

V. I. LENIN

SELECTED WORKS

TWO-VOLUME EDITION

V. I. LENIN
SELECTED WORKS

IN TWO VOLUMES



LENIN

SELECTED WORKS

VOLUME I

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The English translation of the TWO-VOLUME EDITION OF SELECTED WORKS of Lenin follows in every respect the latest Russian edition published by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Moscow, the only difference being that "What Is To Be Done?" and "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," are given in the abridged form published by the author in 1908.

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PREFACE

In the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin the Soviet people have a powerful weapon in their struggle for the honour, freedom and independence of their Socialist country and in their struggle to build a Communist society.

The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course, served as a mighty impetus in the ideological and political life of the Party and the Soviet people. It placed the study of the foundation of Marxism-Leninism and the mastery of Bolshevism on a new and higher footing. It is stimulating the broad masses, in particular the Soviet intellectuals, to independent and deeper study of the great works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The interest in the writings of the founders of Marxism-Leninism has grown tremendously since the appearance of this history.

The Great Patriotic War of the Soviet people which culminated in victory over Germany and Japan was a new and splendid confirmation of the invincible might of the Soviet system and the profound historical justness of its advanced and progressive ideology. Lenin's writings arm our people with a knowledge of the laws of social development and teach them to understand the complex phenomena in the life of society. The revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism "gives practical workers the power of orientation, clarity of perspective, confidence in their work, faith in the victory of our cause" (*Stalin*).

The two-volume edition of Lenin's selected works includes the following important writings: "What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats," "The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats," "What Is To Be Done?" "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution," "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," "The United States of Europe Slogan," "The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution," "The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution" (the April Theses), "The Impending Catastrophe and How To Combat It," "The State and Revolution," "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," "Left-wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder," "The Tax in Kind,"

"On Co-operation,"* and others. Each of these works constitutes a landmark in the history of the Party of Lenin and Stalin and in the development of the Marxist-Leninist theory. In addition, the present two-volume edition includes Lenin's most important articles on the defence of the Socialist fatherland, of tremendous importance in the mobilization and organization of the Soviet people.

In his book "What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats" (1894), Lenin thoroughly exposed the true character of the Narodniks, showing that they were false "friends of the people" and actually working against the people. He showed that it was the Marxists and not the Narodniks who were the real friends of the people, and who sincerely wanted to destroy tsarism and rid the people of oppression of all kind. For the first time Lenin advanced the idea of a revolutionary alliance of the workers and the peasants as the principal means of overthrowing tsardom, the landlords and the bourgeoisie, and outlined the main tasks of the Russian Marxists. In this work he pointed out that it would be the working class of Russia in alliance with the peasantry that would overthrow tsarism, after which the Russian proletariat in alliance with the labouring masses would achieve a free life in which there would be no room for the exploitation of man by man.

In "What Is To Be Done?" (1902) Lenin outlined a concrete organizational plan for the structure of a Marxist Party of the working class. He completely demolished the theory of "Economism," exposed the ideology of opportunism, and the practice of lagging behind events and allowing them to take their own course. He stressed the importance of theory, of political consciousness, and of the Party as the guiding force of the working-class movement. He substantiated the thesis that a Marxist Party is a union of the working-class movement with Socialism and gave a brilliant exposition of the ideological foundations of a Marxist Party.

In his famous book "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back" (1904), Lenin successfully upheld the Party principle against the circle principle, and the Party against the Menshevik disorganizers, smashed the opportunism of the Mensheviks on questions of organization and laid the organizational foundations of the Bolshevik Party—the militant revolutionary Party of the new type. In this book Lenin, "for the first time in the history of Marxism, elaborated the *doctrine of the Party* as the leading *organization* of the proletariat, as the principal *weapon* of the proletariat, without which the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be won." (*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [Bolsheviks]*, page 51.) "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back" makes clear the importance of organization and discipline.

* Lenin's books *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* and *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* have been published as separate works.

In his historic book, "Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution" (1905) Lenin gave a withering criticism of the petty-bourgeois tactical line of the Mensheviks and brilliantly substantiated the Bolshevik tactics in the bourgeois-democratic revolution and in the period of transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the Socialist revolution. The fundamental tactical principle of this book is the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the idea that the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois revolution, the proletariat being *in alliance* with the peasantry, would grow into the hegemony of the proletariat in the Socialist revolution, the proletariat being *in alliance* with the other labouring and exploited masses.

"This was a new line in the question of the relation between the bourgeois revolution and the Socialist revolution, a new theory of the regrouping of forces around the proletariat, towards the end of the bourgeois revolution, for a direct transition to the Socialist revolution—the theory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution *passing into* the Socialist revolution." (*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [Bolsheviks]*, p. 75.)

This book already contains the fundamental elements of Lenin's theory that it is possible for Socialism to be victorious in one country, taken singly. Its invaluable significance is that it enriched Marxism with a new theory of revolution and laid the foundation for the revolutionary tactics of the Bolshevik Party with the help of which the proletariat of our country achieved its victory over capitalism in 1917.

In his work "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" (1916) Lenin makes a Marxist analysis of imperialism, showing that it is the highest and last stage of capitalism, that it is decaying and moribund capitalism, and at the same time the eve of the Socialist revolution. On the basis of data on imperialist capitalism, Lenin set forth a new theory according to which the simultaneous victory of Socialism in all countries is impossible, whereas the victory of Socialism in one capitalist country, taken singly, is possible. Lenin formulates this brilliant deduction in his article "The United States of Europe Slogan" (1915) and in his "The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution" (1916).

"This was a *new* and complete theory of the Socialist revolution, a theory affirming the possibility of the victory of Socialism in separate countries, and indicating the conditions of this victory and its prospects...." (*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [Bolsheviks]*, p. 169.)

Lenin's April Theses laid down for the Bolshevik Party a brilliant plan of struggle for the transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the Socialist revolution.

In his work "The Impending Catastrophe and How To Combat It" (1917) Lenin warned the working people of Russia of the danger of German imperialism enslaving our country if the people did not take power into their own hands and save the country from ruin. Lenin showed that

"it is impossible in Russia to advance without advancing towards Socialism," that an implacable war had placed before our country with ruthless acuteness the question of "either perish, or overtake and outstrip the advanced countries *economically as well.*" The salvation of our country from destruction, the strengthening of its defence capacity and the building of Socialism are all closely and indissolubly interconnected, wrote Lenin. Socialism would transform Russia economically and create a material base for the mass heroism of the people, without which it would be impossible to make our country capable of defending itself.

In his book "The State and Revolution" (1917) Lenin laid bare the bourgeois essence of the views of the opportunists (Kautsky and others) and the anarchists on the question of the state and the revolution. In this work Lenin expounds and develops the Marxist theory on the state, the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, on Socialism and Communism. Basing himself on a study of the experience of the two revolutions in Russia, Lenin set forth the theory of a Republic of Soviets as the political form of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In his work "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government" (1918) Lenin dealt with the main problems of Socialist construction, accounting and control in public economy, the establishment of new, Socialist relations of production, the tightening of labour discipline, the development of Socialist competition, the reinforcement and development of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, and the development of proletarian democracy.

In his works written during the period of foreign military intervention and the Civil War, Lenin gave classical formulations of the tasks of the people, of the front and rear, in conditions of war.

Lenin demanded of the Soviet men and women in time of war heroism, courage, valour, fearlessness in battle and readiness to fight together with the people against the enemies of our country. It is the task of the rear, he wrote, to convert the country into a united military camp and to work in revolutionary fashion, smoothly and efficiently, under the slogan of "All for the Front." "Since the war has proved unavoidable, everything for the war, and the slightest laxity or lack of energy must be punished in conformity with wartime laws." Lenin demanded of the front relentlessness towards the enemy and the consolidation of all victories that had been won for the complete smashing of the enemy. "The men, commanders and political instructors of the Red Army," says Comrade Stalin, "must firmly bear in mind the behests of our teacher Lenin: 'The first thing is not to be carried away by victory, not to grow conceited; the second thing is to consolidate the victory; the third thing is to crush the opponent.'"

In his works Lenin has given us a profound analysis of the factors making for the invincibility of the Soviet people and the vitality and

indestructibility of the Soviet state. "No one will ever conquer a people whose workers and peasants have in their majority realized, felt and seen that they are defending their own Soviet government, the government of the toilers, that they are defending a cause whose victory will ensure them and their children the opportunity to take advantage of all the blessings of culture, all the creations of man's labour."

In his article "On Co-operation" and in subsequent articles Lenin reviewed the work of the Party and the Soviet government and outlined a plan for the building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. by means of industrializing the country and drawing the peasants into Socialist construction through co-operatives.

The works of Lenin in this two-volume edition of his selected works show the main stages in the historic development of Bolshevism, show Marxism-Leninism in action.

Seven articles by Stalin serve as an introduction to Lenin's writings. In them Stalin gives an unusually powerful and vivid picture of Lenin as one of the greatest geniuses of mankind, the leader of the Bolshevik Party and the working class, a fearless revolutionary, organizer of the Great October Socialist Revolution, builder of the first Socialist state in the world and of the new, Socialist society. Lenin is "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." (*Stalin.*)

Stalin describes Lenin as the great patriot of our country, a brilliant strategist and organizer of the defence of the Socialist fatherland against foreign invaders.

All the works included in these two volumes are given in full with the exception of "What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats," of which only the first part is given.

In the main the material in these volumes is arranged in chronological order, the exception being the first group of articles, which deal with Marx and Marxism. The contents have been divided into historical periods, as given in *The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)*. The first volume contains Lenin's writings in the period 1894 to March 1917, while the second volume—as from April 1917 to March 1923.

The second and third editions of Lenin's *Collected Works* have been used throughout as the sources of the material printed here except for "What the 'Friends of the People' Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats" and the "The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats," taken from the fourth edition, the articles written in 1917, taken from the three-volume edition of *Lenin, Collected Works of 1917*, the "Letter to the Tula Comrades," from the *Lenin Miscellany*, Vol. XXXIV; the appeal "The Socialist Fatherland Is in Danger!" from the book: *V. I. Lenin, From the Civil War Period*, the telegram "To All Provincial and Uyezd Soviet

Deputies," from the text published in *Pravda*, No. 54, February 1942, the appeal "Beware of Spies!" from the text published in *Pravda* No. 116, May 31, 1919; the letter of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) "All Out for the Fight against Deniki" from the separate pamphlet published in 1933.

In addition to the date of writing and publication, the articles in this collection are accompanied by brief explanatory notes. Lenin's notes are given without comment. Notes by the editors of this two-volume edition are signed "Ed." The dates in the text and in Lenin's notes conform with the style of calendar used by Lenin.

Lenin's *Two-Volume Edition of Selected Works* is an indispensable reference book for everyone who is studying *The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)* and the foundations of Marxism-Leninism.

MARX-ENGELS-LENIN INSTITUTE