



Remember, love and study Lenin, our  
teacher and leader.

Fight and vanquish the enemies, internal  
and foreign—as Lenin taught us.

Build the new life, the new existence, the  
new culture—as Lenin taught us.

Never refuse to do the little things, for  
from little things are built the big things—  
this is one of Lenin's important behests.

J. STALIN

A Letter by Comrade Stalin published in Rabochaya Gazeta  
on the occasion of the first anniversary of Lenin's death

Томме, моёме, изграде  
Убура, нашег змигун, нашег бонд  
Борисов и победоносне вра-  
гов, внутренних и внешних, - не  
Убура.

Сироме побуре мисли, побуре  
бори, побуре кувбур - не Убура  
Никогда не одкаравае од  
манаго вработе, но из манаго стро-  
ищу великае, - в том огу и  
важнах заветов Убура.

И. Сталин

A Letter by Comrade Stalin published in Rabochaya Gazeta  
on the occasion of the first anniversary of Lenin's death

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!



*W. Michael (Beum)*



# V.I. LENIN

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## SELECTED WORKS

### IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME I

PART I



FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE

Moscow 1950

#### PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The contents of Volume I (parts 1 and 2) of the *Selected Works* of V. I. Lenin are given according to the latest Russian edition (Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1946). The translation of all the works of V. I. Lenin has been checked with the corresponding volumes of the Fourth Russian Edition of the *Collected Works* of V. I. Lenin prepared by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute in Moscow.

# CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
PREFACE to Russian 1946 Edition . . . . .	11
 <b>J. V. STALIN: <i>LENIN AND LENINISM</i></b> 	
A LETTER BY COMRADE STALIN published in the <i>Rabochaya Gazeta</i> on the Occasion of the First Anniversary of Lenin's Death . . . . .	20-21
ON THE DEATH OF LENIN. A Speech Delivered at the Second All-Union Congress of Soviets, January 26, 1924 . . . . .	21
LENIN AS THE ORGANIZER AND LEADER OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PARTY . . . . .	27
1. Lenin as the Organizer of the Russian Communist Party . . . . .	28
2. Lenin as the Leader of the Russian Communist Party . . . . .	31
LENIN. A Speech Delivered at a Memorial Meeting of the Kremlin Military School, January 28, 1924 . . . . .	
A Mountain Eagle . . . . .	3
Modesty . . . . .	37
Force of Logic . . . . .	38
No Whining . . . . .	39
No Boasting . . . . .	40
Fidelity to Principle . . . . .	41
Faith in the Masses . . . . .	42
The Genius of Revolution . . . . .	44



	<i>Page</i>
INTERVIEW GIVEN TO THE FIRST AMERICAN LABOUR DELEGATION (Excerpt), September 9, 1927 . . . . .	47
Question 1 and Stalin's Answer . . . . .	47
Question 12 and Stalin's Answer . . . . .	54
SPEECH DELIVERED AT A MEETING OF VOTERS OF THE STALIN ELECTORAL DISTRICT, Moscow, December 11, 1937, in the Bolshoi Theatre . . . . .	56
SPEECH DELIVERED AT A RECEPTION IN THE KREMLIN TO HIGHER EDUCATIONAL WORKERS, May 17, 1938 . .	63
SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE RED ARMY PARADE ON THE RED SQUARE, Moscow, November 7, 1941 . . . . .	66

## V. I. LENIN: *SELECTED WORKS*

### ON MARX AND MARXISM

THE THREE SOURCES AND THREE COMPONENT PARTS OF MARXISM . . . . .	75
THE HISTORICAL DESTINY OF THE DOCTRINE OF KARL MARX . . . . .	82
MARXISM AND REVISIONISM . . . . .	87

### THE STRUGGLE FOR THE CREATION OF A SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY IN RUSSIA

WHAT THE "FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE" ARE AND HOW THEY FIGHT THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS. A Reply to Articles in the <i>Russkoye Bogatstvo</i> Opposing the Marxists . . . .	99
THE TASKS OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS.. . . .	177

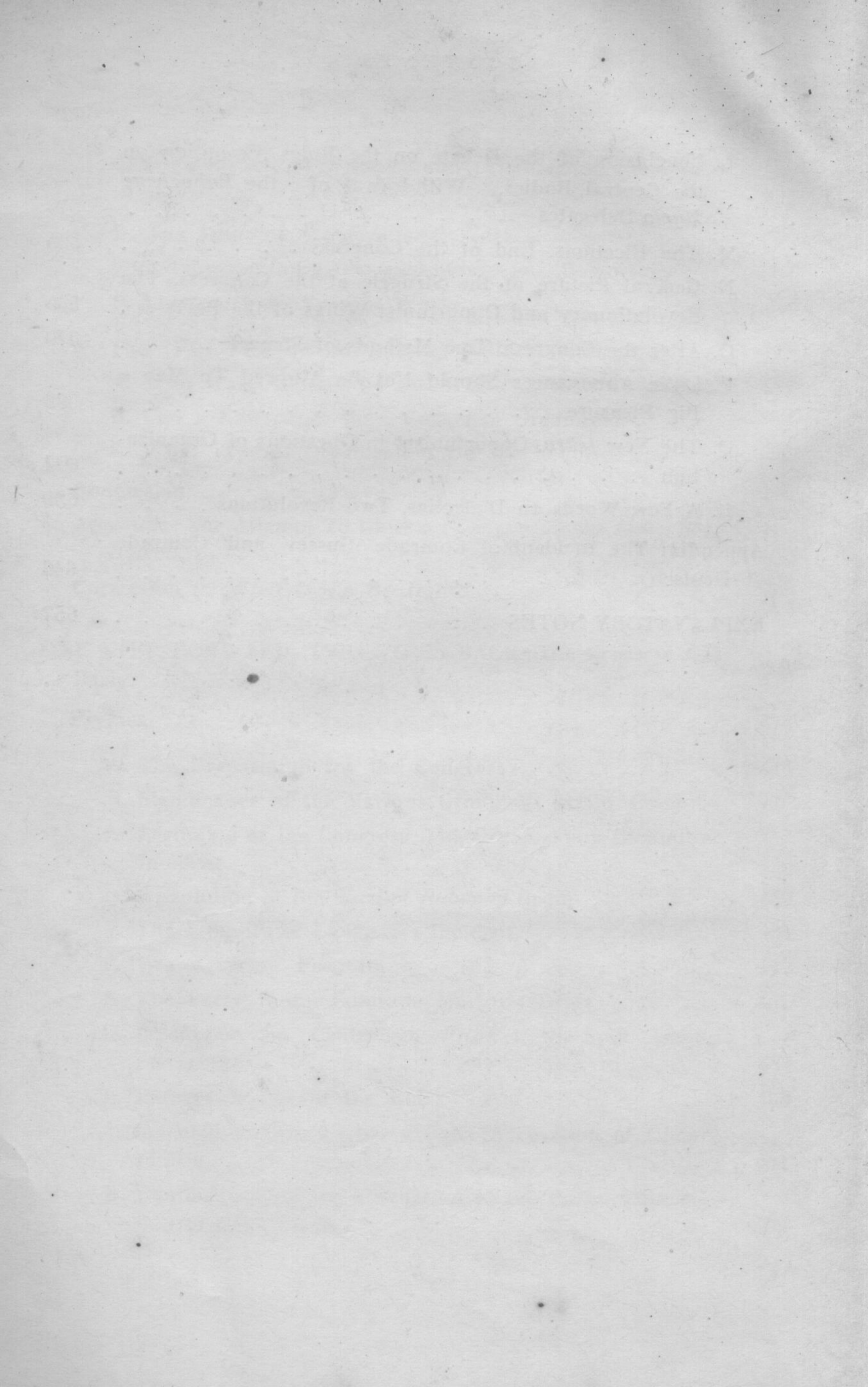
# THE FORMATION OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOUR PARTY

## APPEARANCE OF THE BOLSHEVIK AND MENSHEVIK GROUPS WITHIN THE PARTY

WHAT IS TO BE DONE? Burning Questions of Our Movement . . . . .	203
Preface . . . . .	203
I. Dogmatism and "Freedom of Criticism" . . . . .	207
A. What Is "Freedom of Criticism"? . . . . .	207
B. The New Advocates of "Freedom of Criticism" . . . . .	211
C. Criticism in Russia . . . . .	217
D. Engels on the Importance of the Theoretical Struggle . . . . .	225
II. The Spontaneity of the Masses and the Consciousness of the Social-Democrats . . . . .	231
A. The Beginning of the Spontaneous Upsurge . . . . .	232
B. Bowing to Spontaneity. The <i>Rabochaya Mysl</i> . . . . .	237
C. The Self-Emancipation Group and the <i>Rabocheye Dyelo</i> . . . . .	248
III. Trade-Unionist Politics and Social-Democratic Politics . . . . .	259
A. Political Agitation and Its Restriction by the Economists . . . . .	260
B. A Tale of How Martynov Rendered Plekhanov More Profound . . . . .	272
C. Political Exposures and "Training in Revolutionary Activity" . . . . .	276
D. What Is There in Common Between Economism and Terrorism? . . . . .	282
E. The Working Class as Vanguard Fighter for Democracy . . . . .	286
F. Again "Slanderers," Again "Mystifiers" . . . . .	304
IV. The Amateurishness of the Economists and an Organiza- tion of Revolutionaries . . . . .	308
A. What Is Amateurishness? . . . . .	309
B. Amateurishness and Economism . . . . .	313

	Page
C. Organization of Workers and Organization of Revolutionaries . . . . .	322
D. The Scope of Organizational Work . . . . .	339
E. A "Conspiratorial" Organization and "Democracy" . . . . .	346
F. Local and All-Russian Work . . . . .	356
V. The "Plan" for an All-Russian Political Newspaper . . . . .	368
A. Who Was Offended by the Article "Where To Begin?" . . . . .	369
B. Can a Newspaper Be a Collective Organizer? . . . . .	375
C. What Type of Organization Do We Require? . . . . .	388
Conclusion . . . . .	396
Appendix: The Attempt To Unite the <i>Iskra</i> with the <i>Rabocheye Dyelo</i> . . . . .	400
Correction to <i>What Is To Be Done?</i> . . . . .	408
ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK. The Crisis in Our Party . . . . .	410
Preface . . . . .	410
A. The Preparation for the Congress . . . . .	414
B. Significance of the Various Groupings at the Congress . . . . .	416
C. Beginning of the Congress. The Organization Committee Incident . . . . .	420
D. Dissolution of the <i>Yuzhni Rabochy</i> Group . . . . .	430
E. The Equality of Languages Incident . . . . .	434
F. The Agrarian Program . . . . .	442
G. The Party Rules. Comrade Martov's Draft . . . . .	451
H. Discussion on Centralism Prior to the Split Among the <i>Iskra</i> -ists . . . . .	461
I. Paragraph One of the Rules . . . . .	465
J. Innocent Sufferers from a False Accusation of Opportunism . . . . .	491
K. Continuation of the Discussion of the Rules. Composition of the Council . . . . .	503

	<i>Page</i>
L. Conclusion of the Debate on the Rules. Co-option on the Central Bodies. Withdrawal of the <i>Rabocheye Dyelo</i> Delegates . . . . .	510
M. The Elections. End of the Congress . . . . .	525
N. General Picture of the Struggle at the Congress. The Revolutionary and Opportunist Wings of the Party . .	555
O. After the Congress. Two Methods of Struggle . . . .	570
P. Little Annoyances Should Not Be Allowed To Mar a Big Pleasure . . . . .	592
Q. The New <i>Iskra</i> . Opportunism in Questions of Organization . . . . .	604
R. A Few Words on Dialectics. Two Revolutions . . . .	639
Appendix: The Incident of Comrade Gussev and Comrade Deutsch . . . . .	646
EXPLANATORY NOTES . . . . .	657



## PREFACE

### TO RUSSIAN 1946 EDITION

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

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

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

The two-volume edition of Lenin's selected works includes the following of his major writings: *What the "Friends*



*of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats, The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats, What Is To Be Done?, One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, The United States of Europe Slogan, The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution, The April Theses, The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It, The State and Revolution, The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government, The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, "Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder, The Tax in Kind, On Cooperation, and others.\** Each of these works constitutes a landmark in the history of the Party of Lenin and Stalin and in the development of the Marxist-Leninist theory. The present two-volume edition also includes Lenin's most important articles on the defence of the Socialist Fatherland. These are of tremendous importance in the mobilization and organization of the Soviet people.

In his book *What the "Friends of the People" Are and How They Fight the Social-Democrats* (1894), Lenin thoroughly exposed the true character of the Narodniks, showing that they were false "friends of the people" and were actually working against the people. He showed that it was the Marxists and not the Narodniks who were the real friends of the people and sincerely wanted to destroy tsarism and rid the people of oppression of every kind. Lenin was the first to advance the idea of a revolutionary alliance of the workers and the peasants as the principal means of overthrowing tsardom, the landlords and the bourgeoisie, and outlined the main tasks of the Russian Marxists. In this work he pointed out that it would be the working class of Russia in alliance with the peasantry that would overthrow tsarism, after which the Russian proletariat in alliance with the

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

labouring masses would achieve a free life in which there would be no room for the exploitation of man by man.

In his book *What Is To Be Done?* (1902) Lenin outlined a concrete organizational plan for building a Marxist party of the working class. He completely demolished the theory of "Economism" and exposed the ideology of opportunism, *khvostism*\* and spontaneity. He brought out the great importance of theory, of consciousness, and of the Party as the guiding force of the working-class movement. He substantiated the thesis that a Marxist party is a union of the working-class movement with Socialism and gave a brilliant exposition of the ideological principles of a Marxist party.

In his famous book *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* (1904), Lenin successfully upheld the Party principle against the circle principle, and the Party against the Menshevik dis-organizers, smashed the opportunism of the Mensheviks on questions of organization and laid the organizational foundations of the Bolshevik Party—the militant revolutionary Party of the new type. In this book Lenin, "for the first time in the history of Marxism, elaborated the *doctrine of the Party* as the leading *organization* of the proletariat, as the principal *weapon* of the proletariat, without which the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be won." (*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [Bolsheviks], Short Course*, 1949, page 62.) *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back* teaches one to understand the great importance of organization and discipline.

In his historic book *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution* (1905) Lenin ideologically demolished the petty-bourgeois tactics of the Mensheviks and with the power of genius substantiated the Bolshevik tactics in the bourgeois-democratic revolution and in the period of transition from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. The fundamental tactical principle en-

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\* From the Russian word "khvost" (tail), meaning: following at the tail of the movement.—Tr.

unciated in this book is the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the idea that the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois revolution, the proletariat being *in alliance* with the peasantry, would grow into the hegemony of the proletariat in the socialist revolution, the proletariat now being *in alliance* with the other labouring and exploited masses.

"This was a new line in the question of the relation between the bourgeois revolution and the socialist revolution, a new theory of a regrouping of forces around the proletariat, towards the end of the bourgeois revolution, for a direct transition to the socialist revolution—the theory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution *passing into* the socialist revolution." (*History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [Bolsheviks], Short Course*, p. 91.)

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

In his work *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916) Lenin makes a substantiated Marxist analysis of imperialism, showing that it is the highest and last stage of capitalism, that it is decaying and moribund capitalism, that it is the eve of the socialist revolution. On the basis of data on imperialist capitalism, Lenin presented a new theory according to which the simultaneous victory of Socialism in all countries is impossible, whereas the victory of Socialism in one capitalist country, taken singly, is possible. This deduction, the inspiration of a genius, was formulated by Lenin in his articles *The United States, of Europe Slogan* (1915) and *The War Program of the Proletarian Revolution* (1916).

"This was a *new* and complete theory of the socialist revolution, a theory affirming the possibility of the victory