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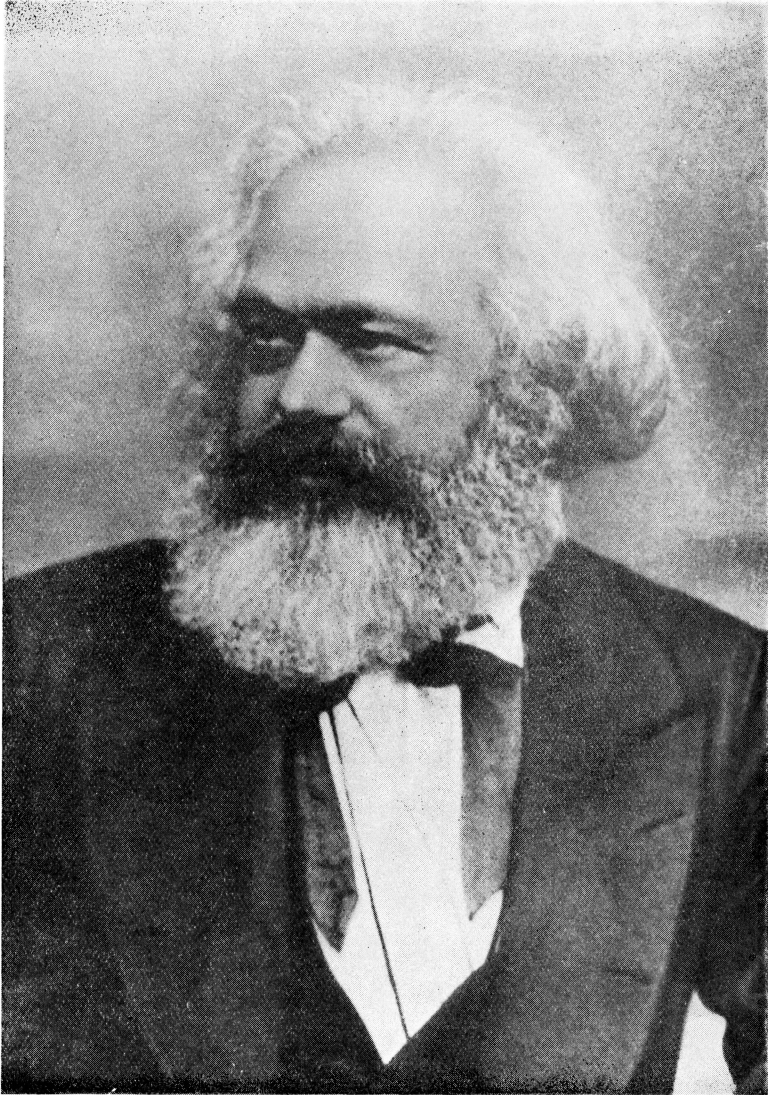
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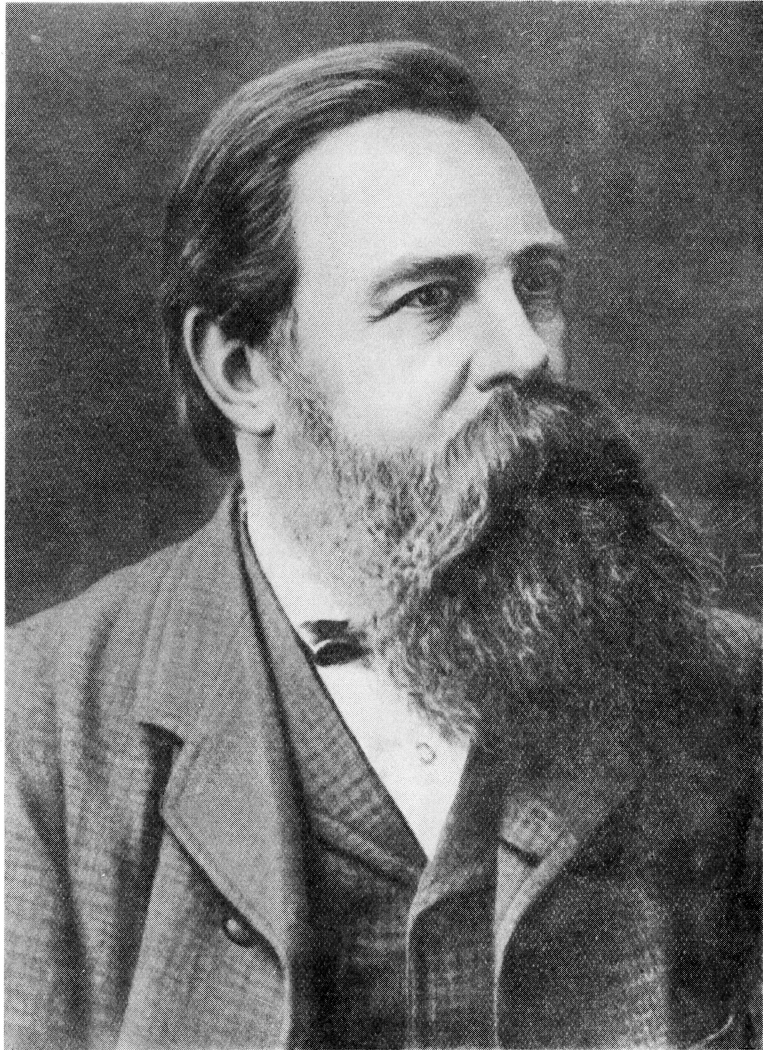
Anniversary of

the

SOVIET UNION



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THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE LABOURING AND EXPLOITED PEOPLE

CHAPTER I.

1. Russia is declared a Republic of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. All central and local power is vested in these Soviets.

2. The Russian Soviet Republic is established on the basis of a free union of free nations, as a federation of Soviet National Republics.

CHAPTER II.

3. Setting itself the fundamental aim of abolishing all exploitation of man by man, of completely removing the division of society into classes, of ruthlessly suppressing all exploiters, of establishing the Socialist organisation of society and the victory of Socialism in all countries, the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies further decrees:

(a) In establishing the socialisation of the land, private ownership of land is abolished and all the land is declared the property of the whole people and is handed over to the working people, without compensation, on the basis of the equalisation of land tenure.

(b) All forests, mineral wealth and waters of national importance, as well as all livestock and equipment, model-farm and agricultural concerns, are declared the property of the nation.

(c) As a first step towards the complete transfer of the factories, industrial plants, mines, railways and other means of production and transport to the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Republic, confirmation is hereby given to the Soviet law on workers' control and on the Supreme Economic Council in order to ensure the power of the working people over the exploiters.

(d) The Third Congress of Soviets regards the Soviet law annulling the loans concluded by the Government of the Tsar, the landlords and the bourgeoisie, as a first blow to international finance capital, and expresses its confidence that the Soviet Government will continue firmly in this direction until the complete victory of the international working-class revolt against the yoke of capital.

(e) The transfer of all banks to the property of the Workers' and Peasants' State, as one of the conditions ensuring the liberation of the working masses from the yoke of capital, is hereby ratified.

(f) In order to abolish the parasitic sections of society and to organise the economy of the country, universal labour conscription is hereby introduced.

(g) In order to secure for the mass of working people full and complete power and to remove any possibility of the restoration of the power of the exploiters, it is hereby decreed that the working people be armed, that a Socialist Red Army of workers and peasants be formed, and that the propertied classes be completely disarmed.

CHAPTER III.

4. Expressing its unbending determination to wrest mankind from the claws of finance capital and imperialism which during this most criminal of wars have drenched the world with blood, the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets wholeheartedly associates itself with the policy pursued by the Soviet Government of repudiating secret treaties, of organising the very widest fraternisation between the workers and peasants of the opposing armies, and of attaining at all costs by revolutionary means a peace of the working people without annexations or indemnities on the basis of the free self-determination of nations.

5. With the same object in view the Third Congress of Soviets insists on the complete repudiation of the barbarous policy of bourgeois civilisation, which built up the prosperity of the exploiters in a few select nations on the enslavement of hundreds of millions of the working population in Asia, the colonies in general, and the small countries.

6. The Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets welcomes the policy of the Council of People's Commissars in having proclaimed the complete independence of Finland, in having begun the withdrawal of troops from Persia, and in having declared the freedom of the self-determination of Armenia.

CHAPTER IV.

7. The Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies considers that now, at the moment of the decisive struggle between the proletariat and their exploiters, there can be no place for the latter on any of the organs of power. Power must belong wholly and exclusively to the masses of working people and their plenipotentiary representative—the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies.

8. At the same time, while striving to bring about a genuinely free and voluntary and, consequently more complete and stable a union of the working classes of all the nations of Russia, the Third All-

Russian Congress of Soviets confines itself to establishing the fundamental principles of the Federation of the Soviet Republics of Russia, leaving to the workers and peasants of each nationality the right to adopt an independent decision at their own plenary Soviet Congress as to whether they desire, and upon what bases they desire, to participate in

the Federal Government and in the remaining Federal Soviet institutions.

(From the Decisions of the Third Congress of Soviets of the R.S.F.S.R.—January 24, 1918. Draft declaration written by Lenin with the participation of Stalin, and issued as the main section to the first Soviet Constitution adopted at the Fifth Congress of Soviets—July 10, 1918.)

TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

PROLETARIANS, WORKING PEOPLE, PEOPLES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

THE Twentieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution has taken place.

Twenty years ago the Russian workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin-Stalin, overthrew the power of the capitalists and landlords and established the proletarian dictatorship, the power of the Workers' and Peasants' Soviets. The twenty years of Soviet Power and of the construction of Socialism are a tremendous victory not only for the working people of the U.S.S.R.; they are also a mighty victory for the workers of all countries, for the peoples of the whole world.

From the very first day of the Socialist Revolution a whole host of its fiercest enemies hurled themselves on the Land of the Soviets. Tsarist generals, international interventionists, supported by the S.R.s, Mensheviks and the entire whiteguard pack, undertook war against it from the South and East, from the North and West. Heroically did the workers and peasants defend their revolution, their country and their independence. Led by the immortal Lenin, his militant comrade and true friend, Stalin, organised victorious resistance on all fronts to the forces of the internal and international counter-revolution. It was with incredible privation and sacrifice that the workers and peasants of the Land of the Soviets, supported by the international proletariat, scattered the whiteguard generals and interventionists to the winds. It was with the rifle in one hand and the pick in the other that they set about Socialist Construction.

In an unceasing struggle against all the enemies of the people who strove to bring about the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R., in a struggle against saboteurs, wreckers, kulaks, Trotskyist-Bukharinist spies and traitors, the Bolshevik Party won new victories on the front of Socialist construction. From a poor, backward, agrarian country, the Soviet

Union, under the wise direction of Stalin, became transformed into a foremost industrial country, its industrial output occupying first place in Europe and second place in the world. Through the difficulties and dangers which arose in the way the great Stalin led onward the Land of the Soviets and brought its peoples to *the final and irrevocable victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.*

And now, workers of all countries, living Socialism stands before your eyes, clothed in flesh and blood! Living Socialism means the abolition of the exploitation of man by man. Living Socialism means the abolition of unemployment and poverty, means an uninterrupted rise in the material and cultural standards of the working masses, the steady reduction of the working day, the most extensive social insurance. Living Socialism means the right to work, the right to leisure, the right to education—rights guaranteed to every citizen.

This land of victorious Socialism stands before you to-day, people of the whole world, resplendent in its new towns and gigantic industrial plants, in its treasures revealed in the bowels of the earth, in its record harvests, in the halo of its labour enthusiasm, the heroism of its splendid Stakhanov movement, its culture, its youthfulness. Across inaccessible ice-fields and oceans it bears the news of its victories to the world on the steel wings of a powerful air fleet. It comes before you in the armour of the invincible Red Army, which stands on guard over the conquests of the Great Socialist Revolution and the peace of the peoples.

The Land of Socialism stands before you to-day, millions of toilers of the earth, as the embodiment of the *invulnerable alliance* of the workers and peasants, consolidated by the collectivisation of agriculture which has raised the peasantry from hopeless poverty to the cultured and joyous life of the collective farms.

The Land of Socialism stands before you to-day, peoples of the colonial countries, in the brotherly

union and fellowship of the peoples who inhabit the U.S.S.R., in the blossoming of their economic forces and cultural creative work.

The Land of Socialism stands before the whole world to-day in the radiance of developed Socialist democracy, consolidated in the great Stalin Constitution, which is a programme of struggle for the peoples of all countries and "an indictment against fascism, testifying that *Socialism and Democracy are invincible*" (Stalin). By the nation-wide enthusiasm of its election campaign, the Land of Socialism is demonstrating the indissoluble links between the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and their Soviet Government, the stability and inviolability of the Socialist system.

And ever new millions of people throughout the globe turn their gaze towards Socialism. They see that the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. have been victorious because they have been led by the Party of the Bolsheviks, which has been guided by such giants of revolutionary thought and deed as *Lenin* and *Stalin*. This Party led them to the victorious uprising in October, 1917. It gathered around itself the working class which won the leadership of the peasantry. The working people of the U.S.S.R. have won victory because the working class established the proletarian dictatorship, and made use of it to suppress the resistance of the counter-revolutionary classes, to strengthen the defensive power of the Land of the Soviets, to bring about the victorious construction of Socialism.

Could not, however, the working people in the other European countries have followed the same victorious path as the one along which the Bolsheviks led the workers and peasants in 1917? Remember, workers, the days at the end of the imperialist war. Millions of the working people had arms in their hands. The wave of the revolutionary movement rose high in the capitalist countries. Germany and Austria-Hungary were in the throes of revolution. But the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders who at that time exerted decisive influence in the leadership of the proletarian mass organisations led the workers along the road to defeat. They came to the aid of the bourgeoisie, who were terrified at the scope of the revolutionary movement, so as to put a brake on this movement by means of temporary reforms. Together with the bourgeoisie these leaders stifled the proletarian revolutions in Europe, carried through a coalition policy with the bourgeoisie directed against the interests of the working class. By this policy they split the working-class movement, weakened the proletariat and its power to influence the peasantry and the small working people of the towns. They enabled the Fascists to organise their forces with impunity, and called upon the masses to retreat before Fascism, and ended by capitulating to it.

Now the workers see into what an abyss the policy

of the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders has led them. Fascist dictatorship has been established in a whole number of capitalist countries. Rivers of the workers' blood flow, and the foul Fascist gang makes a mockery of the masses of the people. Fascism enslaves the workers, reducing wages to a poverty-stricken level, increases the working day, and establishes a penal regime in the factories. It annuls social legislation, although millions of unemployed fill the towns. It establishes a feudal regime for the peasants. It enmeshes the small urban bourgeoisie in the chains of slavery to the money-lenders. It bespatters human thought, and grinds culture in the dust. But even in the countries where the parliamentary system has still been preserved the bourgeoisie are exerting every effort to cut down the rights of the workers, to lower their standard of living, to organise the offensive of Fascism against the masses of the people. Twenty years after the imperialist war, mankind is again on the eve of a still more horrible world imperialist bloodbath. Trading on the tolerance of the bourgeois-democratic Powers, the Fascist scoundrels have already hurled a quarter of mankind into war.

And only the Soviet Union rises aloft like a beacon pointing a way out of this abyss to the proletariat and the whole of working mankind. The brighter the start of Socialism gleams in the U.S.S.R. the more do the ruling classes rage against the Land of the Soviets, against the working-class movement, against any urge towards liberty on the part of their own peoples. *But the more solidly do the working people throughout the world rally around the U.S.S.R.* The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. imbues the masses of the capitalist countries with the flame of ardent enthusiasm. It increases their readiness for the struggle. It gives them confidence in their own victory. It calls the workers of the capitalist countries to muster their forces into a united workers' front. It tells them that unless they unite their forces, the working class will be unable to rally behind them their allies, the working people of town and country, will prove unable to bar the road to Fascism, will fail to prevent war breaking out, will be unable to overthrow once and for all the accursed yoke of capital.

The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. shows the millions of peasants and urban toilers of the capitalist countries ruined by unbearable taxation, by the chains of usurious capital, that their path to salvation lies only in an alliance with the working class.

It shows the working intellectuals that only under Socialism is it possible to achieve the full flourishing of culture, art, and creative work, national in form and socialist in content.

And faced with the world-historic victory of Socialism on one-sixth of the earth's surface, the masses of the working people of the capitalist countries are becoming filled with growing indigna-

tion at the power of capital, with increasing determination to put an end to Fascism which is so hateful to them. They are closing their ranks. They are no longer retreating before Fascism as in Germany in 1933. They are fighting against it. They are finding a sharpened weapon against Fascism in the establishment of the united workers' and people's front. They see the guarantee of victory over it in uniting their forces.

The *Spanish people* are fighting an heroic struggle in a common front not only against the Fascist rebels, but also against the coalition of Fascist States which have hurled themselves against Republican Spain. Inspired by the victories of the working people in the U.S.S.R., the Spanish workers and peasants are fighting for a new type of democratic republic wherein the proletariat is the leading force of the nation-wide struggle, where there will be no place for Fascism, where its economic basis has been uprooted, and where the material guarantees have been created for the defence of the rights, liberty, and interests of the people.

The four hundred millions of the *Chinese people* are engaged in the courageous defence of their country against the invasion of the Japanese Fascist militarists. The example of the great Socialist Revolution which liberated the peoples of the U.S.S.R. from the yoke of foreign capital, strengthens the national consciousness of the masses of the people of China, who are hammering out a nation-wide fighting front against the Japanese usurpers.

By the powerful People's Front movement the *French people* are extending the democratic rights and economic gains of the working people, beating off the repeated attacks of Fascism.

The movement of the People's Front is developing in other capitalist countries as well. Even in the countries of ferocious Fascist terror, Germany, Italy and Japan, the forces of the anti-Fascist struggle are steadily maturing. Developing an increasingly resolute mass struggle against Fascism, the working class are advancing at the head of the working masses to the overthrow of the capitalist system.

Far and wide there is being built up the front of liberty, peace and Socialism against Fascism, war and capitalism. And far and wide the working people know that a leading place in this front is occupied by the *great Land of Socialism*, around which are rallying the peoples who hate Fascism and are thirsting for peace. Attracted towards it are the small nations, threatened by Fascist aggression. The democratic countries which have been subjected to attack see their support in the powerful U.S.S.R. Like a true sentinel of liberty and the independence of the peoples, the Land of Socialism wages its firm and consistent policy of peace so as to save mankind from a new world imperialist slaughter, from Fascist

barbarism. With more devotion and fidelity than all the democratic forces of peace does the U.S.S.R. defend the Democratic Republic in Spain, and the independence and integrity of China.

PROLETARIANS AND WORKING PEOPLE !

The struggle of the Spanish and Chinese peoples for liberty, independence and peace is the vital concern of the international proletariat, of all peoples. Not a single worker, not a single toiler, not a single Socialist, not a single democrat can fail to assist in bringing about the victory of the Spanish and Chinese peoples. This victory will be a victory of the cause of liberty and peace, a victory of the whole of advanced and progressive mankind. There is no more urgent task facing all sincere supporters of democracy and peace than in every way to contribute to the defeat of *German and Italian Fascism in Spain, and of the Japanese Fascist militarists in China*. The German and Italian interventionists and the Japanese usurpers have placed their own fate at stake here. Let their bloody adventure in Spain and China be the beginning of the doom of Fascism throughout the world.

Remember, working people, that it depends on the outcome of the struggle in Spain and China whether the Fascist cut-throats succeed in driving mankind into a new world imperialist slaughter. Following on the onslaught on Spain and China, Fascism is preparing new foul deeds against the peoples. A menace hangs over the peoples of Europe, of Czechoslovakia, Austria, Belgium, the Balkans and other countries. German Fascism is sharpening its bayonets against the French people. The peoples of Asia and the countries of the Pacific Ocean are menaced by Japanese imperialism. From both the West and East, the Fascist cut-throats are preparing an onslaught on the great Land of Socialism, the fatherland of all working people.

By defending Spain and China to-day, you defend the cause of world peace, you defend other peoples against Fascist onslaught, you defend yourselves, your homes, and your children against Fascist brigandage.

Workers and working people, do not believe the hypocrites and impostors who tell you that they are saving the cause of peace by their policy of "non-intervention." With the aid of this policy, they are carrying through the blockade of Republican Spain and China, supporting Franco, assisting the Fascist aggressors, and encouraging them in the kindling of new imperialist wars.

Demand of all the governments of the bourgeois-democratic countries that they carry on a resolute struggle against the Fascist aggressors. Demand that all the necessary pressure be exerted to curb the instigators of war.

Strengthen your fraternal alliance with the U.S.S.R. for the supreme defence of the cause of peace, of the cause of the liberty and independence of the Spanish and Chinese peoples.

Close your ranks into an indestructible united front, both in each separate country and on an international scale. Do not allow the reactionary leaders of social democracy any longer to sabotage united action by the international Labour movement in defence of the Spanish and Chinese peoples.

Build an international fighting front against German, Italian and Japanese Fascism. Drive the foul, spying, Trotskyist agents of Fascism out of all working-class and democratic organisations. The rooting out of this traitorous gang is an inseparably component part of the victorious struggle against Fascism, of the struggle for the cause of peace among the peoples.

Let the mighty voice of the peoples resound throughout the world with the words:

Out with the Fascist interventionists from Spain!

Out with the Japanese usurpers from China!

Rally closer around the U.S.S.R., the great land of victorious Socialism!

WORKING MEN AND WOMEN OF ALL COUNTRIES !

The world possesses an unyielding support of the international struggle for our own, workers' cause. A powerful fortress exists at the fighting front of the whole of progressive mankind for liberty, peace and Socialism. The millions of working people throughout the globe, in an *indissoluble alliance* with the peoples of the powerful Socialist State, constitute an invincible force. The achievement of this alliance imperatively demands the unification of the ranks of the international proletariat. Your unity is the most important condition for the victory of the working people not only over Fascism, but also over capitalism. Let your will to unity be stronger than all obstacles!

Long live the U.S.S.R., the great Socialist fatherland of the working people of all countries!

Long live the democratic Republic in Spain!

Long live free, independent China!

Long live the people's front of struggle against Fascism and war! Down with capitalism!

Long live the victory of the world proletarian revolution!

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

GREETINGS FROM THE E.C. OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL TO COMRADE STALIN

INFINITELY beloved leader, friend and teacher, dear to the hearts of millions of working people!

On the noteworthy day of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Great Socialist Revolution in the U.S.S.R., the most precious possession of the working people of all countries, our first thoughts, our first words are to you, great leader, organiser and inspirer of the victories of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

Inseparable friend and brother-in-arms of the eternal Lenin, under his leadership and side by side with him in the underground conditions of Tsardom, you hammered out the theoretical weapon of Marxism-Leninism, were tireless in building that splendid Party of the Bolsheviks which is the pride of the Communists of all countries and of the international Labour movement as a whole, and from which they are learning to crush and conquer their class enemies. Many were the times when in the Tsarist jails you passed through the ranks of the hangmen with head raised high, passed on unbending, teaching courage to every Bolshevik, by your per-

sonal example of steadfastness. Hounded and persecuted for years by the Tsarist Government, leading the mass movements of the working class, you, in perpetual accord with Lenin, prepared the masses of the people for the victorious uprising against the Tsarist monarchy, against the landowners and the capitalists.

Together with Lenin at the head of the Party of the Bolsheviks, you led the masses of the people twenty years ago to the storming of capitalism. Together with Lenin you led them on one-sixth of the globe, to such a victory as had never before in the history of mankind been won by the oppressed and exploited. Together with Lenin, using the example of the Russian workers and peasants, you showed the peoples throughout the world how to put an end to imperialist wars by transforming them into revolutions of the people. In both Lenin and you, Comrade Stalin, the oppressed and exploited throughout the world, brought into movement in all corners of the earth by the Great Socialist Revolu-

tion, recognised their leaders showing them the path to liberation.

So also did the enemy recognise in you the leader of the working people—the enemy who raised revolt against the Soviet Power and went to war against the Land of the Soviets. From their own painful experience they learned of your iron will, of your supreme determination in defence of the interests of the working people, of your daring and relentlessness in dealing blows at the enemy, of your qualities of popular military leader surrounded by the love and trust of the Red Army and the masses of the people. Wherever the Soviet Republic was menaced by danger, there it was that Lenin sent you and the people called for you, Comrade Stalin. Obedient to the summons of the Party and the call of the people, you went to the defence of Tsaritsin and together with the unforgettable Kirov you did in truth defend it. In the fighting company of Frunze and Voroshilov you went forth to crush Denikin and Wrangel, and you did in truth wipe them out. The people called on you to defend the Soviet Land against the white-guard Poles who had burst into Kiev, and you sent the Red Cavalry far into the rear of the enemy, and drove out the whiteguard Poles. You crushed the enemy because by your dogged work on all the fronts of the Civil War you *organised* the victory. At the front line under the fire of the enemy you reorganised regiments, out of scattered partisan detachments you organised brigades and divisions, transforming them into the victorious Red Army which cleared the Soviet Land of the whiteguard bands and interventionists.

And when the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and all working mankind lost Lenin, the genius of the Socialist Revolution, it was on your shoulders that there fell the colossal task of leading the peoples of the U.S.S.R. to the building of Socialism in the midst of the hostile capitalist encirclement. At Lenin's grave you uttered a vow which was heard by the working people of all countries. To-day the peoples throughout the world know that you have fulfilled this vow a hundred-fold. *You have brought the masses of the people in the U.S.S.R. to the final and irrevocable victory of Socialism.* Through storms and foul weather it has been with the firm hand of a tried and tested helmsman that you have guided the great ship of Socialism, menaced as it has been on all sides by the Fascist pirates.

The enemy pressed on from within and from without. The enemy fashioned endless intrigues, organised international conspiracies, and threatened and continues to threaten war. The Fascist scoundrels are kindling the flames of war in various parts of the globe. But the peoples of the U.S.S.R. travel their Socialist road steadily and calmly, secure in the knowledge that they are led by the mighty Party of

Lenin-Stalin, that they are being led forward by the great Stalin. By your wise policy of peace, you have saved the peoples of the U.S.S.R. from wars, you have saved mankind from a new world imperialist bloodbath.

Insidious enemies have tried to undermine Socialist construction from within. They have organised wrecking and diversionist activity, resorted to the foulest and desperate means of struggle; the Trotskyist-Bukharinist spies have sold themselves to foreign Fascist intelligence services so as to restore capitalism in the U.S.S.R. with the help of the Fascist States. But inexorable has been the hand of the proletarian dictatorship towards the spies, diversionists and enemies of the people. Inexorable has been the Party of the Bolsheviks under your leadership towards all those who, by deception, dissimulation and double-dealing, have dishonoured "the great calling of member of the Party." And by this, your irreconcilable struggle for the purity of the ranks of the Party, as the guarantee of its Bolshevik unity, you have become still dearer to the Communists of all lands and to the international proletariat.

At Lenin's grave you vowed to preserve and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat. You have not only preserved it, you have strengthened it in every way by developing it into the Socialist democracy for all the people inscribed in the great Constitution which justly bears your name, Comrade Stalin. The entire path of the struggle, victories and achievements of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. is reflected in it. In this Constitution the peoples throughout the world see the programme of their struggle against Fascism and war, for liberation from the yoke of capital.

True to your vow, you have not only strengthened the alliance of the workers and peasants, you have made it inviolable by having brought about the collectivisation of agriculture, which has raised millions of peasants from out of poverty to the joyous and happy life of the collective farms.

You have not only strengthened and extended the Union of Soviet Republics, but by steadfastly carrying through the Five-Year Plans of Socialist industrialisation, you have illuminated the remote tundras and wastes with the electric radiance of factories, have encircled the national republics in a network of new railways, have developed the treasures of national creative work, and have cemented the brotherhood and friendship of the entire family of the peoples inhabiting the U.S.S.R. with indissoluble bonds.

You have not only strengthened the Red Army, but by supplying it with the most modern technique, by training a Stalinist generation of falcons of the Land of the Soviets, you have made it an invincible force

which stands on guard over Socialism, peace and the liberty of all peoples.

You vowed, Comrade Stalin, to strengthen the alliance between the working people of the whole world. You have fulfilled your vow not only by the fact that you have armed the international Labour movement with the experience of the victorious struggle of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. for Socialism, by developing and adding to the teachings of Marx-Engels-Lenin. You have multiplied the strength of this alliance by the fact that you have placed the great *land of victorious Socialism* at the service of the cause of the working people throughout the globe.

And millions of working people in the capitalist countries are coming more and more to recognise how powerful a support is the U.S.S.R. in their struggle against the oppressors and exploiters, of what tremendous assistance are the victories of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. for the development of the people's front movement against Fascism, war and capitalism. They see how the enemies of the working class are in a fury against the growing might of the

Land of the Soviets, and against you, Comrade Stalin, the organiser of this might. And they know that the enemy is furious because you are the *brain and the will to victory of the working people*. And the closer do the millions of working people throughout the world rally around the Land of the Soviets, around you, beloved leader, friend and teacher.

Expressing the thoughts and feelings of the millions of working people, the Communist International sends hearty greetings to you, dear Comrade Stalin, and assures you that the Communists throughout the world will devote all their strength to the struggle for the cause which you have been supremely serving throughout the whole of your life.

May the invincible cause of Lenin-Stalin live on and gather strength!

Long live the leader of the working people throughout the world, Comrade Stalin!

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE WORKING CLASS OF THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

By G. DIMITROV

I.

UNBOUNDED is the joy and enthusiasm with which the millions of working people throughout the world, all fighters against capitalist spoliation, Fascist barbarism and imperialist war meet the Twentieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Honest supporters of democracy, progress and peace, the best people of science, culture and art in all countries greet the Twentieth Anniversary of the existence of the first Socialist State in the world as an event of world-historic importance.

No other event in the history of mankind has had such tremendous influence over the entire course of social development, over the fate of all the peoples of the earth, as the victory of the great October Socialist Revolution. There has not been, nor could there be such a State as the U.S.S.R. which millions of people in all corners of the globe, regardless of nationality or race, love as their very own fatherland, and with which they feel themselves, their lives, their fate and their hopes vitally bound up.

As a result of the bourgeois revolutions capitalism defeated the feudal system and won a dominating position. It encircled the entire world in

its system of economy, overcame feudal particularism and established big national States. But capitalism merely replaced one form of exploitation by another, class antagonism of one kind by another. It could not unite the peoples in peaceful fraternity, but on the contrary, deepened the gulf between them, creating new international contradictions and new causes of destructive wars of conquest.

As a result of the great October Socialist Revolution, Socialism gained victory over capitalism over one-sixth of the globe. A powerful Socialist State rose up over a tremendous territory covering half of Europe and Asia, in the heart of the world, a State based on the abolition of the exploitation of man by man and on a fraternal alliance between the peoples, and showing the way to the liberation of mankind from the bondage of capitalism, to the unification of all the peoples of the earth in a supreme fraternity of free and happy working people.

In the course of twenty years of severe struggle, in the face of the furious resistance of the defeated exploiting classes within the country and counter-revolutionary intervention from without, in conditions of encirclement by the hostile capitalist Powers, the working people of the U.S.S.R. led by

their glorious Party of Bolsheviks headed by the brilliant leaders of working mankind, Lenin and Stalin, transformed a backward, wretched country into a foremost, powerful Socialist State.

Whereas in 1913, Lenin, in characterising the unbelievable backwardness of Tsarist Russia pointed out that as regards modern means of production the country's economy was *four times* behind England, *five times* behind Germany and *ten times* behind America; to-day the Soviet Union occupies *first place* in Europe and *second place* in the world as an industrial country as regards the output of industrial production. No one can now deny the enormous achievements of Socialist construction, the tremendous growth of industry and the record harvests of collectivised agriculture. It is a fact, is it not, that such a stormy advance of economic development has taken place in the U.S.S.R. as has never been known by capitalist society. Whereas the development of industry of the capitalist countries during the period 1890-1913 showed an average growth in production of 5.8 per cent. a year, and during the period 1913-1936 only 1½ per cent., in the Soviet Union in 1936 alone the growth in industrial output totalled 28 per cent. Whereas in 1936 the industrial output of capitalist countries exceeded the 1913 level by *one-third* in the Soviet Union it had grown by *seven times*.

In the sphere of agriculture a tremendous historical victory has been achieved. While the agriculture of the capitalist countries does not emerge from the protracted agrarian crisis as the result of which the sown area is decreasing, masses of products are being destroyed and the entire level of production is steadily declining, in the Soviet Union, in place of a backward, scattered economy there has been created the most advanced and large-scale Socialist agriculture, with 99 per cent. of the sown area collectivised. Thanks to the collective farm system poverty in the village has been destroyed and there are no longer any peasants without land, horses, or implements. More than 20,000,000 poor peasants who formerly lived a poverty-stricken existence have joined the collective farms and are to-day leading a prosperous cultured life. Socialist agriculture is yielding record harvests unprecedented in the history of the country. In 1937, nearly 7,000 million poods of grain have been harvested, while in the best years before the Revolution 4-5,000 million poods were harvested.

Under capitalism, wherever there is the increase of the wealth of the few, there is the increase, at the other end of the pole, of poverty and misery for millions of working people; the boom periods are inevitably followed by severe crises which destroy the productive forces and bring in their train unemployment, hunger and poverty. The Socialist system, on the other hand, does not know of crises, does not know of unemployment and poverty.

Irrefutable facts clearly testify to the superiority of the Socialist system over the capitalist system, not only in the sphere of economics, but also in the sphere of every-day life and culture, science and art, in the sphere of the relations between the peoples. Only the bought apologists of capitalism can dispute this superiority. And only hopeless cretins who not infrequently call themselves Socialists, and political charlatans who distort Marxism, venture still to prove that the working class is incapable of undertaking the historic responsibility of guiding the fate of its own people and of the organisation of the national economy, that the proletariat which is "inexperienced" in State and economic affairs cannot get on without the bourgeoisie who are "experienced" in these affairs.

Twenty years of the existence of the Soviet Union provide splendid confirmation of the words of Comrade Stalin uttered in 1927 on the occasion of the 10th Anniversary of the October Revolution:

"The undoubted successes of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. on the front of construction have clearly shown that the proletariat *can* successfully govern the country *without* the bourgeoisie and *against* the bourgeoisie that it *can* successfully build up industry *without* the bourgeoisie and *against* the bourgeoisie, that it *can* successfully guide the whole of the national economy *without* the bourgeoisie and *against* the bourgeoisie, that it *can* successfully build Socialism despite the encirclement of the capitalist states." (Stalin, Problems of Leninism, p. 204/5. Russian edition.)

Herein lies one of the most important lessons of principle of the great October Socialist Revolution for the working class of the capitalist countries, a lesson which needs to be particularly underlined on the occasion of the Twentieth Anniversary.

II.

Much has been done by the proletariat of the capitalist countries in supporting the first proletarian revolution in the history of mankind. Had it not been for this support the Soviet workers and peasants would have shed their blood to a still greater degree and would have had to sacrifice still more in order to defend the gains of the Socialist Revolution. None the less, however, it must be said outright that the working class of the capitalist countries have not succeeded in thoroughly fulfilling either their duty both towards the first Socialist Revolution, or towards their own liberation. Not only have they remained under the power of capital, and in Italy and Germany have fallen victims to the barbarous bondage of Fascism, but they have involuntarily assisted in increasing the difficulties, privations, sufferings and sacrifices of the vanguard unit of the international proletariat.

But what would the world have looked like, if the proletariat of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy had, after the October Socialist Revolution, in the

period of 1918-1920, not stopped half way in their revolutionary advance? What would the world have looked like had the German and Austrian revolutions of 1918 been carried through to the end, and had the dictatorship of the proletariat been established in the heart of Europe, in highly developed industrial countries, as a result of the victory of the revolution? A revolutionary bloc of the West-European proletariat and the working class of the Soviet Union would not only have facilitated one hundred-fold the liquidation of the counter-revolutionary intervention and civil war, but would have immeasurably hastened on the building of Socialism in the Land of the Soviets. The Fascist dictatorship would not have existed either in Italy, Germany, Austria or other countries. There would have been no offensive of Fascism on the working class and the democratic peoples. There would not have been the present difficult trials of the Spanish and Chinese peoples. Mankind would not now be faced with the ominous menace of a new world slaughter.

At the time when the Russian workers and peasants overthrew the landlords and capitalists, all the necessary objective conditions were at hand in Central Europe for the European and particularly the German proletariat taking the path of the Soviet workers and peasants. But this did not take place. It did not take place mainly because the decisive word at that time in the leadership of the mass organisations of the proletariat belonged to the leaders of the Social-Democratic parties, who had been in coalition with their own imperialist bourgeoisie from the outbreak of the war.

In their effort at all costs to preserve the shattered foundations of bourgeois society, they widely utilised the influence of the ideology and policy of *social-democratism, reformism*, in order to deceive the majority of the working class, by spreading the conviction among them that the workers would be led to Socialism not by the further development of the Revolution, but by its rapid liquidation. By their *coalition with the bourgeoisie* they *split* the working-class movement, weakened the proletariat, isolated it from the peasantry and the small townspeople, and thus helped the bourgeoisie to gather their forces and to undertake the offensive against the revolutionary workers and peasants. The political cowards and deceivers of the proletariat who were at the head of the mass organisations of the working class scared the workers with the prospect of sacrifices, privations and economic ruin. They assured them that they would be led to Socialism not by the path of *Bolshevism*, by the revolutionary practical application of the teachings of Marx and Engels, not by the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, but that a peaceful and painless transition to Socialism would be ensured by the path of

social-democratism—the path of coalition with the bourgeoisie and the preservation of the bourgeois system.

Now the results of the twenty years are before us. Who will deny that the sacrifices and privations borne, for instance, by the working class and working masses of Germany throughout the whole of the post-war period and, particularly, in the conditions of the savage regime of the Fascist dictatorship are a thousand times greater than all the possible sacrifices and privations that would have been demanded by the victory of the proletarian revolution in 1918.

Instead of the promised peaceful, painless transition to Socialism, social-democratism, by its entire capitulatory and splitting policy cleared the way for the victory of fascism.

Had it not been for the social-democratism of Turatti and Daragona, in Italy the victory of the *Fascism of Mussolini* would not have been possible. *Had it not been for the social-democratism of Ebert and Noske*, in Germany, the victory of the *Fascism of Hitler* would not have been possible. *Had it not been for the social-democratism of Renner and Bauer*, in Austria, the victory of Fascism of Schuschnigg would not have been possible. Nothing can now conceal this truth, which is also irrefutably confirmed by numerous now well-known documents from the post-war political history of Europe.

In the conditions of the unparalleled revolutionary crisis at the end of the imperialist war, the reactionary social-democratic leaders split the working class, disarmed it ideologically and politically, hindered the development of the proletarian revolutions that had matured, saved the domination of capitalism, and thereby made the working people a target for Fascism. At the same time *Bolshevism*, true Marxism, united the working class, created an inviolable alliance of the workers and peasants, destroyed capitalism, ensured the victory of the Socialist Revolution, and led to the building of Socialist society in one-sixth of the globe.

And Comrade Stalin was a thousand times right when he wrote ten years ago that: "*It is impossible to put an end to capitalism, without having put an end to social-democratism in the working-class movement.*" (J. Stalin, "Problems of Leninism," p. 209, Russ. Ed.)

Herein lies the second most important lesson of principle for the proletariat of the capitalist countries in connection with the Twentieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

III.

During the twenty years, the working masses in the capitalist countries, especially during the world economic crisis, experienced much, suffered much and learned much on the basis of their own bitter

experience. The final and irrevocable victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. on the one hand, and the lessons of the temporary defeats inflicted on the working class by Fascism, especially in Germany, on the other hand, *have undermined* the former influence of social-democratism not only in the working class, but also in the ranks of the Socialist Parties themselves and the trade unions under their political leadership. In the social-democratic camp there has begun a process of departure from the positions of *reformism*, of departure from the policy of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, and of the transition to the position of struggle jointly with the Communist Party against Fascism, to the position of united action of the working class and of the anti-Fascist people's front. This process has already found clear expression in the establishment of the united front between the Communists and Socialists in France, Spain and Italy, and partly in a number of other countries.

The further development of this process is being facilitated and speeded up by the entire course of the events of recent years, which imperatively faces the working class with the *most important shock task* of at all costs barring the road to Fascism in the bourgeois democratic countries, of overthrowing fascism in the countries where it is in power, and of defending world peace against the Fascist war-makers. This process of the departure from social-democratism is being speeded up by the correct application by the Communist Parties of the main lines laid down by the Seventh Congress of the Communist International.

As a result of the influence of the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., as the result of the development of the People's Front movement, of the growing influence of Communism in the ranks of the working-class movement, there will, without doubt, be an increase in the number of Socialist Parties and organisations which *give us bankrupt social-democratism, which wage a struggle together with the Communist Parties against the common class enemy and which stand for unity with the Communists in a single mass party of the proletariat*. Such a unification has already taken place between the Socialists and Communists of Catalonia. It is being prepared jointly by the Communist and Socialist Parties of Spain. The necessary pre-conditions for it are also maturing in France as a result of the joint struggle of the Communists and Socialists in the United Confederation of Labour, and in the ranks of the anti-Fascist People's Front, and also thanks to the beneficent influence exerted by the establishment of a United Confederation of Labour over the whole process of the consolidation of the forces of the French proletariat. The new Pact between the Italian Communists and Socialists

is still further strengthening their fraternal relations and the bonds of their joint struggle against the Fascist dictatorship of Mussolini. Mutual understanding and accord are increasing between the Communists and Socialists in Germany in the struggle against the Fascist dictatorship of Hitler, despite all the machinations and intrigues of the diehard leaders of the foreign executive of the Social-Democratic Party.

It may be said with confidence that by the Twentieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the working class of the capitalist countries are *closely approaching the liquidation* of the *split* in the world working-class movement which was brought into being by social-democratism. There are still many difficulties and obstacles of an ideological, political and organisational character in the way of liquidating this split. There are difficulties connected with the very history and traditions of the working-class movement in the different countries, difficulties which are not so easy to overcome. But the main thing is that the ruling classes of the capitalist countries who are profoundly interested in the division of the forces of the working-class movement, are doing and will continue to do everything possible to prevent the unity of the working-class movement being established. For their benefit, the reactionary leaders of the Socialist International are expending furious energy in order to turn back the wheel of history. Even in the face of the monstrous Germano-Italian intervention in Spain, the ferocious onslaught by the Japanese Fascist militarists on China and the exceptionally acute menace of a new world imperialist war, these leaders are doing everything possible to wreck every attempt at joint action by the international organisations of the workers in defence of the Spanish and Chinese people, in defence of peace.

But there are no such difficulties and obstacles on the path to unity in the struggle against Fascism and war, as the working class cannot overcome, if they are filled with the firm determination to unite their forces and fulfil their historic mission.

The existence of the Land of Socialism, that powerful buttress of the struggle of the international proletariat, the buttress of peace, liberty and progress, *is a tremendous factor in the liquidation of the split in the ranks of the world working-class movement*. By their example, their labour heroism, their Stakhanov movement, their devotion to their Socialist Fatherland, their merciless struggle against the enemies of the people, Trotsky-Bukharinite spies, diversionists, agents of Fascism, the working people of the Soviet Union exert enormous influence on the bringing together of the split forces of the world working-class movement. The sympathy and love of the working people of the capitalist world for the

Soviet Union, the land of victorious Socialism, are steadily on the increase. And this fact acts as a most powerful antidote against the splitting work carried on in the ranks of the working class by the open and masked agents of the class enemy.

The land of victorious Socialism, which is playing such an outstanding part in uniting the international proletariat, is rallying all sincere supporters of the workers' cause still more closely around the U.S.S.R. In the present international situation there is not, nor can there be any other, *more certain criterion*, than one's *attitude* towards the Soviet Union, in determining who is the *friend* and who the *enemy* of the cause of the working class and Socialism, of determining who is a *supporter* and who an *opponent* of democracy and peace. The *touchstone* in checking the sincerity and honesty of every individual active in the working-class movement, of every working-class party and organisation of the working people, and of every democrat in the capitalist countries is their *attitude* towards the Great Land of Socialism. You cannot carry on a real struggle against fascism if you do not render all possible assistance in strengthening the *most important buttress* of this struggle, namely, the Soviet Union. You cannot carry on a serious struggle

against the Fascist instigators of a new world blood-bath, if you do not render undivided support to the U.S.S.R., a *most important factor* in the maintenance of international peace. You cannot carry on a real struggle for Socialism in your own country, if you do not oppose the enemies of the Soviet State, where this Socialism is being fulfilled by the historic efforts of the working people. You cannot be a *real friend* of the U.S.S.R. if you do not condemn its enemies—the Trotsky-Bukharinite agents of Fascism.

The *historical dividing line* between the forces of Fascism, war and capitalism, on the one hand, and the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism on the other hand, is in fact becoming the *attitude* towards the Soviet Union, and not the formal attitude towards Soviet Power and Socialism in general, but the *attitude* to the Soviet Union which has been carrying on a real existence for twenty years already, with its untiring struggle against enemies, with its dictatorship of the working class and the Stalin Constitution, with the leading role of the Party of Lenin-Stalin.

Herein lies the third most important lesson of principle for the proletariat of the capitalist countries in connection with the twentieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

THE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.S.R. AND THE PEOPLE'S FRONT MOVEMENT

By D. Z. MANUILSKY

WHILE the millions of workers and peasants of the Land of Soviets are summing up the great results of twenty years of Soviet rule and Socialist construction, the working people of the capitalist countries are similarly summing up the results of their struggle during the last twenty years.

To-day millions of proletarian and working people in the capitalist countries are comparing two roads of development: the one road—the road of the destruction of capitalism, the road of proletarian dictatorship, the road of the victory of Socialism, and the other road—the road of the preservation of capitalism, coalition with the bourgeoisie which led to Fascist dictatorship. They call to mind that twenty years ago, as a result of the world imperialist war which shook the entire capitalist system to its foundations, the peoples in a number of capitalist countries could have become masters of the situation.

What was the picture of the capitalist world at the end of the world imperialist war?

Millions of working people were armed. For over four years these people had been floundering in the mud of the trenches, had perished on the Marne, at Verdun, in the forests of White Russia, in the Carpathians; had frozen in the snow and had seen their fellows drown in swamps, all in the hope that when the crazy hell of the war came to an end, they would present their account to those who had sent them to the slaughter, for their four years' suffering, for their wounds, sores and blood, and demand for themselves, for their children, a better lot, greater rights, and a juster life.

These people returned from the front, some on crutches, armless, or crippled, but united by one feeling and profoundly aching desire, namely, to finish once and for all with the cursed order which had made cannon-fodder of them, to deliver a blow at the bourgeois scoundrels behind the lines, who had piled up mountains of gold out of the blood of the peoples and had feasted themselves while the plague was

raging. The Stinnes, Wendels, Armstrongs, Krupps, Hohenzollerns, and Hapsburgs quaked before the armed peoples. Aye, and well might they quake!

In Russia not only did the workers and peasants overthrow the Tsarist monarchy, but they also overthrew the power of the landlords, capitalists and bankers, and set up a proletarian dictatorship. The Great Socialist Revolution shook the whole world, revolutionised the mass of the people of the capitalist countries, and filled them with the determination to follow the road of the Soviet workers and peasants. In a number of capitalist countries, especially those which suffered defeat in the imperialist war, a revolutionary situation was at hand. The ruling classes had let slip the helm of government; the peoples had no desire to live on in the old way; revolutionary activity welled up in them, impelling the most backward social strata into the political struggle.

In 1918 the peoples of Central Europe: Germany, Austria-Hungary and other countries, driven to desperation by the imperialist slaughter, rose up against their oppressors, against those to blame for their senseless sufferings. Following the example of the Soviet workers and peasants, they set up soviets of workers' and soldiers deputies in the hope that, having overthrown the Hohenzollern and Hapsburg monarchies, the Social-Democratic leaders who stood at the head of their movement would lead them along the road of victory over the Prussian Junkers and bourgeoisie.

Alarmed at the dimensions of the revolutionary movement of the masses of the people, the ruling classes preferred to buy off the revolution by granting reforms. In some places they introduced universal suffrage, the eight-hour working day, and social legislation, and brought reactionary Social-Democratic leaders into the government; with their temporary reforms they strove to put a brake on the revolutionary movement of the masses, to pacify the masses with flattering demagogy to-day in order, on the morrow, the more foully to crush them. At the same time, with the aid of their whiteguard shock troops, led by arch-scoundrels like Noske and Severing, they drowned the proletarian revolution in Europe in rivers of blood.

But the ruling classes would have been unable to deceive the people and to crush the workers, had they not been aided in this by the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders, who made use of the traditional prestige of the Social-Democratic Parties for the realisation of the insidious schemes of the bourgeoisie. These leaders, who feared the proletarian revolution no less than did the ruling classes, said to the people who were caught up in the wave of revolutionary enthusiasm: "Take the reforms! Don't follow the road of the Soviet workers and peasants, which is fraught with sacrifice and privations." But while they

called upon the masses to take the road of "peaceful evolution into Socialism" on the basis of class collaboration, these leaders laid all the sacrifices and privations connected with the restoration of post-war capitalism on the shoulders of the peoples.

They scared the revolutionary peoples with the difficulties of the civil war being waged by the Soviet workers and peasants against the united forces of the internal and international counter-revolution. At the same time they joined with the bourgeoisie in waging *civil war against the working class*, and in destroying the best of its revolutionary elements. The reactionary leaders duped the workers into believing they were defending bourgeois democracy, but actually they betrayed even it by their own *anti-democratic policy*. During the first ten days of the November Revolution in Germany in 1918, they did everything to save the monarchy. In the effort to deflect the blow from the Hohenzollern dynasty, the Scheidemanns and Eberts ran about like frenzied creatures between the Reichstag, to which the insurgent peoples had crowded, and Wilhelm's audience chamber. They prepared the destruction of bourgeois democracy by the fact that they preserved the material basis of the Prussian junkers, left the old State machine almost entirely intact, and did not touch the privileges of the monarchist military caste. As a result of this policy, Fascism was given a social prop, and cadres for its development.

The reactionary Social-Democratic leaders helped the bourgeoisie to disarm the workers, to take the rifles from the hands of the peoples, to restore the bourgeois machine for suppressing the masses which the revolution had shaken. They helped the bourgeoisie to save capitalism by conducting a coalition policy together with them against the interests of the revolution, against the interests of the working class, in the interests of the Fascist reptile that had raised its head.

By the whole of their policy of support for the imperialist war, of suppression of the proletarian revolution, of collaboration with the bourgeoisie to restore capitalism which was shaken by war and revolution, the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders split the working class, weakened them and the strength of their influence over the peasantry and urban petty bourgeoisie, thereby affording invaluable aid to Fascism.

They helped the development of Fascism by allowing Fascism freedom, within the framework of bourgeois democracy, to organise its forces, to strengthen its position in the State machine, the army and the police, and to prepare a blow not only against the working-class movement, but also against bourgeois democracy itself. By their struggle against the Communist movement, the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders enfeebled the working class, the most con-

sistent defender of democratic rights and liberties, thereby weakening the positions of the entire democratic front. And when Fascism had consolidated its positions and turned to the offensive against the masses of the people, these leaders called on the masses to retreat before Fascism, and prepared to capitulate to it. And they ended up with actually capitulating to Fascism.

Precisely the same policy of capitulation as led to the victory of Fascism in Germany and Austria is being repeated all along the line to-day by the reactionary leaders of the British Labour Party in respect to the Fascist aggressors on the international arena. They are "preserving" peace by the very same methods as those with which Wels in Germany and Renner in Austria "saved" bourgeois democracy. To-day millions of workers in the capitalist countries are summing up the bloody results of the policy of the Fascist bourgeoisie, the policy supported by the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders. To-day the dead victims of the imperialist war are crying out from their graves to the capitalist rulers: "Why did you send us to our doom? Where is your age of democracy and eternal peace for which you called us to die on the fields of battle?"

To-day bourgeois democracy has been crushed by Fascism in the majority of capitalist countries; the bestial Fascist gang jeers at the people. To-day millions of unemployed, deprived of all means of obtaining a livelihood, fill the capitalist towns. Industrial enterprises have become penal settlements for the workers. Hunger and want reign supreme in the working-class districts. An awful death-toll mows down the poor. The peace promised by the ruling classes at Versailles is non-existent; on the contrary, war has already been raging for a number of years. To-day German-Italian Fascist bandits have pounced upon the Spanish people, are drowning Spain in blood, trampling her fields under foot, destroying her towns, killing thousands of absolutely innocent women and children. In China, the Japanese Fascist militarists are in a frenzy, attempting, after the seizure of Manchuria, to occupy the Northern and Central Provinces of China. A quarter of mankind has been plunged into war by the Fascist brigands.

And faced with this capitalist anarchy, Fascist slaughter, growing capitalist exploitation, and consolidation by the ruling classes of the machine for oppressing the masses, the working people turn to the Land of Socialism which towers like a rock, and by its enormous victories still further emphasises the chaos and confusion of the capitalist world.

The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. is bringing about a revolution in the minds of millions of people on the earth, overturning and smashing to atoms all the prejudices about Socialism imbued in the masses

for decades by the ruling class. The henchmen of the bourgeoisie told the working people that the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship would lead to the defeat of the working class and to the victory of reaction. To-day the working people of the whole world see that by taking the road of the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship, the Soviet workers and peasants have proved victorious. They have not only crushed the forces of the internal counter-revolution, but have converted their country into the invincible bulwark of the working people of the whole world in their struggle against reaction and capitalism. The proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R., which since the first day of its existence has been democracy of the widest kind for the working people, has now developed into Socialist democracy for the whole of the people, has been ratified in the great Stalin Constitution, and has now become a programme of struggle for all the peoples and an indictment against Fascism.

For decades the hirelings of the bourgeoisie have asserted that the realisation of Socialism is a utopia, that no society is conceivable without the development of private initiative, private interest, interest in making profit, without the capitalists managing the national economy. The U.S.S.R. gives the whole world a living example of a society where the workers and peasants are administering economy without capitalists, landlords and bankers, where the political, economic and cultural life of the country is set in motion by stimuli of a higher order, where Socialist competition "brings about a fundamental change in the views of people regarding labour, for it transforms labour from the shameful and heavy burden which it was formerly considered to be into a thing of *honour, glory, prowess and heroism.*" (Stalin.)

The hirelings of the bourgeoisie asserted that Socialism could not be built, especially in the economically backward, agrarian country that Russia was formerly, and such as was inherited by the workers and peasants from the Tsarist Government. To-day the whole world knows that Socialism in the U.S.S.R. has won final and irrevocable victory; Socialism has provided such an example of development of the productive forces, of the material and cultural advance of the working people, of the all-round prosperity of Soviet society, as has never been dreamed of by any country in the world throughout the whole of the history of mankind.

The hirelings of the bourgeois asserted that the working class would fall out with the peasantry, that the peasantry would never reconcile themselves with Socialism, that the Bolsheviks would break their necks if they tried to touch the private interests of the individual peasant farm. In actual practice, however, it transpired that the Soviet peasantry followed the lead of the working class not only in the struggle for

the land, but also for the Socialist reconstruction of agriculture. The alliance of the workers and peasants has not only ensured the realisation of the collectivisation of agriculture but, consolidated by collectivisation, it has become inviolable.

And millions of people throughout the world, convinced every day by the facts of the growing might of the Land of Soviets, are turning more and more towards Socialism. The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. fires the workers of the whole world with enthusiasm. It increases their belief in their own forces, inspires them for the struggle against the exploiters, and gives them confidence in their own victory. It tells the workers that they must take the initiative in leading the struggle of all working people against Fascism, imperialist war and capitalism, that the success of their struggle will be assured if they will amalgamate their forces in a united working-class front, which will help them to lead all the working people of town and country into the struggle against their class enemies.

Millions of peasants, ruined in the capitalist countries by the agrarian crisis, enormous taxation and bondage to the usurers, and what is more, subjected in the Fascist countries to the awful conditions of serfdom, are increasingly beginning to understand how foully they have been deceived by the ruling classes. For these ruling classes have systematically set them against Socialism, alleging that it is a menace to their well-being, have set the peasants against the working class, who are alleged to worsen their hard conditions by their revolutionary movement, and set them against the Land of Soviets, alleging that there all the good things, all property, are divided up at the expense of the peasantry. But the peasants see before their eyes the land of Socialism as it really is, with its hundreds of thousands of tractors, with its joyous, prosperous, cultured life, which has lightened peasant labour, and put an end once and for all to the division into rich and poor.

To the working people of the towns, who are ground down between the mill-stones of the monopolist trusts, and in the Fascist countries enmeshed in the awful bonds of slavery to the money-lenders, the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. shows that Socialism brings them deliverance, that under Socialism they will find themselves on an equal footing with all the people working in Socialist economy, that only in alliance with the working class can they achieve their emancipation.

To the unemployed intellectuals of the capitalist countries, before whose eyes Fascism is making bonfires of the best products of the human mind, tramping all human culture under foot and exalting racial theories worthy of the Zoo to the level of science—to these intellectuals the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. shows that only Socialism safeguards the

development of all the creative forces of the human personality, that only under Socialism is there assured real liberty of creative work and the blossoming of culture, national in form and Socialist in content.

The working people of the capitalist countries see that the working class in the U.S.S.R. has been victorious because it has been led by the Party of Lenin-Stalin. Hence the steady growth of the prestige of this Party in the eyes of the working people of the whole world. And this means the growth of the influence of Communism, means that the workers of the capitalist countries are adopting an attitude of increasing respect for the Communist Parties of their various countries.

The working people of the capitalist countries see that the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. were victorious because the Party of Lenin-Stalin led them to the armed uprising against the landlords and capitalists in October, 1917. Hence they draw the lesson that final victory can only be achieved by incessant class struggle, a struggle that develops into an uprising on the part of the exploited against the exploiters. This is all the truer since their own experience points to the fact that class collaboration with the bourgeoisie has led, in a number of capitalist countries, to the defeat of the working class and the masses of the people. And they are more and more resolutely taking the path of struggle against Fascism, imperialist war and capitalism.

They no longer retreat before Fascism, as in Germany in the year 1933, when they were deceived by the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders with their tales about avoiding civil war by retreating. They are fighting in some countries, like France, by mass movements against Fascism, while in other countries, like Spain, they are fighting against it with arms in hand.

The working people of the capitalist countries see that the workers and peasants in the U.S.S.R. have emerged victorious because the working class, united under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, won the leadership of the millions of peasants. And hence they draw the conclusion that the most important condition for their victory is the close alliance of the peasants and working people of the towns with the industrial workers, an alliance which, in the present concrete conditions, means the establishment of the people's front of struggle against Fascism and imperialist war.

They see, further, that the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. have emerged victorious because they set up the dictatorship of the proletariat and used it to suppress the resistance of the counter-revolutionary classes, to consolidate the defence of the Land of Soviets, victoriously to build Socialism. Their attrac-

tion towards the basic methods and fighting aims of the Soviet workers is growing and strengthening.

Dealing blows at Fascism, at the Fascist war-mongers, by their people's front movement, they hit at capitalism which gives rise to barbarous Fascism and imperialist war. By employing their anti-Fascist struggle to undermine the positions of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialistic elements of finance capital, they shake the power of the exploiting classes, the whole system of capitalist exploitation, and are advancing towards the crushing of Fascism and the overthrow of capitalism.

By its victories, the great Land of Socialism is winning not only the working people of the capitalist countries for a decisive struggle against their exploiters. By its consistent policy of peace it is attracting to itself those peoples who want neither Fascism nor war. At the end of the world imperialist war, millions of the people of blood-drenched Europe believed in the Wilson legend about the League of Nations being a parliament of all the peoples, which would put an end to imperialist wars by the application of international arbitration and effective sanctions against violators of the general peace. But the violators of peace preferred either to leave the League of Nations so as to have their hands free for aggression, as Japan and Germany did, or to remain in it as the "informers" of the departed States, as Italy does.

In the supreme defence of peace, the Land of the Soviets also makes use of the League of Nations, that "certain protuberance," as Comrade Stalin puts it. But it is now becoming increasingly clear to those who nourished illusions about the League of Nations, that it has not proved to be an effective instrument in averting the onslaught of the Japanese Fascist militarists on China, of Italian Fascism on Abyssinia, and of the foul Germano-Italian forces of intervention on Spain.

The peoples are asking themselves: Where is the real force which, in face of this Fascist brigandage and the fact of this international banditism being encouraged by the criminal "non-intervention" policy of the bourgeois-democratic States, reflects the will of the masses of people to preserve peace, and gives material expression to this will for peace in its policy, which has a basis in economic, military and State power?

This force is the Soviet Union.

Around the U.S.S.R. are rallying all real supporters of peace. The young states and "small" nations, whose existence is menaced by Fascist aggression, are being drawn towards the Soviet Union.

The democratic peoples who have been subjected to the attack of the Fascist Powers see the U.S.S.R. as their defender. The masses of the people of all countries see their own hopes and support in the

U.S.S.R.; they know that the wise policy of Stalin is directed towards saving the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and all mankind from a new world imperialist war.

What can the Fascist States set in opposition to this noble mission of the U.S.S.R. in defending the cause of world peace? The race theory? They are thinking to rouse the peoples to war in the name of the bestial law of "every man is my enemy," in the name of one "thoroughbred race" ruling over the other "races." But these are "laws" taken from zoology, from the animal world, where one creature crunches and tears another to pieces. And if the Alsatian wolfhound could make a speech like a Goebbels, it would also proclaim the superiority of its own pure "Aryan" blood over that of the English setter or French poodle. But, happily, the Alsatian wolfhound cannot insult the human ear with suchlike speeches, and this rids it of the shame of being like Goebbels and pretending at a scientific degree in the "Third Empire" for research work on the race question. But the Fascist "theoreticians" of racism indeed deserve to be muzzled and chained up like dogs.

The more disgusted toiling humanity becomes with the Fascist war-mongers for their race theories, the more energetically is it prepared to fight for the cause of peace. Let the ruling classes try taking a free referendum among the peoples—for war or for peace. We have no doubt of the outcome of such a referendum. The masses of the people in all countries would vote for the peace policy of the Land of the Soviets.

But the ruling classes will not take such a referendum; they do not allow the peoples to decide questions of war and peace. Their Fascist spies are working their hardest to kindle the flames of war. They are trying to settle their agents in the ranks of the working-class movement in order to demoralise it from within by a system of provocation; they are setting up all kinds of groups in working-class and democratic organisations, whose aim it is, by their anti-Soviet agitation, to undermine the influence of the U.S.S.R. over the working masses of the capitalist countries. They are buying up all the renegade elements who have shifted into the camp of the bourgeoisie. In the Trotskyists they find a ready-made organisation which supplies them with an "ideology" and human material for their work of spying and provocation. And this gang of spies sells itself wholesale and retail to the German "Gestapo" and the General Staff of Japan, to all the Fascist secret services and to the police departments of the capitalist world.

The war-mongers are also trying to find places for their agents in the Land of Soviets, using for this treacherous work the remains of the hostile classes crushed by the revolution, the dirty Trotskyist-Bukharinist degenerates, who have become the hirelings of the Fascist espionage services.

The spying nests of traitors and enemies of the people are being rooted out by the merciless hand of the organs of the proletarian dictatorship under the leadership of Comrade N. I. Yezhov, People's Commissar for Home Affairs, tried and tested in the Stalin school. And this Bolshevik work of purging the Land of the Soviets of spies, diversionists and all enemies is an indissoluble part of the struggle of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the working people of all countries to consolidate the land of Socialism, to consolidate the cause of peace among the peoples against the Fascist obscurantists and instigators of imperialist war.

The workers of the capitalist countries know that all that strengthens the Land of Soviets politically, economically, and in the military and cultural sense, also strengthens the positions of the workers of the whole world in their struggle for Socialism, for peace and liberty. They know that the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. is not only the victory of the working people of the Land of Soviets: it is the most valuable treasure of the working class of all countries, of the peoples of the whole world.

The workers of the capitalist countries know that

this victory was not easily obtained by the peoples of the U.S.S.R.: they won it under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, under the leadership of the immortal Lenin and great Stalin in battles and at the cost of sacrifice. They won it in October, 1917, when Lenin and Stalin, at the head of the Bolshevik Party, led them to the storming of capitalism. They won it in the years of the Civil War, when under the leadership of Lenin, and in the closest collaboration with him, Stalin organised victorious resistance on all the fronts against the forces of the counter-revolution at home and abroad. They won this victory of Socialism step by step, surrounded by hostile capitalist Powers, and overcoming all difficulties and dangers. They won these victories because the great Stalin led them.

And to-day, this *country of victorious Socialism* at the will of the Party of Lenin-Stalin has been placed at the service of the interests of working people of the whole world. And millions of working people see in the land of victorious Socialism their own fatherland, the fatherland of all working people, and in Stalin see their own leader, the leader of the whole of toiling mankind.

THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM IN THE U.S.S.R.

A. STESKY

The proletarian revolution, its movement, its sweep and its achievements acquire flesh and blood only through the dictatorship of the proletariat." Stalin.

THE Great October Socialist Revolution opened up a new epoch of world history.

History knows of many revolutions, great and small. But not one of these revolutions brought about such a profound, fundamental and all-round re-shaping of all social relations as our October Socialist Revolution. Not one of the former revolutions meant such a radical change in history, such a decisive revolution in the development of mankind, as our Socialist revolution.

The great revolutions of former ages signified the passage of power from the hands of one exploiting class to those of another class of exploiters: the revolution of the slaves liquidated the slave-owners and abolished the slave-owning form of exploitation, but in the place of the slave-owners there came the feudal lords. The revolution of the peasant serfs

liquidated the feudal lords and the feudal form of exploitation, but in the place of the feudal lords there came the capitalists and landlords. The system of feudal exploitation yielded place to the system of capitalist exploitation, the system of wage slavery. Millions of workers and poverty-stricken peasants remained, and still remain to-day in the lands of capitalism, the most destitute, oppressed and exploited classes of bourgeois society.

And only our October Socialist Revolution put an end once and for all to the slavery and oppression of the landlords and capitalists, put an end once for all to all exploitation.

Twenty years ago the workers of Russia of that time, in alliance with the toiling peasants, led by the Party of Lenin-Stalin, which was steeled in battle and imbued with the revolutionary teaching of Marxism-Leninism, overthrew the rule of the landlords and capitalists. For the first time in history the masses of the working and exploited people—the workers and poorest peasantry—took power into their own

hands in order to put an end once and for all to exploitation, to all oppression whatsoever, whether class, national, or political—to destroy the omnipotence of wealth and the right of a handful of exploiters and parasites to decide the fate of the people, to build up a new society of free workers of town and country, possessing equal rights—to build Socialist society.

Thereby the working people of our country also paved the way for all the oppressed and exploited throughout the world. They acted then, and are acting to-day as the vanguard detachment of the great army of the working people of the whole world. Our revolution is the beginning and a component part of the world Socialist revolution. And it is no accident that Lenin, the great leader of the working class, ended his first speech to the workers of Petrograd on his return from exile with the cry: “Long live the world Socialist revolution!”

The working people of our country have not only shown that the power of the landlords and capitalists is by no means eternal, established by divine Providence, as the ideologists of the bourgeoisie do their utmost to prove. The working people have not only shown that the oppressed are capable of overthrowing this detested order and of taking power into their own hands: they have established the dictatorship of the working class, and for the first time in history have created a new historic type of State—a strong, mighty Socialist State of workers and peasants.

What torrents of lies, slander and mockery were poured down upon the Soviet Government by the bourgeoisie, and their hired scribes and chatter-boxes! How the “cultured” exploiters mocked at the uncultured, semi-literate people, the working people, undertaking to govern the State, to bring order to the national economy, to build the new social order!

How many prophecies were there, how much scientific proof was adduced that the Bolsheviks would make no headway, that the Soviet State would fall to pieces, that the workers and peasants could not rule without the “cultured” representatives of the bourgeoisie, but would bring the country to ruin!

All these dreams and expectations of the enemies of the working people have long ago been smashed to atoms. How heartily life itself has laughed at these expectations and prophecies!

During these twenty years the workers and peasants have created a mighty Soviet State—the Socialist State of workers and peasants. They have converted the country, backward, impoverished, and ruined by the imperialist war and intervention, into a country of advanced industry and technique, into a mighty industrial power which, in respect to almost all the most important branches of industry already occupies first place in Europe.

The barbarously backward agriculture, in which

production on a small and tiny scale predominated and held the whole country at a level of poverty and weakness, has been transformed into large-scale Socialist agriculture, equipped with new technique. The U.S.S.R. has become independent of the capitalist countries economically. In the U.S.S.R. unemployment has been abolished for all time. The culture of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the well-being of the mass of working people are growing.

And this world historic work has been done in a country which by no means was an advanced capitalist country; this tremendous work has been performed in a backward, petty-bourgeois country, where small peasant farming was overwhelmingly predominant. It has been performed by the working class of the U.S.S.R. in circumstances of encirclement by capitalist Powers, when the most powerful imperialist circles have never ceased their attempts to undermine the Soviet Government, acting now by means of open military attacks, then by means of economic blockade, by organising plots, acts of diversion, wrecking and terror.

Lenin and Stalin constantly emphasised the fact that the conquest of power by the working class is only the beginning. It is precisely from the moment of the conquest of power onwards that the working class is faced with the most difficult part of its historic task, namely: the reorganisation of all social relations, the fundamental reshaping of the bases of the lives of millions and millions of people, the building of the new Socialist society. It is during the transition period that this most difficult historic task is solved, and it is solved in conditions of fierce class struggle, of stubborn attempts on the part of the overthrown bourgeoisie, of the landlords and kulaks to restore the former system, to win back their “right” to rob and stifle the working people. This struggle between Socialism and capitalism is the content of the transition period.

The tremendous historic service rendered by our Party, by the working people of our country, is that not only have they won and established the power of the working people, but also that during the course of the last twenty years they have accomplished the transition from capitalism to Socialism.

This transition is, in the main, finished. It is behind us. Socialist society has been built in our country. The economic basis of the new social order is the Socialist system of economy, Socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production. This Socialist ownership of the productive funds of the country (agricultural lands, forests in use, buildings, constructions and buildings for industrial purposes, machinery, equipment, and so on) amounts to-day to 98.7 per cent. of the total, the national (State) property amounting to 90 per cent. and co-operative collective farm property to 8.7 per cent.

99.1 per cent. of the total national income are the product of Socialist economy.

Ownership of an exploiting character, namely, private capitalist ownership of the means of production, has been destroyed for ever; the exploiting classes have been destroyed for ever; the very roots of exploitation have been torn up once and for all time. Our State to-day is a Socialist State of workers and peasants in the true sense of the word. The new Soviet intellectuals participate with equal rights in the social and State life of our Socialist society.

The Socialist order, which has been won in the course of a stubborn struggle by the working people against all the forces of the old world, is registered in the Stalin Constitution of Socialism. In this Constitution the social and political foundations of the new Socialist order, which has taken the place of capitalism and to which the future belongs, are inscribed as an immutable law.

Over the course of these twenty years, the working class has proved, and proved in practice, that the building of Socialism, first of all in one separate country, is by no means a dream, or utopia. The new order, the Socialist society of working people of town and country, has been created during these twenty years; it is victorious, it exists and is flourishing over one-sixth of the globe.

Our October Revolution is therefore the Great Socialist Revolution in the fullest, truest sense of the word.

* * * *

If we cast our eyes back over the road traversed by the mass of working people of the Soviet Union since the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and ask the question as to how it has been possible to accomplish these gigantic historic transformations and win great victories, there can be only one reply: Thanks to the establishment of the dictatorship of the working class in the form of Soviet power.

Enemies never tire of slandering the Bolsheviks for having put into life the dictatorship of the proletariat, the aim of which is the abolition of exploitation and the Socialist transformation of society. But the fact that our enemies pour forth so much slander and wrath against the dictatorship of the proletariat only emphasises once more that the working class has found in the dictatorship of the proletariat precisely the historic weapon it requires to achieve its great aims of the abolition of the exploiting classes and exploitation, and of the building of Socialist society.

This mighty weapon—the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is a menace to the enemies of Socialism, and by means of which the working class put an end to the old order and in the shortest span of history created the new Socialist society—this splendid weapon was given to the working class by their geniuses and leaders, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The teaching of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the chief, the fundamental feature of Marxism-Leninism. In the year 1852, Marx, in a letter to Weidemeyer, stressed the point that he considered his merit to be not the discovery of the existence of classes and the class struggle in society—this was done before him by bourgeois historians—but the fact that he had proved that the class struggle of necessity leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat and that the transition to the classless society, to Socialism, can and must take place only through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin, the genius and perpetuator of the works of Marx and Engels, always asserted that the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the “fundamental question of the modern working-class movement in all capitalist countries without exception”*, and that “only he is a Marxist who extends the acceptance of the class struggle to the acceptance of the dictatorship of the proletariat.”†

The opportunist theoreticians of the Second International, acting for the benefit of the bourgeoisie, expended no little efforts to remove precisely this revolutionary edge and revolutionary essence from Marx’s teaching. They developed their Menshevik theories about the alleged possibility of the “peaceful evolution of capitalism into Socialism.” They asserted that bourgeois democracy is the true road to Socialism. Distorting historic facts, these bourgeois-minded Socialists alleged that Marx produced no theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that he only accidentally dropped a few words about the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the struggle against the opportunist theoreticians of the Second International, Lenin proved that the dictatorship of the proletariat constitutes the real essence of Marxism, that the basis of the teaching of Marx and Engels is their brilliant teaching regarding their dictatorship of the proletariat, that contemporary capitalist society is moving towards its inevitable ruin and that the proletariat, whose historic mission it is to destroy capitalism and build Socialist society, will fulfil this mission only by establishing its own dictatorship in the victorious proletarian revolution.

Developing Marx’s thought that the transition from capitalism to Communism can be achieved only by the State of the revolutionary proletarian dictatorship, Lenin said:

“The transition from capitalism to Communism cannot, of course, fail to create a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be one: the dictatorship of the proletariat.”

This question—of the dictatorship of the proletariat

* Lenin, Selected Works, vol. 7, p. 240

† Selected Works, p. 33.

—is also the chief feature in the works of Comrade Stalin:

“The question of the proletarian dictatorship is above all a question of the basic content of the proletarian revolution, and the proletarian revolution, its movement, its sweep and its achievements acquire flesh and blood only through the dictatorship of the proletariat.”*

Lenin's historic merit lies not only in the fact that he unmasked and defeated the opportunist distortions of Marxism, but also that he developed the teaching regarding the dictatorship of the proletariat still further, on the basis of the new experience of the world revolutionary movement, on the basis of the new historic stage, in the speech of imperialism and proletarian revolutions. Lenin discovered Soviet power as the State form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He developed the question of the allies of the working class in the Socialist revolution and in the building of Socialism—this most important question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He was especially emphatic in stressing the point that the dictatorship of the proletariat is at the same time a form of democracy for the working class and for all working people. In raising these questions, in developing the Marxist teaching of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin based himself on the tremendous experience of the world revolutionary movement, and first and foremost on the experience of the Russian revolutions, on the experience of the victorious working class of the U.S.S.R.

The abolition of the system of capitalist exploitation takes place not through the peaceful evolution of capitalism into Socialism, as is asserted by “Socialist” chatter-boxes—opportunist who are out to deceive the working class. The abolition of the system of capitalist exploitation takes place by means of fierce class struggle in the process of the *proletarian revolution*. Marx, analysing the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871, established the fact that the working class having achieved victory in the proletarian revolution must destroy the bourgeois State, break up the State machine of the bourgeoisie, and replace it by their own State, which is the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and their own new machine of State power. This brilliant forecast of Marx was splendidly confirmed by the experience of the Great Proletarian Socialist Revolution in the U.S.S.R.

In October, 1917, the working class of our country, in alliance with the toiling peasantry, took power in their own hands. The old State machine established by Tsarism and the Provisional Government was smashed, destroyed. All power passed into the hands of the Soviets—the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the place of the bourgeois-landlord

State, which was destroyed, there was established the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

What were the tasks that confronted the dictatorship of the proletariat which had achieved victory in our country?

“The concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat,” wrote Comrade Stalin, “is a State concept.” The dictatorship of the proletariat is the State power of the working class, by means of which the victorious working class fulfils the historic tasks of the Socialist revolution.

Three main tasks face the dictatorship of the proletariat, the State of the proletarian dictatorship, namely, the suppression of the resistance of the exploiters; the strengthening of ties with the non-proletarian masses of working people so as to draw them into the building of Socialism; the utilisation of power for the building of Socialism.

Overthrown by the proletarian revolution, the ruling classes of capitalists and landlords do not depart from the historic arena peacefully, do not relinquish their positions voluntarily. This is confirmed by the experience of our revolution. They offer fierce resistance to the victorious proletariat with all the means in their power; including sabotage, wrecking, and the organisation of terrorist acts, etc. They make common cause with the imperialists, and organise war and intervention against the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat. They arrange conspiracies and organise espionage. They resort to the most despicable crimes in their efforts to secure the return of their lost domination.

The victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat by no means signifies the cessation of the class struggle. On the contrary, the dictatorship of the proletariat itself is a special form of the class struggle which is conducted by the victorious working class in alliance with the toiling peasantry against the exploiters, landlords, capitalists, against kulaks, against their agents and accomplices, against all the forces of the old society. This is why Lenin said that “the dictatorship of the proletariat is the most resolute and revolutionary form of the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.”*

The suppression of the resistance of the exploiters is the first, most important and inalienable side of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The experience of the Great Proletarian Socialist Revolution in the U.S.S.R. provides many clear examples of the strength of the resistance which the working class had to overcome in order to defend the power it had won, in order to crush its class enemies; at different stages of the revolution, this struggle took place in different forms.

Take the first days of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Soviet State, as we know, did not

* Stalin, Leninism. Vol. 1., p. 41.

* Theses of basic tasks of Second Congress, C.I., par. 8.

then set itself the direct task of nationalising capitalist enterprises, but restricted itself to introducing workers' control. But the bourgeoisie exerted all their strength in resisting the operation of workers' control, and tried to cause its breakdown by means of sabotage, by closing down enterprises.

What was to be done? It was clear that this resistance could be suppressed only by resolute, relentless measures against the saboteurs, against the bourgeoisie who were resisting the Soviet Government. And the Soviet Government did in fact act with revolutionary determination, and employed dictatorial measures against these groups of active enemies. For example, a Decree of the Soviet Government of December 20 (7), 1917, reads as follows:—

“In view of the refusal of the Management of the Bogoslov Mining Area Company, Limited, to submit to the Decree of the Council of People's Commissars regarding the introduction of workers' control over industry, the Council of People's Commissars decides to confiscate all the property of the Bogoslov Mining Area Company, Limited, whatsoever this property consists of, and declares it to be the property of the Russian Republic.”

As we see, the dictatorship of the proletariat replied to the sabotage of workers' control by confiscating enterprises. And even before the nationalisation of the most important branches of industry, the Soviet Government operated these measures of confiscation whenever it was necessary to break down the resistance of the bourgeoisie.

But the bourgeoisie operated not only by means of sabotage: they operated through the organisation of plots, through the use of their economic resources to support and set up whiteguard detachments to fight against the Soviet Government. For example, Putilov, the Chairman of the Board of Management of the Russo-Asiatic Bank, was caught assisting Alexeyev, the whiteguard general, with money for the establishment of a military organisation against the Soviet Government. When the Soviet Government heard of this it adopted a decree, on January 12, 1918, which said:

“All the property of A. I. Putilov, movable and immovable, is to be immediately confiscated.

“The fulfilment of this Decree is made the duty of the People's Commissars of Justice and Finance.”

This is how, from the first days of its existence, the proletarian dictatorship suppressed the resistance of the exploiters. And when the whiteguards resorted to terror, when they began to organise plots, to create a network of their counter-revolutionary organisations and prepare uprisings, the Soviet Government adopted the most resolute, relentless measures to crush these counter-revolutionary organisations. To this end there was established the militant body known as the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission

(“Vecheka”) to combat sabotage and counter-revolution. The dictatorship of the working class replied to the attempt on the life of Lenin, to the murder of Uritsky and Volodarsky by employing revolutionary terror against the whiteguards and counter-revolutionaries. The dictatorship of the proletariat here also acted resolutely and boldly, like a true revolutionary Government; possessing the sympathy and support of the masses of the people, it unhesitatingly, relentlessly and rapidly punished the enemies of the people.

And when the whiteguards organised war against the working people of our country, when the intervention of the most powerful capitalist States began against the Land of Soviets, the dictatorship of the working class was able in a very short space of time to create the new Red Army in the place of the old disintegrated Tsarist army. The nucleus of this army was made up of detachments of armed workers, of the most class-conscious, revolutionary soldiers and sailors. Only the State of the proletarian dictatorship could establish such an army. And this army, which was the flesh and blood of the working people, and in which every fighter knew that he was fighting for his own Government and for his own interests, crushed the whiteguard armies and drove out the interventionists. It defended the young, as yet not consolidated Soviet State.

After the period of the armed struggle against the intervention and the Russian bourgeois-landlord counter-revolution was finished, the class struggle took on new forms. With the transition to the peaceful work of restoring the economic life of the country, with the beginning of the new economic policy, the Soviet Government had to deal with an enemy who was attacking on a different front, namely, on the economic front, who was trying to establish himself in the economy of the country, in order by other means, by a more complicated and prolonged method, to reverse the course of things, to restore capitalism. By consolidating its key positions, by strengthening to the utmost and developing the Socialist elements of the national economy, by supporting the Socialist elements in the struggle against the capitalist elements, the Soviet Government ensured the development of the country towards Socialism. However, the bourgeoisie had to be fought against in this period as well, not only by economic means, not only by methods of economic struggle between the Socialist and capitalist enterprises, but also by measures of direct State compulsion on the part of the dictatorship of the working class.

In the first period of the new economic policy, the capitalists and small capitalists tried to demoralise our State machine by striving to worm their way into it or, through their agents, to win to their side a number of unstable elements among Soviet officials. Our

Soviet State had to act in dictatorial fashion against these attempts, in order to nip them in the bud, in order to avert the danger coming from the bourgeoisie, who had raised their head and had some opportunity of developing during this first period of the N.E.P.—in order to avert the danger of them demoralising and weakening the Soviet machine, and of using it in their own interests. The Soviet Government waged a relentless struggle against bribery and organised special commissions to combat it. The Soviet Government, by its policy as regards taxation and the courts, cut short the attempts of the bourgeoisie to raise their heads and occupy decisive economic positions.

In the later period, the bourgeoisie created widespread secret organisations of wreckers, spies, diversionists, as, for example, the “Promparty,” which were closely connected with the imperialists and had as their aim—to undermine the Soviet Government by the most acute methods of wrecking, sabotage and terror and to facilitate an onslaught by the imperialists. It is clear that only a revolutionary dictatorial Government could crush these counter-revolutionary organisations, smash all the machinations of the enemy from that side, and thereby ensure the advance towards Socialism.

Let us call to mind the fierce struggle of the kulaks against the Soviet Government, the kulak “grain strike” of 1928, when the kulaks refused to provide their grain for the towns and the Red Army. Let us call to mind the struggle of the kulaks against the building up and establishment of the collective farming system, a struggle which the kulaks waged with all the means at their disposal, such as the burning down of collective farm property, bandit attacks, wrecking in the collective farms, infection of cattle, and the murder of active collective farmers. Here again only the State of the working-class dictatorship, which based itself on all the working people as it boldly and determinedly led the country to Socialism, could liquidate this most numerous exploiting class.

And at the present stage, when the relics of the routed exploiting classes, who have sunk to the depths and have been driven out of all their positions, and among whom first place is taken by the despicable traitors, hirelings of Fascist intelligence services, the Trotskyist-Bukharinites, when these traitors conduct their foul, undermining work, we have to use dictatorial, relentless measures against them. Here again the Soviet Government acts, and must act, as a thoroughly revolutionary Government of the working people and dictatorship of the working class which recognises no hesitation in dealing with traitors to the fatherland.

Thus the suppression of the resistance of the exploiters, the adoption of force by the proletarian State, the behaviour of the Government of the work-

ing class as a Government which is dictatorial towards the hostile classes, is called into being by the entire trend of the class struggle, by the furious resistance of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and their various agents.

The bourgeoisie stop at nothing in their struggle against the proletarian State: they resort to the sharpest, the very foulest measures. Therefore the State of the proletarian dictatorship behaves towards these enemies as a dictatorial, relentless revolutionary Government, employing revolutionary violence, defending the conquests of the workers and peasants by the most resolute and relentless measures, suppressing the furious resistance of the exploiters by means of revolutionary violence. This is why Lenin pointed out that “the forcible suppression of exploiters, as a class,”* constitutes a determining feature of the logical concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The dictatorship of the working class, according to Lenin, “is iron rule, government that is revolutionary, bold, quick and ruthless in suppressing both exploiters and hooligans.”†

And yet it would be a most vulgar distortion of the Leninist-Stalinist teaching regarding the dictatorship of the proletariat to assert that violence is the chief feature of the dictatorship of the proletariat, or that the dictatorship of the proletariat amounts only to violence. This would be a vulgar, petty-bourgeois philistine idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The essence of the dictatorship of the working class lies not in violence. “The dictatorship of the proletariat . . . is not only violence against the exploiters, and not even mainly violence,”‡ said Lenin.

Lenin and Stalin teach us that the main essence of the dictatorship of the working class, its real substance and basis is the recognition of the leading role of the working class in the struggle of the working masses for their emancipation from the yoke of exploitation, the recognition of the leading role of the proletariat in creating and establishing the Socialist order. In the broadest sense of the word, the dictatorship of the proletariat expresses the historic mission of the working class, which consists of leading all the working people into the battle against capitalism, of being the foremost vanguard, of taking the leadership over them in the struggle to abolish all exploitation, in the struggle to build Socialism.

It is precisely this broadest and most general definition of the dictatorship of the proletariat that was given by Lenin in his article: “The Great Initiative.” He says there:

“The dictatorship of the proletariat, if we translate this Latin, scientific, historico-philosophical expression into more simple language means just this, that:

* Selected Works. Vol. VII, p. 143.

† Ibid, p. 339.

‡ Lenin, “The Great Initiative.”

only a definite class, namely the urban and in general the factory, industrial workers, are capable of leading the entire mass of the working people and exploited in the struggle to overthrow the yoke of capital, in the process of the overthrow itself, in the struggle to retain and consolidate the victory, in the work of establishing a new Socialist public order, in the entire struggle for the complete abolition of classes.”*

The working class is the leader and guide of the working people—this is, above all, what is expressed by the concept of the dictatorship of the working class.

An expression of this role of the working class as the leader of all the working masses in the revolution is the second aspect of the dictatorship of the proletariat—namely, the thesis that the task of the dictatorship of the proletariat is to establish an alliance with the mass of non-proletarian working people and, first and foremost, with the toiling peasantry, for a joint struggle for Socialism.

“The dictatorship of the proletariat,” states Lenin, “is a special form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the working people, and the numerous non-proletarian sections of the working people. . . .”†

The Trotskyist-Zinovievists, the champions of capitalist restoration in the U.S.S.R., tried to prove that no stable alliance could be established between the working class and the peasantry, that in the course of the revolution, a conflict would inevitably develop between the working class and the peasantry, as a result of which the dictatorship of the proletariat would inevitably perish. From this side they tried to undermine the Leninist-Stalinist theory of the possibility of building Socialism in our country, tried to prove that it was impossible to build Socialism in our country.

Following the lines indicated by Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin rejected and crushed these bourgeois views designed for the restoration of capitalism. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the Party gave not only theoretical but also practical proof of the fact that the alliance between the working class and peasantry, with the proletariat as the leaders in the alliance, an alliance between the working class and peasantry for the building of Socialism, for the final rooting out of capitalism, is possible and practicable, that with a Soviet Government in power it is possible and practicable to bring about the transition from small peasant farms to large-scale Socialist agriculture.

Of course, it is impossible to solve this most difficult task of transferring the small, scattered peasant farms to large-scale Socialist economy, with one wave of a wand, at one blow, especially in a

backward country, with its industry in ruins. It required years and years to do this. Preparatory steps had to be taken to enable the toiling peasant to firmly take the road to Socialism.

Our Party, following the advice of Lenin, was untiring in strengthening the alliance between the working class and the toiling peasantry, an alliance which is the basis of Soviet power.

The enormous advantages of this alliance for the peasantry were proved in the very first days of the Soviet Government. The day after the October Revolution, the Second Congress of Soviets, at the proposal of Lenin, adopted the famous land decree. The estates of the landlords, monasteries and churches, as well as the land belonging to the Tsar's family, were handed over to the peasants. In all, the toiling peasantry received from the Soviet Government over 150 million hectares (about 370 million acres) of land. All payments to the landlords were abolished, the indebtedness of the peasantry to the banks and the Tsarist State were liquidated. This alone showed the toiling peasants that the working class was their only firm friend and ally.

The forms of the alliance between the workers and peasants have changed in the course of the twenty years of the Socialist revolution.

During the civil war, this alliance was of a military-political character. The workers, together with the toiling peasants, defended the new Soviet order, defended its conquests. Surrounded by the flaming ring of the fronts, the Soviet Republic had to mobilise all its resources to organise victory. Through the “assessment in kind,” the Soviet Government was compelled to take from the peasantry all the surplus grain for the Red Army, for the starving town population.

After the end of the civil war and the transition to the new economic policy, the working class established and systematically strengthened the economic “smychka” (alliance) with the toiling peasantry. The “assessment in kind” was replaced by the tax in kind and, subsequently, by the tax in cash. The peasant was given the right to dispose freely of his surplus agricultural products. The working class quickly developed Socialist industry, striving to give the villages industrial products and, first and foremost, articles of consumption in exchange for grain.

The Party crushed the Trotskyists and Zinovievists who demanded an increase in the price of industrial products, the introduction of unbearable taxes on the middle peasant farms, which would have led to the breakdown of the “smychka.” The Soviet Government pursued the policy of reducing prices, thereby strengthening the “smychka.”

When the Soviet State grew strong, and the national economy began to improve, the Soviet Government organised an extensive system of credits for the

* Lenin, “The Great Initiative.”

† Lenin, vol. XXIV, p. 311. Russ. Ed.

middle and poor farms, in order to facilitate their improvement and rid them of their dependence on the kulaks. The Soviet Government helped the poor and middle peasants with loans of seeds and food. It protected them against the kulaks, who, in the new conditions, were striving once more to entangle and enslave the poor and part of the middle peasants. Finally, a tremendous role was played by the development of the co-operatives which in the first period of N.E.P. developed in the villages mainly along the lines of selling and consuming co-operatives, and later along the lines of production-collective farming co-operatives. The differentiation of the peasantry was at first retarded, and later stopped altogether.

The establishment of Socialist industry placed the "smychka" of the working class with the peasantry on a firmer basis. The "smychka" took on a productive character. The Socialist town, on an increasingly extensive scale, supplied the villages with agricultural machinery and equipment, supplying them to the toiling peasants on special terms. The Soviet Government organised State farms, and used their example to show the advantages of large-scale Socialist economy. The rapid growth of the machine-building industry, the mass employment of tractors and other up-to-date agricultural machinery, all created new conditions. Not only the poor, but also the middle peasants as well became convinced of the superiority of large-scale Socialist agriculture. Then came the year 1929, the year of great change. By then not only the poor peasants, but also the middle peasants who had been the central figure in the villages, began to join the collective farms. From the year 1929 there began a rapid, mass growth of the collective farms.

In the villages, in fierce struggle against the kulaks, there was built up the new collective farm system, which tore away the ground from beneath the feet of the most numerous exploiting class, the village kulaks. On the basis of all-round collectivisation, there was carried through the liquidation of the kulaks as a class.

This change took place in difficult conditions. The Party had to crush the agents of the kulaks—the Bukharin-Rykov group. This group tried to draw the Party and the Soviet Government away from the road of revolutionary transformations, on to a road which led to the restoration of the capitalist order. Without the most resolute, irreconcilable struggle against these agents of the kulaks, the victory of the collective farming system in the villages, the victory of Socialism in the Soviet Union would have been impossible. And only the crushing of this group, as well as that of the Trotskyist-Zinovievists, ensured the victory of the Party and the dictatorship of the working class.

Now the collective farming system is firmly established in the Soviet village. Instead of an ocean of small, backward peasant farms, 243,700 collective farms and 4,137 State farms of all systems have been established in the villages. 5,617 machine and tractor stations have been established. The collective farm fields are cultivated by a steel army of 356,800 tractors, with a total of 6.5 million horse-power. Kulak exploitation has been abolished. The impoverishment of the villages is a thing of the past. The collective farming system, the new technique have created the conditions for the rapid rise of agriculture, for prosperous lives for the peasant collective farmers.

The alliance of the working class and the peasantry has become inviolable and firm as never before.

Thus, by fulfilling the Leninist policy of the alliance with the peasantry, the dictatorship of the working class secured the very difficult transition to large-scale Socialist agriculture, and thereby consolidated its own basis.

* * * *

On more than one occasion, when characterising the economy of our country at the first stage of the transition period, Lenin stressed the point that even after the conquest of power by the proletariat there would still be a firmer basis for capitalism in the U.S.S.R. than for Socialism. But in spite of this, though surrounded by capitalist countries, the dictatorship of the working class has succeeded in the main in building Socialism in our country.

The Soviet Government, despite the spontaneous nature of petty-bourgeois development, and in a stubborn struggle against capitalism, succeeded in directing the development of the country to Socialism. This is clear proof of the tremendous creative energy and organisation of the working class, who in the conditions of Soviet power have begun to work for themselves, and not for the capitalists. The working class, themselves a tremendous productive force, gave direction to the millions of organised and class-conscious producers, and reconstructed the economic life of the country. The working class in the first period of the Socialist revolution already held in their hands the main levers of economic life, took hold of the key positions in the economic life of the country. The dictatorship of the working class took over the management of such decisive levers as the biggest branches of industry, as the railways, banks and trading organisations. These enterprises, which constituted the Socialist sector of economy, worked on the basis of a Socialist plan. Basing itself on them, the dictatorship of the working class was enabled to exert enormous influence over the entire economic life of the country. In our country there ceased to operate the spontaneous laws of capitalist economy, which bring in their train crises, unemployment, starva-

tion, poverty and suffering for the mass of working people. In our Soviet country, *the Soviet State, the dictatorship of the working class, directs the economic development of the country* and guides this development by means of a Socialist plan. From year to year the dictatorship of the working class has strengthened the planned Socialist basis. It has consolidated and developed the Socialist elements of economy to the utmost. Strictly following the advice of Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet Government has utilised its accumulation for the purpose of developing Socialist production, has fought against extravagances, operated a regime of economy, in order rapidly to develop Socialist economy.

The work of the Socialist industrialisation of the country was of especially great and decisive importance in the building of Socialism.

It was only in the conditions of the dictatorship of the working class that this work could be performed at such an unprecedented rate, in such a very brief historical space of time. Only the Soviet Government could ensure the most correct—from the viewpoint of the building of Socialism—the most complete and expedient use of the accumulated resources in the country, to create large-scale Socialist industry in the shortest space of time. Had we relied upon things taking their own course, we should have had to wait for decades for the powerful industry that has been created in our country. And during this period the capitalist elements would have become stronger and our country would have been left unarmed in face of the capitalist countries surrounding it. The Bukharin-Rykov line against industrialisation even then, in 1928-29, led straight to the restoration of capitalism, and therefore it was necessary to crush these enemies in order to ensure the victory of Socialist industrialisation.

The dictatorship of the working class put an end to the domination of the spontaneous law of value, which is the law of capitalism. It is precisely because this law was replaced by the stubborn, planned work of creating and developing Socialist relations, because all savings and accumulation, great and small, were directed first and foremost to the creation of the foundations of Socialism, namely, large-scale industry, that the U.S.S.R. has now become a powerful industrial power. It is enough to say that the output of the machine construction industry—the heart of industry as a whole—was 28 times as great in the year 1936 than it was in the year 1913.

The transforming role of the dictatorship of the working class is especially to be marked in agriculture. Comrade Stalin said that had things been left to take their own course, the village would never have followed the Socialist town; it could never itself have taken the road to Socialism. For even with the Soviet Government in power, the town and village were

based, prior to the victory of the collective farming system, on economic orders that differed in principle. In the towns there was large-scale industry in which Socialist relations were predominant, whereas in the villages there was small production based on the private ownership of the means of production, commodity economy.

And here, in this great Socialist reconstruction, there was manifested the leading role of the working class, there was displayed in all its volume and profundity the significance of the dictatorship of the working class. The Soviet Government, the working class helped the peasants to take the road to Socialism. They prepared them for that step. They provided the peasants with new technique, with up-to-date machinery. The Soviet Government organised State farms, spread the collective farms, helping the peasants to unite their farms, their efforts, in order to emerge from poverty and put an end once for all to the bondage of the kulaks. And it was only thanks to this Leninist-Stalinist policy that an end was made in the village of small commodity production—that most tenacious, that biggest survival of capitalism—and the village took the path of Socialism.

The dictatorship of the working class accomplished the supreme historic task of building Socialism.

History, the huge and many-sided experience of our country, have confirmed with the utmost force the unyielding accuracy of the teaching of Marxism-Leninism regarding the dictatorship of the working class.

Is it surprising, then, that all the efforts of our enemies have always been sharply directed against the dictatorship of the working class, that the enemies of Marxism-Leninism have stubbornly sought, both in practice and in theory, to undermine the Leninist-Stalinist teaching of the dictatorship of the working class? The Trotskyists tried to impose a policy upon the Party such as would have led to the breakdown of the alliance of the workers and peasants—the basis of the Soviet Government—a policy which thereby would have led to the downfall of the revolution. The Bukharinites strove to deprive the dictatorship of the working class of its revolutionary content, to withdraw all its revolutionary tasks connected with the Socialist transformation of society, with the struggle against capitalism, and thereby to liquidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The crushing of those striving to restore capitalism, the Trotskyists and Zinovievists, the Bukharinists and Rykovists, strengthened the Party, strengthened the dictatorship of the working class and secured the solution of the tasks of the construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. The Leninist-Stalinist line of our Party is victorious. And this victory is linked primarily with the name of Comrade Stalin—the great perpetuator of the work of Marx-Engels-Lenin.

Making his starting point the teaching of Lenin, Comrade Stalin has developed it, and elaborated at the new stage of the Socialist revolution, the questions of the dictatorship of the working class, the policy of industrialisation and collectivisation, of the liquidation of the kulaks, the last exploiting class, the questions of building Socialist Society and the launching of Socialist democracy.

* * * *

Lenin and Stalin always emphasised the point that the State of the dictatorship of the working class is the broadest democracy for the working people.

When speaking of the State of the transition period, the period of fierce struggle against the bourgeoisie, Lenin emphasised the fact that "the State of this period must inevitably be democratic *in a new way* (for the proletarians and the propertyless in general) and dictatorial *in a new way* (against the bourgeoisie)."

This new Socialist democratism of the Soviet State consists in the fact that for the first time in history the working people are assured the possibility of really, actually, directly participating in the Government of the State. This participation of the masses in the Government of the State is achieved through the Soviets. The Soviets of workers' and peasants' deputies grew up and strengthened in the course of the revolution. They are the product of the revolutionary creative work of the workers and peasants, who spontaneously, on their own initiative, began, as far back as the year 1905, to create Soviets.

The Soviets are organisations covering the widest masses of the people, embracing all the working people. The Soviets are at the same time the most democratic organisations, to which the workers and peasants promote their most trusted representatives, and from which they can, at any moment, recall their representatives.

Lenin displayed his genius in the revolution of the year 1905, when he saw in the Soviets—these new organisations—the embryo of the new revolutionary Government, the embryo which had to be developed and strengthened to the utmost. The very first days of the February bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1917, when the Soviets appeared throughout the whole country, when, despite the strength of the Mensheviks and S.R.s in them, they were already acting as organs of power side by side with the bourgeois Provisional Government, confirmed Lenin's brilliant forecast. Lenin and Stalin advanced as one of the fundamental tasks of the proletarian revolution not the creation of a parliamentary bourgeois republic, at which the Mensheviks were aiming, and towards which the blacklegs of October—Kamenev, Zinoviev and Rykov—were striving, but the creation

of a Republic of Soviets of workers' and peasants' deputies from top to bottom.

The October Socialist Revolution achieved this task when it established the power of the Soviets. It provided the workers and peasants with such possibilities for participating in the Government of the State, as not even the most democratic bourgeois republic could ever give them under any circumstances.

In the conditions of this new democracy, democracy for the working people, Soviet democracy, the workers and peasants have passed through a tremendous political schooling during the past twenty years. They have learned, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin-Stalin, how to govern the State. They have promoted from their ranks tens and tens of thousands of people loyal to Socialism, talented organisers in the governing of the State, in economic construction, and on the cultural front.

If we cast our eyes back over the gigantic amount of work done in all branches of Socialist construction, in industry, transport, agriculture and trade, and at all the numerous new enterprises created there, the network of new organisations that have developed during the years of the Soviet Government, it will become clear that the working class have really displayed miracles of creative energy and organisation, and have brought along with them the toiling peasantry. Here, also, the working class were in the forefront. Under the leadership of the Party of the Bolsheviks, while strengthening the Party with their best people, promoting the most capable organisers both for the building of the Red Army and for placing the enterprises on a proper footing, and creating new giants of industry, the working class have also established cadres to govern the State and, when the time arrived, were able to promote from their own ranks not only first-class business managers, but also to train in the universities hundreds of thousands of new specialists. In acute moments of class struggle in the villages, in the years when the collective farms were being built up, the working class despatched tens of thousands of organisers to the villages to help the working peasants.

The victory of Socialism created new conditions in our country, ensured a new, higher historical stage in the development of the U.S.S.R. And it is natural that the victory of Socialism, the establishment of Socialist society in our country, had to find expression in the Fundamental Law—in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

The New Stalin Constitution established the firm law of our life, the conquests of Socialism, namely, the Socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production, the abolition of exploitation and the exploiting classes, the abolition of unemployment, work as a duty, a matter of honour for every citizen

* Lenin. State and Revolution. Chap. II.

capable of working, the right to work, the right to leisure, the right to education, etc.

At the same time, the Constitution developed the principles of Socialist democratism to the full. The New Constitution of the U.S.S.R. brought into being universal, direct and equal suffrage with the secret ballot. The New Constitution has marked the equal right to participate in the governing of the State, of all citizens—workers, peasants, intellectuals—irrespective of sex, regardless of their past position regarding property or activities, etc., in that it has given to the Soviets of workers' and peasants' deputies the name of Soviets of the deputies of the working people. This means that all working people in Socialist society have an equal right to participate in the governing of the State.

On the basis of the Stalin Constitution of Socialism and true democracy, there is now developing the campaign for the elections to the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. The peoples of the U.S.S.R., whose friendship and fraternal ties have become indissoluble as a result of the conduct of the national policy of Lenin-Stalin, are proposing their best people for the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. They are proposing not only the leaders of the Party and the Government, but also the new people from their own ranks, loyal to the cause of Lenin-Stalin, the best of the best Stakhanov workers, people from the collective farms, organisers of industry, engineers and teachers, who have developed during the years of the existence of Soviet Government and become people engaged in affairs of State, people who can and will participate with honour in the management of the affairs of a great Socialist Power.

Does this mean that at this new stage, when Socialist society has been built in the U.S.S.R., the dictatorship of the working class becomes a thing of the past, departs from the historical arena?

No, and no again! Such an assertion radically contradicts Marxism-Leninism; it plays into the hands of our class enemies.

In the conditions of Socialism as well, in the conditions of the new Stalin Constitution, the working class still maintains, and must maintain, its leading role in society. In the conditions of Socialist society as well, the leadership of the State must still belong to the working class, as the most advanced, class-conscious, and disciplined detachment of the working people.

By setting up and establishing the Socialist system of economy in our country, we have taken a tremendous step forward towards liquidating classes. There are no longer any exploiting classes in the U.S.S.R. The workers and the collective farmers now work in Socialist enterprises. There are differences, however, between the enterprises of a consistently Socialist type (factories, industrial plants, State farms, rail-

ways) and the collective farms, which are Socialist enterprises, but are built up differently from the State enterprises. In spite of the fact that the line of demarcation between the working class and the peasantry is being wiped out, there are still distinctions between the position of the worker in a Socialist enterprise and the position of the peasant in a collective farm. These distinctions will disappear entirely, but not so soon. That is why Comrade Stalin, in speaking of the class structure of our society, pointed out that in the Soviet Union there remains the working class, the new Socialist Soviet working class, and the peasantry, which is a new Soviet collective farming peasantry. Our society also includes, and will continue to do so for a long time yet, the social stratum of the intellectuals.

Both the peasantry and the Soviet intellectuals are to-day closely united round the working class, and are working shoulder to shoulder with them to strengthen Socialism.

Now, also, the working class is the most consistent, most resolute fighter for Socialism. Therefore, it is natural that in the new conditions as well, the State leadership of society (dictatorships) belongs and must belong to the working class.

It must also be borne in mind that the U.S.S.R. exists surrounded by capitalist States.

Its most bare-faced, irreconcilable enemies—the Fascist imperialist bourgeoisie—are trying to spread their tentacles in the Soviet Union. And here in the U.S.S.R. we still have people who in their hatred of victorious Socialism, of the dictatorship of the working class, enter the service of the Fascists, and become the agents of foreign secret services. The Fascists are organising the offspring of the hostile classes, the Trotsky-Bukharinites, who in their hatred of Socialism have gone to the furthest limits and are ready to resort to all the means at their disposal in the struggle against the Soviet Government, against all working people, against Socialism.

The weapon of the dictatorship of the working class, which carries through revolutionary violence, suppression, and the punishment of the enemies of the working masses, has to employ all its might against these sworn enemies of Socialism. We must work to consolidate our State, the State of the dictatorship of the working class, to strengthen our Soviet State in order to settle accounts with these enemies. Everybody agrees that the most ruthless steps must be taken against these enemies; all approve of that. All are ready to mete out revolutionary punishment against these most disgusting, most foul enemies of our fatherland.

It is easier, however, to settle accounts with the enemy, when he is already caught, but a far more difficult thing to catch the enemy, to unmask him, to discover him. Our task is just this: not to give these

enemies in future an opportunity of carrying on as they have done up to now, to learn to catch them in time, not to give them an opportunity of harming our cause, not to give them the opportunity of carrying on the counter-revolutionary work they are trying to conduct with the support of all kinds of Fascist General Staffs and Secret Services.

And to achieve this we must strengthen our Soviet State, be vigilant in proper, Bolshevik fashion in all our work, in all spheres of the building of Socialism.

* * * *

The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. has extended and strengthened the basis of the dictatorship of the working class. And the new Stalin Constitution is converting the dictatorship of the working class into a more flexible and extended system of the State leadership of society by the working class. The dictatorship of the working class is now faced with gigantic historic tasks. An enormous amount of work lies ahead as regards consolidating and developing the Socialist order. We must do a great deal yet to fulfil the Leninist slogan: "overtake and surpass" the advanced capitalist countries technically and economically.

The U.S.S.R. occupies first place in Europe in respect to a number of branches of industry and the total output of industry. Now we have to fight for the first place in the world. Our country must become the land of the most advanced industry and technique in the world, the land of the most productive agriculture. We must achieve an abundance of products. And this can be done in the next few years.

The dictatorship of the working class has big tasks before it to convert all citizens of the U.S.S.R. into class-conscious, active builders of the new society, tasks in connection with the training of all people in the Communist attitude to labour, to the fulfilment of their obligations to the State, to the observance of the rules of Socialist society. This work is of tremendous importance for the further advance to complete Communism, to the society without a State.

Much has yet to be done in order to raise the culture of the masses, in order to really make secondary education compulsory and universal for the young generation, in order still further and on an increasingly extensive scale to raise the technical knowledge of the workers, the level of technical and agronomical knowledge of the collective farmers.

These tasks can be fulfilled in a shorter historical space of time than we imagine ourselves. For we now possess new, first-class technique both in town and country. For to-day millions and millions of working people have developed to conscious life, people who are doggedly engaged in study, who are

mastering technique and gaining knowledge, who are creating examples of the new Socialist productivity of labour. The growth of these new talents among the people, for the development of which the Soviet system creates all the necessary conditions, signifies and will continue to signify an enormous acceleration of our entire development towards Communism, a still more rapid advance in all branches of social and cultural life in the U.S.S.R.

The chief thing that guarantees this advance is the leadership of our Party by Stalin. The Party of Lenin-Stalin was, is and will remain the backbone of the dictatorship of the working class. Its Leninist-Stalinist leadership ensured the routing of the enemies inside the country, and the final victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

Our Party of Bolsheviks was armed in this struggle with the Leninist-Stalinist teaching of the possibility of the victory of Socialism first of all in one separate country. It always took as its starting point the fact that all the possibilities and conditions exist in our country for the complete victory of Communism. The Party defended this Leninist-Stalinist teaching against those who would restore capitalism—the Trotskyists and Bukharinists. Imbued with this teaching, the Party was able to inspire the working class and all the working masses, to strengthen their confidence in their own powers, to lead them to the final victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R.

In the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. our Party is called the "vanguard detachment of the working people." And that is quite correct. Not only the workers, but also the peasant collective farmers and the Soviet intellectuals are now firmly united around the Party of Bolsheviks. The working class has succeeded in rallying and uniting all working people around itself, and so is consolidating and extending the social base of our Party. The workers, the peasant-collective farmers and Soviet intellectuals are united and are fighting for the great cause of Socialism which is inscribed on the glorious fighting banner of the Party of Lenin-Stalin. Every day brings new thousands of proofs of the boundless confidence of all working people in our Party, and in its Leninist-Stalinist general line which has been tried in battle and struggle and tested on the basis of historical experience.

The working people of town and country are now united under the banner of Lenin and Stalin as never before.

Under this fighting banner the Party of Bolsheviks is leading the working people of the U.S.S.R. to new victories of Communism.

TWO DECADES OF CAPITALIST AND SOCIALIST ECONOMY

By E. VARGA

LONG before the victory of the proletariat in Russia, the great founders of scientific Socialism had given theoretical proof of the superiority of the Socialist over the capitalist system of economy.

The two decades that have passed since the time of the victory of the October Revolution have proved in practice the correctness of this theory of Marxism. There can no longer be any doubt on this score. The "great experiment," as bourgeois scientists call Socialist construction, has proved a complete and absolute success. It has been proved in practice that the proletariat is capable not only of mastering the productive forces created by capitalism, but also of developing them far more rapidly than the bourgeoisie. It has been proved that the dictatorship of the proletariat ensures a rapid and uninterrupted improvement in the conditions of all working people, an improvement unrestricted by any social bounds. The counter-revolutionary theory of that enemy of the people, Trotsky, that it is not possible to build Socialism in one single country, that Soviet economy "is regulated" by capitalist world economy, has long been refuted by living actualities. The counter-revolutionary howl of the reactionary leaders of the working-class movement to the effect that "the dictatorship of the proletariat means poverty and chronic starvation" has ceased once and for all in the face of the mighty successes of Socialist construction.

On the other hand, the two last decades have brought clear proof that the bourgeoisie are incapable of making full use of the already existing productive forces. The general crisis of the capitalist system is felt economically in the chronic mass unemployment, in the chronic surplus of "idle" capital, in the chronic agrarian crisis, in the exchange crisis, etc. The general crisis was the cause of both the post-war cyclical economic crises—of the years 1920 and 1929—helping the idea of the need to storm the capitalist order to mature in the minds of millions of working people. And indeed: a social system under which people die of hunger because . . . the land provides too much grain; under which people are clothed in rags because . . . too many clothes are produced; under which millions have no shelter because . . . too many houses have been built—such a system has outlived itself historically, has matured sufficiently to be overthrown.

The superiority of the Socialist over the capitalist system of economy is to be felt in all spheres.

Let us first of all compare the trend of the development of industrial production under both systems. In the period of 1890-1913 the average increase of industrial production in the capitalist world was 5.8 per cent. per year; in the years 1913-1936 it was only 1.5 per cent. per year, i.e., it dropped to one-fourth of the pre-war period. Industrial production in the year 1936 was only one-third above the 1913 level, while the population of the capitalist world had grown during that period by one-sixth. What is more, at the present time, a far more considerable portion of industrial production is for war purposes. The consumption of articles of luxury by the ruling classes has increased more than ever before. Hence it is also clear that the supplying of the working population of the capitalist world with industrial goods is in no better position now than before the war, but worse. The tremendous technical developments, the increase in the productivity of labour have not in any degree been of advantage to the working people of the capitalist world.

The development of industrial production in the Soviet Union, on the other hand, presents quite a different picture. In the year 1936 the output of large-scale industry was 7.3 times greater than in 1913. *The increase for 1937 is 28 per cent., nineteen times in excess of the increase in the capitalist world.*

But this colossal increase of output in the Soviet Union is by no means the maximum for Socialist society. A whole series of factors retarded the increase of the output of the Soviet Union. The proletarian dictatorship received a very difficult heritage from Tsarism: tremendous sections of the population were illiterate; the country was ruined by imperialist war, raw materials supplies were exhausted, the factories stood idle, transport was completely destroyed, and money had lost its value. Hunger and ruin reigned in the towns.

The restoration of the devastated economy could not be begun immediately after the seizure of power. After power had been won, there followed the years of intervention and civil war. Only in the year 1921, after the introduction of the New Economic Policy, did the restoration of the economic life of the country begin.

The capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union influences the rate of the increase in its production to this day. A considerable part of the youth of the Soviet Union in the ranks of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army is temporarily withdrawn from

productive labour; part of the goods produced in the Soviet Union serve only for defence purposes. The last relics of the ruling classes overthrown by the revolution, as well as spies and diversionists sent by the Fascist countries, and traitors to the working class from the ranks of the Trotskyist-Bukharinist bands, have conducted and are still in certain places conducting wrecking work in industry and in agriculture. These enemies of all shades, of course, retarded and still retard the rate of Socialist construction. In the future world Socialist society the rate of the increase of output will be still more rapid than has been the case hitherto in the Soviet Union.

The meagre growth of output in the capitalist countries is the result of the anarchy of the capitalist mode of production, of competition, of the lack of markets. The capacity of the capitalist market is, in accordance with the inner laws of the movement of capitalism, relatively contracting at an increasing rate. Capital always fights to raise the organic composition of capital and decrease the share of the working class in the cost of production, so as to lower the cost of production. The impoverishment of the working class, the chronic agrarian crisis, the curtailed possibility of extending the capitalist market by drawing in non-capitalist elements (the peasants inside the country itself, the colonial peoples), increases the difficulty of marketing products. The power of the monopolies which keeps the prices of industrial goods at a high level and forces down the prices of the products of the peasants' farms, intensifies the market problem.

The position in the Soviet Union is quite different in principle. Here there is no market problem in the capitalist sense. In the conditions of capitalism, the insurmountable obstacles of the restricted purchasing power of society arise when the product is being realised. In the Soviet Union, on the contrary, the rapidly growing consumption is restricted only by the possibilities of production, but not by any social, class obstacles. The greater the quantity of goods purchased, the more consumption increases. Over-production can never take place in the conditions of Socialist planned economy. As the cost of production decreases as a result of the increase in the productivity of labour, so are prices reduced; wages increase so that the problem of disposing of the goods produced—crises—can never arise in the land of Socialism.

The relative restriction of the market, the difficulties of selling products have led to the position characteristic of the general crisis of capitalism: the productive forces are left unused.

The decisive productive force is the proletariat, which alone creates value and surplus value. However, the restricted nature of the market forces the capitalists to leave a considerable part of the prole-

tariat without work. During the last eight years, 1929-1936, the official figures for thirty-two capitalist countries showed an average unemployment of 19,000,000 a year (many millions of agricultural labourers and domestic servants who are deprived of unemployment benefits are not included in these statistics). In the years 1921-1936, according to official statistics, 14.6 per cent. of the workers in England were completely unemployed; in Germany, in the period 1921-1932, 14.4 per cent. On an average every seventh worker in these countries has been without work, without wages during the post-war period.

In the Soviet Union, unemployment was eliminated once and for all in the year 1930. In many branches of the national economy there is a shortage of labour power. Whereas under Tsarism, hundreds of thousands of poor peasants and agricultural labourers swarmed the Russian highways in search of work, to-day industrial enterprises can only obtain new personnel by systematically recruiting peasants from the collective farms and by specially training cadres.

The bourgeoisie are not in a position even to make full use of the *material productive forces* they have created. According to the calculations of bourgeois scientists, 21 per cent. of the industrial enterprises in the United States remained unused during the revival and boom period of 1925-1929; if we extend these calculations to the years 1930-1934, it appears that during the 1925-1934 decade, which covered almost a complete industrial cycle, the productive capacity was used only to the extent of 67.5 per cent., while six shifts a week are considered to be the full use of productive capacity. Approximately the same state of affairs exists in other big capitalist countries.

The position is quite different in the Soviet Union. Here industrial enterprises are always being used to the full. A considerable section of the industrial enterprises are working two and three shifts daily. In many industries which are especially harmful to the health of the workers, work is carried on in four shifts of five hours each.

However, the incomplete use of the productive capacity in the capitalist countries by no means implies that the bourgeoisie are capable of refusing to increase output. Capital can never refuse to increase output, to reduce expenditure on wages as a weapon in the competitive struggle. But during the period of general crisis, it achieves this goal first and foremost by *increasing the intensity and not the productivity of labour*. The existence of a colossal army of unemployed makes it possible for capital systematically to raise the intensity of labour. Productivity also increases, but mainly at the expense of the increase in the intensity of labour. The conveyor is made to move faster. The worker has to serve a constantly

increasing number of automatic machines. By means of a subtle system of calculating wages (Bedeaux, etc.) the workers are forced to exert themselves to a tremendous degree. In many cases the workers are used only every other day, but this means they are forced to work still more intensively. *The output per man-hour is rising rapidly.* This alone interests the capitalist, because he pays the worker for the time he is working and creating surplus value. On the other hand, the output per worker per annum has increased to a considerably less extent. Thus, in American large-scale industry, the output per hour in the 1919-1936 period increased annually by 4.4 per cent., while the output per annum increased only by 3 per cent. The production of the whole of the national economy represents only part of what can be produced. *Capital commits criminal robbery in regard to the productive power of the people.* In some branches of industry, the American worker is considered "too old" at the age of 35-40 years, and is no longer able to get a job there; he is no longer able to cope with the demands of the conveyor work.

The increased output, combined with the inability correspondingly to increase the sale of the finished product, has led to a state of affairs where in the most highly developed industrial countries the number of productive workers directly engaged in the creation of value and surplus value reveals a tendency to decline. This is to be seen most clearly in the United States. Thus in the year 1929, when the volume of industrial output in the U.S.A. was almost half as much again as in 1919, there were 8,822,000 workers engaged in industry as against 9,041,000 in the year 1919. The number of productive workers in the post-war period has never again reached the 1919 level. A similar tendency is to be observed in Germany and England.

In the Soviet Union, development is quite different. The annual output per worker here has grown much more rapidly than in the capitalist world. Here are the data for the average output per worker in heavy industry in the U.S.S.R. (taking 1921 as 100):

1913	1921	1925	1930	1934	1937 (anticipated)
257	100	237	427	513	600

During the years of the civil war, the output dropped more than half as compared with the pre-war times. The explanation of this was the worn-out condition of the means of production, the shortage of raw materials, the dislocated transport, the absence of skilled workers, over-fatigue and insufficient food for the workers. But by the year 1926 the output was higher than the pre-war figure, and since then it has steadily risen.

This tremendous increase in output has been achieved thanks to the increase in the productivity of labour, thanks to the new machines with which industry has been equipped. At a time when the

production of machinery in the decisive capitalist countries is still kept approximately at the same level as during the pre-war period, the production of machinery in the Soviet Union in 1936 was almost thirty times greater than in the year 1913! Already 80 per cent. of the industry of the Soviet Union have been equipped with new up-to-date machinery.

But the increase of industrial production and the rapid growth of output in the Soviet Union have not led to a decrease in the number of workers engaged. On the contrary, their number is also increasing with every year that passes, and is now three times greater than it was in the year 1925.

The superiority of the Soviet over the capitalist system is to be felt particularly clearly in the sphere of accumulation. The apologists of the capitalist system depict the position as though the existing means and instruments of production are the result of the industry and economy of the owners of the means of production accumulated over thousands of years. Thereby they wish to prove the sacredness and immunity of the capitalist system. Marx long ago proved that capital is a *social relation* and not a quality inherent in definite articles irrespective of the social system. Further, he proved that *primitive accumulation*, the first accumulation of the wealth that began to function as capital, was the product not of industry and privation, but of robbery, piracy, slave-ownership, etc.

If we examine the accumulation of capital on the basis of bourgeois statistics, we shall see that the capital existing in the shape of *industrial enterprises* is still astonishingly small in all countries. It amounts to a sum of money not more than three or four times the "national income," i.e., three or four times the new value created in the course of a year. The entire social capital of the individual capitalist countries increased in the post-war period on an average by only from one to three per cent. per annum.

In Socialist society, on the other hand, the *accumulation* not of capital, but of the *people's wealth* in the true sense of the word, is taking place at such a rapid rate that the big capitalist countries can be left behind in a comparatively very short space of time.

At the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in the year 1922, Lenin proudly declared that the first twenty million gold roubles had been collected for the new equipment of factories. And what do we see to-day? The basic industrial funds of the national economy of the Soviet Union amount to billions of roubles (in 1933 prices), as the following table shows:

	Increase for the Period				
	1925	1928	1933	1936	1925-1936
Billion roubles	46.5	53.5	83.7	121.6	160%

The annual rate of Socialist accumulation amounted to 13 per cent. as against one to three per cent. in capitalist countries.

This rapid Socialist accumulation has made it possible in a fabulously short space of time to convert the backward agrarian country that Russia was under Tsarism into one of the advanced industrial countries of the world, to build hundreds of tremendous industrial plants and factories; thousands of kilometres of new railroads; to erect magnificent electric power stations, and canals joining seas and rivers, etc.

The rates of accumulation in the capitalist countries are restricted, just as is the extension of production, by the fundamental contradiction between between the social character of production and private appropriation.

The position is quite different in the Soviet Union. Here there is no market problem, no crises, no social obstacles to Socialist accumulation. The greater the speed of Socialist accumulation, the higher is the productivity of labour, the more products are produced, and the higher the level of the well-being of the people.

The general crisis of capitalism manifests itself in a peculiar fashion in the sphere of agriculture. The lack of the possibilities of marketing products has led, in the post-war period, to a *chronic agrarian crisis* which is a component part of the general crisis of capitalism. The peculiar nature of peasant economy does not allow of the artificial restriction of the output of production at low disadvantageous prices, as is done by capitalist enterprises. Taxation, Customs duties, fodder for the working cattle, the amortisation of machinery and implements in a small peasant farm remain almost the same, irrespective of whether a greater or lesser area of land is sown. But what is still more important: agriculture affords the peasant the only opportunity of applying his labour power and that of the members of his family, since the labour market is flooded with unemployed as it is. Therefore, despite the falling, unprofitable prices, the peasant is obliged to continue to produce and sell agricultural produce. And as a result there is continuous land hunger among the poor peasants, despite the colossal overproduction of the products of agriculture.

All the attempts of the capitalists and landowners to persuade the agricultural producers *voluntarily* to restrict production have been in vain. The peasantry continue to produce on the former scale until they are finally ruined. Thus the agrarian crisis has led to a general decline of peasant land tenure. The constant differentiation of the peasantry that goes on under capitalism has become intensified in the extreme. Peasants are to an increasing degree being deprived of their lands, which are being transferred to the banks, usurers and landowners. Large

numbers of peasants are only nominally the owners of their farms; actually they are no more than badly-paid agricultural labourers in the service of capital.

During the last cyclical economic crisis, the over-production of agricultural produce led to such an accumulation of immobile reserves that steps were taken to destroy them on a mass scale. In America, furnaces were heated with wheat and maize; in Brazil, the streets were paved with coffee beans; in America, millions of pigs were drowned at sea; millions of hectares of cotton plantations were destroyed; in Denmark, beef was used for fertilising purposes. And all this was done with the aid and financial assistance of the governments at a time when many millions of unemployed had nothing to eat.

Agriculture is developing on totally different lines in the Soviet Union. After the October Revolution, the property of the landowners was confiscated, the whole of the land was nationalised and handed over to the middle and poor peasantry for their free use. Before the year 1929, the individual peasant holding was the predominant form of agriculture. But it turned out that the large-scale Socialist industry and an agriculture scattered throughout twenty-five million small farms and based on private economy could not exist side by side for long. True, the agriculture of the Soviet Union rapidly reached the pre-war level after the introduction of the New Economic Policy, but there it stopped, unable to keep pace with the rapid development of industry, unable adequately to provide the towns with foodstuffs or industry with raw materials.

On the other hand, the development of Soviet industry facilitated the radical Socialist reconstruction of agriculture on the basis of large-scale machinery. In the Soviet village a huge movement began for the collectivisation of agriculture, which was linked with the abolition of the last capitalist class, the kulaks. In the course of a few years, millions of small peasant farms have united into 243,700 large collective farms, equipped with the most up-to-date machines, tractors, combines, harvesting machines, etc.

This tremendous reconstruction, this second agrarian revolution, was achieved not, of course, without difficulties and the class struggle, without the fierce resistance of the kulaks, without the work of wreckers in agriculture. But the kulak sabotage was crushed and the many millions of middle and poor peasants joined the collective farms and began a new, prosperous, joyful life. The Soviet Union is henceforth the country with the most up-to-date agriculture in the whole world. The downtrodden, half-starved peasant of Tsarist Russia, oppressed by the Tsarist butchers and landowners, has now changed out of all recognition. The Soviet peasant, both by virtue of the nature of his work and his level of

living and culture, is coming closer and closer to the type of industrial worker. The record harvest of 1937, which in some cases has shown a yield of seventy-three centners of wheat per hectare of land, shows what successes have been achieved by Socialist agriculture and what prospects open up before the peasants. Hence the superiority of Soviet economy is also established in the sphere of agriculture.

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The superiority of Socialism over the capitalist system of economy has been proved once and for

all by the whole trend of world development during the last two decades.

A new cyclical economic crisis, the third such crisis in the post-war period, is maturing within capitalist economy. It will once again hurl back the economy of the capitalist world by one or two decades; while the national economy of the Soviet Union will steadily continue to advance, so that in a few years' time, after surpassing the United States of America technically and economically, it will occupy first place in the world in all respects.

THE LEADERS AND THE MASSES IN THE OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

By EM. YAROSLAVSKY

TWENTY years after the October Socialist Revolution it is possible in great historical perspective to give an estimate of the activities of the Bolshevik Party, the organising and inspiring force of the victories of Socialism, the organiser of the Communist International.

Since the rise of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the emancipation of the working class, in the first half of the '90's, this organisation, created by Lenin, played the part of the "embryo of a revolutionary party which is based on the working-class movement, and leads the class struggle of the proletariat, against capital and against the absolute government." With this organisation as a model, Leagues of Struggle were created and party organisations originated in other districts as well. In the second half of the '90's, Comrade Stalin built up an organisation of revolutionary Marxism in the Trans-Caucasus. Lenin and Stalin trained a steeled cohort of professional revolutionaries. Their names are to be found in the gallery of the great fighters for the emancipation of the proletariat. Vladimir Ketshevli, Felix Dzerzhinsky, Yakov Sverdlov, Innokenty Dubrovinsky, Nikolai Bauman, Valerian Kuibyshev, Sergo Ordjonikidze, Sergei Kirov, Mikhail Frunze, Sergei Artem, Vyacheslav Molotov, Lazar Kaganovich, Klimentiy Voroshilov, Mikhail Kalinin, Anastas Mikoyan, Stanislav Kossior, Grigory Petrovsky, Andrei Zhdanov, Nikolai Yezhove and many others of their comrades-in-arms and adherents—all these are people of the Leninist-Stalinist, Bolshevik mould.

Each of them passed through a tremendous school of revolutionary struggle, each of them was an organiser of the masses, almost all of them were connected with tremendous masses of workers, with the working people as far back as the period of the 1905

revolution, and each of them won for himself well-deserved prestige, love and respect among the masses of the workers, as a professional proletarian revolutionary.

The distinguishing feature of such a proletarian revolutionary is his profound attachment to the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, his knowledge of this theory; is the indissoluble link between such a revolutionary and the masses; is his unbounded loyalty to the cause of the proletarian revolution; is his iron discipline which subordinates his every step, every movement to the will of the Party. It is his ability dialectically to apply the principles of Marxism-Leninism, in the changing historical situation; it is the ability, developed over many years, persistently and patiently to achieve the aims set by the Party, not to retreat before any difficulties, to be ready to make any sacrifices if so required by the interests of the Party and the working class.

Lenin and Stalin were supreme examples of this type of proletarian revolutionary. They concentrated in themselves the revolutionary passion of the epoch of the proletarian revolution, the great hatred felt by the masses of workers and peasants towards their age-long oppressors, the parasitical classes; the ability to see far ahead, to recognise the enemy, to choose the truest road to their goal, even though at times it was a round-about one, though it demanded temporary manoeuvring retreats.

In the lives of the fighting proletariat of any country there are sometimes moments like those experienced by the Russian proletariat when, after a stormy period of offensive and successes, it is necessary temporarily to retreat, as was the case in the period after the first Russian revolution of 1905-1907, as was the case in the Brest days, and as was the case

in the early period of the New Economic Policy. During these periods the proletariat has to supplement the science of the offensive with the no less important science of carrying through an opportune, well-organised retreat to new positions in order to re-group its forces with a view to strengthening them for a new offensive

There is yet another most important, most valuable quality that the leaders of the proletarian Party develop in the Bolsheviks, and that is a merciless, irreconcilable attitude to all who distort the revolutionary principles of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, to all opportunists and conciliators, in whatever clothing they adorn themselves.

The Bolshevik Party developed, was steeled and grew strong in the struggle against numerous enemies of Marxism-Leninism. At the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I., Comrade Stalin pointed out that the contradictions which arise along the road of the development of the Party "can be overcome only by a struggle for principles of one kind or another, for aims of the struggle of one kind or another, for methods of struggle of one kind or another which lead to the goal. One may and should make all kinds of agreements with those of other opinions inside the Party on questions of current policy, on questions of a purely practical kind. But if these questions are connected with differences of principle, then no agreements, no "middle" course can save the situation. There can be no "middle" course on a question of principle. Either one line of principle or another must form the basis of the Party's work. A "middle" course on questions of principle is a "course" of stuffing heads, a "course" of glossing over differences, a "course" of the ideological degeneration of the Party, a "course" of the ideological death of the Party."*

And Comrade Stalin reminded us that "the entire past of our Party is a confirmation of the thesis that the history of our Party is a history of overcoming contradictions inside the Party and of steadily strengthening the ranks of our Party on the basis of overcoming them."†

The struggle against the Mensheviks, against the Liquidators and the Otzovists, against the Trotskyists in the period of the first revolution and in the period between the two revolutions; the struggle against the *oborontsi*‡ during the imperialist war; the struggle

* J. Stalin. Once more about the Social-Democratic deviation in our Party. Report and concluding speech at the VII. Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. Gosizdat, 1927. Russ. Ed. p.6.

† Ibid, p. 7.

‡ Social-Democrats who supported the imperialist bourgeoisie.—Ed.

against right and "left" capitulators in the period between February and October, 1917, and after the October Revolution; the struggle against all kinds of anti-Party organisations which later became counter-revolutionary parties, against all the groups of Trotskyists, "*detsists*,"* anarcho-syndicalists, the "workers' opposition," the Trotskyist-Zinovievist bloc, the Bukharin-Rykov organisation of Rights, the struggle against deviators on the national question and against bourgeois nationalists who penetrated into the ranks of the Bolshevik Party—all these are various manifestations of the same irreconcilable struggle for the purity of the Party, for the purging of it of anti-Bolshevik elements. Without such a struggle the victory of the Great October Revolution and the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. would have been inconceivable, without such a struggle the existence of the Bolshevik Party as the foremost militant detachment in the international Communist movement would have been inconceivable.

Lenin and Stalin developed this Bolshevik quality in all members of the Party.

The Bolshevik Party in the period of Tsarism was small in numbers. It was only in the heat of the 1905 revolution that, together with the organisations in the border States of Tsarist Russia it reached a membership of over 100,000. At the Fifth Party Congress held in London in 1907 a membership of about 150,000 was represented. This was together with the Social-Democrats of Poland and Lithuania, the Jewish Bund organisation, the Latvian, Armenian and Ukrainian Social-Democrats, etc.

In the period between the two revolutions and during the imperialist war the majority of the Party organisations were destroyed. A tremendous number of Bolsheviks spent long years in prisons, in distant exile in Siberia. But those who remained at liberty continued the work of the Party; they preserved the Bolshevik traditions not like keepers of archives, but as fighters keep their weapons in readiness to make use of them at the first favourable opportunity.

And during the imperialist war which—to use the words of Lenin—dragged Russia forward by at least 20-30 years, the Bolsheviks preserved this revolutionary weapon, strengthened their contacts with the masses, defended the revolutionary banner in the midst of the chauvinist fever, when, as Rosa Luxemburg put it, the Second International became "a foul-smelling corpse." When the social contradictions called forth by the imperialist war forced the masses to come on to the streets, the Bolsheviks were in the front ranks, at the head of these masses, direct-

* Anti-Party group of "Democratic Centralists" who formed a bloc with the Trotskyists in 1923.

ing their weapons that had been tested in former battles, against the old world. The Tsarist autocracy, the world's gendarme, the buttress of international reaction, fell under the blows of the February-March revolution.

During the imperialist war the Bolshevik Party alone in Russia held high the banner of revolutionary Marxism. It alone stood firm against the chauvinist fever, and therein lies the tremendous superiority of the working class of Russia over the proletariat of other countries. It was just at this period, so critical for capitalism, that the working class in all countries, except Russia, were betrayed by the leaders of the parties of the Socialist Second International, who betrayed the working class and went over to the side of the imperialists.

In the Russia which had overthrown the power of the Tsar, the Bolshevik Party was in a minority. In the period immediately after the February-March revolution it had barely 40-45,000 members. At the April Conference already 80,000 organised Party members were represented.

The Party arrived at the October Revolution a grown-up, strengthened army of a quarter of a million members. Along with the Party, shoulder to shoulder with it there marched millions of workers, peasants, soldiers, sailors, the so-called "spontaneous Bolsheviks," just as the non-party Bolsheviks follow the lead of the Party to-day. After the Kornilov rebellion, which aimed at crushing the Soviets and at fully establishing a military-bourgeois dictatorship, the Bolsheviks obtained a majority in the Soviets of the capital cities of Moscow and Leningrad, and in all the big centres of the country.

At the All-Russian Conference of trade unions held at the end of June, one-third of the delegates—36 per cent.—were Bolsheviks. In September, of the 120 delegates sent to the Democratic Conference, there were already 69 Bolsheviks, i.e., 58 per cent.

This showed the rapid growth of the influence of the Bolshevik Party over the masses. From February to October, in the course of eight months, the Bolshevik Party achieved the situation where the masses who at the beginning of the 1917 revolution had trusted the Mensheviks, S.R.s and, to a considerable extent, the Cadets, i.e., the liberal bourgeoisie, ceased to trust them by October and followed the lead of the Bolsheviks.

How did the Bolsheviks win this influence? First and foremost the Party followed the advice of Lenin and Stalin: by patient explanation, by systematic work of propaganda and agitation, to isolate the petty-bourgeois parties of the Mensheviks, S.R.s and Cadets, to win the masses away from their influence. The Bolshevik press was widely distributed in town and country, and at the front. Special newspapers were published: for the rural districts, the

"Derevyenskaya Bednota" (Rural Poor), and the "Derevyenskaya Pravda" (Rural Truth); for the front—the "Soldatskaya Pravda" (Soldiers' Truth) and the "Okopnaya Pravda" (Trench Truth). During the April Conference already the Bolsheviks had dozens of newspapers. The Party developed a tremendous amount of work among the women workers, but an especially great amount of work was done by the Party among the soldiers and sailors. Nor was it held back by the acts of repression hurled against it by the bourgeois Provisional Government, by the Mensheviks and S.R.s. It was not held back by the terror directed against it during and after the July days of 1917. It grew strong in these conflicts with the enemy.

It was more difficult to win over the masses of peasants. But the Bolsheviks managed to win them also to their side.

When the delegates of the All-Russian Congress of Peasant Deputies drew up their demands in the spirit of the S.R. agrarian programme—regarding the socialisation of the land—Lenin proposed the acceptance of this programme, which the S.R.s themselves had in fact rejected.

Lenin used the following words in support of his proposal:

"The peasants want to retain their small holdings, to equalise them according to standards, and to re-equalise them periodically. . . . Let them. No intelligent Socialist will quarrel with the poor peasants on this score. If the land is confiscated it will mean that the rule of the banks is undermined; if farm property is confiscated it will mean that the rule of capital is undermined. In these circumstances, with the *proletariat ruling in the centre*, with political power transferred to the proletariat, the rest will come of itself; it will come by 'force of example,' it will be prompted by experience itself." (Lenin, vol. XXI, pp. 112-113.)

The Bolshevik Party supported the demand of the peasants, and, despite the fact that the peasantry believed in the S.R.s and Cadets in the beginning of the revolution, millions of peasants followed the Bolsheviks precisely because they saw in the Bolshevik Party the only Party capable of dealing with the landlords, the age-long enemies of the peasants—in proper, in revolutionary, plebian fashion.

The alliance of workers and peasants which was established during the period of the 1905 revolution became really solid in the year 1917, and it was this that ensured the success of the revolution. The hegemony of the proletariat in the revolutionary movement, which manifested itself already in the period of the first revolution, was fully realised in the October Socialist Proletarian Revolution, when the peasantry understood that the proletariat was the real true, tried and strong leader of the revolution, a leader to be relied upon, and with whom one could march together to the end.

The organisation of trade unions, of workers' and soldiers' clubs, of youth leagues, of "home-town associations" among the soldiers and sailors—all this constituted forms of contact between the Party and the masses, forms of the development of the mass movement.

There are some woe-begotten "historians" who try to make out that the Socialist revolution had its cadres ready prepared, had a ready-made army in the beginning of the revolution. In his "Problems of Leninism," Comrade Stalin explains that this army had to be created in the course of the struggle.

"In actual fact, in March 1917, there was not and could not be a ready-made political army. The Bolsheviks were merely creating an army of that sort (and did finally create it by October 1917) in the course of the struggle and conflicts of classes between April and October 1917. They were creating it both through the April demonstration, and the June and July demonstrations, and through the elections to the ward and Municipal Dumas, and through the struggle against the Kornilov putsch, and by means of winning over the Soviets. A political army is not the same thing as a military army. While a military command begins a war with an army ready to hand, the Party has to create its army in the course of the struggle itself, in the course of the collisions between different classes, as fast as the masses themselves become convinced by their own experience that the slogans of the Party, the policy of the Party, are right."

(Leninism, Joseph Stalin, Vol. I, p. 122-123.)

According to Comrade Stalin's definition, the period from June to August, 1917, was a period of the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses. Tremendous importance attached to the demonstrations held in April, on the First of May, 1917, and particularly the demonstration on June 18, 1917, when over 400,000 workers marched under the Bolshevik slogans: "Down with War!" "Down with the ten capitalist ministers!" "All power to the Soviets!"

At that period a section of the impatient, too "left" Bolsheviks—there was such a group in the Petrograd Party Committee—raised the question of the immediate seizure of power in the spring and summer of 1917. The Party was resolutely against the seizure of power at that period because it had not yet won the masses to its side, it had not yet gained the majority of the working class and of the army, it did not yet possess the positions among the broad masses which were of tremendous importance for the victory of the October Socialist Revolution.

The July days were an attempt at a counter-revolutionary coup d'état by means of which the bourgeoisie endeavoured to finish once and for all with the Soviets. The Mensheviks and S.R.s chained themselves with shameful fetters to the bourgeois chariot, and no power on earth could now tear them away from the counter-revolution. They became unmasked before the masses at a tremendously rapid rate, and at just such a tremendously rapid rate

the influence of the Bolsheviks grew. During the Kornilov uprising, the Bolshevik Party alone showed that it had the real confidence of the masses. It organised the defeat of the Kornilov uprising, the defeat of the counter-revolution organised by the generals, when the Russian Galifets and Cavaignacs were ready to cover the land of the Revolution with blood, to establish a military dictatorship and restore the Monarchy.

It was in these days and in those that followed that the Bolsheviks armed the masses and established the Red Guard. The defeat in the July days did not dishearten the proletariat, did not deprive it of its confidence in the possibility and necessity of waging a further struggle against capitalism under the slogans of the Bolsheviks.

In this connection, the Sixth Congress of the Party was of enormous significance. It directed not only the Party, but also the wide masses towards the October Socialist Revolution. The course of events was enormously speeded up, the revolutionary crisis was intensified. Only the Bolshevik Party showed a way out. The slogans of the Socialist Revolution, the slogans of "All Power to the Soviets!" "For Bread, Land and Liberty!" became the slogans of tremendous millions of the people throughout the country.

The Mensheviks and S.R.s became still further divorced from the masses of the working people. A deep fissure developed in these parties between "those at the top" and "those below." "Below, among the proletariat and peasantry, especially the poorest, the majority of the S.R.s and Mensheviks are 'left.'"^{*} "The Bolsheviks are becoming the genuine leaders of the masses, even of the S.R. and Menshevik masses."[†]

As an example of the struggle of the Bolsheviks for the united revolutionary front in the existing conditions, we must point to an article by Comrade Stalin entitled "On the Revolutionary Front," published as the leading article in the Bolshevik newspaper "Rabochiy Put" of September 19, 1917:

"In Tashkent, the Soviet composed in the main of S.R.s has taken power into its hands, having swept away the old officials. But the Kerensky Government is sending a punitive expedition there, demanding the restoration of the old authorities, the punishment of the Soviet, and so on. . . .

"It is incredible, but a fact, Kerensky, the Petrograd S.R., a member of the Directorate, has armed himself with 'machine guns,' and is undertaking an expedition against the S.R.s in the Tashkent Soviet, while the 'Dielo Naroda,' the central organ of the S.R. party maintains a profound silence as though it were not its business at all! . . .

"They talk to us about the unity of the revolutionary front. But unity with whom?"

^{*} Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. XXI, p. 221. Russ. Ed.

[†] Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. XXI, p. 182. Russ. Ed.

"With the Party of S.R.s which has no opinion, since it is silent?

"With the Kerensky group, which is preparing to crush the Soviets?

"Or with the group of Tashkent S.R.s who are creating a new power in the name of the revolution and its conquests?

"We are prepared to support the Tashkent Soviet, we shall fight in the same ranks with the revolutionary S.R.s, we shall have a united front with them. . . .

"You want a united front with the Bolsheviks? Then break with the Kerensky Government, support the Soviets in the struggle for power—and unity will come.

"Why was it so easy and simple to get unity in the days of the Kornilov rebellion?

"Because then it arose not as a result of everlasting discussions, but in the course of direct struggle against the counter-revolution. . . ."

In Petrograd, Lenin, Stalin, Molotov, Ordjonikidze, Kossior, Dzerzhinsky were preparing the masses for the October onslaught. In the Ukraine, in the Don Basin, Klim Voroshilov was training and arming the workers of the Don Basin, the workers of Lugansk. In Kharkov the work was being done by Artem Sergeev, in Dnepropetrovsk (Yekaterinoslav) by Comrade Petrovsky. In the Urals, Yakov, Mikhailovich, Sverdlov, who had been connected with the working masses since the time of the 1905 revolution, was organising the masses for the October onslaught. There also, in Shadrinsk, Comrade Zhdanov, now Secretary of the C.C. and Lenin-grad Province Committee of the C.P.S.U., was also working at that time. In the Volga district during the July days, Lazar Kaganovich was delivering fiery speeches from the platform to masses of soldiers. In Samara, Kuibyshev, the old professional revolutionary, and with him Comrade Shvernik, now Secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions (A.C.C.T.U.), were leading the working masses. In White Russia during the October days, Comrade Kaganovich, who had been sent to the front, was preparing the October onslaught and leading the masses; working along with him in the army were Frunze, Yezhov and other firm Bolsheviks. In the Don and in the Trans-Caucasus, Sergei Kirov was at work, and in the Trans-Caucasus Mikoyan and Stepan Shaumyan.

All these were people whom the masses knew and loved not only as popular orators, but as splendid organisers of the masses, as tried proletarian revolutionaries. They trusted them and followed them to the October onslaught.

* * * *

During the February revolution, the majority of the leading figures of the Bolshevik Party were either in exile or in emigration. Comrade Stalin's return in March, 1917, from exile in distant Siberia was of tremendous importance. Comrade Stalin returned as a member of the Central Committee, elected at the Prague Party Conference in January, 1912. He

fought against the blackleg and capitulator, Kamenev. He raised the most important questions of the revolution in Bolshevik fashion in the "Pravda." His work was all the more important in that Lenin was not immediately able to return to Russia. Lenin returned only on April 3, 1917, and immediately delivered his famous April theses. Comrade Stalin immediately gave his full support to Lenin.

Together, shoulder to shoulder, Lenin and Stalin set to work to organise the Party, to organise the masses.

When publishing the decisions of the Seventh April All-Russian Conference of Bolsheviks, the Party issued a special appeal "To our working-class comrades," in which it indicated the tasks facing the whole of the working class, the entire mass of working people. In this appeal, the Party wrote that it would help the working class first and foremost "to make clear their understanding regarding the position and strength of the various classes" since "without this clear understanding organisation means nothing," while at the same time, "without organisation the millions cannot act, no success is possible." "Do not believe in words," wrote the Party, "do not allow yourselves to be misled by promises. Do not exaggerate your forces. Organise in every factory, in every regiment, in every company, in every block of houses. Work to improve organisation every day and every hour, do the work yourselves—the work cannot be entrusted to anybody else. Try to work so that the full confidence of the masses in the foremost workers is built up gradually, on a stable footing, never to be broken. Therein lies the fundamental meaning of all the decisions of our Conference, therein is the chief lesson of the whole trend of the revolution, therein is the only guarantee of success.

Worker comrades, we are calling you to hard, serious, incessant work to rally the class-conscious, revolutionary proletariat of all countries. This road, and this road alone, leads to the way out, to the salvation of mankind from the horrors of war, from the yoke of capital."*

Every page of this appeal to the workers was full of great revolutionary experience. Every appeal aimed at the same point. The Communists must win the confidence of the masses, they must perform incessant and serious work to this end. Unless the masses are rallied together, unless they receive revolutionary enlightenment, unless Communist propaganda is conducted, unless revolutionary discipline is established, unless contacts are developed with these masses, the victory of revolution cannot be assured.

The leaders of the Party must not be separated from the masses. At the sessions of the April Con-

* C.P.S.U. in resolutions, part 1., p. 232. Russian Ed.

ference, Lenin wrote on a scrap of paper his estimate of "the new conditions of Party work": "Tens of millions are before us. . . ." Hence: "be hard as a rock in the proletarian line against petty-bourgeois vacillations. . . . Influence the masses by conviction, by explanation. . . . Prepare for a crash and a revolution *a thousand times stronger than the February one.*"*

And on the basis of these instructions of the April Conference, the Bolsheviks fulfilled an enormous amount of work. The Sixth Congress summed up the results of this work.

Actually the Sixth Congress gathered together illegally. Such was the "freedom" enjoyed by the proletarian Party under the rule of the bloc of the Mensheviks, S.R.s and liberal bourgeoisie. Lenin had to go into hiding, and Comrades Stalin, Ordjonikidze and other leaders of the Bolshevik Party had to maintain contact with him secretly.

Foul slander and provocation were spread against the Bolshevik Party in order to lower it in the eyes of the masses. But, as we know, these intrigues of the Mensheviks, S.R.s and counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie were a disgraceful failure.

The Sixth Congress in its manifesto called upon the masses to prepare for an armed uprising.

"Our Party enters this conflict," states the Manifesto of the Sixth Congress, "with banners flying. It has held them fast in its hands. It has never lowered them before the violators and filthy slanderers, before the betrayers of the revolution and the servants of the capitalists. It will continue to hold them high, fighting for Socialism, for the brotherhood of the peoples. For it knows that a new movement is growing, and that the hour of death has come to the old world.

Prepare for new battles, our fighting comrades. Firmly, courageously and calmly, without giving way to provocation, gather your forces, form the fighting columns.

Take your place under the banner of the Party, proletarians and soldiers! To our banner, oppressed people of the villages!

And the workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors answered this appeal. They lined up in fighting columns, they marched to the October onslaught, and for the first time in the history of mankind, the Proletarian Socialist Revolution was victorious on one-sixth part of the globe.

It was victorious, despite the attempts of the black-legs, the capitulators, the right opportunists, and that champion double-dealer, Trotsky, and his "left" accomplices of those days like Pyatakov and Bukharin. The masses did not follow these traitors to the revolution, who did not believe in the possi-

bility of the victory of Socialism, and did not strive for this victory.

The masses followed the Bolsheviks who remained true to the Leninist banner, followed Lenin and Stalin.

This indissoluble link between the leaders of the Bolshevik Party and the masses not only ensured victory in October, but it was precisely this link with the masses that in the shortest space of time enabled the Red Guard attack upon the capital to be accomplished, the forces of the counter-revolution organised by the generals and the intervention to be crushed, the ring of the imperialist blockade to be broken through, the economic life devastated by the imperialist and civil wars to be restored, and the Socialist offensive to be undertaken on a broad front.

During all the further years of the existence of the proletarian dictatorship this link between the leaders of the Proletarian Party and the masses grew and strengthened.

The capitalist world did not, of course, leave this fortress free of the activity of its secret service agents, scouts, spies and diversionists. It acquired them, recruited them among the traitors to the proletariat, among the capitulators and strike-breakers, among the opportunists, among those who spread bourgeois influences among the proletariat, who had fought against Lenin and Stalin even before 1917. Spies contrived to penetrate into the Party from foreign secret services headed by the arch-spy, Trotsky, who had received money to conduct his counter-revolutionary work from the German imperialists even during Lenin's life, and who paid for this service by assisting foreign spies to penetrate into the Land of the Soviets.

But despite the wrecking activities of these agents and accomplices of Imperialism and Fascism, the Land of the Soviets, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, meets the Twentieth Anniversary of its existence with tremendous successes, and full of tranquillity, strength and confidence in the firmness of the victory of the cause of Lenin.

* * * *

When one looks back at the first days of the October Revolution and remembers the extraordinarily complicated and difficult situation of those days, and remembers the years passed through of ruin and civil war, the difficulties of the restoration period, the difficulties of the first years of the Socialist offensive—one experiences a feeling of tremendous joy at the knowledge that we also, rank-and-file members of the Party, went along with the Party and, under its banners through all these years, contributed some small particle of our efforts to the great cause of mankind, the cause of Communism.

This cause has conquered in the U.S.S.R. and will be victorious throughout the whole world, because a

* Leninist Compendium, IV, p. 290. Russ. Ed.

powerful organisation of Bolsheviks has been created throughout the world, the organisation of the Communist International. The stronger the link between the leaders and the masses; the stronger the confidence of these masses in their leaders; the more irreconcilable the struggle of all the Parties of the Communist International against all distortions of Marxism-Leninism; the stronger the revolutionary proletarian discipline in the ranks of the Communist Parties; the higher the respect felt for the revolutionary theory of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin—and the greater will be the strength of every

revolutionary detachment of the international army.

Socialism has won a final and irrevocable victory in the U.S.S.R.—in one-sixth of the globe. Socialist society has in the main been constructed. The victory of Communism is assured. The road to this victory was shown in the October battles of 1917.

And the working class and masses of working people throughout the world will study this road, will draw all that is most important and valuable from the experience of the great Russian Socialist Revolution, and will also arrive at their emancipation, at their own victory.

THE PEACE POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION

By K. GOTTWALD

THE slogan of *peace* was one of the chief slogans inscribed on the banners of the workers and peasants of capitalist Russia who, twenty years ago, accomplished the October Socialist Revolution. One of the first great acts of the new Soviet Government which originated in the October Revolution was to propose peace to all the belligerent nations and states. Thus, the October Revolution was the first to break through the bloody circle in which almost the whole of mankind was revolving at that time. The Bolsheviks showed the workers and peasants of the whole world the example as to how to end the war begun by the imperialists, to the advantage of the oppressed classes and nations.

True, the results of this peace were not felt so quickly by the peoples of the Soviet Union. The defeated counter-revolutionary landlords, capitalists and generals unleashed civil war and called foreign interventionist forces into the country. The Soviets, headed by the Bolsheviks had to wage a difficult struggle against the exploiter classes and a war of national-liberation for several years against the foreign interventionists so as to safeguard the country against a return of the capitalist system, against its partition and enslavement by the imperialist robbers. In these battles the Soviet people showed the whole world their ability to carry through to a finish the war imposed upon them.

Yes, it was no light task for the Soviet Union to obtain peace. After it had driven the last detachments of whiteguards and interventionists beyond its frontiers and concluded peace treaties with a number of capitalist states, it found itself on the international arena confronted with the persistent hostility of the capitalist world, which reconciled itself only with great difficulty to the existence of the Soviet Union. Let us call to mind how long

the capitalist states delayed with the recognition "de jure" of the Soviet Union. Let us call to mind the long train of hostile acts—the assassination of Soviet diplomats, raids on diplomatic institutions of the Soviet Union, the fabrication of false documents, the chain of provocative acts on the Chinese Eastern Railway, the slander about "red imperialism," etc.—a series of acts designed to provoke the Soviet Union and hinder the establishment of permanent peaceful relations between the U.S.S.R. and the rest of the world. But the consistent policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Union reduced to nil all these intrigues and snares. In the public opinion of all countries there is increasingly strengthened the conviction that the U.S.S.R. is the strongest factor for peace.

The international significance of the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union came to the forefront with still greater force when *German Fascism*, Hitler's Third Empire, made its appearance on the world arena, and when Hitler together with Mussolini and the Japanese militarists placed the question on the order of the day of a new partition of the world by means of war. Japan and Germany left the League of Nations in fact and formally, and to all intents and purposes so did Italy, in order to set their hands free for military adventures. The Soviet Union joined the League of Nations to use it for the struggle for peace, to make it a basis for the work of rallying together all the forces prepared to support the policy of peace. The Soviet Union took its stand at the head of the forces of peace in all countries, at the head of the struggle against the barbarous forces of war.

Fascism means war—Socialism means peace! Never has the truth of this thesis been so clear as in our time. Therefore it is perfectly natural that

after 20 years of its existence the Soviet Union is the universally recognised leader of the forces of peace throughout the whole world. What is left of the disgraceful slanders about "red imperialism"—slanders which the opponents of the Soviet Union have never ceased to repeat? Nothing but shame on their authors.

The U.S.S.R. does not want war—that follows from the Socialist nature of the Soviet State. The U.S.S.R. does not want war, because it does not covet foreign territory. The land, where the exploitation of man by man has been abolished, cannot enforce the exploitation and oppression of one people by another.

What is left of all the chatter about the Soviet Union thirsting for the chaos of war in order to use it to organise Socialist revolutions in the rest of the world? This fable is only used by the Fascist warmongers and criminals who shout to the world "Stop thief!" On this point Stalin, in 1936, said in his interview with Roy Howard:

"If you imagine that Soviet people are themselves desirous, and what is more by force, of changing the aspect of surrounding States, you are seriously mistaken. Soviet people are of course desirous that the aspect of the surrounding states should change, but that is the affair of the surrounding states themselves. . . The export of revolution is nonsense."

By the example of its peaceful Socialist construction, the Soviet Union is winning the hearts and minds of many millions of people to the support of Socialism. Is it worth while recalling the miserable talk about the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union being dictated by its "weakness," as the existence of the Trotskyist-Bukharin nests of spies is alleged to prove? On the contrary, the fact that the Soviet Union is displaying a firm hand in purging the land of all kinds of spying, wrecking and diversionist scoundrels, is proof of its might. For it is perfectly clear that by unmasking and destroying the Fascist agents who have been installed in the rear of the U.S.S.R. by its enemies, the Soviet Union has thereby still further strengthened and consolidated its position. Yes, it is precisely because the Soviet Union is a *strong* and *powerful* state and above all because it is a *Socialist* state, that it can play such an outstanding part in the struggle for peace.

The peaceful policy of the Soviet Union is no accidental policy arising, shall we say, out of the given international situation. The U.S.S.R., as a Socialist State, is vitally interested in preserving peace. And in this respect, the interests of the Soviet Union are perfectly identical with those of the mass of working people in all the capitalist states. The interests of the U.S.S.R. fully coincide with the interests of the weak and small nations

and states, whose existence is menaced by the military expansion of the Fascist powers. In this respect even there is also to be felt the coincidence of the interests of the U.S.S.R. and the big bourgeois democratic states which, at the present moment are interested in maintaining peace. This is why, in its policy of peace, the U.S.S.R. is the most important factor in the setting up of a *world* bloc of the forces of peace, against the Fascist military aggressors.

The small and weak nations and states are directly and vitally interested in the success of the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union. From the very outset of its existence, the Soviet Union, true to the national policy of Lenin and Stalin, recognised in deeds, not words, the complete right of the small and weak nations to their sovereign existence and independence. Proof of this exists in the eleven union republics of the U.S.S.R., which have arisen in the course of but twenty years, and the existence of which is given juridical form in the Stalin Constitution. Proof of this exists in the two national republics in the Far East—Mongolia and Tuva—which only thanks to the powerful Soviet Union are safe against the insatiable cupidity of Japanese imperialism. Proof of this exists in the attitude of the U.S.S.R. towards China; for the Soviet Union voluntarily and completely gave up all the privileges wrenched from China by Tsarist Russia, that contradicted the sovereignty of China. Finally, proof of this exists in the fact that the Soviet Union recognised the state independence of Finland, Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia and Poland, *i.e.*, those states which arose on the territory of former Russia. It recognised the independence of these countries despite the fact that the counter-revolution was victorious there after October, 1917 and that many of these countries were gates through which the armies of intervention were allowed to pass into the U.S.S.R.

To-day all the small and weak nations and states are living under the threat of militant aggression by the Fascist powers. They all feel that at any moment theirs may be the fate of China, Abyssinia and Spain, and their eyes involuntarily turn to the Soviet Union as the mighty, stable bulwark and defence of their national and state independence. Take, for example, the small Baltic states. Despite the reactionary character of their Governments, despite their negative attitude to the Soviets and Socialism as a Social system—they cannot but take account of the significance of the peaceful policy of the U.S.S.R., if they want to avoid falling into the clutches of Hitler Germany. Or take a mid-European state like Czechoslovakia. What gives her strength to resist the predatory encroachments of Hitler Germany? The knowledge that the power-

ful Soviet Union is the bulwark of the peace front. And this applies not only to Czechoslovakia: to a certain extent it also applies to all the small states of the Danube Basin and the Balkans. While Hitler and Mussolini are bartering between themselves for "spheres of influence" in the Danube Basin and the Balkans, while they are hatching plots in different states, resorting to bribery, and organising putsches, etc.—all with the single purpose of subordinating the entire Danube region and the Balkan peninsula, and dividing them among themselves—public opinion in these menaced states is beginning more and more clearly to recognise what a mighty bulwark of their national and state independence is the Soviet Union and its policy of peace.

In the present situation, the peaceful aspirations of the Soviet Union are concentrated on developing *joint and decisive action on the part of all the forces of peace, so as to put an end to the military intervention of Germany, Italy and Japan, in Spain and China*. For upon this depends the fate of world peace. It is clear that for the fascist aggressors, Spain and China are bases for further military operations, bases for a *world war*. The defeat of the fascist aggressors in Spain and China will thus signify a *great success in the preservation of world peace*. It will mean that the present intolerable international situation under which not a single peace-loving State knows the day or hour when the fascist bandits may hurl themselves upon it, will become less tense.

The forces of the States interested in *preventing things developing as far as world war* are sufficiently great to avert that catastrophe. Comrade *Litvinov*, representing the Soviet Union, has on more than one occasion pointed out in his speeches at the League of Nations and elsewhere that "the potential of peace" is much greater than "the potential of war." But the trouble is that "the potential of peace" has not everywhere been thrown into the balance. In all the bourgeois democratic States and above all in

England, reactionary factors, accessories and agents of the fascist aggressors, are energetically at work and as yet are successfully *paralysing* collective and resolute action by all the democratic forces against the fascist aggressors who have enslaved Abyssinia and are devastating Spain and China.

Herein lies a tremendous danger to remove which the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union is not enough. Here the public opinion of the world must interfere, and above all—the *international working class*. *Joint international action of the working class and of all its organisations for the purpose of driving the fascist interventionists out of Spain and China is now the most important task*. The big bourgeois-democratic States possess adequate means of struggle. The Soviet Union in this respect also is fulfilling its peaceful mission. But the Governments of the bourgeois-democratic States must be compelled, under the pressure of the working class and of public opinion in their own countries to take decisive action, *before it is too late*. The war-mongers have already kindled the war conflagration on three continents. If the straight-jacket is not fastened on them in good time, they will fan the flames of the conflagration throughout the world.

The Soviet Union has done and is doing everything to avert this catastrophe. But at the same time it is prepared for all emergencies. Let all remember the following words spoken by Comrade Stalin in 1934 at the XVII Congress of the C.P.S.U. in the report of the C.C.:

"Our foreign policy is clear. It is a policy of preserving peace and strengthening commercial relations with all countries. The U.S.S.R. does not think of threatening anybody—let alone of attacking anybody. We stand for peace and champion the cause of peace. But we are not afraid of threats and are prepared to answer blow for blow against the instigators of war. Those who want peace and are striving for business intercourse with us will always receive our support. And those who try to attack our country—will receive a stunning rebuff to teach them not to poke their pig's snout into our Soviet garden again."

THE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM AND THE BLOSSOMING FRIENDSHIP OF THE PEOPLES OF THE U.S.S.R.

By S. DIMANSTEIN

THE Great Socialist Revolution in the U.S.S.R. in October, 1917, broke the chains of national-colonial oppression and freed numerous nationalities from the yoke of two-fold exploitation: of Great-Russian capitalism, and of "their own" local bourgeoisie. Almost half the population of former Tsarist Russia was composed of non-Russian nationalities, down-trodden and intimidated by incredible national oppression. The October Revolution opened the way for their national regeneration, drew them into public and cultured life, and gave them a new, free life and new Socialist development.

"It is precisely because the national-colonial revolutions in our country were accomplished under the leadership of the proletariat and under the banner of internationalism that the pariah nations, the slave nations, have for the first time in the history of mankind risen to the level of nations that are really free and really equal, and are setting a contagious example for the oppressed nations of the whole world."*

The Twentieth Anniversary of the Great Socialist Revolution is the triumph of the fulfilment by the dictatorship of the working class of the national policy of the Party of Lenin-Stalin, the triumph of the prosperity and friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

Side by side with Lenin, Comrade Stalin for many years before the Great Socialist Revolution gave a brilliant estimation of the significance of the correct solution of the national question in Russia with its many nations, of the tremendous revolutionary significance of the education of the broad masses in the spirit of internationalism. Long before the Socialist Revolution, Comrade Stalin had the insight to foresee how perilous could be the consequences of the influence both of Great-Russian chauvinism and local nationalism if the Bolsheviks proved unable to combat this influence and achieve solidarity among the proletarians of the different nationalities.

In his splendid work "Marxism and the National Question," written in 1913, Comrade Stalin elaborated the foundations of the programme of the C.P.S.U. on the national question.

With all Bolshevik energy and tremendous scientific profundity Comrade Stalin elaborated from the

viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism, the question of the State in a land of many nationalities, defending the proletarian demand for the maximum democratisation of the State structure. Together with Lenin he argued the right of nationalities to independent existence as States.

The thrice contemptible enemies of the people, now unmasked once and for all, Bukharin, Pyatakov, Radek and other agents of Japanese-German fascism, for many long years fought against Lenin and Stalin, against Leninism on the national question. They fought against the right of nationalities to independent existence as States. Trotsky, that enemy of the people and fascist, considered that dependent peoples can only change their imperialist masters, and denied the possibility of liberating them from oppressors. "Theories" of this kind undermined the struggle of the oppressed peoples against their oppressors and exploiters. Lenin labelled these "theories" as "economic imperialism" aimed at supporting the Great-Power chauvinism inside the country and justifying the seizure of the territories of weaker peoples.

On the eve of the October Socialist Revolution Lenin most resolutely stressed the point that the national programme of the Bolsheviks enables us to reckon upon the majority of the population of the land supporting the Bolsheviks, for all the oppressed nationalities regard the Bolsheviks as their defenders, the advocates of their aspiration and hopes.

* * * *

The nationalities of Russia welcomed the Socialist Revolution and its policy on the national question with tremendous enthusiasm. The peoples oppressed by Tsarism understood perfectly well that with the advent of the working class to power they would obtain not only a radical change in their social status, but also their national liberation, which were of such tremendous importance to them. At that time, the national regions on the borders of Russia were caught up by a mighty national-liberation movement which aimed at separation from capitalist Russia and the creation of national States. It was a very serious moment. The revolution demanded the united efforts of all nationalities for the struggle for a new Socialist life. At the same time it was extremely important to show the nationalities

* J. Stalin: Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, page 253. Eng Ed.

oppressed by Tsarism how different the policy of uniting the peoples for the defence of the gains of the Revolution was from the policy of national oppression that had been pursued by Tsarism and the bourgeois Provincial Government. The Bolsheviks found the true way of combining the common interests of the revolution with the interests of the individual nationalities which strove to maintain the gains of the revolution and to achieve national independence.

From the very first days of the Great Socialist Revolution a People's Commissariat for the Affairs of Nationalities, with Comrade Stalin in charge was set up. This People's Commissariat played a tremendous role in reinforcing the gains of the Socialist Revolution, in mobilising the allies of the proletariat in the struggle for Socialism; it helped the backward nationalities to join in Socialist construction, while avoiding the tortures of capitalist development.

The People's Commissariat for the Affairs of Nationalities had the very responsible and very complicated task of in the shortest period of time achieving the confidence of the nationalities in the Russian working class who stood at the head of the Socialist Revolution. As Comrade Stalin pointed out, the crux of the national question after the victory of the Great October Revolution was that the broad masses of the nationalities should follow the vanguard of the Russian working class. The nationalities included many backward ones, which had formerly lived under the difficult conditions of a colonial regime, oppressed by Russian officials and capitalists. All these nationalities had to be made to understand the difference between the various classes among the Russians themselves; to understand that the oppressor was not the Russian people as a whole, but the ruling classes—the landlords and capitalists—that the Russian workers and peasants themselves had suffered much from these same ruling classes, and that the working class and its party had always fought stubbornly against inequality between the nationalities, and for their liberation. It was not so easy for many of the oppressed nationalities to appreciate this truth, being hindered therein by the bourgeoisie of these very nationalities who strove for power and domination over their own nations, and for secession from Soviet Russia.

Side by side with the national bourgeoisie who had created their Governments, there were the workers and peasants of separate nationalities in the border regions, who had organised into revolutionary Soviets on the lines of the Soviets in the centre, and who set themselves the definite class tasks common to all working people. In defending these interests, the Soviets took up the fight against their own national bourgeoisie, for the power of the workers

and peasants. The national policy of the Party of Lenin-Stalin helped these Soviets to win the masses, by unmasking the lying declarations of the national bourgeoisie to the effect that they were the defenders of the interests of their nationality. The masses became convinced by experience that Soviet Power alone was the Power which defends their national interests. Comrade Stalin wrote: "The fight of the border 'governments' was, and is, a fight of bourgeois counter-revolution against Socialism. The national flag is tacked to the cause only to deceive the masses, because it is a popular flag which conveniently conceals the counter-revolutionary designs of the national bourgeoisie." *

These remarks of Comrade Stalin remain true for the present day as well. In a number of national republics, the counter-revolutionary bourgeois nationalists have united with the Trotskyist-Bukharinist bandits, spies and diversionists, and together with them fulfil the will of their fascist masters, trying to undermine the strength of the Land of the Soviets, and once again to place the liberated nationalities under the yoke of the capitalists and landlords.

In severe battles against the enemies of the working people, the numerous nationalities of the U.S.S.R., led by the Bolshevik Party headed by its geniuses and leaders, Lenin and Stalin, have during the period of Soviet Power achieved outstanding successes unprecedented in the history of mankind, in all spheres of political, economic and cultural life. The Party of Bolsheviks and the Soviet Government have fully solved the national question, have created a powerful Socialist State of the workers and peasants of many nationalities, which has no equal throughout the world.

* * * *

The great and fraternal collaboration of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. was established and strengthened in the fire and storm of civil war, in overcoming difficulties and in the struggle for the victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. As soon as the thunder of the guns died down on the fronts of the civil war, the peoples of the Land of the Soviets raised the question of organising close collaboration, of creating one single Union State with a strong and powerful centralised government, while at the same time reckoning with and expressing the interests of each of the nationalities.

Comrade Stalin was the creator of the First Constitution of the U.S.S.R., which united all the peoples of the Land of Soviets into one harmonious, Soviet family.

* J. Stalin "Marxism and the National-Colonial Question," p. 73.

When the U.S.S.R. was founded, Comrade Stalin said:

“Let us hope, comrades, that by forming our confederate republic we shall be creating a reliable bulwark against international capitalism and that the new confederate state will be another decisive step towards the amalgamation of the toilers of the whole world into a single World Socialist Soviet Republic.”*

Both before the October Socialist Revolution and after it, the Communist Party strove to establish truly fraternal conditions for the cohabitation, based on mutual support, of the peoples inhabiting the U.S.S.R. On the basis of the national policy of Lenin-Stalin, the Party created an invincible friendship of peoples in which the world proletariat sees the prototype of the future Communist society. Peoples economically and culturally backward in the past are rapidly overtaking those that have gone on ahead. National cadres of leading officials, skilled workers in the sphere of technique and culture are being developed and are growing up. The culture of the people—national in form and Socialist in content—is flourishing.

The Soviet Government has provided the peoples of the U.S.S.R. with wide opportunities of cultural development. It has provided them with education in their native language, and provided for and tirelessly encouraged the developed of their literature and art. In the native language they understand, the peoples of the U.S.S.R. are mastering the knowledge with which are being fertilised their powerful creative forces, which have for long ages been hidden under the bushel of national oppression. And we now witness how from among the various nationalities, leading scientists, engineers, writers, actors, musicians, most talented individuals in the sphere of art and science are arising. We are witness to the flourishing of the creative power of the peoples, their theatres, their literature, their music. At the same time the peoples are devoting themselves to world and Russian culture.

The U.S.S.R. is a land of many nationalities, populated by over 175 peoples and tribes. In the past, Tsarism deliberately disunited all these peoples and nationalities. Tsarism organised bloody pogroms; by setting one nationality against another, and fanning the flames of enmity between them, it created mutual distrust towards each other among the peoples.

The Soviet Government was immediately confronted with the task of eradicating this distrust, this mutual enmity of the peoples. This required the finding and creation of very flexible forms of federation, of uniting the republics organised on

Soviet lines. Life, the actual practice of Socialist construction provided these forms.

In December, 1917, the independence of Soviet Ukraine was recognised.

On October 19, 1918, immediately after the routing and driving out of the Whiteguards from the confines of the Samara and Saratov provinces, the first autonomous Labour Commune of the Germans on the Volga district was announced. Thereby the Soviet Government demonstrated to the whole world that it did not lay at the door of the German working people, the responsibility for the imperialist pillage by the German troops of occupation in the Ukraine and for the disgraceful Brest Treaty imposed upon us by German imperialism.

In March of 1919 the Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Republic was proclaimed. This was just at the period when fierce civil war was raging on the territory of Bashkiria. General Dutov was using the Bashkir nationalists to mobilise the Bashkirs for struggle against the Soviets. When the Soviet Government declared Bashkiria an autonomous Soviet Republic, it cut the ground from under the feet of the Whiteguards and counter-revolutionary nationalists; the army went over to the side of the Soviets.

In May, 1920, the Tatar Soviet Republic was formed; in June, the Karelian Labour Commune. In August, 1920, the “Regulations concerning the Autonomous Soviet Kirghiz Republic” were confirmed.

In 1922, that is to say on the eve of the formation of the U.S.S.R., there were already 4 Union Republics, 10 Autonomous Republics, and 16 Autonomous Regions on the territory of R.S.F.S.R.

By the time of the adoption of the Stalin Constitution, in the year 1936, there were 7 Union Republics, 19 Autonomous Republics, 14 Autonomous Regions and 9 National Districts, covering chiefly the small peoples of the Far North.

The Stalin Constitution adopted at the Eighth Extraordinary Congress of Soviets in December, 1936, determined the number of Union Republics at 11, Autonomous Republics at 22, and Autonomous Regions at 9.

* * * *

The great Russian people—the most powerful among the equal peoples in the fraternal alliance of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.—afford systematic aid to the former backward nationalities, helping them to awaken to the new life, to become strong and flourish.

The magnificent successes of Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. are especially clearly to be seen in the tremendous growth of the economy of the National Republics and Regions which formerly

* J. Stalin “Marxism and the National-Colonial Question,” p. 128.

were exceptionally backward, especially on the distant outskirts.

Ukrainians and White-Russians, Georgians and Armenians, Kasakhs, Kirghizians, Tadjiks and Turcomen, Uzbecks and other peoples of the boundless Soviet Union have the right to be proud of the successes they have achieved during the period of the Stalinist Five-Year Plans.

“The crux of the national problem in the R.S.F.S.R.,” declared Stalin in a report to the Tenth Congress of the Party in 1921, “lies in the obligation to put an end to that backwardness (economic, political and cultural) of the nationalities which we have inherited from the past and to afford the backward peoples the opportunities of catching up with Central Russia politically, culturally and economically.”*

In the year 1927 at the Fifteenth Congress, the Party of Lenin-Stalin pointed out that the development of Socialist construction in the national republics must proceed at such a pace as would guarantee them an opportunity of overtaking the more advanced regions of the U.S.S.R. economically and culturally.

This line of the C.P.S.U. was put into practice with all Bolshevik firmness and consistency. Socialist construction in the national regions reached colossal dimensions, especially during the years of the first and second Five-Year Plans.

Here you have the history of the national regeneration and struggle for Socialism of the peoples and nationalities populating Soviet soil.

Before the October Socialist Revolution, *Kazakhstan* was one of the most typical colonies of Tsarist Russia. Huge in territory and population, culturally backward and illiterate, the country suffered unbearable political and economic oppression at the hands of the Tsarist autocracy. The population of the country, leading nomadic lives, were driven off the best lands and pastures, and dragged out a most miserable existence, deprived of all rights.

The police authorities of the Tsarist Government did everything in their power to deprive the Kazakh people of their individuality, to kill in them all manifestations of the striving for national independence and liberation from Tsarist oppression. The bey, the manatsi—the upper exploiting strata of the Kazakh population—threw in their lot with the Tsarist, bureaucratic clique, and joined forces with them to keep the millions of working Kazakhs in slavery.

The Soviet Government, pursuing the national policy of Lenin and Stalin under the leadership of the Party, began to prepare measures as far back as 1919 for the creation of the autonomous Kazakh republic. All this work was conducted in the com-

pllicated circumstances of class struggle, in the heat of the civil war. The bourgeois chiefs of the Kazakhs in the persons of the Olash-Ordynsi, proved to be the direct tools of Kolchak, Denikin, Annekov and Dutov in their struggle against the Soviet Government. Backed by the Russian Whiteguards, the bourgeois nationalists fought with arms in hand for the restoration of the power of the landlords, capitalists and beys. They strove to fasten the yoke of national oppression upon the Kazakh people once more.

The Soviet Government routed the Whiteguards and nationalists, and in October, 1920, Kazakhstan was proclaimed autonomous.

At the Tenth Extraordinary Kazakh Congress of Soviets in 1937, which gave official shape to the transformation of Kazakhstan into a Union Republic on the basis of the Stalin Constitution, there were summed up the results of the tremendous achievements of Kazakhstan from the time of the adoption of the First Constitution of the U.S.S.R. in 1924. During the period since that time, about 5,000 million roubles have been invested in the national economy of Kazakhstan. The present industrial output is more than 11.8 times what it was before the war, whereas the volume of the industrial output of the U.S.S.R. as a whole has increased by 7.3 times. This shows how much more rapid has been the rate of construction in Kazakhstan than has been the case on the average in the U.S.S.R. as a whole. This is one of the splendid results of the national policy of Lenin-Stalin directed towards raising the formerly backward peoples of the U.S.S.R. to the level of the foremost peoples.

Kazakhstan is becoming one of the most important metallurgical and fuel bases of the U.S.S.R. During the period of the Stalin Five-Year Plans, huge industrial centres of no mere local significance have grown up in Kazakhstan. Thus, Karaganda which is justly known as “the cradle of the Kazakh working class” has become the third coal basin of the Soviet Union.

Gigantic mines are under construction; in a short space of time a whole town with a population of over 100,000 has grown up.

The oil output of the Emba oilfield is developing. Recently the Guryev-Orsk oil pipe-line was built.

The Balkhash copper-smelting combination is nearing completion, and when ready will produce as much copper annually as was provided in the year 1936 by the whole of the copper industry of the U.S.S.R. The output of various metals such as lead, zinc, silver, wolfram, molibden and so on is also increasing.

The food and light industries are developing on a wide scale, and particularly rapid is the growth of railway construction. The former roadless land

* J. Stalin. “Marxism and the National-Colonial Question, p. 103.

of Kazakhstan is being covered with a network of rail and motor-roads.

The industrial development of Kazakhstan has resulted in a tremendous increase in the proletariat, thanks to which the social appearance of this formerly backward national border region has completely changed.

Of extreme importance for the working people of Kazakhstan was the correct solution of the land problem and the complete liberation of the peasantry from the chains of feudalism. The October Revolution gave to the working peasantry of Kazakhstan about 50 million hectares* of land expropriated from the landlords, beys, kulaks and kashak stamans. The land became the property of the Socialist State, and passed into the use of the Kazakh people, the Kazakh collective farms.

Great successes have been achieved by the Kazakh people in the sphere of culture as well, as are shown by the following facts. In the year 1935 the number of schools was 7,783, of which over 7,000 were in the villages; and the number of school children 930,000. Formerly, there were no Kazakhs at all in the middle schools, and now several tens of thousands of Kazakhs are studying in secondary and central schools. The number studying in secondary schools to-day is 48 times more than before the revolution. Previously there were no universities and technical institutes in Kazakhstan; now there are 12 universities, and over 100 technical schools. Formerly there were one or two Kazakh newspapers, now there are 169.

Collective farm theatres, clubs, cinemas, dramatic, choral and other circles, orchestras, etc., are appearing in all the districts of Kazakhstan. Everyone knows of the tremendous success in Moscow of the Kazakh opera, of which the best performers were awarded various Government Orders, while Koul-yash Baysentova, the famous Kazakh actress, was awarded the title of People's Artist of the U.S.S.R.

There is also to be seen the sturdy blossoming and national regeneration of the people of the *Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic*.

The old industry of Kirghiz consisted of a few wind-mills, breweries and distilleries, small salt and coal mines, which were exploited by a few merchants. The work was conducted in a primitive fashion.

Now, under Soviet Government, big mines have been sunk in Kizel-Kie where boring machines are utilised, and the coal output for 1936 was 1,400,000 tons. Great work is being done to discover new coal deposits; the oil industry is beginning to be developed; and sulphur is being obtained in large quantities.

The agriculture of the Kirghiz Soviet Republic, which has much in common with Kazakh agriculture, has also tremendously progressed. In ten years the sown area increased from 346,000 hectares to 1,000,000 hectares.

The cultural achievements of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic are enormous.

Under Tsarism there were on the territory of Kirghizia only 70 elementary schools in which chiefly the children of the Russian population and some of those of the Kirghiz beys and priests received tuition. In the year 1936 there were 1,785 elementary, central and secondary schools in Kirghizia. New school buildings are under construction. There are 172 times more children being taught in the secondary schools of Kirghizia than before the revolution. Universities, pedagogical and agricultural institutes, 14 technical colleges, 4 workers' faculties, 4 Soviet-Party schools, and a Communist agricultural university have made their appearance.

The period since the revolution has seen the appearance of Kirghiz literature, whereas formerly there was not a single book written in the Kirghiz language. The theatrical art was formerly unknown in Kirghiz. To-day Kirghizia has its own State dramatic theatre.

During the days of Tsarism *White Russia*, if one leaves out of account a few more or less important towns, was a wild and solitary place of spongy swamps, intersected here and there by miserable strips of land sown by the peasants. Unalleviated poverty and hunger were the lot of the White-Russian peasants who existed on miserable strips of land, while huge stretches of land were held by the Russian and Polish landlords and priests. The urban poor were no better off, especially the Jews who lived in constant fear of bloody pogroms.

The imperialist war came down with all its cruelty upon the working population of White-Russia. To save themselves from the horrors of the war, the refugees trekked in an endless file along the Russian roads, leaving to their fate their meagre household chattels, and losing those who were near and dear to them. The counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie, the landlords and their ideologists—the national democrats—sold White Russia lock, stock and barrel to the imperialists of Germany and Poland, and after October, 1917, strove at all costs to maintain their domination. And only after the final routing of the foreign intervention and the Russian counter-revolution was the way opened for the peoples of White-Russia to live a new, happy, Socialist life.

The lives of the White-Russian people have changed beyond all recognition since the Soviet Government came to power. Instead of the uninhabited swamps huge electrical power stations, and

* 120 million acres.

dozens of newly built industrial enterprises now rise up proudly. A number of new branches of industry have been created, and dozens of factories and industrial plants constructed, such as the Gomel agricultural machinery works, the Bobruisk Timber Combinat, the silk factory in Mogilev, match and wood-working factories, cement works and so on.

The Stakhanov workers of the industry of Soviet White-Russia display fine examples of Socialist labour productivity. The lives of poverty of the Jewish hamlets have vanished into the dim and distant past. In their place the Socialist towns of the Republic are growing up. Minsk, the capital of White-Russia has become a town of Socialist culture with dozens of secondary schools and universities, with the White-Russian Academy of Sciences, numerous theatres, clubs and other cultural institutions.

A life of prosperity flourishes in the collective farms of White-Russia. Any ordinary collective farmer receives as much income in one year as he formerly could not earn in several years. On the extensive fields of the collective farms, thousands of tractors, combines and other complicated agricultural machines are at work.

The native language of the White-Russian people, who were oppressed under Tsarism has now not only full rights in the Land of Soviets, but has an opportunity of new development, is becoming enriched with new cultural treasures. The works of the Marxist-Leninist classics and world and Russian classics such as Pushkin, Goethe, Rustavelli, Gorky, Tolstoi, and Balzac, are translated into the White-Russian language. During the period of the Soviet regime thousands of Soviet White-Russian intellectuals have grown up.

Before the revolution the *Ukraine* was a country that had long been in a position of dependence. Turkish sultans, Tatar Khans, Polish gentry, and Russian imperialists one after another or all together exploited the Ukraine. Now the Ukrainian people govern their own country, own all its wealth of lands, factories and industrial plants, which formerly belonged to capitalists, landlords, kulaks and priests; they are creating and developing their own culture, national in form and Socialist in content.

During the twenty years of Soviet Power, huge successes have been achieved in the Ukraine in all aspects of life. Socialist industry is growing steadily, agriculture is flourishing, and the material well-being of the mass of working people is improving.

The expenditure of the State budget of Ukraine which amounted to 274.2 million roubles in the years 1927-28, reaches 4,115 million roubles in 1937. Whereas the expenditure of the local budgets in 1927 amounted to 364.1 million roubles, the planned

expenditure in 1937 amounts to 4,249 million roubles.

Where, in what country in the world is there such a colossal increase in expenditure on social and cultural services for the mass of working people?

In the Ukraine 5,653 schools have been built during the years of Soviet Power, and this year, 652 schools are under construction; 440 in-patients, out-patients and general hospitals have been completed; and many new motor-roads have been built.

Before the Revolution there were only 127 towns and urban settlements supplied with electric lighting; now there are about 400. The number of towns and urban settlements supplied with water-works has been more than doubled; the number of towns and settlements with sewerage systems has trebled. The outward appearance of the towns has changed.

The wages bill has considerably increased. In 1928 the total wages bill for the whole of the national economy of the Ukraine amounted to 1,522 million roubles; in 1936 it amounted to 12,146 million roubles.

From year to year the well-being of the workers is improving. As compared with the year 1932, the income of the worker's family has almost doubled. Workers have begun to dress well. They spend their spare time in clubs and palaces of culture, visit theatres, and cinemas, and attend evening courses of study. Thousands of workers are studying in their spare time. Here is the story of Comrade Zhabokritsky, a worker employed in the "January Uprising" works in Odessa.

"What was I?" he asks. "The son of a worker, I left school at the age of 11 when in the fourth class, and went out to work. I was forced to do so because of the large family my parents had and the intolerable poverty. What am I to-day? There are eight of us in the family: I, my wife, 5 sons and a daughter. My eldest son, Alexander, is an electrical engineer; the next son, Vasylii, is an artist; the third, Sergei, is a student of the Architectural Faculty at the Building Institute; the fourth, Vladimir, is studying in Kharkov; the fifth, Nikolai, is a student of the Workers' Faculty of the Building Institute; the youngest girl, Elena, is an "honours" student in the 9th class of the secondary school. I am 53 years old and even I, although I am well on in years, have begun to study. Last year I finished a course for foremen, receiving "good" for all subjects. I am a Stakhanov worker, and earned 1,021 roubles in October."

This is one of many, many workers' families.

The towns of Ukraine have grown out of all recognition. For instance, Poltava, now a regional centre, had 78,000 inhabitants in all before the Revolution. Now it has almost double that number. New industrial plants have grown up there. For example,

there are the "Metall" works, which turns out over 3,000 stocking machines a year, the boot factory, the bacon factory, the meat combinat, confectionery works, leather works, and a stocking factory which produces 14,500,000 pairs of stockings per annum. Large printing establishments have been created. The production of furniture has been developed.

From year to year the cultural and material well-being of the collective farmers is growing. The incomes of the collective farms, in money and in kind, are increasing.

Hundreds of thousands of collective farmers are receiving from 10 to 12 and more kilograms* of grain each per labour-day.

In the "Chervonyi Veleteyn" collective farm (Kharkov region) every household belonging to collective farms has its own cow and calves, one or two pigs, a few sheep and lambs, many fowl, chicken and geese. The family of Perfilyev, a collective farmer, has earned one thousand labour-days, for example, and received in return nearly 6 tons of grain and 4,000 roubles in cash.

The collective farm has become a "millionaire." It received half a million roubles for the wool alone, which it sold to the State. There are quite a few "millionaire" collective farms, and collective farmers receiving cash payments of thousands of roubles for their working days alone.

Take, for example, the family of Borkevich, a collective farmer in the Frunze farm of Sivash region (Dnepropetrovsk region). The family consists of 5 people, and for their work on their collective farm received over 9 tons of wheat, and 1½ tons of barley for cattle. The income of the family amounts to 8,000 roubles. Moreover, the family has a cow, pigs, young pigs, and many fowl.

Health protection has also developed out of all comparison with the past. There were 5,192 doctors in the Ukraine in 1914, this year, 1937, there are 19,476 doctors. Dozens of dispensaries, general and out-patients' hospitals for children, have been established. Formerly there were none at all.

The amount of sickness has dropped considerably, and the death-rate among the population, especially among children, has fallen.

In the elementary, central, and secondary schools and universities of the Ukraine, approximately 6 million people are being taught.

Besides the Ukrainian schools, there are also Russian, Moldavian, Jewish, German, Polish, Bulgarian, Greek, Tatar, Czech, Armenian and White-Russian schools in the Ukraine.

The Ukraine has 88 theatres, 5,246 cinemas, 16,109 clubs, 9 wireless stations and 431,000 wireless receivers (including loud-speakers).

The tremendous material and cultural development of the working people of the Land of Soviets is a real expression of the huge gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution, gains which are felt by every free citizen of the great U.S.S.R. living in the Ukraine, which is an inalienable part of it.

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We have only given the example of four national Republics. But the other Soviet Republics are also meeting the twentieth anniversary of the Great October Revolution with great achievements in Socialist construction and cultural development.

All these achievements of the Soviet Socialist Republics were made in stubborn, fierce class struggle against all the enemies of the Soviet Government.

The wide masses of the working people of the national Republics are filled with anger and hatred against all the enemies of their fatherland, against Trotskyite-Bukharinite agents of the Fascists and their lackeys, the bourgeois nationalists. The eyes of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. are turned towards the Communist Party, the leader and organiser of the victories of Socialism, to the beloved leader of the peoples, Comrade Stalin. The love of the people for Comrade Stalin was well expressed by M. I. Kalinin, in his report at the Jubilee Session of the C.E.C. of the Kazakh A.S.S.R. in 1935:

"Why do all the peoples of the Soviet Union pronounce the name of Comrade Stalin with such pride? Because in Comrade Stalin is concentrated the ideal of the working man, because Comrade Stalin was already fighting for the complete liberation of all oppressed peoples when oppression reigned everywhere in the old tsarist empire. The policy of Comrade Stalin develops, raises, cultivates all the backward peoples, bring them to the level of the foremost peoples of the Soviet Union. This makes it possible for all the peoples of the land of the Soviets to say that the Soviet Union is indeed the fatherland of all the formerly oppressed nations, that the Soviet Union is the real Socialist motherland, in economic, national and cultural sense, of all the formerly oppressed peoples, the motherland of all the working population. It makes all of us kindred brothers, comrades in labour. It has given us an opportunity of uniting millions of workers and peasants and of converting them into a mighty international force. And now we do indeed represent a force with which world capitalism has to reckon, whether it wants to or not."

As against the great creative work of the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union who have built Socialist society, national strife and the persecution of people for their national and race origin is cultivated in every way in the capitalist and especially the Fascist countries.

* * * *

The new Stalin Constitution with which the peoples of the U.S.S.R. are meeting the celebration of the Twentieth Anniversary of the victory of the Great Socialist Revolution, is the greatest witness to

* Between 22 and 26½ lb.

the strength and might of the Socialist order created by the dictatorship of the working class.

As a result of the unswerving operation of the national policy of Lenin-Stalin, we see the solution of the complicated national problem in a country like the U.S.S.R. with its extremely large number of different nationalities.

“ . . . a radical change has taken place in the aspect of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., their feeling of mutual distrust has disappeared, a feeling of mutual friendship has developed among them, and thus real fraternal co-operation between the peoples has been established within the system of a single federated state.

“ As a result, we now have a fully formed multi-national Socialist state, which has stood all tests, and the stability of which might well be envied by any national state in any part of the world.”

The Stalin Constitution has introduced much that is new to the constitutional rights of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., has increased the number of Union Republics, has transformed a number of Autonomous Regions into Republics, has raised the importance and prestige of the Soviet of Nationalities as a body with equal rights in the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. The 123rd article of the Stalin Constitution establishes definitely:

“ The equality of the rights of citizens of the U.S.S.R.,

irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life, is an infeasible law.

“ Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or, conversely, the establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as the advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, is punishable by law.”

This article of the Constitution is written in words of fire, embodying the Stalinist solicitude for people, the special attention to those who were in the past oppressed or without equal rights.

In the struggle for Socialism, for the friendship of all peoples and the flourishing of their economy and culture, the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin-Stalin, has achieved world historic victories.

The U.S.S.R. is the fatherland of all proletarians, of all exploited and oppressed peoples.

The U.S.S.R. is a shining beacon, showing the peoples of the world the way to happiness, to Socialism.

Comrade Stalin, the greatest leader of the peoples, the teacher and leader of all who are fighting for the new, splendid life of joy, holds the banner of the U.S.S.R. firmly in his hands.

THE ROLE OF THE TRADE UNIONS IN THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND IN THE BUILDING OF SOCIALISM

By WILHELM PIECK

IN the great world-historic revolution achieved in October, 1917, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin-Stalin, the trade unions played a considerable role. And after the revolution, in the course of the civil war, during the restoration of the national economy and in the building of Socialism, the trade unions played and continued to play a most active part.

The reformist leaders of the trade unions in the capitalist countries, despite their pretensions at being the only true guardians of the traditions of the trade union movement, are always trying to belittle the role of the trade unions in the liberation struggle of the proletariat and thereby to lower their importance for the working class. In their opinion, trade unions should be politically neutral organisations and restrict themselves merely to the struggle to improve conditions of labour and to obtain increases in

wages. But the reactionary leaders of the trade unions decline even to wage this struggle, by making compromises with the owners in the majority of cases at the expense of the working class, and hinder any real improvement in conditions of labour and increase in wages.

Fascism has afforded the employers complete liberty to exploit the working class by dissolving all the trade unions, giving as its motive that there is no longer any class struggle between the employers and the workers, and that the workers as “subordinates” are obliged to submit absolutely to the employer as their “factory führer.”

In the capitalist countries where trade unions exist as legal organisations, the *anti-working-class measures* adopted by the capitalist governments to the advantage of the employers show the workers clearly that the trade unions can only fulfil their task of defend-

ing the interests of the workers if they conduct a resolute struggle to improve their conditions of labour and obtain increased wages for the workers; if they use their forces to conduct a political struggle against the ruling classes and their government, and do their utmost to set up the united and people's front for the purpose of defending and extending the political rights and liberties of the proletariat.

In this way the trade unions will become a greater force of attraction for millions of workers, and become mass organisations of tremendous importance in the struggle against the enemies of the working class and for an improvement in the standard of living of the proletariat. This is most clearly confirmed by the *rapid development of the trade unions in France*, where, thanks to the fact that trade union unity has been achieved, and the trade unions have taken an active part in the people's front movement, they have become the most powerful fighting organisations of the working class.

The mass trade unions play an enormous role in the struggle to free the working class from capitalist exploitation and slavery; *they are of equally tremendous importance in the period after the victory of the proletariat, in the establishment of Socialism.*

This has been proved by the trade unions of Russia in the period of the October Revolution and the Soviet trade unions during the twenty years of their existence.

The strength of the Russian trade unions of the U.S.S.R. would have been inconceivable without close contact with the Bolshevik Party.

The greetings sent by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bolsheviks to the Central Council of Trade Unions on July 3, 1922, on the event of its fifth anniversary, says:

"Red October became possible because the banner of the proletarian uprising was also the banner of the Russian trade union movement. The Soviet Republic conquered its innumerable enemies because the trade unions, which united the whole of the working class of Russia, afforded wholehearted support to the proletarian movement."

When, on the eve of the Great October Socialist Revolution, under the Government of Kerensky, the counter-revolution was preparing, with the support of the Mensheviks and S.R.s, to liquidate the gains of the February revolution, the trade unions of Petrograd and Moscow helped the Bolshevik Party to mobilise the masses of workers and soldiers to resist the counter-revolution. In August, 1917, the Moscow Trades Council, which was under Bolshevik leadership, succeeded in organising a *general strike of Moscow workers* despite the resistance of the Mensheviks and S.R.s. The trade unions took a most active part in the preparations for and the carrying through of the October Revolution, in forming the workers' Red Guard.

The growing and decisive influence of the Bolsheviks over the trade unions led to over 65 per cent. of the delegates to the first Russian Congress of Trade Unions, which was held in January, 1918, voting for the Bolsheviks. Despite the agitated attempts of the Mensheviks and S.R.s to subordinate the Russian trade unions to their influence and to restrain them from solving revolutionary tasks, the Soviet trade unions, as a result of their close contact with the Bolshevik Party, became a *most important bulwark of the Soviet Government.*

Lenin and Stalin also castigated Trotsky, Bukharin, Tomsky and other opportunists who turned enemies of the people for trying to make use of the trade unions for the struggle against the Party, against Socialism and to undermine the foundations of the Socialist State.

The importance of the trade unions for the mass of working people has grown in the extreme. In the Soviet State the trade unions take a most active part in building Socialism and, consequently, in improving the conditions of the working class on the basis of the general successes of Socialist construction. In addition, they are entrusted with extremely important functions in the State machine, directed towards serving the interests of the working class.

This ever-growing importance of the trade unions was emphasised a few months ago by *Comrade Kalinin*, President of the C.E.C. of the U.S.S.R., in his speech at the Congress of the Heavy Machine-Construction Workers' Union when he spoke as delegate from the Kirov works (former Putilov works), where he was employed before the October Revolution as a turner:

"The trade union organisations have a tremendous field of activity. And their work will be all the better, the more they feel their responsibility as representatives of the working class—the master of the great land of victorious Socialism."

And indeed, the trade unions in the land of Socialism have to fulfil tremendous tasks, and first and foremost those of *educating the working masses on Socialist lines, and of improving their technical knowledge.*

These tasks are no less important than the care for the daily material and cultural interests of the union members, since their fulfilment creates the most important pre-conditions for the uninterrupted growth of the material well-being of the working class.

The importance attached by the Soviet State to the trade unions in the fulfilling of these tasks is clear from the fact that it has brought about *the fusion of the People's Commissariat of Labour and the Central Council of Trade Unions.* The A.C.C.T.U. (All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions) has been entrusted with such most important functions of the People's Commissariat of Labour, as, for example,

labour protection, labour inspection, and the management of the State social insurance budget.

The management and distribution by the Soviet trade unions of the annual State social insurance budget render the link between the unions and the workers still closer. The local and national trade union executives are elected and controlled by the trade union members. The duties of the trade union organisations include the legally established payment of benefits for incapacitation, sickness, pregnancy and invalidity. It is the task of the trade unions to look after the majority of the sanatoria and rest-homes in the Soviet Union which are maintained out of the social insurance budget. Several millions of workers annually take their rest and cures in these places.

The trade unions also maintain and extend a network of hospitals, maternity homes, crèches, kindergartens, forest schools, and summer camps for children, out of the social insurance funds.

The trade unions are also responsible for the work of labour protection and labour inspection. Whereas in the capitalist countries the protection of labour is neglected and the industrial and factory inspectors appointed by the State in the majority of cases wink at the abuses which take place, in the Soviet State the trade unions keep a strict eye on the observance of labour protection regulations and see to it that they are continuously improved. There are six thousand labour inspectors professionally trained by the unions. These keep a check on the state of labour protection measures in industrial enterprises, receiving assistance in their tasks by workers employed in the given enterprise who are entrusted with the job of keeping an eye on the state of labour protection measures in their own department or the works as a whole.

The Soviet trade unions see to the *regulation and improvement of the conditions of labour, to the increase of wages* in the factories and to the observation of the rights afforded by law to the workers.

The trade union concludes a *collective agreement* with the management of the given enterprise. This agreement regulates the conditions of labour in the given enterprise, and the trade union has the last word in each case.

It is the task of the trade unions to defend the workers' interests against cases of red tape still to be found in certain administrative bodies. Conflicts between the workers and management are solved by special departmental *conflict commissions*. These commissions consist of representatives of the management, and of the workers, trade union members, elected by the workers of the given department or enterprise, on a parity basis. If agreement is not arrived at, the conflict is decided by the labour inspectors.

In cases when doubts arise as to whether the regulations or laws concerning the rights and duties of the workers or of the management of the given enterprise have been violated, the question is decided in a special *Arbitration Court*, which is part of the general system of juridical bodies. The assessors of this court are elected by the workers at trade union meetings.

The trade unions take part in distributing what is known as the *director's fund*, which consists of money economised as a result of improvements in production and from the thrifty expenditure of the works' finances. This money is used to improve the living conditions of the workers.

The trade unions participate in the solution of such important tasks as *seeing to it that the workers get living quarters*: Their opinion is taken into account when apartments in newly-built houses are allocated; they participate in the control of the housing available.

A most important sphere of the activities of trade unions is that of *satisfying the cultural requirements* of members of trade unions and their families (these amount to more than 40 million people). To this end the trade unions have built and maintain a network of Houses of Culture, clubs, libraries, sports grounds, organise political and general classes, and arrange excursions and pleasure trips, etc.

New and tremendously responsible tasks confront the Soviet trade unions in connection with the adoption of the *Stalin Constitution*. The trade unions are among those organisations which have the right to *put forward candidates for the coming elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.* With their army of 22,000,000 members, the trade unions constitute the largest mass organisation, the main bearer of Soviet democracy, the one which ensures its development as well as the realisation of the liberties guaranteed to the working people of the Soviet Union by the Stalin Constitution.

The October Revolution not only for the first time in history gave the trade unions rights and influence in the State, but faced them with the task of *stimulating the productivity of labour* through the technical and Socialist education of the workers, which is closely connected with the improvement of the labour process and with the development of all productive forces. In order to understand this task facing the unions, one has to see clearly the *radical difference in the attitude to production and to the State, of the working class of the Socialist State, and of the working class of capitalist countries.*

"The Soviet Government expropriated the capitalist class, took away their banks, factories, railways and other implements and means of production, declared them to be Socialist property and placed at the head of their enterprises the best members of the working class." (Stalin, "On the Draft Constitution.")

Thereby was destroyed the *political enslavement and disfranchisement of the working class and the rest of the working people*. The whole of production now goes to satisfy the requirements of the mass of the working people and the needs of Socialist construction.

In the capitalist countries, the capitalists engage in industry exclusively in their hunt after profits. The national economy is not run according to plan, and this leads to over-production, to economic crises and unemployment.

In the Soviet Union all production is carried on according to plan, to correspond with the needs of the masses, the requirements of industrial construction and with the development of Socialist agriculture. As a result, there is no over-production, there are no economic crises, there is no unemployment in the Soviet Union. It is clear that this revolution also radically changed the attitude of the workers and peasants to labour. They are extremely interested in the growth of production, because every development and improvement of the productive forces and the productivity of labour raises the general well-being of Socialist society, and thus also the standard of living of every worker and every peasant. In the Soviet Union no contradictions exist between the workers and the State. *The State and the mass of working people are one whole*, because the latter rule the country themselves through their Soviets.

This changed position of the working class *has obviously led to a complete change in the role and tasks of the trade unions.*

The trade union organisation, as Lenin said, "is an educational organisation, an organisation for drawing people into activity, for training them; it is a school, a school of management, a school of administration, a school of Communism." The trade unions have to educate the working masses, especially the hundreds and thousands who for the first time have streamed from the villages into the factories, to be conscious participants in *Socialist production*. The trade unions help the workers to master the technique of production, and imbue in them a Stalinist attitude to work, thus helping to increase labour productivity and to improve the quality of the work.

The trade unions wage a tireless struggle *against those who disorganise Socialist production*, against idlers, against those who flit about from one job to another, against a careless attitude to work, against the damaging of instruments and machines, against spoiled work, against bureaucracy, and technical slovenliness, against managing bodies which are not able to organise the work properly, which do not afford assistance to the workers, nor pay proper attention to proposals to improve methods of work or to workers' inventions.

The trade unions train *leading personnel* for

industry, and carry through rank-and-file control over the activities of the economic and co-operative organisations. Through the *production conferences* in the factories, the workers take a direct part in the organisation of production, by making proposals for the plans of production and by controlling the fulfilment of these plans.

In this radical distinction between the position of the working class in the Soviet Union and that of the working class in the capitalist countries, there also lies the reason for the *enthusiasm for work of the workers and peasants in the Soviet Union*. This found expression in the "subbotniks," and subsequently in *shock-brigade work* and in *Socialist competition* to fulfil production quotas, thanks to which the shock-brigade workers became the chief figures of Socialist production.

"The most remarkable thing about competition is that it brings about a fundamental revolution in the views of people regarding labour, for it transforms labour from the shameful and heavy burden it was considered to be formerly, into a thing of *honour*, a thing of *glory*, a thing of *valour* and *heroism*." (Stalin.)

Three-quarters of the workers engaged in industry have taken part in the shock brigade movement. The enemies of the working class try to gloss over this radical distinction between the attitude to labour in the Soviet Union and the attitude to labour in the capitalist countries. They do this so as thus to justify the horrible exploitation and oppression of the workers in their countries and to keep them back from the struggle for the proletarian revolution and Socialism. These manipulations and manœuvres are adopted particularly in relation to *the mighty Stakhanov movement* which so clearly expresses the change in the workers' attitude to production. The capitalists distort the whole meaning of the Stakhanov movement and the methods by means of which Stakhanov rates of output are achieved, attempting to identify this movement with the speed-up system so much hated by the workers in the capitalist countries.

The Stakhanov movement, which began in the year 1935 and bears the name of the miner, Stakhanov, has led to an enormous *increase in the productivity of labour*, to a still further improvement in the well-being of Socialist society, in the well-being of the workers and peasants.

The Stakhanov movement, like the shock brigade movement, is not at all based upon the physical exhaustion which in a short period of time undermines the health of the workers in capitalist countries, and as is particularly manifested at the present time in Fascist Germany, where over 42 per cent. of the workers are sick people (as stated by Ley, the imperial organiser of the Hitler "Labour Front").

The Stakhanov movement, like the shock brigade movement, *is based on the mastery of technique*: it

develops the technical skill of the workers and peasants, and leads to the best possible use of machines and the simplification of labour processes. Ever wider sections are being drawn into the work of improving the labour process, and this makes possible the more rational use of labour time and the achievement of the maximum productivity of labour with the minimum expenditure of labour power.

To help the workers in understanding and mastering technique the works managements organise *courses of study of what is known as the technical minimum*. In the year 1936 alone 3,000,000 workers underwent training in these courses. Work developed on Stakhanov lines, technical skill and the transformation of the labour process are not, however, regarded by the workers or groups of workers of the given enterprise as an industrial secret. The experience gained by some is passed on to the others, in order *thus to facilitate a general growth of labour productivity*.

Consequently, Stakhanov workers at the same time fulfil the extremely important and responsible task of educating the workers as participants in the Socialist labour process who are striving to bring about an all-round rise in the productivity of labour.

These conditions afford the workers the opportunity of *being promoted to more responsible work in the spheres of Socialist production*. A number of well-known Stakhanov workers, like Stakhanov himself, Vinogradova, Demchenko and others, are now studying in Academies in preparation for work in leading posts in industry and agriculture. Other Stakhanov workers, like Krivonos, Ognjev, Smetanin, Yusim, have become directors of big enterprises. In general it is characteristic that the enterprises in the Socialist State are headed almost entirely by former rank-and-file workers. It is not surprising that the working class of the U.S.S.R., having, thanks to the Great Socialist Revolution, become emancipated and the owners of the factories are showing an unparalleled rise in the productivity of labour, as the following table shows:

Output (in unchanged prices) per worker in the year 1936,
as a percentage of the year 1913

<i>Industry as a whole</i>	308.8
Production of Means of Production	327.4
Production of Articles of Consumption	267.4
Metal Industry	353.7
Chemicals	236.0
Cotton Textiles	244.5
Food	261.8

During the year 1936 alone—the first year of the Stakhanov movement—the productivity of labour in large-scale industry increased by 21 per cent., and in the heavy industry, in the heart of which the Stakhanov movement originated, by 26 per cent.

During the last few years the output of industry in the Soviet Union has made a rapid advance: in the year 1936 the output of large-scale industry was equal to 80,900 million roubles and was 3.8 times greater than the 1929 level, and 7.3 times greater than the 1913 level.

During the last two years the Stakhanov movement has very considerably helped this increase in output, which has been achieved thanks to the improved state of affairs in the factories and the perfection of the machinery and of the entire production process.

While millions of workers in the capitalist countries can find no employment of their labour power, in the Soviet Union the number of workers and other employees engaged in industry increased by 500,000 persons during the one year between 1935 and 1936, with an increase in the productivity of labour for that period of more than 20 per cent. The wages of the industrial worker in the U.S.S.R. increased 2.9 times between 1929 and 1936.

While in the Soviet Union, thanks to the Stakhanov movement, we see the development of a collective spirit and enthusiasm in work which result in an uninterrupted growth of the productivity of labour and wages, the capitalists use the maximum productivity of labour squeezed out of their workers by a subtle sweating system, to *force down wages and worsen conditions of labour*. They set the workers against each other, workers become “superfluous,” and those who are unable to keep up with the terrific speed are dismissed from the factories and doomed to poverty.

How very different from this is the *position of the working class in the Soviet Union!* Comrade Stalin expressed this at the Seventeenth Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. in the following words:

“There would be no point in having overthrown capitalism in October 1917 and in building Socialism over a number of years if we do not achieve a situation where people here live in contentment. Socialism means not poverty and privation, but the abolition of poverty and privation, the organisation of a prosperous and cultured life for all the members of society.”

Of tremendous importance in raising the well-being of the workers was the *shortening of the working day*. For decades the demand for the 8-hour working day was one of the chief demands of the trade unions. One of the first laws of the Soviet Government was the 8-hour working day. The 10-11-hour working day that existed under the Tsarist Government was cut down to 8 hours as the maximum, but the victory of Socialism created the preconditions for a new general reduction of working time. This reduction of working time took place under the slogan: “The shortest, but at the same time the most productive working day.” The intensification of the working day was achieved

through improvements in the organisation of labour, avoiding all loss of working time, continual improvements in the labour process and methods of work; all of which resulted in the daily output beginning to increase.

The length of the working day for the whole of the Soviet Union is fixed at 7 hours as a general rule, and 6 hours for miners and workers of certain other branches of industry. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that owing to the introduction of the 5-day working week the number of regular rest days in the year has increased from 52 to 61. Workers receive an annual holiday of not less than 2 weeks, and usually 3-4 weeks, with full pay. Overtime, which in capitalist countries and in particular in Fascist Germany are the rule in enterprises working full time, is severely restricted by law in the Soviet Union. It is only with the consent of the trade unions and by agreement with each worker that overtime work, paid for at 1½ and double the ordinary rate of pay, is permitted in extremely urgent cases and to a limited extent.

The wages of workers in the Soviet Union are fixed on the basis of collective agreements, in accordance with the productivity of labour. The enemies of the working class make slanderous comparisons between this system of the payment of workers in the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist wages system, passing over the fact that under capitalism a small section of highly-paid workers are played off against huge masses of low-paid workers to keep the wages of the latter at a low level. *In the Soviet Union the payment of labour, based on the principle of productivity, is aimed not at reducing wages, but at stimulating technical skill among the workers.* The worker knows that a high output brings in its train high wages. The payment of labour according to output is a stimulus to the worker to increase and improve his output, to raise his technical knowledge, to increase productivity and to strengthen labour discipline. If, in these conditions, Socialism were to resort to the "levelling methods" which the enemies of the working class have tried to palm off on them, it would retard the development of the productivity of labour and the raising of the skill of the workers.

Differentiated wages based on output correspond to the principle of distribution operating under Socialism, the first phase of Communism. By virtue of this principle each person who works has to receive from society in accordance with what he gives to it, i.e., corresponding to the values created for society by his labour. Therefore the working masses in the Soviet Union have not to conduct a struggle for increased wages, for wage increases are provided for by the plans of the proletarian State.

But in calculating the wages of the worker in the U.S.S.R. we should take into account not only the

sum he receives in actual cash, but also the expenditure of the State and of the works management in social services for the workers, thus in fact increasing wages by 34.5 per cent. (free medical treatment, medicine, kindergartens, reduced prices in dining-rooms, free clubs, schools, working clothes, etc., etc.). As distinct from the high deductions from the wages of workers in the capitalist countries, especially in Fascist Germany, in the form of unemployment insurance subscriptions, compulsory deduction to Fascist organisations, systematic collections for what is known as "winter aid" and other Fascist begging measures, high taxes, all of which amount to over 20 per cent. of the actual wages, in the Soviet Union trade union dues and subscriptions for membership of other voluntary societies are not deducted from wages, but are paid over by the workers themselves. The total sum of such various membership dues does not amount to more than from 2 per cent. to 5 per cent. of earnings.

In reckoning the income of the workers we should bear in mind that the annual income of workers does not fall, as in the case with workers in the capitalist countries, through unemployment or sickness. *Unemployment has been abolished once and for all, and workers, when sick, continue to receive their wages.* The workers have no expenditure when members of their families fall ill, because all medical aid is assured gratis by the State and the industrial enterprises.

The real wages of the workers, due to increases in wages and reductions in prices, have risen during the year 1937 by 7 per cent. alone, despite all the lies and slander of Fascists and Trotskyist bandits, Citrines and Gides.

While in the Soviet Union wages are constantly rising, with at the same time the prices of the most important articles of mass consumption being reduced, *in Fascist Germany the opposite process is taking place: the nominal wages of the workers remain at the same level, and for many categories of workers are even falling.* Real wages are falling all along the line in consequence of the rising cost of products and articles of mass consumption. Only quite recently at the Nuremberg Congress Hitler once again categorically prohibited increases in wages.

The tremendous gains achieved as a result of the realisation of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., to take only the increase in the well-being, education and the cultural level of the mass of working people, are of still greater importance in that they were achieved in tremendously difficult circumstances. These difficulties arose primarily out of the fact that Russia was one of the most backward countries in the world as regards industry, agriculture and culture.

The building up of industry, the collectivisation of agriculture, the drawing in, training and retraining of

masses of totally unskilled workers so as to make it possible to make good use of them in industry and agriculture all took place in incredibly difficult circumstances.

These difficulties were still further deepened by the enemies of the Soviet Union. During the period of the civil war, counter-revolutionary bands of the defeated Russian capitalists and landlords, with the approval and material support of foreign capital, backed up by the interventionist troops of 14 Powers, wrought devastation for years on the young Soviet Republic. Thousands of factories, mines, bridges and transport equipment were destroyed. Hundreds of thousands of the most capable, self-sacrificing workers and peasants were killed. Following this there came the *wrecking* work, encouraged from abroad, of mercenary experts working in Soviet industry.

To these enemies there were later added the degenerate, foul traitors, the Trotskyist-Bukharinist spies and wreckers.

The Trotskyists and Rights also tried to change the Soviet trade unions from organs of victorious struggle for Socialism into weapons of their counter-revolutionary activities.

In 1929, at the Eighth Congress of the Soviet Trade Unions, the *Right elements* were already seeking to use the trade union organisations as rallying points for their struggle against the revolutionary policy of

the Soviet Government. Instead of rallying the trade union masses, during the decisive period of the developed Socialist offensive against the remains of capitalism, for the struggle to achieve rapid rates of the development of industry; instead of rallying them to help collectivise the rural districts, and to fight red tape, the then Right opportunist leadership of the trade unions, headed by Tomsky—exposed later as a counter-revolutionary—tried to keep the organised masses away from these tasks and to set the unions against the Soviet Government. Just as, at a later date, Trotskyist and Bukharinist bandits attempted to undermine the Stakhanov movement, organised attempts on the lives of the best Stakhanov workers, so at that period the opportunist leadership of the trade unions tried in every possible way to put a brake on the sturdily developing Socialist competition and shock-brigade movement. Their argument was that the trade unions as such ought not to occupy themselves with questions of raising the productivity of labour. The strength of the Bolshevik Party under the guidance of its leader *Stalin*, the magnificence of the gains achieved in bringing Socialism about, can be fully appreciated if we make an attentive analysis of these difficulties and of the measures adopted to overcome them.

The tremendous role played by the trade unions in the Soviet Union, the Bolshevik methods used in their work, serve more than ever before as a lesson for the international working class.

THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE PEASANTRY IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

By V. KOLAROV

THE thunder of the Great October Socialist Revolution, harbingering the early end of the nightmare of the world slaughter, rolled throughout the world. The historic radiograms of the Soviet Government, announcing the great Revolution, the like of which the world had never known, and proposing the immediate conclusion of peace to all the belligerent countries, met with the profoundest response in the hearts of the working people of the world. The Great October Revolution, which overthrew the power of the capitalists and landlords and established the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Government, aroused all the peoples, all the military fronts, kindling the flame of indignation, resistance and

revolt against those responsible for the war, the capitalist robbers and imperialists of all countries.

The rulers of the peoples of both the belligerent groups, the short-sighted representatives of the dying classes, were stupefied by the events in Russia. But they could not understand the profound world historic significance of these events.

The German militarists rubbed their hands in glee, hoping that the Russian Revolution would help them to victory, would help them to win the war. They entered into negotiations with the Soviet Government, and utilising the complete demoralisation of the old Russian Army, caused by the criminal imperialist policy of the Tsarist Government, a policy which the Provisional Government also tried to continue, im-

posed the Brest-Litovsk Peace upon the young Soviet country.

It seemed as though a favourable situation had developed for the German imperialists.

But it is an extremely risky thing for imperialists to play with the fire of proletarian revolution; revolution will burn the hands of those who try to make use of it for imperialist purposes. The dull-witted generals of the German Staff realised this irrevocable historic truth only when the soldiers of the allied Bulgarian army left the Salonica front, drawing German units after them as well, when the German and Austro-Hungarian troops occupying the Ukraine became demoralised through contact with the revolutionary people, and when the revolutionary unrest seized German battalions, retreating from the Western Front. They realised this truth when Emperor Wilhelm of Germany and Emperor Ferdinand of Austria, under the pressure of the revolutionary forces, were compelled to seek refuge abroad, when the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy fell to pieces, when the streets of Berlin and Vienna, Budapest and Sofia were decked in red banners. One year in all was required to bring all this about.

The imperialists of the Entente, who regarded the October Revolution as a mere accidental episode, hoped it would be quickly suppressed. However, when they became convinced that the Bolsheviks had not the slightest intention of continuing the war policy of the Provisional Government, they set themselves the task of overthrowing the Soviet Government, and set about organising the counter-revolution by rallying into a united "national" front all the enemies of the revolution from the monarchist generals, landlords and bourgeois "cadets" (Constitutional Democrats) to the S.R.s (Social-Revolutionists) and Mensheviks. After the failure of the efforts of the counter-revolution, the Entente imperialists proceeded to resort to open intervention, and tried to involve their armies and peoples in war against the Workers' and Peasants' Republic by hounding the Polish Army against it and organising expeditionary corps in the North, South and Far East.

But the Entente imperialists, like the German militarists, soon became convinced not only of the futility of their efforts, but also of the danger to themselves of the criminal military adventure they had entered on against the great proletarian revolution, which had liberated 150 million workers and peasants from the yoke of the landlords and capitalists, and assured to all the peoples enslaved by Russian imperialism the right to full national self-determination. The victors in the imperialist war proved to be powerless in face of the victorious proletarian revolution, in face of the indestructible energy and enthusiasm of the revolutionary workers and peasants, organised and led by the Bolsheviks,

the more so since the heroic struggle and revolutionary gains of the Bolsheviks inspired the irresistible sympathy of the working people of the whole world. With the direct and indirect support of the masses of the people of other countries (the revolt of the sailors in the French Black Sea fleet, the refusal of the British workers to allow the despatch of new expeditionary corps to Russia, the rise of the revolutionary movement in Central Europe, the Balkans, the colonies, etc.), the Soviet Government and the Red Army it had created, and the Red guerilla units succeeded, as a result of their difficult and heroic struggle, in liquidating the foreign intervention, in smashing the counter-revolution to atoms, and in victoriously defending the great conquests of the workers and peasants of revolutionary Russia. Having burned their fingers at the fire of the October Revolution, the imperialists returned home disgraced and severely alarmed by the rising tide of revolution in their own countries.

The imperialists of all countries became convinced by their own bitter experience that the October Revolution was an event of world historic significance, which opened up a new era in the history of mankind.

The masses of the people of the capitalist countries, who were still bleeding from their wounds, enthusiastically welcomed the October Revolution, because it showed them the true road whereby to bring the international slaughter to an end as speedily as possible, the road to their own liberation. The October Revolution, in fact, brought the peoples of Russia out of the war and thereby provided a *practical lesson* to all the peoples of the belligerent countries; the sympathy grew towards Russia as the splendid social-economic and political conquests of the revolution unfolded before the eyes of the world.

The workers of all countries wholeheartedly welcomed the splendid measures on behalf of the workers adopted by the proletarian dictatorship. And they supported it by themselves taking the road of strikes and revolutionary struggle, despite fierce repression. The fact that the October Revolution completely solved the accursed land question, and solved it in the way the peasantry had demanded in their numerous petitions, won for it the everlasting and profound sympathy of the peasantry of all countries. On the heels of the October Revolution there increased the urge of the peasantry of the capitalist countries for the winning of the lands of the landowners and of real freedom. This it was, more than anything else, that helped to break down the discipline in the imperialist armies, in which the peasantry formed the overwhelming majority, and to shake the foundations of the capitalist-landlord system even in countries where the peasantry were still a conservative force.

The radical solution by the October Revolution of

the national question in Russia could not fail to meet with a profound response among the oppressed national minorities, and especially the enslaved peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies. The colonial slaves, suppressed by imperialism, saw the road their brothers had taken to free themselves from the "accursed prison of the peoples" that Tsarist Russia was, and this living example, by increasing the urge for national liberation and independence, urged them forward on to the road of struggle against imperialism.

Revolutionary unrest increased in the colonial countries, and this could not but affect the sentiments of the soldiers of the colonial armies, who had been used on an extensive scale by the imperialists on all fronts. The spectre of the destruction of the colonial empires faced the ruling classes.

The world historic significance of the October Revolution was felt in all this. Its irresistible influence over the international proletariat, the peasantry, the broadest sections of the oppressed and exploited population of all countries, facilitated its victory.

Especially important international significance attaches to the strictly consistent and sound Marxist agrarian and peasant programme, formulated in the famous theses of Lenin and adopted at the Second Congress of the Communist International. The mastery of this programme in practice was to correct the opportunist and narrow-doctrinaire attitude towards the peasantry inherited from the epoch of the Second International, an attitude which had helped to bring about the defeat of the Revolution in Hungary, Italy, Poland and a number of other countries.

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With the end of the civil war and the liquidation of foreign intervention, the victorious Socialist Revolution was faced with new tasks, namely, the tasks of *building Socialism* in a great and rich, but backward and devastated country. In alliance with the toiling peasantry (the poor and middle peasants), the proletariat, under the leadership of the Party of the Bolsheviks, had to solve the most tremendous tasks ever set by history. They had to do so in the most difficult circumstances of struggle against the exploiting classes which had been beaten, but were not yet finally crushed, and surrounded by capitalist countries which passed from open intervention to the support and organisation of counter-revolution and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Headed by Comrade Stalin, the genius and perpetuator of the works of Lenin, the Bolshevik Party has on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution brought the gigantic Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the complete victory of Socialism, by untiringly consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and improving the very close

alliance between the workers and toiling peasants, and the fraternal collaboration of all the peoples on the basis of their complete national sovereignty.

Twenty years of Soviet Government have converted backward, agrarian, semi-feudal, barbarian Russia into a blossoming Socialist country, with a first-class, large-scale Socialist industry which has caught up to and partly out-distanced the industry of the most advanced capitalist countries, with its collectivised Socialist agriculture, conducted on the largest scale in the world, and equipped with tremendous supplies of the most up-to-date machinery and possessing huge numbers of agro-technicians. These years have seen the country transformed into one with the most democratic Constitution in the world.

While the volume of industrial production in the biggest and most advanced capitalist States has hardly moved, after the very severe world economic crisis, beyond the limits of pre-war production, in the Soviet Union Socialist industry has increased industrial output 7-8 times as compared with the level of the year 1913.

While the agriculture of the capitalist countries is not able fully to emerge from the very profound agrarian crisis, the collectivised Socialist agriculture of the Soviet Union is undergoing an unprecedented period of prosperity, leaving the pre-war level far behind, and occupying the first place in the world on all the chief indices.

The U.S.S.R. is the land of Socialist agriculture conducted on the largest scale in the world. The average area covered by each State farm is 2,703 hectares (6,790 acres), and by each collective farm 473 hectares (nearly 1,169 acres) (243,700 collective farms embrace 18.5 million homesteads; there are only 1.4 million individual homesteads remaining). In America the average size of holdings is 20-21 hectares (about 50 acres), and in Germany only 6.5 hectares (about 16 acres). Tens of thousands of tractors, combines, and automobiles are employed on the State and collective farms. On June 1, 1937, there were 5,617 Machine and Tractor Stations alone. In the year 1924 there were in the U.S.S.R. only 2,600 tractors with a total horse-power of 25 thousand, but on August 1, 1937, there were 450,000 tractors with a total horse-power of 8,302,000 at work on the Socialist fields. According to the data of August 1, 1937, there were 96,300 combines at work in the collective farms alone, not counting State farms.

While in the U.S.S.R. the collective farming system is gathering strength from day to day, and the land area of the collective farms is growing on account of the acquisition of new land from State farms and from the individual peasants who newly join the collective farms, in the capitalist countries the peasantry are groaning for the want of land, because of the land-hunger. In the U.S.S.R. the collective

farms have the free use of 400 million hectares (over 988 million acres) of land for ever, while in the capitalist countries the chief owner of the land is, as hitherto, the landowner. In Fascist Italy half the total land belongs to the landowners. In Fascist Germany, 412 of the biggest landowners own as much land as two and a half million small property-holders. In Hungary the peasants own only one-tenth part of the land, while a handful of landlord parasites hold control of two-thirds of the land. In Japan over one-quarter of the total land belongs to the big landowners, who constitute only one-hundredth part of the total number of people owning land; the Japanese Emperor personally owns over one and a half million hectares (3.7 million acres) of the best lands, while two and a half million peasant homesteads have less than half an hectare (just over one acre) per farm.

By the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution, agriculture in the U.S.S.R. has come close to the fulfilment of the task set by Stalin, of bringing the annual output of grain to 7-8,000 million poods (between 112½ and 128½ million tons). According to preliminary data, the harvest of grain this year amounts to 6,800 million poods (over 109 million tons), while before the Revolution only 4-5,000 million poods (between 64 and 80 million tons) of grain were produced in Russia. The production of technical crops has considerably increased. For example, 7.4 million centners of raw cotton were produced in the year 1913, while in 1936 23.9 million centners were produced; in 1913, 3.3 million centners of flax were produced, while in 1936 the output was 5.3 million centners. Livestock breeding also is rapidly increasing.

While unemployment—the menacing scourge of capitalist exploitation and capitalist oppression—condemns millions of workers in the capitalist countries to lives of semi-starvation, while tens and hundreds of millions of peasants vegetate in chronic poverty and hunger under the heel of the landlords and capitalists, while in Szechwan 200 peasants die every day of starvation, while in the Polish villages there are 9 million “superfluous” peasants, while in Rumania 10,000 people die annually of starvation—in the Soviet Union unemployment and poverty have been abolished completely. Thanks to the collective farming system in the Soviet villages, not only is there no longer any poverty, but there are also no longer any people who do not possess horses, implements, or land. Such people have, during the years of their life in the collective farms, become secure and are building happy lives for themselves.

Soviet citizens, not only workers and intellectuals, but the peasantry as well, are marching forward day by day along the road to prosperous, cultured lives. Not only in the towns, but in the villages, large numbers of schools, clubs, reading rooms and crèches

are being built. Electricity is being extended to the villages. The possession of a wireless apparatus is the usual thing in the families of collective farmers. The collective farmers are rapidly developing their own intellectuals. Large numbers of collective farmers are undergoing higher education. In the U.S.S.R. the age-old antithesis between town and country, between mental and physical labour is being successfully abolished.

In the capitalist countries, on the other hand, the most reactionary section of finance-capital has taken the road of liquidating all the democratic and social gains of the proletariat, peasantry and all working people. In Germany, Italy, Poland and a number of other States, the most barbarian and aggressive Fascist dictatorship has been established. Japanese militarism, supported by gigantic trusts and the reactionary clique of big landowners, is the uncontrolled master in the State, extorting huge resources from the workers and peasants for armaments and the conduct of its bloody adventures.

Under the heel of the Fascist dictatorship, not only workers, but also broad sections of the peasantry are pining at their disfranchisement and oppression; the peasants suffer from the land-hunger, despite the fact that Fascism everywhere declares itself to be the defender of the peasantry and praises peasant life.

There is also a rapid increase in reactionary tendencies in the countries of bourgeois democracy: France, Great Britain and the U.S.A. At the same time, in the Soviet Union, side by side with the building of Socialism and the flourishing of material and spiritual culture, we see the development and strengthening of real democracy for the masses, which finds its expression and legislative consolidation in the new Stalin Constitution, and also in the new law for the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. And no internal force menaces this democracy, since the exploiting classes have been completely liquidated, and all exploitation of man by man has been abolished, as are the conditions giving rise to political and social reaction. The exposed gang from the Trotsky-Zinovievite and Bukharinite camps, of Trotskyite terrorists, Hitlerite and Japanese spies, diversionists and traitors who dream of restoring capitalism, did not have nor have they now any social support in the country. Waging a consistent policy of peace, and not seeking any objects of conquest, Soviet democracy guards itself against external enemies by strengthening the invincible Red Army, which is flesh and blood of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

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Two worlds, two systems, confront each other, with the Soviet Socialist system having proved its superiority over the capitalist system.

How did the working people of the U.S.S.R. achieve the victory of Socialism?

They achieved it thanks to the firm leadership of the Bolshevik Party and the brilliant far-sightedness of its leaders, Lenin-Stalin.

The New Economic Policy (N.E.P.), which took the place of the War Communism of the civil war period, helped to restore the productive forces and to bring the country out of its ruin, on the basis not only of a political, but also an *economic alliance* with the mass of toiling peasants. The introduction of the tax in kind and the freedom granted to the peasants to sell their surplus produce on the market created an impulse to work, increased the income and the purchasing power of the peasantry and extended the market for State industrial commodities. The operation of the measures to strengthen the trade unions, to increase the productivity of labour and to cheapen the cost of the production of industrial goods, helped in its turn to do away with the "scissors" between the prices of industrial and agricultural commodities, increased the exchange of commodities between Socialist industry (the proletariat) and the villages, and led to the abolition of unemployment.

The restoration period came to an end, the alliance of workers and peasants was given a new economic basis, and on this basis the Bolshevik Party, headed by Stalin, led the great country to the fulfilment of the tremendous *Five-Year Plan* of the Socialist reconstruction of the whole of the national economy, to the collectivisation of peasant farms, and on this basis to the liquidation of the kulaks as the last representatives of the exploiting classes.

After the successful fulfilment of the first Five-Year Plan in 4 years, the Land of Soviets set to work with ever-growing enthusiasm to fulfil the second Five-Year Plan. Now the Socialist system holds undivided sway in the national economy of the U.S.S.R. The share of Socialist economy in the national income amounts to 99.1 per cent.; in industrial output, 99.8 per cent.; in agricultural production, 97.7 per cent.; and in the trade turnover, 100 per cent.

On the basis of the victory of Socialism, the alliance of the workers and peasants, of those engaged in industrial and agricultural labour, has been placed on a granite foundation. The transfer of millions of small, scattered peasant farms to the Socialist road, their unification in collective farms, brought about voluntarily by the peasants themselves

under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, and with the utmost support of the Soviet Government, all took place in a most severe struggle against the embittered and resisting kulaks and against all the last remnants of the parasitic classes, as well as in the struggle against enemies of the people, the Trotskyists and Bukharinists.

The world historic significance of this great social revolution is that it has revealed the *reality*, the *full possibility of achieving* the Socialist system, which is inconceivable without Socialist agriculture, without the Socialist reconstruction of small peasant farms.

The international lesson of collectivisation in the U.S.S.R. is that it has shown the real direction of this Socialist transformation.

Socialism has ceased to be a bogey in the hands of enemies of the working class with which to scare the peasants. The world has grown a head taller, mankind has been clearly shown its future and the road leading to it. There are two roads of social development. The Bolshevik road, the road of Lenin-Stalin, which established the dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of Soviet power, has led to the victory of Socialism and real democracy of the people, while the road of "reforms" and "peaceful transition," followed by the Social-Democratic and petty-bourgeois leaders of the peasantry, has thrown the people into the arms of the most predatory finance-capital and led them in a number of countries to the dictatorship of Fascism and to new wars.

In the superiority, proved by actual life, of the Soviet Socialist system over the capitalist system, in the Bolshevik road of development and struggle proved by history to be the correct one—and it is impossible to hide this from the workers and peasants of the capitalist countries—herein lies the inexhaustible source of the international revolutionising influence of the October Revolution. The extent and irresistibility of this influence upon the widest masses of the people can be judged if only by the extremely warm sympathy expressed by the heroic Spanish people towards the Soviet Union.

All capitalist classes and Governments are compelled to reckon with this sympathy of the masses of people for the U.S.S.R. The Stalin Constitution, the most democratic in the world, is becoming the programme of action of the workers, peasants and the working intellectuals of all the countries of the capitalist world.

THE SOVIET YOUTH

By RAYMOND GUYOT

TWENTY years! The Soviet Government is young. But a new generation of young people has already grown up on the ruins of the criminal old world, the world of exploitation of man by man, the world that has been destroyed for ever in the countries of the former "Tsarist Empire." The brilliant leaders of the proletariat, Lenin and Stalin, seem to say with a simplicity as great as the magnificence of their work: "Look! See the young generation that has grown up in the land of the Soviets! Let its strength, its culture, its valour, and its love of mankind be an example to all the peoples!"

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I have often had occasion to talk to young people in the Soviet Union about the conditions of the young working people in capitalist countries. I was always struck by their great surprise when they heard the names and doings of the big factory-owners, bankers, and police officials. And this is easy to understand. The young people who have grown up since the revolution only know from books and lectures what a factory-owner, a banker, or a police official is. When the young people of our countries are told this simple fact an expression of profound amazement comes into their eyes. And this, too, is easy to understand. The young people who live in capitalist countries are groaning under the yoke of poverty and suffering, exploitation and oppression.

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The wonder of our young people grows even more when they are given a picture of the life of young people in Russia before 1917. A similar picture can be seen in our days only in those countries which are crushed under the heel of Fascism, or in the colonies subject to imperialist oppression.

This picture can be "documented" by plentiful and often tragic examples. We must not forget the past of the Russian people in our propaganda; we must make our young people ponder over it, and prevent the professional slanderers of the Soviet Union from sowing doubt amongst them.

Let us look back at the old days. The central organ of the Bolshevik Party, "Pravda," publishes the following facts in its issue of June 28, 1912, under the caption: "Child Martyrs." Murashov, a boy of 14 years, lost a rouble and, fearing his master's anger, poisoned himself. Rogachev, a boy of 15, hanged himself because he had broken a pane of glass costing 3½ roubles and feared therefore that he would be dismissed.

Young girls were subjected to the severest exploita-

tion and ill-treatment, as they themselves relate in the "Nevsky Star" (1912):

"There are a great many of us young girls in Russia, unprotected, working as apprentices in different enterprises. Everywhere we are overwhelmed with abuse and fined. . . . More than one girl has come to prostitution through the assistant manager of our factory. If a girl wants to remain decent she is sacked. Every year we have several cases of young girls committing suicide. The reasons? Enslavement, loss of honour, shame."

The young people of the villages were in a still more desperate position. Here is the pledge that the women labourers of the landowner Count Potosky had to sign:

"I hereby pledge myself:

1. To go out to work at sunrise and to work until sunset;
2. If I leave work without legitimate cause, I must pay a double forfeit, not asking for any pay for the time of my work;
3. I pledge myself to go to work the moment I am called;
4. If the steward summons me to any work on Sundays or holidays I not entitled to refuse;
5. If I go away anywhere on weekdays or holidays without the permission of the steward, I must work to make up for these days;
6. If I fall sick or die my family must do my work in my place;
7. Under no circumstances can I leave work before the time is up."

Such was the life of young working people in the days of capitalism and the rule of the Tsar! This gloomy past is now but a grievous memory to the older people and a lesson to the younger generation.

How is this possible? How has this sharp change between the past and the present come about?

These are the questions that millions of young men and women are asking themselves all over the world, and not merely from curiosity, but chiefly because the young people of 1937, inspired by the example of the U.S.S.R. and spurred on by the successes of the People's Front, *are seeking ways and means* to escape from their present dreary, hopeless position.

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In their search for ways and means the young people of our time come upon those ways which were pointed out by Lenin and Stalin. To master the teaching of Lenin and Stalin, and train themselves in the spirit of these teachers of ours, this is indubitably the main task of the youth organisations which are striving to unite, train, and organise all young working people for the fight against reaction and Fascism.

The history of the Bolshevik Party gives the young

people valuable guidance still applicable in our day. The working people can win happiness only by waging a fierce and continuous fight against the forces of reaction, oppression and exploitation, and the whole people must take part in this fight. It is a long and difficult battle.

The Bolsheviks have shown us how to defend the interests of factory apprentices and how to organise them. Lenin himself drew up a list of demands for factory apprentices which remains a model to this day. The Bolsheviks teach us how to develop a network of schools, universities, and evening courses for the abolition of illiteracy, how to raise the cultural level of the young people.

The recent strike of the English apprentices, which involved over 85,000 youths, and the passionate desire "to study" expressed by the young people of Spain in the returns to a recent questionnaire—show what should be the basis of all our activity if we wish to be worthy of those who have given the world the happiest of young people.

The fight of the Bolsheviks for economic demands, and to assist young people in mastering the knowledge accumulated by mankind, at a time when big capital is intensifying its exploitation and Fascism is destroying the culture of centuries, these are factors which call for serious study on the part of the young people.

It was by this very way—fighting and studying—that the young people of old Russia succeeded in breaking free from the state of inertia and submissiveness, ignorance and backwardness, which they were in. It was due solely to fighting and studying that the young people were able to play such a heroic part in the October battles in 1917 for the overthrow of capitalism and then afterwards in defending the proletarian fatherland from the internal counter-revolution, and the foreign interventionists.

Many a splendid page in the history of this fight has been written by the young people, and these will inspire the young people of the capitalist countries and make them prepare energetically and enthusiastically to sacrifice themselves, if need be, for the cause of the revolution.

Keeping pace with history, the young people of the Soviet Union have entered with the same enthusiasm, energy and readiness for self-sacrifice into the building of Socialism, winning their happiness in this way. Now the youth of the Soviet land already hold happiness within their grasp; there is no more exploitation or oppression; planned Socialist economy has taken the place of capitalist anarchy; government in the interests of the whole of the working people has replaced government in the interests of a few tens of thousands of exploiters.

For the first time in history the young people have ample scope for the gratification of their cultural

aspirations, their need for mental and physical development, and the young people of the Soviet Union recognise their obligations towards collective social labour and their Socialist fatherland.

Such are the young people of the Soviet Union who excite the admiration of the whole civilised world. Such is the youthful generation that has been reared in the country of Lenin and Stalin.

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The young people are the future. No other country has merited more than the U.S.S.R. the title of "children's paradise." The foreigner visiting the Soviet Union is struck by the attention, care and affection lavished on children by the Communist Party, the Soviet Government, and the whole people. How often have I heard the words: "Here the children are the rulers." I remember in the years of food shortage, 1929-1931, when the kulaks, in their frenzied opposition to collectivisation, slaughtered thousands of cattle and caused a scarcity of meat and milk, and when milk in the towns was the privilege of invalids, children and aged people, how the old people would say with emotion but with the light of hope shining in their eyes: "Give the milk to the children; let them grow up strong and healthy. That is our greatest joy in the twilight of our life." Now there is plenty of milk and food of all kinds, not only for children, but for adults as well. And the children are still "the rulers."

In the Soviet Union children are cared for even before their birth. Thanks to the system of consultation centres for women, the provision of leave with pay for mothers before and after childbirth, free accommodation for mothers in maternity homes, the new-born child comes into a world of attention and love. In 1913 there were only nine maternity and child welfare centres throughout the whole of Russia. At present there are 4,175 consultation centres on the books of which last year there were 22½ million women.

For children from two months to three years the Soviet Government is organising a whole network of crèches at an amazingly rapid pace. In these crèches the children get the food and medical attendance they require. According to Soviet law the mother is entitled to leave her work during the day for a definite time in order to breast-feed her child. She is paid full rate for this time. Crèches are being built not only for working women in the towns, workers' settlements, machine and tractor stations and State farms, but also for collective farm women in the villages. Here they can leave their children while they are working. There are over one million places in crèches in the U.S.S.R.

For children from three to seven years there are kindergartens. In 1936 there were 23,600 of these, attended by 1,030,000 children. These figures refer

only to the kindergartens directly controlled by the People's Commissariat of Education. To these must be added the numerous kindergartens organised by municipal Soviets, institutions, parents' groups, etc. For example, school organisations have opened 36,000 playgrounds for children under school age, where 3,000,000 children spend their playtime.

Here is an interesting example of the care lavished on children in the U.S.S.R. In the Orekhovo-Zuevo district in the Moscow Province there are 12 consultation centres for mothers and children, and 1,840 places in crèches. In other words, in this one district alone there are more consultation centres than there were in the whole of Tsarist Russia in 1913.

And how the children are petted! They are petted by their parents, by the people, by the Soviet Government, by Comrade Stalin. But they are not spoiled. They are not pampered, capricious, wilful children, but sturdy, truthful, intelligent children who will make proud strong men and women.

At seven years a new stage in the development of the child begins: school. Article 121 of the Soviet Constitution states:

"The citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to education. This right is ensured by compulsory universal elementary education, by the fact that education, including higher education, is free, by a system of payment of state stipends to the overwhelming majority of students in higher education establishments, by instruction in schools being given in the native language, by the organisation in factories, state farms, machine and tractor stations and collective farms of free, vocational, technical and agricultural instruction for the working people."

In 1913 Lenin wrote in an article entitled: "On the Question of the Policy of the Ministry of Education":

"The number of children and juveniles of school age in Russia is over 20 per cent. of the population, but the number of pupils attending school is only 4.7 per cent., i.e., one-fifth of the total number of children! This means that nearly *four-fifths* of the children and juveniles of Russia are *deprived* of education! Russia is the only country left in Europe—the only savage country—in which the masses of the people are so *robbed* of education, enlightenment, and knowledge."

We may thank our beloved leader Lenin to-day. Now the U.S.S.R. is the only country in Europe where illiteracy among children is completely abolished. To-morrow the U.S.S.R. will be the only country in the world where illiteracy has become a thing of the past.

In order to get an idea of the extent to which children have been drawn to the schools we have only to consider that in 1914 only 7,800,000 children were attending school, whereas by 1937 these figures have increased to 30 millions. According to the 1937 plan 930 more new schools will be built by the end of the year, with places for 528,000 children. Here is another striking example of the spread of education in the U.S.S.R. Before the revolution there was only

one elementary school for 180 children in the village of Zamostye in the Kursk Province. Only 15 people had a secondary education and these were children of priests and merchants.

Now this village has two elementary schools and one secondary school, with an attendance of 550 children. There is also a club, five Red Corners for study, and two schools for the abolition of illiteracy. In the 20 years since the Soviet Government came into power over 200 people in this village have obtained secondary and higher education; 36 people have gone through training colleges and become teachers; 14 people have qualified as engineers, and 11 are now Red Army commanders. Four sons of the collective farmer Mikhail Ivanovich Kalamyitsev have obtained a higher education and all are working as engineers in industry and agriculture.

No other country in the world can record such achievements in the education of the young. But how many countries, bowed beneath the terror of reaction and Fascism, correspond to the description given by Lenin in 1913 of the Tsarist regime! While Hitler is trampling upon science and burning books which propagate progressive ideas the young people of the Soviet Union are studying to carry out the testament of Lenin:

"One can only become a Communist when one enriches one's mind with the wealth of knowledge that has been accumulated by mankind."

The rapid increase in the number of schools and the abolition of illiteracy are not the only aspects of child education in the U.S.S.R. A more striking aspect is the attention which is paid by educationalists to the development of the individual aspirations, capabilities and talents of the child. In school, in Pioneer groups or summer camps children study drawing and painting, music and poetry, physical culture and general hygiene, handicrafts and science from their earliest years.

Thanks to this education, Soviet children have every opportunity for the best mental and physical development. Thanks to this education, the Soviet Union has produced children of wonderful talent who have astounded the whole world. Soviet children carried off the prizes at the international violin contest in Brussels, and the first prizes at the third international piano contest in Warsaw. At the rifle-shooting contest organised in 1937 between Soviet and American children the Soviet children won. These instances could be multiplied.

Again, though perhaps this is not so well known, over 300,000 children's drawings have been collected in the Central House of Child and Education in Moscow, and many of these have been exhibited in Paris, Philadelphia, London, New York and Glasgow. Again, thanks to the organisation of

technical instruction in schools, children's homes and Young Pioneer Palaces, children master technique and develop their inventive talents, so that young Kolya Osipov was able to build an electric motor, weighing only 0.1 gr., which he presented to the Tenth Congress of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union.

One more example of the attitude to children in the Soviet Union: Here is the story told by the mother of Rosa Tamarkina, the young pianist who took the second prize at the international piano contest in Warsaw:

"Rosa was only six years of age when it was discovered that she had a talent for music. A year later, although she was still too young to enter the Kiev Conservatory, the professors who had perceived her talent allowed her to come to the school. . . . When I heard that there was a special class for children in the Moscow Conservatory I came to Moscow in 1932 with my daughter and asked them to transfer her from the Kiev Conservatory to the one in Moscow. The Government placed every means at my disposal of encouraging and developing her talents. She was accepted, given a scholarship, and provided with living accommodation. . . ."

What mother, a plain woman of the people, could say in any other country that the Government helped her to discover her daughter's talent and, having discovered it, gave her every opportunity of developing this talent, enabling a girl of working-class origin to become a prizewinner in an international music contest at 17 years of age?

The chief characteristic of the system of education in the land of Socialism, which fundamentally distinguishes it from the educational systems in capitalist countries, is that the opportunity for a child to obtain an education and develop its talents does not depend on the material resources of the parents, but on the capabilities and love for study of the child itself. In the capitalist world education is for the privileged minority, while here in the U.S.S.R. education is for the whole people.

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In the same way also the Soviet Government organises the physical training of the young people. All the young people of the country can take up physical culture and devote themselves to any sport.

It is a well-known fact that in the Tsarist Empire sport was practised and encouraged only in the universities, and not always there. (It is true that games like wrestling and "gorodki"—a type of heavy skittles—were commonly played among the people.) At the present time, however, nearly 10 million people engage in sport. There are over 100 large sports clubs in the U.S.S.R. The Dynamo Sports Club has 397 branches which engage in 26 different kinds of sport. It has 2,645 stadiums, or buildings of the kind. The Spartak Sports Club has 150,000 members.

In 1932 it was decided to give a badge, G.T.O. ("Ready for Labour and Defence"), to athletes who passed certain tests. The Brevet Sportif Populaire (People's Sports Certificate), instituted in France in 1936, is something similar to this. Over two million young people in the U.S.S.R. proudly wear the G.T.O. badge. There is also a second (higher) degree G.T.O. badge which includes among the tests ski-jumping from a spring-board and parachute-jumping. Twenty-five thousand people have already passed the tests for the second degree G.T.O.

Owing to the wide opportunities afforded to the young people, to the material means placed at the disposal of the clubs by the Government and the trade unions, and to the great attention given to the training of instructors, the sports movement in the U.S.S.R., young as it is, has already produced international champions.

The Soviet footballers who have played more than once in matches in several European capitals are well known. And who has not heard of the sprinting record-holders, the brothers Znamenski; of the Soviet champion skaters and parachutists, and of the mountain-climbers who storm the Elbrus and the Pamir mountains every year in hundreds? A new phenomenon, which is facilitated by the annual three weeks' or months' vacation with pay, is the wide extension of tourist traffic and excursions. Athletics, cycling, boxing, swimming and tennis have also become popular sports.

Thanks to sport and to the physical training which begins from school-going age, the young people of the U.S.S.R. are strong, bold and fearless. Who has not heard of the exploits of the Soviet fliers and their world records? Their fame is universal. Not long ago (September, 1937) the Soviet dirigible—U.S.S.R. V 6—broke the world record for duration of flight. The dirigible stayed 130 hours in the air.

Would you like to know who the crew are? Among the 16 young people who compose the crew of the dirigible there are nine Y.C. Leaguers and a few "old" members, brought up in the ranks of the Y.C.L. and now members of the Party. Who are these splendid Y.C. Leaguers? Here is what Comrade M. Ustman, Secretary of the Y.C.L. Committee of the dirigible squadron, replies:

"V. A. Ustinovich is a railwayman's son. Before this he was commander or assistant commander in small airships. He was engineer on the USSR-V.6. He is one of the best engineer aeronauts. He was commander of two runs in which the participants were young people—one from Moscow to Leningrad. On skis, the other from Moscow to Sverdlovsk on bicycles. These runs were very important as the participants followed the track of the future dirigible lines.

"The pilot of the dirigible A. P. Belkin, a Y.C. Leaguer and 'candidate' for the Party, was assistant commander on the smaller airships. He was chairman of the trade union branch committee of the squadron. Now he is in

charge of a Y.C.L. study group. N.V. Zubov is a worker's son, and has been in the Y.C.L. since 1926. When he had finished his course at the aeronautic school in Moscow he was steersman on aeroplanes.

"T. S. Kulagrin is a Y.C. Leaguer and a Party member. He is assistant engineer. In the Moscow-Sverdlovsk-Moscow run he was ship's engineer.

"A. F. Mozgalev worked four years on different dirigibles; he is a Y.C. Leaguer and a pilot. He took part in the Moscow Sverdlovsk run. M. V. Nikitin, a Y.C. Leaguer and an air mechanic has been working five years. His motors always work excellently. N. I. Golyakov, a Y.C. Leaguer, is the youngest participant in the flight. He is only 21. He did his course at the aeronautic school and is now taking the last course of the Workers' Faculty. He is a daring and courageous pilot. While learning to be a pilot he passed the parachutist first-class test.

"A. I. Vurmakin, air mechanic, has been in the Y.C.L. since 1928. He finished his course at the aviation technicum in Saratov. In the Moscow-Sverdlovsk-Moscow run Comrade Vurmakin worked in an exemplary manner."

There is a Soviet song which says:

"In order that your mind and body may be young
Do not fear the heat or the cold
But harden yourself like steel!"

Hardened as steel—such are the young people of the Soviet Union!

* * * *

This steeled generation of young people has the right to work, a right consolidated in Article 118 of the Constitution. Here work is no longer a matter of exploitation but a matter of honour, courage and heroism. As everyone knows, unemployment in the U.S.S.R. was abolished finally in 1929-1930. Thanks to the development of factory and workshop apprentice schools, the organisation of a whole network of schools for tractor drivers, combine operators, and technicians in the villages, thanks to the wide access to higher education, the young people of the Soviet Union are acquiring high qualifications and passionately love their work. In the metallurgical and machine-building plants, in pits and mines, in construction work where bigger and more difficult jobs are done, as, for example, at Dnieprostroy or the Moscow underground railway, the majority of the young people are former shock brigaders, now Stakhanovites. They love the work which they do in order to increase the might of their fatherland, the U.S.S.R., in order to master its vast resources, increase production and general prosperity—in a word, they work in order that the happiness of the whole people may steadily increase.

This steeled generation of young people has political rights, consolidated in Article 125 of the Constitution. With the help of the Soviet Government the young people freely develop their cultural, sports and tourist organisations, take an active part in the Osoaviachim (Society for assisting in defence and aviation and chemical construction) and extend on an increasingly wide scale the wonderful work of the Y.C.L. which now has 4,000,000 members and

is the pride of progressive young people all over the world.

The right to elect and be elected is accorded to all young men and women who have reached the age of 18, as well as to all Red Army men and Red Army commanders. Even the most advanced democratic countries cannot boast of these things. At the present time, when the campaign for the general elections to be held on December 12 is in full swing, it is worth seeing with what zeal and enthusiasm the young people are preparing to choose their representatives, those whose honoured task it will be to lead the country to new victories.

This steeled generation of youth is building a splendid family. Socialist morality and love are the basis on which the union of young men and women are built. Work is guaranteed them, and their children will be received by the country like rays of sunshine.

This steeled generation of youth knows and fulfils its obligations as defined in various articles of the Constitution: Article 130 (on observing the Constitution), Article 131 (on defending Socialist property), Article 132 (military service in the Red Army as an honourable duty), Article 133 (the defence of the fatherland as a sacred duty). All the young people are unanimously prepared to rise as one man at the call of the Soviet Government and Comrade Stalin to defend the frontiers of their Socialist fatherland and crush any enemy who attacks it. The young people of the Soviet Union are deeply devoted to the cause of peace; it is precisely in the interests of world peace that they are preparing to make the greatest sacrifices in order to repel the attacks of the Fascist aggressors, who are threatening the democracies and peoples of the world.

Here is a characteristic example of the patriotic feelings which inspire the youth and the peoples of the U.S.S.R. This summer a collective farmer, Dmitri Fedorovich Mikheyev, from the "Twelfth Anniversary of October" collective farm in Kuibyshev Province, visited the Special Far Eastern Army and had an interview with Vassily Constantinovich Blucher, Marshal of the Soviet Union. The old collective farmer had come to the Far East to see his three sons who were on military service. He brought along his fourth son, Fedor, a lad of 19, as a volunteer for the Red Army. Dmitri Fedorovich said that his fifth son Ivan, a combine-operator, was also training to be a tank-driver and asked to be accepted as a volunteer into the ranks of the special Far Eastern Army.

Before his departure for the Far East Dmitri Fedorovich had written a letter to Marshal Blucher saying that as well as the sons already serving in the Red Army he had four young sons, schoolboys, who were also dreaming of joining the Far Eastern Army,

and were energetically engaging in physical culture and learning rifle-shooting with this end in view. The old collective farmer asked that his sons be formed into a tank squad. Comrade Blucher granted the request. The young combine-operator, Fedor Mikeyev, with the help of his commanders and the Y.C. L. organisation, became a tank-driver after a few months' training, and learned to be a good machine-gunner.

The family of the collective farmer Mikeyev is not the only one of its kind in the U.S.S.R. Thousands of Mikeyevs are ready at any moment to join the Workers' and Peasants' Army and defend with their lives the land of the Soviets, the cause of Socialism and Communism.

This steeled generation of youth is deeply imbued with the spirit of internationalism. No other young people in the world have done so much for heroic Republican Spain and China as the young people of the Soviet Union. The brave seamen, sailing with their cargo ships from the Black Sea ports to the Mediterranean which is infested with Fascist submarines; the women and children warmly welcoming the children from the Basque country, from Santander and Asturias; the doctors and nurses who tend with loving care the grievously wounded who are being restored to health in the Soviet Union; everywhere the people and the youth "are only fulfilling their duty, in giving all possible help to the revolu-

tionary masses of Spain," for they are convinced that help to Republican Spain is "the concern of all progressive and advanced mankind."

* * * *

This splendid example of the Soviet youth is the most valuable possession of the youth of the world. In every country the youthful toilers are fighting for better living conditions, for a decent, free and cultured life, for the preservation of peace. This is a life-and-death struggle against reaction and Fascism, against all the agents of Fascism—the Trotskyists and Bukharinists, who by wrecking and espionage are trying to destroy the fortress of peace and freedom, the Soviet Union, who are endeavouring by lies and slander to weaken the sympathy and affection felt by young people all over the world for the Soviet Union.

The young people of the Soviet Union are not only a model for, but also true and powerful friends of, the young workers of the world in their way to progress.

Happy Soviet youth, whose future is secure! The radiant future foretold by Lenin when he called on the youth in 1920 to do their duty:—

"The generation which is now 15 years of age will see the Communist society and will itself build that society. And it must know that the whole task of its life is the building of this society."

Happy Soviet youth—the youth of the world envies you! It will follow in your footsteps!

THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR MOVEMENT

TWO ANNIVERSARIES

By JOSE DIAZ

THE Twentieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the U.S.S.R. coincides with the first anniversary of the heroic defence of Madrid.

It is with a tremendous feeling of enthusiasm that the workers, peasants and all anti-Fascists in Spain are solemnly celebrating this anniversary of the Land of Soviets. We recognise the tremendous importance of the U.S.S.R. for the working people of the whole world; we recognise the aid and support given to our struggle by the lessons, the experience of the U.S.S.R. and the unsurpassed solidarity of the Soviet people with the Spanish people.

The solidarity of the working people of the U.S.S.R. with Spain has left an indelible feeling in the hearts of all Spaniards, of love and gratitude towards

the Land of Socialism, its Government, its people and its leader, the genius, Comrade Stalin.

On this day, when we are summing up the results of what we have done and have still to do to win victory, we must emphasise the importance for our struggle of the lessons and experience of the Soviet Union.

Our war for national independence against the Fascist aggressors has many features similar to those of the heroic and victorious struggle of the Soviet peoples against the white-guard counter-revolutionary armies and foreign intervention. The workers and peasants of the Soviet Union were isolated from the outside world, and had to fight in conditions of colossal difficulty. Their difficulties were even greater

than ours, they had to fight against powerful armies, well armed and equipped by the imperialist Powers. Nevertheless the Soviet Government was victorious, and on the twentieth anniversary of its existence the U.S.S.R. stands before the whole world as an indomitable fortress in the economic, political and military sense, where 170 million free people, under the leadership of the glorious Bolshevik Party, have achieved successes unparalleled in the history of mankind—a prosperous and happy life, and the most stable, profound, truly Socialist democracy.

But it was in struggle that the Soviet people won the right to a happy life. Their struggle was led by the Bolshevik Party, which steadily pursued the final aim and did not lose heart in face of either the gigantic difficulties it met on the way, or of the tremendous tasks that had to be solved.

Our own experience has convinced us of the extremely great work performed by the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia under the leadership of the great Party of Lenin-Stalin. In defending Republican Madrid, we were inspired by the wonderful example of the defence of Soviet Petrograd in the civil war years. Can anybody deny that the persistent and stubborn defence of Petrograd taught much to the defenders of Madrid? Despite the hesitation and weakness of those who could not master this wonderful lesson of the struggle of a people for their freedom and independence, the experience of Petrograd convinced the defenders of Madrid that it would hold out against its enemies just as, in its day, Petrograd did; on condition that the people made the necessary sacrifices, organised their forces, and were able to mobilise all means for the struggle without losing heart in critical moments. By following this example, if only in part, Madrid was able to offer victorious resistance to the fiercest attacks of the enemy, and so to-day we are celebrating the first anniversary of its glorious defence.

The Communist Party of Spain was one of the chief initiators of the heroic defence of Madrid.

During the course of the whole war we must be guided by the same feeling which guided us during the days of the defence of Madrid. The heroism of the Spanish people was displayed not only in Madrid. In the Asturias, in the Basque country, in Guadajara and Posoblanco, we saw the same heroism, the same fighting spirit of the Spanish people as in Madrid, irrespective of the circumstances under which battles took place. Our people yield place to no other people in heroism. They are courageous and self-sacrificing, they accomplish the most difficult tasks, they are ready to "storm the heavens" with their bare fists.

We Communists have unswerving faith in the people; this faith has become still stronger in the course of the sixteen months of severe warfare. But

faith in the strength and ability of the people is not in itself enough for victory. What is needed is that all the forces of the people, all means and possibilities be mobilised and rapidly organised. Our Party has stubbornly insisted upon the fulfilment of this essential condition for victory. It spoke of it from the very beginning of the war, and in part even considerably earlier. What were the proposals put forward and insisted upon by our Party? It fought for the creation of a regular army on the basis of conscription; for the creation of a powerful war industry; for the radical purging of the army command; for the purging of the rear; for the correct organisation of industry and agriculture, and for an increase in the productivity of labour; for the development and consolidation of the people's front; for political and trade union unity in the ranks of the proletariat.

This work of our Party pursued unremittingly throughout the whole of the war, and reinforced by such deeds as the creation of the Fifth Regiment of the People's Militia as the basis of the First Army Corps of the People's Army, and the drawing into the regular army of hundreds of thousands of our best fighters even before the introduction of conscription—shows the firmness and consistency of the political line of our Party.

Much has been done to solve these big war problems, and we must honestly admit that it has been done chiefly and almost exclusively under the *present* People's Front Government. But that is not all, considerably more must be done. Therefore, we must not delay, but must push forward rapidly along the road mapped out.

Let us look at what has been carried out of the tasks previously laid down. Have we yet a war industry which corresponds to the possibilities we possess? So far, no. Has our army been completely purged of spies, traitors and vacillating elements? Data exist to show that enemies are still working their way into the ranks of our army, even to-day, although to a lesser degree than a few months ago. Have we been able thoroughly to purge the rear? No, not by any means. The rear is still infested with fascists and their agents.

We must solve these urgent questions at once. *We have enough strength and means to create a war industry.* We have worker-experts, machinery, and the raw materials required for it. All that is needed is on the basis of the nationalisation of the chief branches of industry and a correct wages policy, to bring about concentrated action on the part of the Government, the trade unions and the workers.

Our army must be thoroughly purged of traitors and spies. Can we do this by restricting ourselves merely to being vigilant towards the intrigues of our enemies and to punishing the criminals who demoralise our troops? This, of course, is a neces-

sary thing, but it is inadequate for the attainment of our goal. At the same time as we purge the army of our fighters, suspicious and vacillating elements, we must *promote and award* honest fighters and commanders of the People's Army. The war has brought forward thousands of capable commanders and soldiers, individuals who are absolutely loyal to the cause of the people, who have come from the people, and have acquired knowledge of military affairs in the heat of the struggle. The war has also helped to test how far many military specialists are loyal to the Republic and the cause of the people. All these commanders should be given positions of command according to the ability displayed by them in the war against the rebels and interventionists, and irrespective of their past work and education. These commanders should be surrounded by the care and attention of the Government and the people.

We must thoroughly purge the rear. Every day new plots, numerous groups of spies and nests of traitors are being discovered. Among these the most abominable are the Trotskyists. Our Party long ago unmasked the Trotskyists as enemies of the people, as agents of Fascism and allies of Franco. The police continue to discover illegal Trotskyist organisations, and every new exposure gives fresh proof of their treachery to the Republic and their connections with the Fascists.

The position behind the lines will only be reliable when we have mercilessly eradicated all enemies there: the Trotskyists and Fascists as well as speculators and food hoarders. The fighting people who are making sacrifices in order to win the war must be assured that there is order behind the lines, that nobody will plunge a knife into the backs of honest fighters, that nobody will dare to speculate on the hunger of the people. The war demands many sacrifices, and the Spanish people are making them with great heroism. But if there is a limited amount of bread, it must be divided among all the working people, and whoever tries to take the share of another, or to take more than he has a right to do, must receive the severe punishment he deserves.

All these problems and other problems of the war and revolution must be solved without delay, with military speed. In my report at the enlarged plenary

session of the C.C. of the Party in March, 1937, I said: "In the eighth month of the war, decisive importance attaches to the problem of the speed with which decisions are carried out. Just imagine what results we would have achieved, as regards the outcome of the war, had we, from the very start, carried into practice our slogans for the creation of a regular army on the basis of conscription, for the establishment of a single command, the creation of reserves, the development of a powerful war industry, etc.? Had we carried all this into practice the enemy would not only not be at the gates of Madrid, would not only not have occupied Malaga and other towns, but we should have surrounded the enemy in the last redoubts of the country and the outcome of the war would have been in our favour." To-day the task of speeding up is still more acute. The successes of the enemy in the North make it our duty to lose no time in utilising all our forces and resources, to speed up the development of all the productive possibilities and to strengthen our fighting power to the utmost.

During the sixteen months that have passed, we have succeeded, in the heat of the struggle, in uniting the chief working-class and anti-Fascist organisations of the country. The creation of the National Youth Alliance, the successes on the road to creating a single proletarian party, the accord between the trade union centres, and the strengthening of the people's front of late—all these raise before us the problem of unity on a still wider scale. Madrid was a splendid example of unity: it is a most valuable piece of experience for us. If Madrid was able to hold out successfully against the fierce attacks of the enemy, it was due first and foremost to the common efforts of all anti-Fascists, to the united struggle of the Spanish people.

The Communist Party is continuing its work in this direction with enthusiasm and energy. Armed with the rich experience acquired in daily battles, convinced that only by uniting our forces shall we be victorious, inspired by the glorious example of the great Party of Bolsheviki—the C.P.S.U.—the forge of the freedom and happiness of the Soviet people—we shall continue henceforth as well to fight untiringly for the interests of the people, for victory in the war, standing *firmly* at our fighting post, in order to bring our struggle to its conclusion, to drive out the aggressors and destroy Fascism once and for all.

GREETINGS FROM THE C.C. OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN

(Dolores and Negrin)

(On the occasion of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, José Díaz, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, sent the following greetings to the peoples of the U.S.S.R.):

“Free peoples of the Soviet Union! You are about to celebrate the Twentieth Anniversary of your glorious revolution, which placed into the hands of the workers and peasants, into the hands of all working people the means of production, science, culture and art—all spheres of human creative work. You have raised industry, science and art to such heights during the last twenty years as can only be achieved under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

“To-day, on the Twentieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, tremendous masses of working people throughout the world, in whose hearts dwell the ideals of social justice, progress and peace, are mustered round the Soviet peoples. Among these masses of people a prominent place is occupied by the Spanish people, their heroic fighters, their workers and peasants who ardently love the Soviet Union and know its magnanimity and warm solidarity. On behalf of the Communist Party and the whole of the Spanish people fighting with indomitable tenacity against the aggressors, I send you ardent greetings and assure you that we shall conquer all difficulties, we shall succeed in destroying Fascism and driving it out of our land for ever.

“Long live the great Soviet people and their beloved leader, Comrade Stalin!

“Long live international solidarity!

“Long live the Spain that has driven the aggressors out, Spain free and progressive!”

*Greetings from Dolores Ibarruri to the Working
People of the U.S.S.R.*

“Brothers of the Great Socialist Fatherland! It is with the deepest joy and satisfaction that you are about to celebrate the Twentieth Anniversary of your liberating revolution.

“We, on the other hand, are experiencing the horrors of war, in a bloody struggle symbolic of the struggle between the forces of the past and the forces of the future—the forces of peace and of progress.

“In these days, so auspicious for you, so severe for us, we send you our ardent revolutionary greetings, and seize upon the cry coming from the trenches

which are drenched in the blood of our heroes:

“Long live the U.S.S.R.! Long live Comrade Stalin—the defender of heroic Spain! Long live free and democratic Spain!”

*The Head of the Spanish Government—Negrin—to
the Soviet Union.*

“The Twentieth Anniversary of the Soviet State is an instructive example, especially for Spain. In a minimum space of time, the U.S.S.R. has succeeded in making gigantic progress along the road mapped out by the genius, Lenin. With exceptional perspicacity, Stalin has directed the life of the people along the road upon which it has achieved the historic stage when the ideal has become transformed into life.

“The Twentieth Anniversary of the Soviet Union occurs at a time of fierce, merciless interventionist war in Spain. Therefore, knowing the tremendous character of Soviet construction and other aspects of Soviet life, I send my warmest greetings to that great people, the vanguard fighter for indivisible peace and for the right of peoples to free self-government.

“The Soviet Union is uninterruptedly pursuing its line of defending peace. The Soviet Union came to support the League of Nations at a time when other Powers had already begun their hostile actions against it. A series of obstacles has been systematically put forward against the Soviet criterion of indivisible peace down to this very day. This principle is constantly being attacked. The principle of collective security is being countered by one-sided acts having no force at all. Concessions are being made to the instigators of war. In face of the invasion of Spain, there is being applied the principle of so-called ‘non-intervention,’ which bears in it the embryo of a future European war. In Europe the right of peoples to free self-government and to determine their own fate according to their own wishes, is absent. Under the sign of Fascism, which in itself is the negation of human dignity and civilisation, the rough mask of voracious imperialism, fraught with racial and other prejudices—the totalitarian States are waging a war of intervention on the territory of other European States and their colonies. For Fascism no value at all attaches either to the independence of other nations, or to the age-old dignity of countries marked by a fruitful and civilising mission that has been extended over many years.

“The Soviet Union has demonstrated to Europe its

role as a civilised people, which is the disinterested friend of peace and maintains respect for other peoples.

“For this it deserves the gratitude of the Spanish people and the admiration of the Government. The Soviet Union, in pursuing the principles of the revolu-

tion, the Twentieth Anniversary of which we are celebrating, has become the most outstanding defender of international law, of the independence and freedom of peoples. Therefore, it deserves the gratitude not only of Spain, but of the whole of the civilised world.”

THE STRUGGLE OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE AGAINST THE JAPANESE AGGRESSOR AND THE GREAT SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN THE U.S.S.R.

By WAN MIN

THE Chinese people who are fighting for their national independence and freedom against the Japanese aggressors, meet the twentieth anniversary of the Great Socialist Revolution with feelings of great joy and enthusiasm.

Twenty years ago, the Party of Bolsheviks, headed by the brilliant leaders Lenin and Stalin, set the whole of mankind an example of the victorious struggle of the peoples for national and social emancipation. As far back as the year 1912, the great leader, Lenin, in his article “Democracy and Populism in China,” wrote that the great Chinese people

“knows not only how to bemoan its age-long slavery, not only how to dream of liberty and equality, but also how to fight against the age-old oppressors of China.”

The present growing heroic struggle of the Chinese people against the Japanese barbarians clearly confirms the brilliant estimation of the Chinese people made by the great Lenin.

Six years ago, when the Japanese fascist militarists moved their troops forward for the seizure of Chinese territory in order to enslave the Chinese people, the situation in China was very serious. Despite the growing danger of the developing Japanese aggression, the leaders of the Kuomintang and the Nanking Government continued their policy of armed offensive against the anti-Japanese Red Army and of suppressing the national-liberation movement of the masses of the people. The struggle and friction between the various political and military groupings, both inside and outside the Kuomintang, continued to intensify. And in this connection the Japanese aggressors, besides their military offensive, openly steered a course towards “conquering China by the hands of the Chinese themselves,” by fanning the flames of internal strife between the various political and mili-

tary forces of China. At that time, even some of the friends of China raised doubts as to whether, in the given situation, the Chinese people would be able to find correct and effective ways and means of resisting Japan and saving the fatherland.

Facts prove that the Chinese people, and first and foremost their class-conscious and organised vanguard—the Communist Party—have been able to find the only correct way to their national salvation, the road of establishing an anti-Japanese national united front of all the really popular forces in the country on the basis of collaboration between the two decisive political parties—the Kuomintang and the C.P.

On September 18, 1931, in connection with the Japanese occupation of Mukden, the Communist Party advanced the slogan: “Drive the Japanese aggressors out of China by the forces of the armed people.”

At the beginning of 1933, in connection with the advance of the Japanese troops in Jehol, the C.C. of the C.P. of China and the Revolutionary Military Council of the Chinese Red Army openly proposed to the Kuomintang troops that an agreement be concluded with the Red Army for joint struggle against the Japanese aggressors on the basis of the following very simple and necessary conditions: (1) the cessation of the offensive against the Red Army and the Soviet regions; (2) democratic liberties to be extended to the people and, in particular, freedom of organisation and of the arming of anti-Japanese volunteer detachments.

On August 1, 1935, the C.C. of the Communist Party and the C.E.C. of the Chinese Soviet Republic jointly appealed to the entire Chinese people to set up an anti-Japanese national united front, to organise collaboration between the Kuomintang, the Com-

munist Party and other organisations for the creation of an All-Chinese Government of National Defence and an All-Chinese United Anti-Japanese Army, in order to mobilise all forces in the country for armed resistance to Japanese aggression.

In November, 1935, the C.C. of the C.P. of China, guided by the new line of tactics of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and the historic report made by Comrade Dimitrov to the Congress, once more appealed to all political parties, groups and military units in China for the calling of an All-Chinese Conference of "national salvation" to discuss and realise the proposals of the C.P. of China for the creation of an anti-Japanese national united front.

In August, 1936, the C.C. of the C.P. of China addressed an open letter to the C.E.C. and Party members of the Kuomintang, proposing the restoration of collaboration between the Kuomintang and the C.P. of China on the basis of a joint struggle against the Japanese aggressors so as to drive them out of China and to set up an All-Chinese united democratic republic.

In February, 1937, the C.C. of the C.P. of China proposed to the Third Plenary Session of the C.E.C. of the Kuomintang, the main concrete conditions and measures requisite for the establishment of collaboration between the Kuomintang and the C.P. of China.

However, in consequence of the pressure brought to bear by Japanese imperialism, the resistance offered by the pro-Japanese elements and the hesitations and incorrect line adopted by a number of influential leaders of the Kuomintang, the negotiations between the Kuomintang and the C.P. of China dragged on, and for a long time failed to produce the desired concrete results.

Hence there began to be talk to the effect that although the idea of the anti-Japanese national united front was a good thing in itself, the Chinese people were not in a position to carry it out in practice. The Japanese aggressors particularly reckoned upon such sentiments. That was why they gathered courage to conduct a new tremendous armed offensive against China, reckoning, moreover, upon a rapid and easy military victory.

But, as we all know now, the Japanese aggressors miscalculated on this occasion. Thanks to the efforts of the Communists and progressive elements of the Kuomintang, as well as to the will of a considerable part of the army and broad masses of the people, the reply to this new military offensive of the Japanese aggressors was the establishment with unprecedented rapidity of an anti-Japanese national united front and of collaboration between the Kuomintang and C.P. of China.

On September 23, 1937, all the leading Chinese newspapers published a declaration of the C.C. of the C.P. of China to all the Chinese people on the con-

clusion of an agreement between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, while the following day, September 24, Chiang Kai-shek, the head of the Nanking Government and the Kuomintang, published an official interview—a reply to the declaration of the C.P. of China in which a published statement was made on the establishment of collaboration between the Kuomintang and the C.P. of China.

On what basis was this agreement reached?

The agreement between the C.P. of China and the Kuomintang was concluded with the corresponding mutual concessions on the basis of a joint struggle against the common enemy in the interests of the whole of the Chinese people.

In its last declaration to all the Chinese people regarding the agreement between the C.P. of China and the Kuomintang, the C.P. of China declared:

1. The three popular principles of Sun Yat-sen are fully applicable to the present situation in China, and our Party will fight for them to be resolutely carried into practice.

2. All policies of violence designed to overthrow the power of the Kuomintang, and the movement for the slogan of "Red China" (i.e., the Sovietisation of China—V. M.) are abandoned; the policy of the forcible confiscation of landowners' estates is discontinued.

3. With a view to uniting the governmental power throughout the country, the present Soviet Government is abolished and local democratic self-government is established.

4. The nomenclature and numeration of the units of the Red Army are abolished; the Red Army is included in the united people's revolutionary army and is subordinated to the Military Council of the National Government.

At the same time, the C.P. of China demanded that the Kuomintang alter its incorrect policy, in order to create a common basis for a joint struggle with the C.P. for the national salvation of the Chinese people. In its address to the Third Plenary Session of the C.E.C. of the Kuomintang, the C.C. of the C.P. of China demanded from the Kuomintang:

1. The cessation of the civil war and the unification of all forces of the nation to resist the foreign enemy.

2. The extension to the people of freedom of speech, press and organisation, etc., and the release of all political prisoners.

3. The convening of a conference of national salvation of representatives of all anti-Japanese political parties, groups, army units, and public organisations.

4. The rapid culmination of the preparations for armed struggle against Japanese imperialism.

5. The improvement of the conditions of the mass of people.

News is available to the effect that the Kuomintang

and the C.P. of China have already in the main come to agreement on a common political platform of joint struggle for national independence, for resistance to Japan and to save the fatherland.

Why did the Chinese Communists agree to recognise the three popular principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and declare their willingness to conduct a struggle to see them resolutely put into practice? Because the Communists, as the bearers and perpetuators of the best ideas and progressive traditions of mankind, see in the 40 years' revolutionary activities of Dr. Sun Yat-sen the positive traditions and heritage of their own revolutionary predecessors. Because, despite essential differences between Sun Yat-senism and Communism, the struggle for the three main principles of Sun Yat-sen: nationalism, democracy and the doctrine of the well-being of the people facilitate in the present conditions the joint struggle of the Communists and the true disciples of Sun Yat-sen for national independence, democratic liberties, and the improvement in the lives of the Chinese people. Nor do they contradict the principles of the Communist movement. While supporting the three popular principles of Sun Yat-sen, the Chinese Communists do not for a moment cease to be true disciples of scientific Communism—Marxism-Leninism.

Why are the Chinese Communists abandoning the policy of the violent overthrow of the Kuomintang Government? Because the Chinese Communists themselves were the first to demand the cessation of the civil war as the first essential condition for the unification of all the national forces of China for joint struggle against the Japanese aggressors. In the present situation in China, to continue the struggle between the C.P. of China and the Kuomintang would only be playing into the hands of the Japanese aggressors, while collaboration between the Kuomintang and the C.P. of China is the only basis for establishing an anti-Japanese national united front of all the truly national forces of the people of China.

And what is the meaning of the cessation of the movement for "Red China"? It means that *at the given stage of struggle of the Chinese people, the slogan of Sovietising China is withdrawn*. Not only has the C.P. of China repeatedly made an open declaration of this in various documents during the last few years, but it has begun to put this line into operation by reorganising the Soviet region into a special area of the Chinese Republic, and by proclaiming a democratic regime. In this sense, and in this sense alone, has the formula of the C.P. of China concerning the cessation of the "Red China" movement to be understood and explained. Any other interpretation of this as meaning that the Chinese Communists give up their own political and organisational independence, or give up the propaganda of

Communist principles, is the deliberate intriguing of pro-Japanese and other reactionary elements, or else, at best, a complete misunderstanding.

Why have the Chinese Communists declared the cessation of the violent confiscation of the landowners' estates? Because this question of the confiscation of the landowners' estates is closely connected with the question of the civil war. Ten years of experience have shown that the C.P. of China, as the Party of the working class, has everywhere acted resolutely in defence of the vital interests of the peasantry, the closest and chief ally of the workers; it has supported the ardent desire of the peasant masses to seize the lands of the feudal landlords. The Kuomintang, on the other hand, has acted in the interests of the landowners against the confiscation by the peasants of landowners' estates. It was precisely this that was the prime cause of the civil war between the Kuomintang troops and the Red Army of China over the course of ten years. Now, the unification of the whole country in the struggle against the deadly, common enemy demands, first and foremost, that an end be put to the civil war. Unless a stop is put to the forcible confiscation of the landowners' estates, it would be impossible to stop the internecine war, and consequently it would be impossible to set up the anti-Japanese national united front. The question that arises to-day is whether China will maintain its territories or whether its lands will be seized by the Japanese aggressor. When the Chinese people have conquered the Japanese aggressors through a united national front, when they have driven them off their land, then they will find a way of solving the agrarian question.

Why have the Chinese Communists agreed to abolish the Soviet Government and set local democratic administration in its place? Because the Chinese Communists want to set up, together with the Kuomintang, a united, all-Chinese, democratic republic which, in the conditions prevailing in China to-day, will best of all be able to unite all the forces of the Chinese people for the struggle for national salvation.

Why have the Chinese Communists agreed to rename the Red Army and to it being incorporated in a people's revolutionary army, subordinated to the Military Council of the National Government? They want, together with the Kuomintang, to create a Chinese united national army, i.e., an army with a united command, united discipline, united armaments and supplies, operating on the basis of a single military plan of struggle against the common enemy. Without such a united Chinese army it is inconceivable for a really successful armed struggle to be waged against Japanese imperialism, that powerful, well-organised, well-armed beast of prey.

The present position in China confirms the

absolute truth, far-sightedness and timeliness of the new policy of the Chinese Communist Party for the creation of an anti-Japanese united front. Previously there was constant internecine warfare in China, whereas now the peaceful unification of the country has been achieved. Previously China offered no resistance to the Japanese aggressor, or only offered partial resistance in some parts. Now, for four months already, ever since the beginning of July, 1937, the Chinese people and their troops have on a national scale been offering heroic armed resistance to the Japanese aggressors in the five northern provinces and the Shanghai district.

On the basis of the agreement for collaboration between the Kuomintang and the C.P. of China, there are three fundamental positive factors to be observed, which signify the growing national might of the Chinese people.

1. *The beginning of the establishment of a single State power for the whole of China, headed by the Nanking National Government.* Although the composition of the Nanking Government, which still includes pro-Japanese elements, is still far from satisfying the demands of the serious military situation and the desires of the whole of the Chinese people, it is an undoubted and indisputable fact that following the example of the reorganised Soviet Region, all the local authorities in the provinces are beginning to subordinate themselves to this Government. Thereby the Nanking Government is beginning to become a real Government for the whole of China. Proof of this is shown by the fact that at the first conference of national defence, convened by the Nanking Government after the Japanese attack on Lukow-jao, side by side with the delegation from the Red Army of China, headed by Comrades Chu De and Chow E-lai, there are in Nanking all the prominent military leaders of almost all the provinces, including the leaders of the provinces of Kwangsi (Bei Tsun-si), Suichuan (Lu Sai), Hupeh (Sun Che-huan), Shantung (Han Fu-chu), Shansi (Yen Si-shan), whose relations with the Nanking Government in the not distant past were far from normal and friendly. Proof of this is also shown by the fact that the Decrees and Regulations of the Nanking Government concerning the realisation of the State national defence loan, concerning the mobilisation of army units and the population, are already being operated in all the provinces throughout the country.

The creation of a single State power throughout China will greatly increase the power of the Chinese troops and Chinese people and fill them with confidence in the victorious outcome of their armed struggle against their mortal enemy, the Japanese aggressor. And this circumstance has laid the foundation for further work and struggle to create a real single State power for the whole of China, through

the removal of pro-Japanese elements from the State machine, and the promotion to participation in the Nanking Government of authoritative, militant, anti-Japanese politicians; through a radical change in its home and foreign policy in the direction of the resolute and consistent operation of the common programme of the anti-Japanese national united front. The tremendous importance for the defence of the country and the struggle against the alien aggressors of the question of a single State power for the whole of China is clear to all.

2. *The beginning of the establishment of a single national revolutionary army for the whole of China.* It is an indisputable fact that when the Red Army of China agreed to join the national-revolutionary army and to subordinate itself to the single command of the Nanking Government, all other military units followed its example and began to subordinate themselves to the Military Council of Nanking. The result is that all the military units in China (Nanking and local units, the former Red Army, now known as the 8th Army) are to-day operating jointly on the main fronts against the troops of the Japanese aggressors. Although the military schooling and fighting power of these, in the past different, army units are not of the same level, the Nanking troops on the Shanghai front have shown that they can withstand serious attacks of the mechanised units of the Japanese aggressor from the air, land and sea, and can for a long time heroically and stubbornly defend their positions and territories; on the North Shansi front the 8th People's Revolutionary Army, under the command of the legendary army leaders, Comrades Chu De and Pen De-huai, have shown that despite its poor technical equipment, the Chinese Army can not only resist the offensive of the Japanese militarists, but can also beat the mechanised units of the enemy and win back the territory occupied by them.

There remains the one positive, indisputable fact that the different army units in China, which in the past have opposed each other, have begun to unite into a single national army, subordinated to a single command, and fighting on the basis of a single military plan against the common enemy.

Thus, the basis has already been set up for a real united army for the whole of China. The struggle for the further shaping and consolidation of the united army by raising its political consciousness, fighting discipline and ideological and organisational unity, for the strengthening of its technical equipment and improvement of its relations with the widest masses of the people is the most urgent and most responsible fighting task facing all anti-Japanese political organisations and military units in China.

3. *The beginning of the process of the democratisation of the political regime and the growth of the mass movement and the mass organisations.* Al-

though pro-Japanese and reactionary elements are doing their utmost to resist the democratisation of the political regime, and are terribly afraid of the millions of the people of China becoming an active, organised force, it is an indubitable fact that China is now witnessing a process of the democratisation of the regime, and millions of the people are increasingly being brought into the movement and the organisation of the struggle for national independence and democratic liberties. We have witness of this in even the following facts: the beginning of the release of political prisoners, the legislation of the representative organs of the 8th Army and the C.P. of China in the big towns (Nanking, Shanghai, Sian, Taiyuan, Wuhan, etc.); the establishment of numerous mass anti-Japanese organisations, for example, the All-China Association of National Salvation, the All-China Student and Women's Leagues of National Salvation, the United Seamen's Union for National Salvation, the League of National Armed Vanguard Detachments, and various organisations to aid the fighters at the front, and so on.

In the struggle to democratise the regime throughout China, the Special Area of the Chinese Republic (the reorganised former Soviet Region) in the northern part of the Shensi and Kwangsu provinces, with the town of Yen-an (or Fu-Shi) as the centre, will play a big role. In the Special Area, a local parliament is being set up, in every county town a municipal council; and in every village, a village delegate meeting with various commissions to draw the population into the practical work of the State. The President of the Special Area, all the heads of the county and village authorities, are elected by the population. All the deputies to the local parliament, county municipal councils and village delegate meetings are elected by universal, secret ballot. Electoral rights and democratic liberties are extended to all citizens of the age of 18 years, irrespective of sex, nationality, property status, or religious beliefs. Only agents of the Japanese aggressors are deprived of the right to vote. The Special Area of North Shensi and Kwangsu will be a model for the operation of a democratic regime throughout China, and will inspire the movement of the whole of the Chinese people for the establishment of a united all-China democratic republic.

The three fundamental facts referred to above point to the fact that China is becoming a united, organised country. And a united and organised people, 400 million strong, with a united democratic State power and a united people's revolutionary army, will be invincible!

A growing desire to bring about unity for a common struggle for their independence and freedom has sprung up and taken the shape of the anti-Japanese national united front between the Kuo-

mintang and the C.P. This is what constitutes the basis of the inexhaustible power and true fighting strength of the Chinese people in the struggle against Japanese aggressors.

Despite the advantageous position of the Japanese, militarily and technically, and their indescribable barbarity (the use of poison gases on the Northern and Shanghai fronts, the constant bombarding of peaceful Chinese towns from the air, etc.), despite the treachery and hesitations of certain of the Chinese generals (the treachery of the commander of the 38th Division, Chang Tsui-chun, which led to the capture by the Japanese of two big towns—Peiping and Tientsin—the treachery and panic-stricken flight of Lu Chu-min, Governor of Chahar, which in fact led to the surrender of Kalgan and other important strategic points without a fight, etc.); despite the fact that Japanese troops have seized a considerable part of the territory of the five northern provinces of China and Shanghai; despite the fact that the insolent agents of the Japanese aggressors—the pro-Japanese elements in the Nanking Government and in the localities, and the foul Trotskyist-Chen Du-suist bandits have set in motion every possible means of treachery and wrecking to facilitate the victory of their masters; despite the fact that the Chinese people and their troops are, in their national-liberation struggle meeting, and will still meet with a multitude of difficulties and complications; despite the severe sacrifices and privation—the Chinese Communists and Chinese people do not doubt for one moment that in the long run China *will emerge victorious in her national-defensive struggle against the Japanese aggressor.*

The repeated victories of the 8th Chinese Army over numerically superior Japanese mechanised units (the battles on September 23-25 in the north of Shensi, where 2,000 Japanese soldiers surrendered to the 8th Chinese Army, etc.) have given practical proof of the following indisputable truth: in modern warfare, even if an army yields place to the enemy in the military and technical sense, but if that army is headed by really capable, determined, politically-reliable commanders and political leaders, if the army itself consist of politically-conscious men who know for what they are fighting and how to fight, if this army is imbued from top to bottom with one progressive idea, and conscious, iron discipline; and if, finally, this army is absolutely faithful to the cause of the people, grows out of the people themselves and enjoys the confidence, love and support of the mass of people—then such an army will be able to defeat its opponent. And, finally, proof of this is provided particularly by the fact that to-day, not only the Chinese Communists, not only all progressive and far-sighted political and social leaders, but also a considerable part of the commanders and soldiers of

the Nanking and local troops have begun to realise the necessity of mobilising and drawing millions of the toiling people of China into active participation in the work of the national-defensive struggle at the front and in the rear by organising them and improving their material and civil position.

The hatred of the masses is increasing towards the pro-Japanese, anti-popular elements who are more afraid of their own people than of the Japanese slave-drivers, elements who put their own mercenary interests higher than their national duty, who not only do not try to improve the material and civil position of the mass of working people, but, on the contrary, use the extremely tense situation in the country to increase the exploitation, oppression and enslavement of the working people, and by every means fetter the initiative and activity of the mass of the people. Wide masses of the Chinese people, for their part, are becoming increasingly convinced that their fate, their lives and their fatherland are in the greatest danger, that the strength of the army alone is far from sufficient to resist the enemy and still less to achieve victory; therefore, in spite of all the obstacles, they are beginning to develop activity, to extend and consolidate their organisations, and are prepared, together with the army, to fight for the fate of their fatherland, for the fate of the future generation. In this growing consciousness of the need to combine the struggle of the army with the action of the millions of oppressed and exploited masses of China, lies the basis, in the long run, for the victory of the Chinese people over the Japanese aggressors.

In the year 1919, in his speech at the Second Russian Congress of Communist organisations of the peoples of the East, Lenin said the following when summing up the experiences of the struggle of the Red Army in Soviet Russia:

"I think that the deeds done by the Red Army, its struggle and history will be of tremendously great importance for all the peoples of the East. It will show the peoples of the East that however weak these people may be, however invincible may appear to be the power of the European oppressors who employ all the miracles of technique and the military art in the struggle, none the less if the revolutionary war being waged by the oppressed peoples succeeds in really arousing the millions of working people and exploited, it contains within itself such possibilities, such miracles that the liberation of the peoples, of the East is now a fully practical proposition." (Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. XXIV, p. 59.)

Comrade Stalin, too, in his report at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1934, when dealing with the plans for the organisation of the war "now being hatched in the circles of bourgeois politicians," said:

"Others think that war should be organised against a country that is militarily weak, but which represents an extensive market—for example, against China, which moreover, they have discovered, cannot be described as a state in the strict sense of the word, but which merely repre-

sents 'unorganised territory' which needs to be seized by strong states. Apparently, they want to divide it up completely and improve their affairs at its expense. Let us assume that they organise such a war. What will come of it? It is well known that in the beginning of the nineteenth century the same opinion was held in regard to Italy and Germany as is now held in regard to China, viz. they were regarded as 'unorganised territories' and not states, and they were enslaved. But what came of it? As is well known, it resulted in wars of independence waged by Germany and Italy and their unification into independent states. It resulted in increased hatred in the hearts of the people of these countries for the oppressors, the results of which have not been liquidated to this day and will not, perhaps, be liquidated for some time. The question arises: what guarantee is there that the same thing will not happen as a result of an imperialist war against China?" ("*Socialism Victorious*," p. 13.)

Yes, Japanese imperialism has indeed no such guarantee! For several months now the Chinese troops have been conducting an heroic, national-revolutionary defensive war against the Japanese imperialists, armed, though they be, to the teeth, and the longer the war drags on, the deeper will be the process of the national awakening of hundreds of millions of toilers and exploited throughout China and the consolidation of the united national-revolutionary army of China. This army contains within itself such possibilities and miracles as was displayed in practice by the Red Army in Soviet Asia, Siberia and at the other fronts during the period of the struggle of the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia against the foreign interventionists and the white guard hordes.

Yes, in the long run the Chinese people and the Chinese Army will completely drive the Japanese aggressors out of their native land. Not only the Chinese people and their friends are deeply convinced of the defeat of the Japanese aggressors; even the "Deutsche Wehr," official organ of the General Staff of Germany, the ally of Japanese Fascist militarism, is compelled to admit it. In an article of September 30, 1937, entitled "Who will be victorious in the battle in Eastern Asia?" we read:

"The punitive expedition undertaken by Japan in China has rapidly grown into a great war. . . . It is impossible to make the whole of China the arena of military operations. But wherever military operations take place, the Chinese know the locality better than the Japanese. In addition they have more endurance than the Japanese, who are unable to stand well either heat or cold, while the Chinese maintains his endurance in the frosty deserts as well as the ship's fireman in the hellish heat on the Red Sea. We cannot but compare this war with Napoleon's campaign against Russia in 1812. The Japanese may invade China at the most varied points, they may win one victory after another, they may forcibly tear away one piece of the country after another—but there still remains the colossal territory of the Middle Country, invincible, teeming with people and now filled with an irreconcilable hatred for the Japanese."

Yes, in the long run, awaiting the Japanese Army in China, is the fate of Napoleon's army during his

campaign against Moscow in 1812. In their sacred national-defensive war, the Chinese people must conquer the enemy—the aggressor! What is more, in this hard struggle, the Chinese people are defending not only their own national independence and territorial integrity; they are at the same time defending universal peace* and international law against brigands, brazen violators of the peace.

And it is precisely for this reason that the international proletariat and all advanced and progressive mankind are prepared to render aid to the Chinese people in their struggle against Japanese, Fascist militarism. A solidarity movement of the proletariat and masses of people is growing in America, England, France, India, Canada, Australia, and other countries, for the Chinese Government and Chinese people to be provided with foreign loans and for China's right to buy arms abroad, for the observation of international law and the Nine-Power Pact, for the boycott of Japanese commodities, for the stoppage of credits and loans to the Japanese Government, and for the prohibition of the sale and transit of arms, war materials and raw materials to Japan.

In all countries of the world there is a growing sympathy toward the heroic national-liberation struggle of the Chinese and Spanish peoples, there is a growing hatred towards those who are stifling the people's culture and progress, towards German and Italian Fascism, and Japanese militarism. In the long run the aggressors will be beaten. However, the defeat of Fascism and victory of the people's fighting for their land, their rights and their liberty, will come the more quickly if *real* aid is given by all peace-loving countries and peoples to the Chinese and Spanish peoples who are now shedding their blood.

During the days of the celebration of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Great Socialist Revolution in the U.S.S.R., the Chinese people naturally turn their gaze more than ever towards their close neighbour—the Great Land of Socialism—the U.S.S.R. They regard the U.S.S.R. as the country born of the Great October Socialist Revolution, as a country which under the guidance of the great Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin has pursued a friendly policy towards China not to be compared with that of any other country, and over the whole 20 years of its existence. They regard the U.S.S.R. as the country whose army at one time, despite its poor technical equipment, but with the aid and participation of millions of workers and toiling people, was able to defeat the foreign interventionists. They regard the U.S.S.R. as the country which in actual practice has shown China how it can and must transform the country from a country weak in the military sense, into one mighty and capable of defending itself, from a country poor and backward, into one rich and cultured, from a country which was formerly “the prison of the peoples” into a country that constitutes a splendid alliance of many nationalities and peoples, from a country of Tsarist despotism and feudal-bourgeois barbarism, into the most democratic country in the whole world, under the banner of the great Stalinist Constitution. They regard the U.S.S.R. as the country whose people are full of sympathy and solidarity towards China, now engaged in defending its independence and full of hatred for Fascism, the enemy of the whole of advanced mankind.

This sympathy and solidarity of the great peoples of the great land of Socialism inspires the Chinese people in their national liberation struggle and strengthens their confidence in victory.

THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND FRANCE

By M. THOREZ

TWENTY years have rolled by since millions of men and women workers and peasants, soldiers and sailors responded to the appeal of Lenin and Stalin, and rose up to their full enormous height to put an end once and for all to the power of the capitalists and landowners in the former tsarist empire.

The war was on. In the muddy trenches, the soldiers were perishing under a deluge of fire and iron; they were mown down by machine-guns, pounded by shells and bombs, poisoned by gas, and felled by sickness and hunger. Throughout Europe

torrents of blood ran, mountains of corpses piled up, and the ruin intensified. The people were thirsting for peace.

From the very first day, from August 1914, Lenin and his Bolshevik Party had called on the working class and the masses of the people to undertake a ruthless struggle against the imperialist war, while all the Second International foundered in their disgraceful policy of collaboration with their own bourgeoisie.

The victory of November 7, 1917, crowned the patient, tenacious and heroic efforts of the Bol-

shbeviki. The working class, backed up by the poorest peasants, crushed their oppressors and seized power. The dictatorship of the proletariat was established on one-sixth of the globe.

November 7, 1917, represents the beginning of a new epoch in the history of mankind. The workers in all countries felt it instinctively. Everywhere the bourgeoisie were in a tremble. From the first day of the Great October Revolution, the Soviet Union has had the affection of the proletarians of the whole world, and the hatred of all the exploiter classes.

The workers of France like the proletarians of other countries followed all the stages of the October Revolution and of Socialist construction in the Land of the Soviets with ardour and attention. In difficult moments they suffered together with their brothers of the Soviet Union and in the hour of success were overcome with joy. They have tried to do their share of safeguarding the conquests of October. When the interventionists hurled themselves against the young Soviet Republic, when the counter-revolution menaced it from all sides, when the gold of the capitalist governments united the Denikins, Wrangels and Kolchaks, when the white-guard Polish armies advanced on the Ukraine, the French, Belgian, and British workers refused to load and transport munitions for the white armies against the workers and peasants of Soviet Russia. The workers protested against the intervention. And the sailors of the French squadron in the Black Sea, with Andre Marty at their head, wrote one of the finest pages in the history of the French working-class movement.

Meanwhile, the scared bourgeoisie, with the active support of the reactionary leaders of Social-democracy put forward a thousand "reproaches" and slanders against the dictatorship of the proletariat, against Bolshevism. The "objection" most current was that the working class would not maintain power, that they were incapable of ruling, of administrating, of directing, of reconstructing the ruined national economy. The pseudo-Marxists of the Second International added to all this that "the economic conditions are not ripe for the proletarian revolution." The conclusion they drew was that Bolshevism would break down and that then the peoples of the Soviet Union would be hurled into the blackest reaction.

The leaders of the Second International expressed and upheld these defeatist, counter-revolutionary views, and set their own political "sagacity," based on compromise with the class enemy, against the "ignorance" of the Communists. After the war as well they pursued their policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie. They diverted the workers, notably in Germany and in Austria, from the proletarian revolution. They enfeebled, divided the

international working-class movement. They tried to picture their capitulation, their successive retreats before reaction as "the strengthening of democracy."

And now?

Now, on the Twentieth Anniversary of October, there is no measure with which to compare the backward Russia of the past, the semi-feudal agrarian country in which the industry which had developed was almost entirely in the hands of foreign capitalists, with the Soviet Union of to-day. The Soviet Union of to-day is the most powerful industrial power in Europe, and the second in the world; it has at the same time developed its agricultural economy based on voluntary collectivisation, and its state farms, into agricultural production operated on the largest scale in the world: it is now achieving unprecedented successes in all domains of culture, science and art.

Formerly, for the workers of the West, Russia was the synonym for the Cossack, the knout, for bloody repression against the pioneers of the working-class movement, the fighters of the revolution of 1905, those who took part in the great strikes like that in the Lena goldfields. To-day the Soviet Union is the synonym to the workers of the capitalist countries, of creative work, liberty, culture, well-being and joy. The Soviet Union is the country of heroes of labour like Stakhanov, it is the country of the heroes of science who are peaceably conquering the North Pole. The Soviet Union is a country of happy people.

The Stalin Constitution is the brilliant confirmation of real Socialist democracy, of a democracy which excludes the very existence of the capitalists and financial magnates who attempt to influence the will of the people. Political liberty in the Land of Soviets is based on a very firm economic foundation, on the abolition of economic oppression, on the abolition of the age-old exploitation of man by man. The Stalin Constitution assures real equality to all citizens, men and women, all free producers, regardless of their religion, race, nationality. The pre-election campaign to the Soviets is sufficient proof of the tremendous ardour and enthusiasm with which the masses of the people participate in the political life of the Socialist state.

But to what has the miserable policy of the leaders of German and Austrian Social-Democracy led? Alas, their ruinous policy of splitting and concessions has brought forth bitter fruits.

In Germany and Austria the working class are groaning under the yoke of Fascism. The policy of the Social-Democratic Parties of these countries, these most important sections and pillars of the Second International has met with utter defeat, and at the same time has dealt a very serious blow at the working class and bourgeois democracy. Fascism

is crushing the Italian people; it has spread to the Balkan countries as well. It is permeating and menacing the masses of the people on all sides. The Fascists are resorting to social demagoguery by utilizing the crises and anarchy of capitalist production and are foully speculating on the misery of the masses of working people.

Scarcely had the capitalist world attained the pre-crisis level of production—and this not in all countries—than the signs of the next crisis began to make their appearance. Capitalism cannot recover from the mortal wounds of the last imperialist war.

On the Twentieth Anniversary of October, the world of Socialism presents a picture of splendid progress; the world of capitalism, on the contrary, exposes its gaping, festering wounds. The Soviet Union is a shining beacon which lights the way of the proletarians, and of all the oppressed in all countries.

The Soviet Union is the hope and staunch support of all the friends of peace. On the day after the seizure of power, Lenin addressed to all peoples his never-to-be-forgotten wireless message of peace. The proletarian State, under the firm direction of Stalin, has steadfastly persisted in the same invariable policy of peace. It has frustrated the plans of the warmongers, of the Fascists and militarists—who have been responsible for repeated acts of provocation against, and for misfortunes suffered by, the peoples. It has conceded not one step to the blackmail of insolent Fascism.

No honest person can henceforth dispute the tragic truth that mankind is faced with the immediate menace of a world war. In a number of countries war is already being waged. It is drowning Spain and China in blood. It has already engulfed one-quarter of the population of the globe. Nobody can any longer deny the criminal role of Fascism in the preparation and launching of a new world war.

In those countries where Fascism is in power, it means the most terrible economic exploitation, the most awful political oppression of the people; it means a brutal and bloody dictatorship, prison, concentration camps, the gallows, the scaffold. Fascism on the international arena means a policy of adventures and intrigues, of provocation and treacherous acts of violence. *Fascism means war.*

It was seen in the aggression of Mussolini against the Ethiopian peoples. It is to be seen in the onslaught of the Fascists of Rome and Berlin against the Spanish people. It can be seen in the aggression of Japan against the Chinese people. It can be seen in the alliance of the aggressors—Germany, Japan and Italy.

All of the countries that have been the subject of aggression are members of the League of Nations. But the League of Nations displays remarkable

“patience.” The countries of bourgeois democracy are silent. They have, in violation of International Law, invented the foul and ruinous policy of “non-intervention,” which is strangling the Spanish Republic for the benefit of the rebels, of Hitler and Mussolini.

In this period of anxiety for all the peoples that are thirsting for peace the Soviet Union has won a still further claim to the affection and thanks of all working people throughout the world, of all sincere defenders of liberty and peace.

The Soviet Union, which defined the meaning of aggressor, and initiated the policy of pacts of non-aggression and mutual assistance, has been the ardent defender of the nations subjected to aggression. The Soviet Union has unmasked the Fascist aggressors at Geneva at Nyon, and in London. By its policy the Soviet Union has succeeded in showing the entire anti-Fascist world that “the liberation of Spain from the oppression of the Fascist reactionaries is not the private affair of the Spaniards, but is the common cause of the whole of advanced and progressive mankind.” (Stalin.)

In France the people display a particularly deep attachment for the Soviet Union. The French Fascists, who are agents of Hitler and Mussolini, just as their ancestors, the Coblenz emigres, were in the service of the King of Prussia, are conducting a ferocious campaign against the Franco-Soviet Mutual Assistance Pact. But this pact has the ardent support of all French people who care for the fate of their country. The new successes of the parties of the People's Front at the last canton elections confirmed this will of the people of France to support the Franco-Soviet Pact, which is one of the last opportunities of frustrating Hitler's aggression against France.

Hitler broke the Locarno Treaty which guaranteed the security of France and Belgium, his troops occupied the left bank of the Rhine, he has concentrated motor divisions on the French frontier. In addition he maintains a whole army of spies on French territory. Despite the fact that an inadequate struggle is being waged against Fascist espionage in France, 134 such spies have been sentenced in the last three years alone.

Hitler is furiously attacking the Franco-Soviet Pact because this instrument of peace impedes him in the execution of his murderous designs. The people of France know this well. It is not astonishing, therefore, that at the International Exhibition in Paris, the Soviet Pavilion—surmounted with its monumental, sculptural group symbolising work and joy—attracted by far the largest number of visitors—the people of France who ardently greet their Soviet friends. It is impossible to describe the emotion of the public which gathered together in one of the biggest halls in

Paris to hear the Choral and Musical Ensemble of the Red Army, when there burst forth, in the French language, the lines of the song of the volunteers of 1792:

The sovereign people advance,
Down to your graves, ye tyrants!

The endless, stormy applause with which the public greeted the Red Army Ensemble was meant not only for the Ensemble, but also for the whole of the Red Army which, under the command of Marshal Voroshilov, stands on guard over the Soviet Union, on guard over peace throughout the world.

On the Twentieth Anniversary of the Soviet Union there can be clearly seen how great is the influence exerted by the October Revolution over the international working-class movement. The basic teachings of Bolshevism have become the property of the revolutionary workers of all countries.

Lenin and Stalin always insisted upon the need for *unity* as the prime factor for the success of the struggle against the class enemy. They insisted on the need for the *revolutionary unity* of the working class, for *unity* between the working class and the working people of the middle classes, primarily of the peasantry, finally and above all, for *unity* of the party of the proletariat.

Under the leadership of Dimitrov, the courageous champion of the anti-Fascist struggle, the Communist International is striving to realise throughout the world the *militant unity* of the working class, as the leading force of the anti-Fascist people's front.

In France, thanks to the Communist Party, the working class has taken important and successful steps on the road to unity! The Communist Party of France has not halted before any difficulties, has not allowed itself to be disturbed by any of the twisting and turning of certain Socialist leaders, but has patiently beaten off all attacks and organised unity of action between the Socialist and Communist workers.

In 1934, after the attempt at the fascist coup d'état on February 6, the Communist Party secured the conclusion of a pact of joint struggle against Fascism and war, which brought together the Communist and Socialist Parties. On the basis of the experience of the united front over a period of more than three years, the Communist Party has raised the question of more complete *unity*, the question of a single party of the working class. Our proposals outline the basis of the principles which should guide such a united party of the proletariat. It is a question of taking account of the lessons of the international working-class movement in the last few decades, namely, to avoid a repetition of the tragic events of August, 1914, and the policy of war which led to the downfall of the Second International; to avoid the delusions and errors which led to the defeat in Germany and in Austria; on the contrary, to be inspired by the prin-

ciples and methods which led to the victory of October, 1917, and to the successful building of Socialism; to accept democratic centralism as the guarantee of the indestructible strength of the Party.

The example of the Soviet Union, the example of the firm unity between the workers and peasants that is to be observed in the Soviet Union exerted tremendous influence on the establishment of the People's Front, the idea of which was put forward by the Communist Party of France and taken up by the masses. United against Fascism, must be not only the proletarians but also the members of the middle classes, all republicans and plain democrats. The Communists are the most determined and consistent republicans and democrats. Their declared aim is the broadest democracy, Socialist democracy. In fighting loyally with all their allies in the People's Front to maintain bourgeois democracy against the attacks of Fascism, the revolutionary proletarians, the Communists are defending the liberties of to-day and the possibilities of the morrow. They support all the forces of peace, the unity of which can yet compel the Fascist war-mongers to retreat. Thus it is that the Communists show themselves in practice as faithful to the principles of their great teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin.

Finally, the indestructible firmness and vigilance of the Bolshevik Party, of its Central Committee, of its leader Stalin—everything that concerns the maintenance of the unity of the Party itself, everything that concerns the struggle against the enemies of the Party and the people provide profitable lessons for all our Communist Parties.

In the Soviet Union, the firm hand of the Party and of the organs of the Soviet Government came down with ruthless force on the gang of Fascist agents, Trotskyist-Bukharinist spies and traitors, diversionists and wreckers, who organised plots against the Party, the people and the Socialist Fatherland, and attempted to restore capitalism, slavery and poverty. The majority of these miserable wrecks had in the past also waged an open struggle or hypocritically intrigued in secret against the Bolshevik Party—denying the fundamental conceptions of Marxism-Leninism.

Naturally the reactionary leaders of social-democracy heaved heavy sighs and shed many a tear at the sentences passed on these traitors to the Socialist Fatherland, and echoed the furious cries of the Fascists, who had been unmasked and deprived of their agents. But the workers have rallied still closer round the Soviet Union. They have begun to feel still greater affection for and thanks to the great Stalin. In France, people are reminded of their own history. During the French bourgeois revolution of 1789 did not former revolutionaries and generals, bribed by the coalition of kings, betray the cause of

the people? And was not the Convention ruthless towards the "agents of Pitt and Cobourg," towards all those who were implicated in the "foreign conspiracy?"

The Trotskyist adventurers are trying in various countries to worm their way into the Communist Parties; they are attempting everywhere to disorganise the working-class movement. The treacherous role of the Trotskyists has been clearly seen in Spain and in China. Therefore all members of the Communist Parties must follow the example of

the Bolsheviks of the U.S.S.R. in increasing Leninist-Stalinist vigilance and irreconcilability towards the Trotskyists, towards all enemies of the working class.

By attentively reacting to all events, by displaying initiative and pertinacity in the execution of decisions, by displaying ability in organising the masses and leading the peoples to Socialism, the Communists of all countries will show themselves worthy of their glorious elder brothers who are joyfully celebrating the Twentieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

THE LAND OF SOCIALISM AND CAPITALIST BRITAIN

By HARRY POLLITT

TWENTY years ago, revolutionaries all over the world were thrilled to hear that the Social Revolution had actually happened in Russia.

Twenty years ago the war-weary peoples of the world received the news that the party of Lenin had won the fight for power and that a Workers' and Peasants' Government had been established.

Would it last? Could the new regime hold out? These were the anxious questions that besieged our minds. There was no doubt how the capitalist press regarded the epoch-making event—the way they dealt with the November Revolution was very different to their treatment of the March Revolution of 1917.

Not only the press reacted immediately—the workers of the world had only a little time to wait before they saw the forces of counter-revolution at work. And since 1917 the mobilisation of these forces has continued unceasingly.

In 1917, civil war and open counter-revolution; 1917-20, blockade; 1937, wrecking and espionage.

All these dastardly attempts to overthrow the power of the Soviets, the treacherous tactics of both open and concealed enemies of Socialism, have placed almost insuperable difficulties in the way of progress. For the construction of Socialism in one country is not a direct process. Manœuvrings, turns and zig-zags in policy have had to be carried through in accordance with changes in the relation of forces and conditions inside and outside the Soviet Union.

Yet despite the worst that their enemies could do, we can see now the millions of Soviet people and the best people in the capitalist world joyfully celebrating the 20th Anniversary. The anniversary of triumph, of success, of achievement of a mighty consolidation reflecting itself in the existence of the mighty Soviet Union.

Friend and enemy alike are compelled to recognise that the Soviet Union stands out as an everlasting proof that there is no difficulty that Bolsheviks cannot overcome. We have only to observe the staggering achievements in industry, agriculture, culture, aviation, Defence Forces, and work for world peace.

The people of "Asiatic minds", the "Bolshevik barbarians" (to quote the elegant phrases used by the Frank Hodges inside the Labour Party), have built the unconquerable and unshakable fortress of Socialism—built it not only for themselves, but for the workers of the whole world. For everything they have done has been done in the interests of the workers and all progressive mankind.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, have placed the Soviet Union where its dauntless aviators have placed the Red Banner of the Sickle and Hammer at the North Pole—on top of the world.

And their triumph—the greatest in world history, is the forerunner and guarantee of similar triumphs the world over.

While we rejoice in these glorious achievements and victories for Socialism—in the new life enjoyed by millions of Soviet citizens who are advancing with ever-quickening tempo towards the classless Socialist Society, we must ask ourselves sharply: How has it come about? What has made it possible?

These questions have a specially deep significance for us in Britain. We have the "oldest democracy in the world"; we have the oldest Labour Movement. In this country the people in the past have played a great part in heroic struggles for progress and freedom. We Communists do not forget the past, we are proud of our heritage and eager to carry forward the fight to-day, but we must consider the contrast be-

tween developments in Britain and the Soviet Union during the last twenty years.

Unemployment has been conquered in the Soviet Union and banished for ever. It is a social cancer that has no meaning for any Soviet citizen. Pause for a moment to think what life would be like in Britain now, if we could say the same!

For in Britain unemployment has been the principal feature of the internal situation in these last twenty years. The great industrial areas of South Wales, Lancashire, north-east coast and parts of Scotland—the areas on which the power of British imperialism has been built up—are politely referred to by some as “Depressed Areas”—by others, contemptuously, as “Derelict Areas”. They are, indeed, graveyards of capitalism.

Hundreds of thousands of the finest craftsmen and skilled workmen—the aristocracy of Labour, who believed that their conditions were secure for all time—have seen their standards of living smashed right and left. They have had to succumb to the indignity of Poor Law Relief.

They have seen great factories, pits and shipyards closed down. While in the Soviet Union the workers have willingly sacrificed comfort to develop their own machine-building industry; the British workers have been faced with placards hung outside their factories, pits, ships: “In the hands of Thos. Ward, Scrap-Iron Merchants”. They have seen priceless machinery smashed up; they have had to give up all hope that these places would ever open their gates again for employment.

Even now, when we are told “Britain rides on the crest of prosperity”, there are two million unemployed, and despair and poverty is the lot of this army of forgotten men and women and their families.

The wages of industrial workers in the Soviet Union have doubled since 1932, and the national income, which is equitably shared by all Soviet citizens, has grown from 45.5 billion roubles in 1932 to 105.5 billion in 1937. Alongside this goes on a steady fall in prices.

But in Britain, in these last twenty years, millions of pounds have been taken from the workers in wage reductions. At the same time as the cost of living has constantly been at a higher figure than wages. Even now, in the period of prosperity, the cost of living is 55 points above the level of 1914, and in spite of wage increases forced by Trade Union action, wages are considerably lower than prices. Profits rise to unheard-of levels, the big capitalist combines and trusts are enjoying a glorious profiteers’ holiday at the expense of the workers, farmers, professional people and small shopkeepers.

The facts about profits speak for themselves. In the first six months of 1937, 765 capitalist firms, after paying debenture interest and all overhead charges,

made net profits amounting to £100,690,626, an increase of £8 million pounds over the same period in 1936.

While this is going on, the rapid rise in prices of all necessities is hitting the working class, people with fixed salaries, hospitals and public institutions which have fixed budgets with which to feed their inmates. The rise in prices is also compelling the slowing down or cancellation of housing schemes all over Britain. “Guns, Not Butter!” is beginning to have a pregnant meaning for British as well as German people.

The steady fall in prices and rise in wages in the Soviet Union means an ever-increasing demand for all kinds of products, which Soviet factories work night and day to produce. Read the following facts taken from a recent official Soviet report:—

“Purchases of clothes, linen and boots by workers and office employees increased last year alone by 89.6 per cent., as compared with 1932. This year purchases continue to grow.”

Consider another point; while in the Soviet Union, every conceivable precaution is taken to safeguard the lives of workers in industry; in Britain there has been an alarming increase in fatal and non-fatal accidents, due to lack of effective safety precautions and speed-up.

Since 1932, in Britain, speed-up has increased by 21 per cent., and the Chief Inspector of Factories reports that there was an increase of 18 per cent. in non-fatal accidents, and 9 per cent. in fatal accidents in 1936 as compared with 1935.

With regard to social services in the Soviet Union, the expenditure on all forms increases year by year, the following figures being eloquent testimony to this:—

Education: One billion roubles in 1928, but 19.3 billion in 1937. Health and Physical Culture: 400 million roubles in 1928, and 7.6 billion roubles in 1937. Rest Homes and Sanatoria: 25 million roubles in 1928, and 904 million roubles in 1937.

The social insurance budget, which is entirely made up of contributions by State factories and institutions, this year includes such items as 1.145 million roubles for providing benefits for pregnant women and those who have newly-born children. In 1928 there was an allotment for this purpose of 32,000,000 roubles.

In addition to these facts, it must be noted that the Soviet Trade Unions also play a great role in all forms of cultural development. For example, they spent 6.3 billion roubles in 1932 on such services, and 15.5 billion in 1936.

In Britain, the economic crisis and new rearmament has led to a strict curtailment of expenditure on social services. It has led to the imposition of the Means Test and a growth of sickness and malnutrition. The result is seen in the reports of doctors and scientists. Let us give their evidence.

"Four-and-a-half million people in this country spend on an average only four shillings per head on food." (Sir John Boyd Orr, February, 1936.)

"On the evidence so far available, it appears not improbable that nearly one-half of the population of England and Wales subsists to a greater or lesser extent below the safety line of nutrition." (Dr. McGonigle and Dr. Kerbey, "Food and Family Budgets".)

"The diet of half the population is not up to standard. The food of no fewer than 5,000,000 in the land is deficient in every way—and those 5,000,000 include 25 per cent. of all the children in the country. . . . The average family should be spending £1 a week on milk alone. No wonder that the mother so often looks prematurely old. Then we blame her for bad cooking."

In the Soviet Union the workers have the 7-hour day, and 6-hour day in dangerous trades, and holidays with pay. In Britain these are yet to be achieved.

If we turn to political progress, we find in the Soviet Union a series of progressive developments in democratising the Constitution, until in the new Stalin Constitution we are presented with a unique historical document, giving practical evidence of gigantic growth and strength.

The new Constitution represents for the peoples of the Soviet Union the permanency of all that has been already gained for them by their Communist Party.

Just at the moment, when Fascist race hatred darkens the world, while people in Spain and China are dying to save democracy, the Soviet Constitution raises the flag of internationalism and fraternity of all peoples and races.

In these last twenty years in Britain, the old capitalist boast about liberty broadening down from precedent to precedent, has been thrown overboard like so many other things which were thought to have permanence in British political life.

There have been more encroachments on the liberties of the people than in the last hundred years put together.

The Emergency Powers Act was applied during the General strike in 1926, and in many strikes and lock-outs since. The Incitement to Mutiny Act of 1797 has been used against leaders of the Communist Party and workers who dared advocate political rights and liberties for soldiers and sailors.

The Incitement to Disaffection Act of 1934 is meant general strike to be an illegal act, it threatens the finances of the trade unions in the event of large-scale strikes, and strikes a blow at the right of trade unionists to contribute to the funds of the Labour Party.

The Incitement to Disaffection Act of 1934 is meant to hinder all forms of anti-war propaganda. The Public Order Act, 1936, which arose out of the fight against Mosley's Blackshirts, is directed more against the working-class movement than the Fascists.

Thus we see the contrast between the "oldest democracy in the world" and the young Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union the people advance in

freedom, self-government and cultural development, and ever-greater extension of genuine democracy. In Britain, reaction strikes down rights and liberties won by generations of past struggles, and limits the forms of capitalist democracy.

The fact that to-day the Soviet Union stands out as the leader of the movement for world peace is not haphazard. The Soviet Union was born out of the struggle for peace in the last imperialist war.

The first act of Lenin in 1917 was to broadcast the proposal that "a general peace treaty should be signed at once on the basis of no indemnities and no annexations."

What a different world we would live in to-day if this proposal had been accepted—but it was refused by all the imperialist Powers, who vied with each other in their calumnies of what they described as the "Russian Bloodbath."

That simple message of peace made in November, 1917, has been the dominating motive of the policy of the Soviet Union ever since.

The concrete proposals made for Disarmament, for the abolition of bombing and chemical methods of warfare; the concrete proposals for common action to restrain fascist aggression; the powerful speeches of Comrade Litvinov at Geneva to strengthen the League of Nations, and the lead given by the Soviet Union to combat piracy in the Mediterranean, culminating in the Nyon Agreement—all these are the logical sequel to Lenin's message. The Soviet Union and its people have no interest in War. All they desire is Peace for themselves and the people of the whole world.

Peace has been the dominating aim of their foreign policy and it is for this reason that Europe has not been already plunged into war. It is quite certain that if the world Powers had followed the advice of the Soviet Union, Manchuria, Abyssinia, Spain and China would not have to-day so pregnant a meaning.

But so many of the still remaining democratic Powers are divided in purpose; the working-class movement itself is split—is it to be wondered at that the dread lest peace cannot withstand the present tension tortures the minds of millions?

It is the policy of the National Government more than any other Government in Europe which is to blame for the international situation: it was responsible for supporting Japanese imperialism in Manchuria; for preventing the full force of the League of Nations from being used against Mussolini's bloody adventure in Abyssinia; for helping Nazi Germany to rearm and for starting a new world arms race.

It is the National Government that has struck the legally and democratically elected Spanish Government such dastardly blows. It failed to make any effective protest when its ships were sunk in the Mediterranean by Italy's submarines (what a different posi-

tion it would have adopted if these crimes had been perpetrated by the Spanish Government!) It has allowed its Ambassador in Shanghai to be shot by Japanese airmen.

Contrast this record with that of the Soviet Union, which renounced all the imperialist conquests of Czarist Russia and granted complete rights and complete freedom to all national minorities and Republics with the result that tremendous developments have taken place in all the autonomous Republics which voluntarily constitute the U.S.S.R.

British imperialism has consistently tightened its hold on all the colonial countries—Nigeria, Kenya, Egypt, Palestine, India, even Newfoundland. All have felt its harsh and repressive hand.

It would not be difficult to quote many more examples of progress and the triumphant onward march to Socialism in the Soviet Union in contrast to the stagnation, decline and reaction in capitalist Britain during these last twenty years.

The achievements in the U.S.S.R. are the result of Soviet Power. The workers have won power and thrown off the yoke of the exploiters. They have followed the leadership of the Communist Party and fought and defeated their oppressors so that to-day they are free to build Socialism.

In Britain the existence of capitalist power is the reason why the people are menaced by misery and destitution, mass unemployment, the decay of industry and the growth of rotten parasitism.

The policy of Marxism-Leninism in the Soviet Union has brought triumph to the workers. The policy of reformism, whether carried on by MacDonald or Citrine, has led the British working-class movement to surrender and defeat.

And now, in these fateful hours when the destiny of civilisation is at stake, when Fascist aggression butchers the women and children of Spain and China, when the freedom of Czechoslovakia is in the balance, this policy strangles the growth of the unity of the whole working-class movement.

Let the British working-class movement, on the occasion of this magnificent Twentieth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, ponder well over its political lessons. The story cannot be told too often.

Twenty years—historically a short time, but what a wealth of self-sacrifice and gloriously successful effort has been crowded into this period by the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union.

Socialist construction on a scale undreamt of is to-day an accomplished fact.

New Socialist cities proudly rear their towers to the sky in places that only a few years ago were barren. Giant industrial enterprises roar with the hum of Socialist machinery, and, guided by Socialist citizens, ceaselessly turn out their products.

Great collective farms have sprung up everywhere.

Every phase of educational and cultural activity grows breathlessly.

The Soviet Union stands out before the whole world as the strongest single Power, the Power whose sole aim is to be left in peace to win still greater victories for its population, and the workers of the world.

This Twenty years has not interpreted history—it has changed it.

Against the darkness and bestiality of Fascism, against the inability of the capitalist class in the democratic countries to solve unemployment, against the world drive to war—the Soviet Union stands out as a lighthouse, whose warm rays sweep round the whole world to guide the working class.

The Soviet Union proves that what the ruling class can never achieve, the workers can.

Against the Nuremberg maniacs and war plotters, the Soviet Union stands out like a giant thwarting all their plans and rallying round itself the support of all that is best in the forces of world democracy, peace and Socialism.

Against the foul treachery and wrecking of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists, and the defeatism and doubts of waverers and capitulators; against spies and degenerates of all types, the Soviet Government has triumphed, has conquered. Is it casual? Is it accidental? Is it because of "Terror organised by the Kremlin"? Of course not. The advance of the Soviet Union has been made possible because the policy of Lenin and Stalin and the Communist Party has been correct. It won the support of the masses. Experience has proved it.

We have shown how much the workers of the world owe to the Soviet Government. For this reason they offer their undying gratitude for the way in which disruption has been fought in the U.S.S.R. and for the firm method of combating those who seek alliance with Fascism in order to destroy the achievements of twenty years' struggle and sacrifice.

Let us ask once again how it is that such great strides have been made in the Soviet Union.

In every other country in the world the workers are harassed, worried and cannot see clearly the end of the road. In the Soviet Union everything is different. Millions carry out their duty as conscious Socialist citizens, realising ever greater constructive victories.

What is the meaning of the difference? It is due to the fact that the workers and peasants supported the policy of the Communist Party, led by the mighty leaders, Lenin and Stalin. And the Communist Party believed in the workers, inspired them with that spirit of self-sacrifice, initiative and energy which alone can accomplish great things.

The Communist Party also gave the workers knowledge and the consciousness in their own power to

overcome difficulties—that unconquerable determination which neither capitalism nor reformism can ever inspire.

Thus the workers were able to survive the dark and bloody days of civil war; to beat back the enemy on eleven fronts; to beat them, though, like the Spanish people to-day, they fought with bare hands and sticks, in tattered rags.

And when the famine came, the workers survived again and later were well prepared to face it; it quickly enabled them to carry out the reconstruction of their country as the prelude to the successful achievement of the First Five-Year Plan.

The capitalist world greeted the plan with derision, but it has made the Soviet Union practically independent of all other countries, strong in its industrial power. And it has provided that defensive basis which will never allow a Fascist enemy to tread on one inch of Soviet soil.

Communism reacted on the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union so that they ignored the doubters and fainthearts in their own country; they smashed the Trotskyists and wiped out the counter-revolutionaries of all lands.

And to-day, proud millions of the Soviet population will surge into the centre of every Socialist city and village to celebrate the Twentieth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Millions of Socialist citizens will pledge themselves once more to defend their country and their Socialist conquests.

The Twentieth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution is an answer to the anxious questions of British people, now groping for release from the morass of poverty, the fear of reaction and war; the burning question—"Which way have we to go?"

The experience of the Soviet Union shows clearly that unity and revolutionary struggle alone can win power for the workers, the dictatorship of their own class and the destruction of their exploiters.

And along these lines the workers of the world must proceed—shunning all class co-operation and capitulation which leads directly to Fascism.

Only thus can they secure in every country the undivided domination of the Socialist system of economy, the steady growth of their productive forces, the abolition of economic crises and unemployment. Only thus can they secure the right of work, rest, education and culture for all.

From every corner of the Soviet Union on this Twentieth Anniversary will go out greetings to the

heroic Spanish and Chinese people now fighting the greatest struggle since 1917.

We may be sure, too, that in Spain and China to-day the people will be inspired by the fact that twenty years ago, against almost insuperable odds, the workers won that victory which we are confident our Spanish and Chinese comrades also will win.

From the Soviet Union will go forth that same urgent call for Peace as Lenin sent twenty years ago. To-day it will find a mighty response throughout the peace-loving forces of the whole world.

The times we live in are serious, the outlook is grave. But, the darker the night in Europe, the more brilliantly the Star of the Soviet Union shines.

The Socialist Fatherland of the world stands firmly on our side as the unconquerable ally of Peace, Democracy and Socialism.

The longer the workers suffer under the yoke of capitalist oppression, the greater the longing with which they gaze towards the Soviet Union, where it has been shown that Socialism can be established.

Let us therefore celebrate this Twentieth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution by a solemn vow that never will we allow the mad dogs of Fascism or the Tory reactionaries to attack the Soviet Union.

But let us also profit from the experiences of life by building up a powerful Communist Party in Britain, which can lead the British workers also to victory, and which in alliance with the Soviet Union could end for ever the menace of poverty, unemployment, oppression, Fascism and war.

For the stronger the Communist Party, the stronger the whole Labour Movement, and the sooner a united working class will be able to transform the present relation of forces nationally and internationally, and prepare the way for the defeat of the National Government.

Soviet Power will resuscitate industry in Britain, and put an end to unemployment by organising the work of all on a common plan for the needs of all.

Soviet Power will destroy the toll of landlords and capitalists, and bring abundance for all.

Soviet Power will bring freedom for the people of Britain and for the colonial peoples.

Soviet Power will conquer British imperialism, and the invincible unity of Soviet Britain with the Soviet Union and all peace-loving peoples will conquer war.

These are the thoughts which, on the occasion of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the Communist Party of Great Britain will endeavour to drive home to millions of the British workers.

THE U.S.A. AND THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION*

By EARL BROWDER

"Capitalism generally and imperialism especially transform democracy into an illusion, while at the same time capitalism gives birth to democratic aspirations among the masses; it creates democratic institutions; it sharpens the antagonism between imperialism, which denies democracy, and the masses, who strive for democracy."

(Lenin: *Collected Works*, Vol. XXX, p. 259.)

NOVEMBER 7 marks the twentieth anniversary of Soviet power, which began the building of a new type of society, Socialism, immediately it came into existence.

The Great October Revolution marked a turning-point in the history of mankind. It has made necessary for the whole world a re-evaluation of old values, a re-examination of all problems, a re-alignment of social forces.

TSARIST RUSSIA AND NORTH AMERICA

The land of the Soviets, known until 1917 as the Empire of the Tsar of Russia, closely approximates in extent, in climatic conditions and in richness of natural resources our own North American continent. Despite such close similarity of the basic factors, however, North America and Russia have gone through sharply different historical developments.

Russia came into the world-community and world-market with the heavy inheritance of the feudal system. In North America, on the other hand, the few roots of the feudal system that had existed were soon shattered by the forces of democracy that grew rapidly under the influence of a capitalist economy at work on almost virgin soil.

In the years 1776 to 1787, the United States won its independence, and fashioned a stable State power, within which the only serious obstacle to unfettered capitalist development was the compromise with slavery. Only after the Civil War of 1861-65 did we see the abolition of slavery. Canada won essentially the same level of historical development in the struggles of 1837.

In the Tsarist Empire, however, feudalism was much more powerful. Although the same democratic forces were at work there, they could not break through; they were defeated again and again. The development of capitalism sapped and undermined

the foundations of the old order; but at each period of crisis the feudal autocracy emerged triumphant through a combination of extreme repression, concessions and foreign alliances. This lasted till 1917. The result for Russia was an extremely backward and distorted economic development. The autocracy was overthrown by the democratic revolution in February, 1917. But only the October Socialist Revolution completed the work of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Thus it was, in brief, that these two great sections of humanity, Russia and North America, so similarly equipped in natural resources and population, were at the opposite poles of economic and political development. Russia was a semi-feudal, backward country. North America was the most advanced country in the world.

Russia emerged from the World War with an economy shattered and prostrate, racked by famine; its new infant system, Soviet power, spoken of deprecatingly even by its friends as an "experiment," in the grip of blockade, fighting the counter-revolution from within and without the country. North America emerged from the World War with considerably strengthened economy, the world's banker, holding the debts of the other Powers, and with, at least for a time, predominant prestige and influence in world politics.

What a contrast this was! Every philistine, every shallow thinker and vulgarian, could and did tell the world that North America was the promised land, that it had found the way to "permanent prosperity," that with the "American system" poverty was being abolished and the millennium ushered in.

Henry Ford and the belt-line system of mass production were the new God. And with God in his heaven, all was right with the capitalist world. As for that curious "experiment," Soviet Russia, everyone knew that it was prostrate and starving.

When Lenin announced the New Economic Policy, the bourgeoisie hoped that soon Russia would be safely back in the capitalist family, as the poor relation. Herbert Hoover contemptuously sent over the American Relief Administration, with some superfluous war stores of wheat, expecting the 140,000,000 Russians to follow this wisp of straw obediently back into the capitalist harness. These were the calculations of "sensible people" as well at that time.

* Abbreviated speech of the General Secretary of the C.P.U.S.A. at a Congress of the C.P. of Canada in Toronto, October 8, 1937.

CERTAIN RESULTS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE U.S.A. AND THE U.S.S.R.

Let us now examine what has been done by North America, which inherited half the world's wealth, and by Soviet Russia, which inherited ruin and starvation. The day of reckoning is here.

Until the World War, North America has stood in the vanguard of world progress. Politically, it was an example of bourgeois democracy that had the least carry-over of feudal and semi-feudal remnants, and the broadest distribution of so-called democratic rights. This it was that gave full sweep to the development of capitalism. But it was the full development of capitalism which undermined the economic basis of bourgeois democracy, and at the same time set a sharp limit to economic expansion and brought on the crisis.

American democracy arose mainly upon the basis of the widespread distribution of the instruments of labour and the means of production among the farmers and craftsmen.

This economic basis of democracy for a long time reproduced itself, through the expansion of the settlements on the Atlantic seaboard over the continent to the Pacific, on the basis of free or cheap lands. With the disappearance of the frontier, this process was halted.

At the same time, approximately, North America, together with the capitalist nations of Europe, entered the era of modern imperialism. This was the period of rapid concentration and centralisation of capital, the pyramiding of great trusts, the feverish search for new markets, fields of capital investment, and sources of raw materials; the division of the entire world among the great Powers—and the consequent rivalries and antagonisms that resulted in the imperialist World War.

American democracy, based upon small individual private property, had made possible this unexampled expansion, which projected the United States as one of the biggest world Powers. But this expansion had simultaneously wiped out the economic foundation of the democracy which gave it birth. Individual private property in the nation's economy yielded place to big factories and plants concentrated and centralised in the hands of a small group of people who constitute the upper strata of the ruling capitalist class.

Agriculture, which felt this process least sharply in terms of production, was completely overshadowed by the growth of industry and the cities, but even the individual farm producer fell into the clutches of finance capital through mortgages, usury and market monopolies.

Individual craftsmen almost disappeared, replaced by the great armies of propertyless wage workers in mass production, in which thousands and even tens of thousands became cogs in a single big productive

mechanism under a single impersonal corporate direction.

Production became social—while ownership remained private but confined to a smaller and smaller group which, through economic power, became the real rulers of the country. Political democracy was reduced largely to what Anatole France described as “the equal right of rich and poor alike to sleep under bridges.”

The World War, which brought America to full realisation of this process, thus gave it the illusion of grandeur and power precisely at the time when it had prepared the general breakdown of the whole capitalist system.

The tremendous productive economy could not, under the laws of capitalism, operate except under the stimulus of a constantly increasing mass of profits; these accumulated in the hands of a small class which, already exhausted in the search for new forms of wasteful consumption, could use these enormous funds only for further capital investment for further profits.

Economic paralysis, or war, became the Hobson's choice facing a society not prepared to break the bounds of capitalism and pass over to a socialist system. And, it is well known, in 1929 a tremendous economic crisis befel North America, with all the consequences that follow, and out of which it has not been able to emerge for many years.

During this same period, the starving beggar, as our arrogant American capitalists considered Soviet Russia, emerged as the land achieving unparalleled successes in all fields—economically, politically, culturally.

Surrounded by a hostile world, with nothing other than its natural resources and its superior system of social organisation, the Soviet Union has restored its wrecked economy, and multiplied its industrial production to more than eight times the pre-war level, to thirteen times that of the early 1920's, and more than four times that of 1929, advanced in Europe to the first in industrial output, and is now engaged in a race to catch up with the United States, and in some branches of industry is surpassing the latter.

The rate of growth of Soviet economy is five or six times that of the United States in its period of most rapid expansion.

In the period when the American standard of living fell on the average by 50 per cent., the standard of living in the Soviet Union was raised by 400 per cent. While America was throwing 13,000,000 factory and office workers onto the streets, unemployed, of whom seven or eight million are still dependent upon the relief dole, the Soviet Union was not only abolishing all unemployment, but doubling the size of the industrial working class.

While American agriculture was saved from de-

struction only by gigantic subsidies, paying for the curtailment and destruction of crops and cattle, Soviet agriculture had been reorganised on a collective, socialist basis and considerably advanced its production with a considerable increase of living standards of the collective farmers—bringing a life of culture and security to the agrarian population for the first time in human history.

Above all, at a moment when democracy and culture are destroyed in a considerable part of Europe by the barbarian hordes of Fascism; when heroic Spain is engaged in the armed defence of its independence and democracy; when China, the greatest country of Asia, fights against odds for its very existence, when democracy is under fire and threatened in North America—at this moment the peoples of former Tsarist Russia, so recently the synonym of backwardness, steps forward with its new Constitution, shaped under the guiding hand of Stalin, a Constitution which is a new high mark in the achievement of democracy, such as in the past only a few great spirits could dream of, but which now comes to life in the everyday activities of 170,000,000 people who inhabit the U.S.S.R.

The Constitution of the United States was considered by many generations to be the most democratic in the world; but compare it with that of the Soviet Union.

The U.S. Constitution tolerated for generations the disfranchisement of the great majority of the population; for eighty years it confirmed slavery for one-tenth of the population; its grant of suffrage to the Negroes is still largely unrealised to-day; for over 130 years it excluded half the population, the women, from suffrage; citizenship rights begin only at the age of twenty-one years.

The Soviet Constitution provides suffrage for all citizens of the U.S.S.R., the only exception being those adjudged by a court as insane or guilty of a major crime against the State; the right to vote begins at eighteen years.

The U.S. Constitution provides unproportional representation; in the Senate, without which no law can be adopted, the four or five million voters of the twenty-four smallest States have equal power with the 35,000,000 voters of the twenty-four largest States. Within the States, unproportional representation is also common.

The Soviet Constitution provides for absolutely proportional representation, with one representative in the highest Council for each 300,000 of the population, and for the lower, Provincial, Councils one for each smaller bloc of voters in proportion. The equal representation in the Council of Nationalities, regardless of population, guards the special interests of the different nationalities in the Union, without the possibility of a minority veto over the majority.

The U.S. Constitution established a judiciary which in practice has become the supreme power, which is appointed for life, which is irremovable, and which is responsible at no time to the people or to their representatives.

The Soviet Constitution provides for the election of the organs of power, including the judiciary, for a limited number of years and with the right of recall.

The U.S. Constitution, in the Amendments constituting the Bill of Rights, denies to the National Government the power to pass any laws limiting the civil rights of the people, the most important being the rights of free speech, press and assembly. But it does not prohibit the States from making such limitations, and the struggle for civil rights is thus merely transferred to the States, where in fact they are in many cases limited. The livelihood of the citizens, without which no rights have any meaning whatever, does not come within the scope of the U.S. Constitution at all.

The Soviet Constitution has as its very heart the specific guarantee of paid work for every citizen, vacations with pay, free education, and adequate leisure. The working day is limited to seven hours for the majority of workers, with six hours for dangerous occupations. The rights of free speech, press and assembly in accordance with the interests of the working people and to strengthen the Socialist system, are guaranteed by putting at the disposal of the Soviet citizens, and their organisations, meeting halls, public buildings, the radio, printing presses and paper, etc.

The foundation for all these guarantees is the possession of the entire national economy by the people, and its operation for their common benefit, which is made permanent in the Constitution.

Democracy, the control of State power by the people, acting on the principle of the subordination of the minority to the majority and the delegation of power to representatives periodically chosen by election, can be historically developed only upon the foundation of an appropriate economic system.

Democracy in North America has been almost completely deprived of its original economic foundation. The illusion, fostered for a time by capitalist propaganda, of a democratisation of capital by widespread corporate-stock ownership, was given its final death-blow by the last crisis.

In our country, as in other bourgeois-democratic countries, a re-alignment of forces is taking place with the capitalists, their agents and dupes on the one side, fighting for maintenance of their profits, and the exploited masses on the other side, fighting for a better life. This is the process that has brought the present chaos in the traditional political life of the United States and Canada.

For a time the monopoly capitalists are able to

keep this struggle of the masses under their control, within certain limits, by trickery, fraud and force, by keeping the toiling masses divided and fighting one another. But finally, when all these resources fail them, when they see the masses uniting at last against them, upon a programme of the betterment of their standard of living, then the capitalists begin to destroy the bourgeois democracy which in the past served them so well, but which are now becoming inconvenient for them.

The reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie turn to Fascism, the open, brutal and bloody dictatorship of finance capital. They destroy democracy—always under the pretext that democracy is threatened with destruction at the hands of Communism, of Marxism, of Bolshevism. It is an infallible sign of the menace of Fascism when, as in the United States to-day, such moderate democrats as President Roosevelt and La Guardia, the Mayor of New York, who openly proclaim their allegiance to capitalism, are denounced by the Tories as “Communists.”

Bourgeois democracy to-day is destroyed in much of the capitalist world. Its survival in the U.S.A. will depend to a considerable degree on how far the programme of John L. Lewis and the Committee for Industrial Organisation and the economic reforms and the peace programme of President Roosevelt is carried out. Democracy will always be in danger of destruction so long as the national economy is owned and controlled by a small plutocratic capitalist class. The only final guarantee for democracy is the transfer of ownership of the national economy from the hands of the capitalist class into the hands of the whole people, that is, through Socialism.

That is the main lesson to be drawn by us to-day, in the North American countries, from an examination of the achievements of twenty years of Soviet power in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has been able, in a world where elsewhere democracy is on the defensive or destroyed, to make an advance to real socialist democracy; precisely because it has taken both economic and political power out of the hands of the exploiting classes, because it has built Socialism, precisely because it has given to democracy a full and complete economic foundation, one which will endure, which will not be undermined and disappear as did the individual small private property. Every advance of science in the Soviet Union, every increase in production and productivity, strengthens Soviet democracy and its economic foundation.

The Soviet Union has shown the way to guarantee the rights of the people and for its fullest development. And such a democracy is unconquerable.

SOCIALISM AND THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

From all that has been said, it follows that the central political task of the day in the U.S.A. is to organise the working class, and around it the majority of the people, to fight for a better life, and to defend democracy against the attacks of the capitalists who are turning to Fascism.

The toiling masses, organised to defend democracy and defeat Fascism, will learn, through their experience and our explanatory work, that the full transition to Socialism is the only final solution of our problems, the only final outcome of the struggle. The struggle for realising Socialism is, however, not the beginning of all this process, but rather its outcome.

To make the immediate transition to Socialism the question of the day would merely serve to split off the small minority of those who stand for Socialism from the masses; to leave these masses, without our unifying and organising influence, open to all the splitting and disruptive influences of the bourgeoisie; and thus to facilitate the coming to power of Fascism and the destruction of democracy.

The People's Front against reaction, Fascism and war—that is the central task of the day. That is what all sincere democrats who resist Fascism must also want, whether they agree with our Socialist programme or not. We can completely agree with such non-Socialist democrats upon the united defence of democracy under capitalism. We never had, and never will have, a programme of trying to force Socialism upon an unwilling majority of the people. Within the People's Front for democracy and peace, we grant the full right of the non-Socialists to propose, explain and defend their methods of solving our problems, in every effort to improve conditions under capitalism we will give our fullest energies for success, thus giving them the most favourable conditions possible for their programme.

At the same time, we ask for ourselves the freedom of educational work to explain our understanding of the laws of social development, of why we think Socialism is necessary and finally inevitable.

This is the true relation of the People's Front to Socialism. This is quite different from the view of the opportunist sectarianism, of such Socialists as Norman Thomas in the U.S., and some Commonwealth Federation leaders in Canada. These people, under the influence of Trotskyism, see in the People's Front an obstacle to or an enemy of Socialism, instead of the necessary precondition for the successful struggle against Fascism and war, which facilitates the advance of the working class to the victory of Socialism.

Their position only reflects their shallow understanding of Socialism, and of the laws of social development in general. They have the illusion, on the one hand, that by placing their “socialism”

against the people's unity to resist Fascism, they will thereby force these people to come over to Socialism as the only alternative, however unwilling they may be. On the other hand, they have so little faith in their ability to convince the majority, by the simple compulsion of logic and experience, that they are afraid to join in a larger mass movement with a goal short of Socialism, for fear of getting lost in the movement; therefore they hinder the people's front movement, thus facilitating the road to Fascism.

In cutting loose from their old style of opportunist Socialism, they got lost and fell into the trap of Trotskyism, which began as opportunism disguised in Left phrases and is now a real agency of Fascism with the same mask.

Trotskyism is treachery reduced to a science. Defeated and driven out everywhere it shows its face openly, Trotskyism now works in a hidden manner, especially making use of confused Liberals and Socialists like John Dewey and Norman Thomas, who have lost their bearings in the chaos of capitalist disintegration.

In the struggle against this poisonous and wrecking influence, as in every other phase of the struggle for progress, workers and other progressives can

learn much from the experience of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union resolutely cuts short the undermining work of the traitors to the Socialist Fatherland, spies and diversionists, enemies of the people, hirelings of German Fascism or the Japanese militarists. With its house cleaned of traitorous and degenerate elements the Soviet Union is driving ahead with its Socialist construction, is still further strengthening its military defences, and is holding out the hand of co-operation to all the democratic and peace-loving peoples of the world.

The Soviet Union has defeated all its enemies, internal and external, and has successfully constructed its new Socialist society, because it was guided by the teaching of the great geniuses of mankind, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The People's Front will be formed and will defeat Fascism, because its conception was in the same scientific understanding of the laws of history.

These are the main thoughts that arise from an examination of twenty years of Soviet power, of the triumphant emergence of the new society, which is showing the road for the entire world, which to-day stands as the most reliable protector of democracy and peace.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION

By V. KOPETSKY

THE Great October Revolution has had a powerful and beneficial influence upon the fate of Czechoslovakia and its working-class movement. The national liberation of the Czech people, the independence of Czechoslovakia, her existence as a State, are all to a considerable extent the historical product of the influence of the October Revolution. The proletarian revolution in Russia accelerated the breakdown of the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy, not only by the fact that it increased the anti-war, anti-imperialist movement of the masses of the people in the countries that made up Austro-Hungary; not only by the fact that, thanks to the October Revolution, there developed a revolutionary Socialist working-class movement in Austria and especially in the Czech regions; but also in that it exerted a revolutionising influence over the movement of the oppressed peoples of Austro-Hungary. The right of nations to self-determination which played such a considerable role in the struggle for the national liberation of the Czech people and for the winning of the independence of Czechoslovakia, was for the first time laid down by

Lenin and Stalin, and realised in Russia after the Great October Revolution of 1917.

The whole of the Czech nation will always remember with gratitude the fact that in 1912, during his journey to Austria, Comrade Stalin became acquainted with and studied the position of the Czechs, and before the war already, in his work "Marxism and the National Question," put forward the demand for the complete liberty and independence of the Czech nation and the other oppressed nations of Austro-Hungary.

The Czech nation will never forget that Lenin and Stalin gave them the slogan of victorious October, and that in the principles for solving the national question elaborated by them at the end of the war, they provided the national-revolutionary movement with a powerful weapon.

Without the Bolshevik October of 1917 there would not have been the Czechoslovak October of 1918—the independent State of Czechoslovakia would not have been established in October, 1918. Without the Bolshevik October of 1917 the Czechoslovak State

would not have arisen as a republican and democratic State. For it was only due to the influence of the October Revolution that the democratic wave rose so high in Czechia and Slovakia, that the plans of the reactionaries to create a Czechoslovak monarchy or some other non-democratic State suffered defeat.

Another fact is connected with the powerful influence of the October Revolution, namely that in the post-war period the majority of the organised, class-conscious workers of Czechoslovakia followed the road of the proletarian revolutionary movement, and that the Communist movement in Czechoslovakia became a force embracing (out of the 15 million forming the population of the country) one million adult citizens and electors, not counting the members of their families and young people. The close historical link between the mass of the working people of Czechoslovakia and the cause of the October Revolution and the Soviet Union has endowed the revolutionary Communist movement with sufficient strength successfully to frustrate the attempts of all those who are trying to crush the revolutionary movement, to drive it underground. There was the time when certain "democrats" and "Socialists" in Czechoslovakia asserted that the feeling of friendship towards the Soviet Union contradicted the interests of the working-class movement in the country, and even hindered the maintenance of the independence of the Czechoslovak Republic. But such views never met with a lively response in the minds of the masses of the people of Czechoslovakia. The masses of the working people of Czechoslovakia have felt, more deeply even than in other countries, that the maintenance of the independence of the Czechoslovak Republic, the interest of the country and of the working-class movement, are indissolubly linked up with the existence and consolidation of the Soviet Union.

When the Fascist menace became a real one, when Hitler began to menace the peace and independence of Czechoslovakia, much became still more clear. Many of those who had formerly indulged in anti-Soviet and anti-Communist agitation in the name of Czechoslovak democracy became silent. The slanderous inventions about the Soviet Union that had for years been nurtured and spread about began to melt away. Truth was victorious! The feeling of love and friendship of the mass of the working people of Czechoslovakia towards the Soviet Union, which had previously been suppressed and had called forth repression, now burst forth in a mighty torrent.

The overwhelming majority of the population is filled with friendship for the Soviet Union: this friendship is particularly clearly manifested in the Czech regions. And this is as it should be. The mass of working people who have always recognised the great aid rendered by the October Revolution in the

work of winning independence for Czechoslovakia have also become convinced that to-day also the Soviet Union is the firm buttress of Czechoslovak independence, the historic support of the independent existence of the Czechoslovak Republic. At times when, due to Hitler Fascism, the international situation has become tense in the extreme, the Czechoslovak people have recognised with increasing clearness what a great historic achievement is represented by the Soviet Union, how much it means for the cause of peace, for the defence of the small nations and States, for international progress, for the defence of democracy.

The peoples of Czechoslovakia are becoming increasingly clear in recognising that the strength of the Soviet Union is Czechoslovakia's decisive buttress against Hitler, and that her strong, peaceful alliance with the U.S.S.R. and the invincible might of the glorious Red Army constitute a most powerful barrier in the path of an invasion of Czechoslovakia by Hitler.

With the aid of the whole of his Fascist propaganda machine, Hitler trumpets out to the whole world that Czechoslovakia is a Bolshevick country. He is trying thereby to set the public opinion of the bourgeois-democratic States against Czechoslovakia and to deceive the world, to hide the fact that his aggression is turned against Czechoslovak democracy. Only villainous, aggressive Fascism can see any danger in the fact that there is a growing determination among the people of Czechoslovakia, under the influence of their friendship with the Soviet Union, to defend their independence by all means in their power. True, to-day the attachment to the Soviet Union has become so universal that anybody who attacks the Soviet Union is regarded as an accomplice of the Fascist enemies of Czechoslovakia. In Czechoslovakia friendly relations with the Soviet Union have become the basis of all progressive and democratic ideas, the basis of loyalty to the country itself, to the interests of the Czechoslovak people itself.

The close connection between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union has undoubtedly encouraged the strengthening of democracy in the country. For the people of Czechoslovakia as well the New Stalin Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is the best proof that the rule of the working class, Socialism leads to the realisation of the most mature, the firmest, highest form of democracy. The democratically-minded, democratically inclined people of Czechoslovakia are conscious that their own democracy and Soviet democracy are in one line of battle against hateful Fascism which bears with it the ruin of all democracy.

A feeling of admiration for the Soviet Union, the Land of Socialist Democratism, fills not only the masses of the Czech and Slovene peoples; it is also developing among the other nations, including the

mass of the German working people of Czechoslovakia who are defending democracy in extremely difficult conditions. Henlein's Fascist organisation—this putschist instrument of the "Third Empire"—has not destroyed the positions of German democracy in the Sudet region. There, the anti-Fascist Germans, headed by the German Communists, are conducting an heroic struggle. They are erecting a dam against Hitler on the borders of the "Third Empire." These fighters for democracy, these defenders of German culture are finding powerful moral support in the existing friendship between the Czechoslovak Republic and the U.S.S.R. The attitude of the broad masses of non-Czech nationalities of Czechoslovakia towards Prague is changing. And this is because Czechoslovakia has begun to come forward in favour of peace, because it maintains friendly relations with the Soviet Union, and because the solution of the national question is connected with the very existence of the Republic. The people who populate Czechoslovakia (Czechs, Slovenes, Hungarians, Poles, Germans, Ukrainians) are prepared to rally their forces for the struggle against the aggressor from without.

Under the influence of the victories of the Soviet Government and its policy of the struggle for peace, under the influence of the historic decisions of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, a process is taking place in Czechoslovakia, as throughout the world, of ideological and political concord between the Socialist and Communist workers, the relations between Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R. are helping the rapprochement of the Communists with the Socialist workers and the conduct of the policy of the united workers' and people's anti-Fascist fronts.

The Socialist workers are filled with the heartiest feelings for the Soviet Union. Even among the officials of the Socialist Parties in Czechoslovakia there is scarcely one who dares to refer disparagingly to the friendship with the U.S.S.R. The decisive thing here is not only the interests of the Republic as a State, but also the recognition that the Soviet Union is the strongest support of the *whole* of the working-class movement in the struggle against Fascism and war.

Lying speeches against the Soviet Union are no more. There is no more talk about the Soviet Union trying to split the international working-class move-

ment. The general sympathy for the Soviet Union, the Land of Socialism, is creating conditions for the Communist and Socialist workers to renew their unity as a class and on this basis to advance together against Fascism and war, in defence of liberty, bread and democracy, as the workers of Spain and France are doing.

The Socialist and Communist workers are united by the joint resistance which they are offering to the Trotskyists, these traitors to the working class. The working class and all the peoples of Czechoslovakia are becoming convinced from their own experience that Trotskyism is a criminal agency of Hitler Fascism. The Czechoslovak Trotskyists declare that a blow must be delivered at the friendship between Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R., allegedly in the interests of "the struggle against Hitler." This means betraying their own country and the cause of the working class. This foul agitation calls forth the deepest indignation of the working class of Czechoslovakia.

The Socialist workers are becoming convinced that the leader of the people, Comrade Stalin, has brought about the victory of Socialism, that under Stalin's guidance the U.S.S.R. has become transformed into a mighty force operating in the interests of the whole of progressive mankind.

The Twentieth Anniversary of the Soviet Union strengthens the knowledge in the minds of the mass of working people of Czechoslovakia that advance is possible only along the road of progress, a road along which the Soviet Union has historically outstripped all others, and that, in addition to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia must also see the victory of progress, the bearer of which is the forces of the revolutionary working class and forces of the people's front.

The Twentieth Anniversary of the Soviet Union strengthens the knowledge in us of our historic mission, it strengthens in us the will to rally still more closely around the banner of the Communist International, to achieve the situation where our ranks are still more imbued with the spirit of Bolshevism, the spirit of the principles of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin, and to march forward to liberty, following the brilliant example set to the whole of the international working class movement by Lenin, Stalin, the C.P.S.U., victorious October and the U.S.S.R., the land of victorious Socialism.

REMINISCENCES OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND OF AN INTERVIEW WITH V. I. LENIN

By W. GALLACHER

A FEW days before the February Revolution some of the Clyde shop stewards, of whom I was one, were liberated from Calton prison, in Edinburgh, after serving terms of twelve months' imprisonment for sedition. A number of others had been deported from the Clyde, but shortly after our release, the deportation orders were withdrawn, and they returned to their homes.

We started where we had left off in the fight against the war, but there were two special issues around which we conducted increasing campaigns on the streets and in the factories. Support for "Free Russia" aroused the greatest enthusiasm among the masses, and the sailors of a Russian warship, which was then in the Clyde, were the nightly guests of the Glasgow workers.

"Free Russia" swept the country; Tsarism, with all its black and hateful past, had gone, and Russia had taken a great step forward. But was this the end? There were many on the platform at the great Workers' and Soldiers' Congress in Leeds, who anxiously hoped that it might be that Russia, having got rid of the Tsar, would settle down to a nice, respectable bourgeois existence.

I remember, during the discussion on a resolution welcoming the new freedom, drawing attention to the fact that the Revolution wasn't finished, that the workers and peasants, after their sacrifices, were not going to step out of the picture, weren't going to give up their Soviets. While I did not know in what form the struggle would continue, it was not long before the slogan from Russia: "All Power to the Soviets!" rang out loud and clear.

One campaign, which was peculiar to the Clyde, was that for the release of John McLean. Whilst I and some others had been sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment, the fiery, irrepressible leader of the revolutionary movement in Scotland had been sentenced to three years' penal servitude. Regularly we made parades through the streets and demonstrations at the factories demanding his release. By July, 1917, we had him with us again, after he had served 15 months of his sentence. From July to October, the fight against the war was conducted with ever-increasing energy. McLean never halted. Day and night classes, demonstrations, factory meetings—everywhere the struggle went on.

Alongside the fight against war went the struggle for "Free Russia", but this was assuming a different character. The slogans and programme of the Bolsheviks made an immediate appeal to all the active workers on the Clyde, and especially to John McLean. As a revolutionary and one of the finest Marxists, he had no difficulty in following the situation that was developing in Russia nor of imparting what he knew to the meetings of workers always anxious to listen to him. But the press was making a terrific propaganda against the Bolsheviks and the new stage of the revolution. Constant new stories were put out to blacken the Bolsheviks and satisfy the "moderate opinion" that the "extremists" were finished.

When Kornilov marched on Petrograd, the British press hailed him as the saviour of Russia. Then the great news came through. The slogan: "All Power to the Soviets!" had become an actual fact. A great demonstration was immediately organised in Glasgow to celebrate the proletarian victory. For the first time in history our class had taken power and were using it to end capitalism and usher in Socialism. It was not possible to describe the effect this great event had upon us. The workers had taken over one-sixth of the world—the world could never be the same again.

The class struggle had now reached a stage where the bitter hatred of the bourgeoisie would be directed not only against the workers of Russia, but also against those who aspired to follow their example. "Follow Russia!" now took the place of "Free Russia!" on our banners. The lies of the press increased a thousandfold. The hate propaganda that had been at full blast against the Germans was turned into a mad fury against the Bolsheviks. But while this had a certain effect, it was very limited. Not only was there the activity of John McLean and the shop stewards, but the instincts of the Clyde proletariat responded immediately to the October Revolution. Our victory demonstrations brought out great masses of the Clyde workers. Banners and slogans of the most colourful and inspiring character attracted a ready response from those who lined the streets as we marched along.

From a platform at Glasgow Green, John McLean thundered forth a welcome to the Soviet Government and a pledge to carry on the fight until we too had

ended with the reign of capitalism and made our own Soviets in Britain.

What a contrast he was to a certain Kautskian brand of "Marxist" who tried to argue that the October Revolution couldn't be a true revolution because "socialism could only come after capitalism had reached its peak and exhausted itself." But we know that it was a "true" revolution, that the workers, in alliance with the peasants, had taken power for the first time in history, that capitalism had given way at its weakest link. It was for us to hammer out the other links until they also gave way. To this task we pledged ourselves in the early days of the October Revolution. We gloried in the triumphs of our heroic Russian comrades and pledged ourselves anew to the cause of working-class emancipation.

The October days of 1917 were great days for us; they will only be equalled when our own October comes and we march forward to the conquest of power and the end of the evil reign of capitalism.

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In 1920 I got appointed by the comrades in Glasgow, associated with the Clyde Workers' Committee (Shop Stewards' Movement) to attend the Second Congress of the Communist International. We were at that time "Left" sectarians, and refused to participate in the discussions taking place between the B.S.P. and the S.L.P. on the questions of the formation of a Communist Party in Britain.

We had the project in view of starting a "pure" Communist Party in Scotland, a party that would not under any circumstances touch either the Labour Party or parliamentary activity.

As I hadn't a passport, and as there was little likelihood of getting one, I set out for Newcastle, where, after a week's effort, I succeeded, with the assistance of a Norwegian comrade, who was a fireman, in getting safely stowed away on a ship for Bergen. From Bergen I travelled up to Vords, from Vords to Murmansk, and from there to Leningrad. When I arrived at Leningrad, the Congress, which had opened there, was in session in Moscow, to where it had been transferred after the opening.

In Smolny I was made comfortable in a room, while some of the comrades tried to find an interpreter. While I was writing, one of them came in and handed me *Left Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*, which had just been printed in English. I started reading it quite casually, but when I came to the section dealing with Britain, and saw what it had to say about me, I sat up with a jolt. I had come away from Glasgow with the notion that our case against the Labour Party and against participation in Parliament was so sound, so unassailable, that all I would have to do would be to put a few well-rehearsed arguments, and the B.S.P. and S.L.P. would be wiped off the map. It was a real shock to find that already

before I had been anywhere near the Congress, all the fancy building I had been doing was knocked into complete ruin. But at that time all the questions raised by Lenin were far from being clear to me, as was evident later in my speeches at the Congress.

I got to Moscow on a Saturday at mid-day, and was taken to a hotel just in time to be taken to a "subotnik." I got a job till eight at night stacking pig-iron in a foundry. On Sunday I was persuaded to play a football match, and got myself kicked all over the field for an hour and a half. At night I met and had a very interesting talk with a young French comrade named Lefevre, who had been lost along with another companion and three fishermen between Murmansk and Vords.

On Monday, with other delegates, I made my way to the Kremlin and to my first acquaintance with an International Congress. In the main hall, groups of delegates were standing chatting and arguing.

We passed through into the side room, where delegates sat drinking tea, writing reports or preparing speeches. I was introduced to delegates from this and that country, and then I got into a group, and someone said: "This is Comrade Lenin," just like that. I held out my hand and said: "Hello." I was stuck for anything else to say.

He said, with a smile, as he was told that I was Comrade Gallacher from Glasgow: "We are very pleased to have you at our Congress." I said something about being glad to be there, and then we went on talking about other things. I kept saying to myself: "Christ, there's war everywhere, there are internal problems and external problems that would almost seem unsurmountable. Yet here is a comrade supremely confident that the Bolsheviks can carry through to victory." Lenin joked and laughed with the comrades, and occasionally, when I said something, he would look at me in a quaint way. I later discovered that this was in consequence of my English. He had difficulty in understanding it.

I immediately felt that I was talking, not to some "faraway great" man hedged around with an impossible barrier of airs, but to Lenin, the great Party comrade who had a warm smile and cheery word for every proletarian fighter.

When I got going in the discussions on the political resolution and the trade union resolution, I got a very rough handling. Some of my best arguments were simply riddled. Opponents, when I got up to speak, never missed a chance of "cutting in." Naturally, I would snap back at them, and things sometimes got very hot. As I felt the ground slipping away from beneath my feet, I got very bad tempered. But Lenin, while carrying on an irreconcilable criticism "in principle" of my line, would always take the opportunity of saying something helpful, something that

took away a lot of the soreness from the difficult position my wrong ideas rushed me into.

In the Political Commission the same thing was going on as in the open sessions. Every time I got up to speak I would say things in such an offensive way that interruptions would start, and then two or three of us would be at it hammer and tongs. On several occasions at these sittings Lenin passed me short, pencilled notes explaining a point or showing me where I was wrong.

When the sitting would finish, I'd tear up my own notes, and I tore up Lenin's along with them. It seems incredible now that I could do such a thing, but I never thought of it at the time. Towards the end of the Political Commission, when I had been very aggressive about the B.S.P. and S.L.P., he passed me across a note, which in a very short, caustic way gave an estimation of these groups. At night I mentioned in confidence to one or two comrades that Lenin had given me a note about the B.S.P. and S.L.P. which, if I had shown them, would have made them blink. "Where is it?" one of them asked. "Oh, I tore it up," I casually replied. "You what? You tore up a note in Lenin's handwriting?" He was aghast. "I tore up several," I said, but they were personal and I didn't think he'd want me to keep them." This fellow, who turned out later to be a thorough renegade, got me to promise if I got another that I would give it to him, though it should have been obvious to me at the time that what he was interested in was the handwriting of a "great man," not in Lenin's politics.

Two days later in the Political Commission, in the midst of a breeze, and while I was speaking, someone made a reference to *Infantile Sickness*. "Yes," I said, "I've read it, but I'm no infant. It's all right to treat me as one and slap me around when I'm not here, but when I'm here you'll find I'm an old hand at the game." This latter phrase caught Lenin's attention, and some time later, when Willie Paul visited Russia, Lenin repeated it to him with a quite credible Scotch accent. When I sat down after this effort he passed me a note which read: "When I wrote my little book, I hadn't met you." I gave that note to the aforementioned renegade to my present great regret.

While insistent in carrying through his political line, Lenin gave both in the open sessions and in the Political Commission every conceivable assistance to myself and other comrades, in order to help us to political clarity.

Then when I went to visit him at home I had my greatest experience. I sat down before him and we

talked of the building of a party and its role in leading the revolutionary struggle. I had never thought much about the Party before, but I began then to get a real understanding of what a Communist Party should be. He was dead against the project for a separate Party in Scotland. I would have to work, join up in the newly-formed Party in Britain. I made objections, I couldn't work with this one or the other one.

"If you put the revolution first," he said, "you won't find any difficulty. For the revolution you will work with all sorts of people for a part of the way at any rate. But if you start off by shutting yourself away from everyone, instead of getting in amongst them and fighting for the line of revolutionary advance, you won't get anywhere. Get into the Party and fight for the line of the Communist International, and you'll have the strength of the Communist International behind you."

In all our talk the "revolution" was the living, throbbing theme of all that was said. I never had an experience like it. I couldn't think of Lenin personally. I couldn't think of anything but the revolution and the necessity of advancing the revolution, whatever the cost might be. This, ever since, seemed to me to be the outstanding quality of Lenin's great genius. He never thought of himself, he was the living embodiment of the revolutionary struggle, and he carried with him wherever he went the inspiration of his own great conviction.

During the course of the Congress I had another very close friend, Artem, who was killed in an accident the following year. Artem, or Serjief, as he was more commonly known, used to talk a lot with me of the experience they had in the early days of the Party. He was only about 19 or 20 when Lenin broke with the Mensheviks. He was absolutely devoted to Lenin and the Party.

In the course of one of our talks he said to me: "We have another great leader who is never heard of outside the Party, Comrade Stalin. Often when there is an exceptionally difficult problem before the Political Bureau, all eyes will turn to Stalin. In a few well-chosen sentences he will give his solution, and it's always clear and decisive." That was the first time I'd ever heard the name of Stalin. When I returned to Glasgow and reported my impressions of the Congress, it was the first time any of the Glasgow comrades heard his name. It wasn't till I was over again, in 1923, that I had the opportunity of meeting Stalin and learning at first hand how correct the estimation of Serjief was.

WRITERS, SCIENTISTS AND POLITICIANS ABOUT THE U.S.S.R.*

ABOUT COMRADE STALIN—A MAN
“THROUGH WHOM A NEW WORLD
OPENS UP”

HENRI BARBUSSE

... ONE of the men standing on Lenin's monument raises his hand to the peak of his cap or waves his hand at the end of his arm bent into a right angle at the elbow. He wears a long military cloak, but this does not distinguish him in any way from the people with him.

That man is the centre, the heart of everything that radiates from Moscow on the surrounding world. . . .

. . . The biography of Stalin, says Kalinin, is an extremely important part of the Russian workers' revolutionary movement.

It is an integral part of it. And all those who know anything about it, wherever they may be, will tell you the same thing in the same terms.

It is a very serious undertaking to try to give a clear idea of a man mixed up to such an extent with the work of a whole continent; of a political fighter through whom one can see whole worlds and epochs. In following him one sets one's foot into the realm of history, one strides along untrodden paths, and one encounters new situations in the sacred annals of humanity. Documents crowd in upon one another and accumulate. There are too many of them, because of all that is contained in this resurrected land. One has to hew one's way, stroke by stroke, through this impassioned, still living and appealing encyclopædia of events.

And this brings us to the heart of what is not only the burning question of the hour, but is also the burning question of all time, namely, what is to be the future of the human race, so martyred hitherto by history, and what is the amount of comfort and the amount of earthly justice to which it may aspire? To sum up, to what have 2,000,000,000 human beings to look forward?

This question has come from the lowest strata of humanity and has been lifted out, adjusted and presented to the world by a few contemporary inventors, who claim that everything can be altered

here below by upheavals. And the man with whom we are dealing is their representative.

. . . But if one asks him what he is, he replies: "I am only a disciple of Lenin, and my whole ambition is to be a faithful disciple." It is curious to observe how, in many of the accounts of work accomplished under his direction, Stalin systematically gives credit for all the progress made to Lenin, whereas the credit has been in very large measure his own, because, in any case, no one can carry out the principles of Leninism without himself being an inventor. . . .

* * * *

GREETINGS FOR THE TWENTIETH ANNI-
VERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

ROMAIN ROLLAND (*France*)

To the young October Revolution which is to-day celebrating its twentieth anniversary, I bring grateful greetings from the sons of the old Revolution of the West.

We also, your French brothers, had at one time, like you, to conduct a furious struggle against a world of enemies both at home and abroad; and despite the heroism of our great forefathers of the Convent, our revolution, betrayed, mortally wounded, was forced to stop half-way, decapitated of its Robespierre. You, Soviet comrades, have raised the torch which fell from our hands, and in the hands of your great Lenin, the torch of liberty which he lit again, now shines over the whole world.

The unfinished work of the Convent now continues, and the new world of which we dreamed is being built by you. Greetings to Stalin, the builder, and to you all, millions who are building the great proletarian union of all races, of all nations, free and equal, filled with the joyous pride of working each for the well-being of all. Now, in spite of the bloody clouds of the years, when in the rest of the world a life-and-death struggle has broken out of the peoples against Fascism, your example and faith in the U.S.S.R. are leading the peoples.

Your powerful fortress which towers over Europe and Asia serves as their stronghold.

At the International Exhibition, high over the banks of the Seine, two young Soviet giants, "the collective farm woman and the worker," hold the sickle and hammer in indomitable transport before the Hitler eagle. And we hear the heroic hymn burst

* From materials of the Foreign Commission of the Union of Soviet writers, and also from articles published in the U.S.S.R. and abroad.

forth from their breasts which, like a new "Marseillaise," calls the people to freedom and unity and leads them to victory.

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ROMAIN ROLLAND ON HIS JOURNEY TO THE U.S.S.R.

(Interview with representatives of Soviet press in 1935)

I am happy that I have been able to come to the U.S.S.R., to the promised land of the whole of mankind. For the first time for many years the state of my health has made it impossible for me to undertake such a long journey. I am glad to be able to be inspired by your energy, to see your life, full of tireless activity, to make common cause with it. If I were young I would travel through and see the most distant corners of the U.S.S.R. First and foremost the new young republics: Tatory, Kazakhstan, Dagestan, Uzbekistan and Tadjikistan — young countries where most deeply of all is there to be felt the blossoming of vital forces, in so far as they are inhabited by peoples that were oppressed and backward under Tsarism.

My Comrades! In leaving Soviet soil I have one feeling: your soil is not foreign, it is my soil as well. I have met here much love, and I respond to you with the same feeling. There is not a single success, not a single victory of the great Socialist construction that you have achieved in which I have not participated with all my thoughts. I am confident that the future is yours. It belongs *to us*, my friends.

* * * *
TWENTY YEARS AFTER

By SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB

The Twentieth Anniversary of the Revolution of 1917 affords a convenient opportunity for a review of the fundamental pattern of social organisation which distinguishes the Soviet Union from every other community. . . .

We are still sometimes told that under Socialism the State must be the only employer! As a matter of fact, more than one-half of the adult inhabitants of the Soviet Union find themselves outside the ranks of public employees, even in the widest sense of that term. They are not in receipt of wage or salary at all, but work on their own account as handicraftsmen, fishermen or agriculturists, calling no man master, but producing either each for himself and family, or jointly as partners in co-operative production societies (*artels* or *kolkhozi*); after payment of the Government dues, selling their own products freely to consumers at the best price they can get. . . .

. . . In 1917 no economist in the Western world imagined that the elimination of competitive profit-making could possibly result in greater initiative and inventiveness in all fields, increased investment and

rationalisation by the captains of industry when these were merely employed at salaries; augmented zeal and diligence among the rank and file of manual workers, when the trade unions arranged the wage rates; and positively a larger dividend per head among a larger number of workers by hand and by brain than had even previously been distributed throughout this one-sixth of the surface of the globe. In 1937, twenty years later, this is what the economists who deign to look at the U.S.S.R. are now enforcedly recognising.

And the progress in material production has been, during the past decade, at least equalled by the advance in the physical health and cultural development of the people, whose numbers have gone on increasing each year—in spite of the so-called famines of which we still hear from enemies of the regime—by about as many as the whole of the rest of Europe put together. The crude death-rate has been reduced below two-thirds of what it was under the Tsar, whilst the infantile mortality has been halved. . .

. . . And, most important and most significant of all, there has been, since 1930, no involuntary mass unemployment among able-bodied men and women in the whole length and breadth of this immense country. Nor is such unemployment expected to recur. . . .

. . . One of these well-marked features in the Soviet pattern of social organisation is the constant insistence, throughout all collective activities and every branch of social life, on the widest possible participation. Not only is the political electorate the widest in the world, but it is now being cleared of all remaining exclusions and inequalities. In the trade union and co-operative organisations, with their tens of millions of members, the meetings are not only more numerous and frequent than in other countries, but also they are habitually attended by a majority of the membership and by women equally with men. The daily administration of the public services, in populous cities as in rural villages, is largely undertaken, not by the salaried officials, not even mainly by the elected councillors themselves, but, without remuneration, to a considerable extent by private citizens, as part of their voluntary social service. Fifty thousand men and women are reported to be habitually thus engaged in the city of Moscow. . . .

. . . More important, however, than this or that definition of democracy is the question of personal freedom. Leaving aside any quibbling about terms or their verbal definitions, the substantial issue is whether the indication, for the future of the Soviet Union, is towards greater or lesser freedom for its individual citizens than at present exists. . . .

. . . It may fairly be said that there is much reason for expecting that the Soviet Union will, in another decade or so, be able to demonstrate beyond cavil its

actual superiority, in a greater aggregate per head of individual freedoms, over any highly evolved large State, organised on the basis of capitalism and the direction of wealth production by competitive profit-making, with all the economic insecurity, and all the inequality of wealth and social conditions involved. .

. . . When nearly all the world seems staggering towards social and economic catastrophe, the pattern of the U.S.S.R. stands out as supremely that of a Land of Hope.

(From an article written for the Twentieth Anniversary of the October Revolution.)

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EXTRACTS FROM "SOVIET COMMUNISM: A NEW CIVILISATION." By SIDNEY AND BEATRICE WEBB.

. . . The Bolshevik experiment has, in the course of the past decade, demonstrated beyond all denial that neither the incentive of profit-making nor the existence of a capitalist class as the leaders and directors of industry is indispensable to wealth production on a colossal scale, or to its continuous increase.

. . . Assuming that the increase in wealth production and in population continue at their present compound rates, it seems likely that, in the course of two or three decades, the U.S.S.R. will have become the wealthiest country in the world, and at the same time the community enjoying the greatest aggregate of individual freedoms.

. . . It is these outstanding features of the emergent morality of Soviet Communism that seem to us to mark it off from that of all other civilisations. In particular, it is just these features that enable Communist morality to embrace more than the exaction of the performance of duty. Within its sphere is also the positive provision not only of universal opportunity for the enjoyment of life but also of equal provision of leisure for individual disposal. It is an essential part of the Good Life in the U.S.S.R. that every person should actually have the opportunity of working at the job that he finds within his capacity and chooses as that which he likes best. Labour, the Bolsheviks declare, is to cease to be merely continuous drudgery of an inferior class or race, and is to be made a matter of honour and a joy for every member of the community.

The authors in their book come to their last concluding question as to the fate of "Soviet Civilisation." Will it always remain a specific product developing only in the bounds of the U.S.S.R., or will it spread to other countries? To which they answer:

. . . Our own reply is: "Yes, it will." But how, when, where, with what modifications, and whether through violent revolution or by peaceful penetration, or even by conscious imitation, are questions we cannot answer.

THE IDEA MADE A LIVING REALITY

HEINRICH MANN (*Germany*)

All our lives we have suffered much at the hands of the State that has been against us, against our conscience, against the rational idea of justice and humanism.

And then a State arises which has as its aim that of which we have always dreamed, namely, to convert people into rational beings who work communally for the sake of the happiness of each, and who strive to make each more elevated and better, in a society which is constantly being perfected. The consciousness that such a State exists makes one happy. Many who live on the earth are saved from despair by the hope that their own country will one day follow this example.

The existence of the Soviet Union and its example save people the thought of the need to turn their backs on living realities. We are not living in a world of fantasy, our duty is to watch living realities and the facts of human life.

A few days ago I saw on the first page of a magazine in which a novel of mine is being printed, the speech of the leader of the Soviet Union about the new Constitution of that country. I admit that perfect democracy and realistic humanism cannot be accomplished in such a short space of time. Whole generations of Soviet people must pass through the school of democracy and humanism before they can answer all the demands of the new Constitution. But the hope that it will in spite of all be possible is extremely heartening, when you read the words of Stalin: so full of confidence, kindness and clarity of mind they are. For me it was a surprise that the head of such a gigantic State could combine all these qualities with tremendous energy. Nor had I ever come across the works of the head of a State on the first pages of a literary magazine; never before did I think that he could have the right to it by virtue of the talented form and effectiveness of his works. This undoubtedly is something new.

Besides the material satisfaction which, of course, is of great importance, the people also feel a moral and spiritual satisfaction. To feel that you are growing, to be pleased with yourself, to give all your leisure to science, to find in the theatre a reflection of the life that surrounds you, and that does not deprive one of courage but strengthens his spirit, all these as well are great factors. What profound satisfaction a writer must feel who takes part in such experiences!

Collaboration between the intelligentsia and proletariat is the only rational way out, because the proletariat will remain henceforth as well the bearer of culture and the class which creates the State. And we in the West are already setting about this collaboration. The type of intellectual who is afraid of proletarianisation is fading into the past. We must

see to it that the proletariat becomes intellectual. Incidentally, if non-committal emotional sympathy for the Soviet Union is simply a pleasant feeling, the rational confidence that in the history of mankind henceforth and evermore there is only one road to progress is still more important.

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THE LAND WHERE THE DREAM HAS COME TRUE

ISIDOR ASAVEDO (*Spain*)

Throughout the Soviet Union and everywhere I see new magnificent things. Moscow—the brain of this transformed country—seems to me a tremendous human hive, the bees of which are making precious honey. Nothing but the cells of a huge hive are the families whose members, men, women, children, are living in the land where the dream has come true. The laboratories where scientists engage in the most interesting investigations and experiments; the museums like, for instance, the Gorky Museum, which agitated me so much that I could not refrain from saying to the director: “It is worth while coming to Moscow from the distant corners of the earth if only in order to make the acquaintance of this marvellous museum”; the factories working to their uttermost limits, thanks to the latest technical achievements; the studios where artists embody their dreams and their inspirations in splendid works of art; the Soviet writers who so lovingly depict in their works the achievements of their country; the Moscow-Volga Canal, which I so clearly call again to mind in its entirety, after the splendid panorama I saw from the Himki river station and the country round about; the Metro, that wonderful combination of beauty and comfort. The Metro stations with their statues, mural decorations, marble columns, involuntarily call forth, from the traveller who sees them for the first time, the words: “This can only be created in a country where the working class are in power.”

And now, everything that has been created in the country is consolidated in the Stalin Constitution; aye, the Stalin Constitution, for the great Stalin, so loved by the working people of Spain and of all countries, imbued into this, the most democratic Constitution in the world, the best that his genius could create.

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UPTON SINCLAIR (*U.S.A.*)

I have followed the affairs of the U.S.S.R. during the past twenty years with most careful attention. I do not believe that ever before in the history of mankind have the masses of the people made such great progress, culturally, politically and economically. The hopes of all progressively-minded human beings

are with you. May you build up your strength so rapidly that the enemies of human welfare will not dare to attack you.

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MIRACLES ARE REALLY BEING ACHIEVED IN THE U.S.S.R.

LOUIS ARAGON (*France*)

Socialist realism or revolutionary romanticism are two names for one and the same thing. To render such a synthesis possible required the downfall of capital and the victory of Socialist economy.

The proletariat, which is in power, has nothing to hide. It is rich in the whole of human truth. It has no need of lies, it can look truth, reality straight in the face.

For among *its* activities there is not the robbery of the working people, the discovery of which is so unpleasant for the robber.

In the land of the victorious proletariat, culture is not a light shining down from above; it is not the creation of a handful of people: there it is engendered by all, there it grows out of the earth, there it washes and transforms everything, even the everyday manifestations of labour and everyday life. For in that land there is already to-day what we shall have to-morrow. There, in the U.S.S.R., miracles are being performed not on church pictures, but are being created in actual life by living working people.

I demand a return to reality in the name of the reality which is ruling to-day on one-sixth part of the earth, in the name of him who was the first to foresee this reality and who in the spring of 1845 wrote in Brussels:

“Philosophers have merely *explained* the world in different ways, but the thing is to *change* it.

(From a speech at the Congress in Defence
of Culture in 1935.)

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ONE MUST BELIEVE IN THIS COUNTRY

FRANS MASEREEL (*Belgian Artist*)

I think that to-day all men of good faith who have sufficient information about the Soviet Union must agree that it is in the U.S.S.R. that the social regime is being built which will assure to man a life more worthy, more human, more just; a life that will no longer permit the exploitation of man by man. The abolition of this exploitation denotes so much human progress, that it seems to me impossible not to subscribe fully to it, if one is not lacking entirely in all dignity, all sense of justice.

All we know, all we have seen of the Soviet achievements are a certain guarantee that the end which the builders of Socialist society are pursuing will be achieved. In all spheres there is not only the

guarantee of future victories, but much more: there are the achievements which not infrequently supercede the latest achievements of more advanced countries. . . .

I consider it essential to mention here how much the policy of the U.S.S.R. seems to me to be one of the principal guarantees of peace. If there is one country in the world that does not want war, it is, indeed, the U.S.S.R.

What particularly strikes the foreigner in the U.S.S.R., the foreigner who speaks the language and wants to make a close study of all he sees, is the tremendous yearning for knowledge, education which is characteristic of all the Soviet people, so different among themselves, for whom Stalin has created the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. Everywhere, beginning with the children right up to the aged, the thirst for culture is astonishing, and the means are given to all to quench this thirst or to perfect themselves in any direction.

A country that makes such an effort for culture in general is a country in which one must believe and on which one must lay one's hopes, because everything is done there by everybody for the well-being of all.

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I TURNED TO STALIN
HAROLD HESLOP (*England*)

Once I had seen the work done in the Soviet Union I saw the path of mankind more clearly. I began to re-read the classics of Marxism, this time with a newer understanding. I went back to "Capital," and from there I proceeded to make a fresh evaluation of the works of Lenin and Stalin. It must be remembered that these works have not been as accessible to the English student as they are in U.S.S.R. Even to-day most of the works of Lenin are not obtainable in this country. I found new food for thought in the newly-given works of Lenin and Stalin, and in them I heard again the notes of joy that I had listened to while I had sojourned in the Land of the Soviets.

Minds differ. People find it easier to assimilate certain textbooks than they do others. Economics have always made a certain appeal to me. Until I read Lenin on agricultural economic problems, I confess that the understanding of them had not been so clear to me. When I turned to Stalin and I read his great work—his greatest theoretical work, I think—on the National Questions, I found that my understanding of his great slogan "National in form, Socialist in content" had been of the most superficial kind.

I declare here and now that I regard Stalin as the greatest leader and social theorist alive to-day. Before his brilliance all else is dull. He stands in the great tradition of Marx, Engels and Lenin, an unquestioned

authority, a magnificent leader, unchallenged in the line of succession.

I boldly declare that without his guiding hand, his cool and wise leadership, his theoretical development of socialist thought, the U.S.S.R. would not have lived to this day in the same measure of success which it has attained. I regard the sagacity of Stalin as the most remarkable phenomenon of the years since the passing of Lenin.

Often his leadership has bewildered the watcher such as I, but it has always become apparent as that leadership developed to its conclusion that Stalin was right, and that the bewilderment I had experienced had been the result of my own inability to visualise the problem he had set himself to solve. I think that this is the experience of any person who has laid any claim to political foresight.

When Stalin laid a restraining hand upon those who might have turned collectivisation into a disaster, he welded the peasantry of the Soviet Union into a gigantic whole. By entering the League of Nations the colossal weight of the U.S.S.R. was flung into the balance and world peace was preserved for many years. By erupting the creatures of Trotsky he deprived the Fascists of their greatest allies. The New Constitution, fashioned under his magnificent leadership, consolidated those multifarious nationalities into a solid block of men and women marching forward to Communism with a hearty, swinging step. The New Constitution has deprived all the capitalist hacks in the outside world of all their most cynical gibes.

I consider Stalin's report to the Seventeenth Conference of the C.P.S.U. a classic utterance, and one which has taken its place in the literature of Communism alongside the greatest utterances of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The Land of the Soviets is coming of age.

After it has passed this, its twentieth anniversary, it will have reached humanity's estate.

One remembers the joy of Lenin when the proletarian revolution had outnumbered the days of the Paris Commune. To-day one looks around to find a force that can equal it. *There is none.*

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**THE LOVE OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF
THE WHOLE WORLD**

GEORGE BAKALOV (*Bulgaria*)

The difference between people in the Soviet Union and abroad is astounding. The worry in people's faces, the unending alarm for the morrow, convert people abroad into grim egoists, worried by the ever-present thought of how not to die of starvation. The accursed capitalist world, which has deprived the overwhelming masses of people of confidence in the morrow, which cripples them, converts them into un-

balanced, nervous creatures who quake for their lives, deprives them of their capacity for merriment, light-heartedness, joy, pleasure in life.

You meet another type of being at every step in the U.S.S.R.—a strong being who knows no fear for his existence, who is joyful, has lost his egoism, and is filled with boundless loyalty to his splendid great fatherland, which has fused its own work of building Socialism with the cause of the millions of working people throughout the world engaged in the struggle for Socialism. Working for the well-being of their native land and for Socialism (which is one and the same thing), the Soviet people are changing what is known as the nature of man. "Innate" egoism gives way to the psychology of class proletarian solidarity, solidarity between the working people of the Soviet Union and of the whole world. The egoist of class society becomes a Socialist, a Communist—the highest type of human nature.

On no account can we compare the anarchy, the barbarity, the devastation, decline, the awful state of profound depression, decay, the agony of the capitalist world with the joyous life in the Soviet Union, with the confident march of its progress, with its rapid flight onward, ever onward.

Vain are the restrictions of the censor, the prohibitions against Russian literature, the proscribing of Soviet newspapers, the silence about the uninterrupted successes of the Soviet Union, and the wide circulation, through the Fascist press, of the most absurd inventions about the great land of Socialism. The wild howl raised by all the press hyenas and jackals of Fascism will not lessen the growing love of the working people of the world for the first fatherland of Socialism.

Its successes are so great that nobody can hide them away.

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THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AS A TREMENDOUS STAGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MANKIND

HAROLD LASKI (*England*)

... No intelligent Socialist can deny that the Revolution represents one of the supremely beneficent epochs of history.

It has awakened a whole people from its slumber. In education, in public health, in economic construction, in the degree to which it has ended the exploitation of man by man, in its reclamation of wealth from the few for the masses, in its opening-up of the potentialities of production for the many, revolution has made possible in Russia a new epoch in the history of the world. . . .

There is in the new Russia for the masses what there was never for them in the old: the right to hope. That is what gives the Soviet Union to-day a

significance for the working class which it is fundamental to recognise.

Compared with the Tsarist regime, there has been in every aspect of life immeasurable improvement. . . .

But where the old Russia faced its future with dread, the new faces its future with confidence. Where life for the peasant and the industrial worker in the old Russia was, as Hobbes put it, "nasty, brutish, and short," life for them in the new offers the right to a sense of mastery over their lives. . . .

The career is open to the talented. . . .

New and immense reserves of talent and energy have been revealed which, in the old Russia, it was dangerous even to explore. As new wealth is discovered, it does not go to the few; it is garnered to the service of the many.

Compare the status of women in the old Russia with that of the new. Measure the significance of children in the epoch of the Tsars with that in the epoch which Lenin founded.

Set the Red Army alongside the army of the Tsars. . . .

Like the Renaissance, like the French Revolution, amid all its blood and tears, the Russian Revolution marks an immense stage in the liberation of mankind. . . .

Its purposes and its achievements entitle us to hope for the future. . . .

(From the article in the "Daily Herald" of March 12, 1937.)

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PROF. KEMAL DJDNAB (*Turkey*)

The astonishing thing about the U.S.S.R. is that everybody works there. This is not the case in any single country in the world.

It appears to me that Soviet Russia is in the full bloom of its material and human values.

I regret that I am no longer young, otherwise I would spend all my holidays in the U.S.S.R. learning from Russian physiologists. I am compelled to restrict my wish merely to correspondence with a number of Russian scientists.

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PROF. JORDAN (*Holland*)

(From the speech at the reception of delegates to the Fifteenth International Congress of Physiologists in the Kremlin, August 17, 1935.)

Professor Jordan (Holland) speaks of Soviet science as a "profoundly popular science," which is broadly and wisely spread among the working population.

"Your country is one of splendid construction—economic, scientific, cultural. The achievements of science serve the interests of this construction. Biologists know that every living being can develop only in the environment suitable to it. In the Soviet

Union there is a splendid environment for science, in which it can live, develop, and proceed to new great achievements.”

In conclusion, Prof. Jordan declared, amid the applause of those assembled, that “hundreds of foreign delegates will leave the confines of the Soviet Union as new and faithful friends acquired by it.”

* * * *

SCIENTISTS IN THE SOVIET UNION

(From speeches and declarations by delegates to the Seventeenth International Geological Congress on the eve of its closure, July 29, 1937.)

DR. F. SMITH (*Chairman of the U.S.A. delegation*)

... Even when we shall no longer be in your land the feelings that you have created within us will endure forever. We have learned to like you; we have learned the magnificent work that your Soviet geologists are performing. You have honoured some of us by feeling that we can help you in some of the problems in which we have been studying, so that we shall leave your country in person but we hope that the cords of enduring friendship that have been built up may never be severed. I cannot numerate all the things that you have done for us, the impressions that we carry back with us to our homeland, many of which we hope to adopt for the betterment of the governments and the peoples that we love and serve. It would take more than my allotted time. . . .

* * * *

JOSE ROYO I GOMEZ

(*Chairman of Spanish delegation*)

All the bright manifestations of Soviet life: the building of the Moscow-Volga Canal, the building of Polar stations, and the two big flights from Moscow through the North Pole to the United States of America, performed by the hero pilots Chkalov, Baidukov and Belyakov, Gromov, Yumashov and Danilin—all these show what a tremendous degree of perfection can be achieved by a country possessed of a political organisation created by such leaders as Lenin and Stalin. Thanks to them, the citizens of the Land of the Soviets are inspired with the desire to outdo even themselves in the interests of the common weal. Your country is free of dirty, imperialist aims.

For us, Spanish Republicans, the ideological character of the Congress is no less important than the scientific. To-day Spain is passing through a difficult period. The efforts of all reactionaries are united against the legally-constituted Government, against the Government chosen by universal suffrage. This was made use of by Fascism to invade our country and seize its wealth.

You cannot imagine how we feel the demonstrations of friendship and fraternal support that we are continually meeting in the Soviet Union.

This Congress will leave an indelible impression upon the delegation of the Spanish Republic, and a feeling of great gratitude to the Soviet people, whom I wish happy lives and progressive development for the benefit of peace and universal progress.

* * * *

WON WEN-HAO (*Chinese delegate, honorary guest*)

... The tremendous scope of geological science in the U.S.S.R., where, as I know, the Government assigns many millions of roubles for the purpose, has made a great impression upon me. I also noticed that geologists in the U.S.S.R. are given considerable attention and occupy a prominent place in the elaboration of questions of the country's economy.

* * * *

ACADEMICIAN CHARLES JACOB

(*Head of the French delegation*)

Gentlemen, Citizens, Comrades,

I am certain that I express the general feeling. We have seen magnificent things in Moscow, and the most splendid is the spirit of unity between the races and peoples. All that unites science, regardless of all boundaries whatsoever, is a splendid achievement.

* * * *

PROF. SENT-DJORD (*Hungary*)

Everything I saw in Leningrad left a profound impression on me. And I believe that in a few years' time, the Soviet Union will become the most important centre of scientific thought. During the last 15 years I have been working in the most varied countries: Holland, England, America, Germany. I have visited France and the Scandinavian countries a number of times, and after that I can say in all confidence that nowhere are *culture, science and scientists so highly respected as in the U.S.S.R.*, that the development of culture and science in Europe is dying down, while in the U.S.S.R. this development is progressing.

In the streets and on the squares of the town I saw large numbers of happy children, and there is nothing that can so clearly reflect the well-being of a country as the smile on children's faces.

* * * *

POLITICAL COMMUNIST LEADERS ABOUT THE SOVIET UNION

MAO TSE-DUN

(From the report at the Second Congress of the Chinese Soviets, January, 1934.)

At the present time, the struggle between two systems—capitalist and socialist worlds—has become extremely acute. The economics of the Soviet Union have finally become consolidated on Socialist prin-

ciples. The First Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union was fulfilled in four years. The first year of the Second Five-Year Plan has achieved colossal successes. The Soviet Union has long ago liquidated unemployment and, moreover, has raised the cultural life and living conditions of the mass of working people to an extremely high level. The defence of the Soviet Union has been considerably strengthened. The peace policy of the Soviet Union, supported by the revolutionary masses of the whole world, has achieved enormous successes, and even American imperialism, stubborn as it is, has been unable to do other than establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

It is clear that such widely-developed democracy has never existed before under any form of government in the history of mankind. Based upon this system and in contact with the broad masses, the Soviets are becoming organs which develop in the widest degree the creative ability of the masses, organs capable of mobilising the masses. No government in history, except in the U.S.S.R., has ever been able to achieve this.

* * * *

DOLORES IBARRURI (PASIONARIA)

(From a speech at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.)

First of all I will take this happy opportunity on behalf of the C.C. of the C.P. of Spain and of the revolutionary workers and peasants of Spain, inspired in their struggle by the example of the October Revolution and the successes of the magnificent Socialist construction of the U.S.S.R. of expressing fraternal, ardent greetings to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.—(stormy applause)—to the Congress which is summing up the great creative work of millions of workers and peasants, led by the glorious C.P.S.U. and its Leninist C.C., headed by Comrade Stalin, beloved and indomitable, iron Bolshevik and genius, your leader and ours, the great leader of the proletarians and working people of all countries and nations throughout the world. (Applause, shouts of “Hurrah!” All rise to their feet, the applause ends in an ovation.)

... Communists of all countries, and in particular we Spanish Communists, regard the U.S.S.R. as our fatherland, for the U.S.S.R. is the first stronghold already won of the growing international proletarian revolution. Your successes, better than thousands of our propaganda speeches, open the eyes of our workers and peasants, better and, to a greater degree, more convincingly and more clearly than any arguments, politically educate our workers and peasants.

... Comrades, in Comrade Stalin's report, which you have unanimously accepted as an obligatory guiding document for the gigantic work before you,

there is a place in which it says that in the event of war against the U.S.S.R., the bourgeois gentlemen will miss a number of governments close to them. I think that this gives a clear, simple and laconic formula of the tasks of the Communist Parties of capitalist countries. I am convinced that our Party will fulfil this, its task, at all costs.

* * * *

PRISONER OF CAPITAL

RAKOSHI (*Hungary*)

(From the last speech of Matias Rakoshi at the trial in Budapest on July 1, 1935.)

“We are accused,” declared Rakoshi, “that Communism destroys civilisation. It is a well-known fact that present-day civilisation is indeed greatly menaced. However, the menace comes not from the direction of the Soviet Union or Communism, but from the direction of the new war prepared by the imperialists. Moreover, culture and science are being made every use of in order to prepare the most destructive means for destroying in the shortest space of time all cultural and economic centres, all big towns, which cannot be restored again.

“The Soviet Union and the Communist movement alone stand out against this catastrophe which menaces the whole of modern civilisation. It is enough to glance at the events of the last decade to understand what a tremendous factor is the U.S.S.R. in the struggle against the outbreak of a new world war. Were there no Soviet Union, war would have broken out long ago.

“The Soviet Union is now the only country in the world where the cultural level of the masses is continually growing, and where science and art are surrounded by care, honour and attention. . . .”

(Letter to friends from the Seged hard labour prison.)

It was with a feeling of indignation that I heard of how the Trotskyists have been active in the Soviet Union. I wholly and fully approve the fact that the most energetic measures are being adopted against this gang of spies, saboteurs and assassins who are in the service of German and Japanese Fascism. Their root-and-branch extermination will free Socialist construction of foul saboteurs and at the same time will be a heavy defeat for international Fascism. All the more disgusting is it that there are still people to be found in the Second International who, like Fritz Adler, consider themselves Socialists and at the same time hasten to the aid of agents of Japanese Fascism and Hitler. I am confident that not only Socialist workers, but all enemies of Fascist barbarism will reject such efforts with indignation.

It was with joy and pride that I heard that one of the best battalions of the people's army, heroically fighting against Spanish and international Fascism,

bears my name. Unbroken by 12 years of hard labour, I greet the Rakoshi battalion. I wish the armies of the Spanish, Catalonian and Basque working people a rapid, decisive and final victory and glorious, victorious battles. May you be strengthened by the knowledge that with you are not only the working people of the world, but also all true enemies

of the war-provoking Fascist landlords and capitalists. I wish you steadfastness and success. In your victory I see a new guarantee of the emancipation of all working people.

With fraternal greetings,

MATIAS RAKOSHI.

FROM THE HISTORY OF FACTORIES AND INDUSTRIAL PLANTS

BELOW we publish a number of documents, articles and reminiscences of workers of different factories and industrial plants about their lives and work in the distant or not so distant past.

The accursed Tsarist past has been left behind, never to return. The times have passed when the Lena (Siberian) gold-seekers lived, "cut off from the whole world, utterly dependent upon the administration of the goldfields." The workers of the goldfields who can still remember the Lena shooting (April 17, 1912) speak with joy about their lives to-day.

"Now I have become a human being, a famous person," says Misar Hindubayev, a Tatar miner in the Nijni-Badaibinsk gold-fields. "They have awarded me the Stakhanov badge of the gold industry. I have been to Moscow. I have taken a cure in Kislovodsk. My daughter, in Irkutsk, is studying to be a doctor. My son, Abdulla, is finishing the Mining Technical Institute. My other son, Abakar, will be a musician. I have a four-roomed apartment, and the walls are distempered."

The Soviet Government has converted the gold-fields of the Siberian forests into cultured Socialist undertakings. Stakhanov methods of work are applied in the gold-fields. Brigades have been formed with their work clearly defined. Aeroplanes bring a regular supply of newspapers, cinema films and the post to the workers. Instead of the old, broken-down barracks, new, roomy houses have been made, hostels for the unmarried, apartments for those with families. The children are going to new schools. Bodaibo, the centre of the gold-fields, has its own theatre, clubs, rest homes, shops and restaurants.

The days when the railwaymen worked for 40 hours without shifts in the most unsanitary conditions are a thing of the distant past. Soviet railwaymen of to-day form one of the most advanced detachments of the working class of the U.S.S.R. The foremost railwaymen are known throughout the Soviet Union: Krivones, Yablonsky, Ogniev—initiators of the Stakhanov methods of work, which afford the fire-

men and engine-drivers an opportunity not only of bringing the engines to the place of appointment in the shortest possible space of time, but also of having regular rest, leading cultured lives, and working strictly determined hours. In the summer of 1936, L. M. Kaganovich, at that time People's Commissar for Ways and Communications, personally asked a number of Stakhanov railwaymen how they would like to spend their holidays, whether they required any assistance. Such is the care of the Soviet Government for railway workers.

The Soviet people have tremendous economic and political achievements to their credit by following the general line of the C.P.S.U., by fulfilling the slogan of industrialising the country, as put forward by the Party. In 1929-30-31, the working people of the Soviet Union, with feverish rapidity, created their own industry, built large enterprises, hydro-electric power stations, converting the U.S.S.R. into an advanced industrial country. With tremendous readiness the workers made personal sacrifices, worked over and above the stipulated working time, realising that only the Stalinist policy of industrialisation would ensure the growth of the economic might and defence of the country, and the further improvement of the material and living conditions of the working people.

Now the situation has changed. The Soviet Union has become a powerful country of highly-developed industry, a country of the most advanced, large-scale Socialist agriculture. During the years of the Five-Year Plans, there have developed new cadres of workers, the new labour culture, the Stakhanov movement, based on high technique and on Socialist people with an all-round development who have fully mastered this technique. Now Soviet workers are striving after outstanding records of output in the *normal* working time—not by means of great physical exertion, but through the knowledge of technique, the best use of the machines, by means of more rational arrangement of forces. But reminiscences of the heroic days of the building of Denproges and others of the first-born of large-scale Socialist industry are

dear to every working person of the U.S.S.R., to every friend of the Soviet Union, for these days prepared the ground for the joyful life which the whole of the Soviet people are living to-day.

HOW THE WORKERS IN THE GOLDFIELDS LIVED BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

From the Report of the workers of the Alexandrovnensk goldfields of the Lena Goldfields Company to Senator S. S. Mukhin, who conducted an examination after the "Lena" shootings of workers in the year 1912.

Permit us to report to your Excellency on the causes which compelled us to leave work at the Lena Goldfields Company, in the full consciousness that we had the right to do so in view of the repeated violation by the Company of the agreement with us.

1. According to the agreement, the Company was obliged to provide us with food of good quality. It is impossible to obtain this in the forest districts except at the Company stores, especially when the Company holds our money back. The provisions supplied were of bad quality, the meat provided was often not fresh, in scraps, blackened and mouldy; the workers often pointed this out to the salesmen, but they would reply: "If you don't like it—go without meat," and would throw the book back. Moreover, we were made to take "turns" in purchasing cows' heads, after the tongues and often the brain as well had been removed, leaving only the jaws. There were cases when we were given horse's meat and genital organs, as was certified by the local police. We were given bread made from unsifted flour, containing all kinds of foreign material (bast, shavings, straw and other foreign bodies). We were given little cabbage—2 or 3 pounds a week, and sometimes received none at all for three or four weeks, the office staff being supplied first and then we, of course, getting the leavings. We have spoken about all this more than once at the artel kitchen where provisions are distributed. Potatoes were also a rarity, and bad at that. The fish supplied was awful and looked as though it was boiled, although it was raw. . . .

2. Our wages were always late, and little of it at that, and when we needed to get paid in order to pay off debts and to make purchases, we were given coupons, which we had to sell at a loss. Payment by coupons is a violation of the law and the agreement. When we wanted to send money to our relatives, the people in the office would not hand us out the actual money, but would transfer it themselves. What is more, they would do so not when they gave us the receipt, but after considerable delay, even in the case of telegraphic transfers. Besides this, our wages were reduced because of the incorrect calculation of our pay. . . . In the pits the calculation is made by eye

measurement, and the ruler is laid to the roof prop, which is itself 4-6 inches thick. Moreover, there were falls of rubbish, for the carting away of which we received nothing.

3. When working on damp stopes, we were supplied, and that not always, with poor leather jackets; neither were hats given us; top-boots should also have been provided, but we did not get them, and so on.

4. The regulations for work in the pits were not carried out. The lighting in the pits was poor, the road down into the pit, which stretched over a distance of over 100 feet, was lit by only two lamps. Often there was no lighting at all, and so we had to go down in the dark. The step-ladder was dangerous, and it was easy to fall from it; tools were not let down in tubs, but we had to let ourselves down the ladder with them in our hands, thus risking the danger of injuring ourselves or our comrades. The wiring of the electric-lamps was not insulated, with the consequent possibility of getting a shock. The lighting was poor as well at the bottom, the entrances were smashed and broken, the tubs often collided, and were knocked over, especially when the adits were filled with smoke from the dynamite explosions. Ditches down below are not covered over, and so we often fall into them. The dynamite is bad and causes headaches and vomiting. Vapours frequently hang about just before we come on to work, and we have sometimes had to drag out asphyxiated men. There is no ventilation; braziers are placed on dib-holes, and coal, or more often wood, is placed on them, so that the smoke eats into the eyes. . . .

5. There is no dressing-room at the pits, so that in the winter time, when on wet work, the men go out into a 40-degree frost in damp clothing, which all freezes, and it sometimes takes an hour and a half to thaw again in the barracks. There is no boiled water in the pit, and so water from the soil has to be drunk.

6. The living quarters did not correspond to the compulsory regulations; there were no separate barracks for the unmarried and the married; there were no drying rooms, and so the drying had to be done over the stoves where food was cooked. The stoves are in the centre of the barracks, the walls freeze, the flooring is cracked and the wind blows through, the ceiling is single, the floor is breaking to pieces, it is damp and cold when the stove is not heated, the window frames are not double to keep out the cold, and the windows are broken. The plank-beds are not made according to regulations. In the living quarters the entrance is straight off the street, without any passage. Although there are store-rooms at the barracks, they are so small that they are only enough for 10-15 people, whereas there are as many as 30 adults living in the barracks. The ventilation is arranged in the form of holes right through the walls; the holes are closed by means of pieces of cloth,

which freeze in the winter. There are no drying-rooms in the barracks. Although there is a wash-house, there is not enough room in it, and it is 1½ versts distant. The water-closets had no doors or locks, and they were not separated for men and women.

7. According to the law and the agreement, we should have the right to free medical assistance, but we were often deprived of this because there were not enough hospital beds or medicines; and there were few doctors; sick people were often sent home before they had recovered, because of the inadequate number of places; the food provided was very meagre.

8. The management abuse their right to demand that the women work, taking them from their children and housework and forcing them to work, regardless of their state of health. The women often complained that the office staff treated them gruffly and would make foul advances to them. If a woman refused to go to work, the husband was put to the worst work, and more often than not was dismissed.

9. The workers were fined because of the cavilling of the members of the office staff, and the fines were written down as absence from work.

10. Adolescents were made to work for 10-12 hours, and on the night shift along with the adults, but were paid at a lower rate.

11. According to the inside regulations, the 10-hour day should operate, but because the management demand it, we had to go out to work as commanded an hour before the siren, and earlier, so as to be in the pit or at work when the first siren blew, while according to the law, the time taken to get down into the pit is reckoned as working time. Workers who did not appear on command were not allowed to start work, the day being reckoned as an absence—and replaced by work on a general holiday. Thus the workers lost their "time and a half" for the work on the holiday. On holidays the workers were called to work compulsorily, without being asked, by the sounding of the siren. For failing to appear at work on holidays there were cases when workers were transferred from the pits to the ice canal. Overtime work (evenings) had to be done without the workers being asked in advance, and often continued for 2-3 hours a day. Frequently they were not paid for.

12. The management's attitude to the workers was extremely rude; the language was of the choicest, and there were often cases of fighting. The village policeman was never to be found. The foreman, Sergei Ruckov, on one occasion spat in a worker's face.

All the circumstances described above show that the Lena Goldfields Company has violated the agreement.

... We live here cut off from the whole world, especially from autumn to spring. During that time we are completely dependent upon the management, which has all the means of keeping us in complete

subordination, in complete slavery. Although we are engaged for a definite period, and, it would seem, are guaranteed regular wages till the term expires, and are defended by law against oppression, this is absolutely not the case. Firstly, our agreement is concluded on condition that we undertake to appear at work of any kind without objecting. The Company makes full use of this regulation. For the slightest indisposition we are transferred from one job to another, while the carpenters, fitters and other skilled workers are transferred to mining and work up above, at lower wages; miners are put to mend the roads, to dig ditches, etc., without considering the circumstance that in the winter the miners have no warm clothing for work above ground. Moreover, we are dismissed from work for any little thing, and are left in the winter time without work, without money, in the forest districts far from human dwellings. The fear of falling into disfavour with one or other of the local policemen deprives us of all possibilities of offering resistance within the limits of the legal defence of our rights. The compulsory labour of women and adolescents is also to be explained by their horror of finding themselves penniless with a family in the forest districts in the winter time. What we and our wives undergo because of this compulsory labour, your Excellency can learn from private questions.

We had nowhere to go with our complaints; every step of ours being known to the management, and every complaint being capable of leading to punishment in one form or another. We had to keep silent in the face of all violations of the law, finding no protection anywhere. We are fed abominably, and the reply we receive to all our complaints was the threat of dismissal. Your Excellency will see the sort of places we live in when you examine them personally, although one cannot judge of the state of our homes in the winter, when it is 40-50 degrees Centigrade below Zero by examining them in the summer time; only the death-rate among our children tells of the hard conditions we live in.

Central Archives of the Revolution, item
12/14, pages No. 18-19, 1912.

FROM THE HISTORY OF THE LENIN RAILWAY (formerly Moscow-Kazan R.)

How the Railwaymen Lived and Worked Before the Proletarian Revolution

From Moscow to Golutvin is 144 versts.

The line was "mastered," as the engine drivers said. Yet it very often took a goods train 24 hours to do this run. The train had only from 50 to 55 waggons altogether, and yet it spent whole days on the journey.

When it arrived at Golutvin, a voice from the stationmaster's office would ask:

"How many hours did she do it in to-day?"

And if the driver replied "Nineteen hours," the others would say, approvingly: "Fine! Only 19 hours altogether!"

Thus, on the Moscow-Golutvin run alone, all the men worked without a break from 19 to 24 hours.

If the train was a "mixed" one, then the workers were on the line for 35 hours without being relieved, for the "mixed" train from Moscow to Golutvin rarely took less time. This meant that the workers were on duty for a day and a half without being relieved.

It was nothing unusual to be on a run of 36 to 40 hours without a break, on the Kazan line.

As normal traffic on the line was an exceptional phenomenon, the goods train generally took from 36 to 40 hours, instead of 19, to get to Ryazan. This meant that all the men on the train worked this stretch without being relieved.

A driver, in a single run from Moscow to Ryazan, worked the same number of hours as a railway clerk did in a whole week—6 times 6—36 hours.

The men on the goods trains generally worked all sorts of hours. A driver would bring his train to Perovo, find a line of trains before him, and not get into the station. There were only two lines for letting trains through—the 7th and the 9th. So three or four hours would pass before the trains were got from Perovo to Sortirovochnaya. The same thing happened at every station, with the result that the men were on duty for days on end.

"If you started shunting," the old drivers now call to mind, "they hunted you into a siding, and you worked there till you dropped. There was no suggestion of relieving you. The shift was changed only when you collapsed altogether. If you asked for a relief shift at 12 at night, you were relieved at 6 in the morning, and two hours later you were sent off again with the train. And you were lucky if you didn't fall off the train and cripple yourself. We had heavy boots that weighed about 30 pounds (boots with galoshes). You couldn't get rid of the snow which stuck to the boots, so that when you went to get into the train you might find yourself under the wheels."

This was how the railway company looked after the lives of the engine-drivers, their mates and firemen.

The men worked these long shifts on the engine with no roof or protection of any kind over their heads.

The first engines on the Kazan, as on other lines, were not only not enclosed, but had not even the most primitive protection against the weather.

The drivers and their mates stood there all the time

the train was travelling, exposed to the onrushing wind, the frost, rain and snow.

Old drivers still remember the time when the men on the engine had to use special masks, which they usually made themselves, to protect their faces from the keen winter wind. And still there were people who could prove scientifically that it was quite unnecessary to have covered-in engines on trains, and still less to have screens, as work in the open air was "very hygienic."

Of the engines themselves, one was worse than the other for the driver to work with. Sometimes it was so hard to get the engine to go that you'd feel that what was wanted was for you to get out and get a team of horses to haul the train along.

It was not till the end of the nineties that covered-in engines made their appearance on the Kazan line. These had three sides covered in, but no protection against the wind from the tender and the sides. And the tarpaulins with which the drivers used to shield themselves from the cold were only introduced after 1905.

The men used to be dropping with weariness, and there were cases of engine drivers and guards collapsing at the stations from exhaustion. Finally, they got a rest once a year.

They looked forward impatiently the whole year to these three days.

Engine driver Muravinsky, recalling these hard days in 1905, wrote a poem, which was published in "The Railwayman."

"I am exhausted, but I dare not sit,

I would fall asleep at once if I relaxed for a second.

So I stand and feel

I am getting numb all over and yet somehow I hold out."

FROM THE HISTORY OF MAGNITOSTROY

Brigade of Steel Construction Workers

A group of young steel construction workers, who worked together and knew one another well, met to have a chat and talk things over. They wanted to go off somewhere together, but where?—that was the question.

Redin spoke up and said: We have built the Stalin-grad tractor plant; now we may set to and build a metallurgical plant in case there should be a shortage of metal for the tractors.

They drew up a statement and signed it—24 of them, with Redin as the leader. The statement was wired to Novostal.

They had talked and argued, and finally they had decided that they would all go to Magnitka, to the metallurgical plant.

"... Having exceeded American standards through Socialist competition and the enthusiasm of

the brigade, we ask that we be used to pass on our experience in exemplary Socialist labour. We steel-construction shock-workers ardently desire to participate in the Socialist construction of Magnitogorsk, the mighty centre of ferrous metallurgy. We request that we be sent there in an organised manner and as quickly as possible. . . . ”

An answer to this telegram was received in two days, and all 24 young steel-construction workers set off immediately for Magnitka.

When they arrived, they were shown the living quarters specially assigned to them, and began to settle in.

The heads of the plant came and introduced themselves to the shock-brigaders and had a heart to heart talk with them.

“We haven’t got the conveniences here you had in Stalingrad, comrades. You can see for yourselves that we are building in a desert. So, in case of anything, excuse us.”

The Stalingrad lads listened calmly to what the directors of the plant had to say.

“That’s all right,” Redin answered for all of them. “We came here of our own accord, after considering all the difficulties. They don’t scare us: we’ve seen a thing or two. We’ve come to work, and we’re going to work.”

The head of the shop, Engineer Kaplinski, welcomed the Stalingrad men warmly. He told them of the plans of work, and about the powerful blast furnaces that were to be built.

“Only we’re not ready yet for the steel work.”

“We have to get the equipment from the store. You can spend a couple of days having a look round the place.”

“It doesn’t become us shock-brigaders to be loafing around idle.”

“Oh, you’ll overtake it!”

When at last Zemlestroi had finished the preparations for the foundation work, the carpenters, the steel construction workers, and the concrete-mixers began to get busy. There wasn’t much time left—the foundation had to be finished for the October celebrations.

The carpenters got their job complete on time. Then Redin and his brigade took their places.

They decided not to leave the foundations till they had finished laying the casing. No one would believe that it was possible to carry out such an undertaking. The Redin brigade stuck to their guns. They wanted to try themselves how much they could stand. Again they divided their forces so that the best workers were in the most responsible places.

“Here goes!” shouted Redin.

The labourers began feeding the steel rods into the foundations and the work of laying and joining then went on apace. They joked and laughed and smoked

cigarettes as they went back and forward. They worked without relaxing for a moment all day and all night. At daybreak they had a meal, and were back at work again immediately.

According to all calculations, it was evident that the casing would be completely laid by the end of the day. The concrete workers were already waiting up above. The mixers stood ready.

“Is there much left? Will you soon be finished?” Redin was besieged on all sides by questions.

“We’ll soon be through now.”

Redin’s brigade finished the job a day and a half before the appointed time, having worked in the foundations for 36 hours without a break.

“Well, is it finished?” asked Serebranny, the engineer in charge of the concrete work, uneasily.

Redin gaily brandished a long steel rod: “The last one!”

The iron framework of the foundation of the blast furnace was ready. The last of the brigade had hardly time to get out of the foundation when the first lot of concrete splashed noisily into the lower part of the casing.

All the next day the brigade rested. They slept late. Their hands were aching, but their triumph in the success they had achieved filled them with joy and banished their weariness.

Redin’s brigade were congratulated on all sides. The newspaper had an account of the great night’s work, and loud-speakers trumpeted everywhere:

“Now steel construction workers’ record. Splendid victory of Petrovich Redin’s brigade! Now then, concrete workers, turn!”

FROM THE HISTORY OF DNEIPROSTROY

Shock Brigade Work in the Hollow

Nearly every evening production meetings were held at the dam. The same question was always discussed: how to get more work done in the middle canal? One evening, Khodyushin, who always took the chair at the meetings, announced abruptly:

“We might sit here for ever, holding meetings, and get nowhere! Let’s go and get to work ourselves. The whole lot of us!”

“What do you mean, the whole lot of us?”

“Why all of us who are sitting here, members of the trade union committee, engineers, technicians, foremen—let’s all go down into the hollow and set to and do the ordinary labouring work.”

“You can’t empty the sea with a ladle.”

“The people will follow us.”

“Suppose they don’t?”

“You’ll see . . . the force of example will do the trick.”

“That’s right!” said Vakulenko, a foreman.

“You take the banner, Vakulenko,” ordered Khodyushin.

And with the banner unfurled, a small group of men, not more than thirty in all, went down into the hollow.

"What's this?" said the workers, in surprise, as they passed along the shore. "Engineers, technicians and foremen—dragging stones?"

"It's a mystery."

"And look, they're working fine."

Puzzlement gave way to amazement, to a feeling of embarrassment and discomfort.

"What kind of a game is this? We'll have to find out."

Late that evening Zhenya Romanko came to Khodyushin: "Put down the names of the girls of our brigade for to-morrow. The girls will finish their shift and then we'll come to the hollow."

Khodyushin's face was streaming with sweat. His blue eyes shone with delight. "Come right along without putting down your names. The Komsomol girls are all tip-top, there's no need to start taking names. Come on, the lot of you, the more, the better."

Next day the group of volunteers had nearly reached a hundred. Among them a few red kerchiefs stood out like flowers.

Zhenya Romanko was wearing man's boots and trousers. A grey tarpaulin cap kept her red, bobbed hair in order. There was something compelling about this brave, daring girl, simple, impulsive, persevering, and ready to work to the utmost of her power. The spell of ardent devotion to the work of construction shone in her brown eyes. The devotion, disinterestedness and indefatigability of Zhenya won the admiration of the others, and infected them.

"Have you gone off your heads, girls? Here we need strength. What has possessed you to come here?" said the old stone-breakers loftily.

"We'll do our work as well as you."

"You'll overstrain yourselves with those stones."

"No we won't. But we'll put some people's noses out of joint, maybe. Perhaps they'll be ashamed when we leave them behind."

"What a girl! You can do nothing with her."

Zhenya Romanko's brigade was awkward in the beginning, but they set to work with a will. Mack-deon, Bish and Sarifov showed them how to use the crowbar, the steel wedges, the heavy hammer. Tall, swarthy, Solya Lotatskaya was lithe, strong and quick. She was in no way behind Zhenya, and soon learned to work with the skill of a man.

"Oh, what a girl!" the boys said admiringly.

More and more people came to haul out the rock. Carpenters, mechanics, turners, workers from the central mechanics' shops and timber mill, employees from the head office and engineers—all made their way to the hollow.

The volunteers marched in procession, carrying red banners, singing, bands playing, like a May Day procession. They left the banner at the union committee room, fastened to a special pole, while they themselves streamed down below. The union branch room was on a cross-piece above the hollow. The wide, scarlet streamer whistled and flopped in the wind, giving the dam a still more unusual and stirring appearance. In the evening, when they finished work, the volunteers would climb up on the cross-piece, take the flag, and return to the settlements. Again the sound of singing would fill the air, as if a young, bronzed army were endlessly advancing in the darkness from their camps.

The marches to the hollow created a great impression. The number of volunteers increased every day. All the strength of the Young Communist League was concentrated on the middle canal. The secretary of the Komsomol Committee worked shoulder to shoulder with hundreds of young fellows, endeavouring to yield to none in skill nor endurance. He was a tall, thin, energetic fellow. He had been a waif, had known sorrow, cold, hunger and destitution, and had found salvation finally in a children's home in Zhitomir. He became a real enthusiast about Dnieperstroy. He was able to make work in the middle canal seem like a national labour festival to the young people. There were occasions when in certain places they were not able to move quickly enough the rock blasted and level the way for the machines. Piles of stones and granite pits kept back the work of the excavators and cranes. The union committee immediately set the siren going. The alarm signal sounded over the whole construction site. People would come running up from all sides. The secretary of the Party cell, or the chairman of the union committee, would take the platform right there on the cross-piece, explain briefly why the alarm was given and what had to be done.

"Come on, show us where to go, where the hold-up is," the new arrivals would ask the foremen.

The foremen would succeed finally in disposing all those who wanted to work in their places.

The enthusiasm for voluntary overtime assumed extraordinary dimensions. Before long, thousands of people began coming to the middle canal.

Hardly would the bell stop ringing to announce that the explosions were over than the Komsomols would set to work. The important thing was to arrange their forces so as not to get in one another's way. The mechanisms were spread about within a comparatively small area, the derricks were fixed near the upper cross-piece, while the steam cranes operated along the lower one. The Komsomols learned rapidly to determine where each particular brigade should be sent, and the work went apace. . . .

WHAT EVERYBODY OUGHT TO KNOW ABOUT THE U.S.S.R.

NARVSKAYA ZASTAVA

IN the days before the revolution, Narvskaya Zastava was one of the largest working-class districts of Petrograd. Here there is situated the largest industrial works of the town—the Putilov Works, now known as the Kirov Works.

The houses stood huddled together at a distance of three feet from each other. Even before the war there was about three metres of living space per person among those who lived at the Zastava; during the war years this was reduced to one metre. The most usual type of lodgers were the “corner” lodgers, who just had a corner to themselves, or a bed, or even “half-corner” lodgers, who occupied a bed with the comrade working on the other shift. Many unskilled workers who were unable to pay rent lived in huts or wooden houses knocked together by themselves. The water supply did not go as far as the Zastava, and water was obtained from wells and dirty trickles of streams. There was no sewage. Electric lighting existed in only a very small number of houses.

In the Putilov hospital, money for the maintenance of which was deducted from the wages of the workers, there were only one hundred beds, while out of every one hundred workers there were 97 sick cases annually. In the out-patients’ department the doctor received a daily average of ninety people. There were only six schools beyond the Zastava. But there were about sixty inns and beer-shops.

In twenty years the district has changed out of all

recognition. The Narva Zastava district (now Kirov district) is now inside the town. Stachek (Strikes) Street (previously known as Peterhof Chaussee) is the main street of the district and differs now in no respect from any other main street of Leningrad.

At either end of Stachek Square there is a tremendous modern building of glass and concrete, namely, the huge department stores and the Palace of Culture, in which is a library, theatre and a number of art schools.

There are eight clubs in the district, twenty-four middle schools, two universities. The wooden houses have long ago been destroyed, their place being taken by 350 blocks of flats.

Twelve tramway routes and two bus lines have been opened in the district, which possesses everything that a modern, cultured town should have, such as: a water works and flower shops; electricity and fashionable tailor shops; sewage and asphalt roads; book shops and a park of culture and rest; sixteen crèches, two children’s sanatoria, thirty-nine kindergartens.

There are four hundred doctors (twenty years ago there were sixteen in all) to serve the population of the district, which has its own tuberculosis dispensary, tuberculosis sanatorium, one large polytechnic, three out-patient hospitals.

The old, poverty-stricken, uncultured, drunken workers of the district are no longer to be found. Their place has been taken by the new Socialist workers.

NEW PEOPLE OF THE LAND OF THE SOVIETS

OTTO SCHMIDT

THE activity of Schmidt is very varied. Mathematician, author of the “Abstract Theory of Groups,” and leader of a number of Arctic expeditions; regular member of the Academy of Sciences, Editor-in-chief of the Great Soviet Encyclopædia, and Hero of the Soviet Union; Chief of the Administration of the Northern Sea Route and Vice-President of the Central Elections Commission which is leading preparations for the elections to the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.; Scientist and Bolshevik.

During his lifetime this man is surrounded with a halo of legendary glory. The children play at

“Schmidt” as readily as they do “Chapayev,” or at “the defence of Madrid.” The older school-children, with their dreams of a bright, stormy life full of adventure, want to be like Schmidt.

Otto Julievich Schmidt is older than the majority of his comrades of the Arctic expeditions—Vodopyanov, Krenkel, Molokov. At the time of the Great Socialist Revolution he was already a mature, finished scientist. He had the fullest opportunity of calmly continuing his scientific investigations in the isolation of his study. But that was not what he wanted. He preferred to devote his life to the service of Socialism, understanding that to serve Socialism means to serve

science in the best and fullest meaning of the word.

During the years of civil war (1919), Schmidt joined the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Party gave him responsible work in the People's Commissariat for Food, then in the People's Commissariat for Education. Leaving aside for a time his scientific work, Schmidt actively helped to build up and consolidate the Socialist State.

A few years later the Party gave him the opportunity of returning to science. Schmidt took up the geography of the Arctic together with his mathematics. A task of tremendous creative scope, at once scientific and practical, attracted him, namely, to investigate and explore the Arctic, to make the Arctic waters navigable. Such a task would be beyond the strength of any capitalist country. But in the Land of Socialism the impossible has become possible.

"We shall come to the Arctic as masters," Schmidt said. "Not only to discover it and break records, but to master it, to settle people there." And indeed, it was so: thanks to his ardent activity, many far-distant spots in the Far North have for the first time become populated, become places of habitation. The Chief Administration of the Northern Sea Route, led by Schmidt, occupies itself not only with the heroic side of long journeys, but with the everyday economics of building. Industrial enterprises, wireless stations, trading stations, schools and hospitals are under construction in the Far North.

During the years of his work, Schmidt has "discovered" and trained quite a few splendid people. The "Chelyuskin" heroes, the North Pole conquerors, all these are people who have worked for many years with Schmidt, who has painstakingly trained them to fulfil responsible tasks. Together with the whole group of Communist Polar workers, Schmidt has been able to imbue Bolshevik qualities in

many non-party comrades. In the critical days when the crew of the wrecked Polar vessel "Chelyuskin" were waiting on the ice for aeroplanes to rescue them, Schmidt was able to maintain enthusiasm, stoicism and discipline in every Chelyuskinite. Although seriously ill, he himself stubbornly refused to leave the ice, determined to be the last to leave. It was only on the receipt of categorical orders from the Government that Schmidt allowed himself to be taken off the ice.

In the summer of 1937, on the eve of the departure of the expedition whose goal it was to conquer the North Pole, Schmidt made a speech to his comrades on the subject of "The Tasks of the Communists participating in the Expedition." By all his own work, by his own example, Schmidt showed his comrades that in order to conquer the elements the same qualities are required as those which made it possible for the Bolsheviks to conquer in the Revolution, namely, persistency, self-sacrifice, ability to work in an organised fashion, strength to stand firm in the face of difficulties. And the Bolsheviks whom Schmidt is leading are conquering the elements.

From the North Pole, Schmidt, Vodopyanov and Pananin sent the following message to the leaders of the Party and the Government:

"... You have referred to the establishment of the station at the North Pole as the summing up of a brilliant period of work. It is the Soviet period of exploring and mastering the Arctic, it is the period in which you personally, Comrade Stalin, put forward the task of mastering the Arctic, in which you personally indicated the plan and the means to fulfil it, and are invariably continuing to support the Polar workers by your guidance and attention. There is no greater happiness than to be, in one's own sphere, the executor of your great ideas, there is no greater joy and pride than to receive your approval, dear leader and teacher."

POLITICAL NOTES

THE PACT AGAINST DEMOCRACY & PEACE

By V. PETER

ON November 6 Fascist Italy officially joined in the Germano-Japanese "anti-Comintern" agreement.

This agreement, signed by Germany and Japan a year ago, has from the beginning been a poorly-masked military alliance against all States unwilling to subordinate themselves to the Fascist directors. Only naïve philistines can believe that States like Germany and Japan are solemnly signing an agreement to help each other persecute Communists. The German butchers are annihilating the best sons of the

German people without Japan's aid, while the Japanese bloodhounds can manage without being trained by Hitler Germany's Gestapo. The imperialist and militant character of the pact is still more clearly revealed by Italy's adhesion to it and by the frank commentaries of the Italian newspapers. The protocol signed in Rome by the three Governments contains the insolent assertion that the Communist International is a menace to the world, that "this menace can be mitigated only by close collaboration between all States interested in preserving peace and order.

The Fascist contracting parties have left no room for doubt about what they understand by "preserving peace and order." "For the sake of peace" Italian Fascism organised the attack upon Abyssinia and cut tens of thousands of Abyssinians to pieces. "For the sake of peace" German and Italian Fascism prepared and organised the rebellion of the Spanish rebels and sent aeroplanes, guns and regular army divisions to Spain to destroy the Spanish people. "For the sake of peace" the Japanese aggressors have invaded China and are engaged in pillage and robbery there. The incendiaries pretend to be firemen; the hangmen try to persuade their victim that the hanged man needs the rope, for without it he would fall and break his bones—such is the essence of the pact "to preserve peace and order."

The Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hirota, cynically declared that the pact was concluded for the purpose of "preserving peace and civilisation." Josuke Matsuoko, President of the South Manchurian Railway Company, writing on November 4 in the "Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung," was a little more frank about the intentions of Japan:

"... We frankly admit that Japan has succeeded in irritating her neighbour China a good deal. Japan is expanding. But what country does not during the period of its expansion get on the nerves of its neighbours?"

Such is the language of the angels of peace, who have united in Rome to bring "civilisation and peace" to mankind on the wings of their bombing planes.

True, there are also people to be found among the Fascist diplomats who find the game too rough. They are afraid that the world may notice that there is a certain difference between the conquest of Abyssinia and Majorca by Italian Fascism and the struggle against the Communists; they are afraid that it may be noticed that the conquest of the mines of Spain by German capital, and Hitler's demand for colonies are not after all the same thing as an "anti-Comintern crusade"; they are afraid that it may be noticed that Japan's invasion of China, Japan's pretensions to the domination of Asia are not the same thing as an offensive against Communism. And so, in order to avoid such puzzling questions, the German "Allgemeine Zeitung," organ of the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs, immediately after the signing of the triple agreement, in its issue of November 7 declared—and repeated the point three times in the same article—that the agreement is not directed against any particular State, but against the Communist International, that it is directed "not at all against any particular group of Powers or any separate country, for example England." Herr Neurath's newspaper considered it necessary to issue a refutation before anybody had said anything or made any accusation to raise the necessity of such a refutation. The paper thereby gave itself away.

Actually even bourgeois world opinion in the main understood against whom the pact was directed. The "Yorkshire Post," published in Eden's constituency, ironically noted that it was difficult to understand the real necessity for such a coalition of States to combat Bolshevism. The "Manchester Guardian" in a leading article declared that the alliance was directed against England and France to a greater measure than against the U.S.S.R. The Liberal "News Chronicle" remarked that the agreement was a warning to all democratically governed States, and was a document to justify intervention begun under any excuse. The "Daily Telegraph" stated that the immediate result of the agreement was an alliance of the three Powers against the remaining Powers; that France and England had reason to be alarmed, for their interests were affected to a much greater degree than those of the U.S.S.R., which are fundamentally invulnerable.

The French press viewed the agreement as did the British. Not only the press of the People's Front Parties, but many of the Right newspapers pointed out that the pact was directed first and foremost against the democratic Powers of Europe and was a menace to England and France. Thus, Pertinax wrote the following in the "Echo de Paris," the organ of the French General Staff:

"Are not the three states attempting to give themselves the right to offer other governments advice and to propose that they adopt measures against the Communist influences in their respective countries? Are they not appropriating to themselves the right to interfere in the affairs of other countries, to act on behalf of parties which, from their point of view are the embodiment of social order?"

"It is impossible to see what will restrict the action of the new instrument agreed on. With its aid it becomes possible to justify the taking of any measures, despite the territorial integrity and political independence of states, which have hitherto constituted the basis of international law."

"... Henceforth more than ever before, the rulers of Berlin and Rome will use Communism as a pretext in order to conceal their dangerous intentions."

Pertinax is right: on the basis of this pact, the militant Fascist countries will prepare ever new "measures" against the territorial integrity and political independence of all the other States. The Fascists want to be the world gendarmes against Communism, while they will always attach the label of Communism to anything against which they wish to make an armed attack. The kidnapping of people, attempts at assassination, plots, putschs, wars of aggression without declaring war—all these they have christened "the struggle against Communism."

The Italian newspaper "Stampa" characterises the real meaning of the pact with great ease. In menacing tones it declares that Czechoslovakia is "a Bolshevik union in the heart of Europe," because Benes, the President of Czechoslovakia, greeted the U.S.S.R. on

the occasion of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Using the same "motive," the Fascists can say to-morrow that the United States constitutes a Bolshevik union in the heart of America, because President Roosevelt also congratulated the Soviet Union on its twentieth anniversary. The Vargas Fascist coup d'état in Brazil—the work of German Fascism—is the first success in America of the imperialist aspirations of the triple agreement, the first open politically offensive act against the U.S.A. and an open challenge to the latter.

We entertain no doubts about the hatred of the Fascists for Communism, for the Comintern, which by its people's front policy has created a powerful dam against Fascism; but the pact of the war-mongers is to a much greater extent directed against the countries of bourgeois democracy than against Communism. The Japanese aggressors have declared that their mission is to destroy Communism in China. Under this pretext they have undertaken an offensive against China, are demanding the resignation of Chiang Kai-shek, the dissolution of the Kuomintang, and the conversion of China into a Japanese colony. Under similar pretexts the German and Italian Fascists have attacked Spain, and are arming for "anti-Communist onslaughts" on Czechoslovakia, France, and all the bourgeois-democratic countries in Europe.

The British and French press have pointed to the danger of the pact of the three aggressors, but the so-called democratic Governments are still thinking to avert the danger by concessions to the Fascist brigands. Actually, however, this undecided, cowardly policy is making the danger incredibly more acute, is leading to insolent bloody adventures, and is undermining the foundations of peace.

Fascism bases its calculations precisely upon this weakness and cowardliness. In vain are the champion Conservative intriguers and cowardly politicians hoping to "divert" Fascism away from its direct military aims, by guaranteeing it "freedom of action" against the Soviet Union. The fascist dictators are aware of the invincible strength and determination of the Soviet Union; they have every ground for fearing that the Workers' and Peasants' Army may hack off the hands they would not be averse to stretching towards the U.S.S.R.; they have every ground for fearing that in a war against the U.S.S.R. they would lose not only their "free hands," but their heads as well. It is no accident that the "Daily Telegraph" noted the fact that the Soviet Union is fundamentally invulnerable and that the Fascists will prefer, therefore, not to attack the U.S.S.R., but England and France. All honest democrats, all the small nations defending their own independence and all people who hate war, are becoming convinced, with growing alarm, that the "anti-Comintern" agreement is actually a pact against them, that they themselves are menaced. And it is becoming more and more clear to them that the fact that the Soviet Union is the most powerful stronghold of democracy and peace, that the "democrats" who are trying to save themselves from the Fascist danger by participating in the struggle against Communism, are like the man who commits suicide out of fear of death.

The pact concluded by the German, Japanese and Italian Governments is nothing but a pact against democracy and peace. It will mean the proclamation of world war, if the bourgeois-democratic States continue their cowardly retreat. But it will become a mere scrap of paper if the democratic forces of peace form a firm front and offer the Fascist war-mongers the same sort of deserved and resolute resistance as is the Soviet Union.

AYE, IT DOESN'T DEPEND ON YOU, MR. BAUER !

By P. WIEDEN

FIDO barks at a giant. And so the old dog-fancier turns to him with the melancholy words: "Neither of us can stand the giant, and I can understand your barking. It is agitating and distracting. In it there is the sound of the indignation and anger of a dog whose youthful dreams have been shaken by hard realities. You demand that we hurl this giant to the ground, although—between you and me—he protects us against the invasion of a band of robbers. I

understand what you want. But trust to my more sophisticated human experience: it doesn't depend on what we want. When the giant was not so strong I publicly foretold his downfall; but now that he is so powerful we must publicly recognise him, and hide the intrigues against him. Therefore I cannot make complete common cause with your barking; but I shall draw the attention of people to your noble canine anger and shall find moral justification for

your barking." Fido and the dog-fancier understood each other.

A certain journalist known as Schlamm, who was expelled from the Austrian Communist Party in the year 1930, has published a stupid and insolent book against the Soviet Union. Incidentally this Schlamm invented an original theory in 1927 to the effect that it was not class consciousness that was the chief driving force of the Austrian proletariat, but "a feeling of helplessness." Imbued with a sense of his own helplessness, Schlamm continued to lie on his side while the working-class movement hurtled ahead in a mighty torrent. Now Schlamm has found a sheltered place in the editorial office of the Prague "Socialdemokrat," where he occupies himself exclusively with dirty propaganda against the Soviet Union.

Otto Bauer, editor-in-chief of "Kampf," gives a detailed appraisal of the last product of Schlamm's creative work. He finds that in Schlamm's writings there is a note of "the indignation and ferocity of a man whose youthful dreams have been shaken by hard realities," that Schlamm writes in "a moving and distracting language," etc. After praising the book and stroking the furry coat of its author, and after having given in detail the contents of his book with its venomous spray of hatred, he raises a finger and reads the following melancholy moral sermon to this bitterest enemy of Soviet rule:

"Schlamm demands that the present generation of Socialism should separate the cause of Socialism from the fate of the Stalin regime. As though it depended on what we want!"

This deep sigh heaved from the breast of Otto Bauer is more clearly characteristic of his attitude to the Soviet Union than his numerous assurances of friendship with their "buts" and "ifs," with their rotten contradictions, with their ambiguous conclusions. At bottom Otto Bauer has never changed his attitude to the Soviet Union, to Bolshevism, to the dictatorship of the proletariat. He was an enemy of the U.S.S.R. and—though his style of writing has changed somewhat—an enemy he remains. But Otto Bauer sees the might of the Soviet Union, the victory of the Bolsheviks and the sympathy of the masses growing up all round to the land of Socialism. Therefore he deems it necessary not to demonstrate his enmity openly, but to confront public opinion as a "friend of the Soviet Union." A characteristic point: when the U.S.S.R. joined the League of Nations, when the big capitalist Powers were compelled to reckon with the Soviet State as a factor of first-rate importance, the "friendship" of Otto Bauer reached its culminating point. But when the enemies of the Soviet Government revived their activities, and Fascism launched violent calumny against it, when in the U.S.S.R. the despicable Trotskyist-Bukharinist-Fascist spies and wreckers were successfully caught

and rendered harmless, Otto Bauer immediately changed his coat and once more adopted his former tone. He knows, however, that the sympathy of the workers to the Soviet Union is by no means subject to the same waverings as the "sympathy" of hysterical writers and politicians, who watch which way the wind is blowing: he knows that the working class of all countries not only regard the U.S.S.R. as the defender of their interests, but also consider themselves the defenders of the U.S.S.R., and therefore Otto Bauer never entirely throws off his mask of "friend of the Soviets." He plays at "objectivity." He declares that "in the name of freedom of opinion" he does not dare to suppress criticism of the Soviet Union. In his "objectivity" and in his respect for "freedom of opinion" he displays the greatest readiness to open the columns of his newspaper to the most violent enemies of the U.S.S.R., publishes foul articles by Messrs. Dan and Austriacus, but gives no place in his paper, "Kampf," for the refutation of the slander spread by enemies of the Soviet Government, for articles with a positive appraisal of the U.S.S.R. Detailed reviews are given of the filthy concoctions of Trotskyists, people like Souverine, like Schlamm, while the works of the great writers who recognise the Soviet Union do not exist for the "Kampf." In his own articles Otto Bauer always assures us that if he gives his readers false information about the U.S.S.R., if he slanders the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R., if he defends Trotskyist assassins, it is only out of—"the purest friendship" for the Soviet Union.

Otto Bauer resorts to astounding tricks: first of all he draws some sort of caricature of Soviet life, then in the tone of an objective university don he declares that although these "facts" (which only exist in his own head) are immoral and deserving of hatred, it is "an essential phase of development" and it would be "un-Marxist" not to understand it. He is like a quack who calls the healthy man an invalid and in the same breath soothingly adds: "Your sickness was inevitable—that is clear to anyone who understands; but if you do as I say, you will get well." Otto Bauer's words sound just like that when he repeats, without any refutation, all Schlamm's Trotskyist lies about the Soviet Union, and then soothingly adds that "on the basis of the Marxian idea of development, we must regard the bureaucratic dictatorship as an inevitable phase of development." All the enemies of the Party and the people, real bandits, people anxious to restore capitalism—the Zinovievs, Kamenevs, Pyatakovs, Radeks and others, who stood before the open proletarian court charged with being traitors to the people, with having allied themselves with the Fascists to conduct a struggle against the cause of Socialism, with having stopped at

nothing in preparing for the Soviet Union the fate of Spain and China—these people, according to Bauer, are fighters for a “higher phase of development.”

Thus, in the eyes of Otto Bauer, the enemies of the Soviet Government, the enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat, are raised to the level of “fighters for liberty.” The struggle of Fascist spies and assassins against Socialism is reflected in his head as a “liberation struggle against the rule of bureaucracy.” Apparently the putsch undertaken by Franco’s accomplices in Barcelona was also a “liberation struggle.” Apparently the actions of the Trotskyists who rose up in arms against the Chinese National-Revolutionary Army in North China is also a “liberation struggle”! Apparently we must place in the category of “liberation struggle” the infuriated hysterical howls of renegades of the Schlamm type about the “feeling of helplessness of the working class,” and moreover a “liberation struggle on a much higher level,” for it is directed not against Fascism, but against Socialism.

In our epoch—the epoch of tremendous, decisive battles—the working class of the whole world sees clearly that in the struggle two forces, *two fronts*, have come into conflict—the front of freedom, peace, democracy, and the front of oppression, war, Fascism. The working class are more and more coming to understand the need to rally all the forces of freedom, peace, democracy; are more and more clearly recognizing that the Soviet Union is the most powerful defender of freedom and peace, that it is defending democracy more surely and resolutely than the so-called democratic governments of the capitalist countries who capitulate before Fascism or further it. And here people like Otto Bauer come along and rave about “liberation” struggles inside the anti-Fascist

front, inside the strongest fortress of freedom and peace, inside the Soviet Union. They hypocritically assure us that it is only out of friendship for the Soviet Union that they take the side of the “liberation struggle” against the dictatorship of the proletariat, that it is only out of friendship that they sponsor Trotskyist armour-bearers like Schlamm, defend bandits who have killed popular leaders of the proletariat, betrayed the Soviet people to the deadly enemies of mankind, and wrecked Socialist construction by all kinds of foul means.

A year ago in his brilliant speech—in the report on the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R., before the delegates of the Eighth Extraordinary Congress of Soviets, Comrade Stalin reminded the critics of the draft Soviet Constitution, the enemies of the Soviet Government, of the story of Schedrin, the great Russian writer, about an extremely self-confident and zealous bigot of a bureaucrat who, on hearing of the existence of America, wrote out the order: “Close America down again.” But despite all his stupidity, Schedrin’s bureaucrat thereupon added to himself: “But it seems that that doesn’t depend on me.” Otto Bauer is clearly copying this bureaucrat when, in reply to Schlamm’s demand “to separate the cause of Socialism from the fate of the Stalin regime,” he declares with melancholy: “As though this depended on what we want!” He would have nothing against it! But it doesn’t depend on him.

The mass of the working people understand that the work of the Soviet Union, which is being performed under the leadership of Stalin, is the work of Socialism. They will more and more clearly come to understand that no enemy of the Soviet Union, though he be decked in sheep’s clothing like the wolf of the fable, will pass as a “friend.”

THE HISTORY OF A CERTAIN DATE*

By A. KELLERMAN

IN an article in the “Pravo Lidu,” a newspaper that he edits, Josef Stivin, one of the reactionary leaders of Czechoslovak Social Democracy recalls the history of the general strike of Czech workers that took place on October 14, 1918. It was on that day that a wave of workers’ demonstrations for national independence swept through the Czech towns. October 14, 1918, was a day of national revolution of the Czech people, which ended on October 28, 1918, in the proclamation of the independent Czechoslovak Republic.

Stivin quite justifiably stresses the great importance of the date, October 14, and thereby the out-

standing role played by the working class in the national-liberation struggle of Czechoslovakia. The most remarkable point in this article by Stivin is that he explains the events of October 14 as having been directly influenced by the Proletarian Revolution in Russia, and regards this revolution as one of the most decisive stimuli towards the national liberation of the Czech people.

“... November 7, 1917,” writes Stivin, “was of great importance for our struggle for independence as a state. The Russian Bolshevik revolution had a great influence on the downfall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. This influence is still under-estimated, and is denied by

nates who maintained connections with the Fascists remained untouched, was not in accordance with the desires and demands of the workers and peasants. All this led to the damping down of the enthusiasm of the heroic fighters. . . .

Rotten Liberalism enabled the actions of the "Fifth Column" to go unpunished. The wrong conception of the role of propaganda and agitation was shown in the prohibition of mass meetings. This isolated the members of the Government and the People's Front itself from the most active sections of the population, and hindered the mobilisation of the fighting spirit and enthusiasm of the citizens for the heroic defence of these towns. The equivocal position and open disloyalty of certain elements known to you (quite apart from other causes which we shall not examine here) led to the morale of the population being undermined, and rendered fruitless the superhuman exertion of the soldiers who did not feel the requisite support, either at the front or in the rear, and had to relinquish the land of their country step by step to the bloody hordes of the Fascist aggressors.

The absence of unity and stability in the anti-Fascist People's Front, the internal differences and the fact that the leaders of the parties and other anti-Fascist organisations have not understood all the necessity of sacrificing everything to create an unswerving bloc possessing a united will and for the struggle against the enemy, are among the causes which have led to the defeats in the North. In face of the tragic lessons of these events, the Communist Party has decided once again with still greater energy to raise the problem of unity before the whole of the Spanish people, and to declare that it is prepared to make every sacrifice to avoid a repetition of the tragic mistakes committed in the North.

THIRDLY: In spite of the cruel lessons of the North, the difficulties behind our lines serve, in some degree, also to dampen the ardour in the struggle, lead to an internal struggle among the forces which actually are filled with one and the same desire to win the war. The offence felt by some, the impatience of others, the hand of the enemy and acts of provocation, all dampen enthusiasm and sow hatred so as to disunite the forces of the anti-Fascist People's Front, to separate them from each other. Some small groups set their own personal pride against the common interests of the people, others—the remnants of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist organisations—openly work for the enemy. Unfortunately, their efforts meet with a response as expressed in the defence of these scoundrels within tested revolutionary organisations. A splendid example of unity was shown by the organisations of the youth when they set up the National Youth Alliance. By the organisation of unity committees between the Communist and Socialist Parties throughout the country, the basis

has been laid for the establishment of unity among the proletarian parties. But side by side with these positive facts, there is the fact of a group of men of little faith who are trying to fight the united party and the unity of our trade unions, failing to see that by doing so they are inflicting a mortal wound on themselves. All this leads to further complications in the already extremely difficult tasks facing our Government, since the latter does not receive the necessary support and aid it has the right to demand from all organisations. It is therefore unable rapidly to overcome the weak spots in its work. Our glorious army, beloved by all the people, lacks the atmosphere of unity which would strengthen and increase its solidarity and enthusiasm for the struggle. Despite the ardent desire of the workers, the reorganisation of our civil industry into a defence industry is proceeding too slowly; despite the measures adopted by the Government, profiteering is increasing because of the lack of energetic and unanimous aid to the Government by all anti-Fascists. The absence of unity enables the "Fifth Column" to penetrate into every loophole in order to do their criminal work against the people. The uncontrolled elements, the Trotskyists and other agents of the enemy, are trying to create a favourable situation for provocation and adventures directed against the Republic. Our rear, after a whole year of war, still does not resemble the rear of a country conducting a life and death struggle against the Fascists and foreign usurpers.

FOURTHLY: In order to put an end to this state of affairs as quickly as possible, the Political Bureau of the Communist Party has decided to renew all its efforts to consolidate and unite all honest and sincere anti-Fascists.

To this end, the Political Bureau once again and primarily reminds all members of the Communist Party, all its organisations, all comrades in key positions in the army, all agitators and journalists, that unity, solidarity, the establishment and consolidation of the anti-Fascist People's Front, which is the invincible weapon in the struggle for victory—is the main task of the Communist Party at the present time. And facts like the growth and strength of the Communist Party of Spain at the present time have to be recognised by both friends and enemies of the Party.

We Communists consider that the strength, discipline, activity and unity of our Party constitute the most stable guarantees of victory over Fascism and of the triumph of the national revolution. *But there must be no dizziness from success in our ranks, and our Party would be making a serious mistake if it imagined that it alone, with its own forces, could solve the very serious questions facing the Spanish people. All the anti-Fascist forces must take part in*

THE GESTAPO AGAINST THE GERMAN PEOPLE

By E. FUNK

GERMANY is covered with a dense network of compulsory Fascist organisations. All citizens are obliged to belong to one of the organisations: the "German Labour Front," "Imperial League of Public Catering," or the "German Women's Alliance" ("Deutsches Frauenwerk"), etc. These organisations are constructed on professional lines, but they do not defend even the economic or professional interests of their members. Wherever the members of these compulsory organisations try, despite the fetters of Fascist legislation, to defend their rights and interests, they immediately come up against the resistance of the machine of "political leaders," "elders," and other functionaries, that exists in these organisations. In the "German Labour Front," where even this machine has proved inadequate to subdue manifestations of the will of the workers, a special organization of "works Storm detachments" (Werksharen) is now being set up to suppress the workers at the cost of a great expenditure of forces. These detachments are made up of tried, drilled people, from whose number officials will be drawn for the "Labour Front" organisations in the factories.

These compulsory organisations are linked by a thousand ties to the organs of the Fascist police. The rank and file officials in factories and offices, in villages and handicraft workers' organisations, are obliged to provide regular information to the higher organs concerning the state of mind and expressions of opinion of the membership. This information is used by the police as material for persecuting the working population. Thus the German Fascist police force is much bigger numerically than official data would indicate. Wherever the bureaucratic machine itself of the Fascist compulsory organisations is inadequate to suppress the will of the working population, special organs of the Gestapo and other police bodies interfere in the case. In big enterprises, special works' prisons have been established to suppress workers' activities. For example, not so long ago, at the "Leun" works in Central Germany, a big works' prison was handed over to the works' management. In the German countryside the police employ acts of repression to force the peasants to hand over almost all their agricultural produce to the State. In South-West Germany, Gestapo officials themselves milk cows in order to determine the exact amount of milk produced in each peasant farm. Similar control is operated on an extensive scale in

relation to egg production. These measures are calculated to get as much produce as possible out of the village.

Meetings of working people, both in town and country, are subjected to all-round control: first, meetings can only take place under the leadership of National-Socialists; secondly, those who attend the meetings are systematically followed.

In addition to the compulsory organisations in Germany mentioned above, there are large numbers of Fascist terrorist organisations of a military character: the "Defence Units" (S.S.), "Storm Units" (S.A.), the National-Socialist Chauffeur Units," "National-Socialist Pilot Units," etc. They are all instruments of the Fascist dictatorship for the suppression of the working people.

It is clear that oppression like this gives rise to profound discontent among the masses and to the desire on their part to resist. Even religious circles are trying to defend themselves against Fascist slavery. The response to this of the Fascist rulers is to resort to still sharper repression.

Even in the camp of the ruling class voices are raised warning against "overdoing it." Warnings of this kind are to be heard from various sections of society; for example, from the upper circles of the clergy and the militarists. These circles justify their views by indicating that there is a danger that the present practices of Government organs will increase the dissatisfaction of the mass of people to such a degree as to render it difficult to conduct war. They therefore advise that repressions be mitigated in part, and that a number of pseudo-democratic measures be introduced.

Not so long ago, Himmler, the imperial leader of the Guards Units, at the same time chief of the entire German police force, explained that the National-Socialists understand the preparation of the country for war. In a secret report, intended for a narrow circle of Reichswehr officers, Himmler stressed that the conduct of war requires, first and foremost, the severest terror against the working population inside the country. He showed the need for establishing new picked police detachments, and informed those to whom his reports were addressed of his intention, in the near future, of "purging" the rear by means of mass arrests of former officials and active members of the working class still at liberty or recently released.

"In the coming war, we shall have fronts not only of the army on land, of the navy at sea, of the air fleet in the

air, but we shall have a fourth theatre of war operations—inside the country!” said Himmler.

Hence he draws the conclusion that “this is the base which must at all costs be a healthy and reliable one, otherwise the three remaining fighting sectors of the front again risk being stabbed in the back.”

Himmler admits that at the present time, after five years of Fascist rule, the working population are highly pessimistic in the way they estimate the prospects of the brown regime. “Anyone who has really been with the Communists for many years still supports Communism to-day,” he declared; and the many millions of anti-Fascists are in this category. Speaking of the illegal activities of the Communist Party of Germany, he declared: “It is carrying on active work, undoubtedly active, that cannot be denied at all.” Therefore he is resorting to the severest of police measures in the attempt to render harmless to-day already “that section of the front known as internal Germany.” “In order to ensure calm, and with the agreement of the Fuhrer, I am undertaking the arrest of as large a number of officials as possible who come within the limits of our operations. With every sharpening of the foreign-political danger, we shall undertake new arrests until it will really be possible to guarantee that a new illegal organisation cannot arise, for lack of officials and leaders.” This is his recipe to-day and for the future.

As regards the treatment of arrested people in the concentration camps, Himmler was very cautious, but did not hide, in his speech, the fact that corporal punishment, confinement in dark cells, and withdrawal of food, etc., are resorted to there. According to the words of Himmler himself, the most reactionary paragraphs of the Prussian regulations for hard labour prisons during the period of the 1914-1918 world war are resorted to on a broad scale in the concentration camps and prisons of contemporary Germany. In the event of war, Himmler threatens still greater numbers of mass arrests: “We must fully bear in mind that if war breaks out, we shall have to remove a considerable number of unreliable people, otherwise we shall create favourable soil for extremely unpleasant phenomena during the course of the war.” But even in this Himmler does not see the necessary guarantee against unrest and the resistance of the people. Therefore he considers it necessary to

organise special, so-called “Death’s Head Leagues” from among bourgeois and kulak elements, the kernel of which has already been established in the form of the carefully-selected, mercilessly cruel units that constitute the guards of concentration camps. These leagues, according to Himmler, form “shock” detachments to be used for the suppression of “big movements.” The chief of the German police has already given a completely clear definition of the purpose of these detachments: “When we have to use these detachments, we shall act without mercy. It cannot be otherwise.” But since the practice of all the Fascist organisations in Germany has shown up to now that not one of them is secure against the penetration of opposition sentiments, special measures are provided to combat these sentiments. Each detachment has to be transferred every three weeks from one region to another: on no account is it to be set to work in localities where members of the detachment were born or brought up; members of detachments must be sent not in ones, but always in more or less considerable groups, to maintain order in the streets, etc.

Himmler’s language is that of brutal gendarmes, who are going into war without question. War for them is a question of the near future, so near that Himmler repeats over and over again: “at once, today . . .” Hitler-Rosenberg-Himmler are provoking a new war against the will of the majority of the German people. Even in politically backward circles, the question is persistently under discussion to-day as to “what are we doing in Spain”—and this despite the Fascist terror. The masses of the people of Germany are also on the side of the fighting Chinese people, and are more and more frankly expressing their hatred of the Japanese allies of German Fascism. Recently arrests have begun among leading officials of the “Hitler youth,” for many officials, reflecting the moods of the membership, have declared themselves against the interventionist policy in Spain. All this once more confirms the fact that “Fascism is ferocious, but unstable rule.” (Dimitrov.)

Himmler’s speech about war preparations in Germany itself is a document saturated with barbarian cruelty. The speech, however, can deceive no one: everything in it shouts aloud that “the present rulers of the capitalist world are passing people.” (Dimitrov.)

THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY IN GREAT BRITAIN

By R. PAGE ARNOT

AT the celebration of the Twentieth Anniversary of the Great Proletarian Revolution, British workers not only rejoice at the present achievements and the future glorious prospects of the Soviet Union, but also cast their minds back over the past 20 years and see the stupendous contrast, not only with what was under Tsardom, but with what was and is in Great Britain now. Here was a backward country, its agriculture primitive, its population largely illiterate, its working class and peasantry deprived of rights: here, on the other hand, was one of the most advanced countries of the world, its population literate, with its working class for well-nigh a century organised and enjoying a measure of democratic rights won in struggle. And now? Which is advanced and which is backward?

Of all the contrasts which are vividly present to the mind of the British working class at this moment, the most poignant is the contrast between the single united party of the working class, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (the Bolsheviks) and the disunited conditions of the British Labour Movement. The existence of the monolithic party of the U.S.S.R. is the clue to the triumph now being celebrated. The disunity in British labour is the clue to its continued subjection to the handful of millionaires who are the real owners of the British National Government.

The British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, has been boasting that his Government is so strong as never before—but its apparent strength resides solely in the weakness and confusion of the opposition to it. There is no real strength in the position of the British bourgeoisie. On the contrary, the might of British imperialism, already on the wane since the general crisis of capitalism, has been still further eclipsed by the military aggression of German-Italian-Japanese Fascism threatening its trade routes, its Empire connections and its dominating position in the markets of the world. This has had an effect on all parties and classes, causing confusion, shiftings, differentiation. The effects of the world economic crisis have had a lasting impression. Not only the working class, but those intermediate sections of the population, such as small business men, including farmers, the professionals have felt the adverse effects of the crisis, and have been seeking some means of

escape from the difficult position into which they have been thrust. The speed-up and increased accidents in the workshops, the fall in real wages, the alarming extent of malnutrition are paralleled amongst the intermediate sections by the rise in prices, professional unemployment, uncertainty for the future, while the whole people stand under the shadow of the menace of war and Fascism.

Here is the opportunity for the working class of Great Britain, with its tradition of organisation, with its history of struggle reaching back to the Chartists, to give a lead to organise and rally the whole people, but the chief Labour organisations of Great Britain in just this period of the opportunity and the crying need for unity are headed by such reactionary leaders as Ernest Bevin and Sir Walter Citrine, who have done everything to bring about disunity in the Labour Movement to the advantage of no one but the capitalists.

The recent Labour Party Conference has given a signal that it is becoming more and more difficult for Bevin, Citrine and Co. to carry through this policy of disunity. The point is that ever since the 7th World Congress of the Communist International the issues have been sharply joined, but especially in the last fifteen months the conflict between the policy of unity in the fight against Fascism, reaction and war on the one hand, and the policy of disunity, with covert or open support of the millionaires and their National Government on the other hand, has become sharper and sharper. The more the line of the 7th World Congress of the Communist International came to be understood and applied by masses of workers in the trade unions, the more fiercely have the Bevin-Citrine group fought to destroy the building of unity.

To bring about disunity, both on a national and international scale they launched a foul, lying campaign against the U.S.S.R. with Citrine's book, and took under their protection the Trotskyist spies and terrorists who had been brought to trial before the court of the working people of the U.S.S.R. This anti-Soviet campaign continues up to this moment. Within the British trades unions they sought to exterminate the influence of the Communists; after the London bus strike of May, 1937, the strike leaders were expelled from the union. With a bitterness

which aroused comment in the capitalist press, they fought against the unity campaign and threatened Stafford Cripps, who led it inside the Labour Party, with expulsion and excommunication. They prevented help being given to Spain, supported the Franco-helping, non-intervention policy of the National Government, and in this way played into the hands of this Government. They hamstrung their own Parliamentary Labour Party, when this summer it wanted to vote down war credits and as a token of their real support of the 1,500 million pounds arms policy of the National Government, insisted on a policy of abstention from voting.

The leadership of the Labour movement of Britain had proved unable to rally the workers for the struggle against the policy of the National Government. The critical situation was driving forward the process of differentiation within the Labour Party. Not only the Left-wing, headed by Cripps, which had been fighting for the affiliation of the Communist Party of Great Britain to the Labour Party, stood out clearly, but a large centre grouping, represented by Attlee and others, opposed the reactionary leaders. For a time, all that the Right-wing did, in face of this, was to drive ahead more viciously with its splitting policy.

But meantime there were new circumstances which prevented the carrying out to the full of their splitting plans and compelled the Right-wing to manoeuvre. First of all, the invasion of the Basque territory, the destruction of Guernica and Bilbao had aroused a real wave of popular indignation in Britain for the first time since the Fascist rebellion and invasion of Spain began. There was in July a definite, outspoken opposition in Parliament to the National Government policy compromising Labour and Liberal M.P.s and Lloyd George.

Secondly, despite the measures taken to cripple the unity campaign, it was clear that the demand for unity had met with a very wide response amongst the workers, who remained cold to the efforts of the leadership to present the Labour Party as itself being the "one and only" united front.

Thirdly, the obvious set-back to the Labour Party throughout the country, caused by the Bevin-Citrine policy and the apparent unlikelihood of an early Labour Government, had led to a demand for a wider grouping in support of democracy and peace, for help to Spain and for collective security. This demand which the Trade Union Congress had rejected in September, 1936, that the people of Britain should emulate the successes of the People's Front in France, began once more to be put forward, and was voiced by many Labour and Liberal intellectuals.

Fourthly, the extremely rapid rise in the cost of living, together with the worsening of workshop conditions, was accompanied by new rising mass pressure

for increases in wages, for shorter hours, for Labour holidays with pay, etc. The defeat of the bus strike in London had only a temporary effect, and the new mass pressure showed itself first in the novel form of strikes of apprentices, especially in the war industry.

Under all these circumstances, with the approach of the Trades Union Congress in September and the Labour Party Conference in October, the Bevin-Citrine leadership planned their manoeuvre as follows:—

(1) To avoid a struggle at the Trades Union Congress by yielding on the question of Spain and by sundry Left gestures and resolutions.

(2) To gag the Labour Party Conference by ruling out from the agenda all resolutions on unity.

(3) To commit both these annual gatherings to implicit support of the Government Arms Programme.

How did the manoeuvre succeed? At the Trades Union Congress it was successful; at the Labour Party Conference the Bevin-Citrine group, while winning on the question of arms and unity, were severely defeated on inter-Party democracy and on the elections to the Executive. The Labour Party Conference represents a defeat that seriously impairs the success of the whole manoeuvre.

At the Trades Union Congress, Bevin and Citrine seemed to have it all their own way. On Spain, these Right-wing leaders who had sabotaged the fight of the Spanish People, who in the Second International had prevented international working-class united action now came forward to denounce the "Non-Intervention" policy for which they are utterly responsible. With the result that their critics were compelled to vote for the resolution proposed by Sir Walter Citrine.

Now actually this yielding on Spain, China, economic questions was made possible by the fighting mood of the working class, and accordingly in those resolutions a basis is given for the Communist Party to lead a struggle for the putting into effect of these results of the Trade Union Congress.

At the Labour Party Conference, on the issues chosen for debate, they appeared to be equally successful. Unity had been ruled out of discussion. The question could only arise in the form of the reference back of the Executive's Report—a procedure which weighs the odds against any change, because it must take the form of a condemnation in this respect of the elected Executive.

On the question of Arms, they managed to avoid the issue being prominently raised for or against the National Government. The Debate was chiefly with the pacifists. While the Lansbury section was correctly defeated by the Centrist speakers for collective security, the fact that the Labour Party had been implicitly permitted to support the National Government was underlined by the outspoken jingo utterances of the 1914 Social Chauvinist vein of

several speakers. But this apparent success was robbed of its value by the decision of the local Labour Parties and by the election of new forces standing for working-class unity. The local Labour Parties, dissatisfied for years with the domination of the powerful trade unions, had demanded larger representation in the Executive Committee. The Executive had conceded an increase from 5 to 7, making the total number 25. At the Conference, Bevin, Marchbanks (secretary for railwaymen), and other Right-wingers, opposed this extension of Democratic Rights, including the choice of their representatives directly by the local Labour Parties. They were defeated. Further, the local Labour Parties had made use of their new-won rights to elect to the Executive as their representatives, Cripps (leader of campaign for unity within the Labour Party), Laski and Pritt. This was a still more serious defeat. The "Daily Herald," together with the "Manchester Guardian," affected to make light of this result which they presented as evidence of the magnanimity and brotherly-love spirit of the Labour leaders. But the fact was that the representatives of the local Labour Parties, though by no means all of them Left in their outlook, are seriously alarmed by the situation of the Labour Party. The meetings in the recent campaign for 100,000 new members have been miserably poor, and a strong contrast to the large and enthusiastic meetings addressed by Cripps and by the leaders of the Communist Party.

Well might "The Times" print a rueful editorial, headed: "Labour Looks Left," for the happy mood which the Trade Union Congress had brought to "The Times," as well as to Messrs. Bevin and Citrine, had been rudely disturbed: "The Labour Party Conference last week accepted a demand for a bolder and more aggressive leadership; a more thorough and uncompromising presentation of the Socialist creed; an open recognition and vigorous conduct of class war. No such resolution will appear on the records of the Conference, but it is written in the reconstruction of the Executive Committee and in the high spirits and rejoicings of the representatives of the constituency Labour Parties. . . ."

"But there were deeds as well as words, elections as well as resolutions, and the Executive that now directs the affairs of the Party is not the old Executive, for it includes the two forceful free lances whom the old Executive was threatening with expulsion from the Party—Sir Stafford Cripps and Professor Laski—and with them stands Mr. D. N. Pritt. The principal champion of the 'United Front,' the most persistent advocate of the class war in the Party, has been set by constituency Party votes on the Party's governing body."

It is clear enough from this that these results of the Labour Party Conference have caused dismay amongst the bourgeoisie. Despite the reactionary de-

isions on unity and on the Arms' policy of the National Government, this Bournemouth Labour Party Conference signifies a considerable change in the working class from last year.

But the change as yet is mainly in the possibilities it opens up of renewed struggle by the whole people of Britain against Reaction, Fascism and War. To make these possibilities now opened up into actualities, to turn the resolutions on China and Spain, on foreign policy and home affairs into an effective mass movement, requires the utmost persistence and a determined struggle.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain, which before the Bournemouth Conference had issued an appeal to the delegates to rise to the height of the opportunity offered to Labour to give a lead to the whole mass of the people, published an important statement following the Conference in which it was said:

"The more effectively the Labour Party is organised to fight against rising prices and profits; the stronger its demand for higher wages and shorter hours, and against encroachments on democratic rights; for solidarity with the Spanish and Chinese peoples in their heroic struggles against Fascism; for unity of action against Fascist aggression on the part of all democratic States identified with the League of Nations, and for independent working-class action to force the National Government to carry out the demands of Labour immediately—the greater will be the possibilities for the development of a mass movement of all working-class and progressive people in Britain."

But for this purpose, and for the defeat of the National Government, working-class unity is essential. Therefore, the C.P.G.B. in this statement once again expressed "its readiness to become affiliated to the Labour Party," and said:

"We wish to overcome the difficulties which have hitherto prevented co-operation between the Labour Party and the Communist Party in the struggle against capitalism and the National Government.

"The Communist Party accepts in its full meaning the Constitution of the Labour Party, it will abide by all decisions of Labour Party Conferences, it will not ask for special privileges and will accept the same obligations and rights as all other affiliated organisations to the Labour Party."

It dealt with the various objections raised to Communist affiliation, and stated that:

"The Communist Party, in all earnestness and seriousness, declares its readiness to discuss with representatives of the Labour Party the objections that they may feel stand in the way of the achievement of working-class unity."

It is clear that unless unity of the working class is

brought about, unless all progressive and democratic forces in Britain are rallied, the danger of Fascism and of War will increase still more rapidly. But if the struggle is waged effectively to carry out this struggle for unity, including affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party, then around a united

working-class movement there can be such a rallying of progressive and democratic forces, as will force a change now in the policy of the National Government. Such a movement can replace the National Government by a Government carrying through a policy of democracy at home and abroad.

THE BELGIUM LABOUR PARTY CONGRESS

By T. ALVAREZ

THE 56th Annual Congress of the Belgian Labour Party took place in Brussels on October 9 and 10. The question of working-class unity was the keynote of the work of the Congress.

Despite the campaign against the C.P. and proletarian unity on the pages of the Socialist press, despite the measures adopted to hamper the activities of rank and file organisations, despite the slanderous speeches made at the Congress by Haye, the trade union leader who defended the viewpoint of the reactionary, right leaders of the Belgian Labour Party—Spaak, De Man and others, who are ready to sacrifice everything, including the interests of their party, for the sake of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie—the Congress was a demonstration of the tremendous desire of the Socialist masses for unity.

A short time before the Congress, on September 15, the General Council of the Belgian Labour Party adopted a decision against the united front with the Communists. Nevertheless, Buset, the official speaker at the session of the General Council, was forced to admit the existence of a formidable current for unity in the ranks of the party, a current striving for the immediate establishment of closer relations with the Communists.

At the same session, Avaux, member of the General Council, criticised the policy of the party on the question of unity and the report made by Buset, declaring that it was essential to give all-round consideration to the seriousness of the international situation and the role of the Soviet Union. It must not be forgotten, said Avaux in concluding, in reply to the argument that the Communist Party of Belgium is only small in numbers, that the Communists represent 170,000,000 people!

A few days later, on September 19, the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Belgium addressed an open letter to the forthcoming congress of the Belgian Labour Party, to all Socialist organisations and all Socialist working people.

“Nobody will deny,” runs the letter of the Political Bureau, “that the establishment of unity depends entirely upon the Belgian Labour Party. The Communist Party is a party of unity. How many times in

the course of recent years, in face of the dangers that menace the working people, have we appealed to our class brothers, to the Socialists, to the Belgian Labour Party, to bring about unity of action against the common enemy! The fact that our proposals have not been accepted, that all kinds of insults have been hurled at us, cannot make us lay down our arms. Reservations, cunning prevarications, malicious gibes cannot shake our will for unity.

“The Communists have shown their sincerity, their will for unity both during the big strikes of June, 1936, in their anti-Fascist activity, during the elections of April 11, in their solidarity action on behalf of Republican Spain, and in the position they adopt in Parliament. . . .

“The practical application of unity has called forth the enthusiasm of the working class. It has returned to them faith in their own strength and in victory; it has shown that neither Fascism, poverty, nor war can be avoided otherwise than through unity, and that, with unity achieved, bread, peace and liberty can be saved.”

This open letter met with a lively response throughout the country. A whole series of rank and file organisations affiliated to the Belgian Labour Party, for instance, the Brussels Builders' Union, some of the Brussels branches of the Labour Party, issued a protest against the resolution of the General Council which rejected the proposal of the Communist Party for united action, and the affiliation of the C.P. of Belgium to the Belgian Labour Party as an autonomous body. These organisations declared for the establishment of unity with the Communists. The Congress of the Brussels organisation of the Belgian Labour Party, which took place in the first days of October, adopted the resolution of the General Council by a majority of only 80 votes against 45, with ten abstentions. Brunfaud, one of the leading members of the Labour Party and the Brussels Federation, pointed out in his speech at the congress that the fate of the proletariat depended on unity, that the experience of the existence of liaison committees with the Communist Party in Belgium, as well as the policy of the people's front in France, had

produced positive results; it must be taken into account, he added, that two forces face each other to-day: on the one hand, reaction and united Fascism, and on the other, the Soviet Union.

The Spaaks and De Mans, enemies of unity and out-and-out supporters of coalition with the bourgeoisie, did their utmost to prevent proletarian unity being achieved and secured the acceptance of the resolution proposed by the General Council. But the speeches made at the Congress by De Brouckère, President of the Socialist International and one of the oldest leaders of the Belgian Labour Party, and of Bosmans, one of the few delegates from the rank and file organisations, showed how great is the desire for unity of a certain section of the Socialists. De Brouckère made a long speech in favour of unity with the Communist Party.

On October 10, during the work of the Congress of the Belgian Labour Party, a demonstration of 30,000 people took place in Brussels, organised by the Communist Party of Belgium on the anniversary of the death of the late Comrade Jacquemotte. Masses of working people came from all parts of the country not only to honour the memory of the former General Secretary of the Communist Party of Belgium, but also to express their determination to continue the work to which Jacquemotte devoted all his life, namely, the struggle for working-class unity. De Brouckère also expressed this in a telegram addressed to the C.C. of the C.P. of Belgium on the anniversary of the death of Jacquemotte: "I often think of the last speeches which he (Jacquemotte) delivered, during the course of the mighty campaign for working-class unity, at meetings where I was at his side."

"The cause he defended then with such energy will be victorious. Indeed, all Socialists in the broadest sense of the word assert the need for unity; and if they are still far from universal agreement on the choice of the road which is to lead us to it, at any rate agreement is expressed as to the necessity of moving towards it." This is what De Brouckère wrote, but the reactionary leaders of the Belgian Labour Party continue the campaign against unity, against the Communists. What is more, they are acting to the detriment of their own party, the Belgian Labour Party, when they try to split the Young Socialist Guard organisation. They are acting to the detriment of the Belgian Labour Party and the trade union commission when they want to drive out of the Socialist trade unions about 100,000 members who sympathise with the Communists.

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The question of the Young Socialist Guard was also discussed at the Congress.

In December, 1936, there took place in Brussels the unification of two organisations of the Belgian Youth: the Socialist Young Guard and the Young

Communist League, a united organisation being formed under the name of the "United Socialist Young Guard." This unity marked an important stage in the struggle for working-class unity in Belgium, and for the establishment of a broad people's anti-Fascist front.

The unification of the youth was met with the hostility of the agents of Fascism—the Trotskyists, who had entrenched themselves in a number of the organisations of the Young Socialist Guard, and also of the reactionary leaders of the Belgian Labour Party.

On the eve of the Youth Unity Congress, the leadership of the Labour Party adopted a decision in which it categorically declared that "it could on no account agree to this fusion." After the Congress, the leadership of the Labour Party, confronted with the accomplished fact, adopted a decision which placed it on record that the decisions of the Congress of the United Young Guard were "in contradiction to the decisions of the Party."

Subsequently the leadership of the Belgian Labour Party did everything in its power to wreck the work of the Young Socialist Guard.

Nevertheless, the Young Socialist Guard, despite the short period of its existence, has achieved considerable successes. It took an active part in the election campaign in Brussels, helping to bring about the downfall of Degrelle, the leader of the Belgian Fascist Party, "Rex." It has taken an active part in the solidarity campaign with Republican Spain, has collected a large sum of money and despatched a great deal of food, clothing and medical supplies to Spain. Not a few Belgian volunteers now fighting in the ranks of the International Brigades have come from its ranks.

The reactionary leaders of the Belgian Labour Party, at the session of the General Council which took place on August 25, resorted to a new manoeuvre against the unity of the youth. The General Council adopted a decision that "membership of the Young Socialist Guard is incompatible with membership of any other party but the Belgian Labour Party," and that the "Socialist Youth Guard must subordinate itself to the discipline and decisions of the Belgian Labour Party."

This decision of the General Council of the Belgian Labour Party gave rise to tremendous discontent among the whole of the membership of the united Socialist Guard. The day after the publication of the decision of the Belgian Labour Party, the youth organisation in Molenbeek sent a letter to the leadership of the Belgian Labour Party in which it said, among other things:

"This attempt again to bring about a split in the ranks of the labour youth is being made precisely at a time when in the Far East and the Far West proletarian blood is

being shed which calls upon us to unite as quickly as possible so as to avoid a similar fate.

"This is a real challenge to the Young Socialist Guard, which can only lead to a split, and, consequently, to the destruction of the Socialist Youth League movement, thus bringing joy of all enemies of the working class and Socialism. . .

"We shall remain faithful to our unity to the end; we shall not allow anybody to split our ranks.

"We hope to find support among Socialist working people and their political and trade union organisations."

Similar resolutions were adopted by many other organisations of the Young Guard of Liege, Forest, and also Brussels.

The voting at the provincial congresses of the Young Guard organisations demonstrated the unanimous will of the masses to do their utmost to prevent the unity between the Socialist Guard and the Young Communist League being broken. In addition, a considerable majority declared for the right of simultaneous membership of the Communist Party and of the Young Guard. Nevertheless, the National Committee of the Young Socialist Guard, under the pressure of the reactionary leaders of the Labour Party, adopted a decision regarding the incompatibility of simultaneous membership of the Young Guard and the Communist Party. The National Committee also adopted a decision declaring in advance that they would submit to the decisions of the forthcoming Congress of the Belgian Labour Party.

The discussion of the question of the Young Guard at the Congress was very sharp and showed serious differences in the Labour Party. People like Spaak and De Man, not satisfied with the preceding decision of the General Council, introduced an "addendum" at the last moment before the resolution was adopted, which amounts to former Young Communists being deprived for a year of the right to be elected to office in the Young Guard. This reactionary manoeuvre, which aimed at splitting the ranks of the youth, called forth a heated discussion. Forty per cent. of the delegates of the Congress, including the president of the Belgian Labour Party, Vandervelde, opposed this addendum.

After having fully discussed the decision of the Belgian Labour Party, the C.C. of the Communist Party of Belgium, on October 13, appealed to Communists, members of the Young Guard, to make a supreme sacrifice—to forego their membership of the Communist Party—in the interests of preserving unity in the youth organisation.

"In making this painful, but necessary sacrifice to the cause of unity, the C.C. sends its greetings to the young comrades who are leaving the Communist Party, fully confident that the coming together of the Belgian Labour Party and the Communist Party will soon enable them to meet in a united party of the working class."

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The October Congress of the Belgian Labour Party

also discussed the question of the home and foreign policy of the Belgian Government in which there are six Socialist ministers.

The discussions and resolutions, as against the preceding decisions of the General Council, reflected the firm will of the Socialist workers to defend peace, democracy and the rights of the working people.

The draft declaration of the General Council of the Belgian Labour Party, which was presented for discussion by the Congress, was based on three obviously mistaken points:

First, the draft says that the Rexist Fascist Party no longer constitutes a serious political force since the defeat of Degrelle at the elections on April 11, 1937. This underestimation of the Fascist danger at a time when relations between the Rex, the Flemish National Union and Hitler Fascism are becoming stronger, is fraught with serious consequences. The Fascists have not been thrown out of the administrative bodies, out of the municipalities, and their trusted people continue to remain in the army and the police.

Secondly, the authors of the draft consider that the world is on the eve of a prolonged period of prosperity, and consequently that there are possibilities that the crisis will be overcome once and for all within the framework of capitalist society. Hence the conclusion is drawn of the need for the policy of "collaboration at any price," a policy which has already led the reactionary leaders of the Belgian Labour Party to seek an alliance with reaction.

Thirdly, the draft based itself on the assumption that Belgium is an oasis of peace. And this assertion is made at the time of the Fascist war of intervention in Spain, at a time when Hitler Fascism is more and more openly menacing the independence of the peoples of the small countries!

The Congress altered the nature of this declaration. The resolution adopted on questions of home policy declared against "any policy of concessions to pro-Fascist tendencies" and against "any encroachment on the rights of the co-operatives or the freedom of the trade union organisations." The Congress also pointed to the existence of the Fascist danger inside the country and emphasised that it was necessary to secure the satisfaction of such fundamental demands of the working class as the introduction of the 40-hour working week, old-age pensions, etc. As Vandervelde said in the report of the General Council of the Belgian Labour Party: "Rex may to-morrow become one of the most important elements of Right concentration, of the common front of 'Cagouleurs.' We must make up our minds to act—it is immaterial with whom—in order to prevent the realisation of the plans of these plague-bearers, whose strength some people are trying to underestimate."

The questions of foreign policy called forth a lively discussion. The Socialist Senator Rolin made a

speech in which he criticised the foreign policy of the Belgian Government. According to Rolin, Belgium ought to take the initiative in raising two questions in the Council of the League of Nations. Firstly, support ought to be given to the movement which had begun in England for the embargo on oil and iron to Japan, and the problem of sanctions against Japan should be discussed. Secondly. Spanish democracy must be aided in its struggle against the Italo-German invasion, by unmasking the slander against the Spanish Government and putting an end to the criminal policy of non-intervention.

In his speech in reply, Spaak tried to avoid any clear statement of the question, declaring that Belgium must live in peace with all her neighbours, that the task of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of a small nation must be collaboration in all efforts to preserve peace, and that a bloc of democratic Powers is impossible.

The resolution passed on the question of foreign policy notes that "collective security is being increasingly confirmed as the only means of securing the restoration of real peace, with the support of the U.S.A." Laying on record the obvious collapse of the policy of non-intervention, the resolution joins with the political and trade union organisations of other countries in demanding that the right to engage in free trade be immediately restored to the legally constituted Government of the Spanish Republic. An addendum proposed to Rolin regarding the application of sanctions against the aggressor in accordance with the Covenant of the League of Nations was rejected by the Congress.

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The Congress of the Labour Party, which welcomed closer relations between the democratic countries for the purpose of preserving peace, had hardly come to an end before Spaak, member of the General Council of the Belgian Labour Party, at the same time Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Belgian Government, took another road.

On October 13 there took place in Berlin an exchange of notes between Germany and Belgium, an act facilitating the preparations of a new war by German Fascism. The Berlin Note declared that Germany guaranteed the territorial integrity and neutrality of Belgium on condition that Belgium took no part in a coalition against Germany.

This declaration of German Fascism is aimed at fettering the freedom of action of Belgium, at depriving it of the defence against aggression as provided for in the Covenant of the League of Nations, and at imposing upon it Germany's own line of foreign policy. Even "The Times" wrote that "the strategic and diplomatic advantage accruing to Germany from this declaration must be regarded as being considerable."

And the "Socialist" Spaak declared that in this agreement between Germany and Belgium he only saw the consolidation of the cause of peace and regretted the "unfounded suspicions towards Germany" (he had in mind the remarks of leading members of the Belgian Labour Party). Thus Spaak continues his former policy of encouraging Hitler aggression, and flirting with Berlin.

De Man does in home affairs what Spaak does in the sphere of foreign policy.

De Man's notorious plan to overcome the crisis was the basis for an agreement between the Belgian Labour Party and the bourgeois parties, and led to the formation of the Coalition Government. In May, 1935, this Government used poison-gas against the miners of Charleroi when they occupied the mines. It has doubled and trebled the profits of the big capitalists. It introduced 17-months' military training for young people. It has arrested volunteers on their return from Spain, including even Delvigne, former president of the Belgian Labour Party. It has displayed extreme weakness towards the Fascists. And the fact that the representatives of the Labour Party in the Government supported this policy without any resistance, is shown by the following statement made by Jaspar, the Minister of Finance, in May of last year:—

"The participation of Socialists in the Government has almost no influence on the policy of Van Zeeland's ministry. Their representatives in the cabinet have behaved very loyally and wisely, have put forward no special demands, have abstained from all references to the mystics of wages, and tried to assist in calming and pacifying all working-class disturbances."

In his last speech in Antwerp (October 16), after the Belgian Labour Party Congress, De Man praised the programme of the Van Zeeland Government. He declared that the State was no longer the tool of the propertied classes, that the Belgian Labour Party was neither a revolutionary nor a class party, but a governmental and constitutional party.

The road along which Spaak and De Man wish to draw the 600,000 members of the Belgian Labour Party is leading the working class into the arms of reaction. The Spaak and De Mans, who have secured possession of the leadership of the party, have sunk down to the most rampant reaction. Under the pretext of the struggle against Communism, they want to destroy the Left elements in the ranks of the Labour Party in order to lead it along the road of coalition with the bourgeoisie and a pro-Fascist home and foreign policy.

Never before have the differences inside the Belgian Labour Party been so great as now. Spaak and De Man and their friends, as opposed to De Broukère, Vandervelde, Rolin and others, stand out as representatives of the class enemy who use the platform of the Congress as advocates of the enemy.

APPEAL OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE C.C. OF THE C.P. OF SPAIN

(Appeal of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Spain to all anti-Fascist parties and organisations of the People's Front, to the whole of the Spanish people. Published in the "Frente Rojo," September 15, 1937.)

THE Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Spain, having discussed the present situation in the country, draws the attention of the Communist Party and of all other anti-Fascist parties and organisations, and of the whole of the Spanish people to the following:—

FIRST: A year of war has still further steeled the indomitable courage of our people, their unswerving determination to continue the fight until the enemy is completely destroyed and the Spanish people liberated from the onslaught of the Fascists, the intervention and German-Italian domination. Today, as on July 19, when the glorious columns of the Workers' and Peasants' Militia, the Communists, Socialists, Anarchists and Republicans began the heroic fight against the rebel forces, our Party, like the whole of the people of Spain, takes pride in our courageous soldiers who defeated the enemy in Madrid, near Guadalajara, in Posoblanco, Brunete and Belchite, and have shown to the whole world the growing might, fighting power and discipline of the Republican troops. On the basis of this victory over the Fascist generals and aggressors, on the basis of the revolutionary work and policy pursued by the Government of the People's Front, the workers and peasant masses, and the urban petty bourgeoisie have obtained considerable improvements in their economic and political position, and have won the key positions that will ensure them in the future, after final victory has been achieved, the full realisation of the social justice for which the people are shedding their blood in the war. But the long duration of the war, the profound changes in the economic and political life of Republican Spain, the new conditions in which the parties, the workers' and peasants' organisations, the political parties of the petty bourgeoisie have to work, the new efforts and sacrifices demanded by the war—all these raise the urgent task of establishing firm and inviolable unity between all the anti-Fascist forces in the country.

Only if there is strong and stable unity between all the anti-Fascist forces will we be able rapidly and victoriously to overcome the obstacles in our way and to solve the new tasks of construction which confront our people, and all anti-Fascists. But at this

serious moment, not even the organisations of the Spanish people which are imbued with the anti-Fascist spirit and the firm determination to conquer the aggressors and all enemies of the people, and to drive them out of our country once and for all, are united as the interests of the country demand. This is made use of by the agents of the enemy, the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists, traitors and people who have lost faith in our cause, in order to bring about a split and destroy the unity of all the anti-Fascist forces of the people, the unity which is the chief guarantee of our victory.

SECONDLY: Never before has the Spanish people felt so strong and capable of achieving victory as today. The defensive power of the Republican Army, its morale, and its heroism are the best indication of our strength, and create a specially favourable situation for our struggle, on condition that the problems of production and the rear are solved with the necessary speed and energy.

Weaknesses still exist in our work. We must overcome them in order to be victorious, while avoiding great losses.

The absence of stable unity between all the anti-Fascist forces constitutes the chief reason for our weakness, for our tardiness in carrying out the tasks which are decisive for victory, the reason why thorough use has not yet been made of our armed struggle, thus enabling the enemy to deal heavy blows at us. The fall of Bilbao and Santander were heavy blows; we cannot and must not deny it; but they have brought no feeling of downheartedness into our ranks; on the contrary, these blows have become the source of rich and instructive experience, confirming the entire correctness of our position in the struggle for the unity of the People's Front, for a united command, for the purging of the army, for the relentless purging of the rear. The North did not conduct a strictly military policy. The prolonged months of calm at the fronts were not used by them to organise and train the army or to undertake a serious consolidation of their positions, to purge the command demoralised by betrayals, to reinforce the army with new officer-personnel; nor was the requisite level of industrial productivity reached and the population prepared for the sacrifices called for by the war.

The policy pursued in Biscay and Santander, where the privileges of the landowners and industrial mag-

nates who maintained connections with the Fascists remained untouched, was not in accordance with the desires and demands of the workers and peasants. All this led to the damping down of the enthusiasm of the heroic fighters. . . .

Rotten Liberalism enabled the actions of the "Fifth Column" to go unpunished. The wrong conception of the role of propaganda and agitation was shown in the prohibition of mass meetings. This isolated the members of the Government and the People's Front itself from the most active sections of the population, and hindered the mobilisation of the fighting spirit and enthusiasm of the citizens for the heroic defence of these towns. The equivocal position and open disloyalty of certain elements known to you (quite apart from other causes which we shall not examine here) led to the morale of the population being undermined, and rendered fruitless the superhuman exertion of the soldiers who did not feel the requisite support, either at the front or in the rear, and had to relinquish the land of their country step by step to the bloody hordes of the Fascist aggressors.

The absence of unity and stability in the anti-Fascist People's Front, the internal differences and the fact that the leaders of the parties and other anti-Fascist organisations have not understood all the necessity of sacrificing everything to create an unswerving bloc possessing a united will and for the struggle against the enemy, are among the causes which have led to the defeats in the North. In face of the tragic lessons of these events, the Communist Party has decided once again with still greater energy to raise the problem of unity before the whole of the Spanish people, and to declare that it is prepared to make every sacrifice to avoid a repetition of the tragic mistakes committed in the North.

THIRDLY: In spite of the cruel lessons of the North, the difficulties behind our lines serve, in some degree, also to dampen the ardour in the struggle, lead to an internal struggle among the forces which actually are filled with one and the same desire to win the war. The offence felt by some, the impatience of others, the hand of the enemy and acts of provocation, all dampen enthusiasm and sow hatred so as to disunite the forces of the anti-Fascist People's Front, to separate them from each other. Some small groups set their own personal pride against the common interests of the people, others—the remnants of the counter-revolutionary Trotskyist organisations—openly work for the enemy. Unfortunately, their efforts meet with a response as expressed in the defence of these scoundrels within tested revolutionary organisations. A splendid example of unity was shown by the organisations of the youth when they set up the National Youth Alliance. By the organisation of unity committees between the Communist and Socialist Parties throughout the country, the basis

has been laid for the establishment of unity among the proletarian parties. But side by side with these positive facts, there is the fact of a group of men of little faith who are trying to fight the united party and the unity of our trade unions, failing to see that by doing so they are inflicting a mortal wound on themselves. All this leads to further complications in the already extremely difficult tasks facing our Government, since the latter does not receive the necessary support and aid it has the right to demand from all organisations. It is therefore unable rapidly to overcome the weak spots in its work. Our glorious army, beloved by all the people, lacks the atmosphere of unity which would strengthen and increase its solidarity and enthusiasm for the struggle. Despite the ardent desire of the workers, the reorganisation of our civil industry into a defence industry is proceeding too slowly; despite the measures adopted by the Government, profiteering is increasing because of the lack of energetic and unanimous aid to the Government by all anti-Fascists. The absence of unity enables the "Fifth Column" to penetrate into every loophole in order to do their criminal work against the people. The uncontrolled elements, the Trotskyists and other agents of the enemy, are trying to create a favourable situation for provocation and adventures directed against the Republic. Our rear, after a whole year of war, still does not resemble the rear of a country conducting a life and death struggle against the Fascists and foreign usurpers.

FOURTHLY: In order to put an end to this state of affairs as quickly as possible, the Political Bureau of the Communist Party has decided to renew all its efforts to consolidate and unite all honest and sincere anti-Fascists.

To this end, the Political Bureau once again and primarily reminds all members of the Communist Party, all its organisations, all comrades in key positions in the army, all agitators and journalists, that unity, solidarity, the establishment and consolidation of the anti-Fascist People's Front, which is the invincible weapon in the struggle for victory—is the main task of the Communist Party at the present time. And facts like the growth and strength of the Communist Party of Spain at the present time have to be recognised by both friends and enemies of the Party.

We Communists consider that the strength, discipline, activity and unity of our Party constitute the most stable guarantees of victory over Fascism and of the triumph of the national revolution. *But there must be no dizziness from success in our ranks, and our Party would be making a serious mistake if it imagined that it alone, with its own forces, could solve the very serious questions facing the Spanish people. All the anti-Fascist forces must take part in*

it. Unity between all the anti-Fascist forces is the surest guarantee of our victory.

The Communist Party has always been and remains the butt of the fiercest attacks. It is possible that comrades, inspired with a desire to defend their Party, have parried these unjust attacks with hot indignation. In order to strengthen the alliance between the anti-Fascist organisations and to direct the united forces to the struggle against the common enemy, on the field of battle and in the work of strengthening the rear, the Political Bureau calls upon all to eliminate friction between organisations, and declares that all polemics in the press which might weaken unity must be carefully avoided. While, however, not giving up positive criticism which educates the masses.

All members of the Communist Party and its organisations must participate in most energetic fashion in establishing the conditions for close joint work among all anti-Fascist organisations.

Comrades in key positions in the army must not only, as has been the case hitherto, set an example of discipline and heroism, but must strive to achieve comradely and fraternal relations with commanders, members of other parties and organisations, with the old officers who are loyal and honest in their service to the cause of the Republican fatherland.

FIFTHLY: At the present stage, the establishment of hearty relations, of close joint work and unity between the Communist and Socialist Parties is a task of first-rate importance. It is of urgent necessity to bring about the fusion of the two working-class parties. The Political Bureau decides to strain every effort to see that this fusion takes place as soon as possible. In this connection, the Political Bureau declares that all Communists, without exception, desire this fusion, and addresses itself to the members of other parties in order to say to them that the fusion of the Communist and Socialist Parties in one united party means the strengthening of the anti-Fascist People's Front. Neither Communists nor Socialists want the hegemony of one party in the anti-Fascist movement; it is their ardent desire that a united party should become an instrument of the struggle for the unity of all anti-Fascist forces. The Political Bureau calls upon all members of the Communist Party and its organisations to remember that it is their duty to be tireless in conducting a consistent policy of the People's Front and in ensuring that the committees of the People's Front play the role which belongs to them in solving all the problems facing our country.

SIXTHLY: The Political Bureau subjected to particularly careful discussion the question of mutual relations with the National Confederation of Labour and the anarchist organisations. *The Political Bureau once again declares that the Communist Party is ready at any moment to undertake a fraternal discussion*

together with the leading organs of the C.N.T. on all questions facing them, in the effort to remove once and for all the misunderstandings that exist between the two organisations and to create the basis and conditions for regular and mutual joint work. We know that uncontrolled and irresponsible elements, the enemies of unity are conducting a struggle against the Government of the People's Front, against the Communist Party and the Socialist Party; they are calling forth a split in the trade unions and more and more openly taking the road of treacherous adventures and attacks, following the path taken by the P.O.U.M.ists in May of this year. But we are firmly convinced that these elements will prove to be deeply disillusioned, since they will fail to obtain the support of the masses and organisations of the C.N.T. The Spanish people will not tolerate a repetition of the May events, and under the leadership of the Government will stand as one man against those who try to violate revolutionary order in the country. On the other hand, we believe that the comrades of the C.N.T. understand that the road of fraternal joint work with the Communist Party and all anti-Fascist organisations means the consolidation of our rear, through the unity of all the forces of the people, for the solution of the fate of our country. There are no spheres in which Communists and Anarchists cannot work together. Joint work and united action between Communist and Anarchists will not only serve as a powerful source of strength for the fighting front against Fascism, but will also be a guarantee that these two big organisations, united with the Socialists and Republicans, will advance together, on the day after the end of the war, to the fulfilment of great tasks, to the achievement of liberty and justice for the good of the Spanish people.

Therefore, the Political Bureau of the Communist Party is not only ready to begin immediate negotiations with the leading organs of the C.N.T., but also draws the attention of all organisations to the need for fraternal joint work in order to solve the concrete questions raised before the Spanish people by the war and revolution. The agreement between the National Confederation of Labour (C.N.T.) and the General Workers' Union (U.G.T.), despite all the inadequacy of its content, is regarded by the Communists as a serious step forward along the road of rapprochement and unity between these two large trade union organisations in our country.

Communists should take this agreement as a starting point, should extend it as far as possible and do everything necessary as quickly as possible to bring about the organisation of unity committees of the C.N.T. and U.G.T. and their systematic work.

SEVENTHLY: In most energetically raising the problem of unity, in declaring that the Party is prepared to make every sacrifice to ensure firm anti-Fascist

unity throughout the country, the Political Bureau of the Communist Party declares that under no circumstances will it tolerate the continuation of the splitting policy in the trade unions of the U.G.T. The Communist Party is fighting against this criminal policy, and always will do so with all its might, and calls not only on the workers in the U.G.T. to do so, but also on the working class and all the forces of the People's Front to do the same. We must fight against those who want to violate unity as against enemies. The Communist Party which for its part has fought against the blows which threatened the National Confederation of Labour is now fighting for the U.G.T., and appeals, therefore, in particular to the workers and functionaries of the former Socialist Left. It cannot be that these workers and functionaries are in agreement with a split in the U.G.T. and with those who expel the heroic miners of Asturias and a number of strong industrial unions from the ranks of the U.G.T. on the pretext of the non-payment of membership dues. The Spanish proletariat is waiting the adoption of energetic measures by the workers and

functionaries themselves of the former Socialist Left, together with other members of the U.G.T., so as to restrain the treacherous hand which is trying to violate the unity of our great trade union organisation.

EIGHTHLY: The consolidation of the People's Front, the creation and strengthening of the unity of the anti-Fascist forces, will guarantee a victorious struggle against the foreign enemy and the agents of Fascism. The events in the North and the position behind our lines call for the strictest and most relentless struggles. Unity, firmness and discipline in the rear are the basis of our fighting strength on the fields of battle and the firmest guarantee of our victory. Therefore, we must at all costs achieve unity, bar the way against open and camouflaged Fascists and agents of the enemy who are striving to destroy this unity, and overcome all obstacles in the way of the victorious advance of the Spanish people against the internal and external enemy, so as to create a free and splendid Spain, born of the sacrifices and heroism of the people.

BOOK REVIEW

ABOUT FEUCHTWANGER'S BOOK, "MOSCOW, 1937"

By F. ERNST

Publishers: Querido-Verlag, Amsterdam, 1937, 153 pages.

LION FEUCHTWANGER, a writer respected in all cultured countries, and particularly defamed, therefore, in Hitler Germany, made a journey to Moscow in the beginning of 1937. He called himself a friend of the Soviet Union, but his sympathy for the U.S.S.R. was mixed with a certain doubt. "Full of curiosity, doubts and sympathy," he observed life in the U.S.S.R. with a certain feeling of incredulity. The splendid reality of Socialism convinced the sceptic. Unlike Citrine, the reactionary philistine, who on his return from Moscow considered it necessary, first and foremost, to relate that the lavatories in the Soviet Union did not satisfy him, Feuchtwanger wrote with emotion of his clear impressions of the U.S.S.R. In the preface to his literary report, called "Moscow, 1937," it says:

"Stupidity, ill-will and mental slothfulness do not wish to recognise as actuality all the fruitful accomplishments in the East, strive to raise doubts about, to slander them. But the writer who has seen something great, must un-

remittingly bear witness to it, even if the great thing is not popular and if the words of the writer may be not to the liking of many. And so, let the testimony of a witness speak for itself."

The author frankly tells of the shortcomings and difficulties, to overcome which the Government and peoples of the U.S.S.R. have turned their attention, and then goes on to say:

"The concise planning of economy, the planning of the whole of the life of the state, reconciles the individual personality to the shortcomings in living conditions, if they are noticed at all; for the undoubted difference between the past and the present forces one to forget these privations. Anybody who has eyes to see, who has ears to distinguish the sincere notes of human speech from the insincere, feels at every step that when people tell you of their happy lives, these are no empty phrases. And they know that their well-being is not the consequence of a passing favourable situation, but the result of rational planning. . .

"The fact that the people who guide the country have kept their promises is proof enough for the population that the plan will be fulfilled in the future as well, and that, consequently, life will improve with every month that passes. Precisely as the Muscovites know that the train

to Leningrad leaves at such and such an hour, they know also that in two years time they will have clothes of all qualities and in any quantity, and in ten years' time they will have a wide selection of living apartments.

"The knowledge that the state does not deprive the majority in the interests of the minority, of the use of the good things of life, that it really helps everybody in all kinds of ways, this knowledge confirmed by the experience of twenty years, has become part of the flesh and blood of the whole population and has created a confidence in the leadership such as has never been observed in any other place."

In his observation of the life of the Soviet youth, the author displayed a particularly clear understanding of the incomparable superiority of Socialism over capitalism. In his words can be heard the joy of a man who from capitalist darkness has fallen into a world of warmth, light and light.

"The majority of letters which young people address to me outside the Soviet Union are S.O.S. appeals. Large numbers of young people in the West do not know how to fill up their lives, either outwardly or inwardly; not only have they no chance of obtaining the work they would like to have; they have no chance in general of getting work. They do not know what to do, they see no sense in their own lives, all roads to them seem aimless.

"What a joy, after these impressions, to meet young people who have had an opportunity of gleaning the first fruits of Soviet education, to meet young intellectuals of peasant and working-class origin. How firmly, with what confidence and calm they march through life, feeling themselves an organic link in one intelligent whole. The future lies before them like a road traversing a beautiful landscape. Whether speaking at meetings or talking to one vis-a-vis, the naive ardour with which they tell of their happy lives, is artless: their lips do indeed give expression to that which fills their hearts."

Unlike certain patent "democrats" whose attitude to the dictatorship of the proletariat is more hostile than towards the Fascist dictatorship of finance-capital, Feuchtwanger has, although not fully yet, to a considerable extent understood the essence of Soviet democracy. He gives the convincing reply to the patent "democrats" and their Trotskyist prompters that he who

"draws the conclusion that the Soviet Union is completely identical with Fascist dictatorships, fails to understand, in my opinion, one essential difference: the Soviet Union prohibits agitation on behalf of the thesis: twice two is five, while the Fascist dictatorships prohibit the assertion that twice two is four."

The Trotskyist slanderers and their accomplices spread the fable that the U.S.S.R. has allegedly recanted from internationalism and put Russian "nationalism" in its place. Feuchtwanger expressively replies to them with the words:

"The great practical psychologist, Stalin, has performed a miracle: he has set in motion the patriotism of many peoples for the purpose of international Socialism. Indeed, the far distant villages of Siberia accept the attack of Germany and Italy upon the Spanish Republic with the same indignation as though the Fascists were menacing

them themselves. In every house in the U.S.S.R. there hangs a map of Spain, and I observed how the peasants in the vicinity of Moscow threw down their work or left their food and ran to a meeting to hear information on the wireless about the Spanish events. Even among the village population, for all their nationalism, it has proved possible to inspire a feeling of international solidarity."

Feuchtwanger was received by Stalin. In Feuchtwanger's story about this visit, one can feel the strong impression made upon him by the tremendous personality of Stalin. And if the author dwells too much on psychological curiosity and makes a fatal attempt at putting psychology in the place of politics, he is nevertheless sufficiently bold and honest to counter the lies and slander so much indulged in by the enemies of the Soviet Government with a truer, although not absolutely perfect, portrait of the great leader. He has managed to notice much of what is essential: the inexhaustible strength, unswerving firmness, the brilliance of his profoundly correct ideas, the strong link with the people, of the leader "in whom there is allied the might of both classes (workers and peasants)." But the personality of Stalin, the politician, remains misunderstood by the writer, despite the fact that he has clearly perceived and felt several features. The weak place of the great writer Feuchtwanger has always been that he has not understood the meaning of mass, social and political driving forces. For him, this is almost alien territory. In his great novels, "Success" and the "Oppenheim Family," the psychological side is revealed in masterly fashion, but the social and political factors for the most part remain unexplained.

With the passionate interest of the psychologist, Feuchtwanger was present at the trial of the anti-Soviet Trotskyist Centre—Pyatakov, Radek and others. He was convinced of the guilt of the accused. He countered living reality to the insolent and nonsensical legends of the enemies of the U.S.S.R. He says much that is true and wise of the trial, but in the last analysis he fails to understand that by psychological means alone it is not possible to understand all the truth of the trial, that Trotskyism must be understood and depicted *politically*, on the basis of the whole situation of decaying capitalism, and not merely psychologically. Despite these reservations, it must be said that Feuchtwanger's story is something in the nature of a contribution to the struggle against Trotskyism. For example, the following lines are a blow against all Fascist and Trotskyist slanderers:—

"Since it is impossible to deny the irrefutability of the facts of the confessions, their exactitude and fulness, the sceptics put forward the most monstrous hypotheses about the methods by means of which these confessions were allegedly obtained. The first and cheapest supposition, obviously, is that the confessions were dragged out of the accused by torture and threats. But this fable was demolished by the clearly fresh, healthy appearance of the accused by the whole of their physical and mental con-

dition. Thus, the sceptics had to resort to other motives to explain the confessions were 'impossible.' They declared that the accused were given all sorts of poison, that they were given some kind of drug, were hypnotised. However, there is nobody in the world who has managed to secure such a strong and prolonged influence over another, while the scientist who could achieve such results would hardly be satisfied to preserve the role of a secret, unknown accessory to the organs of public security; he would probably use his methods for a scientific career. But the opponents of the trial are ready to resort to the most absurd suppositions, if only not to believe in the very simple thing, that the accused were caught red-handed, and their confessions correspond to the truth."

Feuchtwanger's impressions of the Soviet Union are clearly expressed at the end of the book, where he compares the decaying atmosphere of the capitalist world with the U.S.S.R.

"The air in the West is bad, oppressive. There is no longer clarity and resolution in western civilisation now. People hesitate to defend themselves against the offensive of barbarism, either by fists or strong words, they do it

unwillingly, with indefinite gestures; the utterances of responsible persons against Fascism are sugared, are drowned in reservations. Who is not revolted by the indifference and hypocrisy with which these responsible persons have reacted to the aggression of the Fascists against the Spanish Republic? One draws a sigh of relief when one leaves behind this depressing atmosphere of falsified democracy and hypocritical humanitarianism, and arrives in the severe atmosphere of the Soviet Union. . .

"It is a joy after all the half-heartedness of the West to see a thing about which one can say from the bottom of the heart: yes, yes, yes. And since it seemed to me dishonest to hide this 'yes,' I have written this book."

And since this book stands opposed to the miserable half-heartedness of indifferent "democrats" or hypocritical "Soviet friends" with their countless "ifs" and "buts," since the author has the courage not to drown his "yes" in reservations, but to say it out openly and courageously, his book, "Moscow, 1937" is, despite certain shortcomings, a valuable contribution to anti-Fascist literature.

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