was a plan of traitors for the enslavement of the U.S.S.R. and its surrender, bound hand and foot, into the clutches of the imperialist vultures. But Stalin unmasked these despicable capitulators and clearly brought out their Trotskyite-Menshevik nature.

At the same Congress Stalin emphasised the tremendous importance of the Party securing a lasting alliance between the working class and the middle peasantry for the construction of Socialism, and the Congress endorsed Socialist industrialisation and the fight for the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. as the prime tasks of the Party.

After the Congress, at the beginning of 1926, Stalin published *On the Problems of Leninism*.¹ In this very important work, Stalin demolished Zinoviev's “philosophy” of liquidationism and capitulation, and proved the correctness of the line adopted by the Fourteenth Congress of the Party for the Socialist industrialisation of the country and the construction of Socialist society. He armed the Party and the working class with indomitable confidence in the victory of Socialist construction.

Thus, under the leadership of Stalin, the Bolshevik Party, having mobilised its forces and resources and brushed aside the capitulators and sceptics, brought the country to a new historical stage—Socialist industrialisation.

¹ *Leninism*, Vol. I, p. 259.

VIII

TO industrialise in a brief historical period such a vast and, as it was at that time, such an economically backward country as the Soviet Union, was a task attended by tremendous difficulties. It was necessary to build up a large number of new industries, which had not existed in Tsarist Russia; to create a defence industry, which had not existed in old Russia; to build plants for the production of modern agricultural machinery, which was unknown in the countryside in the old days. All this demanded enormous funds. Capitalist states obtain resources by mercilessly exploiting the people, by plundering the colonies and dependent countries and by floating loans in foreign countries. But the Soviet Union could not resort to such infamous means, and the capitalists had closed all access to loans from abroad. The only way was to obtain the funds inside the Soviet Union.

Taking the precepts of Lenin as his guide, Stalin worked out the *doctrine of the Socialist industrialisation* of our country. He showed that: (1) Industrialisation consists not merely in increasing industrial output, but in developing heavy industry and, above all, heavy machine construction, for only the creation of heavy industry and the domestic production of machinery would provide the material basis for Socialism and make the Land of Socialism independent of the capitalist world. (2) The expropriation of the landlords and capitalists in our country as a result of the October Socialist Revolution, the abolition of private ownership of the land, the factories, and the banks, etc., and their transfer to the ownership of the whole people had created a mighty source of Socialist accumulation for the development of industry. (3) Socialist industrialisation differs fundamentally

from capitalist industrialisation: the latter is developed by seizing and plundering colonies, by defeating other countries in war, by floating loans on usurious terms, and by mercilessly exploiting the labouring masses and colonial peoples; Socialist industrialisation, however, is based on the public ownership of the means of production, the accumulation and preservation of the values created by the labour of the workers and peasants. Socialist industrialisation is inseparably connected with a steady rise in the material standards of the labouring masses. (4) Therefore the most important tasks in the struggle for industrialisation should be to increase the productivity of labour, reduce production costs, fight for labour discipline, strict economy, etc. (5) The building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the labour enthusiasm of the working class made it possible to achieve the necessary high rates of industrialisation. (6) The way to the Socialist transformation of agriculture lay through the industrialisation of the country, which had to create the technical basis for this transformation.

Armed with this clear and definite programme the working people of the Soviet Union embarked upon the Socialist industrialisation of the country. Whereupon the imperialist Powers, alarmed by the progress of Socialist construction, tried to frustrate or at least to impede the industrialisation of the country by breaking off diplomatic and commercial relations with the U.S.S.R. (Britain), by assassinating Soviet ambassadors (Poland), by intensifying espionage and subversive activities. Inside the country, the Trotskyites, Zinovievites and the remnants of the previously defeated anti-Party groups joined in a treasonable *bloc* which launched a furious attack on the Party. "Something like a united front from Chamberlain to Trotsky is being formed," said Comrade Stalin at the time. It was impossible to secure the success of Socialist industrialisation without accomplishing the ideological and organisational rout of the Trotsky-Zinoviev *bloc*. Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin, the Party smashed this *bloc*. His report at the Fifteenth

Party Conference on "The Social-Democratic Deviation in Our Party" (November, 1926), and his speech at the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I., "Once Again on the Social-Democratic Deviation in Our Party" (December, 1926), served to arm ideologically the C.P.S.U. and the Communist International and to strengthen the solidarity and unity of the Party ranks. In its decisions, the Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. stigmatised the adherents of the Trotsky-Zinoviev *bloc* as splitters whose platform was nothing more nor less than Menshevism.

In carrying out the industrialisation of the country, there was not a single sphere of the work, not a single problem, that escaped Stalin's attention. It was on his initiative that new industries were created and formerly backward industries developed and reconstructed, and it was due to his insistence that the second coal and metallurgical centre in our country, the Kuznetsk Basin, was developed. It was he who organised and directed the numerous Socialist construction projects, such as the Stalingrad Tractor Works, the Dnieper power development, the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Works, the Ural Mechanical Engineering Works, the Rostov Agricultural Machinery Works, the Kuznetsk Coal-mines and Foundries, the Turksib Railway, the Saratov Harvester Combine Works, the automobile works in Moscow and Gorki, and many others. This is the reason why so many giant industrial plants, the pride of the whole country, have been named after Stalin.

The grand picture of the mighty edifice of Socialism being built in the U.S.S.R. had an irresistible influence on the workers of the capitalist countries. The U.S.S.R. became a veritable Mecca to which scores and hundreds of workers' delegations travelled from all parts of the world. Keen was the interest and profound the emotion with which they saw how workers, having ousted their exploiters, were building a new, Socialist society. They were so interested in everything and so anxious to know everything that in November 5, 1927, Comrade Stalin gave a long interview to labour

delegations from Germany, France, Austria, Czechoslovakia, China, Belgium and other countries.

By the end of 1927, the decisive success of the policy of Socialist industrialisation was unmistakable, and the first results were summed up by the Fifteenth Party Congress, which was held in December, 1927. In his report, Stalin drew a vivid picture of the progress of Socialist industrialisation and emphasised the need for the further extension and consolidation of the Socialist key positions, both in the towns and in the countryside, if the last remnants of capitalism were to be eliminated from the national economy.

Stalin also drew attention to the backwardness of agriculture as compared with industry, a situation that jeopardised the national economy as a whole, and pointed out how this would be overcome.

"The way out," Stalin said, "is to turn the small and scattered peasant farms into large, united farms based on the common cultivation of the soil, to introduce collective cultivation of the soil on the basis of a new and higher technique. The way out is to unite the small and dwarf peasant farms gradually but surely, not by pressure, but by example and persuasion, into large farms based on common, co-operative, collective cultivation of the soil with the use of agricultural machines and tractors and scientific methods of intensive agriculture. There is no other way out."¹

Why was it necessary to organise agriculture in collective farms?

Already, at the time of the Fifteenth Party Congress the backwardness of agriculture, particularly of grain-farming, was becoming more and more evident. The gross yield of grain was approaching the pre-War standard, but the marketed share of the grain, the amount of grain sold for the supply of the towns and the Army, was little more than one-third (37 per cent.) of the pre-War figure. In the countryside there were about 25 million small and dwarf peasant farms—farms, that is to say, which could not rise

¹ *History of the C.P.S.U.[B.]*, p. 288.

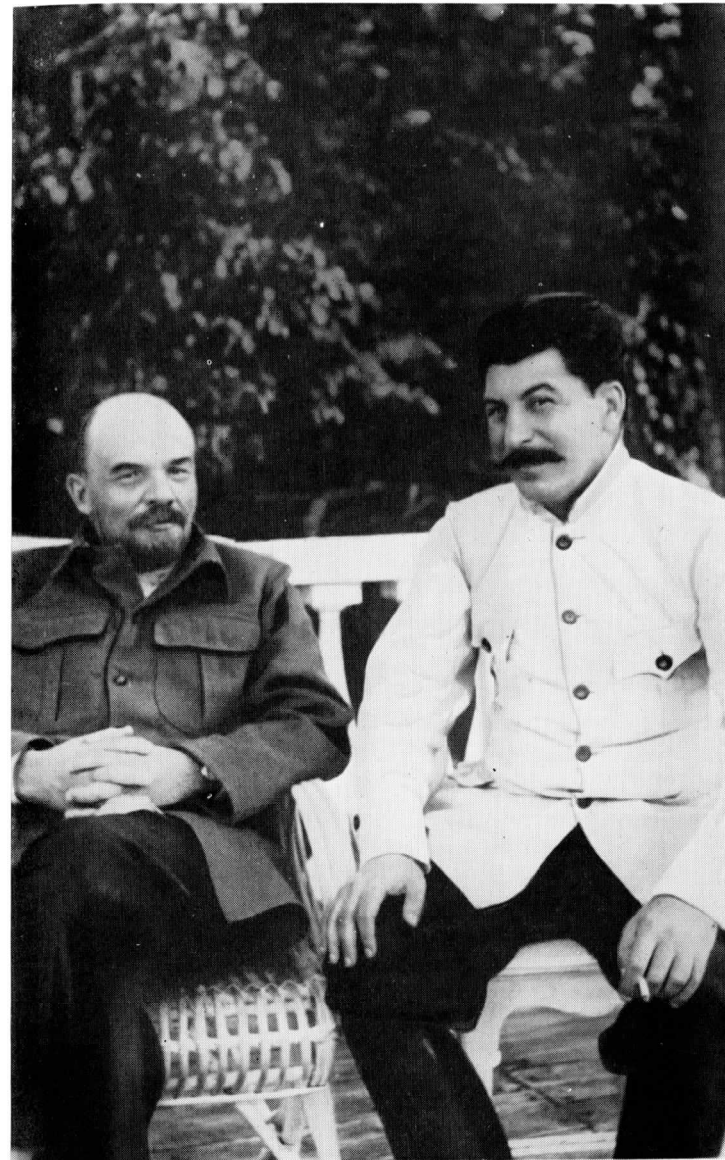
above the stage of a semi-natural form of economy, which were able to supply only an insignificant quantity of grain for the market and were incapable of extending production, of using tractors and machines or increasing the yield. Moreover, the process of splitting up the peasant farms, thus causing a further decline in the amount of marketable grain, was still going on. It was clear, therefore, that "if such a state of affairs in grain-farming were to continue, the Army and the urban population would be faced with chronic famine."¹

The country had a choice of two ways of reorganising agriculture into large farms able to employ tractors and agricultural machines and to secure a several-fold increase of the marketable surplus of grain. The first alternative was to adopt large-scale *capitalist* farming, which would have meant the ruin of the peasant masses, created mass unemployment in the cities, destroyed the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, increased the strength of the *kulaks* and led to the downfall of Socialism. And it was to this disastrous path that the Right capitulators and traitors were trying to divert the Party.

The second alternative was to amalgamate the small peasant holdings into large *Socialist* farms, into collective farms, which would be able to use tractors and other modern machines extensively for a rapid advancement of grain-farming and a rapid increase in the marketable surplus of grain. It is clear that the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet State could only take the second course, the *collective farm* way of developing agriculture.

In this the Bolshevik Party was guided by the far-sighted precepts of Lenin, who had shown the necessity of passing from small peasant farming to large-scale, collective, mechanised farming as the only way of extricating the tens of millions of peasant farms from age-old poverty. "There is no escape from poverty for the small farm," he had said. The most vital economic interests of the country, the very

¹ *History of the C.P.S.U.[B.]*, p. 287.



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livelihood of the people, depended upon collectivisation. And the Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of Stalin, correctly understood this vital economic need and was able to swing the peasant millions to the path of collectivisation.

The Fifteenth Congress passed a resolution calling for the fullest development of collectivisation in agriculture. At the same time, the Congress gave instructions for drawing up the First Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy. Thus, at the very height of Socialist industrialisation, Stalin put forward a new tremendous task, the collectivisation of agriculture. The accomplishment of this historic task, which required most careful preparation, must be ranked both for its depth and scope with the preparation for the Great October Socialist Revolution. The brilliant strategist of the proletarian revolution boldly and steadfastly, carefully and circumspectly, led the Party forward, breaking down all obstructions in the path to the goal, keeping a vigilant eye on the manoeuvres of the class enemy and unerringly foreseeing his actions in the immediate future, with a masterly hand regrouping the forces during the offensive itself, consolidating the positions captured, utilising the reserves to develop each advance.

Under the leadership of Stalin the Party prepared all the necessary material conditions for the mass influx of the peasantry into the collective farms. An industrial base was developed for supplying the countryside with machines and tractors, a base for the technical re-equipment of agriculture. Sufficient funds were accumulated to finance the development of collective farms and State farms, and the finest members of the Party and the working class were enlisted for the task. The first collective farms were consolidated to serve as examples of collective farming to the individual peasants. Machine and tractor stations and State farms were organised in order to help the peasants to improve their methods of farming.

Sensing their imminent doom, the *kulaks* tried to resist, and in 1928 organised a "grain strike," thinking that this

would make the Party at least retreat, if not capitulate. In the same year a large organisation of wreckers, consisting of bourgeois experts and connected with imperialist states, was discovered in the Shakhty District of the Donetz Basin, and similar organisations were discovered elsewhere.

The Party therefore adopted emergency measures against the *kulaks* and broke their resistance, while the wreckers were severely punished. Comrade Stalin called upon the Party to draw the necessary lessons from the Shakhty case, the chief of them being that the Bolshevik business executives must become experts in the technique of production and that the training of new technical personnel from the ranks of the working class must be accelerated.

In 1928-9, when the Party launched the offensive against the *kulaks*, the place of the defeated Trotskyites and Zinovievites was taken by Messrs. Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsky and their whole anti-Party group of Right capitulators and would-be restorers of capitalism, who came out in the open against the Party. At the same time the imperialists, relying on the capitulatory activities of the Rights, made a new attempt to involve the U.S.S.R. in war. The General Staffs of Britain and France drew up plans for a new military intervention against the U.S.S.R., which was set for 1929 or 1930.

Just as the victory of the Great Socialist Revolution in October, 1917, would have been impossible if the capitulators and strike-breakers had not been routed, so, too, the victory of Socialism in the countryside would have been impossible if the Right capitulators had not been defeated in 1928-9. Particularly effective in bringing about the victory of the Party over the Bukharin-Rykov anti-Party group were Stalin's speeches on "The Right Danger in the C.P.S.U.[B.]" (at the Plenum of the Moscow Committee and the Moscow Control Commission of the Party in October, 1928) and on "The Right Deviation in the C.P.S.U.[B.]" (at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party in April, 1929).¹

¹ See *Leninism*, Vol. II, pp. 55 ff.

In these speeches he not only fully exposed the Rights as enemies of Leninism, but also proved that they were the agents of the *kulaks* in the Party.

In the fight against the Rights, Stalin rallied the whole Party and led it forward to storm the last stronghold of capitalist exploitation in our country, thus advancing the Revolution to a new and higher stage. In his historic article, "A Year of Great Change,"¹ written in 1929 on the occasion of the twelfth anniversary of the October Revolution, he said:

"The past year witnessed a great change on all fronts of Socialist construction. The change expressed itself, and is still expressing itself, in a determined *offensive* of Socialism against the capitalist elements in town and country. The characteristic feature of this offensive is that it has already achieved for us a number of decisive *successes* in the principal spheres of the Socialist reconstruction of our national economy."

The Party secured a radical improvement in the productivity of labour. It solved, in the main, one of the most difficult problems of Socialist industrialisation—the problem of the accumulation of funds for the development of heavy industry. The Party secured a radical change for the better in the development of our agriculture, the development of our peasantry. The collective farm movement began to grow by leaps and bounds, even surpassing large-scale industry in its rate of development. It was becoming a mass movement.

"The new and decisive feature of the present collective farm movement," Stalin wrote, "is that the peasants are joining the collective farms, not in separate groups, as was formerly the case, but in whole villages, whole *volosts*, whole districts, and even whole areas. And what does that mean? It means that *the middle peasant has joined the collective farm movement*. This is the basis of that radical change in the development of agriculture which represents the most important achievement of the Soviet Government."

¹ *Leninism*, Vol. II, p. 165.

Thus, under the leadership of Stalin, was prepared the historic turn from the policy of restricting and squeezing out the *kulak* elements to the policy of eliminating the *kulaks* as a class, on the basis of solid collectivisation.

IX

ON December 27, 1929, Stalin addressed a conference of Marxist students on the agrarian question. In his speech he exposed the bourgeois theory of "equilibrium" between the sectors of the national economy, and demolished the anti-Marxist theory of "spontaneity" in Socialist construction and the anti-Marxist theory of the "stability" of the small peasant farms. Disposing of all these bourgeois, anti-Marxist, Right opportunist theories, he made a profound analysis of the collective farms as a Socialist form of economy and proved the necessity for a transition to solid collectivisation and the elimination of the *kulaks* as a class on this basis.

As far back as at the Eleventh Congress of the Party, Lenin had spoken of the last, decisive fight against Russian capitalism, the capitalism which was developing from small peasant economy. But at that time it was impossible to say when this fight would take place. Comrade Stalin, with brilliant foresight, proved scientifically that the time for the last, decisive fight against internal capitalism had arrived, and, as a master of dialectics, was able to show that the elimination of the *kulaks* as a class was not a continuation of the former policy of restricting and squeezing out the *kulaks*, but was a sharp *turn* in the policy of the Party.

"While the confiscation of the landlords' estates was the *first* step of the October Revolution in the countryside," said the resolution of the Sixteenth Party Congress, "the introduction of collective farming is the *second* and, moreover, the decisive step, which marks a most important stage in the process of laying the foundations of Socialist society in the U.S.S.R."

The countryside adopted Socialist forms of husbandry

because economic necessity demanded a change to large-scale, co-operative farming, to collective, mechanised agriculture. For a number of years the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet state were developing new productive forces in the countryside, introducing modern machinery—tractors, harvester combines, etc.—training experts for Socialist farming, millions of people who were mastering modern technique.

In his historic message of greeting to the workers of the Stalingrad Tractor Works on its opening day (June 17, 1930), Comrade Stalin wrote:

“Greetings to the workers and leading personnel of this mammoth Red Banner tractor plant, the first of its kind in the U.S.S.R., and congratulations on their victory. The 50,000 tractors which you are to produce for our country each year will be 50,000 projectiles, shattering the old, bourgeois world and clearing the way for the new, Socialist system in the countryside. My best wishes for success in the fulfilment of your programme.”¹

The new productive forces which had been created in the countryside inevitably produced new, *Socialist* relations between people.

On the basis of a thorough scientific investigation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on Socialism, Stalin demonstrated that the transition of collectivisation could be brought about, not by a peaceful process of peasants simply joining collective farms, but by a struggle of the peasant masses against the *kulaks*. The *kulaks* had to be defeated in open battle in full view of the peasantry. That is why solid collectivisation was inseparably linked up with the task of eliminating the *kulaks* as a class.

Stalin's realisation of the necessity of the Party changing its policy from one of restricting the exploiting proclivities of the *kulaks* to one of eliminating the *kulaks* as a class was embodied in a resolution on “The Rate of Collectivisation and State Measures to assist the Development of Collective

¹ *Pravda*, No. 166, June 18, 1930.

Farms,” adopted by the Central Committee on January 5, 1930.

The enemies of the Party did their utmost to frustrate this policy. Their hostility was expressed, not only in open attacks on collectivisation by the Right capitulators, but also in such “Leftist” distortions of the Party line as too great a speed-up in the rates of collectivisation, violation of the Leninist-Stalinist principle of the *voluntary* formation of collective farms, blockheaded attempts to skip the *artel* form and pass straight to the commune, enforced socialisation of dwellings, small live-stock, poultry, etc.

The enemies at home and abroad, the would-be interventionists and their agents, were hoping that these “Leftist” practices, which in many cases were deliberately indulged in for provocative purposes, would incense the peasantry against the Soviet Government. The general staffs of the imperialist Powers were already fixing dates for a new war of intervention. But the leader of the Party saw the danger in good time, and on March 2, 1930, by decision of the Central Committee, published an article, entitled “Dizzy with Success,” in which he denounced the “Leftist” excesses that were jeopardising the collective farm movement.

“The article laid the utmost emphasis on the principle that the formation of collective farms must be voluntary, and on the necessity of making allowances for the diversity of conditions in the various districts of the U.S.S.R. when determining the pace and methods of collectivisation. Comrade Stalin reiterated that the chief form of the collective farm movement was the agricultural *artel*. . . .

“Comrade Stalin's article was of the utmost political moment. It helped the Party organisations to rectify their mistakes and dealt a severe blow to the enemies of the Soviet Government, who had been hoping to take advantage of the distortions of policy to set the peasants against the Soviet Government.”¹

While dealing a crushing blow at the “Leftist” distortions

¹ *History of the C.P.S.U.[B.]*, p. 308.

and at the same time shattering the hopes of the interventionists, Comrade Stalin, as the teacher of the masses, explained to the Party and non-Party cadres wherein lies the art of leadership.

"The art of leadership," wrote Stalin, "is a serious matter. One must not lag behind the movement, because to do so is to become isolated from the masses. But neither must one rush ahead, for to rush ahead is to lose contact with the masses. He who wants to lead a movement and at the same time keep in touch with the vast masses must wage a fight on two fronts—against those who lag behind and against those who rush on ahead."

On April 3, 1930, Stalin followed this up with another article, a "Reply to Collective Farm Comrades," addressed to the millions of collective farmers, in which he exposed the root cause of the mistakes in the peasant question and the major mistakes committed in the collective farm movement, and explained with irresistible logic the essential laws of an offensive on the class war front. It is impossible to conduct a successful offensive, Comrade Stalin pointed out, unless we consolidate the positions already captured, unless we regroup our forces, supply the front with reserves, and bring up the rear. The opportunists did not understand the class nature of the offensive. Against which class was the offensive? And in alliance with which class? It is not any kind of offensive we want, Stalin said, but an offensive against the *kulaks* in alliance with the middle peasants.

Thanks to Stalin's leadership, the distortions were rectified and a firm basis was created for a further powerful advance in the collective farm movement. The Party, headed by Stalin, solved what was, after the conquest of power, the most difficult problem of the proletarian revolution, the problem of transferring the small peasant farms to Socialist lines, the problem of eliminating the *kulaks*, the most numerous exploiting class.

"This was a profound revolution, a leap from an old qualitative state of society to a new qualitative state,

equivalent in its consequences to the Revolution of October, 1917.

"The distinguishing feature of this revolution is that it was accomplished *from above*, on the initiative of the State, and directly supported *from below* by the millions of peasants, who were fighting to throw off *kulak* bondage and to live in freedom in the collective farms."¹

Guided by Lenin's formulations on the necessity of a transition from small peasant farming to large-scale, co-operative-collective farming, and taking Lenin's co-operative plan as his basis, Stalin theoretically elaborated and put into practice the *teaching on the collectivisation of agriculture*. In so doing he contributed certain new elements: (1) He made a thorough analysis of the question of the collective farm form of Socialist economy in the countryside; (2) he showed that the main link in collective farm development at the present stage is the agricultural *artel* as the form most rational and most comprehensible to the peasants, making it possible to combine the personal interests of the collective farmers with their collective interests, and to make the personal interests of the collective farmers conform to the public interests; (3) he proved the necessity for the change from the policy of restricting and squeezing out the *kulaks* to the policy of eliminating them as a class, on the basis of solid collectivisation; (4) he revealed the significance of the machine and tractor stations as bases for the Socialist reorganisation of agriculture and as channels through which the Socialist state could render assistance to agriculture and the peasantry.

In February, 1930, in response to numerous requests from organisations, general meetings of workers, peasants and Red Army men, the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. conferred upon Stalin a second Order of the Red Banner for his great services in the construction of Socialism.

The Sixteenth Party Congress (June 26 to July 13, 1930) will go down to history as registering a sweeping advance of

¹ *History of the C.P.S.U.[B.]*, p. 305.

Socialism along the whole front. This was established by the Report made by Stalin, in which he stressed the fact that our country *had already entered the period of Socialism*.

Reporting to the Congress on the results which had thus far been achieved in the work of industrialising the country and collectivising agriculture, he went on to indicate the nature of the new tasks that confronted us in this new period of development. While we had overtaken and outstripped the advanced capitalist countries in our *rates* of development, we were still, however, far behind the advanced capitalist countries as regards the *level* of industrial output. Hence the need for a further acceleration of the rate of development in order to overtake and outstrip the capitalist countries in level of industrial output as well. Comrade Stalin concluded his report by formulating the tasks of the Party with regard to the fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan in four years.

The working people of the whole country applied themselves enthusiastically to the accomplishment of these gigantic tasks. Socialist emulation and shock work developed on a wide scale, and already on the eve of the Sixteenth Congress no less than 2,000,000 workers were taking part in the Socialist emulation movement, while more than 1,000,000 workers were working in shock brigades.

"The most remarkable feature of emulation," Comrade Stalin said at the Sixteenth Congress, "is the radical revolution it brings with it in men's views of labour, for it transforms labour from a disgraceful and painful burden, as it was regarded before, into a matter of *honour*, a matter of *glory*, a matter of *valour* and *heroism*. There is not and cannot be anything similar to it in capitalist countries."

The fulfilment of the First Five-Year Plan called for the reconstruction of all branches of the national economy on the basis of new, modern machinery and methods. Technique was becoming a matter of decisive importance. In this connection, the leader of the Party, in his speech on "The

Tasks of Business Managers" at the First All-Union Conference of Managers of Socialist industry on February 4, 1931, put forward the new slogans: "Bolsheviks must master technique." "In the period of reconstruction, technique decides everything."

At the time when the Party was engaged in the strenuous labours of building Socialism, increasing importance was attaching to the Marxist-Leninist training of members and candidate members of the Party, to the study of the historical experience of the Bolshevik Party, and to the fight against the falsifiers of the history of the Party.

In November, 1931, Stalin published his well-known letter to the Editors of the magazine, *Proletarskaya Revolutsiya*, a letter which was of exceptional importance for the further ideological consolidation of the ranks of the Party. In it he denounced the Trotskyite falsifiers of the history of Bolshevism, and showed that Leninism originated, matured and grew strong in a relentless struggle against the opportunists of all shades, and that the Bolsheviks were the only revolutionary organisation in the world which had utterly routed the opportunists and centrists and driven them out of the Party. He went on, moreover, to prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that Trotskyism is the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, a force working against Communism, against the Soviet system and against the construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

By the beginning of 1933 the First Five-Year Plan had already been fulfilled—fulfilled ahead of schedule. At the Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Party in January, 1933, Stalin reported on the "Results of the First Five-Year Plan." Our country, he said, had been transformed from an agrarian into an industrial country, from a small-peasant country into a country of advanced, Socialist agriculture, conducted on the largest scale in the world. The exploiting classes had been dislodged from their positions in production. The remnants of them had scattered over the country and were fighting

against the Soviet Union by stealth. Therefore it was necessary to increase vigilance, to fight for the protection of Socialist property—the foundation of the Soviet system—to strengthen to the utmost the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In another speech at the Plenum of the Central Committee—on “Work in the Rural Districts”—Stalin made a profound analysis of the defects in Party work in the countryside, and indicated an exhaustive plan of work for the consolidation of the collective farm system.

A new task had risen before the Party—to fight for the consolidation of the collective farms, to organise labour in the collective farms, to make them Bolshevik and purge them of hostile *kulak* elements and wreckers. For this purpose, Stalin proposed the formation of political departments in the machine and tractor stations and State farms. In the space of two years (1933–4), the political department of the machine and tractor stations did a tremendous amount of work to consolidate the collective farms.

At the first All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock Workers on February 19, 1933, Stalin advanced the slogan: “Make the collective farms Bolshevik and the collective farmers prosperous.”

“Only one thing is now needed for the collective farmers to become prosperous,” Stalin said, “and that is for them to work in the collective farms conscientiously; to make efficient use of the tractors and machines; to make efficient use of the draught cattle; to cultivate the land efficiently and to cherish collective farm property.”

This speech found a lively response among the millions of collective farmers and became a practical fighting programme of work for the collective farms.

In a report on the work of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.[B.] delivered in Leningrad on the eve of the Seventeenth Congress of the Party, S. M. Kirov, one of the greatest spokesmen of the Revolution and one of the most popular figures in the Party, paid the following tribute to

the great organiser of the Socialist victories of the working class:

“Comrades, when one speaks of the services of our Party, of its achievements, one cannot help speaking of *the greatest organiser of our gigantic victories. I mean Comrade Stalin.*”

“I must say that he is the really consummate, the really perfect successor, the continuator of the cause committed to our care by the great founder of our Party, whom we lost ten years ago.

“It is not easy to realise the stature of Stalin in all its gigantic proportions. In these latter years, ever since we have had to carry on our work without Lenin, there has been no major development in our work, no innovation, slogan or trend of policy of any importance of which Comrade Stalin was not the author. All the major work—and this the Party should know—is guided by the instructions, the initiative and the leadership of Comrade Stalin. The decision of all important problems of international policy is guided by his recommendations. And not only important problems, but even what might seem third-rate, even tenth-rate, problems interest him, if they affect the workers, the peasants, the labouring people generally of our country.

“I must say that this applies, not only to the construction of Socialism as a whole, but to particular questions of our work as well. For instance, if we take the questions concerning the defence of our country, it must be stressed most emphatically that, for all the achievements which I have mentioned, we are entirely indebted to Stalin.

“The mighty will and organisational genius of this man ensure our Party the timely accomplishment of the major historical turns involved in the victorious construction of Socialism.”

“Take Comrade Stalin’s slogans—‘Make the collective farmer prosperous,’ ‘Make the collective farms Bolshevik,’ ‘Master technique’—the historic conditions propounded

by Comrade Stalin. All that goes to direct the construction of Socialism at the present stage of our work emanates from this man, and all that we have achieved in the First Five-Year Plan period has been based on his directions.”¹

At the beginning of 1934, Stalin guided the work of the Seventeenth Congress of the Party, which at once became known as the *Congress of Victors*. In his report to this Congress, Stalin summed up the historic victories of the Party, the victories of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

He spoke of the victory of the policy of industrialisation, solid collectivisation, and the elimination of the *kulaks* as a class; of the triumph of the doctrine of the possibility of building Socialism in one country. He pointed out that the Socialist system now held undivided sway throughout the whole national economy, while all the other social-economic systems had disappeared. The collective farm system had triumphed completely and irrevocably.

But Stalin warned the Party that the fight was far from being over. Although the enemies had been defeated, remnants of their ideology still lingered in people’s minds and often asserted themselves. The capitalist encirclement remained. It was working to revive the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people and to utilise them.

Comrade Stalin pointed out that these survivals were much more tenacious in the sphere of the national question than in any other. In reply to the question as to which deviation in the national question was the major danger—the tendency to Great-Russian nationalism or the tendency to local nationalism—Stalin said that under the present conditions “the major danger is the deviation against which we have ceased to fight, thereby allowing it to grow into a danger to the State.”

Hence the urgent need for systematic effort to overcome the survivals of capitalism in people’s minds, for systematic criticism of the ideology of all the trends hostile to Leninism,

¹ S. M. Kirov, *Selected Writings and Speeches, 1912–1934*, Russ. ed., pp. 609–10.

for tireless propaganda of Leninism, for raising the ideological level of the Party members, for the education of the working people in the principles of internationalism. Stalin laid special stress on the need to increase the vigilance of the Party:

“We must not lull the Party,” he said, “but sharpen its vigilance; we must not lull it to sleep, but keep it ready for action; not disarm it, but arm it; not demobilise it, but hold it in a state of mobilisation for the fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan.”

In his report, Stalin gave a concrete programme for the future work of the Party in the spheres of industry, agriculture, trade, the transport system, a programme of organisational work (training of personnel, the checking up on fulfilment). He also set the task of raising “organisational leadership to the level of political leadership.” In his report, Stalin further laid down a programme of work in the sphere of culture, science, education and the ideological struggle. On the motion of S. M. Kirov, the Seventeenth Congress adopted his report as it stood as a Congress decision, as a Party law, as the Party’s programme of work for the coming period. The Congress also endorsed the Second Five-Year Plan for the development of the national economy.

THE success of the general line of the Party was expressed in the continued and steady advance of industry and agriculture in the country. The Stalinist Second Five-Year Plan for industry was fulfilled by April, 1937, ahead of schedule—in four years and three months. As a result of the thus completed reconstruction of industry and agriculture, our national economy was equipped with the most advanced technique in the world, receiving a vast quantity of machines, machine tools and other instruments of production. Our agriculture was supplied with first-class Soviet tractors, harvester combines and other complex agricultural machines; the transport system with first-class automobiles, locomotives, ships and aeroplanes; while the armed forces of the workers and peasants received excellent new technical equipment—artillery, tanks, aeroplanes and warships.

This titanic labour in the technical re-equipment of our national economy proceeded under the direct guidance of Comrade Stalin. New makes of cars, important technical innovations and inventions were introduced, as they are to-day, on his direct initiative, and he has always taken a direct personal interest in all the details of the work for the technical reconstruction of industry and agriculture, inspiring and heartening the workers and engineers, the managers of industrial establishments and central administrations, inventors and designers. In particular, he has paid special attention to the technical equipment of the Red Army, the Air Force and the Navy, as a result of which our armed forces have become a formidable and invincible force against the enemies of Socialism.

This vastly improved technique required trained people able to harness it, to extract from it all that it could give. It

became necessary to impress upon our cadres the need for mastering this new technique, to concentrate on training large numbers of people for this special purpose. An important part in all this was played by Stalin's address to the graduates from the Red Army Academies in May, 1935.

"In order to set technique going," he said, "and to utilise it to the full, we need people who have mastered technique, we need cadres capable of mastering and utilising this technique according to all the rules of the art. Without people who have mastered technique, technique is dead. In the charge of people who have mastered technique, technique can and should perform miracles. If in our first-class mills and factories, in our State farms and collective farms, in our transport system and in our Red Army we had sufficient cadres capable of harnessing this technique, our country would secure results three times and four times as great as at present. . . .

"It is time to realise that of all the valuable capital the world possesses, the most valuable and most decisive is people, cadres. It must be realised that, under our present conditions, '*cadres decide everything*.' If we have good and numerous cadres in industry, agriculture, transport and the Army, our country will be invincible. If we do not have such cadres, we shall be lame in both legs."

Stalin's speech served as a powerful stimulus to the solution of one of the main problems of Socialist construction—the problem of cadres. Its effect was not only to direct the attention of all the Party and Soviet organisations to the problem of personnel, but to awaken a wide response in the masses and arouse mass labour enthusiasm.

A mighty force—the *Stakhanov movement*—rose from below on the initiative of advanced workers. Originating in the Donetz Basin, in the coal industry, it spread with incredible rapidity throughout the country, to all branches of the national economy. Tens and hundreds of thousands of heroes of labour set the example of how to master technique

and to increase the Socialist productivity of labour in industry, in the transport system and in agriculture.

Comrade Stalin made the whole Party aware of the great significance of this new movement for future development. Speaking in November, 1935, at the First All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites, he said that the Stakhanov movement "is the expression of a new wave of Socialist emulation, a new and higher stage of Socialist emulation. . . . The significance of the Stakhanov movement lies in the fact that it is a movement which is smashing the old technical standards, because they are inadequate, which in a number of cases is surpassing the productivity of labour of the foremost capitalist countries, and is thus creating the practical possibility of further consolidating Socialism in our country, the possibility of converting our country into the most prosperous of all countries."

He then went on to show how this movement was paving the way to Communism, since it contains the seed of a cultural and technical advance of the working class that will lead to the abolition of the distinction between mental and manual labour. And he concluded: "Our revolution is the only one which not only smashed the fetters of capitalism and brought the people freedom, but also succeeded in creating the material conditions of a prosperous life for the people. Therein lies the strength and invincibility of our revolution."

Stalin personally guided the work of the All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites and of other conferences of the foremost workers in industry, transport and agriculture which were held in the Kremlin, discussing the details of technique and production with the Stakhanovite combine-operators, tractor-drivers and record-breakers in collective farm dairies and beet fields.

He also received in the Kremlin, with the members of the Central Committee and the Government, many delegations from the thriving fraternal Socialist republics, thus demonstrating the close and vital friendship of the

peoples of the Soviet Union achieved through the national policy.

"Lenin taught us that only such leaders can be real Bolshevik leaders as know, not only how to teach the workers and peasants, but also how to learn from them," he said at the Conference of Stakhanovites, and he himself is a perfect example of this contact with the masses, which he has maintained from the earliest days of his revolutionary activities.

The Socialist reconstruction of the entire national economy brought about a radical change in the relation of classes in the country, thus making necessary changes in the Constitution which had been adopted in 1924. On the initiative of Comrade Stalin, the Central Committee of the Party therefore put forward various proposals to the Seventh Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R.

A special Constitution Commission, under his chairmanship, drafted a new Constitution, and this draft was submitted to a nation-wide public discussion which continued for five and a half months. There was not a corner of our country where the working people did not study and discuss this unique document, with the result that the draft Constitution was received with acclamation and approbation by the whole Soviet people.

In his report to the Extraordinary Eighth Congress of Soviets Comrade Stalin made a close analysis of the draft, bringing out the tremendous changes which had taken place in our country since the adoption of the Constitution of 1924, and showing how the victory of Socialism had made it possible to extend the democratic principles of the electoral system and to introduce universal and equal suffrage with direct vote and secret ballot.

All the main victories of Socialism are embodied in this new Constitution of the U.S.S.R., which begins by stating that Soviet society consists of two friendly classes—the workers and the peasants. The political foundation of the U.S.S.R. is the Soviets of Working People's Deputies, its

economic foundation the Socialist ownership of the means of production. All citizens of the U.S.S.R. are ensured the right to work, to rest and leisure, to education, to material maintenance in old age or in case of illness or incapacity. The equality of all citizens, irrespective of nationality, race or sex, is an indefeasible law. In the interests of the consolidation of Socialist society, the Constitution guarantees freedom of speech, freedom of the Press, freedom of assembly, including the holding of mass meetings, the right of combination in public organisations, inviolability of the person, inviolability of the home and privacy of correspondence, the right of asylum for foreign citizens who are persecuted for defending the interests of the working people or for scientific activities or for participation in the struggle for national emancipation. These great rights and liberties of the working people, unprecedented in the whole of history, are guaranteed materially and economically by the very system of Socialist economy, which knows no crises, anarchy or unemployment.

At the same time, the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. imposes on all citizens serious obligations: to observe the laws, to maintain labour discipline, to carry out conscientiously their social duties, to respect the rules of Socialist human intercourse, to cherish and safeguard Socialist property, and to defend the Socialist fatherland. Thus, what the best and most progressive minds of humanity had dreamed of for hundreds of years became embodied as an indefeasible law in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.—the Constitution of victorious Socialism and full Socialist democracy.

This Constitution was approved and adopted by the Eighth Congress of Soviets on December 5, 1936, and the peoples of the U.S.S.R. unanimously named it the "Stalin Constitution," in honour of its author. For the working people of the U.S.S.R. it is a summary of struggles and victories; for the working people of all capitalist countries it is a great programme of struggle. It has established the historic fact that the U.S.S.R. has entered a new phase of

development, the phase of the completion of the building of Socialist society and the gradual transition to Communism. It is a moral and political weapon in the hands of the working people of the whole world in their struggle against bourgeois reaction, for it proves that what has been accomplished in the U.S.S.R. can be accomplished in other countries, too.

Stalin's report on the draft Constitution is an invaluable contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism, a work of genius ranking as a great Marxist classic with the *Communist Manifesto*.

The victories of Socialism, however, only further infuriated the enemies of the people and, in 1937, new facts were brought to light incriminating the Trotsky-Bukharin gang, who had entered the espionage services of capitalist states as spies, wreckers and assassins. At their trial in open court, it came out that these dregs of humanity had already conspired against Lenin, the Party and the Soviet state even in the early days of the October Revolution. At the bidding of their imperialist paymasters, they had made it their aim to destroy the Party and the Soviet state, to undermine the defence of the country, to facilitate foreign intervention, to pave the way for the defeat of the Red Army, to dismember the U.S.S.R., make it a colony of imperialism and restore capitalist slavery in the country. Under the leadership of Stalin, the Party and the Soviet authorities wiped out these hornets' nests of the enemies of the people.

In his report to the Plenum of the Central Committee in March, 1937, on "Defects in Party Work," Stalin put forward a clear-cut programme for the strengthening of the Party and Soviet bodies and for increasing political vigilance. He advanced the slogan: "Master Bolshevism," showing the Party the way to combat the enemies of the people effectively, so as to be able to see through all their camouflage and unmask them. As a result of what was brought to light at the trials, the Trotsky-Bukharin gang was sentenced to be shot, a sentence fully endorsed by the whole Soviet

people, who then passed on to the next business—the job of preparing for the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., so as to carry them out in an organised way.

Under the leadership of the Central Committee and of Comrade Stalin, the Party threw all its energies into these preparations. The putting into effect of the new Constitution signified a turn in the political life of the country, its further democratisation, for the new electoral system led to an enhancement of the political activity of the people, to greater control by the masses of the organs of Soviet power, and to an increased reciprocal responsibility on the part of the organs of Soviet power. In order to meet these new tasks, the Party revised its methods of work, further extending inner Party democracy, strengthening the principles of democratic centralism, developing criticism and self-criticism, increasing the responsibility of the Party bodies to the general membership. Stalin's idea of a Communist and non-Party *bloc* became the corner-stone of the election campaign.

On December 11, 1937, the eve of the elections, he addressed the constituents of the electoral area in which he had been nominated. In this speech he brought out the fundamental difference between elections in the U.S.S.R., which are free in the real sense of the word, and elections in the capitalist countries, where pressure is brought to bear on the people by the exploiting classes. In the U.S.S.R. exploiting classes had been eliminated, Socialism had become part of everyday life, and this was the basis on which the elections were taking place. Further, Stalin described what type of political figures the Deputies elected by the people to the Supreme Soviet should be. The people must demand that they should be political figures of the Lenin type, that they should be as clear and definite, as fearless in battle, as immune to panic, as merciless towards the enemies of the people as Lenin was; that they should be wise and deliberate as Lenin was in deciding complex political problems which required a comprehensive orientation and a comprehensive

weighing of all the pros and cons; that they should be as upright and honest as Lenin was; that they should love their people as he did.

The whole country listened to the speech of its great leader, and his words sank deep into the minds of the working people, for it defined for them the principles which should guide the activities of the Deputies of the people, thus arousing great enthusiasm among the people and further cementing the Communist and non-Party *bloc*.

On December 12 the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. were held, and became a nation-wide holiday, a veritable triumph of the people. Of the 94,000,000 voters over 91,000,000, or 96.8 per cent., went to the polls; and of these 90,000,000 voted for the Communist and non-Party *bloc*, thereby confirming the victory of Socialism. This was a resounding victory for the Stalin Communist and non-Party *bloc*, a triumph for the Party of Lenin and Stalin, a triumph for the Leninist-Stalinist leadership of the Party. Thereby the moral and political unity of the Soviet people received a brilliant confirmation, and it was natural that first among the elected of the people, first among the Deputies to the Supreme Soviet, should be Stalin.

In view of the tremendous increase in the activity of the masses and the great problems involved in the further advancement of Socialist construction, the question of the ideological and political training of our forces assumed a new and added significance. In a number of his public speeches, Comrade Stalin strongly stressed the point that our cadres must master Bolshevism, since we now had all the resources and opportunities necessary for training our cadres ideologically and steeling them politically; and that on this depended the solution of nine-tenths of all the problems encountered in our practical work. A commission was therefore appointed by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.[B.], which, working under the guidance of Comrade Stalin and with his most active participation, produced the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [Bolsheviks]*.

The publication of this book was a major event in the ideological life of the Bolshevik Party. In it, the Party received a new ideological weapon, a veritable encyclopædia of the fundamental knowledge embodied in Marxism-Leninism. With the lucidity and profundity characteristic of Stalin's style, this book provides an exposition and generalisation of the vast historical experience of the Communist Party—an experience the equal of which no other party in the world can claim. The *History of the C.P.S.U.[B.]* shows the further development of Marxism under the new conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat, the Marxism of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, the Marxism of the era of the victory of Socialism in one-sixth of the world. Millions of copies of this book were sold within a short period of time, and, indeed, as Comrade Zhdanov stated at the Eighteenth Party Congress: "It may quite definitely be said that this is the first Marxist book in all the existence of Marxism to have been disseminated so widely."

The chapter on "Dialectical and Historical Materialism," written by Comrade Stalin for the *History* is a masterly exposition, clear and concise in form, of the principles of dialectical and historical materialism. In this work Stalin generalises all that has been contributed by Marx, Engels and Lenin to the teachings of dialectics and further develops the teachings of dialectical and historical materialism on the basis of the latest facts of science and revolutionary practice. He shows how dialectical materialism is the theoretical foundation of Communism, the world outlook of the Marxist-Leninist Party, and how it must be the ideological weapon of the whole working-class movement in its struggle for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of Communism. Moreover, the book very clearly brings out the internal connection between the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism and the practical revolutionary activities of the Bolshevik Party, for, in order to avoid mistakes in policy, we must be guided by the principles

of the Marxist dialectical method and understand the laws of historical development.

In March, 1939, Stalin guided the labours of the Eighteenth Congress of the Party, which was a magnificent demonstration of the solidarity of the Party, monolithic and united as never before around the Leninist-Stalinist Central Committee.

In his report on behalf of the Central Committee, he analysed the international position of the Soviet Union and exposed the plans of the instigators of war and intervention against the U.S.S.R. as these had developed in the five years that had passed since the Seventeenth Congress of the Party. For the capitalist countries this had been a period of great upheavals, both in the economic and the political spheres. After the economic crisis of 1929-32 and the depression of a special kind, a new economic crisis broke out in the third quarter of 1937, involving the U.S.A., England, France and a number of other capitalist countries. The international situation had grown tense to the extreme, for the post-War system of peace treaties had suffered shipwreck and a new, the second, imperialist war had begun. With his usual penetration, Stalin exposed the machinations of the warmongers, defining very clearly the lines of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. He said:

"The tasks of the Party in the sphere of foreign policy are:

"1. To continue the policy of peace and of strengthening business relations with all countries.

"2. To be cautious and not allow our country to be drawn into conflicts by warmongers who are accustomed to have others pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them.

"3. To strengthen the might of our Red Army and Red Navy to the utmost.

"4. To strengthen the international bonds of friendship with the working people of all countries who are interested in peace and friendship among nations."

After appraising the achievements of Socialism, the growth of Socialist economy, the rise in the material and cultural

standards of the people, and the further consolidation of the Soviet system, Comrade Stalin put before the Party and the whole Soviet people a great new task: to overtake and outstrip in the next ten or fifteen years the principal capitalist countries economically, i.e. in the output of commodities per head of population.

"We have outstripped the principal capitalist countries," he said, "as regards technique of production and rate of industrial development. That is very good, but it is not enough. We must outstrip them economically as well. We can do it, and we must do it. Only if we outstrip the principal capitalist countries economically can we reckon upon our country being fully saturated with consumers' goods, on having an abundance of products, and on being able to make the transition from the first phase of Communism to its second phase."

In this report, Stalin also outlined a completely scientific and Bolshevik programme of work for the training, selection, promotion of, and a check on, personnel, laying particular emphasis on this task as one of the most important for the Party to undertake. Reviewing what had already been accomplished in the interval between the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Congresses, Stalin said:

"The chief conclusion to be drawn is that the working class of our country, having abolished the exploitation of man by man and firmly established the Socialist system, has proved to the world the truth of its cause. That is the chief conclusion, for it strengthens our faith in the power of the working class and in the inevitability of its ultimate victory."

This report is indeed an important programmatic document of Communism, a new step forward in the development of Marxist-Leninist theory, for in it Stalin carried Lenin's theory of the Socialist revolution a stage further. From the doctrine of the possibility of building Socialism in one country he advanced to the *doctrine of the possibility of building Communism in our country, even though it should continue to be surrounded by capitalist states*, a conclusion equal in

significance to Lenin's discovery of the possibility of the victory of Socialism in one country. Not only does it enrich Leninism, but it also arms the working class with a new ideological weapon, opens to the Party the great prospect of struggle for the victory of Communism, and thus advances Marxist-Leninist theory a stage further.

Lenin wrote his famous work, *The State and Revolution*, in August, 1917, i.e. a few months before the October Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet State. In it he defended Marx's and Engels' theory of the State from the distortions and vulgarisations of the opportunists, and it was his intention to add a second part, in which he would sum up the experience of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917. His death, however, prevented him from achieving his intention.

Comrade Stalin, drawing on the vast experience accumulated during the more than twenty years' existence of the Soviet Socialist state in a capitalist encirclement, developed an *integral and complete theory of the Socialist state*. He made a thorough analysis of the stages of its development and the changes brought about in its functions by changes in the situation; he generalised the whole sum of the experience accumulated in the development of the Soviet state, and arrived at the conclusion that the state must be preserved under Communism if the capitalist encirclement persists.

What Lenin was prevented from doing in developing the theory of the State and the dictatorship of the working class was accomplished by Stalin, who in his report to the Eighteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.[B.] provides a programme for completing the building of classless Socialist society and for a gradual transition from Socialism to Communism. The Congress unanimously endorsed the report of the Party leader as a directive, as a law for all subsequent Party activity.

Furthermore, in the sphere of international relations, this report is a brilliant example of Marxist-Leninist foresight. Stalin's wise summing up of the aims of our foreign policy,

and his art of leadership, secured our foreign policy great victories. It enhanced the standing of the Soviet Union as an international force, able to affect the international situation and modify it in the interests of the working people. Guided by Stalin's directions, the Government of the Soviet Union frustrated the perfidious schemes of the instigators of war, who want other people to pull their chestnuts out of the fire for them, and safeguarded the peaceful labour of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. By signing mutual assistance pacts with the Baltic States, the Soviet Union has immeasurably strengthened the defences of the land of Socialism and its international position.

Under the leadership of Stalin, the Soviet Union delivered from the yoke of the Polish landlords and capitalists our kindred peoples in Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia, enabling them to join the single family of the free and happy peoples of the U.S.S.R.

One cannot speak of Comrade Stalin without mentioning his influence on the international working-class movement, for it is under his and Lenin's guidance that the Communist International has grown and developed. Just as the history of the First International is inseparably associated with the names of Marx and Engels, so will the history of the Third Communist International remain for ever linked with the names of Lenin and Stalin, who laid its foundations and led it in the first period of the turbulent post-War years.

In Stalin, the workers in the capitalist countries see their leader, wisely steering the great ship of Socialism in the interests of the workers of the whole world and of their emancipation. In Stalin, millions of workers recognise a teacher, from whose writings they can learn how to fight successfully against the class enemy, how to prepare the conditions for the ultimate victory of the proletariat, for Stalin's influence is the influence of the great and glorious Bolshevik Party, which workers in the capitalist countries accept as a model to be followed. Not only has capitalism been overthrown and the dictatorship of the proletariat

been established in its place under the leadership of this Party, but it is under its leadership also that Socialism has been built in the U.S.S.R., and whatever the reactionaries may do they will never succeed in detaching the workers from their allegiance.

The workers of all countries know that every word pronounced by Stalin is the word of a nation 183 million strong, that every word of his is followed by action, and that the sum total of these actions is changing the relation of forces between the world of labour and the world of capital throughout the world. Stalin's influence is enhanced by the fact that the justice of the aims set by him is confirmed in the eyes of the labouring masses of the whole world by the historic experience of the victorious Socialist revolution.

The life and career of Stalin are inseparable from the career of Lenin and the history of the heroic Bolshevik Party. His iron will and revolutionary energy were conspicuously displayed in the grim years when the revolutionary movement was driven underground, in the struggle for the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in the Civil War, in the struggle against the enemies of the people and in the fight for the building and consolidation of Socialist society. He is the Party's most brilliant leader and teacher, the great strategist of the Socialist revolution. All his work is characterised by an implacable hostility to the enemies of Socialism and a profound fidelity to principle, and in whatever he undertakes he combines a clear revolutionary perspective with clarity of aim and great firmness and persistence in its achievement. It is a mark of his wise and practical leadership that in all he does he maintains the closest possible contact with the people, for no other man in the world has had to lead such vast masses of workers and peasants as he has. One of his greatest gifts has always been his ability to generalise the revolutionary experience of the masses, to take up and develop their initiative, learning from them even while he is teaching them and leading them

forward to victory. Indeed, his whole career is an example of great theoretical powers combined with a vast and versatile practical experience of revolutionary struggle.

Together with his immediate associates—Molotov, Voroshilov, Kaganovich, Kalinin, Mikoyan, Andreyev, Zhdanov, Khrushchov, Beria, Shvernik and other tried Leninists—and at the head of the great Bolshevik Party, Stalin is leading a multi-national Socialist state of workers and peasants such as has never been known in history. His advice in every field of Socialist construction is a guide to action, for his work is extraordinary in its variety and his energy is truly amazing. The questions with which he finds time to occupy himself range from complex problems of Marxist-Leninist theory to text books for school children; from problems of foreign policy to everyday matters concerning the improvement of municipal services in the workers' capital; from the development of the great northern sea route to the reclamation of the Colchij Marshes; from problems of how best to develop Soviet literature and art to those of editing the Rules for Collective Farms.

Everybody knows the force of Stalin's logic, the clarity of his mind, his iron will, his devotion to the Party, his fervid faith in and love for the people. Everybody knows his unassuming modesty, his consideration for individuals and his mercilessness in dealing with the enemies of the people. Everybody knows his intolerance of ostentation, of phrasemongers and windbags, whiners and alarmists. In solving complex political questions, where a thorough weighing of pros and cons is essential, he is wise and deliberate, but at the same time he is a supreme master of bold revolutionary decisions and sharp turns of policy. Indeed, Stalin is the Lenin of to-day.

In his reply to greetings received from public bodies and individual comrades on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday in 1929, he wrote: "I set down your congratulations and greetings as addressed to the great Party of the working class, which begot and reared me in its own image. . . . You

need have no doubt, comrades, that I am prepared in the future, too, to devote to the cause of the working class, to the cause of the proletarian revolution and world Communism, all my strength, all my faculties, and, if need be, all my blood, to the very last drop."

In Stalin the peoples of the U.S.S.R. see the incarnation of their own heroism, their love of their country, their patriotism. "For Stalin! For our country!" was the slogan of the glorious Red Army men who routed the enemy and planted the Soviet flag on the hills around Lake Hassan.

In him the peoples of the Soviet Union see the embodiment of their hopes and aspirations, the embodiment of the victories they have won. "For Stalin! For the Stalin Constitution!" was the battle-cry of the heroes of the Red Army in combat with the trespassers on the Far Eastern frontier. His name is the emblem of liberation, the watchword with which the men of the Red Army marched to deliver their fellow Byelo-Russians and Ukrainians from the yoke of the Polish landlords. It is a symbol of the courage and the greatness of the Soviet people, as well as a call to new deeds of valour. With the name of Stalin in their hearts Papanin and his comrades accomplished their historic feat in the Arctic, and with the same thought the men and women Stakhanovites are breaking world records of labour productivity, and hastening our country's advance to the glittering summits of Communism. With the thought of Stalin, the men and women collective farmers are working tirelessly for the right to be represented at the All-Union Agricultural Exhibition, laying the foundations for a complete abundance of products, such as must distinguish Communist society. With the name of Stalin in their hearts, our heroic airmen, affectionately called "Stalin's falcons" by our people, are flying ever higher, faster and farther.

His name is cherished by the boys and girls of our Socialist land, our Young Pioneers. Their dearest ambition is to be like Lenin, like Stalin, to be political figures of their stature. At the call of the Party and of Stalin the younger generation

of the Soviet Union have built giant industrial plants, have reared cities in the *taiga*, have built and are building wonderful ships, are conquering the Arctic, mastering modern technique in industry and agriculture, strengthening the defences of our country, performing creative work in science and the arts. Fostered by Lenin and Stalin, the Young Communist League is the true auxiliary of the Bolshevik Party, a reliable reserve to take the place of the old generation of fighters for Communism.

The peoples of the Soviet Union sing songs of Stalin in many languages, songs that express the boundless devotion of the peoples of the Soviet Union to their great leader, teacher and friend, and in the art of the people Stalin's name is always linked with Lenin's. As a contemporary Russian folk-tale says: "We go with Stalin as with Lenin; we talk to Stalin as to Lenin. He knows all our innermost thoughts; all his life he has cared for us." Or as Molotov has said: "The names of Lenin and Stalin inspire bright hopes in every corner of the world and resound like a call to fight for peace and the happiness of the nations, to fight for complete emancipation from capitalism."

Socialism has triumphed in the U.S.S.R. and is gaining new victories because we are guided in our work and struggle by the greatest man of to-day, Lenin's true successor—Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin. And the unanimous and heartfelt wish of the working people of our country and the whole world is:

Long life and health to our great comrade Stalin!

Long live the great and invincible banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

