
J. V. STALIN

WORKS

VOLUME

1

1901-1907



FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE

M o s c o w · 1 9 5 4

PREFACE TO THIS EDITION

The present collection of the works of J. V. Stalin is published by decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

Hitherto only part of Comrade Stalin's works has been published in separate collections. His articles and speeches of the period immediately before October 1917 were collected in the book *On the Road to October*, which appeared in two editions in 1925. In 1932 the collection *The October Revolution* was published, containing articles and speeches on the Great October Socialist Revolution. Works on the national question went into the collection *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, which has appeared in several editions. The articles and speeches of 1921-1927, dealing mainly with internal Party questions and the rout of the opposition groups that were hostile to the Party, constituted a separate collection entitled *On the Opposition*, which was published in 1928. In addition, there are other collections in which are compiled J. V. Stalin's articles and speeches on definite subjects, such as, for example, the collections: *On Lenin*, *Articles and Speeches on the Ukraine*, *The Peasant Question*, *The Young Communist League*, and others.

At different times several collections were published containing works by both V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin, such as, *1917—Selected Writings and Speeches*, *The Defence of the Socialist Motherland*, *A Collection of Works for the Study of the History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)* in three volumes, *Lenin-Stalin—selected works* in one volume, *On Party Affairs*, *On Socialist Emulation*, *On Labour*, and others.

The most widely distributed collection of the works of Comrade Stalin up to this point has been the book *Problems of Leninism*, which has gone through eleven editions. With every new edition the contents of this book underwent considerable change: nearly every edition included new works and, at the same time, in order to keep the book to its previous size, the author deleted certain works from it. Comrade Stalin's speeches, reports and Orders of the Day delivered during the Patriotic War the Soviet people waged against the German fascist invaders are collected in the book *On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union*, which has gone through five editions.

However, a large number of J. V. Stalin's works, written before and after the October Revolution, were not reprinted and, hitherto, not collected after their publication in newspapers and magazines. Moreover, there are articles and letters by Comrade Stalin which have not been published before.

This is a first attempt to collect and publish in one edition nearly all the works of J. V. Stalin.

Volume 1 contains the works of J. V. Stalin written from 1901 to April 1907.

Volume 2 includes works written from 1907 to 1913.

Volume 3 consists of works of the period of preparation for the Great October Socialist Revolution (March-October 1917). These are mainly articles that were published in *Pravda*.

Volume 4 (November 1917-1920) includes works written in the first months of the existence of the Soviet government and in the period of foreign military intervention and civil war.

The next three Volumes—5, 6 and 7—contain works of the period of the Soviet state's transition to the peaceful work of rehabilitating the national economy (1921-1925). Volume 5 contains works written from 1921 up to the death of V. I. Lenin (January 1924). Volume 6 includes works of 1924. Volume 7 contains works written in 1925.

J. V. Stalin's works of the period of the struggle for the socialist industrialisation of the country (1926-1929) constitute Volumes 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12. Volumes 8 and 9 contain articles, speeches, reports, etc., made during 1926; Volumes 10 and 11, those of 1927; and Volume 12, those of the period of 1928-1929.

Volume 13 contains works of the period 1930-1933, dealing mainly with questions concerning the collectivisation of agriculture and the further development of socialist industrialisation.

Volume 14 contains works covering the period 1934-1940, dealing with the struggle to complete the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R., with the creation of the new Constitution of the Soviet Union, and with the struggle for peace in the situation prevailing at the opening of the Second World War.

Volume 15 consists of J. V. Stalin's work, *History of the C.P.S.U.(B.)*, *Short Course*, which appeared in a separate edition in 1938.

Volume 16 contains works of the period of the Soviet Union's Great Patriotic War, including J. V. Stalin's reports, speeches, and Orders of the Day on the anniversaries of the Great October Socialist Revolution, addresses to the people in connection with the rout and surrender of Germany and Japan, and other documents.

All the works in the respective volumes are arranged in chronological order according to the time at which they were written or published. Each volume is furnished with a preface, brief explanatory notes, and a biographical chronicle. Dates until the adoption of the New Style calendar (up to February 14, 1918) are given in Old Style; those after that are given in New Style.

The texts of Comrade Stalin's works are given in their original form except in a few instances where the author has introduced slight changes of a purely stylistic character.

*Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute
of the C.C., C.P.S.U.(B.)*

PREFACE TO VOLUME ONE

Volume 1 includes the works of J. V. Stalin written from 1901 to April 1907, the period when he conducted his revolutionary activities mainly in Tiflis.

In this period the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of V. I. Lenin, were laying the foundations of the Marxist-Leninist Party, of its ideology and principles of organisation.

In this period Comrade Stalin, combating various anti-Marxist and opportunist trends, created Leninist-*Iskra* Bolshevik organisations in Transcaucasia and directed their activities. In his works he substantiated and vindicated the fundamental principles of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine.

Only a small part of J. V. Stalin's works included in Volume 1 were published in Russian. Most of them were published in Georgian newspapers and pamphlets. The majority of these appear in Russian for the first time.

The archives of the Caucasian Union Committee of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, and some of the publications issued by the Transcaucasian Bolshevik

organisations, in which works of J. V. Stalin were published, have not been found to this day. In particular, the *Programme of Studies for Marxist Workers' Circles* (1898) and *Credo* (1904) are still missing.

Volume 1 of the present edition does not contain all the works of J. V. Stalin written from 1901 to April 1907.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE TO VOLUME ONE

The works comprising Volume 1 were written in the early period of the author's activities (1901-1907), when the elaboration of the ideology and policy of Leninism was not yet completed. This partly applies also to Volume 2 of the *Works*.

To understand and properly appraise these works, they must be regarded as the works of a young Marxist not yet moulded into a finished Marxist-Leninist. It is natural therefore that these works should bear traces of some of the propositions of the old Marxists which afterwards became obsolete and were subsequently discarded by our Party. I have in mind two questions: the question of the agrarian programme, and the question of the conditions for the victory of the socialist revolution.

As is evident from Volume 1 (see articles "The Agrarian Question"), at that time the author maintained that the landlords' lands should be distributed among the peasants as the peasants' private property. At the Party's Unity Congress, at which the agrarian question was discussed, the majority of the Bolshevik delegates engaged in practical Party work supported the distribution point of view, the majority of the

Mensheviks stood for municipalisation, Lenin and the rest of the Bolshevik delegates stood for the nationalisation of the land. In the course of the controversy around these three drafts, when it became evident that the prospect of the congress accepting the draft on nationalisation was hopeless, Lenin and the other nationalists at the congress voted with the distributors.

The distributors advanced three arguments against nationalisation: a) that the peasants would not accept the nationalisation of the landlords' lands, because they wanted to obtain those lands as their private property; b) that the peasants would resist nationalisation, because they would regard it as a measure to abolish the private ownership of the land which they already privately owned; c) that even if the peasants' objection to nationalisation could be overcome, we Marxists should not advocate nationalisation, because, after the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the state in Russia would not be a socialist, but a bourgeois state, and the possession by the bourgeois state of a large fund of nationalised land would inordinately strengthen the bourgeoisie to the detriment of the interests of the proletariat.

In this the distributors proceeded from the premise that was accepted among Russian Marxists, including the Bolsheviks, that after the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution there would be a more or less long interruption in the revolution, that between the victorious bourgeois revolution and the future socialist revolution there would be an interval, during which capitalism would have the opportunity to develop more freely and powerfully and embrace agriculture too; that

the class struggle would become more intense and more widespread, the proletarian class would grow in numbers, the proletariat's class consciousness and organisation would rise to the proper level, and that only after all this could the period of the socialist revolution set in.

It must be observed that the premise that a long interval would set in between the two revolutions was not opposed by anybody at the congress; both the advocates of nationalisation and distribution on the one hand, and the advocates of municipalisation on the other, were of the opinion that the agrarian programme of Russian Social-Democracy should facilitate the further and more powerful development of capitalism in Russia.

Did we Bolshevik practical workers know that Lenin at that time held the view that the bourgeois revolution in Russia would grow into the socialist revolution, that he held the view of uninterrupted revolution? Yes, we did. We knew it from his pamphlet entitled *Two Tactics* (1905), and also from his celebrated article "The Attitude of Social-Democracy Towards the Peasant Movement" of 1905, in which he stated that "we stand for uninterrupted revolution" and that "we shall not stop halfway." But because of our inadequate theoretical training, and because of our neglect, characteristic of practical workers, of theoretical questions, we had not studied the question thoroughly enough and had failed to understand its great significance. As we know, for some reason Lenin did not at that time develop the arguments following from the theory of the growing over of the bourgeois revolution into the socialist revolution, nor did he use them at the congress in support of nationalisation.

Was it not because he believed that the question was not yet ripe, and because he did not expect the majority of the Bolshevik practical workers at the congress to be sufficiently equipped to understand and accept the theory that the bourgeois revolution must grow into the socialist revolution that he refrained from advancing these arguments?

It was only some time later, when Lenin's theory that the bourgeois revolution in Russia must grow into the socialist revolution became the guiding line of the Bolshevik Party, that disagreements on the agrarian question vanished in the Party; for it became evident that in a country like Russia—where the specific conditions of development had prepared the ground for the growth of the bourgeois revolution into the socialist revolution—the Marxist party could have no other agrarian programme than that of land nationalisation.

The second question concerns the problem of the victory of the socialist revolution. As is evident from Volume 1 (see articles *Anarchism or Socialism?*), at that time the author adhered to the thesis, current among Marxists, that one of the major conditions for the victory of the socialist revolution is that the proletariat must become the majority of the population, that, consequently, in those countries where the proletariat does not yet constitute the majority of the population owing to the inadequate development of capitalism, the victory of socialism is impossible.

This thesis was taken as generally accepted among Russian Marxists, including the Bolsheviks, as well as among the Social-Democratic parties of other countries. The subsequent development of capitalism in Europe

and America, however, the transition from pre-imperialist capitalism to imperialist capitalism and, finally, Lenin's discovery of the law of the uneven economic and political development of different countries, showed that this thesis no longer corresponded to the new conditions of development, that the victory of socialism was quite possible in individual countries where capitalism had not yet reached the highest point of development and the proletariat did not yet constitute the majority of the population, but where the capitalist front was sufficiently weak to be breached by the proletariat. Lenin's theory of the socialist revolution thus arose in 1915-1916. As is well known, Lenin's theory of the socialist revolution proceeds from the thesis that the socialist revolution will be victorious not necessarily in those countries where capitalism is most developed, but primarily in those countries where the capitalist front is weak, where it is easier for the proletariat to breach that front, where capitalism has reached, say, only the medium stage of development.

This is all the comment the author wishes to make on the works collected in Volume 1.

J. Stalin

January 1946

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
<i>Preface to this Edition</i>	XI
<i>Preface to Volume One</i>	XV
<i>Author's Preface to Volume One</i>	XVII

1901-1907

FROM THE EDITORS	1
THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND ITS IMMEDIATE TASKS	9
THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC VIEW OF THE NATIONAL QUESTION	31
A LETTER FROM KUTAIK	55
A LETTER FROM KUTAIK (<i>From the Same Comrade</i>)	59
THE PROLETARIAN CLASS AND THE PROLETARIAN PARTY (<i>Concerning Paragraph One of the Party Rules</i>)	63
WORKERS OF THE CAUCASUS, IT IS TIME TO TAKE REVENGE!	75
LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL FRATERNITY!	82
TO CITIZENS. LONG LIVE THE RED FLAG!	85

BRIEFLY ABOUT THE DISAGREEMENTS IN THE PARTY	90
ARMED INSURRECTION AND OUR TACTICS . .	133
THE PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY	140
A REPLY TO <i>SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT</i>	162
REACTION IS GROWING	175
THE BOURGEOISIE IS LAYING A TRAP	181
CITIZENS!	187
TO ALL THE WORKERS	191
TIFLIS, NOVEMBER 20, 1905	195
TWO CLASHES (<i>Concerning January 9</i>)	198
THE STATE DUMA AND THE TACTICS OF SOCIAL- DEMOCRACY	208
THE AGRARIAN QUESTION	216
CONCERNING THE AGRARIAN QUESTION	232
CONCERNING THE REVISION OF THE AGRARIAN PROGRAMME (<i>Speech Delivered at the Seventh Sitting of the Fourth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., April 13 (26), 1906</i>)	238
ON THE PRESENT SITUATION (<i>Speech Delivered at the Fifteenth Sitting of the Fourth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P., April 17(30), 1906</i>)	241
MARX AND ENGELS ON INSURRECTION	243
INTERNATIONAL COUNTER-REVOLUTION	249
THE PRESENT SITUATION AND THE UNITY CONGRESS OF THE WORKERS' PARTY	252
THE CLASS STRUGGLE	280

"FACTORY LEGISLATION" AND THE PROLETARIAN STRUGGLE (<i>Concerning the Two Laws of November 15</i>)	289
ANARCHISM OR SOCIALISM?	297
I The Dialectical Method	300
II The Materialist Theory	313
III Proletarian Socialism	331
<i>Appendix</i>	373
Anarchism or Socialism?	—
Dialectical Materialism	—
<i>Notes</i>	392
<i>Biographical Chronicle (1879-1906)</i>	415

FROM THE EDITORS*

Convinced that for intelligent Georgian readers the publication of a free periodical is an urgent question; convinced that this question must be settled today and that further delay can only damage the common cause; convinced that every intelligent reader will welcome such a publication and will render it every assistance, we, a group of Georgian revolutionary Social-Democrats, are meeting this want in the endeavour to satisfy the readers' wishes as far as it lies in our power. We are issuing the first number of the first Georgian free newspaper *Brdzola*.¹

To enable the reader to form a definite opinion about our publication and, in particular, about ourselves, we shall say a few words.

The Social-Democratic movement has not left untouched a single corner of the country. It has not avoided that corner of Russia which we call the Caucasus, and with the Caucasus, it has not avoided our Georgia. The Social-Democratic movement in Georgia is a recent phenomenon, it is only a few years old; to be more precise, the foundations of that movement were laid only

* Leading article in the illegal Social-Democratic newspaper *Brdzola* (*The Struggle*).