

列宁主义万岁

LONG LIVE LENINISM

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(汉 英 对 照)

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徐宏楨 注释

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列宁主义万岁

——紀念列宁誕生九十周年

红旗杂志编辑部

—

今年四月二十二日，是列宁誕生的九十周年。

在列宁誕生后的第二年，即一八七一年，出現了英勇的巴黎公社起义。巴黎公社是一个划时代的伟大革命，是无产階級企图推翻資本主义制度的具有全世界意义的第一次演习。当公社因凡尔赛的反革命进攻而临近失敗的时候，馬克思說：“即使公社被搞垮了，斗争也只是延期而已。公社的原則是永存的，是消灭不了的；在工人階級得到解放以前，这些原則将一再表現出来。”〔注〕

〔注〕“馬克思关于巴黎公社的一次演說”。

什么是公社的最主要的原則呢？按照馬克思的說法，那就是：工人階級不能简单地握取現成的国家机器，并运用它来达到自

1. anniversary [æni'vɜ:səri] n. 周年紀念日. 2. ...saw the heroic uprising of the Paris Commune 出現了英勇的巴黎公社起义. 在以年月时日的名詞作主語后，用 see 来表示“出現”的意思，这是“拟人法”的修辞手段. 3. epoch-

LONG LIVE LENINISM!

*In Commemoration of the 90th Anniversary of
the Birth of Lenin*

By THE EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT
OF "HONGQI"

I

April 22 of this year is the 90th anniversary¹ of the birth of Lenin.

1871, the year after Lenin's birth, saw the heroic uprising of the Paris Commune.² The Paris Commune was a great, epoch-making³ revolution, the first dress rehearsal⁴ of world-wide significance in the proletariat's attempt to overthrow the capitalist system. When the Commune was on the verge of defeat as a result of⁵ the counter-revolutionary attack from Versailles, Marx said:

If the Commune should be destroyed, the struggle would only be postponed. The principles of the Commune are eternal and indestructible; they will present themselves⁶ again and again until the working class is liberated.

What is the most important principle of the Commune? According to Marx, it is that the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and

making ['i:pok/meikin] a. 划时代的, 开纪元的. 4. dress rehearsal ['dres ri'hə:səl] 原义是“彩排”, 这里作“演习”解. 5. as a result of 由于. 6. present themselves 这是一种反身用法, 作“表现出来”解.

己的目的。換句話說，無產階級應當採取革命手段，奪取政權，粉碎資產階級的軍事官僚機器，建立無產階級專政以代替資產階級專政。熟悉無產階級鬥爭歷史的人們都知道，正是在這個根本問題上，形成了馬克思主義者同機會主義者、修正主義者的分水嶺，而在馬克思恩格斯逝世之後，正是列寧，他為了保衛公社的原則，對機會主義者、修正主義者進行了完全不調和的鬥爭。

巴黎公社沒有得到成就的事業，經過了四十六年，終於在列寧直接領導下的偉大十月革命中贏得了勝利。俄國蘇維埃的經驗是巴黎公社經驗的繼續和發展。為馬克思恩格斯不斷闡明、而為列寧根據俄國革命的新經驗加以充實的公社原則，首先在地球六分之一的土地上，變成活生生的事實。馬克思說得完全正確：公社的原則是永存的，是消滅不了的。

帝國主義的豺狼們企圖絞殺新生的蘇維埃國家，聯合當時俄國的反革命勢力，進行了武裝干涉。但是，英勇的俄國工人階

use it for its own purposes. In other words, the proletariat should use revolutionary means to seize state power, smash the military-bureaucratic machine of the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Anyone familiar with the history of the struggle of the proletariat knows that it is precisely this fundamental question which forms the dividing line between Marxists on the one hand and opportunists and revisionists on the other, and that after the death of Marx and Engels it was none other than Lenin who waged a thoroughly uncompromising struggle against the opportunists and revisionists in order to safeguard the principles of the Commune.

The cause in which the Paris Commune did not succeed finally triumphed 46 years later in the Great October Revolution under Lenin's direct leadership. The experience of the Russian Soviets was a continuation and development of the experience of the Paris Commune. The principles of the Commune continually expounded by Marx and Engels and enriched by Lenin in the light of¹ the new experience of the Russian revolution, first became a living reality² on one-sixth of the earth. Marx was perfectly correct in saying that the principles of the Commune are eternal and indestructible.

In their attempt to strangle the new-born Soviet state, the imperialist jackals, acting in league with³ the counter-revolutionary forces in Russia at the time, carried out armed intervention against it. But the heroic Russian working class and the people of the various

1. in the light of 根据, 按照. 2. a living reality 活生生的事实. 3. in league with... 和...结成联盟.

級和苏联各族人民打走了这些外来的强盜，消灭了国内的反革命叛乱，从而巩固了世界上的第一个伟大的社会主义共和国。

在列宁的旗帜下，在十月革命的旗帜下，以无产阶级革命为主导的新的世界革命开始了，人类历史的新紀元开始了。

通过十月革命，列宁的声音迅速地传播到全世界。一九一九年中国人民反帝反封建的五四运动，正如毛泽东同志所說，“是在当时世界革命号召之下，是在俄国革命号召之下，是在列宁号召之下发生的”。〔注〕

〔注〕“新民主主义論”。

列宁的号召所以强有力，就是因为它是正确的。列宁在帝国主义时代的历史条件下，揭示了一系列的关于无产阶级革命和无产阶级专政的不可辯駁的真理。

列宁指出，少数资本主义强国的財政資本寡头，即帝国主义者，不仅在本国剝削人民群众，而且压迫和掠夺全世界，把世界大多数国家变成他們的殖民地和附屬国。帝国主义战争是帝国主义政策的繼續。世界大战就是由于帝国主义者貪婪无厌，为爭夺世界的市場、原料产地和投資場所，为重新瓜分世界，而发动起来的。只要世界上还存在着資本帝国主义，就还存在着

1. playing the leading role 起主要作用的，为主导的。 2. dawn [dɔ:n] vi. 开始出現。 3. resound [ri'zaund] 传遍，后面常跟 throughout。 4. come

nationalities of the Soviet Union drove off the foreign bandits, put down the counter-revolutionary rebellion at home and thus consolidated the world's first great socialist republic.

Under the banner of Lenin, under the banner of the October Revolution, a new world revolution began, with the proletarian revolution playing the leading role,¹ and a new era dawned² in human history.

Through the October Revolution, the voice of Lenin quickly resounded³ throughout the world. The Chinese people's anti-imperialist, anti-feudal May 4 Movement in 1919, as Comrade Mao Tse-tung put it, "came into being"⁴ at the call of⁵ the world revolution of that time, of the Russian revolution and of Lenin."

Lenin's call is powerful because it is correct. Under the historical conditions of the epoch of imperialism, Lenin revealed a series of irrefutable truths concerning the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin pointed out that the oligarchy of finance capital in a small number of capitalist powers, that is, the imperialists, not only exploit the masses of people in their own countries, but oppress and plunder the whole world, turning most countries into their colonies and dependencies. Imperialist war is a continuation of imperialist politics. World wars are started by the imperialists because of their insatiable greed in scrambling for world markets, sources of raw materials and fields for investment, and because of their struggle to redive the world. So long as⁶ capitalist-imperialism exists in the world, the source and possibility

into being 发生. 5. at the call of 在...号召下. 6. so long as 只要... (表示条件).

战争的根源，还存在着战争的可能性。无产阶级应当引导人民群众認識战争的根源，为爭取和平、反对帝国主义而斗争。

列宁断言，帝国主义是垄断的、寄生或腐化的、垂死的资本主义，是资本主义发展的最后阶段，因而是无产阶级革命的前夜。无产阶级解放的实现，决不能经过改良主义的道路，而只能是经过革命的道路。资本主义国家的无产阶级解放运动应该同殖民地、附属国的民族解放运动结成联盟，这个联盟能够粉碎帝国主义者同殖民地、附属国的封建买办反动势力的联盟，因而不可避免地要在全世界最终地结束帝国主义制度。

根据资本主义经济上、政治上发展不平衡的规律，列宁得出结论：由于资本主义的发展在各个国家内是极不平衡的，社会主义将首先在一个或几个国家中获得胜利，而不能在一切国家内同时获得胜利。因此，即使社会主义在一个或几个国家中取得胜利，但是其他资本主义国家还存在，这就不仅会引起磨擦，而且会引起帝国主义颠覆社会主义国家的活动。所以，斗争将是持久的。社会主义和资本主义的斗争，将包括一个整个的历史时代。社会主义国家随时都应当警惕帝国主义侵袭的危险，竭

of war will remain. The proletariat should guide the masses of people to understand the source of war and to struggle for peace and against imperialism.

Lenin asserted that imperialism is monopolistic, parasitic or decaying, moribund capitalism, that it is the final stage in the development of capitalism and therefore is the eve of the proletarian revolution. The emancipation of the proletariat can be arrived at only by way of revolution, and certainly not by way of reformism. The liberation movements of the proletariat in the capitalist countries should ally themselves with the national liberation movements in the colonies and dependent countries; this alliance can smash the alliance of the imperialists with the feudal and comprador reactionary forces in the colonies and dependent countries, and will therefore inevitably put a final end to the imperialist system throughout the world.

In the light of the law of the uneven economic and political development of capitalism, Lenin came to the conclusion that, because capitalism developed extremely unevenly in different countries, socialism would achieve victory first in one or several countries but could not achieve victory simultaneously in all countries. Therefore, in spite of¹ the victory of socialism in one or several countries, other capitalist countries still exist, and this gives rise not only to² friction but also to imperialist subversive activities against the socialist states. Hence the struggle will be protracted. The struggle between socialism and capitalism will embrace a whole historical epoch. The socialist countries should maintain constant vigilance³

1. in spite of 不顧, 虽然. 2. give rise to 引起. 3. vigilance ['vidgiləns]
n. 警惕性. 其后常跟 against..., 說明对什么保持警惕.

尽全力来防止这种危险。

一切革命的根本问题，就是国家政权问题。列宁详尽地透彻地论述了无产阶级革命的根本问题，就是无产阶级专政问题。通过革命手段粉碎了资产阶级专政的国家机器而建立起来的无产阶级专政，是无产阶级同农民和其他一切劳动者的特殊的联盟，是阶级斗争在新条件下的另一形式的继续，是为镇压剥削阶级的反抗和抵抗外来的侵略，是为反对旧社会势力及其传统而进行的坚持的斗争，流血的与不流血的，强力的与和平的，军事的与经济的，教育的与行政的斗争。没有无产阶级专政，没有无产阶级专政在这些战线上充分发动劳动人民，顽强地和持续地进行这些不可避免的斗争，那就不可能有什么社会主义，就不可能有什么社会主义的胜利。

列宁认为，要实现无产阶级革命，要实现和巩固无产阶级专政，头等重要的是无产阶级要建立自己的一个真正革命的、同机会主义完全决裂的政党，即共产党。这个政党是用马克思主义的辩证唯物主义和历史唯物主义的理論武装起来的。这个政党的纲领，是组织无产阶级和一切被压迫的劳动人民进行阶级斗

against the danger of imperialist attack and do their best to avert this danger.

The fundamental question of all revolutions is the question of state power. Lenin discussed in a comprehensive and penetrating way¹ the fundamental question of the proletarian revolution, that is, the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat, established by smashing the state machine of the bourgeois dictatorship by revolutionary means, is an alliance of a special type between the proletariat on the one hand and the peasantry and all other working people on the other; it is a continuation of the class struggle in another form under new conditions; it involves a persistent struggle, both sanguinary and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative, against the resistance of the exploiting classes, against foreign aggression and against the forces and traditions of the old society. Without the dictatorship of the proletariat, without its full mobilization of the working people on these fronts to wage these unavoidable struggles stubbornly and persistently, there can be no socialism, nor can there be any victory for socialism.

Lenin considered it of prime importance for the proletariat to establish its own genuinely revolutionary political party which completely breaks with opportunism, that is, a Communist Party, if the proletarian revolution is to be carried through and the dictatorship of the proletariat established and consolidated. This political party is armed with the Marxist theory of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. Its programme is to organize the

1. In a comprehensive and penetrating way 詳尽地, 透彻地.

爭，建立无产阶级的統治，经过社会主义而达到共产主义的最終目的。这个政党要同群众打成一片，重視群众的历史首創精神；在进行革命的时候，党要紧紧地依靠群众，在进行社会主义、共产主义建設的时候，党同样地要紧紧依靠群众。

这些真理，是列宁在十月革命前后不断揭示的。当时，世界反动派和庸夫俗子們都把列宁揭示的这些真理，視為駭人听闻的东西。但是我們看到，这些真理正在世界的实际生活中节节胜利。

从十月革命到現在，这四十多年中，世界上已經发生了新的巨大的变化。

由于社会主义、共产主义建設的伟大成就，苏联把一个原来在帝俄时代是經济技术很落后的国家，变成为具有世界第一流最先进技术的国家了。苏联在經济上技术上的飞跃，把欧洲资本主义国家远远地抛在后面，而且在技术上也把美国抛到后面去了。

以苏联为主力軍的反法西斯战争的伟大胜利，冲破了帝国主义在中东欧的鎖鏈。中国人民革命的伟大胜利，冲破了帝国主义在中国大陆上的鎖鏈。一批新的社会主义国家誕生了。以苏联为首的整个社会主义陣营有全地球四分之一的土地，而人

1. identify...with 使...和...一致，参加·这里是指党和群众打成一片。 2. set forth 說明，提出，宣告。

proletariat and all oppressed working people to carry on class struggle, to set up proletarian rule and passing through socialism to reach the final goal of communism. This political party must identify itself with¹ the masses and attach great importance to their creative initiative in the making of history; it must closely rely on the masses in revolution as well as in socialist and communist construction.

These truths were constantly set forth² by Lenin before and after the October Revolution. The world reactionaries and philistines of the time thought these truths revealed by Lenin terrifying. But we see these truths winning victory after victory in the actual life of the world.

In the forty years and more since the October Revolution, tremendous new changes have taken place in the world.

Through its great achievements in socialist and communist construction, the Soviet Union has transformed itself from an economically and technically very backward country in the days of tsarist Russia into a country with the best and most advanced technology in the world. By its economic and technological leaps the Soviet Union has left the European capitalist countries far behind and left the United States behind, too, in technology.

The great victory of the anti-fascist war, in which the Soviet Union was the main force, broke the chain of imperialism in Central and Eastern Europe. The great victory of the Chinese people's revolution broke the chain of imperialism on the Chinese mainland. A group of new socialist countries was born. The whole socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union has one quarter of the earth's

口已經占世界总人口的三分之一以上。現在社会主义陣营已經形成一个独立的世界經濟体系，而和資本主义的世界經濟体系相对立。社会主义各国的工业总产值，現在已經占全世界工业总产值的将近百分之四十，不用很久，就会超过資本主义各国的工业总产值。

帝国主义的殖民地体系瓦解了，并且还在进一步瓦解中。斗争当然是曲折的，但是总的說来，民族解放运动的风暴正在日益广闊地席卷着亚洲、非洲和拉丁美洲。事物的发展走向它的反面：帝国主义者在那里正在一步一步地由强者变为弱者，而那里的人民却一步一步地由弱者变为强者。

第一次大战后一度存在过的資本主义相对稳定的局面早已結束。第二次大战后由于社会主义世界經濟体系的形成，資本主义世界市場比过去大大縮小了。資本主义社会中生产力和生产关系的矛盾比过去更加尖銳化了。資本主义的周期性經濟危机已經不是从前那样在每十年左右发生一次，而是几乎每三、四年发生一次。最近美国資产階級的一些代表人物承認了美国在十年內遭遇过三次“經濟衰退”，而且在刚渡过一九五七——

1. accounts for 組成，构成。 2. It will not be long before... 不用很久，不久以后。 3. twists and turns 曲折，拐弯。 4. on a daily broadening scale 日益广闊地。 on a ... scale 是一短語，意为在...范围（程度）。 5. step by step