

M. K A L I N I N

STALIN:  
SIXTY  
YEARS

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J. STALIN

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FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE

*“You may 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.”*

*J. Stalin*



**T**HIS month, sixty years ago, Comrade Stalin was born. The peoples of the Soviet Union extend their heartfelt greetings to their great leader. The eyes of the embattled proletariat in the capitalist countries, of the oppressed people all over the world turn in exultant pride to the man in whom their dearest hopes and aspirations are centred.

On this auspicious occasion I should like to dwell on a few outstanding features of Comrade Stalin's political life.

## I

To be at all accurate, the picture of a man's social and political activities must be given in conjunction with the social factors at work at the time, and with the conditions in which those activities took place.

Comrade Stalin entered the political arena at an early age. He was still a pupil at the ecclesiastical school in Gori when he conceived a thorough detestation for the tsarist autocratic regime. On leaving the Gori ecclesiastical school in 1894, he was sent, as the best pupil of the year, to the Tiflis Theological Seminary (Orthodox Church). There, at the age of fifteen, he joined the revolutionary movement. He took part in the students' Social-Democratic circles—not casually and passively, but as an initiator, an organizer and a leader,

having formed connections with secret groups of Russian Marxists then living in exile in Transcaucasia. These groups exerted a profound influence on him and inspired him with a taste for illegal Marxist literature.

In 1897, Comrade Stalin, in the capacity of a representative of the illegal study circles in the seminary, established contact with the secret Social-Democratic organization in Tiflis, and in 1898 he officially joined the Tiflis organization of the Russian-Social-Democratic Labour Party. With that his illegal work assumed wider scope: he carried on propaganda for Marxist ideas in workers' circles in the railway and factory districts.

The seminary authorities, realizing that here was a man with already fully-formed views, whom there could be no hope of restoring to the path of loyalty to the tsarist government, expelled Comrade Stalin from the seminary.

This was his first serious clash with the social and political realities of the day. But expulsion from the seminary did not leave him at a loss. While still in the seminary he had chosen his path in life. It was the path of the revolutionary struggle, the struggle under the banner of Marxism, for which the soil was already ripe in Georgia.

Although Georgia was not officially regarded as a conquest of Russian arms, but as a country that had voluntarily entered the Russian Empire, she was ruled by tsarist governors with the help of an administrative machine consisting solely of Russians. Naturally, they did nothing to protect the national interests of Georgia; what is more, they did not even understand them. Their actions drove even the Georgian aristocracy, who were oblivious to Georgia's interests and were faithful servitors of the tsarist autocracy, into the opposition camp. Consequently, every revolutionary and oppositional movement found a ready response among the masses of the Georgian people.

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, the first gusts of revolution swept through Russia. Discontent with the existing order of things began to find expression in revolutionary action on the part of the workers: strikes became

more frequent; the first political demonstrations were held, and in many places the forbidden holiday of May Day was celebrated. Influenced by the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, unrest broke out among the students. The ferment in the countryside grew more intense. The peasants revolted more and more frequently against the landlords and often would burn down their manors.

The more active workers formed illegal circles under the banner of Social-Democracy. There was a general, if perhaps not always conscious striving to create a single revolutionary organization, and a keenly felt need for a secret centre. The League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, founded by Lenin, was carrying on fairly widespread activities in St. Petersburg.

A similar process was to be observed in Georgia. The sentiment of the workers, especially in Tiflis, was revolutionary. Illegal propaganda circles were formed, meetings of as many as a hundred and more people were held in the mountains, proclamations were distributed and strikes organized. The turn of the century was marked by big strikes in the Bozarjantz and the Adelkhanov factories, in the street car services, in the printing plants, the railway shops, and other plants.

The rural districts were also in a state of unrest. The hard lot of the peasants, their poverty and land hunger, which forced them to seek outside sources of livelihood, aroused their opposition to the existing government and social system and drove them to revolutionary action. The ties that many workers had with the rural districts undoubtedly contributed to the spread of revolutionary ideas among the peasants.

All this created a fruitful field for revolutionary work both among the workers and among the peasants, which explains why Marxist ideas began to spread at a comparatively early date in Georgia. "The peculiar conditions of social and political life in the Caucasus," Lenin said, "favoured the formation there of the most militant organizations of our party." I personally retain the impression that even the outward revolutionary manifestations of the working class and peasantry were always more striking in Georgia than in other parts of Russia.



In 1893, the first Marxist Social-Democratic organization arose in Georgia, known as the Messameh Dassy. Its political trend was of a heterogeneous character. It suffered from a fundamental defect common to the revolutionary movement in many parts of Russia at that period. The members of the Messameh Dassy stressed only the progressive role of capitalism and failed to observe its objectionable sides; they distorted the Marxian doctrine of the class struggle, and confined their revolutionary ambitions to partial achievements, to local victories, to the narrow nationalist interests of the bourgeoisie. They were not out to create a party that would serve as the fighting organization of the proletariat. They did not educate and prepare the workers for revolutionary action; nor did they train them in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The active revolutionaries among the workers recognized the need for a party; but even their conception of it was very limited. Everything was based on the sway of ideas. Revolutionary spirit, courage, daring and devotion in the practical struggle were somehow combined with very limited notions of organization. While recognizing the need for a party, they had only a vague idea of what its central body should be. They did not conceive it as a body endowed with *supreme powers*, whose function it should be to direct the entire work of the party and every form and manifestation of the struggle of the working class. If in those days they thought about a central body at all, it was more as an auxiliary organ for the purposes of mutual contact and information, for arranging the technical side of conspiratorial organization (rendezvous, passports, codes, etc.), for compiling and distributing illegal literature, for assigning propagandists, and so on. But people with such an idea of what the central body should be were "labour politicians" rather than militant members of the revolutionary party of the proletariat. From that to rank opportunism was no far cry.

But no sooner had Comrade Stalin entered the working class movement in Georgia, no sooner had he joined the Messameh Dassy group, than a new note of principle began to govern the work of the Social-Democrats, and a conscious purpose to inspire their revolutionary activities.

In 1898, Comrade Stalin organized a revolutionary Marxist minority within the Messameh Dassy. It was the only group in Georgia that set out to direct the revolutionary movement of the workers into the channels of the general country-wide political struggle against the autocracy.

Comrade Stalin resolutely fought and smashed the resistance of the opportunist majority and got the Tiflis Social-Democratic organization to adopt the method of mass political agitation, the method of open struggle against the tsarist autocracy. He formed a Central Social-Democratic Group of the Tiflis organization to act as its guiding centre. This group worked hard to build up an illegal Social-Democratic organization in Transcaucasia. Comrade Stalin was keenly alive to the importance of a centralized revolutionary party of the proletariat; he looked upon the revolutionary movement in Georgia as part of the general Russian movement. He became a revolutionary proletarian leader in the fullest sense of the word.

Historians will find it no easy task to write the life of Comrade Stalin, in spite of all its simplicity—or, rather, just because of its simplicity.

Comrade Stalin came to the fore as a leader from the very outset, although he himself has said, in the speech to the railway shop workers of Tiflis, that he looks upon this period of his activities as an apprenticeship. The fact is that he not only learnt from the masses—which is one of the essential earmarks of a proletarian leader—but also led the masses.

Comrade Stalin began his activities in the secret, underground movement. This was no mere chance. It is one of the things that radically distinguished the real Marxists from the legal and semi-legal variety.

It must be said that even in his very earliest public utterances (before restricted, secret or semi-secret groups, of course) Comrade Stalin gave quite a precise definition of the revolutionary Marxist policy, as opposed to the opportunist policy of the Messameh Dassy.

He laid the foundation stone of the revolutionary Social-Democratic movement in Transcaucasia, taking the first step towards

linking up scientific Socialism with the working class movement.

The years 1900 and 1901 were marked by further strides in the revolutionary movement all over Russia. A fighting spirit was to be discerned in society. Gorky's "Stormy Petrel" gave concentrated expression, as it were, to the determination to fight the autocracy and the autocratic regime.

In December 1900 the first issue of Lenin's *Iskra* appeared abroad.

With its appearance, the aims of the working class undoubtedly became clearer to the revolutionaries, chiefly, of course, to those who already shared those aims. At the same time the opportunism of many of the leaders of the local party organizations, especially of the Economists, became more apparent.

The Tiflis Central Group, led by Comrade Stalin, ranged itself unhesitatingly beneath the banner of Lenin's *Iskra*, and began to work actively along its lines.

For Comrade Stalin, it seems to me, the articles in the *Iskra* were not so much a revelation as an authoritative confirmation of the views he had already formed himself on the revolutionary movement.

Comrade Stalin was keenly alive to the importance of an illegal newspaper in the building of the party, in mustering the forces of the working class, and in the propaganda of the ideas of revolutionary Marxism. The newspaper *Brdzola*, founded on his initiative in 1901 (and printed for conspiratorial reasons in Baku), was an invaluable instrument in the struggle against the Georgian opportunists. It upheld the theoretical principles of revolutionary Marxism and the aims of the class struggle of the proletariat in the spirit of Lenin's *Iskra*. This can be seen from the questions of principle discussed in its columns, questions that were agitating the minds of the foremost men in the Social-Democratic labour movement all over Russia. These questions chiefly concerned the character of the coming revolution, the part the working class had to play in that revolution, and the strategy and tactics of the working class party.

Developing Lenin's idea of the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, *Brdzola* wrote: "One glance at the social life of Russia, at the mutual relations of its various classes, is enough to convince us that the major force in Russia is the combined force of the revolutionary proletariat. The bourgeoisie, backed by its capacious money chests, feels quite at home beneath the sceptre of the autocracy. The proletariat is the stalwart force that is to shatter the autocracy."\*

*Brdzola* educated the workers of Transcaucasia in the spirit of proletarian internationalism; it insisted that the principles underlying the working class movement were the same all over Russia. "The Georgian Social-Democratic movement," it wrote, "is not an isolated, purely Georgian working class movement with its own program. It marches shoulder to shoulder with the whole Russian movement, and, consequently, subordinates itself to the Russian Social-Democratic Party."

*Brdzola* played an important part in fortifying the Tiflis Social-Democrats in the realm of ideology and organization. The first conference of the Tiflis Social-Democratic organization was held in November 1901, at which nearly all the Social-Democratic circles were represented. The conference elected a Tiflis Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., which supported Lenin's *Iskra*. This was a cardinal achievement for the revolutionary Social-Democratic movement in Georgia, and it was largely due to Comrade Stalin's efforts.

Secret revolutionary work has its own peculiarities. The secret political worker has to remain in concealment. He rarely has the opportunity to state his views openly, especially in the legally-sanctioned press. It is therefore only natural if we still have a far from

\* It should be mentioned that the fullest statement of the facts relating to the activities of Comrade Stalin in Transcaucasia and of the principles raised by the history of the Bolshevik organizations there is to be found in L. Beria's book *On the History of the Bolshevik Organizations in Transcaucasia*.

The quotations I give from the newspapers *Brdzola*, *Proletariatis Brdzola*, *Kavkazsky Rabochy Listok*, *Bakinsky Proletary*, *Dro*, *Alkali Tskhovreba* and *Tiflisky Proletary*, from the proclamations of the Tiflis Committee of the Caucasian Federation of the R.S.D.L.P. and, lastly, from Comrade Stalin's writings, "Two Conflicts," "A Glance at the Disagreements in the Party," and "Reply to a Social-Democrat," are taken from Beria.—M.K.



complete picture of these early years of Comrade Stalin's secret activities. But the few facts we do know are highly eloquent.

Here is one of them. The Messameh Dassy used to conduct Sunday schools for workers in which the rudiments of general knowledge were taught. One day, we are told, Comrade Stalin visited one of these schools and addressed two or three of the groups on the class struggle of the proletariat. Afterwards he asked one of the workers: "What do they teach in your Sunday school?" When he was told that they were taught about the movements of the sun, he smiled and said: "Listen, friend, don't you worry about the sun; it will not stray from its orbit. What you had better learn is how the revolutionary cause should move, and help me to arrange a little illegal printing plant."

In this thumb-nail sketch we get a vivid picture of a genuine leader of the proletarian masses.

Let us now review this earlier period of Comrade Stalin's career: his expulsion from the Tiflis Theological Seminary on the grounds of political unreliability; his first introduction to secret revolutionary work; his practical efforts to convert the secret workers' circles into political centres of the revolutionary class struggle; his leadership of strikes; his revolutionary leaflets; his part in the formation of the Central Social-Democratic Group of the Tiflis organization and in the founding of the illegal newspaper, *Brdzola*, etc. Even these few, but authentic facts show that from the very outset Comrade Stalin's revolutionary activities followed the same path as Lenin's. His revolutionary work in Tiflis fully accorded with the political line pursued by the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class under Lenin's leadership.

## II

TOWARDS the end of November 1901, the Tiflis Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. sent Comrade Stalin to Batum on illegal work. Batum was an important centre of the oil-refining industry. The workers, especially the Ajarians, were mercilessly exploited. The general advance of the revolutionary movement in Russia had spread to Batum.

"In 1893," Osman Gurgenzidze relates, "I began to work at the Rothschild refinery in Batum. . . ."

"No effective revolutionary work was carried on among the men in the refinery before Comrade Stalin came to Batum.

"Only in 1901 did we men in the plant begin to feel that a firm organizing hand was at work, skilfully directing the workers and co-ordinating their actions.

"It was the hand of Comrade Stalin, who on his arrival in Batum at once set to work energetically to organize the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

"He soon formed a number of Social-Democratic circles, recruiting their members from among the more advanced workers in the Mantashev and Sideridis refineries. A number of workers also joined from our plant. Comrade Stalin always insisted on the necessity of recruiting the members of the circles from among all the nationalities, stressing the importance of educating the workers in the spirit of internationalism."

On December 31, 1901, at a meeting of representatives of the circles, Comrade Stalin formed the Batum Social-Democratic organization.

"On New Year's eve," Comrade Kuridze relates, "Comrade Stalin called together all the monitors of the circles and suggested arranging a New Year's party. They eagerly applauded the idea.

"We met in the house of Silibistro Lomjaria.

"Stalin's jocular remarks kept us in fits of laughter. We were all in high spirits. Imperceptibly, the talk drifted to politics, and again, amidst a general hush, Comrade Stalin's earnest voice riveted our attention.

"So we sat until daybreak. When the windows began to gleam with the rosy light of dawn, Stalin raised his glass and exclaimed:

"See, the day is already dawning! Soon the sun will rise. That sun will shine for us!"

At this meeting a leading party group was formed, which virtually acted as the Batum Committee of the R.S.D.L.P.

In January 1902, we are told by Comrade Darakhvelidze, Stalin left for Tiflis and was absent for several days. "It appeared that he had gone to Tiflis to fetch the parts of a printing press and cases of type in three languages: Russian, Georgian and Armenian. With the help of several workers from the Rothschild plant, the press was assembled and the 'works' set going. Stalin wrote the leaflets, a certain Georgi (I forget his surname) set the type, and all of us helped Stalin with the printing, each taking a turn at the wheel of the press."

In January 1902, Comrade Stalin organized a strike at the Mantashev plant, the first big strike in Batum, and in February two big strikes at the Rothschild plant, all ending in victories for the workers.

The tsarist government grew alarmed at the organization and stubborn spirit displayed by the strikers, and with good reason. Some time before this the Batum secret police had reported that the Social-Democratic movement had made great progress "since the autumn of 1901, when the Tiflis Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. sent one of its members, Joseph Djugashvili, a former sixth-class

student of the Tiflis Theological Seminary, to Batum to carry on propaganda among the industrial workers. Owing to Djugashvili's activities, Social-Democratic organizations have begun to spring up in all the Batum plants, at first directed by the Tiflis Committee."

The military governor of Kutais arrived in Batum to put down the strike with a stern hand.

In reply to the arrest of thirty-two strikers, Comrade Stalin organized a demonstration on March 8, in which four hundred workers took part. The demonstrators marched to the police headquarters and demanded the release of the arrested workers. The police arrested over three hundred of the marchers.

The following day Comrade Stalin organized a huge political demonstration in which about six thousand workers took part.

"At that time," relates Comrade Injerabyan, "we did not yet know that this demonstration had been organized by Comrade Stalin. But judging by the speed with which the announcement of the demonstration was passed round, and the way it was organized, we realized that it was being directed by a very capable and experienced organizer who knew better than any of us what ought to be done...."

"I shall never forget the demonstration of March 9, 1902. The streets were blocked with serried ranks of workers marching towards the deportation barracks, where the arrested workers were being held. Comrade Stalin marched at the head of the column, surrounded by a group of workers.

"We came square up against a body of soldiers drawn up with rifles at the ready.

"Antadze, their commander, ordered the demonstration to disperse and threatened to open fire.

"For a moment, some of us wavered. At this, a clear voice rang out calling upon us not to disperse, but to demand the release of the arrested men even more insistently.

"It was the voice of Comrade Stalin.

"His stirring challenge rallied the workers, and nobody budged from the ranks.

"What is more, many of the workers began to pelt the officer



and the soldiers with stones and loudly demand the release of the arrested men. . . .

“For us, this demonstration, organized and led by Stalin, was one more proof that only a determined and armed struggle against the autocracy could lead to the victory of the working people.”

The events in Batum, inspired and led by Comrade Stalin, were bound to leave a deep impression on the minds of the workers. It was a practical demonstration of Bolshevik revolutionary tactics at a time when Bolshevism did not yet exist as a definite political trend.

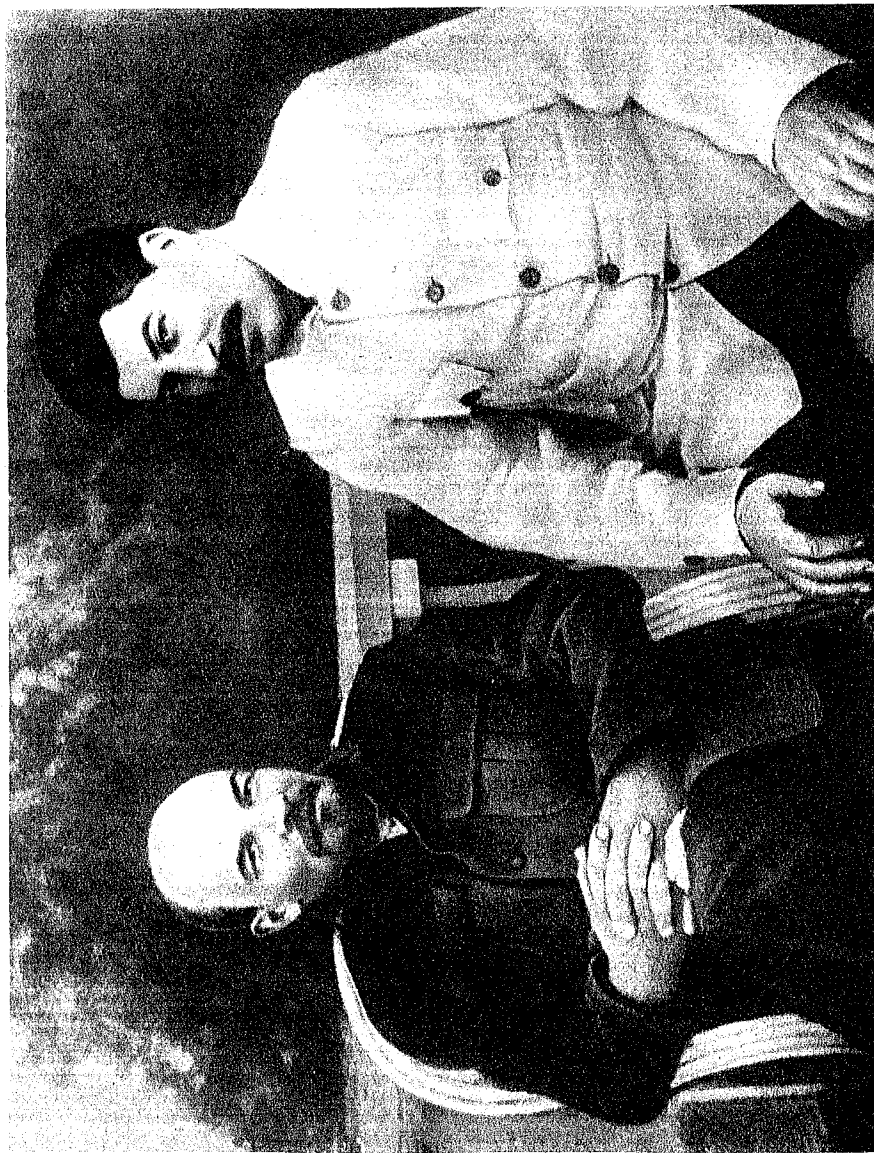
And, in fact, Comrade Stalin had in a very short space of time formed secret circles in every important plant in Batum, linked them together in a single organization under the badge of Social-Democracy, and created an illegal newspaper whose influence extended to the broad mass of the workers. This force, united ideologically and organizationally, he directed against the capitalists in a struggle for the improvement of the workers' conditions.

In those days, a well-organized strike was bound to bring the workers into collision with the autocracy. A strike in which economic demands at first predominated passed into a higher phase—into a political demonstration of all the Batum workers, in other words, a direct struggle against the tsarist regime.

What tremendous political strides the Batum workers had made in so short a time under the leadership of Comrade Stalin! And that in spite of the fact that this leadership had to be exercised in secret and was in no way binding on the workers.

The Batum events had country-wide reverberations and influenced the political life of the whole of Russia.

In April 1902, Comrade Stalin was arrested and confined in the Batum prison. But even while in prison he continued to direct the Batum Social-Democratic organization which he had formed. When the police got wind of this in April 1903, they transferred him to Kutais. In this prison he came in contact with politicals of various trends, among whom he upheld and propagated the views of Lenin's *Iskra*. In the middle of November 1903, he was again transferred to the Batum prison, whence, at the end of that month,



LENIN AND STALIN IN THE VILLAGE OF GORKI, 1922

he was sent into exile for three years to Eastern Siberia, to the village of Novaya Uda, Balagansk District, in the Province of Irkutsk.

In January 1904, a month after his arrival in Novaya Uda, he escaped from exile and returned to Tiflis. There he headed the Bolshevik organizations of Transcaucasia and waged a fierce struggle against the Mensheviks.

He paid periodical visits to Batum, Chiaturi, Kutais and Baku, organizing and rallying the ranks of the Bolsheviks, and debating at meetings and in the press with the Mensheviks, and with the Socialist-Revolutionaries, anarchists and nationalists.

Towards the end of 1904, he turned the Leninist *Iskra* organization in Transcaucasia into an official Bolshevik organization, which started a campaign for the summoning of the Third Party Congress.

In November 1904, a conference of the Bolshevik committees in the Caucasus was held in Tiflis, at which it was resolved to start a wide campaign for the summoning of the Third Party Congress.

At the end of 1904, in the interests of this campaign, Comrade Stalin was sent by the Caucasian Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. to Baku. There he organized a big strike in the oil industry in December of that year, which ended in a victory for the men: the owners were forced to consent to a collective agreement with the workers, the first of its kind in the history of the working class movement in Russia. As Comrade Stalin subsequently wrote, the Baku strike "was the signal for the glorious actions in January and February all over Russia."



### III

WHEN the Russo-Japanese war broke out, the Bolsheviks of Transcaucasia consistently and unswervingly adhered to Lenin's policy of working for the defeat of the tsarist government, and called upon the workers and peasants to intensify the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of tsardom. The Caucasian Federal Committee and the Tiflis and Baku Committees of the R.S.D.L.P. issued a number of proclamations, mostly written by Comrade Stalin. These leaflets helped to rouse the workers and the peasants. "Then let us awake, too, comrades," one of them ran, "let us awake and act! Time is pressing." They called upon the soldiers to join the workers and peasants and turn their weapons against the tsar and the landlords. "For you too are workers, though clad for the time being in military uniform. Know, then, brothers, that if we gain our freedom, you will gain yours!"

The series of defeats suffered by the tsarist army in Manchuria helped to strengthen the revolutionary and oppositional movements all over the country.

Bloody Sunday (January 9, 1905) in St. Petersburg gave a new impetus to the revolutionary struggle of the people all over Russia. Work stoppages, peasant revolts, students' strikes, clashes between the people and the police and soldiery—all helped to shake the foundations of the autocratic regime. The forces of revolution broke into the open and came out on to the streets.

Comrade Stalin worked actively in this growing revolution as the leader of the Bolshevik organization in Transcaucasia. He carried on extensive theoretical work in defence of Lenin's ideological, organizational and tactical principles, the principles of a Marxist party of the working class.

It was during this period, for example, that he wrote that splendid pamphlet, "A Glance at the Disagreements in the Party," in which he upheld and developed Lenin's thesis that the spontaneous working class movement must be endowed with a Socialist consciousness, that revolutionary theory must be linked up with the mass working class movement, and that the revolutionary Social-Democratic Party must play the leading role.

"The working class movement," Comrade Stalin 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 centralized party. Our duty is always and everywhere to lead the movement, energetically to combat everyone—be he 'friend' or foe—who obstructs the realization of our sacred aim."

This question of consciousness and spontaneity in the working class movement was also dealt with by Comrade Stalin in an article entitled "Reply to a Social-Democrat," in which he wrote:

"Present-day life is ordered capitalistically. Two big classes exist here: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and a life and death struggle is going on between them. The first class is compelled by its position in life to strengthen the capitalist order. As for the second class, it is compelled by its position to undermine and abolish the capitalist order. Corresponding to these two classes, two kinds of consciousness arise: a bourgeois and a socialist consciousness. The socialist consciousness corresponds to the position of the proletariat....

"But what meaning has mere socialist consciousness if it is

not spread among the proletariat? It will remain an empty phrase and nothing more. Matters will take an entirely different turn if this consciousness spreads among the proletariat: the proletariat will realize its position and will press on towards a socialist life at a more *rapid* pace. This is just where Social-Democracy comes in (and not only Social-Democratic intellectuals), introducing socialist consciousness into the working class movement."

Lenin expressed his complete solidarity with this article of Comrade Stalin's, and specially mentioned the "excellent formulation of the famous 'introduction of consciousness from without.'"

In opposition to the vague Menshevik conception of the party of the proletariat, Comrade Stalin held that:

"This party must be a class party, wholly independent of other parties, because it is the party of the class of the proletarians, whose emancipation can be achieved only by their own efforts.

"This party must be a revolutionary party, because the emancipation of the workers is possible only by revolutionary means, with the aid of a Socialist revolution.

"This party must be an international party; the doors of the party must be open to every class conscious proletarian, because the emancipation of the workers is not a national but a social question, which is of the same importance to the Georgian proletarian as to the Russian proletarian and the proletarians of other nations.

"From this it is clear that the more closely the proletarians of the various nations stand together, the more thorough the destruction of the national walls which have been erected between them, the stronger will be the party of the proletariat, the easier it will be to organize the proletariat into one indivisible class."

Comrade Stalin sharply criticized the attempt of the Dashnaks to organize party (which actually meant nationalist) trade unions, and demonstrated the harm this demand might cause. He emphatically stated that "party trade unions create a gulf between class conscious and non-class conscious workers. . . . While all the manufacturers are combining *in one union* . . . the Dashnaks advise us to break up *into separate groups*." Clearly, this was a

serious menace to the working class movement, but Comrade Stalin was able to avert it in time.

The workers of Transcaucasia marched in the front ranks of the popular revolution. On January 18, 1905, a general strike broke out among the Tiflis workers and was followed by general strikes in Baku, Batum, Chiaturi, Kutais and other cities, where they were accompanied by mass demonstrations and collisions with the police and the soldiery.

The revolutionary movement begun by the proletariat spread widely among the peasants of Georgia. Armed uprisings took place in the Ozurgeti, Zugdidi, Senaki, Gori, Dushet, Tiflis and Telavsk districts. The peasants set up revolutionary committees, seized the estates of the landlords, abolished taxes and boycotted the tsarist authorities.

The revolutionary struggle of the Transcaucasian workers and peasants was led by the Tiflis Committee of the R.S.D.L.P., headed by Comrade Stalin.

The Third Congress of our Party expressed its high appreciation of the revolutionary movement in Transcaucasia, and consequently of the leadership given it by the Transcaucasian Bolsheviks. On Lenin's motion, the Third Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., speaking in the name of the class conscious proletariat of Russia, sent ardent greetings to the heroic proletariat and peasantry of the Caucasus and instructed the Central Committee and the local committees of the Party "to take energetic measures to ensure the most widespread dissemination of information regarding conditions in the Caucasus by means of pamphlets, meetings, workers' assemblies, group discussions, etc., and also to give timely support to the Caucasus by every means at their disposal."

The Bolshevik organization of Transcaucasia, led by Comrade Stalin, revealed a profound grasp of the aims of the revolution, and set an outstanding example in carrying out Lenin's policy of preparing for armed uprising. Comrade Stalin bluntly said that the revolution could not win without arms, and that whoever said "Down with arms!" was not a revolutionary, but a Tolstoyan—an enemy of the revolution and of the liberty of the people. . . . "What



do we need," he asked, "in order to really win? We need three things: first—arms, second—arms, third—arms and arms again."

At the end of 1905 Comrade Stalin attended the All-Russian Bolshevik Conference in Tammerfors, Finland, where he first met Lenin. At the conference Stalin was elected to the commission appointed to draw up the political resolution; he worked with Lenin as one of the prominent builders and leaders of the revolutionary Marxist Party.

While the conference was still in progress news was received that the armed uprising had begun in Moscow. On Lenin's advice, the conference at once dispersed so as to enable the delegates to return home and take an active part in organizing and leading the uprising.

The Bolshevik newspaper, *Kavkazsky Rabochy Listok*, at that time published the following decision of the Council of the Tiflis Bolshevik Committee:

"...The Council is of the opinion that the Tiflis proletariat must join the all-Russian political strike...."

The strike committee seized the post and telegraph offices and the head offices of the Transcaucasian Railway. Nadzaladivi, a working class district in Tiflis, was in the hands of the armed proletariat.

When Comrade Stalin returned to Transcaucasia the government had already taken the offensive and brought its armed forces into play.

On December 18, 1905, the troops attacked Nadzaladivi; nine of the revolutionary workers were killed and three wounded. The artillery aimed point blank at the houses so as to sow panic among the inhabitants.

Having subjugated Tiflis, the tsarist troops moved against the country districts of Georgia, where they practically had to fight every inch of the way. Everywhere bloody terror reigned; stalwarts of freedom were hanged or shot without trial. The police and the gendarmes wrecked the revolutionary organizations.

After the December armed uprising in Moscow had been crushed, a wave of bloody reprisals swept the country.

But did this mean, as the Mensheviks asserted, that the proletariat was vanquished? "...The proletariat, thank God, is alive and growing politically," Comrade Stalin wrote. "It has only retreated so as to collect its energies and fall on the tsarist government once again and for the last time."

The Mensheviks decried the December uprising as the "fruit of despair" and as a "fatal mistake." Through the mouth of Plekhanov they declared that the workers "should not have taken to arms." They demanded a complete renunciation of armed uprising in general, and condemned it as a method of struggle.

The rank and file Social-Democratic workers all over Russia, including Transcaucasia, were demanding the union of the ranks of the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, and the cry became more insistent with the counter-revolutionary offensive. The Bolsheviks were of the opinion that union would offer a means of exposing the Mensheviks and winning over their followers among the workers.

The Transcaucasian Bolsheviks had this in mind when debating the possibility of union with the Mensheviks. At their Fourth Conference, held towards the end of 1905, they pronounced in favour of unity, on condition, however, that Lenin's principles of organization were recognized and put into practice. The resolution of this conference declared that "the recognition of Paragraph 1 of the Rules adopted at the Third Party Congress, and the organizational centralism that arises from this paragraph, must be the principal condition for *amalgamation* in both the local and the 'higher' bodies of the party." As to the differences on tactical questions, which could be settled only by a congress of the united party, they "should not hinder amalgamation into a single party." The conference considered it essential "to proceed immediately, wherever possible, to the work of amalgamating the local party organizations on the basis of the principal condition mentioned above, and, where this is not possible, to enter into an *agreement* with the Mensheviks on the basis of common practical slogans during open actions of the proletariat."

On this basis, "unity" conferences of the Tiflis and Baku Bol-

shévik and Menshevik organizations took place in 1906, followed by a Transcaucasian "unity" congress, at which the amalgamation of the two sections of the organization was officially endorsed. As a result the Tiflis and Baku committees and the Transcaucasian regional committee of the R.S.D.L.P. became "united" committees.

Side by side with the "united" Transcaucasian Committee, there existed and functioned a Bolshevik centre in the shape of a Bolshevik regional bureau, headed by Comrade Stalin.

In April 1906, the Fourth ("Unity") Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. was held in Stockholm, Sweden.

At this congress, Comrade Stalin represented the Bolshevik section of the Tiflis organization. Together with Lenin, he combated the Mensheviks and ruthlessly exposed them as anti-proletarian opportunists.

"We are on the eve of a new explosion," Comrade Stalin said in one of his speeches, "the revolution is on the upgrade, and we must carry it to its utmost limits. On that we are all agreed. But under what conditions can we and should we do so—under the hegemony of the proletariat, or under the hegemony of the bourgeois democracy? That is where our fundamental disagreement begins. Comrade Martynov said in his *Two Dictatorships* that the hegemony of the proletariat in the present bourgeois revolution is a dangerous utopia. And the same idea was to be detected in the speech he made yesterday. I take it that the comrades who applauded him agree with him. If that is so, if it is the opinion of our Menshevik comrades that what we need is the hegemony of the democratic bourgeoisie, and not the hegemony of the proletariat, then it clearly follows that we ought not to take a direct and active part either in the organization of armed uprising or in the seizure of power. That is the "scheme" of the Mensheviks. And conversely, if the class interests of the proletariat indicate its hegemony, if the proletariat is to march at the head and not in the tail of the present revolution, then it is obvious that the proletariat cannot renounce either an active part in the organization of armed uprising or the seizure of power. That is the 'scheme' of the Bolsheviks. Either the hegemony of the proletariat, or the hegemony of the democratic

bourgeoisie—that is how the question stands in the Party, and that is where our differences lie."

The Stockholm Congress only served to give greater prominence to the differences between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks.

On his return from the Stockholm Congress, Comrade Stalin set about organizing the struggle against the Transcaucasian Mensheviks; he showed that they had renounced the revolution and were now in favour of a constitutional monarchy. Thanks to his leadership, the Transcaucasian Bolshevik organization was one of the first in Russia to demand the convocation of an extraordinary congress of the Party.

The Second All-Russian Party Conference, held in November 1906, decided to summon the Fifth Party Congress. In opposition to this, the Mensheviks started a campaign for the summoning of a non-party labour congress with the object of founding a "broad labour party." This idea was seized upon by the Transcaucasian Mensheviks. They considered that the secret revolutionary party should be liquidated, that it was of no use to the proletariat, and that in its place a peaceful, parliamentary labour party should be formed which might exist legally and openly under a "curtailed constitution" and be ready to collaborate peacefully with the bourgeoisie.

The Transcaucasian liquidators met with the vigorous resistance of Comrade Stalin, who at that time was directing the efforts of the Bolsheviks to strengthen the secret party of the proletariat.

Nothing came of the liquidators' idea of summoning a labour congress.

In May 1907, the Fifth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. was held in London. Comrade Stalin again represented the Bolshevik section of the Tiflis organization. At this congress the Bolsheviks were in the majority, and, consequently, the decisions on the main questions were in the Bolshevik spirit. The Fifth Congress was an important victory for the Bolsheviks in the working class movement.

In his articles on the London Congress, Comrade Stalin above all demonstrated the bankruptcy of the Menshevik leadership of

the "united" party. "Menshevism," he wrote, "which at that time dominated the Central Committee, is incapable of leading the Party. As a political trend it has suffered utter bankruptcy. From this point of view the entire history of the Central Committee is the history of the failure of Menshevism. And when the Menshevik comrades reproach us, saying that we 'hindered' the Central Committee, that we 'pestered' it, etc., etc., we cannot help saying in reply to these moralizing comrades: Yes, comrades, we did 'hinder' the Central Committee from violating our program, we did 'hinder' it from adapting the tactics of the proletariat to the tastes of the liberal bourgeoisie, and we shall continue to hinder it in future, since we are in honour bound to do so."

Comrade Stalin described the essential nature of Menshevism as follows: "Menshevism is a hodge-podge of trends, which are not noticeable in the factional struggle against Bolshevism, but which break through as soon as practical problems of our tactics are put as questions of principle."

Comrade Stalin exposed the efforts of the Mensheviks to liquidate the Party; he showed that their plan of a non-party labour congress was downright treachery to the working class, and that, "by order of" the liberal bourgeoisie, they were striving to decapitate the working class movement. "It is not for nothing," he wrote, "that all the bourgeois writers, from the syndicalists and Socialist-Revolutionaries to the Cadets and Octobrists, express themselves so heartily in favour of a labour congress: they are all enemies of our Party, and the practical work of convening a labour congress might weaken and disorganize the Party considerably—how then can they fail to welcome 'the idea of a labour congress'!"

The Fifth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. ended in a victory for Bolshevism over Menshevism. Once more Comrade Stalin's invincible faith in the power of Bolshevism had been confirmed. As he wrote in "Notes of a Delegate," the general character and significance of the Fifth Congress lay in "the actual unification of the advanced workers of all Russia into a single all-Russian party under the banner of revolutionary Social-Democracy."

#### IV

**A**FTER the Fifth Congress, Comrade Stalin was assigned by the party to "permanent" work in Baku.

Permanent work! "Permanent" in those days meant an average of about a year or so, followed by arrest.

Comrade Stalin worked in Baku for about eighteen months (which considerably exceeded the average). He then spent eight months in prison, from which he continued to guide the organization. Considering how actively Comrade Stalin worked among the masses, the fact that he was able to enjoy such a comparatively long period of "liberty" can only be attributed to his skill and experience in underground activities and to the generous support of the workers, who helped him to keep out of reach of the gendarmes.

Comrade Stalin's transfer to Baku was dictated by political considerations. Baku was a large working class centre, the chosen rallying ground of every kind of Menshevik riff-raff, among them the Shendrikov brothers, notorious adventurers and demagogues (it is not at all improbable that they had connections with the secret police). They were the leaders of the local Mensheviks. So Comrade Stalin was assigned the task of clearing Baku of this scum and turning the city into a Bolshevik stronghold. This task he performed to perfection.

Sakvarelidze, one of the most active members of the Baku



Committee at that time, relates in his memoirs: "The Baku Committee and its Executive Bureau, headed by Comrade Stalin, directed all the work. . . . Each district had its committee. . . . Comrade Stalin was the moving spirit of the ideological and organizational struggle to strengthen and consolidate the Bolshevik organization. He put his heart and soul into the work. At the same time he was in charge of the illegal newspaper, the *Bakinsky Rabochy*, the publication of which was fraught with great difficulties at that time. . . . He organized the work among the Mussulman workers (with the assistance of the 'Gummet' organization), led the strikes of the oil workers, etc. He fought hard to drive the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries out of the workers' districts. First of all, Comrade Stalin went to the districts where the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries were most active. Finally, he settled in Bibi-Eibat, the stronghold of the Mensheviks in Baku. At that time the remnants of the Shendrikov movement—a peculiar form of police Socialism—were most tenacious in Bibi-Eibat. Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin the Bolsheviks broke the influence of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries and made Bibi-Eibat a Bolshevik district."

The Baku Bolshevik organization grew in numbers, strength and tenacity in its struggle against the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and nationalists, and won the support of the overwhelming majority of the workers. Particularly significant in this respect was the vigorous campaign for collective agreements between the workers and the oil owners.

The Baku Bolsheviks, led by Comrade Stalin, worked hard for the political enlightenment of the masses and succeeded in converting their struggle against the oil owners into a class conscious political struggle against tsardom and the bourgeoisie. When a special canvass of opinion as to the tactics to be pursued in this campaign was instituted, the majority of the workers pronounced in favour of the tactics of Stalin and the Bolsheviks, and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, Dashnaks and Mensheviks' suffered signal defeat. At the end of 1907, when reaction was rampant all over Russia, in Baku something in the nature of a workers' parliament,

in the shape of a council of shop stewards from the oil fields and refineries, sat for about two weeks, presided over by a Bolshevik worker by the name of Tronov. In this assembly the Bolsheviks drew up the demands of the oil workers and launched a broad campaign for the uncurtailed slogans of the Party, *viz.*, an eight-hour working day, the confiscation of the landed estates, and a democratic republic.

Comrade Stalin instilled in the Baku proletariat the glorious traditions of Bolshevism, thanks to which it took its place in the front ranks of the fighters for the victory of the revolution, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for Socialism.

But Comrade Stalin himself learnt a great deal in this period. "Two years of revolutionary work among the workers in the oil industry," he said in June 1926 at a meeting of employees of the Tiflis railway shops, "steeled me as a practical fighter and as one of the practical leaders. Contact with advanced workers in Baku, with men like Vatssek and Saratovetz, on the one hand, and the storm of acute conflicts between the workers and the 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. It was there I became a journeyman of the revolution."

While stationed permanently in Baku, Comrade Stalin paid periodical visits to Tiflis to direct the struggle of the Georgian Bolshevik organization.

When the dark period of reaction set in, the Transcaucasian Bolsheviks, guided by Comrade Stalin, made the most orderly retreat of all. They did a lot to build up and consolidate the illegal party organization, and made preparations for a new attack on the tsarist autocracy. In doing so, they adapted themselves to the new conditions prevailing in the country, making use of what legal and semi-legal opportunities there were to organize the proletariat and educate them in the Marxist-Leninist Social-Democratic spirit.

In March 1908, the tsarist secret police got on the track of Comrade Stalin and arrested him. He spent nearly eight months in the Bailov prison in Baku; but while there he continued to direct the Baku Party committee and the illegal Bolshevik newspaper, the *Bakinsky*

*Rabochy*. "Continual debates went on in the community of political prisoners," Comrade Sakvarelidze relates, "during which questions of revolution, democracy and Socialism were discussed. In most cases the debates were started by the Bolsheviki. Comrade Stalin often spoke at these meetings on behalf of the Bolshevik group, sometimes as the opening speaker, sometimes as the opponent. Comrade Stalin and his colleagues had to direct the work of the organization from prison. The Bolshevik group was able to establish connections with the Baku organization, from which it used to receive full information on its activities and to which it gave advice and instructions. . . . From prison also, Comrade Stalin directed the publication of the newspaper *Bakinsky Rabochy*, the organ of the Baku organization. On one occasion the entire copy for the newspaper was prepared in the Bailov prison."

After about eight months of imprisonment, Comrade Stalin was exiled for a term of two years to Solvychevodsk, in the Province of Vologda.

In the summer of 1909, he escaped from exile and returned to Baku, resuming his illegal activities there, and at the same time working to consolidate the entire Bolshevik organization in Transcaucasia.

This was a period of tense struggle within the Party against the liquidators, and, with all his revolutionary energy, Comrade Stalin exposed and denounced the Mensheviks. He also attacked the Socialist-Revolutionaries and other political trends hostile to the proletariat.

In October 1909, Comrade Stalin went to Tiflis, where he did a great deal to organize the struggle of the Tiflis Bolsheviks against the liquidators.

He made preparations for convening a Tiflis Bolshevik conference and for publishing a Bolshevik newspaper, the *Tiflisky Proletary*.

In an article in the first issue of this paper, he wrote:

"The great Russian revolution is not dead—no, it is alive!—it has merely retreated and is gathering strength for mighty action in the future.

"For the prime movers of the revolution, the proletarians and peasants, are alive and unscathed, and they will not, cannot, relinquish their vital demands. . . .

"We are living on the eve of new upheavals, we are confronted with the old problem of overthrowing the rule of the tsar. . . .

"It is our duty, the duty of the advanced workers, to be in good trim for the glorious impending battles for the republic, for the rights of the proletariat.

"As in 1905, so now, it is up to us, the advanced workers, and to us alone, to lead the revolution and to direct it into the path of complete victory. . . .

"As in 1905, so now, it is up to us, the advanced workers, and to us alone, to rally the peasants around the revolutionary demands. . . .

"All this needs a strong and united Party able to undertake the preparation of all the vital forces of the proletariat for the coming battles. . . .

"And so, to work, comrade reader, to concerted effort in preparing the forces of the Tiflis proletariat for the decisive action to come!"

This Baku period was a very important one in the political career of Comrade Stalin. With good reason does he call it the period in which he became a journeyman of the revolution.

Baku had an industrial proletariat, composed of many nationalities: Russians, Azerbaijanians, Georgians, Armenians. There were many Persians working in Baku. The rural districts surrounding the city, or, rather, the oil fields, were inhabited by Azerbaijanian peasants, who hated the Russian colonizers. The tsarist officials were forever fomenting strife between the Azerbaijanians and the Armenians, frequently inciting them to mutual massacres.

The oil fields were owned by international financiers—Rothschild, Nobel, Shibayev (an English company), Mantashev and others. The industry of Baku was in fact controlled by foreign capital.

Many leaders of opportunist trends and nationalist parties active in the plants were undoubtedly secret agents of foreign capital.

It required a political leader of unusual calibre to find his bearings in this tangled web of contradictions and antagonisms, a leader who knew what he wanted and was able to prove to the workers that his was the right aim for the proletariat and his methods of struggle the most effective.

Comrade Stalin was a political leader of this calibre. And that is why the Baku workers followed him in their struggle against tsardom and capitalism. He won their affections. Under his leadership, they fought like heroes in the vanguard of the revolutionary movement in Russia.

In March 1910, Comrade Stalin was again arrested and, after spending several months in prison, was sent back to exile in Solvychegodsk.

In these trying and difficult years of reaction, when the revolutionary movement was in a state of decline, Comrade Stalin, despite frequent arrest and deportation, took an increasing part in the leadership of the Bolshevik movement as a whole.

Comrade Stalin wholeheartedly supported Lenin's plan for regenerating and strengthening the Party by forming a bloc, based on principles, between the Bolsheviks and the Plekhanov Mensheviks, who at that time were opposed to the liquidators and were in favour of maintaining the illegal party. Writing from exile in Solvychegodsk on December 31, 1910, he said: "In my opinion the line of the bloc (Lenin-Plekhanov) is the only correct one: 1) this line, and it alone, answers to the real interests of the work in Russia, which demands that all real Party elements should rally together; 2) this line, and it alone, will expedite the process of emancipation of the legal organizations from the yoke of the liquidators by digging a gulf between the Menshevik workers and the liquidators, and dispersing and disposing of the latter."

In opposition to this Lenin-Plekhanov bloc, this bloc of Bolsheviks and pro-Party Mensheviks, formed on a basis of principles, Trotsky began to patch together a bloc of his own, the August Bloc, consisting of opponents of an illegal revolutionary party—an unprincipled, anti-Party bloc of liquidators of every shade and colour.

Comrade Stalin vigorously supported Lenin in the struggle

against the Trotskyite adventurers. In this letter from Solvychegodsk, he wrote: "Trotsky's bloc . . . is rank unprincipledness, a Manilov amalgam of heterogeneous principles, the impotent hankering of an unprincipled person after a 'good' principle. The logic of things is, by its nature, a matter of rigid principles, and will tolerate no amalgams."

This spirit of unqualified support and complete solidarity with Lenin marked Comrade Stalin's "Letter from the Caucasus" published in the eleventh issue of the *Sotsial-Demokrat*, the central organ of the Party, in which he attacked the liquidators, the Trotskyites and the "conciliators," and called for the termination of the abnormal state of affairs that had arisen in the Bolshevik section of the Party owing to the treacherous conduct of Kamenev, Zinoviev and Rykov.

In this letter, too, he proposed a number of immediate measures to be taken in furtherance of Lenin's policy for the Party; these were the convocation of a general Party conference, the publication in Russia of a legally sanctioned nation-wide Party newspaper, and the formation of an illegal centre in Russia to guide the Party's practical activities.

In 1911 he again escaped from exile, and this time, on the decision of the Central Committee of the Party, took up his abode in St. Petersburg. But he was soon again arrested and exiled to the province of Vologda.

Utter disunity prevailed at that time at the "summit" of the R.S.D.L.P. Lenin often found himself in the minority on the directing bodies of the Party. In his trying and difficult struggle against the opportunists and conciliators, Comrade Lenin had the constant and unfailing support of Comrade Stalin through all the vicissitudes of Party life. Never once did Stalin forsake Lenin, whether in matters of theory and principle, or in the practical affairs of the Party. His activities in the sphere of ideology and organization helped Lenin greatly in his struggle against the waverers who had lost faith in Bolshevism. Stalin was the virtual leader of the Bolshevik organizations in Russia.

After the liquidators had definitely thrown off the mask, had



begun to work openly for the destruction of the Party, and had adopted a footing of legality, after the Trotskyites and the "conciliators" of all shades had been exposed, the work of restoring and consolidating the illegal revolutionary party began to make rapid headway. A Russian Organization Commission, headed by Sergo Orjonikidze, was formed, which set to work in the true Leninist spirit to make preparations for convening a general Party conference, which was what Comrade Stalin had proposed at the beginning of 1910. Lenin jubilantly remarked: "The locomotive has now been raised and placed on the track."

In his letter from Solvychevodsk, Comrade Stalin said: "I have another six months to go. When that term is over, I am entirely at your service. If the need for people is really pressing, I could cast off immediately." And he did "cast off" very soon afterwards.

The Prague Conference, held in January 1912, reviewed the whole preceding struggle against the liquidators of all hues. It put an end to the official fiction of unity with the Menshevik liquidators and expelled them from the Party. At this conference the Bolsheviks officially constituted themselves an independent party. "This conference," Comrade Stalin said at a later date, at the Party's Fifteenth Congress, "was of the utmost importance in the history of our Party, for it drew a boundary line between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks and amalgamated the Bolshevik organizations all over the country into a united Bolshevik Party."

## V

COMRADE Stalin did not attend the Prague Conference, but he was elected a member of the Central Committee of the R.S.D.L.P. in his absence. He was now put in charge of the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee—the guiding centre of all the practical activities of the Party in Russia. On the instructions of the Central Committee, he toured all the important centres of the country, organizing the campaign for getting the decisions of the Prague Conference carried out. He made arrangements for the revolutionary celebration of May Day; he directed *Zvezda*, a weekly founded on his initiative; he organized a political strike movement in protest against the Lena shootings, and arranged for the publication of a mass Bolshevik daily, the *Pravda*.

*Pravda* helped to train active forces for the revolutionary movement. It was supported by tens and hundreds of thousands of workers.

"The *Pravda* of 1912," Stalin subsequently wrote, "was the laying of the cornerstone for the victory of Bolshevism in 1917." The masons who laid this cornerstone were Lenin and Stalin.

The secret police hunted for Stalin high and low. When he and Sergo Orjonikidze left Moscow for St. Petersburg in April 1912, the chief of gendarmerie wired the Department of Police: "Social-Democratic Central Committee member Sergo and co-opted member

Koba [Stalin] left Moscow today, April 9, for St. Petersburg from Nikolayevsky Station, train No. 8. Keep under surveillance. Arrest desirable but only on local evidence and without revealing Moscow sources."

But Comrade Stalin foiled the tsar's sleuths once more. On April 10, the St. Petersburg chief of secret police reported to the Department of Police: "Sergo' arrived on train indicated; now under surveillance. Koba was not on the train."

Lenin was very concerned about Stalin's position. In a letter dated March 28, 1912, he enquires with obvious alarm: "I have heard nothing from Ivanovich (Stalin). Is anything wrong with him? Where is he, how is he?"

At the end of April 1912, Comrade Stalin was again arrested and sentenced to exile in Narym in Siberia, this time for three years. He escaped from Narym in September of that year and returned to St. Petersburg, where he resumed charge of the Russian Bureau of the Party Central Committee and his editorship of *Pravda*.

Comrade Stalin directed the Bolshevik campaign in the elections to the Fourth State Duma. He drew up the celebrated "Mandate of the Workingmen of St. Petersburg to Their Labour Deputy," setting forth the election platform of the Bolshevik Party.

Lenin attached great importance to this Mandate. One of the copies is marked with the notation in Lenin's own handwriting: "Return without fail!! Keep clean. Highly important to preserve this document."

When the tsarist authorities issued a statement purporting to explain the election procedure, but actually designed to disqualify the representatives to the electoral colleges elected from a number of factories, the St. Petersburg Party Committee, on Comrade Stalin's advice, organized a mass political protest strike. The result was that the tsarist government not only withdrew the "explanation" but even enlarged the list of factories in which the workers had the right to take part in the elections. During this strike, Comrade Stalin, although he was living in enforced secrecy, addressed lightning meetings in a number of factories.

In the elections, the Bolsheviks gained the victory over the

liquidators: the Bolsheviks' candidates were elected in each of the six provinces in which the workers were entitled to elect a member to the Duma. Together, they represented four-fifths of the Russian proletariat.

This victory was gained amidst the greatest difficulties. Comrade Stalin had to conduct the Party's election campaign unknown to the police. The Party had to fight not only the Black Hundreds, the Octobrists and the Cadets, but also the numerous enemies of Bolshevism in the working class movement—the liquidators, Trotskyites, Vperyod-ites, Plekhanovites, anarchists, and other hostile groups. Election workers had to be found, encouraged, inspired, and, most important of all, organized and got to work. It was under such conditions that the Bolsheviks, led by Comrade Stalin, gained the support of the workers in the elections.

The Bolshevik members of the Fourth State Duma worked under the guidance of the Party Central Committee. Lenin attached the highest importance to their activities, which were directly guided by Comrade Stalin. It was he who guided the Bolshevik deputies when a joint Social-Democratic group was formed in the Duma; he helped them to draw up its declaration; he helped the Bolshevik deputies to prepare their speeches, and he organized their activities outside the Duma.

At the end of 1912, on Comrade Stalin's initiative, a conference was convened in Cracow of the Central Committee jointly with the labour deputies in the State Duma and Party functionaries. Lenin presided at the conference, and Stalin took a very active part.

In February 1913, at the very height of the work connected with the decisions of the Cracow Conference, Comrade Stalin was arrested in St. Petersburg and, a few months later, exiled to Turukhansk. There he remained for four years, recovering his liberty only in March 1917, after the February Revolution.

The tsarist secret police and gendarmerie were well aware of Comrade Stalin's revolutionary activities. Here is what the Baku chief of the gendarmerie wrote of Comrade Stalin as far back as March 1910: "In view of his stubborn participation, despite all sum-

mary penalties, in the activities of revolutionary parties, *in which he has always held a very prominent place*, in view also of the fact that he has twice escaped from places of exile, thanks to which he has not completed any of the summary sentences imposed on him, I would recommend the highest penalty—exile for five years to one of the remotest parts of Siberia.”

I would invite the reader, especially the young reader, to ponder carefully on this chronicle of Comrade Stalin's life as an underground revolutionary: secret activities, arrest, prison, exile, escape; again secret activities, again arrest, again prison and exile, and so on and on.

How simple, how prosaic when thus stated! Yet this “prosaic” picture conceals a bitter class struggle.

The whole weight of the tsarist machine was brought down on the courageous ones who dared to oppose to it the organized strength of the proletariat, and especially, of course, on those who had made it their purpose in life to overthrow the tsarist autocracy and capitalism.

If Comrade Stalin were to give us a connected story of the common, everyday events of his life, the surroundings in which he lived, the people he met, and so on, it would have all the force and fascination of a novel, a novel filled with revolutionary romance, in which often enough the most comic situations would be fraught with tragedy, demanding not only a level head and an iron will, but unfailing heroism. It was thanks to this heroism that Comrade Stalin's life has been preserved.

It may be safely said that Comrade Stalin is in the direct line of Russia's finest sons, men like Belinsky, Dobrolyubov and Chernyshevsky. He is so, not only because he has, with the help of Marxism-Leninism, materialized the great dreams and aspirations of these men, but also because of the whole cast of his life—his irreconcilable hostility to the old order, his proletarian hatred of the ruling classes, his direct and unceasing struggle against the oppressors.

Comrade Stalin's comprehensive and profound understanding of all manifestations of social life, including literature and art,

found direct expression in his work as a secret revolutionary—in his struggle against tsardom and capitalism.

This is what lies behind the dry and dispassionate “chronicle,” and this it is that makes it so dear to us. For it speaks of the summit of human devotion; it reflects the finest features of the human race—the features of the Russian revolutionary.

After the Lena shootings, the proletarian revolutionary tide began to rise. In the early part of 1914 demonstrations became a common occurrence. Barricades appeared in the streets of St. Petersburg and a number of other cities. *Novoye Vremya*, a reactionary newspaper, wrote with alarm: “In these days of July 1914 unusual excitement is to be observed everywhere, a depth of feeling reminiscent of the Red years of 1905-07.” But the rise of the revolutionary tide in 1914 was arrested by the outbreak of the imperialist world war, of which the tsarist government took instant advantage to come down with all its force on the Bolshevik Party and the working class movement.

## VI

ON the outbreak of the imperialist war, all the opportunist parties, both in Western Europe and in Russia, at once openly went over to the side of their governments. In the midst of the universal chauvinistic frenzy, the Bolsheviks, headed by Lenin, were the only party to keep the flag of internationalism flying. Comrade Stalin, who was then in exile, wholeheartedly and unreservedly supported Lenin's position on the questions of war, peace and revolution, as regards both theory and tactics. In his writings and utterances from exile he passed vigorous stricture on the opportunist sentiments of certain members of our Party.

He wrote to Lenin from exile (1915); he addressed a meeting of Bolshevik exiles in the village of Monastyrskoye (1915); he branded the cowardly and treacherous conduct of Kamenev at the trial of the Bolshevik Members of the Fourth State Duma; he sent (1916) a message of greetings on behalf of a group of Bolshevik exiles to the legally published Bolshevik magazine, *Insurance Questions*, in which he said that it was the duty of the 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 principle of internationalism."

The imperialist war revealed Russia's economic weakness and technical inefficiency and the utter incompetence of the tsarist

government in the conduct of the war. For all the staunchness and heroism of the Russian soldiers, the army suffered defeat after defeat.

The economic life of the country went from bad to worse, with disastrous effects on the army, which suffered from a chronic shortage of munitions.

Not only the Bolshevik Party, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, but the ruling classes themselves perceived that the tsarist regime was absolutely bankrupt.

The condition of the working class, especially as regards food, had seriously deteriorated, and dissatisfaction was rife.

All this helped to undermine the tsarist regime and to rob it of all stability.

And now the long years of activity of the Bolshevik Party, the party Lenin and Stalin had created and reared with such care, began to make their influence felt.

In February 1917 revolution broke out in Russia. The first to revolt was the proletariat of Petrograd, and it was the Bolsheviks who led the struggle of the masses in the streets.

In March, Comrade Stalin returned to Petrograd from exile, and not only practically, but officially, as a member of the Central Committee, assumed the lead of the Party in driving the revolution forward.

A state of dual power had arisen in the country: side by side with the bourgeois Provisional Government there existed another government—the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.

On the day after his arrival, Comrade Stalin wrote in the *Pravda*:

"To *shatter* the old power, a temporary alliance between the insurrectionary workers and soldiers was enough. For it is self-evident that the strength of the Russian revolution lies in the alliance between the workers and the peasants clad in soldier's uniform.

"But a merely *temporary* alliance between the workers and soldiers is far from enough to *preserve* the liberties achieved and to *further develop* the revolution.



“That requires that this alliance should be made conscious and secure, lasting and stable, sufficiently stable to withstand the provocative attempts of the counter-revolutionaries. For it is clear to all that the guarantee of the final victory of the Russian revolution lies in consolidating the alliance between the revolutionary workers and the revolutionary soldiers.

“The organs of this alliance are the Soviets of Workers’ and Soldiers’ Deputies.

“And the closer these Soviets are welded and the stronger they are organized, the more effective is the revolutionary power of the revolutionary people of which they are the expression, and the more real are the guarantees against counter-revolution.

“The revolutionary Social-Democrats must work 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.” (Lenin and Stalin, 1917, pp. 11-12.)

## VII

ON April 3 (April 16, new style), Lenin returned to Russia, and on April 7 (20), he published his April Theses, in which he unfolded broad prospects for the further development of the revolutionary struggle. For the first time in history, the transition from a bourgeois revolution to a proletarian revolution, to the struggle for Socialism, was proclaimed a practical task of the day.

On April 24 (May 7) Lenin’s policy was adopted at the Seventh All-Russian (April) Conference of the Bolsheviks by an overwhelming majority.

At this Conference, Comrade Stalin made the report on the national question. He exposed the predatory policy of the Provisional Government and of the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary compromisers, who were out to perpetuate the domination of the Great-Russians, and he set forth the Marxist-Leninist program on the national question. “Our views on the national question,” he said, “reduce themselves to the following propositions: a) the recognition of the right of peoples to secession; b) regional autonomy for peoples which remain within the given state; c) specific laws guaranteeing freedom of development for national minorities; d) a single, indivisible proletarian collective body, a single party, for the proletarians of all the nationalities in the given state.” (J. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, p. 66.)

Comrade Stalin staunchly upheld Lenin's principles and views on the revolution, and vigorously repulsed the attempts of Kamenev, Zinoviev, Rykov, Pyatakov, Bukharin and other opportunists to make the Party forsake the Leninist position.

The April Conference outlined for the Bolshevik Party a task of the utmost importance; it was patiently, methodically and persistently to explain to the masses the imperialist character of the Provisional Government; to expose the treacherous tactics of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, and, by citing the experience of the masses themselves in their struggle, to prove to them that unless the power of the Soviets were established, the people could not obtain peace, land or bread.

The propaganda of the Bolsheviks opened the eyes of the workers and soldiers, helped them to understand the events going on around them and to adopt a conscious and intelligent attitude towards the war and to those who were responsible for it.

The anti-war demonstrations of April, May and June 1917 were manifestations of discontent with the policy of the Provisional Government. The Bolshevik Party assumed the lead of this movement of the masses and lent it a conscious and organized character.

On the eve of the June demonstration, the Petrograd Committee of our Party issued an appeal, written by Comrade Stalin, which ran:

"Let tomorrow (June 18), the day of the peaceful demonstration, be transformed into a day of formidable protest by revolutionary Petrograd against reviving oppression and tyranny!

"Let the victorious banners wave tomorrow to the dismay of the enemies of freedom and Socialism!

"Let your call, the call of the fighters of the revolution, resound through the world, to the joy of all the oppressed and enslaved!

"Over there, in the West, in the belligerent countries, the dawn of a new life, the dawn of the great workers' revolution is breaking. Let your brothers in the West know tomorrow that you on your banners are bringing them not war, but peace, not enslavement, but liberation!

"Workers! Soldiers! Clasp hands in a fraternal grasp and—forward under the banner of Socialism!

"All into the streets, comrades!

"Rally in a close ring around your banners!

"March in serried ranks through the streets of the capital!

"Calmly and confidently declare your wishes!

"Down with the counter-revolution!

"Down with the tsarist duma!

"Down with the Privy Council!

"Down with the ten capitalist Ministers!

"All power to the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies!" (Lenin and Stalin, 1917, pp.189-90.)

The slogans displayed in the June demonstration were the slogans of the Bolsheviks, as formulated by Comrade Stalin in this appeal.

The Party carried on extensive activities among the soldiers at the front and in the rear. Army organizations of the Party were formed both in the centre, under the Central Committee, and in many of the large cities. Special newspapers for the army were started, the *Soldatskaya Pravda* (Soldiers' Truth) and *Okopnaya Pravda* (Trench Truth). These papers helped to lend a conscious and organized character to the struggle of the soldiers.

Comrade Stalin devoted a great deal of attention to these newspapers, not only as regards their general direction, but by personally contributing to them. He wrote a lot for the *Soldatskaya Pravda* in particular.

The Bolshevik papers were highly popular both at the front and in the rear. The soldier masses rapidly shed the illusion that they were fighting to defend their country.

But far more difficult was the work of the Bolsheviks in the regiments recruited from the national minorities. Here they had to combat both Great-Russian chauvinism and local nationalism, and this demanded of the Bolsheviks a precise policy on the national question.

Comrade Stalin set forth this policy in his report at an All-Russian conference of the army organizations of the Party, on June

16, 1917. The resolution he submitted and which was adopted by the conference laid down the guiding lines for the work of the Party in the national minority regiments. It stated:

"The conference is firmly convinced that only the determined and permanent recognition of the right of nations to self-determination, recognition in fact and not only in word, can strengthen fraternal confidence among the nations of Russia and thus pave the way to their real union—a voluntary, not a coercive union—in one integral state."

With the support of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Provisional Government continued to wage its imperialist war. It drove the soldiers into an offensive, hoping that, whatever the outcome of this gamble might be, it would help to establish the undivided rule of the bourgeoisie.

Rumours of the offensive, of the introduction of the death penalty at the front, of the removal of revolutionary workers and soldiers from Petrograd on various pretexts, and the other measures taken with the obvious design of strengthening the hand of the counter-revolutionary Provisional Government, again impelled the workers and soldiers to come out into the streets in protest. In the demonstrations of July 3-5, they marched in their hundreds of thousands to the Petrograd Soviet and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of the Soviets to call upon them to take the power into their own hands and put an end to the imperialist war.

The working people clearly perceived that the bourgeoisie, and the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries in their wake, were striving with the aid of the tsarist generals to obliterate all traces of the revolution. The Bolsheviks made it plainly and definitely clear to the revolutionary masses that there were only two alternatives: "either a complete victory for the counter-revolution, or a new revolution."

The government troops shot down the workers' and soldiers' demonstrations in Petrograd on July 3-5. The Bolshevik Party was virtually outlawed. The period of dual power had come to an end.

From July 26 to August 3 the Bolshevik Party held its Sixth

Congress. The Congress had to meet in secrecy. Lenin was not present; he had been obliged to go into hiding to avoid falling into the clutches of the Kerensky government. The work of the Congress was guided by Comrade Stalin, acting on Lenin's instructions.

The Sixth Party Congress was of immense historical importance. It directed the activities of the Party into new channels—practical preparations for armed uprising. Two reports by Comrade Stalin were the central feature of the Congress: one was the political report of the Central Committee; the other dealt with the political situation in the country.

"Before passing to the report on the political activities of the Central Committee during the past two and half months," Comrade Stalin said, "I deem it necessary to mention a fundamental fact which determined the activities of the Central Committee. I am referring to the development of our revolution, which has raised the question of intervening in the sphere of economic relations in the form of control over production, of handing over the land to the peasants, and of transferring power from the bourgeoisie to the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. All this points to the far-reaching character of our revolution. It has begun to assume the character of a Socialist, workers' revolution." (*Ibid.*, p. 287.)

In his report on the political situation, Comrade Stalin discussed the tactics of the Party in view of the change in the political situation in the country following on the events of July 3-5. The ending of the state of dual power, the order for the arrest of Lenin and the emergency laws promulgated against the Bolsheviks, the disbandment of the revolutionary units of the Petrograd garrison and the banning of the Red Guard—all pointed to the fact that the period of peaceful development of the revolution had come to an end.

"Until July 3," Comrade Stalin said, "a peaceful victory, a peaceful transfer of power to the Soviets was still possible. If the Congress of Soviets had decided to take over power, the Cadets, I think, would not have dared to take open action against the Soviets, because such action would have been doomed to failure. But now that the counter-revolution has become organized and consol-

idated, to say that the Soviets can take over power by peaceful means is nonsense. The peaceful period of the revolution has ended, a non-peaceful period has begun, a period of clashes and explosions." (*Ibid.*, p. 302.)

At the Sixth Party Congress, Comrade Stalin effectively refuted the Trotskyite attempt of Preobrazhensky to argue that the victory of Socialism in Russia was impossible unless there was a proletarian revolution in the West. "The possibility is not excluded," he said "that Russia will be the very country that will lay the road to Socialism. No country has hitherto enjoyed such freedom as there was in Russia, no country has tried to adopt workers' control of production. Moreover, the base of our revolution is broader than in Western Europe, where the proletariat stands utterly alone face to face with the bourgeoisie. Here the workers are supported by the poorer strata of the peasantry. . . . We must abandon the antiquated idea that only Europe can show us the way. There is dogmatic Marxism and creative Marxism. I stand by the latter." (*Ibid.*, p. 309.)

Bukharin, too, gave expression to Trotskyite views at the Congress, asserting that the peasants were in favour of national defence, were in alliance with the bourgeoisie, and would under no circumstances follow the lead of the working class.

Comrade Stalin emphatically countered these views. He said that there were different kinds of peasants: there were the wealthy peasants, who really did support the imperialist bourgeoisie and who stood to lose by a Socialist revolution; and there were the poor peasants, who marched in alliance with the working class and supported its struggle for the victory of the Socialist revolution.

Rejecting all the amendments moved by Preobrazhensky, Bukharin and other opportunists, the Congress adopted the resolution submitted by Comrade Stalin.

Thus, acting in accordance with Lenin's instructions, Comrade Stalin rallied the Party congress for the chief and fundamental aim—to overthrow the bourgeois government and establish the power of the workers and the poor peasants.

The bourgeois counter-revolutionaries, sheltered under the

protecting wing of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, were becoming ever more insolent and outspoken. But the forces of revolution were growing too.

The atmosphere was charged with revolution. The Petrograd and Moscow Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies came more and more under the influence of the Bolsheviks.

"The revolution is not dead," wrote Comrade Stalin in an appeal to the workers and soldiers of Petrograd, "it is only lying low, mustering new adherents in order to fling itself upon its enemies with renewed vigour. . . .

"There will be more battles yet!

"There will be more victories yet!

"The whole thing is to meet the coming battles in a worthy and organized manner.

"*Workers!* To you has fallen the honourable role of leader of the Russian revolution. Organize the masses around yourselves and rally them under the banner of our Party. Remember that during the stern moments of the July days, when the enemies of the people were shooting at the revolution, the Bolshevik Party was the only party that did not desert the working class districts. Remember that in those stern days the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries were to be found in the camp of those who smashed and disarmed the workers.

"Muster under our banner, comrades!

"*Peasants!* Your leaders have not justified your hopes. They have followed in the wake of the counter-revolution, and you are left without land; for as long as the counter-revolution rules you will not get the landed estates. The workers are your only true allies. Only in alliance with them will you obtain land and liberty. Rally around the workers!

"*Soldiers!* The strength of the revolution lies in the alliance between the people and the soldiers. Ministers come and go, but the people remain. Always range yourselves with the people and fight in their ranks!" (*Ibid.*, pp. 246-47.)

The Bolshevik Party mustered the forces of the workers and peasants and bent them to the task of spreading the revolution, and



at the same time systematically exposed the designs and actions of the counter-revolutionaries. In an article entitled "Against the Moscow Council," Comrade Stalin explained what object the bourgeois were pursuing:

"The 'way out' for the counter-revolution lies in convening a conference of merchants and manufacturers, of landlords and bankers, of members of the tsarist Duma and the already tamed Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, in order to proclaim this conference a 'National Assembly,' and get it to endorse the policy of imperialism and counter-revolution, and to put the burdens of the war on to the shoulders of the workers and peasants. . . .

"It is not difficult to understand that under these circumstances the council to be convened in Moscow on August 12 will inevitably be transformed into an organ for a counter-revolutionary plot against the workers, who are being threatened with lockouts and unemployment, against the peasants, who are 'not being given' land, and against the soldiers, who are being deprived of the liberties won in the days of the revolution—into an organ for a plot camouflaged by the 'Socialist phrases' of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, who are supporting this council." (*Ibid.*, pp. 314-15.)

Hence it was the task of the advanced workers

"1) To tear from the council the mask of a representative organ of the people, to drag its counter-revolutionary, anti-people's nature into the light;

"2) To expose the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, who are shielding this council with the flag of 'saving the revolution,' and are misleading the peoples of Russia;

"3) To organize mass protest meetings against these counter-revolutionary machinations of the 'saviours' . . . of the profits of the landlords and capitalists.

"Let the enemies of the revolution know that the workers will not allow themselves to be deceived, that they will not allow the battle-flag of the revolution to slip from their hands." (*Ibid.*, pp. 315-16.)

And the Moscow proletarians responded to the call of the Party. Over four hundred thousand came out in a general protest strike.

"Moscow is on strike. Long live Moscow!"—Comrade Stalin wrote in those days.

Behind the scenes at the Moscow Council, with the support of Kerensky, the connivance of Tsereteli, and the assistance of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, a revolt headed by Kornilov was being hatched, which threatened to drench Russia in the blood of the workers and peasants. At this critical juncture the Party mustered all its forces to repulse the counter-revolution.

In an article entitled "We Demand," Comrade Stalin wrote:

"The fight now going on between the coalition government and the Kornilov party is not a fight between revolution and counter-revolution, but between two different methods of counter-revolutionary policy; and the Kornilov party, the sworn enemy of the revolution, does not hesitate, by surrendering Riga, to open the march on Petrograd in order to prepare the conditions for restoring the old regime. . . .

"With this in mind our Party demands:

"1) The immediate dismissal of the counter-revolutionary generals in the rear and at the front and their replacement by commanders elected by the soldiers and officers, and the complete democratization of the army from top to bottom generally;

"2) The restoration of the revolutionary soldiers' organizations, which alone are capable of establishing democratic discipline in the army;

"3) The repeal of all repressive measures, and primarily of the death penalty;

"4) The immediate placing of the landed estates at the disposal of the Peasants' Committees, and the supply of agricultural implements to the poor peasants;

"5) The legislative enactment of an eight-hour day and the organization of democratic control over the factories, works and banks by bodies on which the representatives of the workers predominate;

"6) The complete democratization of the financial system—primarily, the ruthless taxation of capital and property and the confiscation of the scandalous war profits;

"7) The organization of proper exchange between town and

country, so that the towns receive the needed food supplies and the rural districts the needed manufactured goods;

"8) The immediate proclamation of the right of the nations of Russia to self-determination;

"9) The restoration of liberties, the decreeing of a democratic republic and the immediate convocation of the Constituent Assembly;

"10) The annulment of the secret treaties with the Allies and the proposal of terms for a universal democratic peace.

"Our Party declares that unless these demands are secured it will be impossible to save the revolution, which for six months has been gasping in the clutches of war and general chaos.

"Our Party declares that the only possible means of securing these demands is a rupture with the capitalists, the complete liquidation of the bourgeois counter-revolution, and the transfer of power in the country to the revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers.

"That is the only way to save the country and the revolution from collapse." (*Ibid.*, pp. 382-83.)

The practical experience of the Kornilov revolt taught wide sections of the working people that the Bolsheviks were right; they saw that the revolution could be saved only by fighting for the destruction of the power of the capitalists and landlords and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The counter-revolutionary offensive stirred into motion the whole working population of the country.

The Bolshevik Party worked energetically to prepare the workers, soldiers and poor peasants for an armed uprising. Lenin declared that, having obtained the majority in the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets, the Bolsheviks could and should take over the power of government.

On October 10 (23), there took place the historic meeting of the Central Committee of the Party, attended by Lenin, at which it was decided to launch the armed uprising within the next few days.

On October 16 (29), the question of armed uprising was discussed at a joint meeting of the Central Committee of the Party

with the Executive body of the Petrograd Party Committee, the Petrograd District Party Committee, the Bolshevik group in the Petrograd Soviet, the army organization, and the Bolshevik groups in the trade unions and factory committees.

At both these meetings, Kamenev and Zinoviev spoke in opposition to armed uprising.

Comrade Stalin upheld Lenin's proposal. "Objectively," he said, "what Kamenev and Zinoviev propose would enable the counter-revolution to organize. We will continue to retreat without end and lose the whole revolution. . . . There are two lines: one line is heading towards the victory of the revolution and looks to Europe; the other line does not believe in the revolution and counts on being only an opposition. The Petrograd Soviet has already taken the path of insurrection by refusing to sanction the withdrawal of the troops. The navy has already risen, in so far as it has gone against Kerensky." (*Ibid.*, p. 598.)

At a private meeting of the Central Committee of the Party held on October 16 (29), a Party Centre, headed by Comrade Stalin, was set up to direct the uprising. This Party Centre formed the nucleus of the Revolutionary Military Committee and exercised the practical leadership of the uprising.

On October 24 (November 6), the eve of the armed uprising, the day when Lenin declared in his letter to the members of the Central Committee that "to delay action will be fatal," Comrade Stalin, in an editorial in the *Rabochy Put*, issued an ardent appeal to the working people, in which he said:

"The time has come when further delay will be fatal for the whole cause of the revolution.

"The present government of landlords and capitalists must be replaced by a new government of workers and peasants. . . .

"Power must pass into the hands of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies.

"A new government must come into power, a government chosen by the Soviets, recallable by the Soviets and responsible to the Soviets." (*Ibid.*, p. 612.)

On October 25 (November 7), the counter-revolutionary Pro-

visional Government was overthrown by an armed uprising of the workers and soldiers, led by the Party of Lenin and Stalin.

The Revolutionary Military Committee of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, in a manifesto to the citizens of Russia, officially proclaimed that the power of state had passed into its hands as the organ heading the Petrograd proletariat and garrison, and that "the cause for which the people have fought—the immediate proposal of a democratic peace, the abolition of landed proprietorship, workers' control over production and the creation of a Soviet government—is assured." (*Ibid.*, p. 613.)

That same day, Lenin, at a meeting of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, declared:

"Comrades, the workers' and peasants' revolution, about the necessity of which the Bolsheviks have always spoken, has taken place.

"What is the significance of this workers' and peasants' revolution? Its significance is, first of all, that we shall have a Soviet government, our own organ of power, in which the bourgeoisie will have no share whatever. The oppressed masses will themselves create a power. The old state apparatus will be shattered to its foundations and a new administrative apparatus set up in the shape of the Soviet organizations.

"From now on, a new phase in the history of Russia begins, and this revolution, the third Russian revolution, should in the end lead to the victory of Socialism.

"One of our next tasks is to put an immediate end to the war. But in order to end this war, which is closely bound up with the present capitalist system, it is clear to everybody that capital itself must be overcome." (*Ibid.*, p. 614.)

That evening the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets opened, and, by an overwhelming majority, endorsed the manifesto proclaiming the transfer of power to the Soviets, which ran: "Backed by the will of the vast majority of workers, soldiers and peasants, backed by the victorious insurrection of the workers and the garrison in Petrograd, the congress takes the power into its own hands. (*Ibid.*, p. 617.)

The first Soviet Government was formed, headed by Lenin and with Comrade Stalin as People's Commissar for the Affairs of the Nationalities.

How is it that the Party, despite all the difficulties, of which it was fully aware, and despite the panic and outright treachery of the capitulators Kamenev and Zinoviev, members of the Central Committee, supported Lenin and Stalin with such unanimity in preparing for the armed uprising and carrying it out?

It was because Lenin had worked indefatigably to prepare the Party for the Socialist revolution; because throughout the history of the Party Lenin had prepared it for armed uprising; because Comrade Stalin, in all his revolutionary activities, had by his practical work, agitation and propaganda, fortified in the minds of the members of the Party the conviction that only a victorious armed uprising could lead to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat; and, lastly, because the slogan of armed uprising had been the Party's most constant and invariable slogan in all its agitation and propaganda, and had struck deep root in the minds of the masses.

And so, casting a retrospective glance on Comrade Stalin's activities in preparing and carrying out the armed uprising of October 1917, we may say that this was a period when, to use his own words, he became a master of revolution.

"And, lastly," he said in 1926 at the meeting of the workers in the Tiflis railway shops, "I recall the year 1917, when, after my wanderings from one prison and place of exile to another, I was transferred by the will of the Party to Leningrad. There, in the society of Russian workers, and in direct 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. . . I received my third revolutionary baptism of fire. There, in Russia, under Lenin's guidance, I became a master of revolution."

## VIII

LENIN defined with the utmost clarity and precision the tasks that confronted the Party and the proletariat after the seizure of power. He pointed to the difficulties which would have to be overcome if these tasks were to be accomplished.

Here was a country exhausted to an extreme by the imperialist war, with its economic life disorganized and its people starving; a country of many nationalities, in which, owing to centuries of tsarist oppression, practically half the population harboured a profound distrust of everything Russian; a country where the counter-revolution had not yet been crushed and was ready to sell its native land to any enemy as long as the power of the Bolsheviks were overthrown—and this country Lenin set up in opposition to the whole capitalist world.

And in doing so, he gave an object lesson to the proletarians of all countries in the way a revolutionary party should discharge its international obligations.

In this titanic struggle, Comrade Stalin was Lenin's right hand.

The first political task to which Lenin and Stalin addressed themselves was to win securely for the Soviet power the support of the peasant masses of all the nationalities in Russia.

"Peace, the agrarian revolution and freedom for the nationalities,"

Comrade Stalin subsequently wrote, "—these were the three principal factors which served to rally the peasants of more than twenty nationalities in the vast expanse of Russia around the red flag of the Russian proletariat." (J. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, p. 117.)

On October 26 (November 8), 1917, the Second Congress of Soviets issued the Decree on Peace and the Decree on the Land, both drawn up by Lenin.

On November 3 (16), the "Declaration of Rights of the Nations of Russia," drawn up by Comrade Stalin, was published, proclaiming the following principles of the national policy of the Soviet Government:

1. The equality and sovereignty of the nations of Russia;
2. The right of the nations of Russia to freedom of self-determination, including the right to secede and form independent states;
3. Abolition of all national and national-religious privileges and restrictions whatsoever;
4. Freedom of development for the national minorities and ethnographic groups inhabiting the territory of Russia.

As People's Commissar for the Affairs of the Nationalities, Comrade Stalin consistently put into practice the principle of complete equality of nations, and of the abolition of all national oppression and inequality.

Working in conjunction with Lenin in laying and consolidating the foundations of the Soviet state, Comrade Stalin at the same time was actively engaged in current administrative and economic work in all spheres, especially where the situation happened to be most crucial. These activities are too manifold to enumerate. I will cite only one example. In the summer of 1918, when the food situation was so critical that the fight for bread meant the fight for Socialism, Lenin sent Comrade Stalin to Tsaritsyn; and, in spite of incredible difficulties, it was not long before he was dispatching food train after food train to Moscow, Petrograd, Ivanovo-Voznesensk and other industrial centres. Here is a highly characteristic telegram he sent to Lenin, Sverdlov, Tsurupa, the Revolutionary Military Council and the People's Commissar of Ways



of Communication, one that gives us some idea of the Stalin style of work:

“For the immediate purchase and dispatch to Moscow of ten million poods of grain and about ten thousand head of cattle please consign to Chekprod (the Extraordinary Food Commission) 75,000,000 rubles in money, preferably in small denominations, and various goods to a value of about 36,000,000 rubles, such as, pitchforks, axes, nails, bolts, nuts, window glass, crockery, hay mowers and parts, rivets, round tyre iron, reapers, rollers, matches, harness parts, footwear, cotton print, knitted goods, calico, sheeting, shirting, nainsook, twill, lasting, sateen, serge, navy cloth, light and heavy, skins, soles and uppers, tea, scythes, seeders, milk pails, ploughs, sacks, canvas, galoshes, paint, enamel, blacksmith’s and carpenter’s tools, files, carbolic acid, turpentine and soda. Chekprod has about 15,000,000 rubles in money and various goods to a value of about 10,000,000 rubles. Money and goods indicated must be sent without delay. Have Trotsky wire orders to all military commanders at front and to Snessarev’s headquarters not to requisition consignments of foodstuffs or textiles, not to hold up our goods trains and to assist our food committees. Send copy to Stalin. Have Central Executive Committee wire immediate orders to Kuban, Terek and Stavropol Soviets to observe fixed prices, not to allow provinces or districts to procure and ship food independently, and to give the utmost assistance to the agents of Stalin and Chekprod. Send copy to Stalin. Have Kobozev and Nevsky wire immediate orders to railway agents on all Southern lines not to accept on pain of severe penalty grain consignments unless addressed to the Chekprod or Food Commissariat, nor to accept passengers carrying sacks of grain. Send copy to Stalin. Have Kobozev and Nevsky wire similar orders to all steamship agents on Volga. Send copy to Stalin. Have People’s Commissariat of Food issue circular to all provincial food committees and Soviets, particularly in Orekhovo-Zuyevo and other industrial towns, instructing them not to send agents to the South for grain, for we shall dispatch all grain to Moscow by rail and to Nizhni by waterway. Send copy to Stalin. We insist on consigning all food from the South in bulk and decline all distrib-

uting functions leaving them entirely to the Volprod. We shall confine ourselves to procuring and shipping to only two points, Moscow and Nizhni, where we recommend the Food Commissariat to set up general storehouses and distributing offices for the whole of Russia, with exception of Baku, Turkestan and the Astrakhan province, which we undertake to supply directly because of their proximity to the South. Construction of Kizlyar railway line begun. People’s Commissar Stalin.”

Comrade Stalin’s military activities during the Civil War were an epic in themselves. Their significance lies not only in the victories won, but also in the high strategical and tactical skill he displayed, the ability he showed in organizing and directing armed forces in a way that was most destructive to the enemy.

To describe Comrade Stalin’s military activities would require a separate work written by an expert of no ordinary calibre. How highly Lenin valued Comrade Stalin’s military activities may be seen from the telegram he sent to the defenders of Tsaritsyn in May 1919, in which he said: “Immediately form a special group of the most responsible and energetic persons in Tsaritsyn who helped in carrying out the measures indicated by Stalin for the defence of Tsaritsyn and instruct them to set about carrying out the present measures with equal energy.”

Comrade Voroshilov describes Comrade Stalin’s work on the fronts of the Civil War as follows:

“In the period from 1918 to 1920 Comrade Stalin was probably the only person whom the Central Committee shifted about from front to front, selecting the most vulnerable spots, the places where the threat to the revolution was most imminent. Stalin was never to be found where things were comparatively quiet and going smoothly, where success was attending our arms. But wherever, for various reasons, the Red armies suffered reverses, wherever the counter-revolutionary forces, pressing their successes, threatened the very existence of Soviet power, wherever alarm and panic might at any moment develop into helplessness and catastrophe—there Comrade Stalin was always sure to appear. During endless nights, foregoing sleep, he organized things, took the reins of leadership into his own

firm hands, relentlessly broke down all obstructions—and the tide of affairs would turn, an improvement would set in.” (Voroshilov, *Stalin and the Red Army*, p. 8.)

Thus you see how immense was the part played by Comrade Stalin in the victory over the Whiteguard bands and the foreign forces of intervention.

## IX

WITH the termination of the Civil War, the Soviet country addressed itself to the task of peaceful economic development.

The transition was accompanied by tremendous difficulties—economic chaos, dissatisfaction of the peasants with the surplus appropriation system, the extreme fatigue of the workers caused by war and famine, and so on—all of which the enemies of the people hastened to exploit for their own foul purposes. The Socialist-Revolutionaries and other Whiteguard organizations instigated kulak rebellions in Siberia, the Ukraine and the Tambov Province. Mutiny broke out in Kronstadt.

The Party was confronted with the need for a new economic policy, one adapted to times of peace. War Communism, a product of the war and the blockade, had now lost its purpose. The surplus appropriation system was hindering the development of productive forces in the countryside. The restoration of industry had become an urgent necessity for Socialist construction. A new economic basis had to be worked out for the alliance between the workers and the peasants.

In this difficult and trying period for the Party and the Soviet state, Trotsky, Bukharin, Shlyapnikov and others again launched a fierce attack on Lenin and the Central Committee with the object

of destroying the unity of the Party, turning the peasants against the workers, and encompassing the ruin of the Soviet regime.

They began by starting a controversy on the role of the trade unions, although at that time (1920) this was not a major question of Party policy. What really underlay the controversy was the policy to be adopted towards the peasants and the non-party workers in the transition to peaceful economic construction.

In the struggle against these opposition groups, the Party organizations rallied solidly in support of Lenin and Stalin. The Tenth Party Congress, held in March 1921, consolidated this victory and adopted a highly important decision introducing a new economic policy designed to strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry.

At this Congress, on the report of Comrade Stalin, the decision was first reached recommending the amalgamation of the Soviet Republics into a federal state.

The extensive preparatory work required to give effect to this decision was performed by Comrade Stalin with great energy.

The Tenth All-Russian Congress of Soviets, on December 26, 1922, and the First Congress of Soviets of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on December 30, 1922, after hearing reports by Comrade Stalin, endorsed the Declaration and Treaty of Union by which the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was constituted.

In the latter report, Comrade Stalin described this period in the development of the country in the following words:

"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 modify-

ing it in the interests of the toilers." (J. Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, p. 109.)

The Eleventh Party Congress (March 1922) was the last to be directed by Lenin in person.

In April 1922, the first plenary meeting of the Central Committee following the Eleventh Party Congress instituted the post of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, to which, on Lenin's proposal, Comrade Stalin was elected.

Lenin, being seriously ill, was unable to attend the Twelfth Party Congress, held in April 1923, and the guidance of its labours therefore fell largely on the shoulders of Comrade Stalin. He rallied the Congress against the chronic oppositionist muddlers in the Party who did not understand and distorted Lenin's policy.

But the authoritative decisions of the Congress and the solid support given to the line of Lenin and Stalin by the Party were unable to ensure tranquillity in the Party for long. In the autumn of 1923, Comrade Stalin already found it necessary to defend the policy of the Party from new attacks on the part of the Trotskyites. The Thirteenth Party Conference, which met in January 1924, branded the Trotskyite opposition as a petty-bourgeois deviation from Marxism.

But now a terrible misfortune befell the Party, the working class and all progressive humanity. On January 21, 1924, Lenin passed away.

In the days of mourning for Lenin, at the Second Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R., Comrade Stalin made a solemn vow in the name of the Party. He said:

"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 the voluntary union of the nations of our country, the necessity for fraternal co-operation between them within the framework of the Union of Republics.

*“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! . . .*

More than once did Lenin point out to us that the strengthening of the Red Army and the improvement of its condition is one of the most important tasks of our Party. . . . Let us vow, then, comrades, that we 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!”*

Lenin's death was a severe blow to the working masses of the whole world; but it was felt most severely of all by the peoples of the Soviet Republics, for whom the pain of loss was heightened by the sense of the heavy responsibilities now laid upon them. Many asked themselves with misgivings whether, now that Lenin was gone, the Bolshevik Party would be able to cope with the difficulties that confronted it.

The problem of Party leadership now became urgent. When

we remember that people who at practically every stage of their political career had combated Lenin and Bolshevism were now trying to seize the leadership, it must be admitted that the Party coped with this problem very effectively. Comrade Stalin was re-elected General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. So strong was the sense of solidarity in the Party that the enemies of Leninism in its ranks thought it best to “lie low” for a time and continue their anti-Party machinations clandestinely.

Comrade Stalin's re-election to the post of General Secretary virtually meant that the leadership of the Party passed into his hands. And as leader of the Party, he had to shoulder the supreme responsibility of consolidating the unity of the Party on the basis of Leninism, of developing and consolidating the Soviet system, and of building up Socialism in the country.

At the Thirteenth Party Congress Comrade Stalin exposed the outcries of the Trotskyites to the effect that the Party apparatus was in danger of becoming corroded by bureaucracy.

“That is not the danger,” he said; “the danger is the possibility of the Party becoming in fact divorced from the non-party masses. You may have a party whose apparatus is built on democratic lines, but if it has no ties with the working class this democracy will be futile and worthless. The Party exists *for* the class. If it is bound up with the class, has contact with it, and enjoys prestige and respect among the non-party masses, it can exist and develop even if there are bureaucratic shortcomings. But if all this is lacking, then however you organize the Party—whether bureaucratically or democratically—it is bound to perish. The Party is a part of the class; it exists for the class, and not for itself.”

He then went on to make a brilliant denunciation of the attempt of the Trotskyites to set up the youth against the old cadres of the Party:

“This question of the generations is a minor one. Facts and figures from the life of our Party show that the younger generation of Party members is steadily infiltrating the cadres, that the cadres are being enlarged by reinforcements from the youth. This is the course the Party has always pursued and always will pursue.



Only those who regard the cadres as an isolated body, as a privileged caste which does not admit new members into its ranks; only those who regard the cadres as something like officers of the guard of former times, as people who consider the other members of the Party 'beneath them'; only those who are bent on creating a rift between the cadres and the Party youth can turn the question of democracy into a question of the generations in the Party. The essence of democracy is not the question of the generations; it is the independent and active participation of Party members in the work of Party leadership. Thus, and only thus, can the question of democracy be considered, provided, of course, we are not talking of a formally democratic party, but of a really proletarian party, bound by indissoluble ties with the masses of the working class."

Not without good reason had Lenin called Trotsky a weathercock. He easily veered from one political direction to another. The Bolshevik view of the Party as a monolithic whole was repugnant to Trotsky and his ilk, and they accordingly tried to impose on it their own view, which was to tolerate the existence of various trends and factions within the Party's ranks.

Every Bolshevik will understand that this was a great menace to the Party and the proletarian dictatorship, for to tolerate factions and groups within the Party would offer a favourable soil for the activities of counter-revolutionary elements, who would hasten to exploit these factions and groups for their own ends. "The disposition of forces internationally is such," Comrade Stalin said, "that any attempt to undermine the authority of our Party and the stability of the dictatorship in our country will inevitably be seized upon by the enemies of the revolution as a factor in their favour, irrespective of whether this attempt is made by our opposition or by the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks." And this, in fact, is what subsequently happened in the case of all the oppositions.

True to the vow he had taken over Lenin's ashes, Comrade Stalin brought to the defence of Leninism all the passion of a Bolshevik warrior. He was the first to incisively dissect and expose

the counter-revolutionary Menshevik nature of Trotskyism and rouse the Party ruthlessly to resist every attempt to replace Leninism by Trotskyism.

Speaking at a meeting of the Party group on the All-Union Central Trade Union Council on November 19, 1924, Comrade Stalin said:

"Trotsky in his writings makes one more (just one more!) attempt to pave the way for replacing Leninism by Trotskyism. He feels a 'desperate' need to discredit the Party, and its cadres who made the uprising, in order, after discrediting the Party, to discredit Leninism. And he needs to discredit Leninism in order to smuggle in Trotskyism as the 'only' 'proletarian' (no joking!) ideology. All this, of course (oh yes, of course!), under the badge of Leninism, in order to make the smuggling process 'as painless as possible.'"

The energy displayed by Comrade Stalin during this period is astonishing. Engaged as he was in leading the Party that was regenerating a huge country which now needed ideal leadership, and in practically instructing all the Soviet and Party cadres, Comrade Stalin yet found time for intense labour in the field of theory.

First mention in this connection should be made of his celebrated lectures on the "Foundations of Leninism," delivered at the Sverdlov University in April 1924. It must be said that these were not ordinary lectures, but a passionate and bold defence before the masses of Leninism against all hostile theories.

Comrade Stalin has considerably advanced the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory; he has further expanded the meaning of all its major precepts in adaptation to the new conditions; he has raised Lenin's doctrine of imperialism to a new height; he has made new contributions to the theory of the proletarian state, the peasant question, the national question, the question of the Party and its role in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to strategy and tactics, and, lastly, to the theory of the victory of Socialism in one country and the way to build Socialism.

To this period belong Comrade Stalin's article, "The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists," written

in December 1924 as a preface to *The Road to October*, and the pamphlet *Problems of Leninism*, published in January 1926.

These writings are helping millions of people in the study of Marxism-Leninism both in our country and abroad. They are an invaluable aid to the development of political thought and to the struggle for the interests of the proletariat.

Comrade Stalin's theoretical works are a model of the application of Marxian dialectics. They reveal a remarkable faculty for analyzing processes of development, for detecting all the peculiarities of a process and, on this basis, foretelling its future development.

The tremendous power of Comrade Stalin's theoretical generalizations is derived from the fact that they are always associated with the practical actions of the masses. I would like to cite in illustration the question of the possibility of building Socialism in one country. It was not for nothing that Comrade Stalin concentrated attention on this question. When mustering the Party to combat Trotskyism, he did so because it involved the prospects of development. Our country was at that time completing its economic recovery. Abroad, a partial stabilization of capitalism had begun, which, in the opinion of the opportunists, would spell the doom of the revolution in Russia.

"We thus have two stabilizations," Comrade Stalin said. "At the one pole, capitalism is stabilizing itself, consolidating its position, and developing further. At the other pole, the Soviet system is stabilizing itself, consolidating the positions it has won, and moving forward to victory.

"Who will win?—that is the whole question.

"Why is the one stabilization running parallel to the other, and whence these two poles? The reason is that an integral, all-embracing capitalism no longer exists; that the world has split into two camps—the camp of capitalism, headed by British and American capital, and the camp of Socialism, headed by the Soviet Union; and that the international situation will be increasingly determined by the relative strengths of these two camps."

In what direction should we advance; could we build up

Socialism in our country?—that question now arose in all its urgency.

In opposition to the sceptics, snivellers and liquidators, Comrade Stalin plainly and resolutely declared that our country, the country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, possessed every requisite for the building of a full Socialist society, and that Socialism could be built in our country, taken alone.

"If the U.S.S.R. achieves increasing success in socialist construction, what will be the effect?" Comrade Stalin wrote. "It will radically improve the revolutionary position of the proletarians of all countries in their struggle against capital, will undermine the position of international capital in its struggle against the proletariat, and will enormously increase the chances of world Communism. . . .

"Hence building Socialism in the U.S.S.R. will further the common cause of the proletarians of all countries; it will hammer out the victory over capital not only in the U.S.S.R., but in all capitalist countries as well, for the revolution in the U.S.S.R. is part and parcel of the world revolution, the beginning and foundation of its development."

Making the industrialization of the country the focal point of the whole economic policy of the Soviet state, Comrade Stalin, like the great social transformer he was, bent all the material and creative forces of the country to the accomplishment of this central and fundamental task. To the sceptics and snivellers who did not perceive the socialist aim of this vast work, Comrade Stalin said: "Without clear prospects, without clear aims, our Party cannot guide the work of construction. We cannot live in accordance with Bernstein's precept: 'the movement is everything, the aim nothing.' On the contrary, as revolutionaries we must subordinate our advance, our practical work, to the fundamental class aim of proletarian construction. Otherwise we shall unquestionably and infallibly land in the bog of opportunism.

"Furthermore, without clear prospects in our constructive work, without the certainty of building Socialism, the worker masses cannot *consciously* take part in this work of construction, they cannot

*consciously* lead the peasantry. Without the certainty of building Socialism, there can be no will to build Socialism. Who wants to build when he knows that the job will not be finished? Therefore the absence of socialist prospects in our constructive work would unquestionably and infallibly undermine the proletariat's will to engage in this constructive work."

In April 1925, this Leninist-Stalinist policy was endorsed by the Fourteenth Party Conference as a law of the Party. Driven to the wall, the Zinovievites voted for this Party law in order to avert suspicion, but privately decided to put up a fight at the Fourteenth Party Congress.

Proceeding from the principle that Socialism can be built in one country, Comrade Stalin quite consistently raised the question of industrializing the country, and of making this the basis of the general line of the Party.

This question was discussed at the Fourteenth Party Congress in December 1925.

In the political report he made at that Congress, Comrade Stalin drew a vivid picture of the political and economic progress made by the Soviet Union, thanks to the superiority of the Soviet economic system. At the same time, Comrade Stalin warned us against resting on our laurels and forgetting that our country was a backward country and was surrounded by hostile capitalist states.

"We are working and building," he said, "in the midst of a capitalist encirclement. That means that our economic system and our constructive work will develop in the midst of the contradiction, the conflicts between our economic system and the capitalist economic system. Do what we will, we cannot avoid this contradiction. It is the framework within which the struggle between the two systems—the Socialist system and the capitalist system—must proceed. It means, moreover, that the building of our economic system must take place not only in the conflict between it and the capitalist system outside, but also in the conflict between the different elements inside our country, the conflict between the socialist elements and the capitalist elements.

"The conclusion to be drawn is that we must build our economic

system in such a way as to prevent our country becoming an appendage of the world capitalist system, to prevent it being included in the general system of capitalist development as one of its auxiliary enterprises, in such a way that our economic system should not develop as an auxiliary enterprise of world capitalism, but as an independent economic unit, one relying mainly on the home market, on the bond between industry and peasant farming in our country."

The central task of the Party, Comrade Stalin said, was "to convert our country from an agrarian into an industrial country able to produce the machinery it needs by its own efforts." That, he said, was "the essence, the basis of our general line."

The Zinovievite "New Opposition" set up against this Leninist-Stalinist plan of socialist industrialization their own bourgeois plan for the "Dawesation" of the U.S.S.R. Like the Trotskyites, they denied the possibility of building Socialism in one country. According to their plan, the Soviet Union was to remain an agricultural country and serve as an appendage to the highly developed capitalist countries.

Comrade Stalin denounced this treacherous plan of the Zinovievites as a plan for the enslavement of the U.S.S.R.; he disclosed the Trotskyite-Menshevik nature of the "New Opposition," which was out to split the Party and jeopardize the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Congress severely condemned the attempts of the opposition groups to destroy the alliance between the working class and the labouring peasantry. Comrade Stalin exposed the Right opportunists (Bukharinites), who were trying to minimize the kulak danger, and the "Left" opportunists (Zinovievites) who had taken fright at the kulak and underestimated the importance of the middle peasant. To the question, which deviation was worse, he replied: "One is as bad as the other. And if these deviations are allowed to develop they may disintegrate and destroy the Party. Fortunately there are forces in our Party capable of ridding it of all deviations."

"The historical significance of the Fourteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.)," Comrade Stalin subsequently wrote, "lies in the fact

that it was able to expose the very roots of the mistakes of the New Opposition, that it spurned their scepticism and snivelling, that it clearly and distinctly outlined the further path of the struggle for Socialism, opened before the Party the prospect of victory, and thus armed the proletariat with an invincible faith in the victory of socialist construction." (J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, pp. 173-74.)

## X

THE industrialization of our country and the entire subsequent process of socialist construction are intimately bound up with the name of Comrade Stalin. He broadly and profoundly developed Lenin's idea of industrialization as the basis for the socialist reconstruction of the whole economic life of the country. And in this task he discerned enormous prospects for creative work.

He explained that "not every kind of industrial development means industrialization. The central and fundamental idea of industrialization is the development of a heavy industry (fuel, metal, etc.), the development in the end of the industries producing means of production, the development of our own machine building industry. The purpose of industrialization is not only to increase the relative importance of industry in our national economy, but also, in the course of this development, to ensure economic independence for our country, surrounded as it is by capitalists, and prevent it from being converted into an appendage of world capitalism."

The task of industrialization, and hence of socialist construction generally, entailed rousing the working class and all enlightened working people, inspiring them with faith in victory, awakening their creative energies and directing them into the channels of constructive work.

"Can this task (the task of industrialization.—*M.K.*) be accomplished," Comrade Stalin asked, "without the direct aid and support of the working class? No, it cannot. Advancing our industry, raising its productivity, training new cadres of builders of industry, correctly conducting the work of socialist accumulation, rationally employing these accumulations for the needs of industry, introducing strict economy, improving the state apparatus, making it cheap and honest and ridding it of the scum and filth with which it has become incrustated in the period of our constructive work, and waging a systematic struggle against pilferers and squanderers of state property are all tasks which are beyond the strength of any party that has not the direct and systematic support of the working class millions. We must therefore make it our purpose to draw the non-party workers in their millions into every sphere of our constructive labours."

Socialist industrialization demanded a vast army of skilled cadres. Without them the task of socialist construction could not be accomplished. And so Comrade Stalin laid the utmost stress on the need for cadres, demanding that the Party should solve this problem as rapidly as possible.

"No task, let alone so huge a task as the industrialization of our country," Comrade Stalin said at a meeting of Leningrad Party functionaries in 1926, "can be accomplished without living forces, without new people, without cadres of new builders. . . . The task therefore is to create large forces of builders of industry recruited from the ranks of the workers and the Soviet intelligentsia, from that Soviet intelligentsia which has thrown in its lot with the working class and is joining us in laying a socialist foundation for our economic life."

The success that attended Comrade Stalin's efforts in the socialist industrialization of the country surpassed all expectations. Our Party and the working class successfully coped with the major difficulties connected with the industrialization of the country and advanced unswervingly along its adopted path.

At the Fifteenth Party Congress, in December 1927, Comrade Stalin, reviewing what had been done in the past two years in ful-

filment of the decisions of the Fourteenth Party Congress, was able to say:

*" . . . We have raised up our socialist industry, we have broken all records in the speed of its development and have won for it the leading place in our national economy.*

*"We have established a bond between socialist industry and peasant farming.*

*"We have strengthened the alliance between the working class and the middle peasants, while relying on the support of the poor peasants.*

*"We have strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, notwithstanding the hostile international encirclement, and have demonstrated to the workers of all countries that not only can the proletariat destroy capitalism, but that it can also build Socialism.*

*"We have strengthened the Party, upheld Leninism and utterly smashed the opposition.*

"Such are the general results.

"What is the conclusion? There can be only one conclusion, namely, that we are on the right road, that the policy of our Party is correct."

What power lies hidden in Comrade Stalin's speeches and writings!

The canons of literature enjoin moderation in quoting from the works of others. And this rule applies all the more to the works of Comrade Stalin, for they are doubtless well known to the reader. But when perusing them, you are gripped by their force, stirred by their profundity, fascinated by their logic, conquered by their consistency, by their unfailing high level of principle, by the fire of their hatred—a hatred inherited from Marx, Engels and Lenin—for all enemies of the proletariat, for all enemies of the people. Never does Comrade Stalin treat practical problems isolated from Marxism-Leninism, from the problem of socialist construction.

Here is one illustration of this method of treating problems. The opportunists asserted that our country was an agrarian and backward country, and therefore Socialism could not be built in it. But Comrade Stalin approached the problem like a Leninist.



Yes, he said, our country is an agrarian country, a backward country, it is true; but that means that we must make it an industrial and advanced country. And he accordingly roused the Party and the working class for the accomplishment of this task, regarding it as an essential phase that had to be passed through on the way to Socialism.

Comrade Stalin's brilliant utterances in defence of industrialization will always stir the reader; not only for their ideas and their form, but also for their profound conviction and invincible faith in the victory of Socialism, that is, in the attainment of the goal to which he has devoted himself body and soul.

Comrade Stalin's utterances are not only a call, not only propaganda and agitation; they also have the force of an order, an instruction, a command. And he is the first to show how they are to be carried out. There is not a single construction job of any importance in which he has not had a part.

The people realized the importance of industrialization as the only path leading towards Communism, and in the work of socialist construction they displayed an enthusiasm unparalleled in the history of the world.

Comrade Stalin was fully aware of the difficulties confronting the working class. But he was also aware of the power of the masses, a power capable of overcoming any difficulties.

One recalls the reply he gave to the sceptics and snivellers:

"Have you ever seen fishermen when a storm is brewing on a great river—say the Yenisei? I have seen them many a time. In the face of a storm one group of fishermen will muster all their forces, encourage their fellows and boldly put out to meet the storm: 'Cheer up, lads, hold tight to the tiller, cut the waves, we'll pull her through!' But there is another type of fishermen, who, on sensing a storm, lose heart, begin to snivel, and demoralize their own ranks: 'What a misfortune, a storm is brewing; lie down, boys, in the bottom of the boat, shut your eyes; let's hope she'll make the shore somehow.'" (*Ibid.*, p. 245.)

Comrade Stalin has always been the leader of those who are not afraid of storms, who hold tight to the tiller, boldly cut the

waves and steer confidently towards Communism. And that is why he is the rallying centre for all active and advanced forces, for the forces of youth who are battling for Communism.

At the Fifteenth Party Congress, Comrade Stalin, that great social transformer, placed before the Party, and hence before the entire country, a new task, the task of rising to one more level, of taking one more step towards Socialism, by collectivizing peasant farming.

Organizationally, technically, and, above all, politically, this was a far more difficult task than the industrialization of the country; for the working class was here applying its proletarian ideas to another class, which, although close to it, akin to it in labour, and its long-standing ally in the struggle against tsardom, the landlords and the capitalists, was not a proletarian class.

To this more than to any other problem applied Stalin's principle that to carry out the decisions of the Party effectively, it is essential that the masses should support them, or at least that the greater majority of the masses should understand the necessity and importance of the decisions and sympathize with them. But, on the other hand, one must not fall behind the demands of the times, otherwise one may easily find oneself limping in the tail of the masses; and "tail-ism" (*khvostism*) is the most offensive term in the lexicon of the Bolshevik Party. All the decisions of the Party and the Soviet Government adopted on the initiative and under the influence of Comrade Stalin are illustrative of a leadership that marches ahead of the masses, but never becomes divorced from them.

The collectivization of individual peasant farming constitutes one of the most brilliant episodes in Comrade Stalin's social and political activities.

Naturally, the transition from individual peasant farming to collective farming was a subject which had formerly been discussed in Marxist literature only in the most general terms. But Comrade Stalin developed the idea to the full. He gave a brilliant interpretation and theoretical explanation of the problem, treating it in connection with the general economic life of the country, the mate-

rial resources involved, the amenability of the peasant to collectivization, the degree of resistance of the kulaks, the extent of the inertia of the masses, and, lastly, the political readiness of the Party for the step, its ability to enlist the sympathy of the masses in this great cause.

It required a man who had mastered Marxism-Leninism, Marxian dialectics, to perfection, who was able to take account of all the factors and conditions, and turn them to the interest of Communism, to cope with this colossal task, which constituted one of the major problems of the construction of Communism.

On the initiative of Comrade Stalin, the Fifteenth Party Congress adopted a decision on the collectivization of agriculture, which opened a new chapter in the history of the peasantry in the Soviet Union. Explaining to the Congress the reasons which necessitated the collectivization of agriculture, Comrade Stalin said:

“. . . Our disunited agriculture does not possess the advantages of our large-scale and united nationalized industry. First of all, agriculture is not nationalized and united, but dispersed and divided into small units. It is not conducted on planned lines, and is still largely a prey to the anarchy of small-scale production. It is not united and run on a large scale along collective lines, and as a result it still presents a convenient field for exploitation by the kulak elements. This circumstance prevents this highly divided agriculture from enjoying the tremendous advantages of large-scale, united production run on planned lines which are enjoyed by our nationalized industry. . . .

“Where then lies the solution? The solution lies in transforming the small and scattered peasant farms into large united farms based on common cultivation of the soil, in the adoption of collective cultivation of the soil on the basis of a new and higher technique. It lies in gradually but steadily uniting the small and very small peasant farms—not by pressure, but by example and precept—into large-scale farms run on the basis of common, co-operative, collective cultivation of the soil, with the employment of agricultural machinery and tractors and scientific methods of intensive agriculture. There is no other solution. Failing this, our agri-

culture will not be in a position to overtake, let alone outstrip the agriculturally most developed capitalist countries (Canada, etc.)”

Comrade Stalin now raised the question of organizing a systematic offensive of Socialism against the capitalist elements all along the line. In pursuance of this, the Fifteenth Party Congress gave instructions for drawing up the First Five-Year National Economic Plan.

In April 1929, the Sixteenth Party Conference approved the optimal variant of the First Five-Year Plan.

The First Stalin Five-Year Plan became the banner of the struggle for Socialism. An intense spirit of labour enthusiasm gripped the working class, finding expression in Socialist emulation and shock work methods.

## XI

In the latter half of 1929 the working peasantry began to abandon individual farming *en masse* and join the collective farms. The Party and the working class succeeded in turning the bulk of the peasantry from the old path of capitalism to the new path of Socialism.

When the Party launched the offensive against the kulaks, the Right-opportunist Bukharin-Rykov-Tomsky group came out openly in defence of the kulaks and in opposition to the line of the Party.

The place of the Trotskyite opposition was taken by the Rights, who virtually represented all the scum hostile to the Party in its ranks. That was only natural, for the Leninist line of the Party—the line of industrialization, collectivization and the building of Socialism—was no more acceptable to the Rights, who were striving for the restoration of capitalism, than to the Trotskyites.

The year 1929 has been called by Comrade Stalin “A Year of Great Change.”

In the political report he made at the Sixteenth Party Congress, he gave a profound and comprehensive analysis of the reasons for the historic swing of the peasantry towards collective farming:

“The peasantry,” he said, “did not swing towards collectivization all at once. This change could not have begun all at once.

True, the slogan of collectivization was proclaimed by the Party even at the Fifteenth Congress. But issuing a slogan is not enough to start a mass swing of the peasants towards Socialism. At least one more circumstance is needed for this, namely, that the mass of the peasants themselves should become convinced of the correctness of the slogan proclaimed, and should adopt it as their own. Hence this swing was prepared gradually. It was prepared by the whole course of our development, the whole course of development of our industry, and particularly the development of those branches of industry which supply machines and tractors for agriculture. It was prepared by our policy of decisive struggle against the kulaks and by the course of our grain collecting campaign in its new forms in 1928 and 1929, which placed the kulak farms under the control of the poor and middle peasant masses. It was prepared by the development of agricultural co-operation, which accustomed the individual peasant to the collective management of affairs. It was prepared by a network of collective farms, where the peasant tested out the advantage of collective forms of farming as compared with individual forms. It was prepared, finally, by the network of state farms scattered throughout the U.S.S.R. and equipped with new technique, where the peasant had the opportunity to convince himself of the strength and advantages of the new technique.”

The adoption of collective farming by the peasants on a mass scale changed the alignment of class forces in the economic life of the country. An adequate material base had already been created in the countryside to make it possible to smash the resistance of the kulaks, eliminate them as a class and replace kulak grain farming by collective and state grain farming. Accordingly, towards the end of 1929, with the full support of the poor and middle peasants, the Soviet Government radically changed its policy towards the kulaks. From a policy of restricting and ousting the kulaks, it passed to a policy of eliminating them as a class, on the basis of solid collectivization.

It has rightly been said that the collectivization of agriculture and the elimination of the kulaks as a class was a revolution which, for its consequences, was equal to the Revolution of October 1917.

It was an epoch-making victory. It shattered the claim of the enemies of the Party—the Trotskyites and Bukharinites—that the working class was incapable of organizing the peasantry and leading it along the path of Socialism.

It shattered, Stalin says, “the last hope of the capitalists of all countries, who were dreaming of restoring capitalism in the U.S.S.R.—‘the sacred principle of private property.’ The peasants, whom they regarded as material for manuring the soil for capitalism, are abandoning *en masse* the lauded banner of ‘private property’ and are taking the path of collectivism, the path of Socialism. The last hope for the restoration of capitalism is crumbling.” (*Ibid.*, p. 304.)

A big part in the victory of the collective farms was played by the machine and tractor stations. It may safely be said that in the machine and tractor stations Comrade Stalin discovered the key to the technical reconstruction of agriculture on Socialist lines. Through them the working class assisted, and is still assisting, the peasants in their farming and exercising a transforming influence on the countryside.

Comrade Stalin attentively followed the development of collective farming. Perceiving that in a number of districts the Party policy was being distorted and abused—in which the enemies of the people undoubtedly had a hand—Comrade Stalin rallied the Party to combat this anti-Party line in collective farm affairs. His article, “Dizzy with Success,” helped the Party organizations to correct their mistakes and dealt a crushing blow to the enemies who had hoped to exploit these abuses in order to turn the peasantry against the Soviet Government.

“What is there in common,” Comrade Stalin asked, “between this Sergeant Prishibeyev ‘policy’ and the Party’s policy, which rests on the voluntary principle and allows for local peculiarities in collective farm construction? Obviously, they have not, nor can they have, anything in common.

“Who benefits by these distortions, this bureaucratic decreeing of a collective farm movement, these unseemly threats against the peasants? Nobody but our enemies!

“What may these distortions lead to? To the strengthening of our enemies and the discrediting of the idea of the collective farm movement.

“Is it not obvious that the authors of these distortions, who think they are ‘Lefts,’ are, in fact, bringing grist to the mill of Right opportunism?” (*Ibid.*, p. 336.)

About a month later Comrade Stalin published another article, entitled “A reply to Collective Farm Comrades,” in which he disclosed the major mistakes made in the collective farm movement and the root of these mistakes.

Comrade Stalin’s unswerving pursuance of the Party policy as here illustrated, his correction of the various distortions and mistakes, and the instructions he issued to this effect to the Party and Soviet bodies all helped to further the development of the collective farm movement.

The Sixteenth Party Congress, which met in June and July 1930, is known in the annals of the Party as “the congress of the sweeping offensive of Socialism *along the whole front.*”

The success of the policy of socialist industrialization was by this time so extensive that the U.S.S.R., from an agrarian country, was already on the eve of becoming an industrial country. Among the masses, the battle-cry went up: “Fulfil the Five-Year Plan in Four Years!”

In agriculture, too, a marked change was to be observed. The collective and state farms were now becoming the decisive force in agriculture, and the collective farm peasantry had become a reliable bulwark of the Soviet regime in the countryside.

All this meant that, guided by Comrade Stalin, the Soviet Union was already entering the period of Socialism.

The Sixteenth Party Congress consolidated the victories achieved and took measures to maintain the Bolshevik tempo in the further development of Socialism.

In an address to a conference of managers of Socialist industry in February 1931, Comrade Stalin outlined new tasks for the Party and the country.

“We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries,”

he said. "We must make good this distance in ten years. Either we do it, or they crush us. . . . Bolsheviks must master technique. It is time Bolsheviks themselves became experts. In the period of reconstruction, technique decides everything." (*Ibid.*, pp. 366-67.)

This speech inaugurated the campaign for the mastery of technique by the Bolsheviks, thus indicating to the Party and the working class the key problem in the socialist reconstruction of the whole national economy.

Socialist reconstruction was launched on a wide scale both in industry and in agriculture.

The collective farms, as a socialist form of agriculture, were something quite new. Careful attention and skilled leadership were required of the Party to put the affairs of the collective farms on a sound footing as regards discipline, the organization of labour on the basis of personal responsibility, the distribution of revenues strictly in proportion to the work performed by the members, and so on. But most of all, a careful eye had to be kept on the kulak elements, who were worming their way into the collective farms in order to undermine and disintegrate them from within.

Comrade Stalin set the task of consolidating the collective farms organizationally and economically. With the object of putting an end to the wrecking activities of the kulaks and helping the collective farms with forces, advice and guidance, he proposed the establishment of political departments in the machine and tractor stations.

At the First All-Union Congress of Collective Farm Shock Workers in February 1933, Comrade Stalin outlined a program for the Bolshevik consolidation of the collective farms and for making the collective farms prosperous. Only one thing was now needed for the collective farmers to become prosperous and the collective farms Bolshevik, he said, and that was "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." (*Ibid.*, p. 464.)

This program became the battle standard of the collective farmers.

The successful fulfilment of the First Stalin Five-Year Plan transformed the Soviet Union from an agrarian country into an industrial country. The socialist economic system had eliminated the capitalist elements from industry and from agriculture. Unemployment and poverty had disappeared in town and country. The exploitation of man by man had been abolished. The way to a prosperous and cultured life was now open to all the working people of the U.S.S.R.

This was a tremendous, epoch-making victory for the working class and the peasantry of the U.S.S.R., a victory attained as a result of a fierce struggle under the leadership of Comrade Stalin. At a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Party in January 1933, he said:

"As a result of all this the Soviet Union has been converted from a weak country, unprepared for defence, into a country mighty in defence, a country prepared for every contingency, a country capable of producing on a mass scale all modern weapons of defence and of equipping its army with them in the event of an attack from without." (*Ibid.*, p. 415.)

The Seventeenth Party Congress, held in January 1934, placed on record that a complete victory had been won for the Leninist-Stalinist general line of the Party and that Socialism had achieved decisive successes in every economic and cultural sphere. This congress endorsed the Second Stalin Five-Year Plan, providing for the completion of the technical reconstruction of all branches of economy, and the elimination of the last traces of the exploiting classes in our country.

The policy of the governments of modern capitalist countries is rent by the conflicting interests of capitalist monopoly groups, whose private interests increasingly dominate not only over the general interests of the state, but even over the interests of the ruling classes as a whole.

The men in power in capitalist countries rarely have any long-range view of the social development of their country, or even



of the general national interests. It is their usual custom to tack and manoeuvre, endeavouring to soften down the sharper angles of the antagonisms and find some compromise. The most successful politicians are wily men of affairs, skilled in buying and selling and reconciling conflicting interests. Naturally, such a policy, if it may be called so, is fraught with the most unexpected surprises for the politicians themselves. The warring bourgeois groups have only one thing in common, and that is their mortal fear and bestial hatred of the proletariat, and their wolfish desire to exploit it to the utmost. "In the eyes of the bourgeoisie," Lenin wrote, "a state is strong only when it is able to use the whole power of the government machine to fling the masses wherever the bourgeois rulers think fit."

The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is of a fundamentally different order. It is the very antithesis of the capitalist state, which arose out of the struggle of blind, elemental class forces. The state of the dictatorship of the proletariat arose out of the victory of the proletariat. It was created by the conscious will of the proletariat and the other labouring masses with the object of suppressing and eliminating all exploiting classes, completely abolishing the exploitation of man by man, and building a Socialist society.

The activities of our government are guided by a clear aim—to give effect to the program of the Communist Party and build up a strong state; and inasmuch as the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the only one of its kind, and is surrounded by hostile capitalist countries, it is the imperative task of its leaders to maintain the defensive power of the country at a proper level.

The leaders of our state are obliged to pursue a very complex policy, and they have to be prepared for any contingency; for the bosses of the world are determined to bring about its ruin and are constantly placing traps and pitfalls in the way of its development and consolidation. Our leadership must be on a high level of perfection.

Comrade Stalin's leadership is of this high order. The dry facts we have quoted from his social and political life graphically il-

lustrate his extraordinary grasp of social and political affairs, his ability to foresee the development of events. And that is the cardinal quality of a leader.

Take a glance at his life. As a youth he solemnly vowed to devote himself body and soul to the cause of the working class, to fight for its interests and the interests of all the labouring masses. For over forty years he has incessantly fought in the front ranks of the embattled proletariat.

Together with Lenin, he founded and reared the Communist Party. Together with Lenin, he led it into battle at the head of the working class, encouraging it when it had to retreat, inspiring it with faith in ultimate victory, exerting all his energies to preserve its fighting efficiency, its contact with the masses, and to prepare it for new battles against capitalism.

Capitalism in the country is vanquished, the way to the building of Communism is cleared, and Comrade Stalin, together with the working masses, and leading them, is building the Communist society.

His leadership is no fortuitous thing; it sprang organically from the working masses, from the battling vanguard of the working class—the Communist Party—from the long struggle for the ideals of the proletariat, from inseparable contact with the masses. Stalin's leadership is organically bound up with the masses, and it is with good reason that the masses call him "Our great Stalin, our dear Stalin."

Great and dear! How are the two concepts to be combined? Yet the masses combine them, and rightly so. Has he not grown up and steeled himself politically in the midst of the worker and peasant masses? Have not the masses, the working class and the peasantry, fought shoulder to shoulder with him? Are not his ideas, aspirations and aims the ideas, aspirations and aims of the people, of the working class, of the Communist Party? And so he is dear to them—both great and dear.

History is a stern judge. But the leaders of the Soviet country, the leaders of the Party may face the judgment of history without dismay. Comrade Stalin, like a master pilot, boldly steers the ship of state along the plotted course to Communism. . . .

The late Sergei Kirov, one of the most talented men of our Party, and a fiery orator, once said:

“It is not easy to grasp the figure 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 labours, 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.”

And that is absolutely true, every word of it.

## XII

OUR leader, the captain of our Soviet ship, stands peering into the distance, into the remote future; yet he misses nothing of what is going on around him; he keeps vigilant watch over the safety of our vessel.

He has an extraordinary gift for detecting in little things the seeds of big things, the germ of the new in the womb of the old. He shares Lenin's ability to pick out the key link in the chain of policy at every given moment.

An illustration of this is the address he delivered to the graduates from the Red Army Academies in May 1935, in which he said:

“Formerly, we used to say that ‘technique decides everything.’ This slogan helped us to put an end to the dearth in technique and to create a vast technical base in every branch of activity for the equipment of our people with first-class technique. That is very good. But it is not enough, it is not enough by far. In order to set technique going and to utilize it to the full, we need people who have mastered technique, we need cadres capable of mastering and utilizing 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 services

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. That is why emphasis must now be laid on people, on cadres, on workers who have mastered technique. That is why the old slogan, 'technique decides everything,' which is a reflection of a period already passed, a period in which we suffered from a dearth of technique, must now be replaced by a new slogan, the slogan 'cadres decide everything.' That is the main thing now. . . .

"It is time to realize that of all the valuable capital the world possesses, the most valuable and most decisive is people, cadres. It must be realized 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 on both legs." (*Ibid.*, pp. 543-44.)

The importance of this speech can scarcely be exaggerated. It provided a powerful stimulus for the Stakhanov movement, that remarkable movement of modern times, of which Comrade Stalin is rightly regarded as the author and inspirer.

At the All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites held in November 1935, Comrade Stalin gave a splendid definition of the role and significance of the Stakhanov movement in the struggle for Communism. He said that this 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," he said, "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.

"But the significance of the Stakhanov movement does not end there. Its significance lies also in the fact that it is preparing the conditions for the transition from Socialism to Communism . . .

that it contains the seed of the future rise in the cultural and technical level of the working class, that it opens to us the path by which alone can be achieved those high indices of productivity of labour which are essential for the transition from Socialism to Communism and for the elimination of the distinction between mental labour and manual labour." (*Ibid.*, pp. 547-50.)

Comrade Stalin devotes a great deal of attention to the development of the Stakhanov movement, and it is taking deep root in every sphere of economic and scientific endeavour. Today there is scarcely a branch of industry, agriculture or science that has not been swept by this great movement of our times, which is drawing ever wider sections of the working people into its tide, and changing their attitude towards labour and towards socialist public property.

Comrade Stalin not only shares Lenin's faculty of riveting the attention of the Party and of the people on the major question of the moment; he also shares his profound skill in analyzing the social and economic development of the country and taking bold political steps on the basis of this analysis. The most characteristic illustration of this is the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

All great ideas, they say, are simple. And indeed, when Stalin's ideas were clothed in the masterly Stalinist form of the Fundamental Law of the Land of the Soviets, everybody at once saw how simple and yet how wise, expedient and politically essential they were. Therein was revealed the greatness of the proletarian leader.

The Stalin Constitution summarized the struggles and victories of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. It furthermore became a banner for the toiling and exploited people of the capitalist world. Comrade Stalin spoke of this in his splendid speech at the Extraordinary Eighth All-Union Congress of Soviets, at which the Constitution was adopted:

"While for the peoples of capitalist countries the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. will have the significance of a program of action, it is significant for the peoples of the U.S.S.R. as the summary of their struggles, a summary of their victories in the struggle for the emancipation of mankind. After the path of struggle and privations that has been traversed, it is pleasant and joyful to have

our Constitution, which treats of the fruits of our victories. It is pleasant and joyful to know what our people fought for and how they achieved this victory of worldwide historical importance. It is pleasant and joyful to know that the blood our people shed so plentifully was not shed in vain, that it has produced results. This arms our working class, our peasantry, our working intelligentsia spiritually. It impels them forward and rouses a sense of legitimate pride. It increases confidence in our strength and mobilizes us for fresh struggles for the achievement of new victories of Communism." (*Ibid.*, pp. 589-90.)

The adoption of the Stalin Constitution was the culmination of a whole historical period in the building of a classless, Socialist society. It ushered in the period of the struggle for the building of Communism.

In the report of the Central Committee to the Eighteenth Congress of the Party in March 1939 Comrade Stalin outlined a practical program for the transition from the first phase of Communism to the second. He said:

"We have outstripped the principal capitalist countries 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." (*Ibid.*, p. 634.)

Comrade Stalin has opened up new paths in the theory of the state as a powerful instrument in the hands of the working class for building Communist society.

If all Comrade Stalin's utterances on the subject of the state generally, and on the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular, were collected and systematized, they would comprise a fundamental work on the theory of the Socialist state, its role in the struggle for Communism, as well as the role of the capitalist state in combating the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Comrade Stalin is one of those who not only write history, but make it. He not only helped to create and perfect the theory of the Socialist state, but, in conjunction with Lenin, built that state. And, accordingly, his theoretical work not only illumines the further course of development of the Socialist state, but, as it were, provides the working plans for its construction, containing practical instructions as to what has to be done at once on each particular section of the job. It is a striking example of unity of theory and practice.

In these latter years, at every Party congress, he has constantly striven to bring home to the masses the role and significance of the proletarian state in the building of Communist society. In the report of the Central Committee to the Sixteenth Party Congress, he said: "The highest possible development of the power of the state, with the object of preparing the conditions for the dying away of the power of the state—that is the Marxist formula."

In view of the confusion reigning in the minds of certain members of the Party on the question of the dying away of the Socialist state, Comrade Stalin, at the Seventeenth Party Congress, said:

"The thesis that we are advancing towards a classless society—which was put forward as a slogan—was interpreted by them to mean a spontaneous process. And they began to reason in this way: If it is classless society, then we can relax the class struggle, we can relax the dictatorship of the proletariat, and get rid of the state altogether, since it is fated to die out soon in any case. They dropped into a state of moon-calf ecstasy, in the expectation that soon there will be no classes, and therefore no class struggle, and therefore no cares and worries, and therefore we can lay down our arms and retire—to sleep and to wait for the advent of classless society." (*Ibid.*, p. 518.)

And Comrade Stalin concluded by saying that the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat must be strengthened at all costs, for the road to Communism lay through the strengthening of this state.

At the Eighteenth Party Congress, Comrade Stalin dealt with

the question of the Socialist state even more broadly and fully. He analyzed Engels' formula regarding the dying away of the state and drew the conclusion that the Socialist state would remain even under Communism as long as the capitalist encirclement had not been eliminated. He pointed to the danger of underestimating the role and significance of our Socialist state and likewise to the danger of underestimating the role and significance of the bourgeois state. Therefore, he said, it was our urgent duty to study the state apparatus of the bourgeois countries, its structure and mechanism, and perfect the apparatus of the Socialist state in every way to serve as an effective counter to the capitalist encirclement.

"Is it not surprising," he asked, "that we learned about the espionage and conspiratorial activities of the Trotskyite and Bukharinite leaders only quite recently, in 1937 and 1938, although, as the evidence shows, these gentry were in the service of foreign espionage organizations and carried on conspiratorial activities from the very first days of the October Revolution? How could we have failed to notice so grave a matter? How are we to explain this blunder? . . . It is to be explained by an underestimation of the strength and consequence of the mechanism of the bourgeois states surrounding us and of their espionage organs, which endeavour to take advantage of people's weaknesses, their vanity, their slackness of will, to enmesh them in their espionage nets and use them to surround the organs of the Soviet state. It is to be explained by an underestimation of the role and significance of the mechanism of our Socialist state and of its intelligence service, by an underestimation of this intelligence service, by the twaddle that an intelligence service in a Soviet state is an unimportant trifle, and that the Soviet intelligence service and the Soviet state itself will soon have to be relegated to the museum of antiquities." (*Ibid.*, p. 657.)

Comrade Stalin, making masterly use of the method of Marxism-Leninism, gave a profound analysis of the essence of the state. Examining the functions of the Socialist state at various stages, he demonstrated the outstanding part it had to play in the building of Communism and in defending the Land of Soviets from its enemies.

Comrade Stalin regards the Socialist state as a powerful weapon in the struggle for Communism; but the wielding of this weapon requires immense skill. This skill Comrade Stalin commands to perfection, and he persistently works, moreover, to impart this skill to the Soviet people.

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Comrade Stalin is a happy man. He has much to be proud of on his sixtieth birthday. Under his guidance, Socialism has been established in a vast country covering one-sixth of the surface of the globe.

The services Comrade Stalin has rendered to the working people of the world, the nations of the Soviet Union, and the Russian nation in particular, are immense. His social and political activities should be made known to the masses as widely as possible, for they are the activities of a man whose whole life has been spent in the service of a great ideal.

Even a bare chronicle of Comrade Stalin's outward, visible, practical activities speaks eloquently of the tremendous work he has done in developing the revolutionary movement of Russia, and hence of the world. The terseness of the chronicle cannot conceal his supreme spirit of self-sacrifice, his heroism, his strength of purpose and his profound grasp of the objective laws of social development.

As a youth of seventeen he made it his lifework to emancipate the oppressed from the chains of capitalism and from every form of exploitation. To this ideal he devoted himself body and soul, and subordinated his whole subsequent life.

Ambitious people often scorn the rough work, especially routine work, for they say that it interferes with their development and narrows their horizon. Comrade Stalin's public activities are ample proof that in the service of an ideal even the simplest work acquires profound political significance.

When he turned his back on the seminary, severed all ties with



the world that lived submissively under the tsarist regime, left home and family, and entered the illegal, underground movement, was he pursuing his own personal aims; was he striving for a career that would help to broaden only his own horizon? No. ("Revolutionaries" who did that very soon deserted the illegal movement; the "rough" work was repugnant to their souls.) Comrade Stalin's aim was to be of the greatest benefit to the revolutionary working class movement. To him, all work that was useful to that movement was of value, and therefore served a high ideal. And so we find Comrade Stalin engaging in every form and variety of revolutionary work.

He organized illegal study circles, helping to awaken the revolutionary energies of the workers and direct them into the channels of the general revolutionary struggle. He wrote leaflets and himself printed and distributed them. He led workers' strikes, and marched at the head of demonstrations, incurring the greatest danger as the leader. He wrote articles calling for the building of the revolutionary party of the working class, articles exposing and castigating opportunism in all its forms and manifestations.

And so, all his life, spending long years in prison and exile, traveling from city to city at the behest of the Party, going wherever the Party was most in need of devoted men, Comrade Stalin worked in conjunction with Lenin, creating, building and rearing our Party. With Lenin, he led the Party, the revolutionary movement and the armed uprising of October 1917.

Comrade Stalin had an unbounded love for Lenin, a love that was the fruit of their common aims and aspirations. To him Lenin's authority is supreme.

If we were to seek a historical parallel, Comrade Stalin's bond with Lenin might be compared to Lenin's bond with Marx, the only difference being that Stalin worked with Lenin personally for many years, which made this bond closer and more intimate.

Comrade Stalin has a thorough mastery of Lenin's works; he is not only familiar with every one of his writings but also knows what inspired each of them. And it is unquestionable that Comrade Stalin had no little influence on Lenin.

After Lenin's death, Comrade Stalin, in a fierce struggle against the enemies of the Party and of Leninism, preserved the integrity of the Party and cemented its ranks with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. He held aloft Lenin's banner, which is with justice called the banner of Lenin and Stalin. It is under this banner that the Soviet people are building Communism.

One cannot help recalling what Herzen said of the Decembrists; they were a phalanx of heroes, he said, "giants, forged of pure steel from head to foot, warriors, champions...."

Comrade Stalin is of this breed of men.

But he grew and received his political schooling in the revolutionary vanguard of the working class. It is the interests of this class and its ideas, the ideas of scientific Socialism, that he champions. For the cause of the world proletariat he has devoted all his strength, all his faculties, and is prepared, if need be, to devote all his blood, to the very last drop. And only he can do this who has fully mastered the wisdom of Marxism-Leninism.

The theoretical works of Comrade Stalin form a highly valuable contribution to the treasure store of Marxism-Leninism. A study of these writings opens up wide perspectives. We have only to recall his lectures on the "Foundations of Leninism." For their conciseness, their clarity, their unity and profound understanding of Marxism-Leninism they are unique. It is not for nothing that the "Foundations of Leninism" have become a handbook for millions.

The theory of Marxism-Leninism has been greatly advanced by Comrade Stalin's doctrine of the state of the proletarian dictatorship, of its function as a powerful instrument in the hands of the proletariat in the building of Communist society.

An important place in the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Socialist revolution is held by the national question. The Bolshevik school of thought on the national question was founded by Lenin and Stalin long before the October Revolution. In January 1913, Comrade Stalin wrote his celebrated pamphlet, *Marxism and the National Question*, in which he gave a classical exposition of the Bolshevik theory on

this question and of the Bolshevik slogan of the right of nations to self-determination. The principles set forth in this pamphlet remain to this day the guiding precepts of our Party on the national question.

Quite recently, on Comrade Stalin's initiative and with his direct participation, the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks)* was written. The importance of this theoretical work to the development of Marxian thought is apparent to all who are endeavouring to understand and master Marxism-Leninism.

Comrade Stalin has a thorough mastery of the method of Marxism-Leninism, which he upheld and defended against countless enemies, and which he has concretely applied and further developed on the basis of the rich experience gained in the building of Socialism in a country surrounded by capitalist states, in the struggle for the transition to Communism.

For over forty years Comrade Stalin has been a staunch champion of the cause of the proletariat. Together with Lenin, he forced a breach in the capitalist front and established the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Since 1924, he has been the leader of the Communist Party and of the Soviet people. He is the beacon and hope of the millions. When the people link the names "Lenin-Stalin," this is a recognition of the unity of these two great minds.

History has known many great and brilliant men, but Lenin and Stalin are unique. They are great not only in themselves; they are great because they are rooted in the masses and express the innermost thoughts, the finest ideals and aspirations of the labouring world. The masses cherish their greatness, for in their greatness they see their own. And so the Soviet people, the working people of the capitalist world and all progressive men exclaim with pride: "Our great Lenin!" "Our great Stalin!" "Long life to our great and dear Stalin!"