

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

VOL. XIV



NO. 12

THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION

ARTICLES BY

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THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

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VOL. XIV

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Historical Documents of the Great October Socialist Revolution

APPEAL TO THE SOLDIERS OF ALL THE WARRING COUNTRIES*

BROTHER SOLDIERS: We are all worn out by this frightful war which has cost millions of lives, crippled millions of people and has caused untold misery, ruin and starvation.

And more and more people are beginning to ask themselves: Why did it begin, what is this war for?

It is becoming clearer and clearer every day to us the workers and peasants, who bear the greatest part of the burden of the war, that it began and is being waged by the capitalists of all countries for the sake of the interests of the capitalists, for the sake of world supremacy, for the sake of markets for the manufacturers, factory-owners and bankers, for the sake of plundering the weak nationalities. They are dividing up colonies and seizing territory in the Balkans and in Turkey—and for this the European peoples must be ruined, for this we must perish, for this we must witness the ruin, starvation and destruction of our families.

The capitalist class in all countries is deriving gigantic, unprecedented and scandalously high profits from contracts and war supplies, from concessions in annexed countries, and from the rising price of goods. The capitalist class has levied contribution on all the nations for many decades ahead in the shape of high interest on the billions lent in war loans.

* This Appeal first appeared in *Pravda*, April 21 (May 4), 1917, No. 37, and appears in *Collected Works*, by V. I. Lenin, Vol. XX.

And we, the workers and peasants, must perish, suffer ruin, starve, patiently tolerating all this and strengthening our oppressors, the capitalists, by the fact that the workers of the various countries are exterminating each other and are filled with hatred for each other.

Can it be that we will go on submissively tolerating our yoke, tolerating the war between the capitalist classes? Can it be that we will drag on this war by taking the side of our national governments, our national bourgeoisie, our national capitalists, and thereby destroy the international unity of the workers of all countries, of the whole world?

No, brother soldiers, it is time we opened our eyes, it is time we took our fate into our own hands. In all countries the indignation of the people against the capitalist class, which drew them into the war, is growing, widening and gaining strength. Not only in Germany, but also in England, which before the war was looked upon as a country where exceptional freedom prevailed, hundreds and hundreds of the sincere friends and representatives of the working class are languishing in prison for having uttered an honest and true word against the war and against the capitalists. The revolution in Russia is only the first step of the first revolution; it should be followed and will be followed by others.

The new government in Russia, which has overthrown Nicholas II, who was just such a crowned bandit as Wilhelm II, is a capitalist government. It is waging just such a predatory and imperialist war as the capitalists of Ger-

many, England and other countries. It has endorsed the predatory secret treaties concluded by Nicholas II with the capitalists of England, France and other countries; it is not publishing these treaties for the world to know, just as the German government is not publishing its secret and equally predatory treaties with Austria, Bulgaria and so on.

On April 20 the Russian Provisional Government published a note once more endorsing the old predatory treaties concluded by the tsar and declaring its readiness to fight the war to a victorious conclusion, thereby arousing the indignation even of those who have hitherto trusted and supported it.

But, in addition to the capitalist government, the Russian revolution has given rise to spontaneous revolutionary organizations representing the vast majority of the workers and peasants, namely, the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in Petrograd and the majority of the cities of Russia. The majority of the soldiers and a part of the workers in Russia—like very many workers and soldiers in Germany—still preserve an unreasoning confidence in the government of the capitalists and in their empty and lying talk of a peace without annexations, a war of defense and so on.

But, unlike the capitalists, the workers and poor peasants have no interest in annexations or in protecting the profits of the capitalists. And, therefore, every day, every step taken by the capitalist government, both in Russia and in Germany, will expose the deceit of the capitalists, will expose the fact that as long as capitalist rule lasts there can be no real democratic non-coercive peace based on a real renunciation of all annexations, *i.e.*, on the liberation of all colonies without exception, of all oppressed, forcibly annexed or non-sovereign nationalities without exception, and until then the war will, in all likelihood, become still more acute and protracted.

Only if the power of state in both the, at present, hostile states, for example, both in Russia and Germany, passes wholly and exclusively into the hands of revolutionary Soviets of Workers' and

Soldiers' Deputies, which are really capable of rending the whole mesh of capitalist relations and interests, will the workers of both the warring countries acquire confidence in each other and be able to put an early end to the war on the basis of a really democratic peace that will really liberate all the peoples and nations of the world.

Brother Soldiers: Let us do everything in our power to hasten this, to achieve this aim. Let us not fear sacrifice—any sacrifice for the workers' revolution will be less painful than the sacrifices of war. Every victorious step of the revolution will save hundreds of thousands and millions of people from death, ruin and starvation.

Peace to the huts, war on the palaces!
Peace to the workers of all countries!
Long live the fraternal unity of the revolutionary workers of all countries!
Long live socialism!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE, RUSSIAN
SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY.
PETROGRAD COMMITTEE, RUSSIAN
SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY.
EDITORIAL BOARD, "PRAVDA."

MANIFESTO OF THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOR PARTY *

TO ALL the toilers, to all the workers, soldiers and peasants of Russia:

Comrades, five months have passed since the revolutionary proletariat and soldiers overthrew the rule of the knout and club and put Nicholas Romanov under lock and key. The workers threw off the chains in which the police system had chained them. The soldiers became free citizens. Throughout the world of barbarism and brutality, the voice of the Russian revolution loudly proclaimed: "Peace and the brotherhood of nations." . . .

* Drawn up in the name of the Sixth Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. by the Central Committee, by Order of the Congress. This article appears in the *Collected Works* of V. I. Lenin, Vol. XXI, Book 2, pp. 312-317.

The *July Days* opened a new page of history. For the first time the counter-revolution temporarily achieved a decisive victory and power passed into the hands of the bourgeoisie and Military Headquarters. Until then there had been a dual power. Until then the Soviets had wielded enormous power. They were backed by the armed masses of soldiers and workers, the free people. Now the Soviets have made themselves powerless. By disarming the workers, disbanding the regiments of the revolution and filling the center with Cossacks, they have tied themselves hand and foot and have transformed themselves into an adjunct of the bourgeois government. The "Socialist" Ministers have been gagged. Their bourgeois colleagues have put them on a chain. They are used when they are needed to pacify, they are spat upon when they attempt to protest.

Having surrendered power to the counter-revolution and betraying the revolution, the leaders of philistinism, the S.R.'s, (Socialist-Revolutionaries) and Mensheviks, are putting their signatures to nearly all the counter-revolutionary measures of the government. The red flag of freedom has been hauled down. The black flag of *capital punishment* is floating in its place. Shooting of soldiers and workers, censorship, libel, the secret service, arrests, the re-introduction of the hated tsarist laws against political crimes, the filthy calumny of the Okhrana, all the charms of the old regime are being resorted to by the new government for the "salvation of the revolution," the government which is arresting revolutionaries and releasing the tsarist Ministers and provocateurs, which keeps putting off the convocation of the Constituent Assembly and is today, in place of it, convening the counter-revolutionary "Moscow Council" consisting of the "magnates" of industry and commerce.

After consolidating its position in the country, the counter-revolution began to resort to the old methods in all other things. A resolute attack is being made

upon the Ukrainians, not only by means of decrees, but also with the aid of Cuirassiers. The Finnish Diet is being dissolved, and armed force is being threatened against the very right of self-determination which was so solemnly proclaimed in official declarations. Through the medium of the government's ambassadors a shady intrigue is being carried on to prevent the meeting in Stockholm of even the most moderate of "Socialists."

The formula "Peace without annexations" has been pigeonholed, and in its place the Milyukov-Guchkov formula of "war until complete victory" has appeared. Kerensky is proclaiming the slogan "exterminate the Bolsheviks" and sends a telegram in the name of the "Russian people" to King George, the near relative of Wilhelm Hohenzollern and of Nicholas Romanov. The slogan of the revolution: "Peace to the huts, war on the palaces" is being superseded by the slogan "Peace to the palaces, war on the huts."

But the counter-revolution is celebrating its victory too soon. The starving cannot be fed with bullets. Cossacks' whips cannot dry the tears of mothers and wives. Gallows and nooses cannot dry up the ocean of suffering. Bayonets will not pacify the people. Generals' bawling will not stop the collapse of industry.

The subterranean forces of history are at work. Deep down among the masses of the people, profound discontent is maturing. The peasants need land, the workers need bread, and both need peace. The stormy petrel has already flown all over the world. In England, the workers are already starting an open struggle to curb capital; in France, the soldiers are agitating for peace and revolution; in Germany, there is continuous unrest and strikes; in America, the bourgeoisie is beginning to shoot down the Socialists who have raised the standard of struggle against war. Spain is caught in the flames of revolutionary class battles. Already the financiers of all countries are meeting in secret con-

gresses to discuss the general question of the approaching storm; for they are already hearing the iron footsteps of the workers' revolution; they are already seeing the inevitable.

Into this battle our Party is marching with unfurled flags. It has firmly held these flags aloft. It has not hauled them down before the violators and filthy slanderers, before the traitors to the revolution and the servants of capital. And it will continue to hold them aloft in the fight for socialism, for the brotherhood of nations; for it knows that a new movement is impending, that the last hour of the old world is striking.

Prepare, then, for these new battles, comrades in the fight! Firmly, bravely and calmly, yielding not to provocation, gather your forces and line up in fighting columns! Proletarians and soldiers, fall in under the Party's banner! Come, under our banner, oppressed people of the countryside!

Long live the revolutionary proletariat!

Long live the alliance between the workers and the rural poor!

Down with the counter-revolution and its "Moscow Council"!

Long live the world workers' revolution!

Long live socialism!

Long live the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party (Bolsheviks)!

SIXTH CONGRESS OF THE RUSSIAN
SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOR PARTY
(BOLSHEVIKS).

Petrograd, August 12, 1917.

A LETTER TO THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE RUSSIAN
SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC LABOR
PARTY*

DEAR COMRADES:

NO SELF-RESPECTING party can tolerate strike-breaking and strike-breakers in its midst. That is obvious.

* This article appears in *Collected Works*, Vol. XXI, by V. I. Lenin, pp. 133 to 137, first published November 4, 1927 in *Pravda*, No. 180.—Ed.

The more we reflect upon Zinoviev's and Kamenev's utterance in the non-Party press, the more certain it becomes that their action is strike-breaking in the full meaning of the term. . . .

Kamenev and Zinoviev have *betrayed* to Rodzyanko and Kerensky the decision of the Central Committee of their Party on armed insurrection and the fact that preparations for armed insurrection and the choice of the date for the armed insurrection were being concealed from the enemy. That is a fact. No evasions can refute it. Two members of the Central Committee have by heinous lie *betrayed* the decision of the workers to the capitalists. There can be only one answer to this: an immediate decision of the Central Committee couched in the following terms:

"Regarding Zinoviev's and Kamenev's utterance in the non-Party press as strike-breaking in the full meaning of the term, the Central Committee expels both of them from the Party."

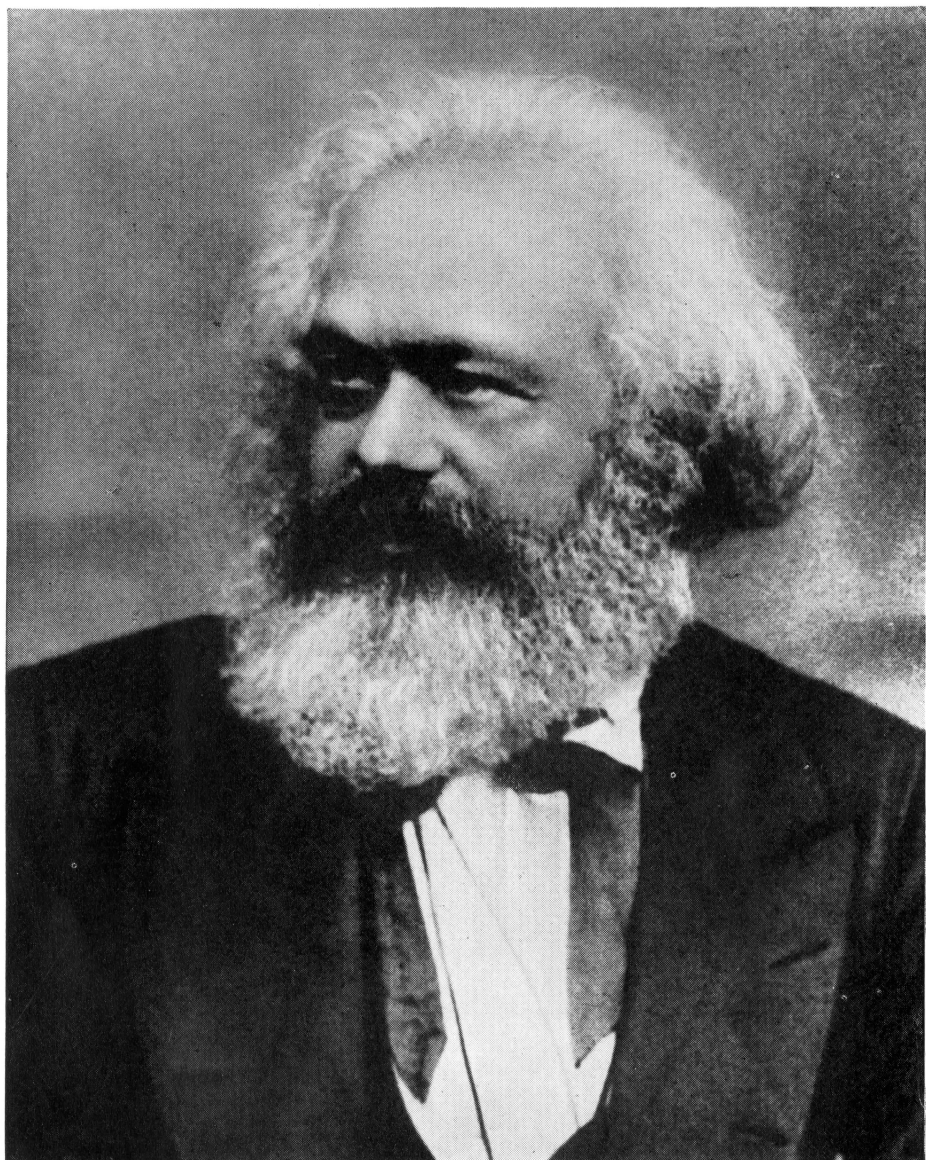
It is not easy for me to write in this way about former close comrades; but I would consider any hesitation on this point a crime, for a party of revolutionaries that did not punish prominent strike-breakers would *perish*.

Armed insurrection, even if the strike-breakers have delayed it for a long time by divulging matters to Rodzyanko and Kerensky, *has not been removed from the agenda by the Party*. But how can we prepare for armed insurrection and bring it about if we *tolerate* "prominent" strike-breakers in our midst? The more prominent a man, the more *dangerous* he is, and the less he deserves "forgiveness," the French say. Only your *close* associate can betray you.

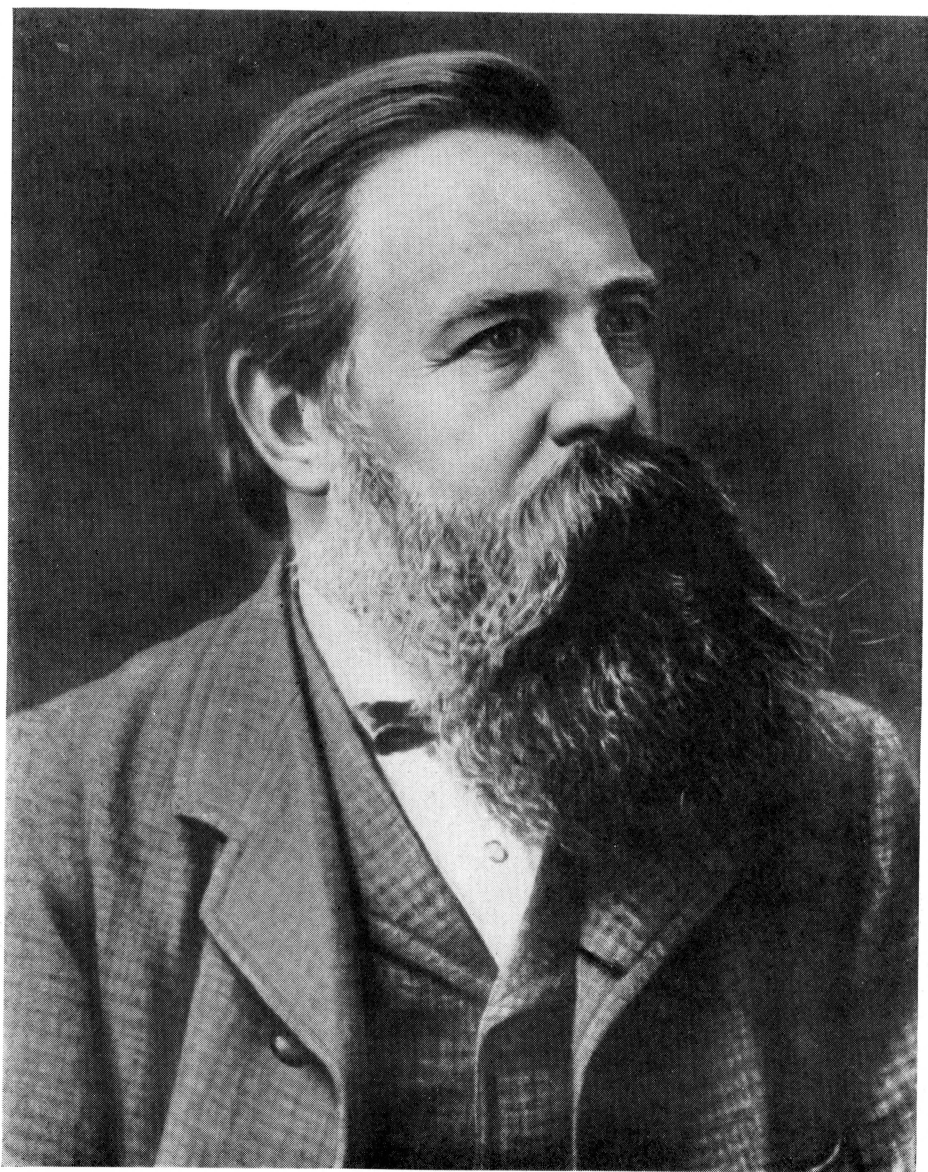
The more "prominent" the strike-breakers, the more imperative it is to punish them by immediate expulsion.

That is the only way to restore the workers' party to health, to rid ourselves of a dozen or so spineless intellectuals, to rally the ranks of the revolutionaries, to meet great and momentous difficulties and to march hand in hand *with the revolutionary workers*.

Written November 1 (Oct. 19), 1917.



KARL MARX



FREDERICK ENGELS



V. I. LENIN



JOSEPH STALIN

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLES OF RUSSIA

THE October Revolution of the workers and peasants began under the general banner of liberation.

The peasants are being liberated from the power of the landlords, for landed proprietorship no longer exists—it has been abolished. The soldiers and sailors are being liberated from the power of the despotic generals, for the generals will henceforth be elected and be subject to recall. The workers are being liberated from the caprice and despotism of the capitalists, for henceforth workers' control over the mills and factories will be established. Everything that is living and virile is being liberated from the detested fetters.

There remain only the peoples of Russia, who have suffered and are suffering from oppression and despotism, and whose liberation must be begun immediately and accomplished decisively and for all time.

In the era of tsarism the peoples of Russia were systematically incited one against another. The results of this policy are well known: massacres and pogroms, on the one hand, and the enslavement of the peoples on the other.

This shameful policy of incitement has ended, and there must be no return to it. Henceforth, it must be replaced by a policy of voluntary and honest alliance between the peoples of Russia.

In the period of imperialism, after the February Revolution, when the power passed into the hands of the Cadet bourgeoisie, the unconcealed policy of incitement gave place to a policy of cowardly distrust of the peoples of Russia, a policy of pinpricks and provocation, concealed by verbal proclamations of the "freedom" and "equality" of the peoples. The results of this policy are well-known: intensification of national enmity and undermining of mutual confidence.

This unworthy policy of lying and distrust, of pinpricks and provocations, must be ended. It must henceforth be

replaced by a frank and honest policy that will lead to *complete mutual confidence* between the peoples of Russia.

It is only by such confidence that an honest and durable alliance between the peoples of Russia can be secured.

It is only by such an alliance, that the workers and peasants of the peoples of Russia can be welded together into a single revolutionary force capable of withstanding all attempts of the imperialist, annexationist bourgeoisie.

It was on these grounds that in June, 1917, the First Congress of Soviets proclaimed the right of the peoples of Russia to freedom of self-determination.

In October, 1917, the Second Congress of Soviets endorsed this inalienable right of the peoples of Russia in a more decided and definite form.

In pursuance of the will of these congresses, the Council of People's Commissars has decided to base its activities with regard to the nationalities of Russia on the following principles:

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

The specific decrees necessitated by this will be drawn up immediately after a commission on national affairs has been formed.

In the name of the Russian Republic,

JOSEPH DZHUGASHVILI-STALIN,
People's Commissar of National Affairs.

V. ULIANOV (LENIN),
Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars.

November 2 [15], 1917.

A LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

COMRADES:

I AM writing these lines on the evening of the 24th. The situation is critical in the extreme. It is absolutely clear that to delay the insurrection now will be veritably fatal.

I exhort my comrades with all my strength to realize that everything now hangs on a thread; that we are being confronted by problems which cannot be solved by conferences or congresses (even congresses of Soviets), but exclusively by peoples, by the masses, by the struggle of the armed masses.

The bourgeois onslaught of the Kornilovites and the removal of Verkhovsky show that we must not wait. We must at all costs, this very evening, this very night, arrest the government, first disarming the junkers (defeating them if they resist), and so forth.

We must not wait! We may lose everything!

The value of the seizure of power immediately will be defense by the *people* (not by the Congress, but by the people, the army and the peasants in the first place) from the Kornilovite government, which has driven out Verkhovsky and has hatched a second Kornilov plot.

Who must take power?

That is not important at present. Let the Revolutionary Military Committee take it, or "some other institution" which will declare that it will relinquish the power only to the true representatives of the interests of the people, the interests of the army (the immediate proposal of peace), the interests of the peasants (the land to be taken immediately and private property abolished), the interests of the starving.

All districts, all regiments, all forces must be mobilized at once and must immediately send their delegations to the Revolutionary Military Committee and to the Central Committee of the Bolsheviks with the insistent demand that under no circumstances must the power be left in the hands of Kerensky and

Co. until the 25th—not under any circumstances; the matter must be decided without fail this very evening, or this very night.

History will not forgive revolutionaries for procrastinating when they could be victorious today (will certainly be victorious today), while they risk losing much, in fact everything, tomorrow.

If we seize power today, we seize it not in opposition to the Soviets but on their behalf.

The seizure of power is a matter of insurrection; its political purpose will be clear after the seizure.

It would be a disaster, or a sheer formality, to await the wavering vote of October 25. The people have the right and the duty to decide such questions not by a vote, but by force; in critical moments of revolution, the people have the right and the duty to direct their representatives, even their best representatives, and not to wait for them.

This is proved by the history of all revolutions; and it would be an infinite crime on the part of the revolutionaries were they to let the moment slip, knowing that upon them depends the *salvation of the revolution*, the proposal of peace, the salvation of Petrograd, salvation from famine, the transfer of the land to the peasants.

The government is wavering. It must be *destroyed* at all costs. To delay action will be fatal.

Written November 6 (Oct. 24), 1917.

REPORT OF V. I. LENIN ON THE TASKS OF SOVIET POWER *

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

What is the significance of this workers' and peasants' revolution? Its significance is, first of all, that we shall have a Soviet Government, our own or-

* At meeting of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, Oct. 25, 1917.

gan of power, in which the bourgeoisie will have no share whatever. The oppressed masses will themselves create a power. The old state apparatus will be shattered to its foundations and a new administrative apparatus set up in the shape of the Soviet organizations.

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

TO THE CITIZENS OF RUSSIA!*

THE Provisional Government has been overthrown. The power of state has passed into the hands of the organ of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, the Revolutionary Military Committee, which stands at the head of the Petrograd proletariat and garrison.

The cause for which the people have fought—the immediate proposal of a democratic peace, the abolition of landed proprietorship, workers' control over production and the creation of a Soviet government—is assured.

Long live the revolution of the soldiers, workers and peasants!

REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COMMITTEE OF THE PETROGRAD SOVIET OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS' DEPUTIES.

November 7 (October 25), 1917.

REPORT ON THE LAND, NOVEMBER 8 (OCTOBER 26), 1917

WE CONSIDER that the revolution has demonstrated and proved how important it is that the land question should be stated clearly. The outbreak of armed insurrection, of the second, or October, Revolution, clearly proves that the land must be handed over to the peasants. The government that has been

* This article first appeared in *Rabochi i Soldat*, No. 8, November 7 (October 25), 1917.

overthrown and the compromising parties of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries committed a crime when they kept postponing the settlement of the land question on various pretexts and thereby brought the country to a state of ruin and confronted it with a peasant revolt. Their talk about riots and anarchy in the countryside sounds false, cowardly and deceitful. Where and when have riots and anarchy been called forth by wise measures? If the government had acted wisely, and if their measures had met the needs of the poor peasants, would there have been unrest among the peasant masses? But all the measures of the government, approved by the Avksentyev and Dan Soviets, went counter to the interests of the peasants and compelled them to revolt.

Having brought about a revolt, the government began to howl about riots and anarchy, for which they themselves were responsible. They would fain have crushed it by blood and iron, but were themselves swept away by the armed revolt of the revolutionary soldiers, sailors and workers. The first duty of the government of the workers' and peasants' revolution must be to settle the land question, which can pacify and satisfy the vast masses of poor peasants. I shall read you the points of a decree your Soviet government must promulgate. In one of the points of this decree are embodied the Instructions to the Land Committees which have been compiled from 242 Instructions from local Soviets of Peasants' Deputies.

DECREE ON THE LAND

1. Landed proprietorship is abolished forthwith without compensation.

2. The landed estates, as also all crown, monasterial and church lands, with all their livestock, implements, farm buildings and everything pertaining thereto, shall be placed at the disposal of the rural area Land Committees and the district Soviets of Peasants' Deputies pending the convocation of the Constituent Assembly.

3. All damage to confiscated property, which henceforth belongs to the whole people, is proclaimed a felony punishable by the revolutionary courts. The district Soviets of Peasants' Deputies shall take all necessary measures to guarantee the observance of strict order during the confiscation of the landed estates, to determine the minimum dimensions of, and what particular estates shall be subject to confiscation, to draw up inventories of all property confiscated and to protect in a strict revolutionary way all agricultural enterprises transferred to the people with all structures, implements, livestock, supplies, etc.

4. The following peasant Instructions, compiled by the *Izvestia* of the All-Russian Soviet of Peasants' Deputies from 242 local peasant Instructions and published in No. 88 of the *Izvestia* (Petrograd, September 1 [August 19], 1917), shall everywhere serve as a guide in carrying through the great land reforms until a final decision on the latter is taken by the Constituent Assembly.

5. The land of ordinary peasants and ordinary Cossacks shall not be confiscated.

[Further details here omitted.—*Ed.*]

Voices are being raised here that the decree itself and the Instructions were drawn up by the Socialist-Revolutionaries. Be it so. Does it matter who drew them up? As a democratic government, we cannot ignore the decision of the rank and file of the people, even though we may disagree with it. In the fire of experience, applying the decree in practice, and carrying it out locally, the peasants will themselves realize where the truth lies. And even if the peasants continue to follow the Socialist-Revolutionaries, even if they give this party a majority in the Constituent Assembly, we shall still say, be it so. Experience is the best teacher and it will show who is right. Let the peasant solve this problem from one end and let us solve it from the other. Experience will oblige us to draw together in the general stream of revolutionary creative work, in the elaboration of new state forms.

We must be guided by experience; we must allow complete freedom to the creative faculties of the masses.

The old government, which was overthrown by armed insurrection, wanted to settle the land question with the help of the old, unchanged tsarist bureaucracy. But instead of solving the question, the bureaucracy only fought the peasants. The peasants have learned something during the eight months of revolution; they want to settle all land questions themselves. We are therefore opposed to all amendments to this draft law. We want no details in it, for we are writing a decree, not a program of action.

Russia is vast, and local conditions vary. We believe that the peasants will be able to solve the problem correctly, better than we could ourselves. Whether they do it in our spirit, or in the spirit of the program of the Socialist-Revolutionaries, is not the point. The point is that the peasants should be firmly assured that there are no more landlords in the countryside, that they themselves must decide all questions, and that they themselves must arrange their own lives.

REPORT ON PEACE, NOVEMBER 8 (OCTOBER 26), 1917*

THE question of peace is a burning and painful question of the day. Much has been said and written on the subject, and all of you no doubt have discussed it quite a lot. Permit me, therefore, to proceed to read a declaration which the government you are to elect should publish:

DECREE ON PEACE

The workers' and peasants' government created by the revolution of November 6-7 (October 24-25) and backed by the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers'

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and Peasants' Deputies, calls upon all the belligerent nations and their governments to start immediate negotiations for a just, democratic peace.

By a just or democratic peace—for which the overwhelming majority of the working and toiling classes of all the belligerent countries, exhausted, tormented and racked by the war, are craving, a peace that has been most definitely and insistently demanded by the Russian workers and peasants ever since the overthrow of the tsarist monarchy—the government means an immediate peace without annexations (*i.e.*, the seizure of foreign lands, or the forcible incorporation of foreign nations) and without indemnities.

The government of Russia calls upon all the belligerent nations to conclude such a peace immediately, and expresses its readiness to take the most resolute measures without the least delay, pending the final ratification of the terms of this peace by authorized assemblies of the people's representatives of all countries and all nations.

In accordance with the sense of justice of the democracy in general, and of the toiling classes in particular, the government conceives the annexations, or seizure, of foreign lands to mean the incorporation into a large or powerful state of a small or feeble nation without the precisely, clearly and voluntarily expressed consent and wish of that nation, irrespective of the time such forcible incorporation took place, irrespective also of the degree of development or backwardness of the nation forcibly annexed to, or forcibly retained as part of the given state, and irrespective, finally, of whether this nation is in Europe or in distant overseas countries.

If any nation whatsoever is forcibly retained as part of a given state, if, in spite of its expressed desire—no matter whether that desire is expressed in the press, at public meetings, in the decisions of parties, or in protests and revolts against national oppression—it is not permitted the right to decide the forms of its state existence by a free vote,

taken after the complete evacuation of the troops of the incorporating or, generally, of the stronger nation and without the least pressure being brought to bear, such incorporation is annexation, *i.e.*, seizure and coercion.

The government considers it the greatest crime against humanity to continue this war for the purpose of dividing up among the strong and rich nations the feeble nationalities they have conquered, and solemnly announces its determination immediately to sign terms of peace to stop this war on the conditions indicated, which are equally just for all nationalities without exception.

At the same time the government declares that it does not regard the above-mentioned terms of peace as an ultimatum; in other words, it is prepared to consider any other terms of peace, but only insists that they be advanced by any of the belligerent nations as speedily as possible and that in the proposals of peace there should be absolute clarity and the complete absence of all ambiguity and secrecy.

The government abolishes secret diplomacy and, for its part, announces its firm intention to conduct all negotiations quite openly under the eyes of the whole people. It will immediately proceed to the full publication of the secret treaties endorsed or concluded by the government of landlords and capitalists from February to November 7 [October 25], 1917. The government proclaims the absolute and immediate annulment of everything contained in these secret treaties that is aimed, as in most cases it is, at securing advantages and privileges for the Russian landlords and capitalists and at the retention, or extension, of the annexations made by the Great Russians.

Appealing to the governments and peoples of all countries immediately to begin open negotiations for peace, the government, for its part, announces its readiness to conduct these negotiations both in writing, by telegraph, and by negotiations between representatives of the various countries or at a conference

of such representatives. In order to facilitate such negotiations, the government is appointing its authorized representative to neutral countries.

The government proposes an immediate armistice to the governments and peoples of all the belligerent countries and, for its part, considers it desirable that this armistice should be concluded for a period of not less than three months, *i.e.*, a period long enough to permit the completion of negotiations for peace with the participation of the representatives of all peoples or nations involved in or compelled to take part in the war, without exception, and the summoning of authorized assemblies of the representatives of the peoples of all countries for the final ratification of the terms of peace.

While addressing this proposal for peace to the governments and peoples of all the belligerent countries, the provisional workers' and peasants' government of Russia appeals in particular to the class conscious workers of the three foremost nations of mankind, the largest states participating in the present war, namely, Great Britain, France and Germany. The workers of these countries have made the greatest contributions to the cause of progress and socialism; they have furnished the great examples of the Chartist movement in England, a number of revolutions of historic importance by the French proletariat, and, finally, the heroic struggle against the Anti-Socialist Law in Germany and the example shown to the workers of the whole world in the prolonged, persistent and disciplined work of creating mass proletarian organizations in Germany. All these examples of proletarian heroism and historical creative work are a pledge that the workers of the countries mentioned will understand the duty that now lies upon them of saving mankind from the horrors of war and its consequences. For these workers, by comprehensive, determined, and supremely energetic action, can help us to bring about the success of the cause of peace, and at the same time the cause of the emanci-

pation of the toiling and exploited masses of the population from all forms of slavery and all forms of exploitation.

* * *

The workers' and peasants' government created by the revolution of November 6-7 [October 24-25] and backed by the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies must start immediate negotiations for peace. Our appeal must be addressed both to the governments and to the peoples. We cannot ignore the governments, for that would delay the possibility of concluding peace, and the people's government dare not do that; but we have no right not to appeal to the peoples at the same time. Everywhere there are differences between the governments and the peoples, and we must therefore help the peoples to interfere in the questions of war and peace.

We will, of course, insist upon the whole of our program for a peace without annexations and indemnities. We shall not retreat from it; but we must deprive our enemies of the opportunity of saying that their conditions are different from ours and that therefore it is useless to start negotiations with us. No, we must deprive them of that advantageous position and not advance our terms in the form of an ultimatum. Therefore the point is included that we will consider all terms of peace and all proposals. We shall consider them, but that does not necessarily mean that we shall accept them. We shall submit them to the judgment of the Constituent Assembly, which will have the power to decide what concessions can or cannot be made.

We are combatting the duplicity of governments which pay lip service to peace and justice, but in fact wage usurpatory and predatory wars. Not a single government will say all it thinks. We, however, are opposed to secret diplomacy and will act openly under the eyes of the whole people. We do not, and never did, close our eyes to difficulties. War cannot be ended by refusal, it cannot be ended by one side only. We are

proposing an armistice for three months, but shall not reject a shorter period, so that the exhausted army may breathe freely even for a little while, and, moreover, in all the civilized countries national assemblies must be summoned for the discussion of the terms.

In proposing an immediate armistice, we appeal to the class conscious workers of the countries that have done so much for the development of the proletarian movement. We appeal to the workers of England where there was the Chartist movement, to the workers of France who have in repeated insurrections displayed the strength of their class consciousness, and to the workers of Germany who waged the fight against the Anti-Socialist Law and have created powerful organizations.

In the manifesto of March 27 [14], we called for the overthrow of the bankers, but, far from overthrowing our own bankers, we entered into an alliance with them. Now we have overthrown the government of the bankers.

The government and the bourgeoisie will make every effort to unite their forces and drown the workers' and peasants' revolution in blood. But the three years of war have been a good lesson to the masses: the Soviet movement in other countries and the mutiny in the Germany navy, which was crushed by the junkers of Wilhelm, the hangman. Finally, we must remember that we are not living in the wilds of Africa, but in Europe, where news can spread quickly.

The workers' movement will triumph and will pave the way to peace and socialism.

REPLY TO THE DISCUSSION ON THE REPORT ON PEACE *

I SHALL not touch on the general character of the declaration. The government which your Congress will set

up may introduce amendments to unessential points.

I shall declare my decided opposition to lending our demand for peace the form of an ultimatum. An ultimatum may prove fatal to our whole cause. We cannot demand that because of some insignificant departure from our demands the imperialist governments should have the opportunity to say that it was impossible to enter into negotiations for peace owing to our irreconcilability.

We shall distribute our appeal everywhere, it will be made known to everybody. It will be impossible to conceal the terms proposed by our workers' and peasants' government.

It will be impossible to hush up our workers' and peasants' revolution, which has overthrown the government of bankers and landlords.

The governments might not reply to an ultimatum; they will be obliged to reply to the text we have proposed. Let it be known to all what their governments have in mind. We do not want any secrets. We want a government to be always under the control of the public opinion of its country.

What will the peasant of some remote province say if, owing to our secrecy, he will not know what another government wants? He will say: "Comrades, why did you preclude the possibility of any terms of peace being proposed? I would have discussed them, I would have examined them, and would then have instructed my representatives in the Constituent Assembly how to act. I am prepared to fight by revolutionary means for just terms if the governments do not agree, but there might be such terms for certain countries that I would be prepared to recommend those governments to go on fighting themselves. The complete realization of our ideas depends solely on the overthrow of the whole capitalist system." This is what the peasant might say to us, and he would accuse us of being excessively uncompromising over trifles, when the chief thing for us is to expose all the vileness, all the rascality of the bour-

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geoisie and of its crowned and uncrowned hangmen placed at the head of the governments.

We dare not and must not afford the governments the opportunity to take refuge behind our refusal to compromise, and to conceal from the peoples why they are being sent to the shambles. This is a drop, but we dare not and must not reject this drop, which will wear away the stone of bourgeois usurpation. An ultimatum would make the position of our opponents easier. But we shall make all the terms known to the people. We shall confront all the governments with our terms, and let them make answer to their peoples. We shall submit all peace proposals to the Constituent Assembly for decision.

There is still another point, comrades, to which you must direct the most careful attention. The secret treaties must be published. The clauses regarding annexations and indemnities must be annulled. There are various clauses, comrades—the predatory governments, you know, not only made agreements among themselves as to the plunder, but among such agreements they also included economic agreements and various other clauses regarding friendly relations.

We shall not bind ourselves by the treaties. We shall not allow ourselves to be enmeshed by the treaties. We reject all clauses dealing with plunder and violence, but we shall welcome all clauses containing provisions for friendly relations and economic agreements; those we cannot reject. We propose an armistice of three months; we choose a lengthy period because the peoples are exhausted, the peoples yearn for a respite from this bloody shambles which has lasted over three years. We must realize that the people must be given the opportunity to discuss the terms of peace and to express their will with the help of parliament, and this requires time. We therefore demand a lengthy armistice, so that the army in the trenches may enjoy a respite from this nightmare of constant slaughter, but we shall not reject proposals for a

shorter armistice; we shall examine them, and it is incumbent on us to accept them, even if we are offered an armistice of a month or a month and a half.

Our proposals for an armistice too must not be in the form of an ultimatum, for we will not give our enemies the opportunity to conceal the whole truth from the peoples, using our irreconcilability as a pretext. It must not be in the form of an ultimatum, for it is criminal for a government not to desire an armistice. If, however, we do not put our proposal for an armistice in the form of an ultimatum, we shall thereby compel the governments to appear as criminals in the eyes of the people, and the peoples will show such criminals scant ceremony. The objection is raised that by not issuing ultimatums we display our impotence, but it is time to cast aside all bourgeois cant when speaking of the strength of the people. According to the bourgeois view, strength means that the masses go blindly to the slaughter in obedience to the behest of the imperialist governments. The bourgeoisie admit a state to be strong only when it can, by the whole might of the government apparatus, throw the masses wherever the bourgeois rulers want.

Our idea of strength is a different one. In our opinion a state is strong by virtue of the consciousness of the masses. It is strong when the masses know everything, can form an opinion of everything and do everything consciously. We need not fear to tell the truth about fatigue, for what state is now not fatigued, what nation does not talk about it openly? Take Italy, where, owing to this fatigue, there has been a lengthy revolutionary movement demanding the termination of the slaughter. Are not mass demonstrations of workers taking place in Germany, at which the demand for the termination of the war is raised? Was it not fatigue that provoked the mutiny in the German navy that was so ruthlessly suppressed by that hangman Wilhelm, and his hirelings? If such things are pos-

sible in so disciplined a country as Germany, where they are beginning to talk about fatigue and about putting an end to the war, we need not fear to say the same openly, because it is the truth, equally true both of our country and of all the belligerent and even non-belligerent countries.

November 8 (Oct. 26), 1917.

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE TOILING AND EXPLOITED PEOPLE

[From the decree of the Third Congress of Soviets of the R.S.F.S.R., January 24, 1918. The draft declaration was written by Lenin with the participation of Stalin and became the main section of the first Soviet Constitution adopted by the Fifth Congress of Soviets, July 10, 1918.—Ed.]

CHAPTER FIRST

1. Russia is proclaimed a republic of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. All power centrally and locally belongs to these Soviets.

2. The Russian Soviet Republic shall be constituted on the principle of a free union of free nations, as a federation of Soviet national republics.

CHAPTER SECOND

3. Making it its fundamental aim to abolish all forms of exploitation of man by man, to put a complete end to the division of society into classes, mercilessly to crush the resistance of the exploiters, to establish a socialist organization of society and to achieve the victory of socialism in all countries, the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies—

(a) In fulfilling the socialization of the land, private ownership of land is abolished, and all land is proclaimed the property of the whole people, and is handed over to the working people without any compensation whatsoever, on the basis of the equalization of land tenure.

(b) All forests, riches of the earth and waters of state importance, together

with all live and dead stock, model estates and agricultural enterprises are declared national property.

(c) As a first step towards the complete conversion of the mills, factories, mines, railways, and other means of production and transport into the property of the workers' and peasants' republic, the Soviet law on workers' control and on the Supreme Council of National Economy is hereby confirmed with the object of guaranteeing the power of the toiling people over the exploiters.

(d) The Third Congress of Soviets regards the Soviet law on the cancellation of the loans issued by the governments of the tsar, landlords and bourgeoisie as a first blow to international bank and finance capital, and expresses its conviction that the Soviet government will firmly pursue this path until the international workers' revolt against the yoke of capital has completely triumphed.

(e) The conversion of all banks into the property of the workers' and peasants' state is hereby confirmed as one of the conditions for the emancipation of the toiling masses from the yoke of capital.

(f) With the object of abolishing the parasitic strata of society and of organizing economy, universal labor-service is hereby instituted.

(g) In order to guarantee the sovereign power of the toiling masses and in order to eliminate all possibility of the restoration of the power of the exploiters, the arming of the toilers, the creation of a socialist Red Army of workers and peasants and the complete disarming of the propertied classes are hereby decreed.

CHAPTER THIRD

4. Expressing its firm determination to wrest mankind from the clutches of finance capital and imperialism, which have in this most criminal of wars drenched the world in blood, the Third Congress of Soviets wholeheartedly associates itself with the policy of the Soviet power of tearing up the secret

treaties, organizing widespread fraternization with the workers and peasants of the warring armies, and achieving at all costs, by revolutionary means, a democratic peace of the toilers, without annexations and indemnities and on the basis of the free self-determination of nations.

5. With the same purpose in view, the Third Congress of Soviets insists on a complete break with the barbarous policy of bourgeois civilization, which has built the prosperity of the exploiters of a few chosen nations on the enslavement of hundreds of millions of toiling people in Asia, in the colonies in general and in small countries.

6. The Third Congress of Soviets welcomes the policy of the Council of People's Commissars in proclaiming the complete independence of Finland, in commencing the evacuation of troops from Persia and declaring freedom of self-determination for Armenia.

7. The Third All-Russian Congress of

Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies considers that now, when the proletariat is waging a decisive struggle against its exploiters, there can be no place for exploiters in any of the organs of government. The power must be vested wholly and entirely in the toiling masses and their authorized representatives—the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies.

8. At the same time, endeavoring to create a really free and voluntary, and therefore more complete and stable, union of the toiling classes of all the nations of Russia, the Third Congress of Soviets confines its own task to the establishment of the fundamental principles of a Federation of Soviet Republics of Russia, while leaving it to the workers and peasants of each nation to decide independently at their own authoritative Soviet Congress whether they shall participate in the federal government and in the other federal Soviet institutions, and on what terms.

Manifesto of the Executive Committee of the Communist International

THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER
SOCIALIST REVOLUTION.

PROLETARIANS, working people,
peoples throughout the world:

The twentieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution is taking 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 White-Guard 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, organized 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

White-Guard 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, Trotskyite-Bukharinite 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 today, 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 harvest, in the halo of its labor enthusiasm, the heroism of its splendid Stakhanov movement, its culture, its youthfulness. Across inaccessible icefields 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 armor 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 today, millions of toilers of the earth, as the embodiment of the *invulnerable alliance* of the workers and peasants, consolidated by the collectivization 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 today, 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 today in the radiance of developed socialist democracy, consolidated in the great Stalin Constitution, which is a program of struggle for the peoples of all countries and "an indictment against fascism, testifying that *socialism and democracy are invincible*" (Stalin). By the nationwide 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 toward 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 organizations, 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 organize 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 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 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 organize 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 blood-bath. 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 star 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 toward liberty on the part of their own people. *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 indignation 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 a 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 nationwide 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 defense of the rights, liberty and interests of the people.

The four hundred millions of the Chinese people are engaged in the courageous defense of their country against the invasion of the Japanese fascist mili-

tarists. 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 nationwide 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 is 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 toward 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 cutthroats 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 cutthroats are preparing an onslaught on the great land of socialism, the fatherland of all working people.

By defending Spain and China today, 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 imposters 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 defense 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 labor movement in defense 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 organizations. The rooting out of this traitorous gang is an inseparable 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, the 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 Executive Committee 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, organizer 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 labor 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 personal 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 Revolution, recognized their leaders showing them the path to liberation.

So also did the enemy recognize 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 defense 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 defense of Tsaritsin and together with the unforgettable Kirov you did in truth defend it. In the fighting company of Frunze and Voro-

shilov 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 them out. You crushed the enemy because by your tireless work on all the fronts of the Civil War you *organized* the victory. At the front line under the fire of the enemy you reorganized regiments, out of scattered partisan detachments you organized brigades and divisions, transforming them into the victorious Red Army which cleared the Soviet land of the White-Guard 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. Today the peoples throughout the world know that you have fulfilled this vow a hundredfold. *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, organized 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 organized wrecking and diversionist activity, resorted to the foulest and most desperate means of struggle; the Trotskyite-Bukharinite 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 toward the spies, diversionists and enemies of the people. Inexorable has been the Party of the Bolsheviks under your leadership toward all those who by deception, dissimulation and double-dealing have dishonored "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 program 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 collectivization 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 industrialization, 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 among the working people of the whole world. You have fulfilled your vow not only by the fact that you have armed the international labor 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 recognize 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 organizer 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 GEORGI DIMITROFF

I

UNBOUNDED are 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 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 hitherto 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 antagonisms of one kind by another. It could

not unite the peoples in peaceful fraternity. It 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 among 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 characterizing the unbelievable backwardness of tsarist Russia, pointed out that as regards modern means of production the country's economy was *four times* be-

hind England, *five times* behind Germany and *ten times* behind America; today 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 collectivized 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 totaled 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 more than *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 area sown by the peasants collectivized. 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 today leading a prosperous, cultured life. Socialist agriculture is yielding record harvests unprecedented in the history of the country. In 1937 nearly 7,000,000,000 poods of grain have been harvested, while in the best years before

the revolution 4-5,000,000,000 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 now 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 everyday life and culture, science and art, in the sphere of the relations among 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 organization 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 tenth 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*, pp. 204-05, 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. Nonetheless, it must be said outright that the working class of the capitalist countries have not succeeded in thoroughly fulfilling either their duty toward the first Socialist Revolution, or toward their own liberation. Not only have they remained under the power of capital, and in Italy and Germany fallen victim 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 its 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 a hundredfold 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 organizations 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 efforts at all costs to preserve the shattered foundations of bourgeois society, they widely utilized 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 organizations of the working class scared the workers with the prospect of sacrifices, privation and economic ruin. They assured them that they would be led to socialism not by the path of *Bolshevism*, by the revolutionary prac-

tical application of the teaching 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 privation 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 the 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 revolution 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 on 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."

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 organizations which *give up 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 preconditions for it are also maturing in France as a result of the joint struggle of the Communists and Socialists in the United Confederation of Labor, 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 Labor 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 organizational 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, which 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 organizations of the workers in defense of the Spanish and Chinese people, in defense 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 labor heroism, their Stakhanov movement, their devotion to their socialist fatherland, their merciless struggle against the enemies of the people, Trotskyite-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* toward 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 organization of the working people, and of every democrat in the capitalist countries is their attitude to-

ward 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, the Soviet Union. You cannot carry on a serious struggle against the fascist instigators of a new world bloodbath 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 Union, where this socialism is being fulfilled by the heroic 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 Trotskyite-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 toward the Soviet Union, and not the formal attitude toward Soviet power and socialism in general, but the attitude to the Soviet Union, which has been carrying on a real existence for twenty years, 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 and 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.

Today millions of proletarians 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 the proletarian dictatorship, the road of the victory of socialism, and the other road—the road of the preservation of capitalism, the path of 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 more just life.

These people returned from the front, some on crutches, armless or crippled, but united by one feeling and profound desire, 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, revolutionized 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 today in order, on the morrow, the more foully to crush them. At the same time, with the aid of their White-Guard 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 realization 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 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 organize 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 consistent 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 today by the reactionary leaders of the British Labor 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. Today 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. Today 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

on us to die on the fields of battle?"

Today bourgeois democracy has been crushed by fascism in the majority of capitalist countries; the bestial fascist gang jeers at the people. Today 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 tool 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. Today 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 emphasizes 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. Today 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 Stalinist Constitution, and has now become a program of struggle for all the peoples and an indictment against fascism.

For decades the hirelings of the bourgeoisie have asserted that the realization 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 labor, for it transforms labor from the shameful and heavy burden which it was formerly considered into a thing of *honor, 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. Today 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 bourgeoisie 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 realization of the collectivization of agriculture but, consolidated by collectivization, it has become inviolable.

And millions of people through the world, convinced every day by the facts of the growing might of the land of Soviets, are turning more and more toward 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 revolu-

tionary 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 labor 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 millstones 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, trampling 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. 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 defense of the land of Soviets, victoriously to build socialism. Their attraction toward the basic methods and

fighting aims of the Soviet workers is growing and strengthening. Dealing blows at fascism, at the fascist warmongers, by their People's Front movement, they hit at capitalism, which gives rise to barbarous fascism and imperialist wars. 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 toward 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 defense 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 Ethiopia, 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 en-

couraged 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 toward 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 such 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 warmongers for their race theories, the more energetical-ly 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 demoralize it from within by a system of provocation; they are setting up all kinds of groups in working class and democratic organizations, 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 organization 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 warmongers 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 Trotskyite-Bukharinite 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 people 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 the 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 attained 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 organized 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 today, 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.

BY A. STETSKY

“The proletarian revolution, its movement, its sweep and its achievements acquire flesh and blood only through the dictatorship of the proletariat.”*

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-around reshaping 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 capitalism. The system of feudal exploitation yielded a place to the system of capital-

ist exploitation, the system of wage slavery. Millions of workers and poverty-stricken peasants remained, and still remain today 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 and 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 poor 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

* Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, p. 41, International Publishers, New York.

today, 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 prophesies 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 prophesies!

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 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 organizing plots, acts of diversion, wrecking and terror.

Lenin and Stalin constantly emphasized 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 onward that the working class is faced with the most difficult part of its historic task: the reorganization of all social relations, the fundamental reshaping of the bases of the life 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. Socialist society has in the main been built. 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 today to 98.7 per cent of the total, the national (state) property amounting to 90 per cent and cooperative collective farm property to 8.7 per cent; 99.1 per cent of the total national income is the product of socialist economy.

Ownership of an exploiting character, namely, private capitalist ownership of the means of production, has been destroyed forever; the exploiting classes have been destroyed forever; the very roots of exploitation have been torn up once and for all time. Our state today 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 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 emphasizes 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 Weyde-

meyer, 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 “a Marxist is one 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 effort 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 the dictatorship of the proletariat, that contemporary capitalist society is moving toward 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—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 epoch 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 experi-

* Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VII, p. 241. International Publishers, New York.

** *Ibid.*, p. 33.

ence 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—opportunists 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, analyzing 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 its own state, which is the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and its 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 its 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 sup-

pression 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 utilization 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 organization of terrorist acts, etc. They make common cause with the imperialists, and organize war and intervention against the victorious dictatorship of the proletariat. They arrange conspiracies and organize espionage. They resort to the most despicable crimes in their efforts to secure the return of their lost domination.

The establishment 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

* *Theses of Basic Tasks of the Second Congress of the C.I.* Par. 8.

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 then set itself the direct task of nationalizing capitalist enterprise, 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 replies to the sabotage of workers' control by confiscating enterprises. And even before the nationalization 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 organization of plots, through the use of their economic resources to support and set up White-Guard detachments to fight against the Soviet government. For example, Putilov, the chairman of the board of man-

agement of the Russo-Asiatic Bank, was caught assisting Alexeyev, the White-Guard general, with money for the establishment of a military organization 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 White Guards resorted to terror, when they began to organize plots, to create a network of their counter-revolutionary organizations and prepare uprisings, the Soviet government adopted the most resolute, relentless measures to crush these counter-revolutionary organizations. To this end was established the militant body known as the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission 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 White Guards 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 White Guards organized 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 White Guard 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, 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 toward 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 indirect 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 demoralize 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 their demoralizing and weakening the Soviet machine, and of using it in their own interests. The Soviet government waged a relentless struggle against bribery and organized special commissions to combat it. The Soviet government, by its policy toward 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 organizations of wreckers, spies and 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 organizations, smash all the machinations of the enemy from that side, and thereby ensure the advance toward 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 Trotskyite-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 recognizes 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 behavior of the government of the working class as a government which is dictatorial toward the hostile classes, are 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 toward 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 revolutionarily bold, quick and ruthless in suppressing the exploiters as well as 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 . . . signifies not only and not even principally the use of force against the exploiters,"* said Lenin.

Lenin and Stalin teach us that the essence of the dictatorship of the working class, its real substance and basis, is the operation of the leading role of the working class in the struggle of the working masses for their emancipation from the yoke of exploitation, the operation 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-philosophic expression into simple language, means the following: that only a definite class—namely, the urban, particularly the industrial, the factory worker—is capable of leading the whole mass of toilers and exploited in the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist yoke, of leading them in the process of this overthrow, in the struggle to secure

* V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VII, p. 143, International Publishers, New York.

** *Ibid.*, p. 339.

* Lenin, "The Great Initiative," See January, 1936, issue of *The Communist*.

** *Ibid.*

and to strengthen the victory, in the effort to create a new socialist social system, in the whole 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—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 Trotskyite-Zinovievites, 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 one 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 leader 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 was 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 firmly to 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 150,000,000 hectares (about 370,000,000 acres) of land. All payments to the landlords were abolished, the indebtedness of the peasantry to the banks and the tsarist state was 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

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIV, p. 311, Russian edition.

Republic had to mobilize all its resources to organize 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 Trotskyites and Zinovievites, 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 organized an extensive system of credits for the middle and poor farmers, 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 cooperatives, which in the first period of N.E.P. developed in the villages mainly along the lines of selling and consuming cooperatives, and later along the lines of production-collective farming cooperatives. 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 supplied the villages on an increasingly extensive scale with agricultural machinery and equipment, supplying them to the toiling peasants on special terms. The Soviet government organized 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-around collectivization 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 Trotskyite-Zinovievites, ensured the vic-

tory 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 6,500,000 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 a prosperous life 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 characterizing 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 organization of the working class, which, in the conditions of Soviet power, has begun to work for itself, and not for the

capitalists. The working class, itself a tremendous productive force, gave direction to the millions of organized 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 its hands the main levers of economic life, took hold of the key positions in the economic life of the country.

The state of the proletarian dictatorship took over the management of such decisive levers as the biggest branches of industry, the railways, banks and trading organizations. 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, starvation, 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 utilized 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 industrialization 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 cor-

rect—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 industrialization 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 industrialization.

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 state. It is enough to say that the output of the machine-construction industry—the heart of industry as a whole—was twenty-eight times as great in the year 1936 as 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 organized 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, has 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 Trotskyites 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 transforma-

tion of society, with the struggle against capitalism, and thereby to liquidate the proletarian dictatorship.

The crushing of those striving to restore capitalism, the Trotskyites and Zinovievites, the Bukharinities and Rykovites, 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 question of the dictatorship of the working class, the policy of industrialization and collectivization, 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 emphasized 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 emphasized the fact that “during this period, the state must inevitably be a state that is democratic *in a new way* (for the proletariat 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 organizations covering the widest masses of the people, embracing all the working people. The Soviets are at the same time the most democratic organizations, 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 1905 when he saw in the Soviets—these new organizations—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 toward 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

* Lenin, “State and Revolution,” *Selected Works*, Vol. VII, International Publishers, New York.

years. They have learned, under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, how to govern the state. They have promoted from their ranks tens and tens of thousands of people loyal to socialism, talented organizers 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 organizations that have developed during the years of the Soviet government—it will become clear that the working class has really displayed miracles of creative energy and organization, and has brought along with it the toiling peasantry. Here also the working class was in the forefront. Under the leadership of the Party of Bolsheviks, while strengthening the Party with its best people, promoting the most capable organizers 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 has also established cadres to govern the state and, when the time arrived, was able to promote from its 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 dispatched tens of thousands of organizers 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 honor for every citizen 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 democracy 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 of all citizens to participate in the governing of the state—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 and 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 and Stalin, the best of the best Stakhanov workers, people from the collective farms, organizers 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 honor 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 toward 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, railways) 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 have now united still more closely around 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 (dictatorship) 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 into 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 organizing 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 an opportunity of carrying on in the future, 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 the class-conscious, active builders of the new society, tasks in connection with the training of all people in the Communist attitude to labor, 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 today 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 labor. 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 toward 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 and 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 Trotskyites and Bukharinites. 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 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 and 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 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 in-

dustrial production in the capitalist world was 5.8 per cent per year; in the years 1913-1936 it was only 1.5 per cent, *i.e.*, it dropped to one-fourth of the pre-war period. Industrial production in 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 labor, 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 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 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 labor; part of the goods produced in the Soviet Union serve only for defense 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 in certain places still 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 meager 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), increase 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 peasant 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 in-

surmountable obstacles of the restricted purchasing power of society arise when the product is being realized.

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 produced, the more consumption increases. Overproduction 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 labor, 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 proletariat 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 laborers 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 labor power. Whereas under tsarism hundreds of thousands of poor peasants and agricultural laborers swarmed the Russian highways in search of work, today 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 is 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 labor*. The existence of a colossal army of unemployed makes it possible for capital systematically to raise the intensity of labor. Productivity also increases, but mainly at the expense of the increase in the intensity of labor. 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 (Bedaux, 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; 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 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 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, 257; 1921, 100; 1925, 237; 1930, 427; 1934, 513; 1937 (anticipated), 600.

During the years of the civil war, the

output dropped more than half as compared with 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 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 labor, thanks to the new machines with which industry has been equipped. At a time when the production of machinery in the decisive capitalist countries was 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 has 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, the number is also increasing with every year that passes, and is now three times greater than it was in 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 enterprise* 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 to 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 1 to 3 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 1922, Lenin proudly declared that the first twenty million gold rubles had been collected for the new equipment of factories. And what do we see today? The basic industrial funds of the national economy of the Soviet Union amount to billions of rubles (in 1933 prices), as the following table shows:

1925	1928	1933	1936	Increase for the period 1925-1936
(<i>Billion rubles</i>)				
46.5	53.5	83.7	121.6	160%

The annual rate of socialist accumulation amounted to 13 per cent as against 1 to 3 per cent in capitalist countries.

This rapid socialist accumulation has made it possible in a remarkably 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 kilometers 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 the so-

cial 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 labor, 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 amortization 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 labor power and that of the members of his family, since the labor 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 a 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 de-

prived 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 laborers in the service of capital.

During the last cyclical economic crisis the overproduction 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 fertilizing 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 nationalized and handed over to the middle and poor peasantry for their free use. Before 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 collectivization of agriculture, which was linked with the abolition of the last capitalist class, the ku-

laks. 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, not 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 E. YAROSLAVSKY

TWENTY years after the October Revolution it is possible in great historical perspective to give an estimate of the activities of the Bolshevik Party, the organizing and inspiring force of the victories of socialism, the organizer 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 nineties, this organization 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 organization as a model, Leagues of Struggle were created and Party organizations originated in other districts as well.

In the second half of the nineties, Comrade Stalin built up an organization of revolutionary Marxism in the Transcaucasus. 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, Innokentyi Dubrovinsky, Nikolai Bauman, Valerian Kuibyshev, Sergo Ordjonikidze, Sergei Kirov, Mikhail Frunze, Sergei Artem, Vyacheslav Molotov, Lazar Kaganovich, Klimenti Voroshilov, Mikhail Kalinin, Anastas Mikoyan, Stanislav Kossior, Grigoryi Pet-

rovsky, Andrei Zhdanov, Nikolai Yezhov 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 organizer 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 recognize the enemy, to choose the truest road to their goal, even though at times it was a round about one, though it demanded temporary maneuvering 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 1905-07, 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-organized retreat to new positions in order to regroup 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 principles, then no agreements, no "middle" courses can save the situation. There can be no "middle" course on a question of principles. Either one line of principles 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 Trotskyites in the period of the first revolution and in the period between the two revolutions; the struggle against the *aborontsi***** during the imperialist war; the struggle 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 organizations which later became counter-revolutionary parties, against all the groups of Trotskyists, "*detsists*"***** anarcho-syndicalists, the "workers' opposition," the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc, the Bukharin-Rykov organization of Rights; the struggle against deviators on the national question and against bourgeois nationalists

* J. Stalin, *Once More About the Social-Democratic Deviation in Our Party*. Report and concluding speech at the Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I. Russian edition, p. 6.

** *Ibid.*, p. 7.

*** Social-Democrats who supported imperialist bourgeoisie.—*Ed.*

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

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 organizations 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 organization, 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 organizations 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 favorable opportunity.

And during the imperialist war which—to use the words of Lenin—dragged Russia forward by at least twenty to thirty 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 onto the streets, the Bolsheviks were in the front ranks, at the head of these masses, directing 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 40,000 to 45,000 members. At the April conference already 80,000 organized 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 today. 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 centers 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, Socialist-Revolutionaries 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, Socialist-Revolutionaries 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 *Derevyanskaya Pravda* (Rural Truth); for the front—the *Soldatskaya Pravda* (Soldiers' Truth), and the *Okopnaya Pravda* (Trench Truth).

During the April Conference the Bolsheviks had already 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 Socialist-Revolutionaries. 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 Social-

ist-Revolutionary agrarian program—regarding the socialization of the land—Lenin proposed the acceptance of this program, which the Socialist-Revolutionaries themselves had in fact rejected.

Lenin used the following words in support of his proposal:

“The peasants want to retain their small holdings, to equalize them according to standards, and to re-equalize 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 *proletarian ruling in the center*, 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.”*

The Bolshevik Party supported the demand of the peasants, and despite the fact that the peasantry believed in the Socialist-Revolutionaries 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 realized 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 organization of trade unions, of

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol XXI, pp. 112-113.

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 at its 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."*

According to Comrade Stalin's definition, the period from June to August, 1917, was a period of the revolutionary mobilization 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 endeavored to finish once and for all with the Soviets. The Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries 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 organized the defeat of the Kornilov uprising, the defeat of the counter-revolution organized 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

* Joseph Stalin, *Leninism*, Vol. I, pp. 122-123. International Publishers, New York.

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 Socialist-Revolutionaries 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 Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks are 'Left.'"*

"The Bolsheviks are becoming the genuine leader of the masses, even of the Socialist-Revolutionary 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 *Rabochyi Put* of September 19, 1917:

"In Tashkent, the Soviet, composed in the main of Socialist-Revolutionaries, 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 Socialist-Revolutionary, a member of the Directorate, has armed himself with 'machine guns,' and is undertaking an expedition against the Socialist-Revolutionaries in the Tashkent Soviet, while the *Dielo Naroda*, the central organ of the Socialist-Revolutionary 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?

"With the party of Socialist-Revolutionaries 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 Socialist-Revolutionaries 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 Socialist-Revolutionaries, 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 Sergejev, in Dniepropetrovsk (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 organizing the masses for the October onslaught. Comrade Zhdanov, now secretary of the Central Committee and Leningrad Province Committee of the C.P.S.U., was also working at that time in Shadrinsk.

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

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXI, p. 221 (Russian edition).

** *Ibid.*, p. 182.

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 Transcaucasus, Sergei Kirov was at work and in the Transcaucasus Mikoyan and Stepan Shaumyan.

All these were people whom the masses knew and loved not only as popular orators, but as splendid organizers 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 organize the party, to organize 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 organization means nothing," while at the same time "without organization 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. Organize in every factory, in every regiment, in every company, in every block of houses. Work to improve organization 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 Conference, Lenin wrote on a scrap of paper his estimate of "the new conditions of Party work":

"Tens of millions are before us. . . ."

Hence:

* *C.P.S.U. in Resolutions, Part 1, p. 232. Russian edition.*

"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, Socialist-Revolutionaries 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, Socialist-Revolutionaries 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 fighting columns.

"Take your places 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 blacklegs, 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 possibility 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 organized by the generals and the intervention to be crushed, the ring of 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 strikebreakers, 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 ser-

* *Leninist Compendium*, IV, p. 290. Russian edition.

vices, 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 powerful organization of Bolsheviks has been created throughout the world, the organization 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 this 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. GOTTFWALD

THE slogan of *peace* was one of the chief slogans inscribed on the banners of the workers and peasants of capitalist Russian 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 of 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 for several years to wage a difficult struggle against the exploiter classes within the country and a war of national-liberation 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 White

Guards and interventionists beyond its frontiers and concluded peace treaties with a number of capitalist states, it found itself confronted on the international arena 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 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 increasingly strengthened the conviction that the U.S.S.R. is the strongest factor for peace.

The international significance of the peace 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 on the order of the day the question of a new partition of the world by means of war. Japan and Ger-

many 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 twenty years of its existence the Soviet Union is the universally recognized 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 organize 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 social-

ist 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 peace policy of the Soviet Union being dictated by its "weakness," as the existence of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite 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 peace 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 peace policy of the Soviet Union. From the very outset of its existence, the Soviet Union, true to the national policy of Lenin and Stalin,

recognized 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. toward 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 recognized the state independence of Finland, Esthonia, Lithuania, Latvia and Poland, *i.e.*, those states which arose on the territory of former Russia. It recognized 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.

Today 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, Ethiopia, and Spain, and their eyes involuntarily turn to the Soviet Union as the mighty, stable bulwark and defense 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 peace 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 powerful 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 organizing putches, 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 recognize 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, acces-

sories and agents of the fascist aggressors are energetically at work and as yet are successfully paralyzing collective and resolute action by all the democratic forces against the fascist aggressors who have enslaved Ethiopia and are devastating Spain and China.

Herein lies a tremendous danger to remove which the peace policy of the Soviet Union is not enough. Here the public opinion of world must interfere and, above all, of *the international working class. Joint international action of the working class and of all its organizations 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 straitjacket 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 Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. in the report of the Central Committee:

“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 Friendship of the Peoples in 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 and Colonial Question*, written in 1913, Comrade Stalin elaborated the foundations of the program 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 democratization of the state

* Joseph Stalin. *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, p. 253. International Publishers, New York.

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 labeled 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 program 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 aspirations 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 oppressed by tsarism how different the policy of uniting the peoples for the defense of the gains of the revolution was from the policy of national oppression that had been pursued by tsarism and the bourgeois Provisional 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 mobilizing 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 achieving in the shortest period of time the confidence of the nationalities in the Russian working class which 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 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. 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 rul-

ing 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 the separate nationalities in the border regions, who had organized into revolutionary Soviets on the lines of the Soviets in the center, 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 organizing close collaboration, of creating one single union state with a strong and powerful centralized 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.

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

* *Ibid.*, p. 73.

* *Ibid.*, p. 128.

Revolution and after it, the Communist Party strove to establish truly fraternal conditions for the harmony 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 peoples—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 development of their literature and art. In their own native language, the peoples of the U.S.S.R. are mastering the knowledge with which are being fertilized 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 organized 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 eradi-

cating this distrust, this mutual enmity of the peoples. This required the finding and creation of very flexible forms of federation, of uniting the republics organized on Soviet lines. Life, the actual practice of socialist construction, provided these forms.

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

On October 19, 1918, immediately after the routing and driving out of the White Guards from the confines of the Samara and Saratov provinces, the first autonomous labor 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, 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 mobilize 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 White Guards 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 Labor Commune. In August, 1920, the "Regulations concerning the Autonomous Soviet Kirghiz Republic" were confirmed.

In 1922, that is, on the eve of the formation of the U.S.S.R., there were already four union republics, ten 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 1936, there were seven union republics, 19 autonomous republics, 14 autonomous regions and nine national districts, covering chiefly the 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 nine.

* * *

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, to 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 were exceptionally backward, especially in the distant outskirts.

Ukrainians and White-Russians, Georgians and Armenians, Kazakhs, Kirghizians, Tadjiks and Turcomen, Uzbeks 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 opportunity of catching up with Central Russia politically, culturally and economically.”*

In 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 complicated 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, Annikov and Dutov in their struggle against the Soviet government. Backed by the Russian White Guards, 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

* *Ibid.*, p. 103.

White Guards 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 5,000,000,000 rubles 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 centers 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 combinat is nearing completion, and when ready will produce as much copper annually as was provided in 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, etc., 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 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 fifty million hectares* of land expropriated from the landlords, beys, kulaks, and kazakh *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 is shown by the following facts. In 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 today 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 per-

* This is about one hundred and twenty million acres.—*Ed.*

formers were awarded various government Orders, while Koulyash 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 and boring machines are utilized. 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 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, four workers' faculties, four 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 lan-

guage. The theatrical art was formerly unknown in Kirghizia. Today 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 meager 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 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 indus-

try of Soviet White Russia display fine examples of socialist labor 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 theaters, 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 ma-

terial well-being of the mass of working people is improving.

The expenditure of the state budget of Ukraine which amounted to 274.2 million rubles in 1927-28, reached 4,115 million rubles in 1937. Whereas the expenditure of the local budgets in 1927 amounted to 364.1 million rubles, the planned expenditure in 1937 amounts to 4,249 million rubles.

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 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 waterworks 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 rubles; in 1936 it amounted to 12,146 million rubles.

From year to year the well-being of the workers is improving. As compared with the year 1932, the income of the workers' family has almost doubled. Workers have begun to dress well. They spend their spare time in clubs and palaces of culture, visit theaters, 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 eleven 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 today? There are eight of us in the family: My wife, five sons, a daughter and I. 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 'honor' student in the ninth 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 rubles 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 center, 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 "Metal 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 income of the collective farms in money and in kind is increasing.

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

In the "Chervonyi Veletyen" collective farm (Kharkov region) every household belonging to a collective farm has its own cow and calves, one or two pigs, a few sheep and lambs, many fowl, chick-

ens and geese. The family of Perfilyev, a collective farmer, has earned one thousand workdays, for example, and received in return nearly six and a half tons of grain and 4,000 rubles in cash.

The collective farm has become a "millionaire." It received half a million rubles for the wool alone which is sold to the state. There are quite a few "millionaire" collective farms, and collective farmers receiving cash payments of thousands of rubles for their work-days alone.

Take, for example, the family of Borkevich, a collective farmer in the Frunze farm of Sivash region (Dniepropetrovsk region). The family consists of five people, and for their work on their collective farm received over nine tons of wheat, and one and a half tons of grain for cattle. The income of the family amounts to 8,000 rubles. Moreover, the family has a cow, pigs, sucklings, 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; in 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, secondary schools and universities of the Ukraine, approximately 6,000,000 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 theaters, 5,246 cinemas, 16,109 clubs, nine 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

* Between 22 and 26½ lbs.—*Ed.*

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.

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 broad 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 organizer 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 Central Executive Committee 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, brings them to the level of the foremost peoples of the Soviet Union. This makes it possible for all the peoples of the Land of 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 the 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 labor. 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 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 and 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 people 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 cooperation 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. Article 123 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 indefeasible 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

* *Constitution of the U.S.S.R.*, pp. 42-43. International Publishers, New York.

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 and 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 and 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 continue 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 organizations and restrict themselves merely to the struggle to improve conditions of labor and to obtain increases in wages. But the reactionary leaders of the trade unions decline even to wage this struggle, make compromises with the owners in the majority of cases at the expense of the working class, and hinder any real improvement in conditions of labor and increases 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 fuehrer."

In the capitalist countries where trade unions exist as legal organizations, 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 defending the interests of the workers if they conduct a resolute struggle to improve their conditions of labor 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 organizations 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 organizations 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, say:

"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 whole-hearted support to the proletarian government."

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 Socialist-Revolutionaries to liquidate the gains of the February revolution, the trade unions of Petrograd and Moscow helped the Bolshevik Party mobilize 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 organizing a general strike of Moscow workers despite the resistance of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. 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 Socialist-Revolutionaries 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 became 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 emphasized a few months ago by Comrade Kalinin, President of the Central Executive Committee 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 factory (former Putilov factory), where he had been employed before the October Revolution as a turner:

"The trade union organizations have a tremendous field of activity. And their work will be 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 Labor and the Central Council of Trade Unions.* The All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions has been entrusted with such important functions of the People's Commissariat of Labor, as, for example, labor protection, labor 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 organizations include the legally-established payment of benefits for incapacitation, sickness, pregnancy and invalidism. 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 vacations and cures in these places.

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

The trade unions are also responsible for the work of labor protection and labor inspection. Whereas in the capitalist countries the protection of labor 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 labor protection regulations and see to it that they are continuously improved. There are six thousand labor inspectors professionally trained by the unions. These keep a check on the state of labor 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 labor protection measures in their own department or the factory as a whole.

The Soviet trade unions see to the *regulation and improvement of the conditions of labor, 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 labor 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 Labor 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 distribut-

ing what is known as the director's fund, which consists of money economized as a result of improvements in production and from the thrifty expenditure of the factory's 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 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 (more than 40,000,000 people). To this end the trade unions have built and maintain a network of Houses of Culture, clubs, libraries, sports grounds; they organize 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 organizations 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 organization, the main bearer of Soviet democracy, the one which ensures its development as well as the realization of the liberties guaranteed to the working people of the Soviet Union by the Stalin Constitution.

The October Revolution for the first time in history not only gave the trade unions rights and influence in the state, but placed before them the task of stimulating the productivity of labor through the technical and socialist education of the workers, so closely connected with the improvement of the labor 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 that of the working class of capitalist countries.

"... the Soviet Power expropriated the capitalist class, took from them the banks, factories, railways and other implements and means of production, and declared these socialist property, and put the best members of the working class at the head of these enterprises." *

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 for profits. The national economy is not run according to plan, and this leads to overproduction, 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 overproduction, 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 labor. They are extremely interested in the growth of production, because every development and improvement of the productive forces and the productivity of labor 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 organization, as Lenin said, "is an educational organization, an organization for drawing people into

* *Stalin on the New Soviet Constitution*, p. 19. International Publishers, New York.

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 into the factories from the villages, to be conscious participants in socialist production. The trade unions help the workers to master the technique of production, and imbue in them a socialist attitude to work, thus helping to increase labor productivity and to improve the quality of the work.

The trade unions wage a tireless struggle against those who disorganize 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 organize 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 cooperative organizations. Through the production conferences in the factories and offices, the workers take a direct part in the organization of production, by making proposals for the plans of production and by controlling the fulfillment 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 labor, for it transforms labor from the shameful and heavy burden it was considered to be formerly, into a thing of *honor*, a thing of *glory*, a thing of *valor* 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 labor in the Soviet Union and the attitude to labor in the capitalist countries. They do this 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 maneuvers are adopted particularly in relation to the *mighty Stakhanov movement* which so clearly expressed 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 1935 and bears the name of the miner Stakhanov, has led to an enormous increase in the productivity of labor, 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 worker in capitalist countries, which 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 organizer of the Hitler "Labor 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 peas-

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

To help the workers understand and master technique the factory managements organize courses of study known as technical minimum courses. In 1936 alone, 3,000,000 workers underwent training in these courses. Work developed on Stakhanov lines, technical skill and the transformation of the labor 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 labor productivity.

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

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 preparation for work in leading posts in industry and agriculture. Other Stakhanov workers like Krivonos, Ogn'yev, Smetanin and 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., thanks to the Great Socialist Revolution, having become emancipated and the owners of the factories, are showing an unparelled rise in the productivity of labor, as the following table shows:

OUTPUT PER WORKER IN 1936, AS
A PERCENTAGE OF 1913.

(in unchanged prices)

Industry as a Whole	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 1936 alone—the first year of the Stakhanov movement—the productivity of labor 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 1936 the output of large-scale industry was equal to 80,900,000,000 rubles 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 labor power, in the Soviet Union the number of workers and other employees engaged in industry increased by 500,000 persons between 1935 and 1936, with an increase in the productivity of labor 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 labor and wages, the capitalists use the maximum productivity of labor, squeezed out of their workers by a subtle

sweating system, to force down wages and worsen conditions of labor. They set the workers against each other, workers became "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 organization 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 eight-hour working day was one of the chief demands of the trade unions. One of the first laws of the Soviet government was the eight-hour working day. The 10-11 hour working day that existed under the tsarist government was cut down to eight 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 organization of labor, avoiding all loss of working time, the continual improvements in the labor 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 seven hours as a general rule, and six 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 five-

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 two weeks, and usually from three to four weeks, with full pay. Overtime, which in capitalist countries and, in particular, in fascist Germany, is 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 one and a half 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 labor. 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 wage 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 labor, 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 labor 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 labor 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 labor 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 labor. Therefore the working masses in the Soviet Union do not have 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 factory management on 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 deductions to fascist organizations, systematic collections for what is known as "winter aid" and other fascist begging measures, and high taxes, all of which amount to over 20 per cent of 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 by the workers themselves. The total sum of such various membership dues is not over 2 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 is 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 1937 by 7 per cent alone, despite all the lies and slander of fascist and Trotskyite bandits, Citrines and Gides.

While in the Soviet Union wages are constantly rising, at the same time that the prices of the most important articles of mass consumption are 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 did Hitler once again categorically prohibit increases in wages.

The tremendous gains achieved as a result of the realization 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 collectivization of agriculture, the drawing in, training and retraining of masses of totally skilled 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 fourteen 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 degenerates, foul traitors, the Trotskyite-Bukharinite spies and wreckers.

The Trotskyites 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 organizations 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 collectivize 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 organized masses away from these tasks and to set the unions against the Soviet

government. Just as at a later date Trotskyite and Bukharinite bandits attempted to undermine the Stakhanov movement, organized 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 labor. 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, portending 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 shortsighted 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, utilizing the complete

demoralization 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, imposed the Brest-Litovsk peace upon the young Soviet country.

It seemed as though a favorable 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 realized 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 demoralized through contact with the revolutionary people, and when revolutionary unrest seized German battalions, retreating from the western front. They realized 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 organizing 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 (Socialist-Revolutionaries) 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 sending the Polish army against it and organizing 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 150,000,000 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, organized 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 des-

patch 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. The imperialists returned home disgraced and severely alarmed by the rising tide of revolution in their own countries.

* * *

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; sympathy grew toward 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 land-

owners and of real freedom. This it was, more than anything else, that helped to break down 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 specter 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 program formulated in the famous theses of Lenin and adopted at the Second Congress of the Communist International. The mastery of this program in practice was to correct the opportunist and narrow doctrinaire attitude toward 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.

* * *

With the end of the civil war and the liquidation of foreign intervention, the victorious socialist revolution was faced with new tasks, 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 organization 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 outdistanced the industry of the most advanced capitalist countries, with its collectivized 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 trans-

formed 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 by 1936 seven to eight times as compared with the level of the year 1913.

While the agriculture of the capitalist countries is not able to emerge fully from the very profound agrarian crisis, the collectivized socialist agriculture of the Soviet Union is undergoing an unprecedented period of prosperity, leaving the pre-war level far behind, and occupying 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 18,500,000 homesteads; there are only 1,400,000 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 25,000, 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 400,000,000 hectares (over 988,000,000 acres) of land forever, 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 (3,700,000 acres) of the best lands, while two and a half million peasant homesteads have less than half a 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 seven to eight thousand million poods (between 112,000,000 and 128,000,000 tons). According to preliminary data, the harvest of grain this year amounts to 6,800,000,000 poods (over 109,000,000 tons), while before the revolution only four to five thousand million poods (between 64,000,000 and 80,000,000 tons) of grain were produced in Russia. The production of technical crops has considerably increased. For example, 7,400,000 centners of raw cotton were produced in the year 1913, while in 1936 23,900,000 centners were produced; in 1913 3,300,000 centners of flax were produced, while in 1936 the output was 5,300,000 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 hundreds of peasants die every day of starvation, while in the Polish villages there are 9,000,000 “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 creches are being built. Electricity is being extended to the villages. The possession of a radio 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 receiving higher education. In the U.S.S.R. the age-old antithesis between town and country, between mental and physical labor 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 arma-

ments 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 farsightedness of its leaders, Lenin and 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 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 labor 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 collectivization 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 four 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 labor, 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 collectivization 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 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 revolutionizing 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 toward 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 program of action of the workers, peasants and the working intellectuals of all the countries of the capitalist world.

Capitalist Barbarism and Socialist Culture

BY ERNST FISCHER

THE victory of socialism is not merely the victory of the most progressive social order, but also the victory of a higher culture, a clearer perception, a more advanced outlook. The victorious *practical* activity of the proletarian revolution would be inconceivable without the *theory* of Marxism-Leninism. The secret of the success of this practical activity lies in the fact that it consistently embodies the Marxist-Leninist theory.

The Soviet Union is the splendid result of the unity of theory and practice; every monument of victorious Socialism is at the same time a monument of creative theory, the aim of which was not only to explain the world, but to change it. The magnificent edifice which has risen in the course of twenty years out of the abyss of tsarist barbarism to the heights of socialist mass culture is saturated in the blood of heroes and permeated with the greatest ideas of mankind.

THE STRUGGLE OF LENIN AND THE BOLSHEVIKS AGAINST CONTRABAND REACTIONARY IDEOLOGY

The victory of the working class is at the same time the victory of their *outlook*. Vain were, and are, the attacks against this outlook of all the people of yesterday, of all the obscurantists, of all those doomed to destruction by world history. Vain were, and are, the attempts of all reactionaries, all reformists and renegades to convert Marxism from the *outlook* of the proletariat into one of the ordinary methods of sociology, to "purge" it of its keen weapon—

dialectical materialism; to dilute it with the philosophy of Kant and Mach, with all kinds of religious and philosophical waters. The Bolsheviks, as Stalin proudly put it, stand on the platform not of *dogmatic*, but of *creative* Marxism, at the same time defending with strict consistency the revolutionary fundamentals of Marxism against all distortion and vulgarization.

It was with passionate energy that Lenin defended dialectic materialism against all "reformers" who consciously or unconsciously tried by contraband means to drag into the Marxist outlook the old conception of "things belonging to the other world." With the greatest precision he established that:

"Behind the mass of new terminologic contrivances, behind the litter of quasi-erudite scholasticism, we have found, without exception, two principal alignments, two fundamental tendencies in the solution of philosophic problems — that is, whether to take nature, matter, the physical, the outer world as the *primus*, or whether to start with consciousness, spirit, sensation (experience in conformity with the *popular* terminology of our time), the psychical, etc. This is the fundamental problem which *still* divides philosophers into two great camps."*

"Recent philosophy is as partisan as it was two thousand years ago. The contending parties are materialism and idealism, although their nature may be concealed under a pseudo-erudite

* Lenin, "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism," *Collected Works*, Vol. XIII, p. 290.

phraseological charlatanry or beneath the guise of a stupid non-partisanship.”*

The struggle between philosophic materialism and philosophic idealism was always on the whole the reflection of the struggle between the advanced and reactionary classes of human society at the given stage. Lenin's struggle, the struggle of the Bolsheviks, against every kind of idealistic contraband, the struggle for consistent dialectic materialism, was actually and is still the struggle for the proletarian revolution, for the purity, strength and fighting activity of the working class movement. The working class is the most progressive, most revolutionary class that has ever existed; it desires to bring about a radical reconstruction of life on this earth, and therefore cannot allow itself to be confounded by any sort of “life beyond the grave”; it desires to bring about a radical change in the world, and therefore has no wish to fall into self-deception about a world that actually does not exist at all. The most progressive, most revolutionary class in world history sets itself the task of making such a radical change in the world, of developing life so fully, as to render the fable about the other world superfluous.

The profound political significance of the struggle of the Bolsheviks against the contraband of philosophic idealism can be appraised from the effects on the world outlook of the working class of the poison inoculated by the reformist ideologists. The older generation of reformist ideologists dragged into the working class movement the philosophy of the liberal-democratic bourgeoisie; the generation of Heinrich De Mann, Franzel and Jaksch seizes upon the declining philosophy of the fascist-minded bourgeoisie, drags its filthy mysticism, its rotten idealism into the working class movement. These people take the oath of allegiance to the blackest reaction; they go to bed with the fascist “spirit of the people,” and rise with the “Chris-

tian-German ideal of medievalism”; they are the lawful, though in all respects degenerate, descendants of the reformist ideology which opened the door for all kinds of bourgeois-philosophical “fashions” to enter the working class movement.

THE CRISIS OF THE WORLD OUTLOOK UNDER CAPITALISM

The world outlook which now spreads its cadaverous stench in Europe and is recommended to the working class by “Socialists” of the De Mann and Franzel type is the world outlook of the degenerating class of a decaying world. *The capitalist world is passing through a mortal ideological crisis.* Fascism, the last and most disgusting form of capitalist domination, befouls not only the inheritance of the great bourgeois materialism, but also besmirches the great heritage of bourgeois idealism (Kant, Hegel).

The ideology of fascism, concocted out of garbage and filth, was prepared for by the penetration of a stifling mysticism into the natural and social sciences.

By destroying the old idea of the world, the tremendous revolution in physics during the last decades outlined the contours of the new world outlook. The new discoveries constitute the triumph of *dialectical* materialism. The reactionary bourgeoisie and its scientific armor-bearers who fear anything revolutionary whatsoever in science, understood better than the superficial reformists the profound link between the revolution in science and the social revolution, between the destruction of the old idea of the world and the destruction of the old social order. Therefore the last generation of the bourgeoisie is neither capable nor desirous of further developing the mighty discoveries of contemporary physics, and of embodying them in a new world conception. The working class will solve this task.

This revolution in science led to the crisis in bourgeois science. And indeed, the feeling of the existence of this crisis penetrates perishing bourgeois society.

* *Ibid.*

The bourgeoisie has begun to feel uncomfortable in this world.

Sigmund Freud, the founder of psychoanalysis, established the fact of a growing "ailment" in "culture." Actually what alarms him is the growing "ailment" in capitalism. The reactionary bourgeoisie are endeavoring to run from the world of capitalism which is becoming more and more disagreeable, more and more agitated, to some sort of idealized past, to trust their fate to quacks and witch-doctors. And fascism has made use of this frantic desperation of the bourgeoisie.

THE "WORLD OUTLOOK" OF FASCISM AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IT

Fascism has stolen what it calls its world outlook from all parts. It is characteristic of the so-called fascist world outlook to distort history in the most brazen fashion on fascist lines. The National-Socialist race theory has reduced the fascist ravings to madness; neither the geographical and historical living conditions, nor economic and political factors, but the composition of the blood alone is apparently, according to this theory, all-decisive. Here we see most clearly the method which is a feature of fascism, namely, to mix the undigested crumbs of contemporary science with the half-rotten remains of primitive superstition, and to cover the whole of this revolting potpourri with the sauce of barbarian mythology. A little undigested Darwinism, a little undigested psycho-analysis, a little undigested ethnography, a little of Nietzsche, and a mass of gutter literature like the "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion," and from the witches' cauldron there comes forth the National-Socialist "blood myth."

Profound pessimism is the chief sentiment of the doomed capitalist world. At one time the revolutionary bourgeoisie confronted this miserable pessimism with their faith in the future, their desire for progress; but the declining reactionary bourgeoisie has fallen deeper and deeper into the gloomiest pessimism. Fascism has augmented the desperate

weariness, the ironically melancholy shrug of the shoulders of the bourgeois when it is a question of progress, development, the perfecting of the human race, with an infuriated hatred of all progress, cynical contempt for all cultural values, for all humanitarianism and all democratic ideals.

Fascism is the most profound degeneration, the most profound decline of the bourgeoisie. All that weary writers and philosophers proclaimed in hushed tones at the beginning of the century about animal instinct which, apparently, was stronger than human intelligence, about progress being merely an illusion, about man being a gregarious animal, about the individual persons on the background of this herd, the self-opinionated "super-men," being the only things of meaning in the incredible senselessness of world history—all these "ideas" are now proclaimed from the housetops, at the top of their voices, by the fascists.

They are the cynical town criers of bourgeois decline and degeneration. Their forerunners were and are people like the French writer Celine, who elevate cynicism to the rank of the highest living wisdom, and whom the desperate petty-bourgeoisie regard as "deep-thinking" people because they declaim with cheap enthusiasm: "Life is trumpery! Love is trumpery! Freedom is trumpery! Everything is trumpery!" This cynicism, as withered as it is fixed, of the troublesome fly which clings to the offal of capitalism, and imagines therefore that there is nothing but offal in the world—leads to fascism, whose illustrious poet Johst declares: "When I hear the word culture, I snatch up my revolver!"

As capitalism proceeds to its decline, it can give nobody any sort of *positive prospects*. Millions of people are gripped with the horror of possibly losing their work, of losing their property and their daily bread. In the minds of many there is growing up a feeling of isolation, a feeling of profound dissatisfaction, of the despondent aimlessness of life. Sui-

cide, nervous ailments, desperation and unsociability have taken on catastrophic dimensions, especially under fascism. Superstition is growing to colossal dimensions. Ignorance is triumphing over knowledge. Bonfires of books, the destruction of works of art by order of the authorities the cult of Wotan and anti-Semitism, the myth of blood and brutality—these are the characteristic features of contemporary fascism and its ideology.

What is taking place is the twilight of capitalism and not the twilight of "Europe" as proclaimed by Oswald Spengler, a forerunner of German fascism. And in these conditions, a healthy and powerful resistance is growing up to the domination of the degenerate oppressors not only among the masses of workers and toilers who are compelled to live in the capitalist hell, but also among the bourgeois intellectuals; there is growing the consciousness that only supreme anti-fascist fighting determination can give a new meaning to life, can save freedom and culture. The idea of militant democracy, courageous and vigilant *liberty*, is meeting with more and more support.

Under the blows of fascism, the working class has displayed a *new attitude toward bourgeois democracy*: it has understood that this democracy has also to be defended against fascism, as a condition of its further struggle for true freedom and democracy. Among the best sections of the bourgeois intelligentsia, freedom, under the blows of fascism, has shaken off its narrow character, has become transformed, has become purer and stronger. A few words by Thomas Mann may characterize this new attitude toward freedom:

"Freedom will, without doubt, become the chief principle of its [the German people's] future social and political constitution; but this freedom, taught by bitter experience, will not allow itself to be caught unawares once more. I repeat: freedom must be strong, it must have faith in itself and in its right to defend itself. . . . But it is precisely this

principle, the principle of freedom, which must and will be the principle under the banner of which all those who wish Germany a better fate can rally together."

The consistent struggle for freedom of the working class and of all anti-fascists contains within itself the guarantee of victory over fascist barbarism and the decaying capitalist world. In their liberation struggle, the masses of the people are preparing to make the great "leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom," to make the world-historic transition from the world of capitalism to the world of socialism.

SOCIALIST HEROISM IN THE U.S.S.R.

On one part of the globe we see the barbarian world of capitalism, on the other the bright side of mankind, the cultured world of socialism.

As against the profound pessimism of the dying capitalist world, there stands out the indestructible optimism of the Bolsheviks, based on the proud consciousness that: "We can change the world, we have changed it already and will change it still more."

This indestructible optimism, this sparkling vital force, this creative confidence in the future is characteristic of the life and world outlook of the masses of the people of the Soviet Union. Nobody can oppose this universal sentiment of the masses, this mighty confidence that: "We rise higher and higher from year to year. However high we fly today, we shall fly still higher tomorrow. There are no fortresses that we cannot conquer, there are no difficulties we cannot overcome. It is a joy to live!" The Bolsheviks have done what the "luminaries" of the capitalist world regarded as "impossible." The Bolsheviks have trod an unprecedented path in world history. In two decades they have traversed the path of a thousand years. They have taken a decisive step from Utopia to reality and have set about the fulfilment of that of which the greatest thinkers and poets of mankind could only dream.

The new socialist heroism corresponds to the world outlook of socialist optimism.

Socialist heroism arises out of the totally new social order and world outlook. It is the heroism of labor, of creative work in all spheres, planful heroism consciously serving the cause of human development. The hero of the Soviet Union is not a man standing aloof, not a dashing fighter or crazy adventurer, but a son of the people, one of many marching ahead of the masses, encouraged by and encouraging them to follow his example and surpass him. He is the clearest embodiment of the qualities which socialism inspires and develops in all.

The whole of life becomes a conscious and organized struggle against obstacles standing in the way of human development, a struggle for the elevation and perfection of mankind. Heroes who during the civil war drove dozens of armies out of the Land of Soviets; heroes who set off for the steppes, virgin forests and deserts to make the land fertile; heroes who erected gigantic industrial plants, towns, dams, at a hitherto unprecedented rate, in order to overtake and surpass the capitalist countries; heroes who saved the Chelyuskinites, conquered the North Pole, made the flights from Moscow to America, all these people are of *one* type, all of these have been trained by the Party of Lenin-Stalin, all of these are Party and non-Party Bolsheviks.

The history of all peoples shows that every class takes as its guide a definite ideal type of man and tries to train people to behave in a definite way, of advantage to the interests of the given class. The ideal type of the feudal epoch was the knight, later the cavalier; the ideal type of the bourgeoisie is the gentlemen. This training spread only to a thin upper stratum of society; "knights," "cavaliers," "gentlemen" consciously differ from the masses of the people, consciously keep aloof from the "mob." The masses of the people were systematically educated in the spirit of

subordination, they were imbued with the slavish virtues of submission, diligence, piety, unpretentiousness, thrift; the "slave morale" was preached to them, but was mockingly ignored by the master. The world outlook of fascism also demands slavish virtues from man—acquiescence, unquestioning obedience, cowardly accommodation to "those at the top" who picture themselves as "Fuehrers" sent down by God. This is the world outlook of the Prussian subject, who at the command will go to his death; the world outlook of the faithful servant who dies for his master without knowing why.

The ideal type of the revolutionary working class is the hero of socialism, not as the ostentatious ideal of a thin upper stratum, but as an example for the widest masses of the people. Metalworkers and milkmaids, tractor-drivers and intellectuals, pilots and engineers—all of these wish to, and can, become heroes of socialism, they are all trained in the spirit of the great proud principles of Bolshevism. The appearance of the new human type, the new mass type, is one of the greatest achievements of Marxism-Leninism, of the proletarian revolution, of the socialist outlook. The heroes of socialism so worthy of being marveled at possess the fundamental qualities of the Bolsheviks, namely, firmness of character, persistence, discipline, initiative, equanimity, capacity for work, modesty, comradely solidarity and the proud consciousness of their ability to cope with all difficulties.

The qualities characteristic of the Soviet being, of the hero of socialism, do not belong either to those who enslave, nor to those who are enslaved; for the first time in history they are the qualities of the free people of socialist society. The process of the transformation of the people has not yet been fully accomplished; hundreds of the survivals of capitalist deformity, of the habits of the tsarist past, still hinder the establishment of the new type of Bolshevik being. But the development proceeds without a break. The hero of socialism

marches victoriously forward, indignantly casting aside the survivals of capitalism, and triumphantly opposing the old, dying world.

Work is a matter of honor, glory, prowess and heroism.

Victorious socialism has created in man an entirely new attitude to work. The being of ancient and feudal times—the master despised work as being the lot of the slaves, serfs, “worthless creatures.” The bourgeois opposed this *feudal* contemptuous attitude to work with his philistine attitude to work. The bourgeois praised work, but did not love it; he praised attachment to work as such, even if the work was the most stupid, the most irksome and full of gloom. It was in the interests of the ruling class to advocate diligence, love of work and fear of God, for subordinates. LaFargue, Karl Marx’s son-in-law, revolted and hurled against this deification of the love of work his “Right to be Lazy,” which was understandable, although not socialist. Victorious socialism has emancipated labor and endowed it with a new brilliance. Stalin’s words to the effect that socialist competition brings about a fundamental revolution in the views of people on labor, that it “transforms labor from the shameful and heavy burden which it was formerly considered into a matter of honor, a matter of glory, a matter of prowess and heroism!” establish and characterize the new attitude to work.

The Soviet Union has become a country of labor triumphant. The urge for creative work that fills the artist, the inventor, the Arctic airman, also fills the working class, now freed from the fetters of capitalism. The deadliness of capitalist competition has given way to the prowess of *socialist competition*. Stakhanov, Busygin, Vinogradova and others are crowned with glory as at one time were the victors of the Olympic competitions.

The labor of the men and women collective farmers has become as attractive as the work of the artist, because it develops in the light of freedom and broad-

est publicity, because it is part of the boundless, intelligent, creative force of the people; because it has grown wings of honor, prowess and heroism. *Winged labor*—it is more than a symbol; when you see how the swineherd hurries from his work to the airplane of the collective farm and becomes a fearless pilot, you begin to understand that work in the Soviet Union has indeed grown wings.

THE BLOSSOMING OF CULTURE IN THE SOVIET UNION

While barbarian fascism is leading to a monstrous destruction of culture, the Soviet Union is the scene of the blossoming of culture. The love of the people for culture is both touching and infectious. It would seem a petty thing that the epithet “uncultured” used in the Soviet Union today is the sharpest, most offensive word of criticism that can be used toward a person. This indicates that socialist culture is strong among the masses, has penetrated deeply among them. The peoples of the Soviet Union, who under tsarism were doomed to the most profoundly uncultured lives, are mastering the arts and science with indomitable passion, are creating a new school and a new order of life. It is enough to call to mind the praiseworthy results of eliminating illiteracy, the children and old people, men and women, who with unexampled enthusiasm and persistence are penetrating into the secrets of the alphabet, who with an insatiable thirst for knowledge are devouring books hitherto unknown to them, and finding themselves in the real whirlpool of life.

It is enough to call to mind the tens of thousands of new schools, the millions of workers’ and peasants’ sons and daughters attending technical schools and universities; the evening schools for the study of foreign languages, mathematics, history, political economy; the theatres, cinemas and concert halls filled daily, the libraries and clubs of culture which have grown up in the farthest corners of this boundless country.

It is enough to call to mind the collective farmers who listen breathlessly to Shakespeare, Schiller and Pushkin; the workers who at the end of their working day spend hours discussing poetry, novels and plays, and give valuable suggestions to writers about their works; the huge mass circulation of the best works of world literature; the Pushkin celebrations during which all the peoples of the Soviet Union expressed their love for the great poet. In the Red Army clubs, side by side with the portraits of great revolutionaries, the walls are decorated with portraits of the great artists and writers of all times; every tent in the summer camps of the Red Army units has its own little library; you can chat with the Soviet sailors about Balzac and Stendhal.

This sturdy, ardent interest of the Soviet people in literature, music and the theatre, the part they play in it, is not unknown to the whole world. Even people visiting the Soviet Union who are hostile to the land of socialism have to admit it. The artist, writer, scientist, enjoys greater respect in the Soviet Union than in the most advanced capitalist countries. He lives in the minds of the people side by side with the heroes of socialism, side by side with the pilots, tractor-drivers and Stakhanov workers, in their halo of glory. In the attitude of the Soviet people to their actors, writers and scientists, there is nothing of the hysterical over-estimation or ironic scorn which attends the attitude of the bourgeois world to representatives of the starving bohemians of the theatre. In the Soviet Union actors, writers and scientists are the children of the people; they are loved and educated, respected and criticized, just as the worker respects and criticizes his technician, engineer, director.

PROBLEMS OF SOVIET CULTURE

Socialism has brought about a colossal development of culture among the broad masses of the formerly oppressed peoples of the Soviet Union. *The new culture is socialist in content and national*

in form. In the songs of the Russian, Ukrainian, Uzbek and other peoples of the U.S.S.R., there can be heard the one and same devotion to liberty, labor, socialism, to the Party of Lenin-Stalin, although the language and the treatment of these songs vary. Capitalism has a tendency to destroy all that is of the people, that is characteristic, appertaining to life; has a tendency to equalize them, to reduce them to one level. *Socialism is against this irksome leveling* and encourages the national and living peculiarities of peoples, insofar as they are not reactionary. (The old "popular customs" like blood feuds, abductions of women and witch-medicine are, of course, not to be tolerated under socialism.) *Under socialism there is developed a real people's culture, the culture of the masses.* This process takes place, of course, not without obstacles and difficulties and has not yet been completed.

In order to understand the present state of culture in the U.S.S.R., we must get a picture of what was the state of affairs before. Immediately after the October Revolution and during the years of the civil war which followed, the most essential things were lacking, namely, bread, boots, clothing. The most essential things had to be supplied to the colossal army of workers and peasants who were fighting tooth and nail for the victory of the Soviet Government. The broad masses had to be brought over to the side of the revolution. Simple, effective *agitation* was essential; during the civil war years art and literature were, and had to be, of an agitational nature.

There were people, however, not enemies alone but also friends, who developed a whole "theory" out of this. They saw the essence of the new proletarian or socialist culture in simplified agitation. Moreover, there appeared a line of thought that was characteristic of that epoch: a sort of "Leftism" according to which "everything which has till now been considered beautiful is ugly, everything that has till now been

considered ugly is beautiful. All culture that has been before is camouflaged class domination and therefore has to be destroyed. We are developing a new culture, without roots, without tradition."

This viewpoint was held, true, not by the revolutionary *workers*, but by the "revolutionary" or only merely rebellious *intellectuals*. From the very beginning Lenin condemned these pseudo-proletarian theories. For some intellectuals the last cry of "capitalist fashion" became the first word of proletarian culture. Without making any distinction, they dragged into the Soviet Union futurism, expressionism, Dadaism, all the products of the decay of the capitalist world.

In the capitalist world, these tendencies in art were not only the expression of the collapse but, in part, an expression of honest and rebellious protest; in the Soviet Union, they were an extreme error. The great revolutionary poet Mayakovsky succeeded in emerging from the chaos of numerous "Left" tendencies in art and in expressing the magnificence and heroism of the revolution in unforgettable lines. On occasion the glaring poster style of the "Left" tendencies in art were not badly applied in mass agitation. But on the whole, these tendencies led not to socialist culture but to the cul-de-sac of hopeless sectarianism. The people could find no use for such experiments; the attitude of the masses to sectarianism in culture and art was a negative one.

But even those working in the field of culture who did not agree with these Leftist experiments, but tried to transfer elements of Western culture in the raw state to Soviet soil and to copy them, forget that periods of culture cannot simply be jumped over, that the victorious working class must utilize and develop the culture which the defeated bourgeoisie had put a stop to. Take for example the sphere of architecture. The young Soviet Government invited prominent foreign architects to build a number of buildings. These architects carried

out the orders fairly well. But the Russian workers and peasants did not like the smooth walls and severe shapes of puritan architecture. The tastes of the Russian workers and peasants are not those of the Western bourgeoisie; they have their own Russian taste, not the French or English.

When socialism was finally victorious in the Soviet Union, when need gave way to well-being and life became better and more joyful, the masses wanted this also to be expressed in their architecture. "Away with these bare grey buildings," they declared, "We want a richer, brighter, more beautiful architecture with columns and marble portals, with cornices and decorated facades to delight the eye." And now columns and marble portals have pushed aside the puritan architecture so alien to the people. True, there were deviations, clumsy trifles and flights of fancy, but the road to an architecture which is at the same time popular and expresses the consciousness of strength and joy of the Soviet people, the road to this kind of architecture was discovered.

And when one looks at the "Kiev Terminus" underground station—to give just one example—and beholds the monumental finish and the magnificent beauty, the perfect expediency and shining splendor of this architecture, one must declare that a healthy, very promising development has begun in the U.S.S.R. The combination of the latest technical possibilities with the traditions of Russian folk art, which is so well embodied in the "Kiev Terminus" underground station and a number of other constructions, opens up tremendous prospects before the architecture of the Soviet Union.

THE VICTORY OF SOCIALIST REALISM

We took the example of architecture to show the *line of development*. In all other spheres as well as this, development has led from exaggerated "Leftism," intellectual inventions and intolerable sectarianism to the all-embracing *popular and mass* culture which characterizes the final and irrevocable victory

of socialism. So long as the spirit of the first years of the revolution still penetrated life and art, so long as a poet like Mayakovsky was sounding the drum with the hand of genius, "Left" tendencies played a big role in art. But the "radicalism" and sectarianism of culture became more and more fruitless, less and less to be tolerated. They became a brake upon the development of literature and art. For example, a hindrance was developed by the "R.A.P.W.,"* that organization of self-opinionated sectarians who regarded Shakespeare, Goethe and Pushkin with scorn as "elements alien to the working class"; sectarians who did not see the essential difference between Peter the First and Nicholas the Last, for whom such "trifles" as the people, national traditions, the heritage of national and international culture did not exist, for whom history did not consist of people and events, but of dead formulæ and schemes.

These self-opinionated sectarians squeezed art and literature into the Procrustes' bed of their own scholastic measure and hindered every free and creative development in the spheres where they worked. It is no accident that while defending their own group interests to the detriment of the interests of the masses, they degenerated into wreckers, many of them subsequently turning out to be enemies of the people.

The great writer Gorky was heart and soul of the struggle against the petty formalists, pedants alien to the people and narrow-minded scholasticists among whom the enemies of Soviet Power entrenched themselves. Under the leadership of the Communist Party, with the aid of Gorky, the healthy, creative elements drove out the degenerate, futile publicists, and under its leadership, the slogan of *socialist realism* is triumphing in all spheres.

The Soviet people are profoundly aware that socialism is the great and splendid thing that has been cre-

ated by mankind over thousands of years, that its roots are to be found deep in the past of the peoples, that to it belongs the heritage of Homer and Aeschylus, Dante and Leonardo da Vinci, Shakespeare and Cervantes, Voltaire and Goethe, Pushkin and Beethoven. Is there a heritage which we intercept, which we receive in order to possess it for long, or do we build our world out of nothing? Does the development of the human race, the highest degree of which is socialism and communism, exist or was everything before the victory of socialism insignificant and deserving of damnation?

It was around these questions that the struggle took place, that the discussion went on.

Today the sectarianism and formalism in the sphere of art, the anti-historical, vulgar schools of sociology in the sphere of history, have been overcome. From history the people are beginning again to learn to understand their past; are observing the most important events and figures in the light of the materialist conception of history. In art and literature the people are securing in abundance the wealth of the classics who were by no means the "product of feudalism," or the "product of capitalism," but the sons of the people and the banner-bearers of mankind. Just as the socialist engineers cannot reject the technical inventions of the capitalist age and the socialist scientist cannot reject the scientific discoveries of past centuries, so the socialist man of culture cannot reject the huge heritage of culture of the ancient world, of the Renaissance and the bourgeois world. Socialism not only constitutes the beginning of something unexampled and new; socialism also reveals to the masses all the treasures of the past which were hitherto accessible only to an insignificant minority.

The sectarians in capitalist countries who are alien to the people howl about all this being a "betrayal of the revolution." The Trotskyists have used it in order to wage a struggle against socialist culture. Workers go to the theatres in

* Russian Association of Proletarian Writers.

well-cut suits instead of in blue workmen's blouses. Working women are dressed well, have their hair waved, put on make-up and even use perfumes, when they go out in the evening. Young people dance to jazz bands—what unheard-of "betrayal" of the revolution! These humbugs regard every expression of the joy of living, every sign of happiness as a "betrayal of the revolution." And when they get to hear more, that there are theatres, operettas, perfumery shops, fashion parades, they clutch their heads and howl that it is "counter-revolution," pure and simple. These creatures seriously imagine that socialism should train people to be ascetics, puritans, rejecting all the joys of life!

On the contrary: we want to win the good things of life for the working people. We want the masses to live in comfort and security. We are striving to make life *prosperous and free, beautiful and manysided*. We do not consider that harmless, happy enjoyment is the whole meaning of life; we consider it our supreme task to educate all people in the spirit of creative enthusiasm for work, in the spirit of self-sacrificing loyalty to the proletarian fatherland, in the spirit of a burning, never-flagging sense of a life which finds its expression in the greatest works of art, literature and philosophy, in the spirit of mighty and joyful displays of heroism, solidarity and militant comradeship.

True, we sometimes find wrong interpretations of the conception of a prosperous life: drinking parties, excessive love of dancing, and a frivolous attitude to love. There is still to be found an un-Bolshevik type of people who are inclined to be frivolous and superficial in their attitude to life. All these accompaniments of the rapid rise in material security and culture were inculcated and made use of by enemies of the Soviet Government.

The Trotskyites, Bukharinists, and other traitors and spies of the Gestapo tried to demoralize the young people, to organize groups of people divorced from the masses. They asserted that the way one lives has nothing to do with politics,

and in the hunt after the comforts and pleasures of life, they purposely incited young people to take an anti-Soviet path, and created their counter-revolutionary groupings among the demoralized, unstable elements among the youth. But the Soviet people are resolutely purging themselves of such elements. The criminal handfuls of degenerates and enemies of the people are being destroyed. Energetic propaganda is being conducted regarding the fundamentals of the militant morale of the Bolsheviks.

Only fools can think that it is possible to bring about socialism without difficulties, but still more foolish are those who doubt the ability of the Bolsheviks to overcome difficulties.

A new living order is developing in the Soviet Union, and ever new cultural strivings are arising. Out of the sufferings of the civil war, out of the many years of privation, the generation of socialism has entered the period when these aspirations are beginning to be satisfied. This young generation has entered the new life with firm steps, and is faced with the necessity of *finding new forms of personal relations*, of reflecting the new order in the *new way of living*, new mutual relations in a common life, new laws of courtesy, socialist behavior, etc. All these are serious problems of culture and they are being approached with the same seriousness as people under socialism approach all social questions.

* * *

The decline of culture under capitalism and the blossoming of culture under socialism, this is the world historical contradiction in our decisive century. Feebleness, decay, decline in the capitalist countries; burning, bubbling, sturdy development in the U.S.S.R. The optimism of the dawn against the pessimism of the dying. Socialist realism against the sick romanticism of a dying world. The heroism of socialism against the brutality of fascism. *The mass culture of the people of the Soviet Union against capitalist barbarism. Thus does world stand against world. There can be no doubt as to which of these worlds holds the future.*

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 forever 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 valor, and its love of mankind be an example to all the peoples."

* * *

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 among 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 ruble 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 rubles and feared therefore that he would be dismissed.

Young girls were subjected to the severest exploitation and ill-treatment, as they themselves relate in the *Nevisky 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 girls wants to remain decent she is sacked. Every year we have several cases

of young girls committing suicide. The reasons? Enslavement, loss of honor, shame."

The young people of the villages were in a still more desperate position. Here is the pledge that the women laborers 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 am 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.

* * *

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 teach-

ing of Lenin and Stalin, and train themselves in the spirit of these teachers of ours—this is indubitably the main task of the youth organizations which are striving to unite, train and organize 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 organize 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 recognize their obligations toward collective social labor and their socialist fatherland.

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

* * *

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 collectivization, 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 centers 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 centers throughout the whole of Russia. At present there are 4,175 consultation centers, on the books of which last year there were 22,500,000 women.

For children from two months to three years the Soviet government is organizing a whole network of creches at an amazingly rapid pace. In these creches 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. Creches 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 1,000,000 places in creches 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 organized by municipal Soviets, institutions, parents' groups,

etc. For example, school organizations have opened 36,000 playgrounds for children under school age, where 3,000,000 children spend their play time.

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 twelve consultation centers for mothers and children, and 1,840 places in creches. In other words, in this one district alone there are more consultation centers 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 universal compulsory, elementary education, by the fact that education, including higher university education, is free of charge; by the system of state scholarships for the overwhelming majority of students in higher schools; by instruction in schools being conducted in the native language, by the organization of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the toilers in the factories, state farms, machine and tractor stations and the collective farms.”*

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 near-

ly *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 today. Now the U.S.S.R. is the only country in Europe where illiteracy among children is completely abolished. Tomorrow 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 30,000,000. 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 fifteen 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 twenty years since the Soviet government came into power over 200 people in this village have obtained secondary and higher education; thirty-six people have gone through training colleges and become teachers; fourteen people have qualified as engineers, and eleven are now Red Army commanders. Four sons of the collective farmer Mikhail Ivanovich Kalamytsev 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

* *Constitution of the U.S.S.R.*, p. 42, International Publishers, New York, 10 cents.

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 educationists 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 organized 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 Children’s Education in Moscow and many of these have been exhibited in Paris, Philadelphia, London, New York and Glasgow. Again, thanks to the organization 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 Tarkina, 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 seventeen 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.

* * *

In the same way also the Soviet government organizes 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 practiced 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 10,000,000 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 twenty-six different kinds of sport. It was 2,645 stadiums, or buildings of the kind. The Spartak Sports Club has 150,000 members.

In 1932 it was decided to give a G.T.O. badge ("Ready for Labor and Defense") 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 4,000,000 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 month's 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 sports 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.-V6—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 sixteen young people who compose the crew of the dirigible there are nine Young Communist 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 Young Communist 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 U.S.S.R.-V6. 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 Young Communist 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 airplanes.

"T. S. Kulagrin is a Young Communist 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 Young Communist Leaguer and a pilot. He took part in the Moscow-Sverdlovsk run. M. V. Nikitin, a Young Communist Leaguer and an air mechanic, has been working five years. His motors always work excellently. N. I. Golyakov, a Young Communist Leaguer, is the young-

est 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 honor, 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 organization 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 Dneprostroy 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 organizations, take an active part in the Osoaviakim (society for assisting in defense 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 honored 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 unions 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 honorable duty), Article 133 (the defense 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 in-

terests 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, school-boys, 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. organization, 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' Red 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 inter-

nationalism. 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; everywhere the people and the youth "are only fulfilling their duty, in giving all possible help to the revolutionary 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 Trotskyites and Bukharinites, who by wrecking and espionage are trying to destroy the fortress of peace and freedom, the Soviet Union, who are endeavoring 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 Wealth of the Soviet Union

BY ACADEMICIAN I. M. GUBKIN

“Philosophers have only explained the world in various ways, but the thing is to change it.” (Karl Marx.)

TWENTY YEARS! Twenty years of a colossal struggle for socialism, for a happy, free, cultured, secure life for all working people! Twenty years of unprecedented creative advance and enthusiasm on the part of a whole people composed of many nationalities; a people united and solid as a rock in the struggle against their enemies; united by a single will in the struggle for the ideals of the communist system and inspired by splendid victories in the building of the first socialist state in the world.

At the present time, when not only the citizens of the Soviet Union, the happy children of the socialist fatherland, but also all the working people throughout the world are joyfully and triumphantly celebrating this wonderful anniversary of the great October Revolution, one picture after another of the past arises in one's mind. In the early days of the rise of ancient Russia our forefathers said: “Our land is great and rich, but there is no order in it!” This gloomy but accurate characterization was true of pre-revolutionary Russia from the ninth century right up to the October Revolution.

For many centuries this great rich country, inhabited by a brave and talented people, languished in poverty and slavery. It was only after the great Socialist Revolution that the peoples of the Soviet land, led by the great and

wise Party of Lenin-Stalin, completely abolished the enslavement and exploitation of man by man, achieved remarkable successes in mastering the forces of nature and adapting them to the service of mankind, and established the new order so much needed by the country with all its millions of people. Now 170,000,000 of free Soviet citizens know full well that “our country is great and rich, and order does exist in it!” It is the best order known to mankind, Bolshevik order, so clearly expressed and consolidated in the Stalin Constitution, which is the most democratic constitution in the world.

Pre-revolutionary Russia, which occupied first place in the world from the point of view of territory, invariably held one of the last places in world economy. For centuries enormous sources of wealth lay idly in the depths of the earth, without arousing any interest or attracting any attention on the part of the old governments, until foreign capitalists, after a keen investigation of Russia's natural wealth, “came to the rescue” with their capital. They came here with the great experience derived from their predatory colonial policy. The Hughes and the Dyuranyts took possession of the majority of the Donbas mines. The French “Copicuz” Company ruled the roost in the Kuznetz basin; Nobel and Rothschild held sway in Baku and Grozny, where they pumped out oil; and the English capitalist Urquhart controlled practically the whole of the non-ferrous metal industry.

In a word, the Donbas, the Kuzbas, the Caucasus, to a considerable extent, the Urals, and "Golden Siberia" were all in the hands of foreign capital. At the same time there was a wide influx into Russia of various products from abroad (in exchange for Russian gold), in spite of the fact that Russia herself was fabulously rich in these products. Pre-revolutionary Russia imported copper, zinc, lead, aluminum, coal, magnesite, mica, talc, graphite, phosphorite, potassium, glauber salts, sulphur pyrites, sulphur, bromine, iodine, and even stone building material, that is to say, all that lay untouched in abundance in the bowels of the earth.

At the present time the Soviet Union is fully provided with her own minerals, which have been discovered, investigated and studied by Soviet geologists and extracted by Soviet workers and engineers.

From the very first days of its existence the Soviet government energetically applied itself to studying the natural resources of the country. The cannons were still roaring in the grain fields of the Ukraine, in Transcaucasia, Siberia and the Far East when, on the initiative of the great Lenin, a magnificent plan for the electrification of the Soviet Union was being drawn up in Moscow. This was the famous "Goelro" plan ("State Plan for the Electrification of the Republic") which was adopted in 1920 at the Eighth All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

In a letter written to Lenin in March, 1921, about the "Goelro" plan, Stalin said that this was a "masterly project of a really *unified* and really *state* economic plan, a plan without quotation marks." "Remember Trotsky's 'plan' of last year (his theses)," Stalin went on, "of the economic regeneration of Russia on the basis of the application on a mass scale of the labor of unskilled *peasants* and workers (the labor army) in the shattered remnants of the pre-war industry. What poverty of thought, what backwardness, in comparison with the 'Goelro' plan! The medieval handicraftsman, fancying himself an Ibsen hero, called upon to 'save' the Russia of the

ancient sagas. . . . Or again the philistine 'realism' (actually Manilovism) of Rykov, who keeps criticizing 'Goerlo' and is buried up to the ears in routine. . . ."

Day in and day out the Communist Party and its great organizers and leaders, Lenin and Stalin, followed the progress being made in the investigation of the natural wealth of the land of the Soviets, the rapid and correct attraction of this wealth into the field of the national economy, and the consolidation and development of the mineral and raw material basis of socialist construction, helping to overcome difficulties and with a firm hand guiding the work along the correct lines.

No sooner were the last units of the interventionist troops and the remnants of the White bands who had been crushed by the glorious Red Army driven from the Soviet land than the Communist Party and the Soviet government settled down properly to the solution of the economic and cultural tasks of socialist construction.

Not a single detail escaped the eyes of the Party and the government, which penetrated into all the pores of the Soviet economic organism. The necessary organizational forms were established. Institutions and people were put to the test of practical work.

Geological activity became an integral part of the general economic plan, and this determined both the speed at which geological research work developed and the steady improvement in its quality.

In July, 1930, the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. adopted the following resolution as regards the speed of the development of geological research work:

"If the development of the national economy is to be guaranteed, it raises the need for achieving such a pace in geological research work as must considerably outdo the pace of the development of industry—this in order to prepare mineral resources in good time."

The geological service of the Soviet Union owes all its achievements, all its success to the direct leadership and help

it has received from the government and the Party.

What achievements has the Soviet Union to show as regards mineral resources on this, its twentieth anniversary?

Fuel minerals. In pre-revolutionary Russia all the known oil fields were concentrated chiefly in the Baku and Grozny districts of the Caucasus. The oil output in Emba was quite negligible.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government always devoted very great attention to questions concerning the oil industry, going into every detail of oil extraction and prospecting. I remember how Lenin followed all the attempts to reestablish and develop the oil industry. He taught us to keep a strict account of "what we give Baku and what Baku gives us," regularly to observe and check the state of affairs in the oil districts, and to be particularly considerate toward the oil workers.

The greatest oil output reached in pre-revolutionary Russia was that of the year 1901, when 10,382,000 tons were extracted. After that, the output began steadily to decline and in 1913 reached the figure of 9,234,000 tons in all.

The civil war and the intervention, which left the Soviet Union with a legacy of ruined oil fields in the chief oil-bearing districts, considerably hampered the restoration and development of the oil industry. It was only in 1927 that the output of oil reached the 1901 level, and from that time on it has steadily increased, with the following results:

<i>Year</i>	<i>tons</i>
1927	10,285,000
1930	18,451,000
1933	21,481,000
1936	29,293,000

Thus the output of oil in 1936 was nearly three times greater than the highest figure of pre-war Russia. This increase in output, and even more so the need for ensuring that the increase would continue, called for preparations for the exploitation of new oil regions.

Moreover, the task did not consist merely in ensuring a quantitative in-

crease in the known and prospected oil reserves in the earth. Comrade Stalin presented the oil geologists with another important and decisive task—to change the geographical distribution of the oil resources of the Soviet Union, by searching and prospecting for oil in the east.

In his report to the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1934, Comrade Stalin put the immediate task thus: "Seriously to set about organizing an oil base in the districts on the western and southern slopes of the Urals."

The total oil reserves of pre-revolutionary Russia were calculated at 800-850 million tons. Thanks to the extensive scale of the prospecting work carried on in the Soviet Union, the total oil reserves had reached 1,999,500,000 tons in 1933, and 6,380,000,000 tons in 1937. The "proved" oil reserves in the bowels of the earth of the U.S.S.R. now amounts to 3,877,000,000 tons as against 200-250 million tons in the pre-revolutionary period, and 401,500,000 in 1933.

This increase in reserves has taken place and is now taking place as a result of a more careful study of the old oil-bearing districts which disclose ever new supplies of wealth, and also as a result of the opening of new oil-bearing districts.

The following table of the increase in oil reserves in the different oil-bearing districts of the U.S.S.R. shows plainly how the task set by Stalin of changing the "oil geography" of the Soviet Union has been carried out.

Changes in the "proved" oil reserves of U.S.S.R. according to districts (in million tons).

	<i>1933</i>	<i>1937</i>
Azerbaijan	274.4	1,911.0
Northeast Caucasus	64.0	320.8
Kuban-Black Sea	21.9	85.2
Emba	10.0	650.4
Bashkiria	0.	234.2
Urals and Volga	0.4	235.0
Northern Province	0.7	22.1
Far Eastern Territory	10.9	118.9
Central Asia	3.2	154.7
Total	401.5	3,877.0

The figures quoted are far from exhausting our present-day information regarding the oil wealth of the Soviet Union, as this table does not include a whole series of districts which have been proved to be oil-bearing. The condition of the research work in these districts does not as yet enable us to express the extent of the oil reserves in figures (Ukraine, some districts in Kazakhstan, the Arctic, etc.).

Again, the most recent prospecting figures multiply several times the oil resources in the Volga Province. In these last months, data have been obtained showing that oil is present in the Cambrian rocks on the borders of the Far Eastern territory and the Yakut Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, as well as extremely important data on the discovery of oil in the Chelyabinsk Province.

The Soviet Union now possesses more than half of the proved oil resources of the world, and there is no doubt whatever that these reserves will be enormously increased when new areas and oil-bearing regions are opened up.

The task set by Stalin of moving the oil base of socialist construction to the east of the Soviet Union is being successfully carried out.

Coal. The output of coal in tsarist Russia in the peak year of 1913 was 29,100,000 tons. In 1936, the output of coal in the U.S.S.R. exceeded 126,000,000 tons.

The cradle of the great Stakhanov movement—the Soviet coal industry—required rapid preparations for the exploitation of the vast coal reserves in the earth. And with coal, as with oil, the Bolsheviks set themselves the task of making a fundamental change in the “coal geography” of the Soviet Union.

The following instructions were laid down in a resolution of the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. on this question:

“The Congress instructs the C.C. to concentrate the efforts of the Party in the further work of the socialist industrialization of the U.S.S.R. on fulfilling the following basic tasks:

“1. The all-round development of *heavy industry* as the main base of socialist construction (ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, the production of electrical energy, fuel, machine construction, chemicals), the establishment in the near future of a new powerful coal and metallurgical base in the shape of the Ural-Kuzbas Combine.”

This directive of the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. determined the further direction of geological work in respect to coal, metals and other kinds of mineral raw materials.

In its resolutions the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. pointed to the need for the wider utilization of local fuel supplies—such as coal, shale and peat.

The fulfilment of the program of action specifically laid down by the Party with regard to the mineral raw material base of the coal industry shows the following results:

The total coal reserves of tsarist Russia were estimated in 1912 at 230 billion tons. The coal reserves of the U.S.S.R. at the present time are estimated at 1,654 billion tons.

The coal reserves of the Urals have increased during the life of the Soviets from 109.7 million tons to 7,649 millions. The reserves of the Kuzbas have increased from 13 billion tons to 450 billion. The Moscow basin has increased its reserves from 1 billion tons to 12.4 billions, etc.

The reserves of the Donbas have increased from 55 billion tons to 89 billions, in spite of the enormous amount of coal already extracted, while prospecting in recent years has established the existence of coal seams extending considerably beyond the previously known frontiers of the Donbas.

During this period a number of new coal-bearing districts and seams have been opened up and prospected to a greater or lesser degree. Among these we may mention the Karaganda basin in Kazakhstan, the Burein basin in the Far East, and a number of seams in Central Asia, etc.

The successes achieved in prospecting coal reserves have enabled considerable advances to be made in the geographic distribution of coal mining.

In 1913 the Donbas produced 86.4 per cent of the total coal output. At present the share of the Donbas in the total coal output of the Soviet Union is nearly 59 per cent, despite the fact that the output of the Donetz mines has increased from 25,300,000 to 77,000,000 tons per annum.

Thus the share of the other coal districts (Kuzbas, the Urals, the Far East, the Moscow basin, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia) has increased from 13.3 per cent to 41 per cent of the total coal output of the Soviet Union with an absolute increase of output of from about 3,500,000 to 50,000,000 tons per annum.

Oil shale. No study or use was made of this in tsarist Russia. The shale reserves of the U.S.S.R., which equaled 7,509 million tons in 1919, have now reached 25,400 million tons, while the total number of oil shale seams discovered is over 100.

The development of the ore base of ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy in the U.S.S.R., in accordance with the resolution of the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. regarding "the establishment in the East of a second main coal and metallurgical center in the U.S.S.R., by making use of the very rich coal and ore deposits of the Urals and Siberia," called for intensive geological prospecting work.

The results to date are as follows:

The total iron ore reserves in pre-revolutionary Russia were estimated at 2,000 million tons, the main bulk of these being deposits in the south of Russia.

At present the reserves of rich iron ores in the U.S.S.R. amount to 10,628 million tons, while substantial changes have been achieved in the geographical distribution of the iron ore base.

The reserves of iron ores in the Urals have increased from 800 million tons to 1,500 million tons; the reserves in Western Siberia have increased from 39.5 million tons to 409.5 million tons; the

reserves in Eastern Siberia have increased from 160 million tons to 588 million tons; the reserves in the Bashkir Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic have increased from 57 to 160 million tons, etc. The reserves of Kursk magnetic anomaly exceed 330 million tons of rich iron ores.

Iron ore deposits have been discovered anew in the Far East, the Orenburg Province, the Kola peninsula, and other districts.

At the same time geological prospecting work is being intensively carried on in the south of the U.S.S.R. The iron ore reserves of Krivoy Rog have increased from 458.4 to 1,453.3 million tons, and the reserves of the Kerch peninsula (Crimea) from 1,978.4 to 2,724.4 million tons.

The ore base of ferrous metallurgy has ensured increased output of iron ore. In 1913 the output was 9.2 million tons; in 1930 10.6 million tons; in 1933 14.5 million tons; and in 1936 28.2 million tons.

The changes brought about in the geographical distribution of ferrous metallurgy in the U.S.S.R. are common knowledge. Magnitogorsk and a number of other plants in the Urals, and the Stalin Plants in the Kuzbas are splendid monuments to the heroic First Five-Year Plan of socialist construction.

A few words about *manganese*. The first estimates of manganese ores in the U.S.S.R. were for the year 1929, when the reserves of manganese were estimated at 233.9 million tons. At present the manganese ore reserves of the U.S.S.R. are estimated at 709.3 million tons, while here also considerable success has been achieved in bringing the ore base nearer to the ferrous metallurgical plants. Since the October Revolution in 1917, big manganese deposits have been discovered and prospected in the Urals, Western Siberia and Kazakhstan.

The *chromic limestone* reserves of the U.S.S.R. have increased as follows (in thousand tons): 1929, 1,967; 1933, 3,123; 1936, 16,154.

Recently new rich chromic ore deposits were discovered in Mugodjara, east of Aktyubinsk.

With regard to the ore base of *non-ferrous metallurgy* it should be noted that the *copper* reserves (in terms of metal) were 627,000 tons in 1913, 1,630,000 tons in 1929, and are at present estimated at 17,240,000 tons. Thus the copper reserves found in the U.S.S.R. in the period of 1929 to 1936 alone have increased over ten times, while at the same time, by their geographical distribution, enabling the Party's directives to be carried out. During this time the reserves in the Urals have increased considerably, and huge deposits have been discovered and prospected in Kazakhstan, Central Asia and the Orenburg Province.

The *zinc* reserves of the U.S.S.R. have increased from 1,100,000 tons in 1913 to 9,600,000 tons at present, and lead reserves from 500,000 tons to 4,362,000 tons, thus making possible the development of corresponding branches of industry in the Caucasus, Kazakhstan, Western Siberia and the Far East.

The *aluminum* industry did not exist at all in tsarist Russia. Intensive prospecting work for *bauxite*, the raw material for aluminum production, led in the first years to the opening up of large deposits in the Leningrad Province.

Very rich bauxite mines were opened later on in the Urals and the Ukraine, thus fully ensuring the fulfilment of the above-mentioned resolution of the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.

On the basis of these deposits a powerful Soviet aluminum industry has been created and conditions established for its unlimited development.

The reserves of high quality bauxite in the U.S.S.R. at present exceed 20,000,000 tons.

"*Non-ore bearing*" minerals. The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Congresses of C.P.S.U. in their resolutions laid special emphasis upon those branches of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. which are closely connected with the so-called "non-ore bearing" minerals.

"In view of the growing importance of the 'non-ore bearing' minerals (mineral raw material) industry in the national economy and particularly in export, the Congress directs attention to the need for ensuring every possible development of this branch of industry" (from the resolutions of the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.).

"The Congress calls for decisive improvements in the development of the *chemical* industry, which will ensure the application of chemicals on a wide scale in all branches of the national economy, and the strengthening of the country's defensive power. The output of all kinds of fertilizers is to be increased ten times during the years of the Second Five-Year Plan . . ." (from the resolutions of the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.).

Let us consider the results of the work done toward fulfilling these directives in respect to only a few minerals.

Apatite is the raw material from which phosphorite fertilizers are obtained. As much as two billion tons of this useful mineral, unknown in tsarist Russia, were discovered on the Kola peninsula. There, on the basis of these deposits, and with the steady support of that great Bolshevik and proletarian tribune, Sergei Mironovich Kirov, the great Arctic industrial center of Kirovsk sprang up in the Khibin Tundras, and now supplies the whole of the Soviet Union with fertilizers, as well as ore and concentrates which are exported on a wide scale.

As regards *phosphorite* reserves, the U.S.S.R. now occupies first place, and as regards output second place in the world. Since 1932 the import of superphosphates has ceased and the U.S.S.R. not only fully meets the domestic demand but is beginning to export superphosphates.

Phosphate reserves in the U.S.S.R. have reached 16.8 billion tons, the total world reserves being 27.5 billions.

In 1931, the U.S.S.R. ceased the import of and became a large-scale exporter of *potassium salts*. With the discovery of the tremendous Solikam potassium salt deposits, which exceed those of

all the rest of the world taken together, the U.S.S.R. took first place in the world as regards potassium salt reserves.

The potassium salt reserves of the U.S.S.R. (in terms of potassium oxide) are over 18 billion tons, whereas the total world reserves are 21.7 billions. Last year huge new deposits of potassium salts were discovered in West Kazakhstan, a fact which introduces very important changes into the geographical distribution of the potassium fertilizer industry, bringing this branch of industry nearer to the southern agricultural districts of the U.S.S.R.

It is impossible within the limits of this article to deal with all the useful minerals of the U.S.S.R. and therefore, in conclusion, I take the liberty of pointing out that as a result of the discovery of very rich borax deposits (the raw material from which boron is made) in West Kazakhstan in 1934, the U.S.S.R. now possesses every kind of mineral at her disposal in quantities which ensure the rapid development of socialist construction.

* * *

The working people of the Soviet Union have had to wage a stubborn but victorious struggle for the mineral raw-material base of socialist construction against the enemies of the working class, against the enemies of the people, the Trotskyite, Bukharinite, and other fascist spies, diversionists and wreckers. On the theoretical front, this struggle was waged against pseudo-scientific wrecking assertions that entire vast areas in the Soviet Union were lacking in ores, that important minerals, especially metals, were not to be found in the Caucasus, Central Asia and Siberia. We have now proved that these regions are enormously rich in all kinds of minerals, including

rare metals, and that the deposits found in these parts yield neither in quantity nor in quality to the biggest in the world.

The Trotskyite-Bukharinite spies and wreckers tried in every way to direct geological prospecting work toward remote, uninhabited parts of the country, difficult to industrialize. All these attempts to place serious difficulties in the way of socialist construction were discovered and frustrated by the militant organs of the proletarian dictatorship, with the support of all the working people of the Soviet Union.

The Communist Party and the Soviet government are ensuring the further development of geological prospecting work in the Soviet Union, as well as the planning and high quality of this work. Only six months ago the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. made the tremendously important decision to organize an All-Union Geological Fund, in which shall be concentrated all materials regarding geological work done and being done on Soviet territory.

The carrying out of this decision of the Soviet government means the discovery and inclusion in the national economic plan of new mineral raw material wealth. . . .

At the present time the entire Soviet Union, in greeting its twentieth anniversary, repeats with pride and with the consciousness of its might the words of its beloved leader and friend, Comrade Stalin, spoken at the First All-Union Conference of Workers in socialist industry, and verify so splendidly in practice:

"Above all, we need sufficient *natural wealth* in the country: iron ore, coal, oil, grain, cotton. Do we possess these things? We do. We have more than any other country. . . .

"In this respect, as far as *natural wealth* goes, we are fully provided for."

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 defense of Madrid.

It is with a tremendous feeling of enthusiasm that the workers, peasants and all anti-fascists of Spain are solemnly celebrating this anniversary of the land of Soviets. We recognize the tremendous importance of the U.S.S.R. for the working people of the whole world; we recognize 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 emphasize the importance to 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 170,000,000 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 defense of Soviet Petrograd in the civil war years.

Can anybody deny that the persistent and stubborn defense 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, organized their forces, and were able to mobilize 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 today we are celebrating the first anniversary of its glorious defense.

The Communist Party of Spain was one of the chief initiators of the heroic defense 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 defense of Madrid. The heroism of the Spanish people was displayed not only in Madrid. In the Asturias, in the Basque country, in Guadalajara and Pozoblanco, 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 mobilized and rapidly organized. 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 conscrip-

tion; 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 organization of industry and agriculture, and for an increase in the productivity of labor; 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 today, 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 to bring about, on the basis of the nationalization of the chief branches of industry and a correct wages policy, 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 demoralize our troops? This, of course, is a necessary thing, but it is inadequate for the attainment of our goal. At the time we purge the army of traitors, 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 Trotskyites. Our Party long ago unmasked the Trotskyites as enemies of the people, as agents of fascism and allies of Franco. The police continue to discover illegal Trotskyite organizations, 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 Trotskyites 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 no-

body 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, 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 Central Committee 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 first, 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 favor."

Today 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 utilizing 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 organizations 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 centers, 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 Bolsheviks—the C.P.S.U.—the force 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 Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain

[On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, Jose Diaz, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain, sent the following greeting to the peoples of the U.S.S.R.—The Editors.]

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.

"Today, 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 forever.

"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 civilization, 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 civilizing mission that has been extended over many years.

"The Soviet Union has demonstrated to Europe its role as a civilized 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 revolution, 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 civilized world."

The Struggle of the Chinese People Against the Japanese Aggressor, and the Great Socialist Revolution in the U.S.S.R.

BY WANG MING

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 de-

veloping 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 toward "conquering China by the hands of the Chinese themselves," by fanning the flames of internal strife between the various political and military 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 organized 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 Communist Party.

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 on Jehol, the Central Committee of the Communist Party 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 (3) Freedom of organization and of the arming of anti-Japanese volunteer detachments.

On August 1, 1935, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic jointly appealed to the entire Chinese people to set up an anti-Japanese national united front, to organize collaboration between the Kuomintang, the Communist Party and other organizations for the creation of an All-Chinese Government of National Defense and an All-Chinese United Anti-Japanese Army, in order to mobilize all forces in the country for armed resistance to Japanese aggression.

In November, 1935, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, guided by the new line of tactics of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and the historic report made by Comrade Dimitroff 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 realize the proposals of the Communist Party of China for the creation of an anti-Japanese national united front.

In August, 1936, the Central Commit-

tee of the Communist Party of China addressed an open letter to the Central Executive Committee and party members of the Kuomintang, proposing the restoration of the collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party 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 Central Committee of the Communist Party of China proposed to the Third Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang the main concrete conditions and measures requisite for the establishment of collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party 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 Communist Party 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 col-

laboration between the Kuomintang and Communist Party of China.

On September 23, 1937, all the leading Chinese newspapers published a declaration of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to all the Chinese people on the conclusion 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 Communist Party of China—in which a public statement was made on the establishment of collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China.

On what basis was this agreement reached?

The agreement between the Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang was concluded with 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 Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang, the Communist Party 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 Sovietization of China—W.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. In the main these are almost the same conditions as were put before the Third Plenum of the Central Executive Committee of the Comintern by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

At the same time the Communist Party of China demanded that the Kuomintang alter its incorrect policy, in order to create a common basis for a joint struggle with the Communist Party for the national salvation of the Chinese people. In its address to the Third Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, the Central Committee of the Communist Party 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 organization, 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 organizations.

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 Communist Party 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 recognize 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 forty years' revolutionary activities of Dr. Sun Yat-sen the posi-

tive 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, facilitates in the present conditions the joint struggle of the Communists and the true disciples of Sun Yat-sen for national independence, democratic liberties and 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 Communist Party of China and the Kuomintang would only be playing into the hands of the Japanese aggressors, while collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party 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 Sovietizing China is withdrawn.* Not only has the Communist Party of China repeatedly made an open declaration of this in various documents during the past few years, but it has begun to put this line into operation, by reorganizing 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, should

the formula of the Communist Party of China concerning the cessation of the "Red China" movement be understood and explained. Any other interpretation of this formula of the Communist Party of China as meaning that the Chinese Communists give up their own political and organizational 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 Communist Party of China, as the Party of the working class, has everywhere acted resolutely in defense of the vital interests of the peasantry, the close 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 and 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 hence impossible to set up the anti-Japanese national united front. The question that arises today 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 up local democratic administrations 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 today, 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 its being incorporated in a people's revolutionary army, subordinated to the Military Council of the National Government? Because the Chinese Communists want, together with the Kuomintang, to create a Chinese united national army, 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-organized, well-armed beast of prey.

The present position in China confirms the absolute truth, farsightedness 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 assistance 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 been offering heroic armed resistance on a national scale 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 Communist Party of China, there are three fundamental positive factors to be observed, which signify the growing na-

tional 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 becoming an undoubted fact that, following the example of the re-organized 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 also shown by the fact that at the first conference of national defense, convened by the Nanking government after the Japanese attack on Lukouchiao, side by side with the delegation from the Red Army of China headed by Comrade Chu Teh and Chow En-lai, there are in Nanking all the prominent military leaders of almost all the provinces, including the leaders of the provinces of Kwangsi (Pai Chung-si), Szechuan (Liu-Hsiang) Hupoh (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 realization of the state national defense loan, concerning the mobilization 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 circumstances 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 program of the anti-Japanese national united front. The tremendous importance for the defense 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 Eighth Route Army) are today 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 severe attacks of the mechanized units of the Japanese aggressor from the air, land and sea, and can for a long time heroically and stubbornly defend their position and territories; on the North Shansi front the Eighth People's Revolutionary Army, under the command of the legendary army leaders Comrades Chu Teh and Peng Teh-hwai, 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 mechanized 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 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 organizational 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 organizations and military units in China.

3. *The beginning of the process of the democratization of the political regime and the growth of the mass movement and the mass organizations.* Although pro-Japanese and reactionary elements are doing their utmost to resist the democratization of the political regime and are terribly afraid of the millions of people of China becoming an active, organized force, it is an indubitable fact that China is now witnessing a process of the democratization of the regime, and millions of people are increasingly being brought into the movement and the organization 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 legalization of the representative organs of the Eighth Route Army and the C.P. of China in the big towns (Nanking, Shanghai, Sian, Taiyuan, Wuhan, etc.); the establishment of numerous mass anti-Japanese organizations, for example, the All-China Association of National Salvation, the All-China Students' and Women's Leagues of National Salvation, the United Seamen's Union for National Salvation, the League of National Armed Vanguard Detachments, and various organizations to aid the fights at the front and so on; the beginning of the legalization of all these organizations.

In the struggle to democratize the regime throughout China, the Special

Area of the Chinese Republic (the reorganized former Soviet region) in the northern part of the Shensi and Kansu provinces, with the town of Yen-an (or Fu-Shi) as the center, 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 Kansu 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, organized country. And a united and organized people, 400,000,000 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 Kuomintang 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 bombardment 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 Tse-chung, which led to the capture by the Japanese of two big towns—Peiping and Tientsin, the treachery and panic-stricken flight of Lu Shu-min, Governor of Chahar, which in fact led to the surrender of Kalgan and other important strategical points without a fight, etc.); despite the fact that Japanese troops have seized a considerable part of the territory of the five North provinces of China and Shanghai; despite the fact that the insolvent agents of the Japanese aggressors—the pro-Japanese elements in the Nanking government and in the localities, and the foul Trotskyist-Chen Dusuist 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 Eighth Route Army over the numerically superior Japanese mechanized units (the battles of September 23-25 in the north of Shensi, where 2,000 Japanese soldiers surrendered to the Eighth Route 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, if that army is headed by really capable, determined, politically reliable commanders and political leaders, if the army itself consists 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 today, not only the Chinese Communists, but also 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 realize the necessity of mobilizing and drawing millions of the toiling people of China into active participation in the work of the national-defense struggle at the front and in the rear by organizing them and improving their material and civil position.

The hatred of the masses is increasing toward 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 convinced that their fate, their lives and property, 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 organizations 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 organizations 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.”*

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 organization of the war “now being hatched in the circles of bourgeois politicians,” said:

“Others think that war should be organized 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 represents ‘unorganized 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 organize 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 ‘unorganized 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

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXIV, p. 59, Russian edition.

Italy and their unification into independent states. It resulted in increased hatred in the hearts of the peoples 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?*"

Yes, Japanese imperialism has indeed no such guarantee! For several months now the Chinese troops have been conducting a 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 drive the Japanese aggressors completely out of their native land. Not only are the Chinese people and their friends 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 on September 30, 1937, entitled, "Who Will Be Victorious in the Battles 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 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

* *Socialism Victorious*, by Stalin and others, p. 13. International Publishers, New York.

and Spanish peoples, there is a growing hatred toward those who are stifling the peoples, culture and progress, toward 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 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 toward their close neighbor—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 toward China not to be compared with that of any other country, and over the whole twenty years of its existence. They regard the U.S.S.R. as the country whose army at one time, despite its poor technical equip-

ment 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 toward 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 inspire the Chinese people in their national liberation struggle and strengthen their confidence in victory.

The Great October Revolution and France

BY MAURICE 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 Bolsheviks. 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 trembled. 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 exploiting classes.

The workers of France, like the proletarians of other countries, followed all stages of the October Revolution and socialist construction in the land of Soviets with attention and ardor. In difficult moments they suffered together with their brothers of the Soviet Union but in the hour of successes they 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 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 administering, 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 and 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 today. The Soviet Union of today is the most powerful industrial power in Europe, and second in the world. It has at the same time developed its agricultural economy, based on voluntary collectivization, 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 move-

ment, the fighters of the revolution of 1905, those who took part in the great strikes like that in the Lena goldfields. Today the Soviet Union is the synonym of creative work, liberty, culture, well-being and joy. The Soviet Union is the country of heroes of labor 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 ardor 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—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 people. 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 cantonal elections confirmed this will of the people of

France to support the Franco-Soviet Pact, which represents 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 this 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 symbolizing 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 Dimitroff, the courageous champion of the anti-fascist struggle, the Communist International is striving to realize 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 organized unity of action between the Socialist and Communist workers.

After the attempt at the fascist *coup d'état* on February 6, 1934, 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: 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 defeat in Germany and in Austria; instead to be inspired by the principles 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. Not only must the proletarians be united against fascism but also members of the middle classes, all republicans and 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 today and the possibilities of the morrow. They support all the forces of peace, the unity of which can yet compel the fascist warmongers to retreat. Thus it is that the Communists prove themselves in practice to be faithful to the principles of their great teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin and 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 the organs of the Soviet government came down with ruthless force on the gang of fascist agents, Trotskyite-Bukharinite spies and traitors, diversionists and wreckers, who organized 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 around 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 Trotskyite adventurers are trying in various countries to worm their way into the Communist Parties; they are attempting everywhere to disorganize the working class movement. The treacherous role of the Trotskyites 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 toward Trotskyites, toward 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 organizing 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 the war-weary peoples of the world learned that the Bolsheviks, headed by 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 Socialist Revolution was very different to their treatment of the March bourgeois revolution of 1917.

Not only the bourgeois press reacted immediately to the November Revolution—the workers of the world had only a little time to wait before the forces of counter-revolution set to work. And since 1917 the mobilization of these forces has continued unceasingly.

In 1917-22, fierce civil war, blockade and counter-revolutionary revolts against the Soviet government; and right until recently, plots, acts of sabotage, diversion and espionage. All forces and means have been and are being used by the enemies of the Soviet government to undermine the strength of the proletarian state.

Yet despite the worst that the enemies of the proletarian dictatorship could do, we can see now the millions of Soviet people and the best among the working people in the capitalist world, joyfully celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the November Revolution, an anniversary of triumph, of success, of the

achievement of a mighty consolidation of the mighty Soviet Union.

Friend and enemy alike are compelled to recognize that the mighty Soviet Union stands out as an irrefutable proof that there is no difficulty that Bolsheviks cannot overcome.

The people of "Asiatic minds," the "Bolshevik barbarians," (to quote the elegant phrases used by the Frank Hodges inside the Labor 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 working people and of all progressive mankind.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, has raised the Soviet Union to such heights economically and culturally as have enabled the dauntless Soviet aviators to place the Red Banner at the North Pole—on top of the world; to complete heroic non-stop flights between Moscow and the U.S.A; to break all the most important records in the sphere of aviation, to win first place internationally in the sphere of science and art, to break world records of labor productivity in a number of branches of industry, etc.

And the triumph of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.—the greatest in world history—is the forerunner and guarantee of similar triumphs the world over.

All who admire the achievements and victories of socialism ask themselves

how it has 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 labor movement. In our 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 are eager to carry forward the fight, and are doing so today. But let us take a look at the contrasts between developments in Britain and the Soviet Union during the last twenty years.

Unemployment has many years already been conquered in the Soviet Union and banished forever. This social cancer no longer menaces any single Soviet citizen. And in Britain? Unemployment has been a characteristic feature of the internal situation in these last twenty years. The great industrial areas of South Wales, Lancashire, Northeast 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 labor 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.

Hundreds of thousands of workmen have seen the gates of great factories, pits and shipyards closed against them. While in the Soviet Union the workers willingly sacrificed some personal comforts in order to develop their own industry, the British workers have been faced with placards hung outside their factories, pits and ships: "In the hands of Thomas Ward, Scrap Iron Merchants." They have seen priceless machinery smashed up; and 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 are the lot of this army of forgotten men and women and their families.

The wages of industrial workers in the Soviet Union have increased 2.9 times between 1929 and 1936, while the national income increased from 21,000,000,000 rubles in 1913 to 86,000,000,000 in 1936, an increase of 309.5 per cent. Alongside this goes on a steady fall in the prices of products of mass consumption, and the improvement of the material conditions of the wide masses.

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 most of living has constantly been at a higher figure than wages. Even now, in the "period of prosperity," the cost of living is fifty-five points above the level of 1914 and, in spite of wage increases forced by trade union action, wages are considerably lower than prices. Profits, on the other hand, rise to unheard-of levels, the big capitalist combines and trusts enriching themselves at the expense of the workers, farmers, professional people and small shopkeepers.

Thus, in the first six months of 1937, 765 capitalist firms, after paying debenture interest and all overhead charges, made net profits amounting to £100,690,826, an increase of £8,000,000 over the same period of 1936.

While this is going on, the rapid rise in prices of all necessities is hitting the working class and office workers, as well as hospitals and public institutions which have fixed budgets. The rise in prices is also slowing down or completely canceling housing schemes all over Britain. The phrase "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 mean an ever increasing demand for all kinds of industrial and agricultural goods, the products of Soviet factories, and

of the state and collective farms.

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.

In the last five years, since 1932, speed up has increased in Britain by 21 per cent, and the chief inspector for 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.

Thus on education: one billion rubles was expended in 1928, while the plan for 1937 is 18,500,000,000; on health protection 400,000,000 rubles were expended in 1928, and 7,600,000,000 rubles in 1937. Rest homes and sanatoria: 25,000,000 rubles were expended in 1928, while in 1927, 884,500,000 rubles will be expended according to the budgets of the trade unions. This year about 3,000,000 people will rest in sanatoria and rest homes through the efforts of the trade unions alone.

The social insurance budget this year includes such items as 1,145,000,000 rubles for providing benefits for pregnant women and those who have newly-born children. In 1928 the allotment for this purpose was 32,000,000 rubles, and in 1936, 533,000,000. Benefits amounting to 908,000,000 were paid out in a little over a year to large families.

Expenditures by the state and trade unions on social and cultural measures designed for the workers and office employees amounted to 15,500,000,000 in 1936. This year the total figure will be considerably higher.

In the U.S.S.R. the material, living and cultural conditions of the working people are improving from day to day.

And in Britain? Here the economic crisis and new rearmament have led to a strict curtailment of expenditure on social services, to a growth in sickness and malnutrition. Let us give the evi-

dence of doctors and scientists. Here is what Sir Boyd Orr said in February regarding the nourishment of the British workers:

"Four and a half million people in this country spend on an average only four shillings per head on food."

"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 the 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. . . ."

Perhaps these facts are understated, but they are certainly not exaggerated!

In the Soviet Union the workers have the seven-hour day, and six-hour day in dangerous trades, and holidays with pay. In Britain it is a far cry from this.

The U.S.S.R. is a land of genuine socialist democracy. The new Soviet Constitution, this unique historical document which secures for all citizens of the land of socialism all that they have already won, is glaring evidence of the gigantic growth and strength of the Soviet State.

Just at the moment when fascist race hatred darkens the world, while people in Spain and China are dying to maintain their independence and liberty and to save democracy, the Soviet Constitution raises the flag of internationalism and fraternity of all peoples and races.

And in Britain? The old capitalist boast about liberty broadening down from precedent to precedent has been thrown overboard. During these last twenty years 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 Trades Union Disputes Act of 1927 declares a general strike to be an illegal act, it threatens the finances of the trade unions in the event of large-scale strikes, and deals a blow at the right of trade unionists to contribute to the funds of the Labor 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 complete and genuine democracy. In Britain reaction strikes down rights and liberties won by generations of past struggles, and limits even capitalist democracy.

The fact that today the Soviet Union stands out as the leader of the movement for world peace is not haphazard. One of the first acts of the Soviet government after the November Revolution, in 1917, was to broadcast the proposal to all the governments and peoples of the warring countries that "a general peace treaty should be signed at once on the basis of no indemnities and no annexations."

That simple message of peace 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 of peace. The Soviet Union and its peoples 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 the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and it is for this reason that Europe has not been already plunged into war. It is quite certain that if the world powers supporting peace had followed the advice of the Soviet Union—the peoples of Manchuria, Ethiopia, Spain and China would not have been subject to such a monstrous onslaught of the aggressors, and the world would have been protected against the threatening menace of world war.

The National Government more than any other government in Europe 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 Ethiopia; 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 position it would have adopted if these crimes had been perpetrated by Spanish Republican government!).

The British government does not wish to undertake resolute action in defense of British citizens in China, against the onslaught of the Japanese militarists, so as not to bar the way for itself for an agreement with Japanese imperialism at the expense of the interests of the Chinese people. 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.

Contrast this with the policy of the Soviet Union, which renounced all the imperialist conquests of tsarist Russia, granted complete rights and complete freedom to all national minorities and set up national republics with the result that

tremendous developments have taken place in all the autonomous republics and regions of the U.S.S.R.

The achievements of 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 heroically fought and defeated their oppressors; and so today they are free to build socialism.

In Britain, on the other hand, the existence of capitalist power is the reason why the people are menaced by misery and destitution.

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 civilization is at stake, when the fascist aggressors are mercilessly butchering the women and children of Spain and China, when the freedom of Czechoslovakia and other European countries is in the balance, this policy is an all-round hindrance to the unity of the whole working class movement.

Let the British working class movement, on the occasion of this 20th anniversary of the great Socialist Revolution, ponder well over its political lessons.

Twenty years—historically a short time, but what a wealth of heroic efforts has been crowded into this period by the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, and what tremendous victories have been achieved. Socialist construction on a scale undreamt of is today 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 Soviet machinery and, guided by socialist citizens, ceaselessly turn out their products.

Highly productive collective and state farms have sprung up everywhere. Every phase of educational and cultural activities grows at a breathless rate.

The Soviet Union stands out before the whole world as the strongest single power, the power which is striving by every means to maintain peace, to win still greater victories for its population, and the peoples of the world.

The twenty years which have gone by have shown that real revolutionaries, the Bolsheviks, not only interpret history, but also change it.

Against the darkness and bestiality of fascism, against the inability of the capitalist class in the democratic countries to solve unemployment, against the growing drive to world war—the Soviet Union stands out as a lighthouse, whose warm rays sweep around the world to guide the working class.

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.

Despite the foul treachery and wrecking of the Trotsky-Bukharinite, Japango-German and other spies and wreckers, despite doubts of wavering elements, despite the machinations of all enemies of the land of the Soviets, the Soviet government has triumphed. Is it accidental? Of course not. The victory of Soviet power, the consolidation and progress of the Soviet Union have been made possible because the policy of the Party of Lenin and Stalin has been the only correct one. It won the support of the masses. Twenty years of the existence of the Soviet power completely confirms it.

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, millions carry out their duty as conscious socialist citizens, realizing 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 always believed in the masses, and basing itself on them in-

spired them with that spirit of enthusiasm, initiative and energy which alone can accomplish great things.

The Communist Party also gave the workers and peasants the consciousness in their own power to overcome difficulties—that unconquerable determination which neither capitalism nor reformism can ever inspire.

Conscious of their own power, the workers were able to survive the dark and bloody days of the civil war; to beat back the enemy on numerous fronts; to beat the well-armed forces of the White Guards and interventionists, though they fought with almost bare hands.

And when the bony hand of famine threatened to crush all the conquests of the proletarian revolution, the working people of the land of Soviets survived again as a result of their organization and discipline. Despite all difficulties and obstacles, the land of socialism succeeded in restoring the national economy, which had been ruined by the imperialist and civil wars, succeeded in carrying out the socialist reconstruction of their country, of successfully completing the First Five-Year Plan, and of almost finishing the Second.

The capitalist world greeted the First Five-Year Plan with derision, but everybody now knows that the Soviet Union is independent technically of other countries. The successful fulfilment of the five-year plans has raised the defensive power of the U.S.S.R. to such heights that the well-equipped Red Army will never allow a fascist enemy to tread on one inch of Soviet soil.

And today, proud millions of the Soviet population will surge into the center of every socialist city and village to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Millions of socialist citizens will pledge themselves once more to defend their country and their socialist gains, to work and study better than ever before.

The 20th anniversary of the proletarian 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 that only unity and revolutionary struggle will secure the power of the workers, and the destruction of the exploiters. By taking this path and fighting class collaboration and capitulation which lead to fascism, the working class will guarantee the domination of the socialist system of economy, bring about the uninterrupted development of the productive forces, and do away with economic crises and unemployment.

From every corner of the Soviet Union, on this 20th anniversary, will go out greetings to the heroic Spanish and Chinese peoples now fighting the greatest struggle since 1917. We may be sure, too, that in Spain and China today, the people will be inspired by the example of their Soviet brothers who won victory over the united forces of the counter-revolution within and without the country, and will defeat the fascist interventionists and aggressors.

From the Soviet Union will go forth that same urgent call for peace, as Lenin sent twenty years ago. It has found, and 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 toward the Soviet Union, the land of victorious socialism.

Let us, therefore, celebrate this twentieth anniversary of the proletarian revolution by a solemn vow that never will we allow the mad dogs of fascism, or the Tory reactionaries, to attack the Soviet Union. Let us intensify the struggle for unity of the working class against poverty and unemployment; for peace, and against fascism and war.

The Soviet Union and the German Working Class

BY B. FLORIN

HITLER fascism, the deadly enemy of the German working class, and the suppressor of cultural and progressive Germany, has been reviling the theory of Marxism-Leninism for many years. To what measure do the fascists not resort in order to defame the scientific theory of the proletariat! They present the best sons of the German people, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, as the authors of all the woes of the German people, as men who have "nothing German" about them.

Although the fascists have frequently announced that Marxism is stamped out from the ranks of the German working class, they are at the same time compelled to keep up a constant struggle against the influence of Marxism in the country. This can be explained by two reasons: in the first place, by the traditions of revolutionary Marxism which are alive among the German working class, due to the ceaseless activity of the Communists; and, in the second place, by the *existence and gigantic development of the Soviet Union*.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the founders of scientific socialism, consistent internationalists, were the best defenders of the interests of the German working class and of the national interests of the whole of the German people. The revolutionary German workers were always proud of the fact that in the persons of Marx and Engels the German working

class stood at the cradle of socialism, at the cradle of that science whose content is the emancipation of the proletariat and of all exploited people from capitalist enslavement. The German working class movement has fought many battles for the realization of this aim. But it has not succeeded in attaining its goal because revolutionary Marxism in Germany did not become a material force, embracing the majority of the working class. In the decisive battles of 1918-1923, which were objectively favorable for the victory of the working class, what was lacking was a steeled, Bolshevik, mass party.

But in the land of the Soviets, in one sixth of the globe, the Bolsheviks, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, carried into life the proletarian theory conceived by the minds of the best representatives of the German and international working class. On this 20th anniversary of the great Socialist Revolution the German Marxists, like all followers of revolutionary Marxism throughout the world, share the joy and pride of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia of the Soviet Union.

For the victory of the great October Revolution in the U.S.S.R., the international proletariat is indebted to Lenin and Stalin, the best preservers, defenders and continuers of the teaching of Marx and Engels. By developing their teaching on the proletarian revolution, the

dictatorship of the proletariat, the alliance of the working class and the peasantry, etc., they have increasingly enriched the great legacy left by Marx and Engels. The universally important works of Lenin and Stalin strengthen the close bonds that unite the Soviet people and the German working class. No fascists, Trotskyites, Bukharinites, or other enemies of the people will succeed in breaking these bonds.

The growing prosperity of the Soviet Union, in spite of capitalist encirclement and the desperate resistance of the remnants of the capitalist classes and their agents inside the country, testifies before the whole world to the triumph of the teaching of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. And the German working class sees that that *which our fathers strove for, lived for and fought for, has been achieved in the U.S.S.R.*

In the U.S.S.R. the founders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels, are universally loved and respected in a way they never were in their native land. In the U.S.S.R. not only Marx and Engels, but all the best representatives of German science, culture and art, so hated by the German fascists, have found place and recognition. In the U.S.S.R. the works of German science and culture which have been burned and destroyed in Germany by the fascist barbarians have been carefully preserved for the German working class and the German people.

The great October Revolution of 1917 in Russia helped to bring in the German revolution of 1918 which ended in the overthrow of the monarchy. *The existence and growing prosperity of the U.S.S.R., the victory of socialism in the land of the Soviets cannot but arouse in the German people the urge to free themselves and put an end to fascist slavery.*

* * *

The triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union gives the revolutionary workers of Germany a powerful weapon for influencing the broad masses who make a

clear comparison for themselves between the two systems, capitalism and socialism. The German workers can compare "Weimar democracy" in Germany with socialist democracy in the U.S.S.R., and the fascist dictatorship in Germany with the genuine government of the people in the U.S.S.R.

The importance of the Soviet Union for the working class and the toiling masses of Germany may be judged by the hatred of the German fascists for the Soviet Union. What is it that arouses this fierce hatred of it on the part of the fascists, what is at the bottom of it? *The Soviet Union is a living proof that the domination of the capitalists and landlords can be overthrown by the proletarian revolution, that under the leadership of the working class a new and better social order can be created which abolishes the exploitation of man by man and gives every opportunity for the free development of all man's creative powers.*

Fascism in Germany, which is the dictatorship of the reactionary elements of finance capital, the dictatorship of the Krupps, the Thyssens, the Borsigs, etc.,—the regime of the most cruel exploitation of the masses of the people—fascism *lives in perpetual fear that the example of the Soviet Union may enkindle the German people.*

The peace policy of the Soviet government, the equality and brotherhood of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the care for the human being, the prosperous and joyful life of the people of the U.S.S.R.—news of all this, despite all obstacles, reaches the German working people, who seek hope in the U.S.S.R. for their deliverance from fascist enslavement. That is why the fascists have such a hatred of the U.S.S.R.

* * *

From the moment it was established the Soviet Union helped the German people. It immediately ended the war being waged by tsarism and the bourgeoisie against Germany. It concluded the Brest-Litovsk peace, in spite of the baseness of German reaction and the militarists,

thereby in fact averting the danger of a dismembered Germany. The Soviet Union concluded the Rapallo Treaty with Germany, thereby bringing substantial relief to the German people at a most critical period and checking the imperialist forces. But for this assistance the German people would have been plundered even more outrageously by the victorious powers. When the famine in Germany gave rise to widespread epidemics and mortality in 1922 and 1923, the Soviet people, in spite of their own great need, came to the rescue and sent free grain from their meagre reserves to the working people of Germany. Soviet grain kept many German mothers from committing suicide. And later on, when Germany was confronted with a grave economic crisis, the Soviet Union became the best customer of German industry. Thanks to this, millions of working people obtained work and bread. The working people of Germany will never forget this; and they know that the new democratic Germany of the future will maintain close economic relations with the U.S.S.R.

The working people of Germany know of the great international solidarity of the Soviet peoples. Not so long ago they have also seen how the Soviet peoples gave the Spanish people the greatest help when the latter, owing to the intervention of the German and Italian fascists were in direst need and when famine menaced their women, children and old people. The ship-loads of provisions are an eloquent indication of this international solidarity. *It is not for nothing that the German workers and toilers place their hopes in the Soviet Union. They know that the Soviet Union is ready to help them also in their hour of need as she has done in the past.*

* * *

Even at the present time the Soviet Union infuses in the German workers and the entire German people faith in their victory over barbarous fascism. That is why Hitler fascism tries to conceal the truth about the Soviet Union

from the workers and toilers. The successes of the Soviet Union are already strengthening the resistance of the masses to the fascist regime. This finds expression both in the attitude of the workers subjected to fascist brutality and in the attitude of active anti-fascists. "Were it not for the Soviet Union we would be in utter despair. The Soviet Union keeps up the spirit of the human personality," one worker wrote to his friends in the Soviet Union. "Every new success of the Soviet Union is a new stimulus for us to fight against fascism. Greet the polar explorers and fliers who have accomplished the flight to America, and tell them that we, the German anti-fascists, are also fighting for culture," another worker writes.

The Soviet Union has secured peace so far for the German people. The Soviet Union has shown by its policy how the predatory plans of the fascists may be thwarted. Were it not for the foreign policy of the Soviet Union, which is completely guided by the desire to ensure peace both for its own and other peoples, and which has shown the entire world how peace can be preserved—the German people would long since have been plunged by fascism into a barbarous world war. The warmongers of fascist Germany have not succeeded in their plans. *The internationalism of the Soviet Union has in fact protected the national interests of the German people.*

By its existence and successes in all spheres of socialist construction, the land of socialism has clearly shown to the German people the tremendous gulf between socialist democracy and fascist dictatorship. At the same time the Soviet Union has, by its consistent peace policy, by its struggle for peace, clearly shown the workers and toilers that to fascism peace is as dangerous as death.

A considerable part of the German people who before Hitler's advent to power had lost faith in bourgeois democracy and swallowed the bait of fascism, did not see at that time that the proletarian dictatorship is really operating socialist democracy and contains within

itself unprecedented possibilities for the further development of democracy. The new Soviet Constitution not only made an enormous contribution to the building and final victory of socialism, but at the same time *roused the will of the masses anew to the fight against the fascist dictatorship for the democratic rights of the people.*

When the German fascists destroyed the Weimar Constitution they proclaimed that they would give the German people a new constitution. In the recent period they have for some reason or other stopped talking of this. Can the German fascists permit a mass discussion of a new draft constitution such as took place in the Soviet Union? Of course not! They are afraid to do this because they are afraid of the masses of the people, because a truly democratic constitution exists in the socialist state, which is an indictment of fascism.

The Constitution of the Soviet Union, which reflects the real life of the Soviet peoples, infuriates fascism as a red rag infuriates a bull. It has this effect because fascism has realized what a potent force this constitution is even in Germany, where it encourages the masses to the struggle against fascism. The Soviet Constitution is not to be found in any library in Germany. The fascists consider it a most dangerous "Communist bacillus," a most dangerous weapon in the struggle for democracy. But the whole German people talk of the Stalin Constitution and are eager to make a detailed acquaintance of the text of it.

The existence and successes of the Soviet Union, the true facts about life in the Soviet Union, which are now reaching Germany more and more, are forcing German fascism to resort to demagogic maneuvers. The working people of Germany know that fascism has already tried on more than one occasion, in a distorted and perverted fashion, to "imitate" the Soviet Union. It has tried to copy that which has already actually been done in the Soviet Union.

But the German workers can *compare for example the social rights guaranteed*

by the Soviet Constitution with the efforts of the fascists to deal out beggarly doles. It is enough to take one such example as the organization of the recreation of the workers and peasants. In no other country have the workers and peasants so much free time as in the Soviet Union. And in no other country do the state, the trade unions and the cooperatives assign so much money and create such opportunities for cultural, healthful and enjoyable recreation as in the Soviet Union. German fascism is also setting about the organization of leisure. But this organization of the leisure of the German youth, the German workers and the German women has become a compulsory duty enforced by exploiters, a spiritual barrack-room drill.

German fascism cannot guarantee a future for the younger generation. But the young people of the Soviet Union are not only guaranteed a happy childhood and a happy youth, but the future also is theirs. They do not have to worry about procuring a livelihood, or free development; they are not threatened with unemployment, hunger or privation.

The position of the Soviet youth cannot but affect the attitude and feelings of the German youth.

By its peace policy the Soviet Union is firmly rallying around itself all those throughout the world who do not want war. These include not only the many millions of working people in town and country, not only the mass of the workers, their parties and organizations in the different countries, but also nations, peoples and states whose independence is jeopardized by war.

Wide masses of the people in Germany are also beginning to realize all this. They feel every day that the Soviet Union is a bulwark of peace, which can be relied upon, around which people must rally, which must be defended. The People's Front around the Soviet Union, against war and fascism, for democratic Germany—this is the People's Front which will bring the German working class and the German people the

freedom they have waited for so long.

The might and achievements of the Soviet Union belong not only to the peoples of the U.S.S.R., not only to the Communist vanguard in the capitalist countries, but also to the working class of all countries. This is realized by the workers of Germany, and also among the Social-Democratic workers there is a growing understanding of the fact that anyone who desires the victory of socialism throughout the world, who desires peace and brotherhood among the nations, the end of fascist and capitalist exploitation,

must be on the side of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union has always served and still serves the cause of proletarian internationalism. And if the working people in Germany and other countries in their struggle for emancipation today turn with eyes full of hope to the land of socialist democracy, to the country of triumphant socialism, to the powerful bulwark of peace and the freedom of the peoples, to the Soviet Union—this tremendous achievement is the result of the Leninist-Stalinist policy of proletarian internationalism.

Greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

TO COMRADE STALIN:

WE SALUTE you on the twentieth anniversary of the great Socialist Revolution which freed one-sixth of the earth from tsarism, capitalism and imperialism, and which ushered in the epoch of the socialist liberation of the whole of humanity. The rising wave of struggle of the American people against the surging forces of reaction, fascism and war is inspired by your glorious example, and warmed by the knowledge of your strong support, of your untiring struggle for peace.

While we are defending the limited measures of democracy, won by our past struggles and now threatened with destruction by fascism, we are filled with enthusiasm by the unexampled achievements of socialist democracy, symbolized in the approach of the first elections under the great Stalin Constitution. Our efforts to rouse the American people to more active support of China and of Republican Spain, to halt the sabotage of their heroic struggle by the democratic governments, for curbing the fascist aggressors, for preserving world peace by collective action of peace-loving nations, are stimulated and strengthened by the firm Soviet power which shows the way and gives practical help to the whole progressive and democratic world.

While the American working people struggle to maintain a living standard which was shattered by the blows of the crisis, they are filled with enthusiasm by the triumph of socialism in the Soviet Union, resulting in the happy and crea-

tive life of your multi-national state of 180,000,000 people, built and protected in the midst of hostile capitalist encirclement, crushing the espionage and wrecking of the fascist agents, the Trotskyite and Bukharinite gangs. Your magnificent socialist achievements, overcoming all difficulties, have made the Soviet Union the impregnable fortress for peace and world progress, the lighthouse for the oppressed amidst the storms of fascist reaction.

Your great deeds have established the objective truth of Leninism which guided you to victory, which have been gloriously carried forward by Stalin.

The American Communists are proud to be associated with you in the same world movement—the Communist International, with its heroic helmsman, Dimitroff. As we link ourselves ever more closely to the rising progressive movements of our class and our people, in the struggle for security, progress, democracy and peace, as we move forward to realizing the People's Front against the reactionary enemy, we are a thousandfold stronger because of your example and inspiration, because of the enormous and growing power exerted by the very existence of the Soviet Union, which is the living guarantee of the socialist liberation of the world.

Hail the twentieth anniversary of the great socialist revolution! Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Leninist Central Committee! Long live our great leader, Comrade Stalin!

CENTRAL COMMITTEE, COMMUNIST
PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES.
EARL BROWDER, General Secretary
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER, Chairman

Czechoslovakia and the Great October Revolution in the U.S.S.R.

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 Austria-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 revolutionizing influence over the movement of the oppressed people of Austria-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 realized 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, in his work *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, put forward the demand for the complete liberty and independence of the Czech nation and the other oppressed nations of Austria-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 organized, class-conscious workers of Czechoslovakia followed the road of the proletar-

ian revolutionary movement, and that the Communist movement in Czechoslovakia became a force embracing one million adult citizens and electors, not counting the members of their families and young people (out of the fifteen million forming the population of the country). 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 toward 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 interests 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.

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 recognized the great aid rendered by the October Revolution in the work of winning independence for Czechoslovakia, have also become convinced that today 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 recognized 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 defense of the small nations and states, for international progress, for the defense of democracy.

The peoples of Czechoslovakia are becoming increasingly clear in recognizing 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 Bolshevik 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, today the attachment to the Soviet Union has become so universal that any-

body 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 as 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 realization of the most mature, the firmest and 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 democracy, 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 organization—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 a 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 favor 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 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 anti-fascist People's Fronts.

The Socialist workers are filled with the heartiest feeling 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 movement. 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 defense 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 Trotskyites, 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 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 has 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. While 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 fifteen 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 program 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 savior 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 organized in Glasgow to celebrate the proletarian victory. For the first time in history our class had taken power and was using it to end capitalism and usher in socialism. It is 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 colorful 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

Kautskyian 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 equaled when our own October comes and we march forward to the conquest of power and the end of the evil reign of capitalism.

* * *

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 British Socialist Party and the Socialist Labor Party 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 Labor 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 traveled 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 Labor 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 British Socialist Party and Socialist Labor Party 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 midday, was taken to a hotel just in time to be taken to a "subbotnik." 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 some one 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, penciled 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.

Toward the end of the Political Commission, when I had been very aggressive about the British Socialist Party and Socialist Labor Party, he passed me 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 British Socialist Party and Socialist Labor Party 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, some one made a reference to *Infantile Disorder*. "Yes," I said, "I've read it, but I'm no infant. It's alright 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 every one, instead of getting in among 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 Serzhiev, 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 Serzhiev was.

Writers, Scientists and Politicians About the U.S.S.R.

WRITERS ABOUT THE U.S.S.R.*

ABOUT COMRADE STALIN—A MAN
“THROUGH WHOM A NEW WORLD
OPENS UP”

BY HENRI BARBUSSE

ONE of the men standing on Lenin's monument raises his hand to the peak of his cap or waves his hand 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 center, 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 encyclopedia of events.

And this brings us to the heart of what is not only the burning question of the hour, but 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

*From material of the Foreign Commission of the Union of Soviet Writers, and also from articles published in the U.S.S.R. and abroad.—*Ed.*

has been in very large measure his own, because, in any case, no one can carry out principles of Leninism without himself being an inventor. . . .

GREETINGS FOR THE TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

BY ROMAIN ROLLAND

(France.)

TO THE young October Revolution which is today celebrating its twentieth anniversary, I bring grateful greetings from the sons of the old revolution of the West.

We, your French brothers, also 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 halfway, 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 all you 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 hammer and sickle in indomitable transport before the Hitler eagle. And we hear the heroic hymn burst forth from their

breasts which, like a new *Marseillaise*, calls the people to freedom and unity and leads them to victory.

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 possible 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—Tatary, Kazakhstan, Daghestan, 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

(England.)

THE twentieth anniversary of the Revolution of 1917 affords a convenient opportunity for a review of the fundamental pattern of social organization which distinguishes the Soviet

* From an article written for the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution.—*Ed.*

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 cooperative productive 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 rationalization 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 numbers 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 recognizing.

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 organization 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 cooperative organizations, 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 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, organized 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.

EXTRACTS FROM *SOVIET COMMUNISM: A NEW CIVILIZATION?**

. . . 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 civilizations. 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. Labor, 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 honor 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 Civilization"; 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 revolutions or by peaceful penetration, or even by conscious imitation, are questions we cannot answer."

THE IDEA MADE A LIVING REALITY

BY 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 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.

* By Beatrice and Sidney Webb.—*Ed.*

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 theater 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 proletarianization 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.

THE LAND WHERE THE DREAM HAS COME TRUE

BY 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 the Gorky Museum, which agitated me so much that I could not refrain from saying to the director: "It is worthwhile coming to Moscow from the distant corners of the earth if only in order to make the acquaintance of this marvelous 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 is 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.

GREETINGS

BY 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 progressive-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.

MIRACLES ARE REALLY BEING
ACHIEVED IN THE U.S.S.R.*

BY LOUIS ARAGON
(France.)

SOCCIALIST 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 labor and everyday life. For in that land there is already today what we shall have tomorrow. 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 today 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."

ONE MUST BELIEVE IN
THIS COUNTRY

BY FRANZ MASEREEL
(Belgium)

I THINK that today 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 supersede 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.

* From a speech at the Congress in Defense of Culture, 1935.—*Ed.*

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.

I TURNED TO STALIN

BY 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 new 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 the U.S.S.R. Even today 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 question, 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 today. 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 guid-

ing hand, his cool and wise leadership, his theoretical development of socialist thought, the U.S.S.R. would not have reached to this day 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 visualize 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 collectivization 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. Today one looks around to find a force that can equal it. *There is none.*

THE LOVE OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD

BY GEORGE BAKALOV
(*Bulgaria.*)

THE difference between people in the Soviet Union and abroad is astounding. The worry in the 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 unbalanced, 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.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION AS A TREMENDOUS STAGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MANKIND*

BY 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 the 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 today a significance for the working class which it is fundamental to recognize.

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,

* From an article in the *Daily Herald* of March 12, 1937.—*Ed.*

"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 of 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. . . .

GREETINGS

BY PROFESSOR JORDAN
(Holland.)

PROFESSOR JORDAN* 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 Professor Jordan declared, amid the applause of those assembled, that "hundreds of foreign delegates

* From the speech at the reception of delegates to the Fifteenth International Congress of Physiologists in the Kremlin, August 17, 1935.—*Ed.*

will leave the confines of the Soviet Union as new and faithful friends acquired by it."

GREETINGS

BY PROFESSOR 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.

SCIENTISTS IN THE SOVIET UNION *

BY DOCTOR F. SMITH
(Chairman of the U.S. 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 honored some of us by feeling that we can help you in some of the problems 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. . . .

* From speeches and declarations by delegates to the Seventeenth International Geological Congress on July 29, 1937.—*Ed.*

BY JOSE ROJO Y 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, Belyakov, Gromov, Yumashov and Danilina—all these show what a tremendous degree of perfection can be achieved by a country possessed of a political organization 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. Today 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 demonstration 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.

BY WAN 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 rubles 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.

BY ACADEMICIAN CHARLES JACOB

*(Head of the French Delegation)*GENTLEMEN, CITIZENS, COM-
GRADES,

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.

SCIENTISTS, PHYSIOLOGISTS
ABOUT THE U.S.S.R.*

BY DOCTOR HERBERT HASSE

(U.S.A.)

IN THE Soviet Union I am interested in science, art and the people. I was greatly impressed by the laboratories of Academician I. P. Pavlov and the Institute of Experimental Medicine. They interested me in two ways, both as the place where a great amount of scientific work is now being carried on, and as the "beginning of all beginnings" of the work of the school of Academician I. P. Pavlov. *I was amazed at the great number of scientific workers of the laboratories, and at the enthusiasm with which they work.*

Art—I was no less interested in that. The first place I visited in Leningrad was the Hermitage. I had long heard of its pictorial riches and wished to become acquainted with them.

But the thing that most interested me was to walk along the streets and to look at the expression on the faces of the people. *The expression on the face helps one best of all to discover the spirit of the people, but the faces of all with whom I came in contact seemed very happy. I saw children marching along in a column*

* From a questionnaire for the Soviet press in 1935. (Retranslated.)—Ed.

and singing loudly. They were so full of good spirits and joy.

I walked and traveled much through the streets and Leningrad left an unforgettable impression on me. It is a magnificent city. Judging by the number of buildings being put up, it will be very rapidly transformed, and it is difficult to imagine what it will be like in ten years' time.

BY PROFESSOR ST. GEORGE

(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 center of scientific thought. During the last fifteen 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

BY MAO TSE-TUNG*

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 principles. 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 defense 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 mobilizing the masses. No government in history, except in the U.S.S.R., has ever been able to achieve this.

DOLORES IBARRURI

FIRST of all I will take this happy opportunity* on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party 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., 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 Central Committee, 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.

. . . Communists of all countries and,

* From the report at the Second Congress of the Chinese Soviets, January, 1934.—*Ed.*

* From a speech at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.—*Ed.*

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 CAPITALISM

BY MATIAS RAKOSI

(Hungary)

WE ARE accused [declared Rakosi*] that Communism destroys civilization. It is a well-known fact that the present-day civilization 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, every use is being made of culture and science in order to prepare the most destructive means for destroying in the shortest space of time all cultural and economic centers, 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 civilization. It is enough to glance at the events of the last decade

* From the last speech of Matias Rakosi at the trial in Budapest, July 1, 1935.

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, honor and attention. . . .

LETTER TO FRIENDS FROM SEGED PRISON

IT WAS with a feeling of indignation that I heard of how the Trotskyites 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 extermination, root and branch, 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 twelve years of hard labor, I greet the Rakosi battalion. I wish the armies of the Spanish, Catalanian 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,
April, 1937. MATIAS RAKOSI.

From the History of Factories and Industrial Plants

INTRODUCTORY PAGES

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 today.

". . . Now I have become a human being, a famous person," says Misar Mindubayev, a Tatar miner in the Nizni-Badaibinsk goldfields. "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 his studies at the Mining Technical Institute. My other son, Abakar, will be a musician. I have a four-roomed apartment, and the walls are beautifully decorated."

The Soviet government has converted the goldfields of the Siberian forests into cultured socialist undertakings. Stakhanov methods of work are applied in the goldfields. Brigades have been formed with their work clearly defined. Airplanes 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, hotels for the unmarried, apartments for those with families. The children are going to new schools.

Bodaibo, the center of the goldfields, has its own theater, clubs, rest homes, shops and restaurants.

The days when the railwaymen worked for forty hours without shifts in the most unsanitary conditions are a thing of the distant past. Soviet railwaymen of today form one of the most advanced detachments of the working class of the U.S.S.R. The foremost railwaymen, initiators of the Stakhanov methods of work, are known throughout the Soviet Union: Krivonos, Yablonsky, Ognyev. This affords the firemen and engine-drivers an opportunity not only of bringing their engines to the place of appointment in the shortest possible space of time, but it also assures them regular rest, the leading of cultured lives, and a decrease in their hours of work. 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 industrializing 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 and 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, realizing that only the Stalinist policy of industrialization would ensure the growth of the economic might and defense 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 labor culture, the Stakhanov movement based on high technique and on socialist people, with an all-around 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 arrangements of forces. But reminiscences of the heroic days of the building of Dnieproges and other 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 today.

HOW THE WORKERS IN THE LENA GOLDFIELDS LIVED BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

[From the report of the workers of the Alexanironevsk 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.

I. 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 cow's 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—two or three 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. It looked as though it was boiled, although it was raw. . . .

II. 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. Payments 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 was made by eye measurement, and the ruler was laid to the roof prop which is itself four to six inches thick. Moreover, there were falls of rubbish for the carting away of which we received nothing.

III. When working on damp places, we were supplied, and then 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.

IV. 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 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 were not covered over, and so we often fell into them. The dynamite was bad and caused headaches and vomiting. Vapors frequently hung about just before we came on to work, and we sometimes had to drag out asphyxiated men. There was no ventilation; braziers were placed on dib-holes, and coal, or more often, wood, was placed on them so that the smoke ate into the eyes. . . .

V. There was no dressing-room at the pits, so that in the winter time when on wet work, the men went out into a 40 degree frost in damp clothing, which

froze, and it sometimes took an hour and a half to thaw again in the barracks. There was no boiled water in the pit, and so water from the soil had to be drunk.

VI. 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 were in the center of the barracks, the walls were frozen, the flooring was cracked and the wind blew through, the ceiling was single, the floor broken to pieces; it was damp and cold when the stove was not heated, the window-frames were not double to keep out the cold, and the windows were broken. The plank-beds were not made according to regulations. In the living quarters the entrance was straight off the street without any passage. Although there were store-rooms at the barracks, they were so small that they were only enough for ten to fifteen people, whereas there were as many as thirty adults living in the barracks. The ventilation was arranged in the form of holes right through the walls; the holes were closed by means of pieces of cloth which froze in the winter. There were no drying-rooms in the barracks. Although there was a wash-house, there was not enough room in it and it was one and one-half versts distant. The water-closets had no doors or locks, and they were not separated for men and women.

VII. According to the law and the agreement we should have had the right to free medical assistance, but we were often deprived of this because there were not enough hospital beds or medicine; 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 meager.

VIII. The management abused their right by demanding 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.

IX. 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.

X. Adolescents were made to work ten to twelve hours, and on the night shift along with the adults, but were paid at a lower rate.

XI. According to the regulations, the ten-hour day should have operated, but because the management demanded 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 was to be 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 had to be made up by working on a general holiday.

Thus the workers lost their "time and a half" for the work on the holiday. On holidays the workers were compulsorily made to work 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 two to eight hours a day. Frequently they were not paid for.

XII. The management's attitude to the workers was extremely rude; the language was not of the choicest, and there were often cases of fighting. The village policemen were 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 com-

pletely 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, are guaranteed regular wages till the term expires, and are defended by law against oppression, this is absolutely not the case.

First, 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 wintertime without work, without money, in the forest districts far from human dwelling. The fear of falling into disfavor with one or other of the local policemen deprives us of all the legal defense of our rights. The compulsory labor 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 wintertime. What we and our wives undergo because of this compulsory labor, your Excellency can learn from private questions.

We have nowhere to go with our complaints; every step of ours is known to the management, and every complaint may lead 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 were fed abominably, and the reply we received 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 to 50 degrees Centigrade below zero by examining them in the summer time; only the death

rate among our children tells of the hard condition we live in.

[*Central Archives of the Revolution, Item 12/14, page No. 18-19, 1912*]

FROM THE HISTORY OF THE LENIN RAILWAY (FORMERLY MOSCOW-KAZAN RAILROAD)

HOW THE RAILWAYMEN LIVED AND WORKED BEFORE THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

FROM Moscow to Golutvin is 114 versts.

The line was "mastered" as the engine drivers said. Yet it very often took a freight train 24 hours to do this run. The train had only from 50 to 55 cars, and yet it spent whole days on the journey.

When it arrived at Golutvin a voice from the station master's office would ask:

"How many hours did she do it in today?" and if the driver replied: "Nineteen hours," the others would say approvingly: "Fine! only 19 hours!"

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 freight 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 a whole week—six times six—36 hours.

The men on the freight 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 seventh and the ninth. So three or four hours would pass before the trains were driven in 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 call to mind, "they shunted 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 six 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 traveling, 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 started that you felt 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 drop 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 re-
laxed 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 Stalingrad 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 labor. We steel-construction shock-workers ardently desire to participate in the socialist construction of Magnitogorsk, the mighty center of ferrous metallurgy. We request that we be sent there in an organized 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 they began to settle in.

The heads of the plant came and introduced themselves to shock-brigaders and had a heart to heart talk with them.

“We haven't got the conveniences here that 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 make up for it!”

When at last Zemlestroi had finished the preparations for the foundation work, the carpenters, steel-construction workers, and concrete mixers began to get busy. There wasn't much time left—the foundations 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 themselves wanted to see 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 laborers began to feed 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 forth. They worked without relaxing for a moment all day and all night. At day-break 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?" Red was besieged on all sides by questions.

"We'll soon be through now."

Redin's brigade finished the job a day and 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:

"New steel construction workers' record. Splendid victory for Pavel Petrovich Redin's brigade! Now then, concrete workers, it's your turn!"

FROM THE HISTORY OF DNIESTROSTROY

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 laboring 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 30 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 tomorrow. 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 working of construction shone in her brown eyes. The devotion, loyalty, and determination 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. Mackdeon, 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 flapped 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, endeavoring to yield to none in skill or 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 Dnieprostroy. He was able to make work in the middle canal seem like a national labor festival to the young people. There were occasions when in certain places they were not able to move the blasted rock, quickly enough, 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.

THE HISTORY OF A SOVIET INDUSTRIAL PLANT

RED SORMOVO

THESE works, which are situated on the outskirts of the city of Gorky, on the Volga, enjoy a very good reputation. Along with the Putilov Works in what was once known as St. Petersburg, the workers of this metal plant are regarded as the revolutionary vanguard of the working class in tsarist Russia. It was here that there lived and worked the woman worker Solomova, from whom Maxim Gorky painted the heroine of his immortal novel *Mother*. In describing

the struggles in Sormovo, Maxim Gorky depicted the sufferings and the moving pathos of the militant Russian working people in the years of revolutionary upheaval.

The working people of Sormovo were the first to organize a First of May demonstration in tsarist Russia. They came out on the streets with demands for the eight-hour day, for the abolition of the autocracy and for political freedom. In 1905 they fought on the barricades, and suffered the terrors of the bloody "justice" of tsarism. It is in Sormovo, in "Red Sormovo," as the works and this district are called today, that we see many great and small examples of the tremendous revolution in the old social order, the victory of socialism. Here we can see masses of workers who formerly served capitalist employers—for a great part of the workers of this plant worked there before the revolution; we can see man changing, a new world standing today on the soil of Sormovo, which is so saturated with blood.

In the House of Culture of Sormovo one can see the photograph of the former proprietor of the Sormovo works, the Italian millionaire Benadaki. Nearby, above and under the photograph, we can see old banners of the revolutionists, small hand-made cannons, spears well-masked as walking canes, primitive hand grenades, weapons designed for use against the tsarist gendarmes and the Cossacks. These were the weapons used to drive the last owner of the plant out of Sormovo, and a place was found in the museum for his photograph as well. The people throughout this territory breathe the spirit of revolutionary struggle. When we listen to the reminiscences of the working men here, we once more live through the depressing dullness of this one-time capitalist industrial center. It sounded like a reminder when Comrade Maloshev quoted the following words of Maxim Gorky to us:

"One must study and learn to know the past in order the stronger to love the present."

A SEVENTY-YEAR-OLD WORKER'S STORY

The old workers gladly tell of the darkness of the past, and thereby feel the beauty of their present life all the more. Seventy-year-old Alexei Kyrilov speaks of working hours, for he started to work at the plant at the age of twelve and had to work at that time sixteen hours a day.

Comrade Kyrilov illustrates the lack of safety appliances in the plant by quoting a specific instance when four working men were killed and four severely wounded at the shipbuilding works, on a vessel called the "Burlak," as a result of the steam pipes exploding. The foreman and the engineers were responsible for placing the workmen in places of danger without regard for human life. Still not one of them was punished. The court declared laconically that the guilty would be punished by Almighty God, the highest judge.

The worker Goryev tells us something about the wages they used to receive. In the year 1902 he, as a young helper, received daily thirty kopeks for 12-13 hours of work. Overtime was not paid for. It frequently happened that Goryev was too tired to go home and so he slept on the floor near the machine until the next day's work began. There were years when there were slack seasons lasting up to six months, without, of course, any unemployed relief being received.

Comrade Motschalov, the present assistant director of the works, speaks even now with great bitterness of the time when he was employed in the works as a blacksmith. At that time even the adult workmen used to be beaten by their chief. Older workmen did not receive more than sixty rubles per month. Accident and sick benefits existed only in the shape of alms, with the exception of a short interval during the revolutionary wave of 1905.

VODKA AND MALARIA

Another worker tells of the clothes they used to wear during the days of

tsarist rule. Coarse bast sandals, cheap red calico shirt, in other words, the kind of clothes that he always wore, both on Sundays as well as work days. The housing available was a third of the present accommodations in Sormovo. At every corner there was a cheap saloon. Illiteracy was combined with vodka. On account of the swamps all around the place, many hundreds of working men every year succumbed to malaria.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE VICTORY OF
SOCIALISM

Still, along with this picture of the most oppressive wage slavery, we secured also pictures of the great revolutionary past of the working people of Red Sormovo. At the beginning of the new century, workers employed at the plant waged a struggle against the deduction from their wages of the so-called "swamp kopek." The employers wanted to use the pretext of driving away malaria by draining the swamps, to finance a profitable peat industry at the cost of the workmen. The strike ended in victory for the workers.

Goryev tells us of the following militant movement which took place in 1902. The management was three months in arrears in the payment of wages. He and Solomov—that is that "Pavel" whom Gorky describes in his book *Mother*—went at the head of a deputation to the director and demanded the back pay. The director escaped on a boat to Nizhni-Novgorod; the workers demolished several cheap drinking saloons, but were dispersed by the police, several comrades being arrested. It was at that time that the first "underground" newspaper appeared, produced by Solomov.

The "Bloody Sunday" of the year 1905 also increased the desire for action among the revolutionary vanguard of the workers employed at these works. The Party issued the slogan that the proletariat should arm, and the struggle was prepared. On December 12, 1905, at nine o'clock in the morning, the workers began to build barricades. The most

active politically-minded workers came together in a small schoolhouse and organized a revolutionary staff. A bitter fight was carried on from the 14th to 16th of December. The government mobilized first the police, then Cossacks, and then the artillery. The church and the canteen were demolished and the barricades captured.

But the workmen of Sormovo carried on the fight not only in their own district. About two hundred kilometers up the Volga, in the territory populated by the Chuvash peasants, the workers of Sormovo carried on revolutionary agitation among the peasants and brought about several peasant uprisings against the landlords and the tsar. In the year 1912, at the time of the massacre of workers in the Lena goldfields, the Party organized passive resistance.

THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

During the first period of the World War a new wave of reaction ran high, the revolutionary workers being sent to the front, and the plant turned into a munition works. In the course of the stormy battles between the February Revolution and the October Revolution, the Bolsheviks seriously reduced the influence of the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries. The day came when the props of the Kerensky regime were destroyed and the workers of Sormovo marched on Nizhni-Novgorod and together with the workers of this city put an end to the rule of the capitalists. The old commercial city of Nizhni-Novgorod, the city of the rich merchants and traders, made way for the city of Gorky—a living monument to the immortal writer of the proletariat; in place of enslaved and oppressed Sormovo there arose Red Sormovo, a workshop for socialist construction.

THE WORKERS REBUILD THE PLANT

In the days of the Civil War the workers took their places on the boats of the Volga and drove the interventionists and counter-revolutionaries up the river. During the period of the restoration of

the plant the workers displayed their irresistible optimism in overcoming difficulties. They reconstructed their plant, which produced steamers, locomotives, railroad cars and diesel motors, and in spite of the great lack of raw materials provided the country with machinery for the gold fields, for boring oil wells and for the iron and steel industry. They showed their manifold capacity in the way they carried through the much-needed repairs to all types of machinery of the industry of that time.

MASTERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL PLANTS

The working people of Sormovo are masters of their plant. The consciousness of this fact manifests itself today in the entire attitude to their work: "This is our Sormovo, our Red Sormovo," they say. The number of people working there remains the same as before the revolution. Sixteen thousand workmen and women and office employees are today tending their own machines or are working as engineers or foremen for their own cause. True, many did not return from the front during the civil war or are working in other places for the Soviet government, but new forces, unskilled and untrained, joined the ranks of the army of labor in Sormovo. Every day inside and outside the plant shows us that the working people are fully conscious of Article 6 of the Stalin Constitution. They feel that they are the masters of their works, they know that the product of their labor belongs to them, to them alone.

Take one day, the 19th of May, 1937, in the diesel motor shop: You see there a production meeting of the 699 workmen and women discussing the question as to how they are to make up for the non-fulfillment of the plan for the second quarter of the year 1937.

Eighty proposals were made by the working people at the meeting, while the manager of the department was severely criticized. For instance, the foreman, Medvedyev, a Communist, addressing himself to Mikhailov, manager of the department, says: "Why don't you

see to it that you get an assistant to help you in the work?" The worker Sedov, a non-Party comrade, demands that a plan for the following month be worked out not later than the 15th so that the work may be better prepared. The workers of the machine-mounting department again persistently criticize their manager with such words as: "We don't see you often enough in our department, Comrade Mikhailov."

Engineer Mikhailov, in charge of the department where 699 workers are employed, thirty-one years of age, a Communist, a former homeless waif, who with the aid of the Soviet government studied very hard, is learning from the working people, who in their turn are readily learning from him, since he is a son of the working class. Under his leadership, under the leadership of the departmental organization with its eighty-four Communists who are themselves actively engaged in production, and act as an example to be followed, the shortage in the output for the second quarter was made up, and the plan overfulfilled. Only workers who feel that "this is ours" can think and act in this way.

TREBLING OUTPUT

The enthusiasm for socialist construction increased the output of the works from 164,000,000 rubles during the period of the First Five-Year Plan to 460,000,000 rubles during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan (up to the day of August 1, 1937), although the same number of workers were employed. The work accomplished by Stakhanov in the Don Basin resulted in a movement starting in Sormovo as well for the mastery of technique, for the realization of the slogan of Comrade Stalin.

At the beginning of the year 1936, there were 1,150 Stakhanov workers in the Sormovo works. By the end of the first six months of 1937 there were 4,111 Stakhanov workers. That means that one-third of all the workers employed at the plant are at present mastering technique. A powerful flood of energy swept through the entire works and

drew everybody into the discussion about the significance of the Stakhanov movement for the entire people of the country. 4,108 conferences took place attended by a total of 111,600 workers. We take only one instance to show the great change in the psychology of the workers caused by the Stakhanov movement.

CARE FOR THE PLANT—CARE FOR THE WORKING PEOPLE

In the year 1929, 27-year-old Comrade Yakushin came to the plant as a semi-literate. All he could do was the most unskilled work. This year the same Comrade Yakushin had constructed a contrivance which makes it possible to reduce the time necessary for finishing the work on tubes from five hours twenty-five minutes to two hours forty-five minutes. Thanks to these inventions and other improvements in the labor process, his earnings have considerably increased. Formerly he earned 170 rubles a month, whereas at present, even after the standard output required has been twice raised, he earns 700 rubles a month. Anybody who knows the history of the inventors' group in the diesel motor shop can see more clearly than ever this spirit of the working people, this consciousness of the workers that they are masters of the works.

Comrade Kirilov, the organizer of this inventors' group, a candidate for Party membership, had, together with this organization of the workers, submitted proposals to the management resulting in a saving of 17,000 rubles up to the middle of 1937. One proposal alone of this worker, for the oiling of machines, makes it possible to cut down the stoppages per machine by half an hour per week.

Let us take the propositions made by the workers in the first six months of 1937 for the increase of output. Thanks to the 1,187 inventions and proposals made, the plant saved 545,000 rubles. The working people of Sormovo are working for themselves. Thanks to their conscientious work this formerly back-

ward plant, which in 1934 still required a subsidy of 7,000,000 rubles from the state, secured an increased output in 1936 which yielded a surplus of 9,000,000 rubles. The increase of the output was accompanied by an increase of earnings, the total wages paid to the same number of workers having increased from 27,000,000 rubles in the year 1934 to 48,000,000 rubles in 1936.

During the same period, prices were repeatedly lowered thanks precisely to the increase of output. For instance, in the month of May this year the prices of industrial products were lowered by 12 to 15 per cent.

In addition, one must take into account the social insurance benefits to which this plant alone contributed the sum of 6,000,000 rubles, not counting the old age pensions; this fund was managed and distributed by the trade union organization. Of the 9,000,000 rubles of surplus, 1,500,000 rubles were additionally turned over to the fund for improving the conditions of the workers. By August 1 of this year 5,000 of the workers and office employees had been sent to sanatoria and rest homes for their vacation. Thus, one in every three of the people working at this plant was given an opportunity to spend a splendid vacation at the cost of the plant and of the union. For the year 1937, 1,500,000 rubles have been set aside for sick relief alone, while 2,500 children spent their vacations in pioneer camps.

For this year, 500,000 rubles have been set aside for the struggle against accidents, for the improvement of safety appliances. Among the symphony of the figures of this plant, there ring the chords of prosperity, of the honor paid to labor and of the victory over exploitation. For the first time, the conscious arduous work of all the working people is bringing forth prosperity for the entire population.

This increase in output that brings prosperity to all would be inconceivable without the forward driving force of the Party. The leading men and women in the Stakhanov movement, the organizers,

the people who have acted as examples to follow—were Communists or are today members and candidates of the Communist Party. Comrade Belyakov's output today is 700 per cent of the standard, while that of Comrade Krasnov is as much as 250 per cent of the standard. The spread of the Stakhanov movement would also be inconceivable without the support of the intelligentsia. Eighty-five per cent of the engineers and technicians in Sormovo belong to the new, Soviet intelligentsia.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE WORKS

During the period of the First and Second Five-Year Plans, the plant, which was built in 1849, was transformed into a new plant equipped with a large number of new, most up-to-date machines. In the diesel motor department there is a "Universal Machine"; there is only one other such in the world, in the U.S.A. During the period of the Second Five-Year Plan, a new ship-building works, huge blacksmith shops and a pressing department were built. In the near future new Marten furnaces are to be put into operation. The Soviet government allocated 95,000,000 rubles for the reconstruction of the works.

Still the development and reconstruction of the works were hampered by the Trotskyite wrecking work of the criminal Pyatakov who, by mismanaging these funds, prevented the reconstruction and the complete modernization of the plant. Thus, the old Marten furnace of the year 1871 is still in operation. After the removal of Pyatakov, the transformation of this plant, which was formerly engaged in the production of a variety of metal products, into a specialized plant for the production of ship and diesel motors, is being vigorously pushed ahead.

HOUSES OF CULTURE IN PLACE OF CHEAP DRINKING SALOONS

When one walks through Sormovo today one sees new houses on Comintern Street, lined with rows of wonderful

plants. Two-thirds of the houses in the district have been built recently. The cheap drinking saloons and whisky shops have been replaced by a great House of Culture and by a beautiful Park of Culture. The state spent 13,000,000 rubles on the House of Culture alone, in the eighty-two rooms and hall of which 3,000 people can simultaneously engage in study and recreation. Eight thousand books are available in the library, while five branch and thirty-two traveling libraries accommodate the cultural requirements of the workers of Sormovo. At the spot where in days gone by the workers used to hold their underground meetings, there is at present a reading hall devoted to international literature. The fact that a big map of Spain is hung up here demonstrates the close bond of the Sormovo workers with the international proletariat.

In the miserable Sormovo of the period of the millionaire Benadaki, it was only seldom that women could secure work in the plant, and that only under oppressive conditions. At present, there are 5,319 women engaged in the plant as ordinary workers, engineers and technicians working under the same conditions as men. Today the youth of Sormovo are storming the skies. From among them there are thirty glider operators, fifty parachute jumpers, and nineteen pilots, this year forty more pilots will come from their ranks. This is the first quota of 6,000 of the Soviet youth of Red Sormovo who study aviation after working hours.

The Soviets have, as it were, drawn a magic circle around Sormovo, and the dark past has been wiped out, yielding place to the happy present. Malaria is rapidly being eliminated with the drainage of the swamps. For this purpose 500,000 rubles have been set aside this year. No mother needs worry today about her child. Eighteen creches are at the disposal of the children of the working people of Sormovo and, what is more, the opportunity of painless confinement is at the disposal of every woman in the new maternity homes.

Everybody who has heard the reminiscences of the old generation and the reports of the new generation of Sormovo, who sees the victory of socialism, the victory of Stalin's leadership of the Party, must sing the praises of the happy life of our days. Maxim Gorky, several decades ago in his novel *Mother*, makes the mother utter the appeal: "People, unite into a powerful force!" Among thousands of similar instances, Red Sormovo is the fruit of this unity.

THE STORY OF THE "DYNAMO" COLLECTIVE FARM

"Pale, haggard, with a tired look in his eyes the Chuvashian seldom lives to an age over fifty. Nearly all of the people here die of consumption. With every year that passes the race diminishes, together with the forests which it inhabits."

SUCH was the report of the French professor Thomas Prosper, who in 1881 completed his scientific investigations in the Chuvash territory of tsarist Russia.

Twenty years ago an end was put to these disgraceful conditions. The victorious October Revolution brought about a great change in the life of the Chuvashians.

TSARISM AND REVOLUTION

The peasants who had been driven to the front by the gendarmes of the tsar returned to their villages. They came from the revolutionary towns and barracks, from captivity; they had seen many things and learned a good deal. They followed the slogan of Lenin and took the land of the big landowners and of the monasteries, dividing it up among themselves according to the size of their families.

When later the Czechoslovakian soldiers deceived by Gayda, and then Kolchak's White Guard bandits armed with British, French and American munitions advanced on Red Moscow, the Chuvashian peasants took hold of their rifles,

fought in countless "irregular" units and in the Red Army under the command of their heroic countryman Chapayev, and annihilated their old oppressors.

They recalled the memory of Stenka Razin who in the seventeenth century, and of Pugachev, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, had led their forefathers against the insatiable Romanov robbers and the feudal landowners. They remembered the wooden cannon which they had then to turn on their enemies because the tsar had prohibited their using iron and had destroyed their smithies. They avenged the numberless victims of the tsarist soldiery, who after every abortive peasant rising acted like vandals in the Chuvash territory. They completed the work they had begun in 1905 together with the workers of Petrograd and Moscow. They drove the parasites out of the land in order to till the soil which now belongs to themselves, and so as no longer to starve and to be able to build a happy future.

They took their wooden plows and their wooden harrows, and with their lean horses and cows which gave little milk they tilled the soil to get bread, more bread for themselves and their children. And there was more bread than before. But when there was a lean year there was hardly enough bread, and the proletarian state, which possessed little itself, had helped them out with seeds. Such was the situation in the Chuvashian village of Kotelyeva up to 1929.

COMMUNISTS COME TO THE VILLAGE

"During that year Communists and Komsomols came to the village and advocated the establishment of a collective farm," relates Trifimov, a 50-year-old former middle peasant, at present leader of Brigade No. 4. "They conducted meetings and spoke of the communal tilling of the soil and cooperative administration, of labor become lighter, of bigger crops and a better life. But none of us could make up his mind 'to hand over' the plot of land which he had fought for so bitterly," he continued.

"Then Koschik, a former poor peasant, returned from Cheboksara, the capital,

where he had worked in a brick-kiln during the summer, and he told us that there they were working on a cooperative basis, that the State had supplied them with machinery, that their labor had become lighter and that their earnings were bigger than before."

PIONEERS OF COLLECTIVE FARMING

After considering and discussing it for a long time eight middle and three poor peasants decided to establish a collective farm. Eleven holdings out of 224 in the village of Kotelyeva started in 1930, took the new road in the struggle for bigger crops. The "Dynamo" Kolhoz had come to life.

But the kulaks (big peasants) and priests had no intention of leaving things at that. "During the winter we will help you with fodder; nor is there any need for you to return the straw for the present; but we shall not enter the collective farm, nor shall we let our women be socialized," so the kulaks whispered into the ears of their neighbors, the middle and poor peasants, who were economically dependent on them. And on Sundays it was the priest who from the pulpit threatened them with the most awful torments of hell, if they should dare to join the collective farm. "The Almighty will not send any rain, the corn will wither and the fields will yield no grain," thus it was that he adjured the pious peasants and particularly the women. And the peasants went in fear of starvation.

THE KULAKS INCITE TO SABOTAGE

In spite of all, however, as a result of untiring work of enlightenment, 116 holdings in a year's time joined the collective farm, although the results shown by the small group were rather poor so far. "We had no experience" we were told by Comrade Ribakov, the chairman of the collective farm. Many discussions took place. One fellow wanted to found a commune of all the villages in the district. Another time the socialization of sheep, poultry and other small stock was decided on.

Elements under the influence of the

kulaks secured the adoption of a decision that the produce was to be divided not according to the work done, but according to the number of members in the family. Thereby the kulaks hoped to create arguments or grumblings about "Communist leveling," and to deprive the collective farmers of any interest in their work being efficient.

The kulaks started a rumor that people from the District Committee would arrive to collectivize all the peasants by force, that not only all the chickens were to be put in one chicken-run but that all women were to lie under the same blanket. Distrust and anger seized the peasants. On one day forty-five of them left the collective farm together. The following day another sixty left. When the representatives of the District Committee arrived to tell the peasants the truth and to help them to overcome these initial difficulties, they, together with the eleven remaining collective farmers, had to take to their heels before the peasants who had been incited by the kulaks and priests.

"Once again did the counter-revolution try to destroy Soviet power with the aid of the kulak class," stated the chairman of the "Dynamo" collective farm, Nataroff. He added: "The kulaks started the rumor that all would be forced to join the kolkhoz, and they agitated along these lines among the peasants: 'if we have to join the kolkhoz then better sell and slaughter all the cattle, for they have got to accept us without cattle as well; at least we shall have money in our pockets. Don't work your fields, for the crops will no longer be yours.' By these methods they intended to starve the workers and to make the peasants, after being ruined by selling their cattle, still more dependent on them. In a short time the number of cattle was terribly reduced: cows and calves falling from 167 head to 112, pigs from 76 to 45, the number of horses from 86 to 72."

STALIN HELPS

Only the first eleven stuck firmly together. "We were threatened and beaten. None of us dared to leave the house in

the evening. It was a terrible time. The enemy was in the village and stopped at nothing to prevent collectivization," we were told by brigade leader Trifimov.

In his letter "Dizzy With Success" Comrade Stalin made a very timely statement of the shortcomings and mistakes made in organizing collective farms, and in reorganizing the kolkhoz his observations proved very helpful, said Comrade Volkov, a Party instructor who was present. "Also the theory, spread at the time by the traitor Bukharin, that the kulaks would automatically integrate with socialism, that they should be given all opportunity to thrive, was very much used against us by the kulaks," he added.

"As a result of our untiring enlightening work, the 'Dynamo' kolkhoz was reorganized in 1932. We avoided the previous mistakes and accepted only honest workers, not under the influence of the kulaks, into the collective farm. At the same time two kulaks, the chief wreckers and saboteurs, were made to leave the village for being implacable class enemies and their means of production were handed over to the kolkhoz. After that the kolkhoz developed steadily," relates brigade leader Trifimov.

THE ADVANCE

"Eighty-one holdings adopted the Stalin model constitution for agricultural artels. Each collective farmer was given a kitchen-garden of his own of from .25 to .4 hectare each, not including orchards, and could keep small stock, sheep, pigs and one or two cows if he had any. But many did not possess their own cows. The kolkhoz had no premises, not even a single primitive machine, only wooden harrows and plows. The workers' and peasants' government lent the collective farmers a helping hand. Up to 1936 it advanced a credit of 25,200 rubles at 2 per cent interest to be paid back by 1941. Four hundred ninety-one rubles of this debt were canceled in 1934 by the government. Iron plows at 16 rubles apiece, agricultural machinery, selected seeds, clover seeds, and pedigree stock were put at our disposal by the socialist state."

It is with these words that the chairman of the kolkhoz concludes his story, and invites us to see for ourselves what has been achieved so far. He proudly shows us the wealth in machinery and cultural equipment, which the kolkhoz "Dynamo" has gathered in five years: a 10½ kilowatt electric motor for a big complex threshing machine, a 12 h.p. heavy oil engine, a truck, three corn-cutting machines and binders, forty-five steel plows (twenty-seven of them for two and more furrows), six sowing machines, one horse-driven threshing machine, two grass mowers, two hay-raking machines, one cultivator, three vegetable planting machines, one clover-cleaning machine, one potato-harvesting machine, one straw cutter, a Trieur and a Triumph sorting machine, and a wind-machine.

The following premises have been built: a clubhouse with cinema and theatre-hall for an audience of 500, a library with 2,000 volumes, offices for the village soviet and for the collective farm.

In addition two schools, one creche, nine grain barns, one for vegetables with a capacity of 100 tons, a fire brigade always ready for action, four grain-drying barns with ovens, two stables for 126 horses, a cowshed for 112 cows, a shed for 125 calves, wagon-sheds, a garage with petrol and oil storage, two sheds for threshing machines, a tool store, a shed for turnips with a capacity of twenty tons, and a smithy, etc.

"Besides this 183 kolkhoz farmers out of a total of 194 have one or two cows of their own. Eleven have no cows of their own because they only joined the kolkhoz during the current year," added the chairman of the collective farm.

EACH PEASANT POSSESSES A COW

The collective farmer Vassiliev whom we ask about his kitchen garden tells us: "Last year the collective farm gave me a cow which will calve this year. I receive the fodder from the kolkhoz on the basis of my labor days.* This year I

have already earned more labor days than during the entire previous year. The collective farm gives me sufficient fodder for my cow, for the better we work and the better we take care of the machinery the more produce we receive."

The Dynamo collective farm, however, not only possesses its own machinery; in addition tractors and harvester-combines are put at its disposal by the machine-tractor stations.

The loss of grain on a field harvested by combines is 20 per cent less than on other fields, the combine leader tells us, and the chairman of the kolkhoz confirms it. This year already 26 per cent of the harvesting work was done by combines.

THE HARVEST YIELD HAS DOUBLED

One hundred and fifty-four hectares of coarse grass and swampy ground were cultivated with the aid of M.T.S. machinery during the years 1934-37. Crop rotation (seven different crops) has been introduced and agronomists from the district center who are regular guests of the kolkhozes gave their aid in planning proper crop rotation, the use of artificial manure, in the introduction of new crops such as vegetables, tomatoes, four hectares of hops, clover and maize. This year only pure selected seeds were used. "Our good work has been praised," the chairman of the kolkhoz informs us with delight. As compared with 1913, the harvest yield has risen to an extent that the former Chuvashian peasant never could have dreamed of. This is borne out by the following averages per hectare:

	1913	1932	1937
	(<i>q u i n t a l s</i>)		
Winter rye	7-8	10-9	16.6
Winter wheat ..	not sown	—	18.0
Summer wheat	not sown	6.6	20.2
Barley	8-9	10.4	23.7
Oats	11	12.4	20.4
Beans	4-5	4.2	18.5

We were interested in how much they

* Each amount of work corresponds to a definite number of work units, the num-

ber of which is decided on by the general meeting of the collective farmers.

had to sell to the state at fixed prices. We received the following reply:

"This year the quantity was reduced by 50 per cent. For instance, of the most important crops: of 620 quintals of summer wheat which we harvested, 15 quintals will be sold to the state. Seven hundred and fifty quintals of peas will remain in the collective farm and 14.08 quintals will be sold to the state at fixed prices. Of 280 quintals of barley 33.27 quintals will be sold to the state. In the case of tomatoes and cucumbers, we have voluntarily undertaken to sell part of the crops to the state. The remainder will be shared among the collective farmers according to the labor days worked, and each can sell the produce which he does not need for himself, on the open market, to the cooperatives or to the state stores. For instance, kolkhoz farmer Mishutkin has made the exact calculation that if he should sell all the produce which he together with his family of four are to receive—and that would encounter no difficulty—he will receive 22,000 rubles in cash for 1937." The chairman of the collective farm explained this to us with the aid of tables, and added:

"The amount which we have to deliver at prices fixed by the state is not considerable. We willingly give this small part of our crops to the workers and our Red Army as we know that it is intended for socialist construction and for the defense of our Soviet fatherland, and because the state has helped us out with machinery, seeds and many other things during our most difficult time."

CATTLE INCREASING EVERY YEAR

As far back as the year 1932 a general meeting of the collective farmers decided to establish a dairy-farm. The peasants voluntarily took fifteen milch-cows from their sheds to make a start—on the condition that should any family meet with distress through an accident, the collective farm would give a cow to this family free of charge. In four cases where cows of collective farmers had to be killed the collective farm gave them milch

cows. Today, after further purchases and breeding, the farm possesses 112 cows and 125 calves. By proper feeding and cross-breeding with Dutch pedigree stock the milk yield has already been raised by one-third. "That is still not enough," says the manager of the milk farm. "Our Soviet people want still more milk and butter, for everybody can afford it, therefore we have to raise the yield still further."

Burnsahoff, the stable man on duty, who is a former beggar, went with us over the clean, spacious stables. "In 1932 we had only 34 ill-fed nags. Today we have 126 well-groomed horses in the stables. Fourteen days ago a horse-purchasing commission visited us and selected a horse. But we have undertaken on the basis of socialist competition with the stablemen in the neighboring kolkhoz, to give another high-quality horse to our Red Army," he explains to us, and adds: "Our Red Army must have the finest and sturdiest horses. If the fascists should dare attack us, then I also shall hurry to the front to defend our socialist fatherland against all enemies, the socialist fatherland which has made a real man of me, for I and my children do not want to return to the life we led before the Revolution."

The Red Army not only receives supplies from the village, but also makes gifts in return, above all, of men who have been brought up in the spirit of Bolshevism. There is, for instance, the chairman of the village Soviet, Comrade Vassiliev. When he joined the Red Army he could barely read and write. Now he fills the responsible post of Soviet chairman in a most exemplary manner.

THE INCOME OF A PEASANT FAMILY

We asked collective farmer Odarov what his earnings from the collective farm were. Pleased at our evincing such interest he made a detailed reply: "Three members of my family of eight work in the kolkhoz. Last year we received in all on the basis of our labor days 1,745 kilograms of winter rye, 134 kilograms of wheat, 403.3 kilograms of

barley, 172 kilograms of peas, 165 kilograms of lentils, 2,383 kilograms of potatoes, 35.7 kilograms of hempseed, 12 kilograms of hemp-fiber, 166 kilograms of cucumbers, 893 kilograms of cabbage, 2,561 kilograms of straw, 1,075 kilograms of summer straw, and nearly 120 rubles in cash. To this must be added the vegetables of my own kitchen garden of half a hectare and an orchard of .4 hectares, a cow and calf, six pigs, eight sheep and poultry. Last year the harvest was bad on account of the drought, but this year we shall probably receive double the amount, and approximately 400 rubles in cash."

"What about taxation?" we further inquired. "I have paid this year's tax already," he observes quite casually, as though it did not at all matter. We therefore request the chairman of the Soviet to give us the details of the tax paid by collective farmer Osarov. It appears that he has paid 33 rubles agricultural-holding tax, 16.80 rubles cultural tax, 12 rubles levy (the amount of this tax was decided on at a general meeting of the collective farmers). To this must be added the insurance premium of 24 rubles for his personal property, altogether 85.80 rubles for 1937 and that is all.

SOLICITUDE FOR THE OLD

The old people, who are unable to work, are well looked after. There is, for instance, Mikossov, a former poor peasant and now 74 years old. All his children have died. He joined the collective farm in 1932. At that time already he was half-blind and couldn't do any more work. Only his wife helped a little in the work. Answering our blunt question as to what were his means of livelihood he said: "The chairman of the collective farm always comes round to me asking what I need. Regularly every month I receive sufficient produce to live on. Besides this we have a cow of our own, and a vegetable plot and fruit trees belonging to our house."

"Well, and if the chairman does not turn up on one occasion, what happens

then?" one of us queried. Then the old peasant prods the ground with his staff and says firmly: "That can't be, I am entitled to my share; it is laid down by law." "And in the old days before the Revolution, how was it then?"

"In those days we didn't have any kol-khozes, nor any law providing for the old people. The holdings went to the young and the old people had to go begging," replied the old man.

VILLAGE CULTURE

There is an entertainment evening every sixth day at the club house, where newspapers also are available. Either a traveling sound picture truck arrives; or the people sing and dance; or their own dramatic circle, which now numbers twenty-two members, give a performance; or a play is produced by actors from the neighboring village or from the town. All performances are free of charge.

The library consists of more than 2,000 volumes. There was no school whatsoever in the village before the Revolution. At present there are two four-year schools for 110 children. The children who have finished the village school go to the seven-year school in the neighboring village. But the collective farmers are demanding that a ten-year school be built.

In the village of Katalyeva, formerly only eighty-three persons were able to read and write a little. At present there are six men and women in the village who have had a university education, five who have not fully completed their university education, twelve with a secondary-school education, and four who have graduated from a technical school. For instance, two sons of the former poor peasant Losionoff are studying at Kazan High School. A daughter of his is a school teacher, two sons are serving in the army, one of them as an airman, and the other as captain of a tank detachment in the Far East. The youngest boy goes to a secondary school. Families such as these are not the exception in the Soviet Union.

THE YOUTH IN THE LEAD

The great socialist transformation of the village is best demonstrated by the Soviet youth. Youths are not only among the best workers on the fields, as for instance Aidarova, a 20-year old young Y.C.L.'er. She was always a shock worker, and then became the best tractor-driver of the district; today she is manageress of the tractor-fleet of the Machine-Tractor Station. In addition she is the village judge, to which post she was elected unanimously. She has attended courses in agronomy, and is now preparing to become a pilot in the glorious Soviet Air Force.

Then there is the manager of the Milk Dairy Farm, a 20-year-old Y.C.L.'er, who in 1933 completed a five-months' course in dairy-farming. He has continued his studies while functioning as dairy-farm manager. This year he will be called up for service in the Red Army. In preparation for this he had already passed his tests for the "Labor Defense" badge, and has received the Voroshilov marksmanship badge.

The librarian and bookkeeper are both only 20 years of age. The old people have put them in responsible positions, proud of their sons and daughters who have studied at Soviet schools and have been fostered by the Young Communist League. Y.C.L. members in the village are working as model shock workers and Stakhanov workers.

A special general meeting of the collective farmers was called to consider the heroic liberation struggle of the

Spanish people, and as a sign of their sympathy for the Spanish workers and peasants they unanimously carried the proposal made by Comrade Nikitin, an old "partisan," to contribute the equivalent of a labor day each for the heroic fighting people of Spain.

Not only the Communist village teacher—the village has three teachers—is doing his best to educate the collective farmers in the spirit of Lenin and Stalin. There are numerous others non-Party Bolsheviks in the village who do exemplary work in carrying out and observing the Soviet laws and the directives of the Party. The Party of the Bolsheviks has fulfilled its undertaking to secure a prosperous life for the collective farmers. There is no more poverty in the village. All have enough to eat, and not only bread, but also sufficient meat, butter, eggs.

Culture reigns in the village. As Comrade Stalin has said, "Life has become better, comrades, life has become more joyous."

This new life of the collective farmers is assured by law. They showed us with great pride the document testifying to their right to the eternal and free usage of the soil. "The soil was given to us, we shall till it by the most cultured methods; we in the Soviet Union shall not rest content with the harvest of seven billion poods of grain which we have achieved, but shall further secure a harvest of eight billion poods, the task set us by Comrade Stalin." This was how Comrade Barbakoff pledged himself.

What Everybody Should Know About the U.S.S.R.

REAL WAGES IN THE U.S.S.R.

DURING the years of the Second Five-Year Plan the national income of the U.S.S.R. increased 2.3 times, from 45,500,000,000 rubles in 1932 to 105,500,000,000 rubles in the year 1937 (according to plan).

The wage bill for workers and office employees increased from 3,800,000,000 rubles in 1924-25 to 71,600,000,000 rubles in 1936.

Further, it must not be forgotten that the increase in personal earnings of the working people has been accompanied by ever increasing expenditure on such cultural services as education, public health, physical culture and social insurance.

Cultural benefits and other public services which workers' families are afforded at the expense of the government increase the individual budget by one-third.

During these years the output of agricultural produce has grown considerably; the production of articles of consumption has increased; the retail turnover has increased 3.3 times (from 40,300,000,000 rubles in 1932 to 131,000,000,000 rubles in 1937). Prices have fallen systematically, the reduction of prices bringing the population in the year 1935 a saving of about 5,000,000,000 rubles and, in the year 1936, of 5,040,000,000 rubles.

All this is an indication of the ever growing material well-being of the masses.

Here are two tables illustrating the increase of consumption (based on the

data of budget investigations) by the non-agricultural workers and office employees.

FOODSTUFFS

(1936 as % of 1932)

Grain products	128.2
Fruit and berries	192.9
Sausages and sausage products...	326.6
Pork	526.6
Butter	266.6
Eggs	191.2
Sugar	142.8

ARTICLES OF UNIVERSAL CONSUMPTION

(THE YEAR 1936 AS % OF 1932)

Clothing, underwear, boots.....	189.6
Furniture and household goods...	350.5
Cultural-educational requirements	203.5
Perfumery and cosmetics.....	369.8

In fascist Germany the working people are being given all kinds of substitutes as food, while meat, butter and eggs are disappearing and even the consumption of potatoes is declining.

The working people of the U.S.S.R. are acquiring ever increasing quantities of the best, most nourishing and valuable products. In four years (1933-1936) the consumption of rye bread has decreased by one-third, while the consumption of wheaten bread has increased two and one-half times.

The year 1937 has brought new successes in the improvement of the material and living conditions of the masses.

INCREASE IN THE PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOR IN THE U.S.S.R.

"The productivity of labor is in the

long run the most important, the chief factor for the victory of the new social order," wrote V. I. Lenin in 1919 in the well-known pamphlet *The Great Initiative* (concerning the heroism of the workers behind the lines, in connection with the "Communist Subbotniks)."

In the U.S.S.R., where the workers and collective farmers do not work for capitalists and exploiters, but for themselves, for their own proletarian state, the productivity of labor is increasing from year to year and is overtaking the level reached in capitalist countries.

The Stakhanov movement is the "most vital and invincible movement of modern times" (Stalin). It has given a strong impetus to the growth of labor productivity on an extensive scale. During the years of the First Five Year Plan, the average annual increase was 8.4 per cent while during the years of the Second Five Year Plan, the percentage increase almost doubled, amounting to 15.3 per cent. During the year 1936 alone the productivity of labor for the whole of industry increased by 22.4 per cent, and in heavy industry by 26 per cent. The average productivity of labor in the industry of the U.S.S.R. during the year 1937 will be four times the 1913 level.

There is no single capitalist country that has undergone development at such a speed. Thus, taking the American manufacturing industry during the years 1919-1929, the increase in the productivity of labor amounted to an average of 6 per cent per annum. In Germany, during the years 1925-1935, the increase in hourly output amounted to an average to 3.5 per cent per annum.

Although the average output of the Soviet worker is as yet below that of the worker in the technically advanced capitalist countries, the Stakhanovites in the mining, oil, textile and other branches of industry have left far behind the output records in capitalist countries. Thus, the Stakhanov workers of the coal industry have on more than one occasion reached an output of 500 and more tons per shift, working with one pneumatic drill, while in the Ruhr

Basin (Germany) the rate of output is only approximately sixteen tons a shift.

Migalin, a Tula blacksmith, fulfilled ten quotas in one shift. Linsky, a Stakhanov cutter ("Skorohod" boot factory, Leningrad) fulfilled one month's quota in eight working days.

The Stakhanovites of agriculture have achieved brilliant results. Thus, whereas in the year 1932 one combine covered 75.6 hectares per season, in 1934 the figure was 125 hectares—in 1935, 256.4 hectares—in 1936, 345.7 hectares on an average, while this year these indices were already outdone before the end of the agricultural year.

Ossip Grupon, a 63-year-old combine operator of the Udachnensk Machine and Tractor Station (Donetz Basin), reaped 561 hectares of grain in twenty-three working days. His earnings already amount to 2,000 rubles in cash and 900 pounds of grain.

Paulina Galchenko (Salsky region—Azov-Black Sea region) reaped 691 hectares on her combine.

The whole country knows the combine operator Constantine Borin, who has reaped 3,240 hectares of grain and sunflower seeds.

Oiskin (Orenburg Region, Ilekssk Machine and Tractor Station), champion combine harvester, broke all records by reaping 4,015 hectares, and threshing over 4,800 tons of grain with his combine. The average area covered in a working day by Comrade Oiskin is 100 hectares.

The Trotskyist-Bukharinist and other wreckers and fascist spies are doing their utmost to check the growth of the Stakhanov movement and the productivity of labor in industry and agriculture, but they have lost their game. The workers and collective farmers have taken the road of the party of Lenin and Stalin, and are unmasking and uprooting the nests of the Trotskyists-Bukharinists.

The preparations for the national festival of the Twentieth Anniversary of the great Socialist Revolution have called forth a new wave of socialist

competition, a new rise in the Stakhanov movement.

REST HOMES AND SANATORIA IN THE U.S.S.R.

A clear example of Stalin's solicitude for the working people is the increase in the funds allotted for rest homes, sanatoria and various measures to improve public health. According to the social insurance budget of the trade unions, 884,500,000 rubles are being spent this year for this purpose, *i.e.*, 265,500,000 rubles more than last year.

This year, as previously during the existence of the Soviet Government, hundreds of thousands of trade union members, spent their vacations in rest homes, sanatoria and health resorts.

During the whole of the year 1937, over 2,000,000 people will have been to sanatoria, and 83,800 people to national health resorts.

Moreover, this year 1,630,000 tickets were distributed free (and still more were sold at reduced prices) enabling holders to spend their rest-days at special recreation centers.

The trade unions possess a large number of health-improving institutions. The central organs of the unions alone possess 625 rest homes and 210 sanatoria.

In addition, union branches and individual enterprises also possess their own rest homes.

This year the trade unions are building sixty-seven new rest homes and twelve sanatoria; some of these are already in use. Sanatoria have been built in Borjom, with 250 beds; and in Yessentuki with 145 beds. A large sanatorium in Tshaltubo is about to open. Over 12,000,000 rubles are being spent on equipping it.

All these figures refer to the work of the trade unions alone. Besides the sanatoria and rest homes belonging to the trade unions, there is a large number of sanatoria which are controlled by the state public health bodies.

Workers, office employees and collective farmers who have been to sanatoria

and rest homes are delighted with the results of their cures and rest. For instance, Comrade Boichenko, an old worker employed in the Red Banner Works in Kiev, who annually visits a sanatorium and this year was treated in the health resort in Piatigorsk, says:

"I'd have been in my grave long ago. Only the Soviet Government set me on my feet. Who cared about the workers and still more about the sick, in tsarist Russia? Who cares about them in the capitalist countries where unemployment reigns? I thank the workers of our plant for their care for me, for providing me with treatment at a health resort. Thank you, Comrade Stalin, for a happy, joyful life! I am now back at work, and will still further improve the quality of my work."

And here is what Murasheva, a woman who has been employed at the Trekhgorka textile factory for twenty-six years, has to say about her visit to a health resort in Sochi:

"I am so satisfied with the last month that I can hardly express it. Judge for yourselves. I lived with Trischina, the sorter of our chintz factory, in a good room where there was a cheval-glass, upholstered chairs, a cupboard and nicked beds. We could see the sea from the veranda. The food was good and nourishing."

THE AGED

The right of citizens to material security in old age has been achieved and is recorded in the Stalin Constitution; this is a right which the foremost workers in the capitalist countries either dream of or are fighting for.

This year the workers and office employees of the U.S.S.R. are to receive 1,500,000,000 rubles out of the social insurance fund, in the form of pensions to the aged, to families of deceased workers, and to invalid workers.

Every male worker and office employee who has attained the age of 60 years, and every female worker and office employee who has attained the age of 55 years, has the right to receive a pension

if he or she has worked twenty-five years (in case of men) or twenty years (in case of women). In addition, families losing their breadwinners receive pensions. Individuals who have performed special services to the country and the revolution, and in many cases, after their death, members of their families receive personal pensions on a high scale. About 70,000 aged collective farmers were already in 1935 in receipt of systematic support from the collective farm mutual aid societies. The aged receive passes to sanatoria, rest homes and special medical institutions. The country where the possibility of man enslaving man has been buried for all time gives the aged not only a secure life and confidence in the morrow, but also a feeling of sturdy youth, a readiness to live and do things.

Yablonsky is a gray-bearded engineer-driver who works on the railways and reads lectures to students. Anna Koshevaya is an old woman collective farmer who at one time was employed by a landlord at seven kopeks a day. She has buried ten children, and only discovered the meaning of real life and joyful labor in the collective farm. She gathers a harvest of 800 centners of beets per hectare.

"Old age is no joy" runs the old pre-revolutionary proverb; but now in the U.S.S.R. there are tens of thousands of old people saying in unison: "We are young again, we want to go on living and living."

The true sentiments of the aged in the Land of Soviets was clearly expressed by Suleiman Stalsky, the 70-year-old popular singer of Daghestan, in the past a half-starved peasant and now famous as a poet throughout the whole Union:

"In my land, where there are no gray-heads,
Where blocks are thawing of eternal ice,
Millions, and not I alone,
Are finding their youth."

Then Jambul, the famous 90-year-old popular Kazakhstan minstrel and im-

proviser who has been decorated by the Soviet Government, after having passed through a hard life of economic and national oppression under the tsarist autocracy, says of himself:

"When I arrived at the age of seventy I saw the bright dawn of a new life. Truth came to the earth for all living beings. I heard the name of the great Lenin, and was a witness of the victorious procession of the Red Army. Life began to bubble around me. . . .

"Only when I arrived at the age of eighty were my eyes opened to much that I had not understood. Life began for me again. I was reborn and began to sing like a youth of twenty-five, strongly, with enthusiasm, with great ardor and readiness. This regeneration of my strength was brought to me by the leader of oppressed mankind, Stalin, who has given happiness to all peoples. I became an ardent agitator for the collective farms. I sang hundreds of songs about the collective farms, and they flew across the steppes, because they came from my very heart. I was one of the first to join the collective farm.

"My old age is brightened with happiness. I am over ninety years old, but I do not want to die, I want to live on and on. I am respected by people. . . . I sing songs and will sing them so long as my heart continues to beat. . . ."

THE PEOPLE HAVE TAKEN PROPER COMMAND OF THE LAND

In the year 1932 the gross collection of grain amounted approximately to 4,200,000,000 poods (over 67,500,000 tons). According to preliminary data the grain harvest this year will be in excess of 7,000,000,000 poods (112,500,000 tons). These unprecedented rates of increase in the crop are the result of the socialist reconstruction of agriculture and the socialist organization of labor. The collective farmers, men and women of the Soviet Union, have a right to be proud of the results of their labor, their rich harvest.

Panferov, the Soviet writer, in the summer of this year made a tour of the collective farms of the Moscow, Gorky

and Kuibyshev regions. Here is how, in one of his sketches, he gives the simple story of Sokolov, the chairman of the Krasnaya Polyana collective farm in the Kuibyshev Region, who tells of the causes of the big harvest on the fields of the collective farms:

"Formerly, there were forty enclosures in the fields per person. Each had to be drover, running from one to other of the forty, time was lost, and we had not the strength to cultivate the land properly. And now it has all become simple, all the pieces of land have been formed into one enclosure—the collective farm; and we sow in time, we plow the fields properly and in time, and collect the harvest in time. And the land is like a pie in the oven: take it out too soon and the pie is raw; too late, and it is burnt. It often happened that we particularly wanted to sow well, but the seed was feeble, aye and impossible; our forces were scattered. And now the collective farming system has made our dreams come true. You can't sow badly now. The whole of the people sow on one enclosure of land. If something goes wrong, the people put it right at once.

"The people have taken proper command of the land. Just wait, in two or three years it won't be the same. What is a harvest of 250 poods of rye, and 180 poods of wheat per hectare? We shall be collecting a harvest of no less than 400 poods. Just you see!"

LETTER OF FORMER AGRICULTURAL LABORERS

For sixty years we have lived in the village of Vyachka, but never before has it seemed to us so fine as now. Below, at the foot of the mountains, is a green stretch of leafy forest, a vast stretch of fertile fields. All this beauty was no joy to the peasant formerly. They even built their houses facing away from the forest, so that the sight of it—the wealth of others—should not irritate their eyes.

Forests, meadows, the rich and fertile fields around the village, belonged previously not to us, but to Countess Baryatinskaya. Our fathers used to tell

of how all this wealth—20,000 dessiatines* of plowed fields, meadows and forests, together with the seven hundred homes of the peasant serfs—had been won by her husband at a game of cards from Count Dolgorukov. After the "emancipation" of the peasants, 1,750 dessiatines (4,725 acres) of the worst, waste lands were set aside for 700 peasant farms.

What sort of life was ours? The whole of our lives we peasants thought of a patch of good land.

The peasants of Vyachka rose up several times against the landlords, but the result of the struggle was invariably bloodshed, floggings, hard labor. Life was unendurable. Destitute and homeless, the peasants went to the Volga, to the Donetz Basin, in search of a crust of bread. At home there remained the aged and children.

Only the Soviet government gave us the land. The land and the people have become different. It is a joy to feel that everything has changed before our eyes. It is as though we old people had become young again; we want to live and work for many years yet. The land has begun to give triple harvests.

While before—1,750 dessiatines of land divided among 700 "souls" were cut up by the boundaries. The wooden plow picked at the earth. The crops were overgrown with couch-grass. Forty poods from one dessiatine were considered a good harvest. In the whole of what was formerly known as Kirsanovsk district, the harvests declined from year to year. Years of poor harvest followed one after another, completely ruining the already poverty-stricken peasant economy.

The landlord gathered poor harvests as well, but for another reason. In her striving for high profits, she damaged the earth, never turned over the fallow fields in time, leaving the fields to be overgrown with weeds, and then leased them out as pastureland for cattle.

* One dessiatine equals 2.70 acres—*Ed.*

Only by the end of June were the fields for winter crops ever plowed. The rye stubble, prepared for the summer sowing, was never plowed until autumn. The crop rotation on the estate was always the same—three-field. They sowed rye and oats. There were no machines, they utilized the cheap labor of the peasant. It is not surprising that during the best years the harvest never exceeded 60-70 poods a dessiatine (between 7 to 8½ hundredweights per acre).

The estate bailiffs jeered at us all they could; they robbed us of our last stich for every dessiatine leased from them.

We never set eyes on the landlady, Countess Baryatinskaya, but we shall remember her for a long time; she caused us nothing but misery. We shall make sure that our sons and grandsons remember that. Then we had some "good" guardians as well—the S.R.s [Social-Revolutionists—Ed.] The S.-R.s always promised to give the land to the peasants, but when it was a question of going from words to deeds, it turned out that they were not looking after us, poor and middle peasants, but after the kulaks. When the Soviet Government and our Bolshevik Party gave the land to the peasants, the S.R.s started a kulak uprising. We remember quite well the Antonov rebellion, which we helped to suppress.

All this is now part of the distant past, but it must be well remembered. The enemies have gone into hiding, they are endeavoring to hinder our work. For how many there were of them—the landlord's satraps, managers, village policemen, watchmen, elders and S.-R.s. Many of them are lying low, causing trouble and harming us.

Our Party and Comrade Stalin are teaching us to build up happy, joyous lives while fighting against all enemies. The people have complete faith in the Bolsheviks and are marching along the road they have indicated. The land has at last been given to its real master. The collective farming system has buried the wooden plow and three-field system

once and for all. Our collective farms have been working now for eight years. We don't know the meaning of bad harvests. The word "drought" has ceased to be a bogey.

The harvest is increasing from year to year. This year the collective farm known as "Novy Mir" (New World) has collected an average per hectare of seventeen centners of ears of grain—three times as much as was collected before the revolution on individual farms. The "Serp i Molot" (Sickle and Hammer) collective farm and the "Trudovik" (Laborer) have each obtained sixteen centners per hectare, while the "Mirovoi Slet" (World Meet) collective farm has collected fourteen centners.

Our labor is well rewarded. In all four collective farms this year, the rate of payment is six kilograms of grain per "labor day." In the "Mirovoi Slet" farm, Philip Yermonin, a collective farmer, has already received thirty-one centners of grain, although an advance of only three kilograms a "labor day" was given out. In the "Trudovik" collective farm, Tikhon Frolkin was given an advance of thirty-five centners. When the final reckoning is made, he should obtain 120 centners.

The collective farmers are buying more and more clothing and boots, furniture and bicycles every year.

Our collective farmers have this year ordered in the cooperative stores: twenty-two bicycles, 115,000 rubles worth of cotton materials, 57,000 rubles worth of boots, 47,000 rubles worth of ready made clothing.

Before the revolution, the village of Vyachka was unenlightened, illiterate. Now our children go to school, the road is open to them in all directions.

Our land and our lives are different, quite different. And we say to the young people: children and grandchildren, don't forget our dark past, carry in your breasts a hatred of the enemy; cherish your happy, blossoming fatherland, our wise Party.

Signed: Collective farmers of Vyachka, Kirsanovsk district, Tambov region,

who worked under the landlords before the great Socialist Revolution:

Arephius Yefimovich Obchinnokov—71 years old.

Daniel Borisovich Morozov—62 years old.

Roman Mikhailovich Maslov—61 years old,

Gleb Nikotovich Shadrov—53 years old.

Ilyi Borisovich Morozov—51 years old.

YOUNG WOMEN PATRIOTS OF THE SOCIALIST FATHERLAND

New industrial plants, new towns are growing up in the midst of the severe elements of the Soviet Far East. The whole appearance of what was once a wild, sparsely populated region is being transformed.

But the Far East is in need of people. Workers and engineers are wanted for the new industrial plants, teachers for the new schools, agronomists and combine-operators for the collective farms. There is much work, but there are few to do it.

During the last few years not a few young people have gone to the Far East. Young workers from Moscow, Leningrad and the Ukraine have with their own hands built the new town of Komsomolsk on the Amur, which celebrated its fifth anniversary a short time ago. But all these energetic young people are still not able to make up for the great shortage of personnel.

It was all this that inspired the Young Communist Valentina Khetagurova, a Red Army commander's wife who a few years ago went to the Far East and was not long ago awarded the Order of Lenin for her active social work among the wives of Red Army commanders, to appeal to all Young Communist women and girls of the Soviet Union—to come and build the Soviet Far East!

Khetagurova did not conceal from the young woman the difficulties of work in the Far East. In her appeal published throughout the press of the Young Communist League, she wrote:

"... At first many of us, both workers and specialists, were living in huts of earth and unfinished houses. There was a shortage of workmen, and we women gathered moss to stuff up the cracks, filled in the ceilings with ashes, finished building the houses. . . .

"And so, dear friends, I and all the rest of the Far Easterners appeal to you to come to us. I am not calling on you to renounce life. For what awaits you, although difficult, is so attractive and interesting! But remember that we only call those who are courageous and determined, who are not afraid of difficulties. We know that our young men and women are possessed of a great envy, envy of all that is heroic, however difficult and hard. Everything that is difficult but useful to our fatherland is a thing of honor."

The response of the young women of the Land of Soviets to Khetagurova's appeal exceeded all expectations. In less than six months the Young Communist League organizations of the Far East had received over 60,000 applications from young women who wanted to go to the Far East. Young women from Moscow, Leningrad, Ivanov, Rostov and other towns of the European part of the U.S.S.R. are being sent gradually, in organized fashion, to the Far East. Each young woman who responds to Khetagurova's appeal is informed of the nature of the work that awaits her, is given money for the journey, and only then can she set off. Houses are being built and hostels prepared for the newly arriving young women.

A special commission to receive the girls is working in Khabarovsk. From 100 to 200 of them arrive daily. The office of the commission is always full of people. Every young woman is given work according to her specialty, to suit her inclinations.

Sophia Kamyshanskaya, a motor-driver from the Kramatorsk works, is being sent, as she wished, to the combine-operator training courses. Olga Novgorodskaya, a building engineer from Novosibirsk, is being sent to work on

building. Vera Zinkevich and Alexandra Levchenko, both Young Communists, are being sent to work in one of the sanatoria of the Special Far Eastern Red Army.

Tarabeyeva, a Young Communist, air pilot and parachutist, asks whether she will be able, at her new place, to continue her studies for the post of parachute sports instructor. Tamara Solovyeva, a librarian, is going to Vladivostok to work there in the library and simultaneously to continue her studies of aeronautics, on which she has been engaged while working in industry in her home town of Bataisk.

This is how the day passes in the commission which receives the young women. Among those that have arrived there are over 300 technicians, 150 doctors and nurses, 400 teachers, and thousands of working women and office employees with the most varied qualifications. Some of the young women are turners who have taken up work in the Far Eastern railway depot, and are overfulfilling the quota by 400 per cent.

What is it that makes the young Soviet women turn eagerly to the Far East? Not, at any rate, lack of work in their own home towns; on the contrary, the young women who set out for the Far East are leaving behind them interesting, well-paid jobs. Moreover, many of them are leaving behind their parents, relatives, friends. All these girls could work and study at home, in the old, settled place. But they prefer to begin a new life, not an easy one, in a young, not as yet habitable region.

The young women are setting off for the Far East because, as Khetagurova wrote: "everything that is difficult but useful to our fatherland is a thing of honor." They are attracted by the heroic aspect of building, the heroism involved in overcoming difficulties. They all want to work where the fatherland needs them most.

"I am young, only twenty-one, and I can do a great deal yet in my life that is

useful to our state," writes Anna Alexeyeva, an artist from Azerbaidjan.

"I am full of life and always ready to undergo any difficulties for our boundless country which our fathers and brothers have won," writes Batrishina, a technician-constructor from Kazan.

Such is the state of mind of the young women who are going to the Far East. Such is the state of mind of the Soviet youth who are transforming the Far East into an inaccessible fortress of defense, into a blossoming socialist region.

CARE OF CHILDREN IN THE U.S.S.R.

In the heat of the civil war, in the difficult days of the struggle against the White Guards and foreign interventionists, on January 4, 1919, a decree protecting the health of children and calling for the proper organization of food for them, for the supply of clothing and medical aid for them was published over the signature of V. I. Lenin, President of the Council of People's Commissars.

This historic decision runs: "Bearing in mind the difficult living conditions in the country and the duty entrusted to the revolutionary authorities to protect the growing generation in the dangerous transitional period, the Council of People's Commissars, by this present decree, establishes a Special Children's Defense Council."

Maxim Gorky, the great Russian writer, tells in his reminiscences how, during the years of Civil War, Lenin would caress the children and say: "Now these will live better than we did; much of what we have lived through they will never experience."

And indeed, the children of the Soviet Union, surrounded with the care and attention of the Bolshevik Party, the Soviet government and Comrade Stalin, have no knowledge of the poverty, privation and difficulties experienced in the past and now being experienced by millions of children in the capitalist countries.

In the years when a strict account was taken of every kilogram of bread,

when famine reigned throughout the country, the children were given the maximum that was possible to spare them from the restricted food reserves.

The great Socialist Revolution has given the children lives of happiness; has opened up the road to education, science and art; has provided them with all the conditions necessary for creative labor.

The Soviet Government has introduced universal education for the children. In the year 1914, 7,800,000 children were being taught in the schools of tsarist Russia. Primarily these were the children of well-to-do parents, while the "cook's children" had the gates to knowledge barred against them. Now, in the Soviet schools, 30,000,000 children are studying in their own languages.

In the year 1914 there were in all 436 secondary educational institutes in the villages of tsarist Russia, where 50,000 scholars were taught. Today, there are 32,000 secondary and central schools in the collective farm villages, in which 10,000,000 young people are studying.

In the year 1914 there were in all 125 children's playgrounds; now there are 92,000 children's playgrounds organized in the U.S.S.R.

For the work and recreation of children out of school time, luxuriously equipped palaces and villas, children's stadiums are provided; special technical and agricultural centers have been organized for children; children's railways have been constructed; thousands of talented children are being trained at the expense of the state in musical conservatories, art schools and ballet studios.

Soviet children display heroism in their work and studies; a Tadjikistan Pioneer, Mamleket Nakhangova, has been awarded the Order of Lenin for her exceptional successes in raising the yield of cotton; a group of young people foremost in the sphere of livestock breeding have been awarded the "Badge of Honor" for their exemplary care of young cattle; the "Badge of Honor" has been awarded to a Pioneer, Eteri Gvantseladze, for exceptional successes

in her studies, and to Busia Goldstein, one of the winners at the International Competition for Violinists.

For children who excel at their studies, a marvelous sanatorium, "Artek," has been organized on the shores of the Black Sea; 4,000 children rested there this summer.

Before the revolution, the children of the working people languished in dusty, stuffy towns during the summer months. Now hundreds of thousands of children are taken out to children's camps in the country every year; in the towns, the best parks and gardens are provided for the children.

For the children of working people, children's creches have already been organized in large numbers and are still being built. In the Ukraine alone there are over 50,000 places in creches for children of workers, and approximately the same number for the children of collective farmers. In the Orekhovo-Zuevo district (Moscow Region) alone, there are considerably more places in creches than there were in the whole of tsarist Russia.

Special children's clinics and medical stations, sanatoria and forest schools have been set up for the protection of the health of children. On January 1, 1937, there were 887 clinics and medical stations of this kind in the U.S.S.R. Moreover, there were 457 rest homes for mothers and infants.

The children of the Soviet Union have their own newspapers and periodicals (fifty-three Pioneer newspapers are published); and special children's publishing houses print literature for children.

The children of the Soviet Union are trained in the spirit of sound internationalism, in the spirit of loyalty to their socialist fatherland.

Here is a letter typical of those written by Soviet school children. It was published in *Pravda* on September 23 of this year:

"WHEN I GROW UP"

"I read in the newspaper of how the

Japanese had killed our frontier guards on our Far Eastern frontier. It hurt me to think of how our Red Army friends perish while guarding our fatherland. I was astounded at it all, and I give you my word of honor that as soon as I grow up, I shall go to one of the outposts and take the place of our frontier guards. I have read a great deal about how the Japanese violate our borders; they are our enemies, hateful people who hate our fatherland.

"Dear Editors: I wrote this letter to you so that you will publish it in your newspaper, and since I write poorly, I cannot write more or better; so try to write up properly and print my letter.

"With comradely and ardent greetings,

"VANYA VISHNYAKOV, Schoolboy."

The letter is accompanied by a note from the editors which points out that it was printed without any changes.

The Soviet system provides all the material and ideological conditions for the children to grow up free, honest, bold, working people of the socialist order, self-sacrificing and loyal to the cause of communism.

Soviet children know none of the horrors of capitalism, know no oppression, starvation, poverty; they are the children of the Stalinist epoch, and in the slogan of the Soviet children: "Thank you, Comrade Stalin, for a happy childhood," there is expressed their tremendous touching affection and loyalty to the working class, to the Party of Lenin-Stalin.

THE MOSCOW-VOLGA CANAL

The idea of cutting the Moscow-Volga canal was Comrade Stalin's. In June, 1931, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union adopted a decision to build the canal. The aim of the construction, as indicated in the decision of C.C., was to be the radical solution of the task of supplying water to the capital, the radical solution of the task of navigation along the Moscow river by means of connecting it with the Volga;

the radical solution of the task of increasing the water of the Moscow river.

The decision of the plenum has already been carried out. The tremendous canal—the child of the Stalin epoch—is ready and has taken its place among the canals in operation.

The amount of work put into the Moscow-Volga Canal is second only to the Panama Canal, which, with intervals, took thirty-five years to complete.

Among river canals, the Moscow-Volga occupies first place in the world.

The canal is 128 kilometers long, the volume of earth works is 145,000,000 cubic meters, the volume of concrete is 3,016,000 cubic meters.

Connected with the building of the canal is a tremendous number of various structures such as eleven locks, three concrete dams, eight earth dams, five pumping stations, eight hydro-electric power stations, seven railway bridges, twelve trunk road bridges, etc.

Soviet industry provided powerful technical means with which to carry on the building of the canal. Twenty-four electrical power stations were in use, as well as 171 powerful excavators, 123 engines for normal tracks and thirty-eight narrow-track engines, 225 heavy motor trucks, over 3,000 motor trucks, 125 kilometers of railway, etc. This equipment made it possible for the work to be mechanized on an extensive scale and for the canal to be constructed rapidly—a thing that could not have been possible with hand labor alone.

The Moscow-Volga canal, which has been built in an extraordinarily short space of time, serves the aims of socialism, aims making for the prosperity of the U.S.S.R.

During the first two months of its functioning (before September 15) 249,000 passengers and 256,671 tons of different kinds of freight were transported along the canal.

Thousands of people who had committed crimes against the people atoned for their guilt by their dogged work on the building on the canal. They became skilled workers, chauffeurs, mechanics,

technicians. Many of them have been released before the end of their terms because of their splendid work, have been given awards by the government, valuable presents from the People's Commissariat for Home Affairs, and from the management of the construction.

The majority of the former prisoners are already working in various parts of the country, in industry, agricultural and governmental institutions. Thus, in the Stalingrad region, at the beginning of August, out of fifty former canal builders, forty are working as combine-operators, tractorists and in the book-keeping departments of the collective farms.

The trade unions afford assistance to the former prisoners in obtaining work and apartments, and attending to their cultural requirements.

A great amount of help in finding work for former prisoners is given by the organs in charge of places of detention and by the authorities of camps under control of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs. Thus in the first half of 1937 about 10,000 former prisoners were found jobs by these bodies. Many of these former prisoners keep up correspondence with their former places of detention and camps, where they served their sentences and learned trades.

THE APPEARANCE OF THE TOWNS IS CHANGING

The appearance of the towns and villages, scattered throughout the boundless stretches of the U.S.S.R., is rapidly changing. Literally before the eyes of everybody hundreds of new towns have grown up, and thousands and tens of thousands of old villages have changed out of all recognition.

* * *

In a deserted corner of the Coastal Region, a new town, Sovietskaya Gavan (Soviet Harbor) is growing up in a fabulously short time. Not so long ago

all there was here was a thick, uninhabited forest. Y.C.L.'ers, young workers, young engineers came here from distant parts, traveling many thousands of kilometers in order to rouse to new life one of the most outlying regions of the Soviet Far East. Above the bay can be heard the sirens of the timber yards. High aloft rises the scaffolding of a fish-canning works now under construction. Schools, in particular a ten-year school, have been built. In the thick forest itself, Young Communists have built a park of culture and rest, illuminated by electricity, with an open-air theatre, a dais for concerts, and playing fields; four football grounds have been established in different corners of the town.

Rich gold fields and fisheries loom over the town. The waters of Sovietskaya Gavan are literally teeming with fish. During the haul at night, huge shoals of herrings move in one solid mass, shining like silver in the moonlight.

The young town is growing rapidly; shops and restaurants are being built there already. The library is being enlarged. Communications with the inhabited centers of the Far Eastern Region are being improved. The Young Communists are with their own hands creating yet another town of the future far away in the depths of the thick forests.

* * *

Life in Vladivostok is virile and noisy. In the morning hours one can see children hurrying to school, and students to the universities, pedagogical and polytechnical institutes. Dockers arrive at the enormous port. Fishing smacks leave their moorings for the sea, with their crews aboard. A huge floating crab-canning works is being cleaned and tidied before setting out for a distant cruise. All around one can see white jackets, uniforms, and the blue trousers of merchant seamen. Tickets are being bought for the theatre, oper-

etta, cinema and the young workers' theatre.

All this is at a distance of 9,330 kilometers from Moscow, the proletarian capital, there in distant Vladivostok, on the 42nd North parallel. It is wonderfully beautiful, this fortress town of the land of Soviets, this Kronstadt of the Pacific Ocean!

Soviet Vladivostok has multiplied its factories and industrial plants. A great Sedan conduit, a tremendous refrigerator plant, tall dwelling houses for tramwaymen, dockers, specialists, railwaymen, as well as the Border Guards Club, the Lieutenants' Club, have been built there. Three technical schools—naval, pharmaceutical and pedagogical—are nearing completion.

And in one of the houses on the long seven-kilometer Lenin Street, architects are outlining the contours in drafts and plans of Greater Vladivostok. The new Park of Culture and Rest will cover an area of ninety hectares (the present park covers only nine hectares). In Greater Vladivostok there will be five more theatres, nine more large cinemas, a symphony and chamber concert hall, a circus, a House of Arts, and the Press.

And the rich bowels of the earth in the Far East will provide splendid building materials for these big works of construction. The new houses of Vladivostok will be faced with gray Amur marble, green stone from the River Burey, white-veined black stone from the Little Khingan Range, yellow granite from Russky Island, and pink marble from Birobidjan.

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 meters of living space per person among those who lived at the Zastava; during the war years this was reduced to one meter. 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 a 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 100 beds, while out of every 100 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, the huge department stores and the Palace of Culture, in which are 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; elec-

tricity and fashionable tailor shops; sewage and asphalt roads; book shops and a park of culture and rest; sixteen creches, two children's sanatoria, thirty-nine kindergartens.

There are 400 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 polyclinic, 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.

ON THE ISLANDS BEARING THE NAMES OF HEROES OF THE SOVIET UNION

On July 22, 1936, Chkalov, Baidukov and Belyakov, three Heroes of the Soviet Union, made a non-stop flight of 9,374 kilometers over the unexplored regions of the Barents Sea, Arctic Ocean and Sea of Okhotsk, ending their Stalin Route on the little-known, tiny island of Udd.

Udd Island and the two adjacent islands off the coast of the Sea of Okhotsk were named after the Heroes of the Soviet Union.

On these little-inhabited islands, populated chiefly by Gilyaks, a people with little culture, there were situated small fish works and small collective fishing and hunting concerns.

Today these islands have changed

beyond recognition. All the fish works on the island have been joined into a single concern known as the Chkalov Combinat. The plan of fish to be caught has been doubled, to reach the figure of 20,000 centners. The flotilla of the collective fisheries, built this year, is calculated to catch 17,000 centners of fish. In the center of the combinat, on Baidukov Island, a club and six houses have been built, and eleven more houses are under construction.

Newly acquired radio stations serve for transmission to all three islands. The settlement on Chkalov Island, where Smirnova's house is situated, and where the heroes spent eleven days, has completely changed.

"We have no barracks now," says Smirnova, "every worker has his own apartment, and it is a joy to behold. Clean, cosy; table cloths, curtains, carpets. The Gilyaks have also begun to live in greater culture; many of them have left their plank beds and secured iron beds, tables. For the first time a barber shop has made its appearance on the island. The Gilyaks have cut off their plaits, are shaving their beards, and going about in new suits."

And so, by undertaking their heroic journey, Chkalov, Baidukov and Belyakov brought the farthest corner of the Soviet Union into the common orbit of socialist culture and economic prosperity.

New People of the Land of the Soviets

ALEXEI STAKHANOV

WHO has not heard of Alexei Stakhanov—the daring innovator of technique, who opened up a new era in socialist construction by his new methods of work?

On the night of August 30, 1936, the modest miner Stakhanov, employed in the Central Irmino Mine, Donbas—it is now called the “Stalin” mine—wanted to mark International Youth Day by a record output. The Party organizers Petrov and Dyukanov helped him to organize his work in a new way.

Then, as Stakhanov himself said afterwards:

“An apparently simple thing happened. After talking things over among themselves, the pneumatic drill operator and the Party organizer, with the help of the superintendent of the pit section, increased the length of the ledge to be worked and divided the work of the hewer and the propman. This resulted in an unprecedented output, and upset all existing norms.”

On the night of August 30, Stakhanov hewed 102 tons of coal in one shift. The previous norm for a hewer was seven tons.

After Stakhanov, workers in other branches of industry whose names are now famous—Busygin in the machine-building industry, Vinogradova in the textile industry, Smetanin in the shoe industry, Krivonos on the railways, Mussinsky in the sawmill industry, and many, many others—began to introduce new methods of work, exceeding all ex-

isting records of labor productivity and leaving all the existing norms far behind.

“We miners,” says Stakhanov, “looked in amazement and delight at what we had achieved, and our joy was boundless. We were happy that our example was held aloft and appreciated by the brilliant mind of Comrade Stalin, the father of Stakhanov movement. I feel the greatest emotion every time I read the speech of Comrade Stalin at the first All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites, that speech every word of which is profoundly true. . . . I remember vividly how great was the delight with which we applauded Comrade Stalin when he said to us in his speech: ‘Life has become better, comrades. Life has become more joyous. And when life is joyous, the work goes on well.’”

Stakhanov’s own career is the best confirmation of these words of Comrade Stalin. Here is how Stakhanov describes his past:

“Our village was very poor. Our family just managed to keep body and soul together. . . . I began to earn my own living at the age of twelve when I went to work at a mill owned by a kulak. I used to haul sacks from dawn till dark, and at night had to look after the horses. It was a hard life. My real life began here, in the mine.”

A real happy life began for Stakhanov in the mine. Here he became a skilled worker, began to earn good money, and successfully went through the courses for studying the pneumatic drill. Here he began to be interested in public life and became a Party sympathizer. The

once oppressed and half-starved agricultural laborer became a capable, front-rank worker and turned out to be the initiator of the movement for high labor productivity.

Shortly after the first All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites, Alexei Stakhanov was made an instructor in Stakhanov methods of work. He went down into the mine and instructed and brought to the fore new first-class pneumatic drill workers.

The records of the first days of the Stakhanov movement have now been left far behind. On August 27, 1937, the Stakhanovite borer Prikhodko, who works in the Krivorog Basin, cut 562 tons of ore as against the new norm of forty tons, *i.e.*, he exceeded his allotted task fourteen times. This is no isolated case.

Alexei Stakhanov himself celebrated the second anniversary of the movement he initiated as a student in the Moscow Industrial Academy, where hundreds of other Stakhanovites—holders of government decorations—are studying to become leaders of socialist industry.

JACOB YUSIM

JACOB YUSIM is one of the progressive engineers who organized Stakhanovite work.

Working as a foreman in the smithy of the Moscow Ball-Bearing Plant, he decided in 1935 to try and surpass the maximum standards of output set by an Italian firm. He began to give an output of forty-six to forty-seven thousand parts per shift, instead of the standard twenty-six thousand.

Promoted to be head of the shift, Yusim made the whole shift a Stakhanovite one. This young non-Party engineer was able to arouse and lead the productive enthusiasm of three hundred young workers, most of whom were Young Communist League members, and succeeded in obtaining a 250 per cent increase in output in a year.

In a speech at a Young Communist League meeting in the plant, held in

November, 1936, Yusim gave the following account of his work:

“A machine must be set going in a cultured fashion and must be used in a cultured fashion. What have we succeeded in doing this year? We have made a model machine. An excellent job has been made of the repair work; the machine now shines and is like an airplane with its soft caressing colors. It is screened. The frames are fitted exactly so as not to shake the air and affect the hearing. The furnace is painted silver. On the left is a little iron table with a drawer for small tools. Beside the little cupboard is a syphon with seltzer water. We ordered special uniforms from the tailor to protect every Stakhanovite from accidents. This is what we are thinking of now, in the attempt to create really cultured working conditions on the job—conditions conducive to creative labor.

“We are instilling a feeling of patriotism, a feeling of conscious proletarian discipline and order in our workers. Not long ago, the chairman of the shop committee and myself visited the homes of some of our boys. A few we visited because they were sick and two others because they had been staying away from work. I remember one of these. One day the fellow disappeared from the factory. Several days passed and he did not turn up to work, so we went to his house to see him. His mother was sitting in the garden, and the boy was asleep. The old woman took us into the house. We told her why we had come, and that her son was behaving very badly.

“The mother was amazed: ‘Why,’ said she, ‘he earns a lot of money—nearly three hundred rubles—he’s a Stakhanovite.’

“We told her he was no Stakhanovite, that if he were a good worker he would be earning far more, at least six hundred rubles. You should have seen how excited the old woman got. With that, in came the son. She started reproaching him and reminded him how his father had worked and of the laborious life he had led. We told him plain and straight that as a worker he was not much good to us. We could easily do without him. But, we said,

we were sorry for him as a human being. That worked! The boy has completely changed. He has begun to work better, zealously and diligently."

Thus by making the training of and care for his men the keynote of his work, Yusim obtained exceptional results in output. He is very popular among the workers: at the elections to the factory committee, when the ballot was secret, over 12,000 votes were cast for Yusim. At the end of 1936, he was accepted into the Communist Party as a "candidate."

In the summer of 1937, Yusim was appointed director of the ball-bearing plant.

The original planned capacity of the factory was two million bearings per month. At the first All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites, the workers of the plant promised Comrade Orjonikidze to attain a capacity of three million bearings, and in 1936 this promise was fulfilled. Now, in the autumn of 1937, the plant is producing 160,000 to 165,000 bearings a day, *i.e.*, nearly five million a month. Such are the results of Bolshevik Stakhanovite work.

MAKAR MAZAI

MAKAR MAZAI was hardly eight years old when his father, a railway worker, died in the civil war—wounded in battle by a White Guard bullet.

In 1930, Makar's life as a worker began. As an apprentice at a Marten furnace in the Ilyich Steel Works in Mariupol, Mazai began to study the art of steel smelting. Here he joined the Young Communist League. Working stubbornly and with perseverance, he slowly began to master his trade. He twice took and finished the technical courses for steel smelters.

For a long time, however, Makar Mazai did not distinguish himself in any way in the shop. In December, 1935, he, like the other steel smelters in the shop, was far behind their Comrade Shashkin who was extracting 6.95 tons of steel per square meter of hearth sur-

face. Mazai and the steel smelters were only extracting four to five tons each.

During 1936, however, Mazai began to achieve different results, his several years' study and preparation beginning to show themselves in practice. In the autumn, Mazai outdid Shashkin, although Shashkin had exceeded his own previous records.

On October 24, Mazai and eighteen other steel smelters in the Mariupol works challenged the steel smelters of the country to socialist competition, the object being to get the highest output of steel per square meter of hearth surface. Mazai undertook to extract at least twelve tons per square meter, and on October 28, he actually extracted fifteen tons. This was a world record.

"Why do we need steel?" asked Mazai, in his speech at the Special Congress of Soviets during the discussion of the draft constitution, and then he went on: "We are well aware that the fascists of Germany and other countries are making frenzied preparations to attack the Soviet Union. Everyone knows the great part steel plays in the defense of the country. That is why I call on all the steel smelters of the Soviet Union to give our country enough steel to destroy the whole fascist crew."

Soviet patriotism, love for the happy socialist fatherland—this is the chief motive force which is urging the Stakhanovites of the Soviet Union on to ever greater feats of production.

Love for the fatherland means hatred of its enemies. And so it was natural that the whole Congress should applaud unanimously when Mazai said with youthful vehemence:

"And now a word about the Trotskyite-Zinovievite gang. . . I would give these people short shrift. They should be plunged in molten steel and exterminated like mad dogs!"

A sincere lover of his country, an enthusiast in his work, an irreconcilable foe to his country's enemies—this is Makar Mazai, one of the millions of the new Soviet people, trained by the Party and the Young Communist League.

PETER KRIVONOSS

IN 1935 a movement developed for increasing the speed of trains in the birthplace of the Stakhanov movement, the Donetz Basin. The stage between Slavyansk Station and Lozovaya Station is considered to be one of the most difficult sections on the Donetz line. Here there are slow upgrades and the line is uneven. It was an old rule that a train could not do more than twenty-three or twenty-six kilometers an hour on this part of the line.

In July, 1935, the young engine driver Peter Krivonoss brought a heavy coal train over the Slavyansk-Lozovaya run at a rate of 31.9 kilometers an hour.

"A mere accident," they said at the depot.

Krivonoss repeated the run at a still greater speed—thirty-three kilometers. And after that every new run brought a new record—thirty-four, thirty-seven, forty kilometers an hour!

The young engine driver did twenty runs in July and showed on twenty occasions that the sorry reputation of being the most difficult part of the line was absolutely unfounded.

Krivonoss gladly shared the "secrets" of his methods with the other engine drivers. The old workers did not mind learning from their young comrade, who had made record mileage by intelligent driving.

Krivonoss, as well as other shock brigaders of transport, was awarded the Order of Lenin. But he was not satisfied and did not rest on his laurels. In 1936, he began to work on a powerful "F.D." (Felix Dzerzhinsky) engine. This engine usually did the journey from Slavyansk to Lozovaya and back twice a day. Krivonoss and his comrades, Prokhvatilo and Khablat, began to do the run four times a day, their "F.D." engine doing a speed of fifty-six kilometers an hour.

While working as a driver, Krivonoss at the same time began to improve his cultural level, studied the technique of railway transport, the structure of en-

gines, etc. All this he combined with active work in the Young Communist League. At the Tenth Congress of the Komsomol, he was elected a member of its Central Committee.

In April, 1937, by a decree of Kaganovich, People's Commissar of Railways, Krivonoss was appointed Depot Superintendent at Slavyansk on the Donetz railway.

EVDOKIA VINOGRADOVA

DUSYA (EVDOKIA) VINOGRADOVA grew up in the little town of Vichuga, in the Ivanov Province. A worker in the Vichuga textile mill, she was the first to raise the banner of the Stakhanov movement in the textile industry.

From her childhood it had been Dusya's dream to be a good weaver. With this dream in mind, she went to study in the factory apprentice school, and then entered the factory. With this dream in mind, she also began to tend sixteen looms in 1931, and at first, in her own words, produced "a lot of damaged work and a poor output." Gradually, Dusya mastered her trade and began to take on more and more looms.

While working in the factory and in the Young Communist League, Dusya kept on improving her mastery of the technique of production. The newspaper reports of Stakhanov's records inspired her also to attempt records of output. Along with her friend and shift-mate, Maria Vinogradova, she took on one hundred looms instead of her previous seventy, and finally was tending 166 looms.

At the All-Union Conference of Stakhanovites which was held in November, 1936, Dusya promised in the presence of Comrade Stalin that she would take on 208 looms, and actually took on 216.

At the Tenth Congress of the Young Communist League, Dusya in speaking of her life and work said:

"As well as developing at my work, I am developing culturally. I am studying, I go to the cinema, I read good books, and take part in sports. I am

the leader of a Young Pioneer detachment attached to our factory. I have now been working with my Pioneer detachment almost two years. I am studying hard at present, because I want to be, and will be, a textile engineer. Then I shall be of greater service to industry than I am now."

Dusya Vinogradova, who, by her example, has inspired many weavers in Moscow, Ivanovo, and other centers of light industry, who planned the famous "Vinogradova route" which enables weavers to tend many looms at the same time, is now striving perseveringly "to be of greater service to industry than I am now." She has been awarded the Order of Lenin and wants to show herself worthy of this great honor in the future as well.

Since the autumn of 1936, Dusya has been at the Industrial Academy in Moscow studying to become an engineer. But she still maintains contact with her factory. In the summer of 1937, when the students of the Academy went home for the holidays, Dusya Vinogradova went to Vichuga and published a long article in Pravda in which she made a sharp and business-like criticism of the defects in the Vichuga mills, and made a number of suggestions on how to improve output.

MARIA DEMCHENKO

"MY FATHER worked for the landlords for a few coppers, and my mother's eyes were hardly ever dry from tears, it was such a job to get food." This is what the young Ukrainian peasant girl, Maria Demchenko, relates of the life of her parents before the revolution.

Maria's life, however, has been quite different. The collective farm system, which has brought to light and awakened many thousands of talents among the peasantry of the U.S.S.R., opened up to Maria Demchenko, as well, brilliant prospects of happy creative work.

In the beginning of 1935, the "Comintern" collective farm in the Kiev Province sent one of its best shock-brigaders,

the Young Communist League girl Maria Demchenko, as a delegate to the Second Congress of Collective Farm Shock-Brigaders in Moscow. Maria saw the Red Capital and took part in the drawing up of the statutes for agricultural artels (collective farms). But her biggest experience in Moscow was her meeting with Comrade Stalin.

Comrade Stalin chatted cordially with the capable young collective farm girl, asked about her work in the beet fields, and presented her with a photograph of himself with the inscription: "To Maria Demchenko from J. Stalin, for excellent work in the collective farm."

Maria herself says of this talk: "I told him how we tended our plantation, seeing to each root separately. Comrade Stalin thought a moment and said: 'Working like that, it should be possible to get five hundred centners' [of beets per hectare.—*Ed.*].

"I will, Comrade Stalin," I answered."

Maria Demchenko and her friends applied all their energy to keeping this promise. The "Five Hundred" movement spread to other collective farms. By competing with one another and exchanging their experience, by applying various manures and tending every plant separately, by guarding the plantations from pests and protecting them from frost, the collective farmers of the Ukraine and the Voronezh and Kursk Provinces strove in the summer of 1935 for a high yield of beet.

"The chief thing," Maria says, "is the manuring, watering, and weeding of the soil. We weeded the beet ten times with our hands and hoed it eight times, and we lit fires during the frost and with our hands re-planted wherever the plants had been killed by the frost."

The promise given by Maria to Comrade Stalin was carried out. Her brigade harvested 523 centners of beet per hectare. Many other collective farm girls got similar results.

For exemplary work in the fields of the collective farms, for obtaining a high yield of sugar beet—500 centners and more per hectare—Maria Demchenko

and thirty-eight other collective farm women, Marina Gnatenko, Ganna Koshevaya, Anna Shvydko, Christina Baidich, etc. were awarded government orders.

"Only collective farm life could abolish inequality and set women on their feet. . . . Only free work, only collective farm work could beget such heroines of labor in the countryside," said Comrade Stalin when he received the collective farm "Five-Hundreders" in the Kremlin and was congratulating them on their successes.

Maria Demchenko's experience was acted on by thousands of collective farm women. In 1936 and 1937, many beet workers set themselves still higher objectives, *i.e.*, to harvest 600, 700 and more centners of beet per hectare—and they succeeded. There are even enthusiastic "thousanders," who are striving to get 1,000 centners per hectare.

The initiator of this movement, Maria Demchenko, is now in her second year in the Agricultural Academy in Kiev, studying to become an agronomist.

KHALIMA NASYROVA

THERE is a great deal of young talent in the Soviet Union—musicians and artists. The whole world rang with the successes of the Soviet violinists, Oistrakh, Goldstein, Hilels, Kozolunova and Fichtenholz, who were the victors in the Isaye international violin contest in Brussels, and the pianists Zak and Tamarkina who were awarded prizes in the Chopin piano contest in Warsaw. Then there is the famous twenty-four-year-old composer, Ivan Dzerzhinsky, who bases his compositions on the folk music of the Russian and Ukrainian peoples, the author of two operas which are played in all the opera houses in the U.S.S.R.

Particularly striking, however, is the development of youthful talent in the national republics of the Soviet Union. In the republics of Transcaucasia, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, talented poets, artists and singers are developing and coming forward, fostered by the Soviet government, and creating a new

artistic culture, national in form and socialist in content.

In the last year and a half, touring companies from several of the national theaters of the Soviet Republics visited Moscow—companies from the Ukraine, Georgia, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan. These companies have helped the Soviet artistic public to "discover" and properly appreciate artists of outstanding talent.

Among these, for instance, is the Uzbek singer and actress, Khalima Nasyrova, recently awarded the Order of Lenin. As well as possessing a splendid voice, this singer has exceptional dramatic talent. In her parts, she tries to depict the new Uzbek woman, emancipated and awakened to politically conscious life.

"The Young Communist League was responsible for my education," Khalima says in her account of her life. "My mother was one of the first women in Kokand [a town in Eastern Uzbekistan] to throw off the traditional veil and join the Party. She worked in a children's home, and it was there I grew up.

"Kokand is famed for its wonderful songs. My mother knew many songs about the hard life of the veiled women and I very soon learned them from her.

"From the children's home I was sent to study in the Women's School in Tashkent, where I received a secondary education and joined the Young Communist League. I had a strong desire to become an actress in order to be able from the stage to call upon all the women and girls of Uzbekistan to throw off their veils and acquire culture. The Young Communist League organization helped me to realize this desire. I was sent to study in the theatrical college in Baku.

"My natural vocal gifts soon suggested to People's Artist Uigur and the producer, Muzaffar Musamedov, the idea of presenting the opera 'Khalima,' and giving me the principle part in it. I was very much attracted by the part of the poor girl, Khalima, who is parted from the man she loves, married off to an old man and dies a victim of the old life. I worked a long time over this part, talking about the past with old Uzbek women.

"Now I can read music, and sing to a symphony orchestra. Before appearing as Shirin in the folk opera 'Farkhad and Shirin' I spent a long time studying the period of the writer, Navai.

"My husband, the dramatist, Yoshen Nugmanov, a Young Communist League member, and the artistic director of the theatre, Mukhamedov, has written a new opera called 'Gyulsara' which deals with the new life, with the emancipation of women in Uzbekistan."

Khalima Nasyrova appeared in Moscow in the part of Gyulsara, and met with great success. Through her, the Moscow public became acquainted for the first time with Uzbek music.

"New times—new songs." The emancipated peoples of the national republics of the U.S.S.R. are composing and singing new music, new songs, of the happy life which the great socialist revolution has brought them.

ERNST KRENKEL

IN the Soviet Union the name of Krenkel has become a household word. Whenever anyone wants to praise a radio fan, he says: "That's our Krenkel."

Ernst Theodorovich Krenkel is the famous Arctic radio operator who has been awarded the Order of the Red Star and the Order of the Red Banner of Labor by the Soviet government.

He was born in 1903. Both his father and mother were teachers. From his early years, Ernst took an interest in wireless, and was only twenty years old when he first visited the Arctic, getting a post as radio operator on Novaya Zemlya.

A year after this, he was called up for the Red Army. While in the army he trained many first-class radio operators, giving lessons to the young soldiers and teaching them how to take messages. After passing his examination for the post of junior commander, Krenkel again went to Novaya Zemlya as a radio operator. It was he who first tested the effectiveness of short wave messages in Arctic conditions.

Krenkel's whole life has been connected with the Arctic. He has lived all through the winter on Novaya Zemlya; he has built on Hooker Island the northernmost radio station in the world; he has sailed on the hydrographic steamer, the *Yaimir*; and has flown in the *Zeppelin*.

In all this, as well as in other work in the Arctic regions, he has pursued the one aim of helping to master the Far North, of helping to establish the Great Northern Route of the U.S.S.R. through the uncharted Arctic expanses.

In all his travels, in every wintering party of which he was a member, Krenkel has always and everywhere shown his own specific style of work, and everywhere inspired the comrades who worked with him with his persistence, energy and daring. He has always been able to organize his daily work with meticulous accuracy.

In the Arctic, he has worked as radio operator, washed floors, sawed ice (for water), cooked dinners, filed radiograms and studied politics. Though cut off from ordinary life, he has never felt bored in the Arctic.

Krenkel spent the year 1930 on Franz Joseph Land. On January 12, after sending his usual meteorological report, Krenkel sent out the signal: "Everybody: Everybody!", in an attempt, by trying out various waves, to reach some outlandish station.

Suddenly he heard signals. The unknown radio operator asked Krenkel where he was. Krenkel replied: the Soviet wintering station, Franz Joseph Island.

Krenkel's interlocutor tapped out: "Dear Friends: evidently we have made a long distance record by this exchange of messages, as we are speaking from the base of Admiral Byrd's American Expedition, in the region of the South Pole."

This was how Krenkel established radio communication between the Arctic and the South Pole.

Everyone knows the part Krenkel played in the Chelyuskin epic. Krenkel

was the radio operator for the Schmidt expedition all the time it was stranded on the ice, maintained constant radio communication with the mainland . . . and studied dialectical materialism in the class conducted by Otto Schmidt. He was among the last to leave the ice.

On hearing that an expedition to the North Pole was being discussed in scientific circles, Krenkel was immediately fired with enthusiasm for the daring plan. He became one of the famous quartette—Papanin, Fedorov, Shirshov and Krenkel—who are wintering at the North Pole, now conquered by the Bolsheviks.

From time to time the Soviet press publishes brief dispatches on the heroic workaday life of the men who are living at the Pole. The dispatches bear the modest signature: Krenkel.

VALERY CHKALOV

CHKALOV, Vodopyanov, Molokov, Kokkinaki, Gromov . . . there are many of these Soviet pilots, who combine fearlessness and valor with a profound knowledge of technique and boundless devotion to their fatherland.

Valery Chkalov, the hero of two historic flights—who with his companions, Baidukov and Belyakov, completed the non-stop flight from Moscow to Udd Island (now Chkalov Island) aboard the Soviet "ANT-25" plane, flying over unexplored regions from the capital of the Soviet Union to its Far Eastern borders, and in the summer of 1937, established a direct air route from Moscow to North America across the North Pole—gives the following account of his life:

"I first saw a hydroplane in 1919 in Nizhni-Novgorod, now called Gor'ki. I began to dream of learning to fly myself. I left the passenger steamer 'Bayan' on which I was working as a stoker, and joined the Red Army where I was enrolled as a fitter on airplane repairs.

"At long last I was sent to a flying school. Thus began my flying career, which, however, was not a straightforward one. When I had flown hundreds of hours I got bored. I began to seek

ways of applying my unrestrained passion for danger, my love of risks. In the search for new and fresh sensations, I did excessively daring and risky flights.

". . . it was only later when I began to work as a test pilot in the Research Institute of the Air Force, and afterwards in the Menzhinsky works that I found my mark. I was still undeterred by danger. But this was a different kind of danger—real danger which I faced carefully and cold-bloodedly. . . .

"The People's Commissar of Defense, K. E. Voroshilov, introduced me to Comrade Stalin, who asked me a number of questions and listened attentively to my replies. Then he asked why I did not use a parachute but always tried to save my plane.

"I replied that I flew on very valuable test planes which it would be a pity to see smashed.

"Your life is more precious to us than any plane," said Comrade Stalin.

"For a long time these striking words of Stalin remained in my mind: A pilot's life more precious than a plane!

"After my meeting with our great leader, my life became richer in content. I began to be more disciplined in flying than before. I seemed to be filled with new and greater strength to serve our great fatherland. . . . Our flight from Moscow to Udd Island was a result of my meeting with Comrade Stalin."

The success of the first long-distance flight did not satisfy Chkalov and his comrades, but inspired them to new efforts, to a fresh daring flight. And now that he has linked Moscow to America, Chkalov does not mean to rest on his laurels.

In a letter to Comrade Stalin he promises "to fly as long as my eyes can see the ground and my hands hold the steering wheel."

SOVIET SCIENTISTS

THE Soviet Union knows and appreciates its scientists. Not only the young scientist whose talents have been fostered by the Soviet Government, but also all valuable representa-

tives of the old scientific intelligentsia in the U.S.S.R. have been provided with the most favorable conditions for fruitful creative and research work.

Tsarist Russia was not only the prison of the peoples, but also the grave of talent. Many a brilliant and gifted son of the people was crushed and destroyed by the barbarous regime of tsarism. Every capable scientist who did not belong to the ruling classes and who was unwilling to cringe to the tsarist officials was cold-shouldered, persecuted and denied the opportunity to work.

The great Russian scientist, the father of Russian aviation, Konstantin Tsiolkovsky, lived for sixty years in poverty in an atmosphere of complete indifference, mockery, and persecution. In 1890, thirty years before the first airplane flight, Tsiolkovsky advanced the theory of the airplane, based upon mathematical data. In 1887, eight years before the first plan of the Zeppelin appeared, Tsiolkovsky made a public statement on the metal dirigible. But the tsarist government gave him no opportunity to carry out any of his projects or any of his ideas. When Tsiolkovsky first advanced a scientifically grounded hypothesis on the possibility of interplanetary travel, he was scoffed at as a dreamer.

The Soviet Government gave new meaning to Tsiolkovsky's life. For the first time in his life he was given a chance to carry on his scientific work, while lacking for nothing; for the first time in his life he received recognition as a scientist.

In September, 1935, the aged Tsiolkovsky became seriously ill. The best medical men tried in vain to save his life. Feeling death approaching, Tsiolkovsky sent a letter full of dignity and sincerity to Comrade Stalin in which he wrote:

"Most wise leader and friend of all the toilers, Comrade Stalin!

"All my life I dreamed of my efforts to help humanity onward, no matter how little. Until the Revolution, my dream could not be realized.

"Only the October Revolution brought recognition to the efforts of the self-taught man. Only the Soviet Government and the Party of Lenin-Stalin gave me real help. I felt the love of the masses, of the people, and this gave me strength to continue my work even after I became ill. However, my illness does not permit me now to finish the work I have begun.

"All my work on aviation, rocket-flying and inter-planetary travel I hand over to the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Government, the true leaders of the progress of human culture. I am confident that they will complete this work successfully.

"Ever yours in heart and mind,

"With a last sincere greeting,

"K. TSIOLKOVSKY."

IVAN PAVLOV

The life of Academician Ivan Pavlov was somewhat different. The tsarist government could not help recognizing the scientific services of this great physiologist, although they hindered him in his program as far as possible. The Minister of Education, Delyanov, for instance, refused to sanction his appointment to a professorship in Tomsk University when he was asked to take this post in 1890.

In 1904, Pavlov was awarded the Nobel prize for his scientific work. He was elected an honorary, or full, member of the academies of most of the countries of the world. For this reason, the officials of the old regime could not make up their minds to persecute him openly—a scientist with a world reputation—although by his theory of conditioned reflexes he helped to give a scientific basis to a materialist, atheistic conception of the universe.

Pavlov did not at once understand the meaning of the great Socialist Revolution. He was sceptical toward it at first and did not conceal the fact. But the Soviet Government gave him great assistance in the development of his scientific researches. His laboratory in Koltush (outside of Leningrad), which before the Revolution was com-

paratively modestly equipped, became, under Soviet rule, a tremendous combination of scientific institutions.

After a great inner struggle, doubts and waverings, Pavlov recognized the justice of the Bolshevik cause and made an open declaration of this for all to hear. He became a genuine Soviet scientist. He saw in the working class the only force capable of fighting to the end for peace, progress and the triumph of science.

In an article addressed to the Soviet youth and published in February, 1936, after his death, Pavlov wrote:

"Our country opens great expanses to scientists, and—credit where credit is due—science is being generously applied in our country. Generously, to the last degree.

"What shall I say of the position of the young scientist of our country! Here everything is clear: much is given to him and much is demanded from him. And for the young people, as for us, it is a matter of honor to justify those great hopes which our country places in science."

TROFIM LYSENKO

ON JANUARY 2, 1936, the old Ukrainian collective farmer Denis Nakanovovich Lysenko and his wife, Oxana Fominichna, sent a letter to Comrade Stalin. In this letter, they expressed their feelings at the honor received by their son, Academician Trofim Lysenko, who had been awarded the Order of Lenin—the highest honor in the Soviet Union.

"Before the revolution, it was hard for our son Trofim to study," they wrote. "They would not take him, a peasant boy, a muzhik's son, into the agricultural college, although he had a splendid school record. Trofim had to go to the Poltava nurseries. He would have stayed there all his life, a gardener, only for the Revolution, only for the Soviet Government.

"Is there another such country in the world, where a poor peasant's son could become an Academician? No!"

Academician Lysenko, the scientific director of the Odessa Genetic Selection Research Institute, was famous throughout the Soviet Union as a daring innovator in agricultural science, even before he was awarded the Order of Lenin. Like many other Soviet scientists, he strove unceasingly in all his work to strengthen the bonds between labor and science, between theory and practice. He was guided in his work by Comrade Stalin's well-known statement: "Science is called science because it bows to no fetishes, is not afraid to raise its hand against what is old and outworn, and to listen attentively to the voice of experience and practice."

Lysenko was the first person to propose and develop the theory of stages in plant development. This theory starts from the fact that every plant in its development from the sowing of the seed till the ripening of the new seeds goes through a number of qualitative changes, or stages, each of which requires special conditions in the external surroundings. If the chief stages of development of a plant are known, if the conditions which each of these stages requires are known, then it is possible to create these conditions artificially and thereby affect the development of the plant to suit the convenience of man.

For instance, it will be possible, previous to sowing it, to make grain pass through a number of the stages which it formerly passed through in the earth. Through this theory of stages, Lysenko discovered vernalization—an agricultural method by which winter wheats may be sown in spring, after their seeds have been subjected to the necessary treatment. This method, which is being successfully supplied today in many collective farms, helps to increase the yield, vernalized wheat being of high quality. The theory of stages is also being applied successfully in the cross-breeding of plants, in obtaining new frost-resisting or drought-resisting varieties. Thanks to Lysenko's experiments, the southern provinces of the Soviet Union have been able to grow

potatoes for the first time.

Lysenko is working also on obtaining fast-ripening varieties of wheat, which will give two crops in the year. In 1936 he succeeded in getting two crops from the "1163" wheat he had obtained. The wheat crop sown in March was reaped in July, and the seeds collected sown again immediately. The second crop yielded ten centners a hectare. In 1937, this breed of wheat was propagated in 129 collective farms.

Lysenko is indebted for his scientific successes to a considerable extent to the collective farm movement. Without collective farms, the mass experimentation and testing done by them, Lysenko's scientific theories could not have obtained such swift development. For instance experiments in intravarietal crossing by the Lysenko method are carried out in 15,000 collective farms in 1937. And then again, only under a socialist collective rural economy can there be a wide practical application of science to agriculture.

Lysenko is not alone. In the Soviet Union there are many talented scientists, fostered by the Soviet Government, closely bound up with the people, who are placing all their work at the service of the great cause of socialism.

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 Encyclopedia, 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 defense 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 airplanes 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 Ex-

pedition." 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, persistence, self-sacrifice, ability to work in an organized 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 Papanin 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."

The Pact Against Democracy and Peace

BY V. PETER

ON NOVEMBER 6, fascist Italy officially joined 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 dictators. Only naive 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 adherence 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 organized the attack upon Ethiopia and cut tens of thousands of Ethiopians to pieces. "For the sake of peace" German and Italian fascism prepared and organized the rebellion of the

Spanish rebels and sent airplanes, 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 civilization." 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 neighbor China a good deal. Japan is expanding. But what country does not during the period of its expansion get on the nerves of its neighbors?"

Such is the language of the angels of peace, who have united in Rome to bring "civilization 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 Ethiopia and Majorca by Italian fas-

cism 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 *Allgemeinezeitung*, 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 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, putsches, wars of aggression without declaring war—all these they have christened "the struggle against Communism."

The Italian newspaper *Stampa* characterizes the real meaning of the pact with great ease. In menacing tones it declares that Czechoslovakia is "a Bol-

shevik 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 tomorrow 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'etat* 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 warmongers 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 of averting 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 pre-

cisely 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 warmongers the same sort of deserved and resolute resistance as is the Soviet Union.

Aye, It Doesn't Depend on You, Mr. Bauer!

BY PETER VIDEN

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 recognize 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 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 to the land of socialism growing up all round. 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 Trotskyite-Bukharinite-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 Trotskyites, people like Souverine, like Schlamm, while the works of the great writers who recognize 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 Trotskyite 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 any one 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 Trotskyite 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 prole-

ariat, 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 action of the Trotskyites, 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 is more and more coming to understand the need to rally all the forces of freedom, peace, democracy, is 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 the "liberation struggle" 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 Trotskyite armor-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 Special Eighth All-Union 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 up America." But despite all his stupidity, Schedrin's bureaucrat thereupon added to himself: "But me-thinks this 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 fables, 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, is the day of national revolution of the Czech people, which ended on October 28, 1918, with the proclamation of the independent Czechoslovak Republic.

Stivin quite justifiably stresses the great importance of the date, October 14, and thereby the outstanding 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 underestimated, and is denied by Czechoslovak reactionary circles. . . . A straight line leads from the Russian events at the end of 1917 to our October 14, 1918."

In another article printed in the

Pravo Lidu, Stivin is forced to recognize that the Soviet Union belongs to the "group of peace-loving powers" and "belongs to the anti-fascist powers." This does not prevent him from arriving in the same article at a profoundly incorrect, slanderous conclusion about the nature of the state power in the U.S.S.R.

Still, what Stivin admits is extremely significant. As we know, Stivin is one of the group of reactionary Social-Democratic leaders who to this day considers that the working class of Czechoslovakia needs unity in order . . . to make concessions to the reactionary pro-Hitler forces.

The new feature in Stivin's articles is not to be explained by friendship for the Soviet Union, but by the fact that the peace and independence of his own country are in extreme danger and that the mass of working people are exerting considerable pressure on the reactionary leaders of Czechoslovak Social-Democracy.

The links that bind the Czech October of 1918 to the great socialist revolution in Russia are stronger and more vital today than ever before. The working class and all the democratic strata of the people in Czechoslovakia know how to value as their own vital cause the peaceful and democratic policy of the Soviet Union, which is directed towards the defense of small states against the fascist aggressors.

The changes in the international and internal position of Czechoslovakia have forced Stivin and his friends to agree

to the need for proceeding to resist the fascist aggressors.

In analyzing the importance of October 14, Stivin regards this question only from the historical viewpoint, just as he does the question of the appraisal of the role of the U.S.S.R. He also displays some hesitation on the question of the struggle on the international field. This, of course, is no accident. Were Stivin unhesitatingly and thoroughly to draw from the great socialist revolution in the U.S.S.R. lessons for the fate of democracy now menaced by fascism, for the independence of small peoples and for the future of the Czechoslovak working class, he would have to tell himself quite a few bitter truths.

He would have to recall the indisputable unity of the masses of the working people of Czechoslovakia in 1918, and draw therefrom the corresponding conclusions for today. Then it was a question of winning national liberty, today it is a question of defending the independence of the Czechoslovak nation, of defending Czechoslovakia and her working people from the fascist offensive.

He would have to admit that the defense of the cause of the Czechoslovak working class and the Czech people demands above all that the anti-fascist strivings for unity by the working class and the masses of the people should not be retarded, but supported to the utmost.

The memory of October 14, 1918, and the present situation require that the leaders of Czechoslovak Social-Democracy, in the vital interests of their own people, of their own working class, cease at last to slander the victorious socialism of the Soviet Union, cease to sponsor

and aid, in their anti-Soviet calumny, the sworn enemies of Czechoslovakia—Hitler fascism and its Czechoslovak hirelings.

The consistent defense of the cause of the Czechoslovak October, the inner unity between which and the proletarian revolution in Russia is recognized by Stivin after the event, still requires much more of him and his friends. He should admit that the criminal designs of Hitler's Trotskyite agents in the ranks of the Social-Democratic movement of Czechoslovakia constitute a direct menace to the vital interests of the Czechoslovak people. The Trotskyites in the Prague *Social-Democrat* and other places are employing adventurous and provocative methods in their efforts to slander in every way possible the struggle for peace, to undermine the friendship between Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R., to accelerate war by a fascist bloc against the U.S.S.R. A stop must be put to these intrigues.

The great socialist revolution in the U.S.S.R. paved the way for the national liberty of the Czechoslovak people. This road was taken by the masses of Czechoslovak factory workers and working people generally. Today Hitler fascism is menacing the independence of the Czechoslovak people. What is needed is unity of the masses in order to defend the gains achieved. Stivin and his friends have begun to understand a little. It is time—the time has long gone by—to draw all the necessary conclusions from the situation that has arisen, a situation that threatens the independence of the Czechoslovak republic, the loss of all the gains won by the people during the glorious days of October, 1918.

The Gestapo Against the German People

BY E. FUNK

GERMANY is covered with a dense network of compulsory fascist organizations. All citizens are obliged to belong to one of the organizations: the "German Labor Front," the "Imperial League of Public Catering," or the "German Women's Alliance" (Deutsches Frauenwerk), etc. These organizations 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 organizations 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 exist in these organizations.

In the "German Labor 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 "Labor Front" organizations in the factories.

These compulsory organizations are linked by a thousand ties to the fascist police. The rank-and-file officials in factories and offices, in villages and handicraft workers' organizations 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 organizations 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 factory prisons have been established to suppress workers' activities. For example, not so long ago at the "Leun" works in Central Germany, a big factory prison was handed over to the factory 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 Southwest 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-around control: first, meetings can only take place under the leadership of the National-Socialists; second, those who attend the meetings are systematically followed.

In addition to the compulsory organizations in Germany, mentioned above, there are large numbers of fascist terrorist organizations of a military character: the "Defense 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 of the fascist rulers to this is to resort to still sharper repression.

Even in the camp of the ruling class voices are being 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 theater 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 today," 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 already to the severest of police measures in the attempt to render harmless today "that section of the front known as internal Germany." "In order to ensure calm, and with the agreement of the Fuehrer, 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 organization cannot arise, for lack of officials and leaders." This is his recipe today and for the future.

As regards the treatment of 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 labor 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 favorable soil for extremely unpleasant phenomena during the course of 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 organize 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 with out mercy. It cannot be otherwise." But since the practice of all the fascist organizations 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 today 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 a ferocious, but an unstable rule." (Dimitroff.)

Himmler's speech about war preparations in Germany itself is a document saturated with barbaric cruelty. The speech, however, can deceive no one. Everything in it shouts aloud that "the present rulers of the capitalist world are temporary." (Dimitroff.)

The Struggle for Trade Union Unity in the U.S.A.

BY WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

IN THE 1934 American Federation of Labor Convention in San Francisco a group of union leaders headed by John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers, declared that craft unionism was powerless to organize the armies of workers in the mass production industries (steel, auto, rubber, etc.) and proposed that a system of industrial unionism be established in these industries. This proposition met with strong opposition from the craft union leaders who dominate the A. F. of L. The fight raged on through the 1935 Atlantic City Convention, with the Lewis forces polling about 40 per cent of the convention vote.

Shortly after this convention, early in 1936, the Lewis group of ten unions formed the Committee for Industrial Organization and began to organize workers into the regularly established A. F. of L. unions in the mass production industries. This action was entirely within their rights under the A. F. of L. constitution; but the A. F. of L. Executive Council leaders, Green, Woll, Hutcheson, Frey, Wharton, etc., took violent exception to it. They denounced the C.I.O. as a dual organization and, several months later, in flagrant violation of the A. F. of L. constitution, they suspended eight of the ten C.I.O. unions with about one million members, or almost one-third of the total A. F. of L. membership. The 1936 A. F. of L. Convention at Tampa, in which the C.I.O. unions were denied representation, ratified the suspension.

Since it was formed the C.I.O. has conducted trade union organization work on a scale hitherto unknown in this country.

Several hundreds of paid organizers have been put in the field, 250 in steel alone. It now numbers (October, 1937), more than 3,718,000 members and it is growing rapidly in many industries. In fact, the C.I.O. has already demonstrated the validity of its program of industrial unionism. In every mass production industry in the country, besides various other industries not classed as such, it has established strong and vigorous unions. The notorious trustified open shop industries which for 50 years successfully resisted the craft unions' attempts to organize them have been captured for trade unionism by the C.I.O.

The C.I.O.'s most striking success is in the automobile industry. The United Auto Workers Union a year ago was a struggling union of some 30,000 members without recognition in the industry; now it is a vigorous organization of about 400,000 and has trade union agreements with every important automobile concern in the country except the Ford Motor Company. Henry Ford, an ultra-reactionary, is making a stubborn resistance to the union. Therefore, in the next months we may expect to see a bitter struggle between him and the C.I.O. over the organization of his 125,000 workers.

In steel also the C.I.O. has scored a major success. This industry has long been the central fortress of the anti-union employers of America. A year ago the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers had less than 10,000 members and agreements with only a few small companies. But now it has agreements covering some 490,000

workers, including those in the plants of the great United States Steel Corporation. In this industry the C.I.O. also struck a serious snag in its recent strike against the four largest independent steel companies (Republic, Bethlehem, Youngstown Sheet and Tube, and Inland). This strike, involving some 90,000 workers, was smashed with the use of troops, police and gunmen. Eighteen strikers were killed. This defeat somewhat checked the tumultuous progress of the C.I.O., but it nevertheless goes ahead rapidly.

In many other industries the C.I.O. has important successes to its credit. In textile the weak United Textile Workers has been built up to an organization of some 340,000; it is growing fast and has just concluded a successful strike of 90,000 silk workers. In radio and electric a strong and growing union of 100,000 has been built up. The United Rubber Workers, with only a small membership a year ago, now has 73,000 and agreements with the leading companies. Other successes have been scored in general transport (New York City), oil, marine, metal mining, glass, aluminum, agriculture, etc.

The advance of the C.I.O. has been accompanied by a great mass enthusiasm and militancy. A whole new young progressive trade union leadership is springing up. The use of the sit-down strike has been widespread, especially in the highly complicated automobile industry. Mass picketing has also been employed on a scale hitherto unknown in the United States.

And the C.I.O. new unions, as they come into existence, are being organized on democratic principles far in advance of the A. F. of L.

The C.I.O. growth has given birth to a great strike wave, in which many A. F. of L. unions also are taking part. This strike movement has been further stimulated by the increase in industrial production now taking place and the rapid rise in the cost of living. The United States Chamber of Commerce declares that never in any peace year has there been so many strikes. In a bulletin it

says, "In the first six month of 1937 a total of 2,512 strikes were begun, compared with 1,077 in the same period of 1936 and 2,048 in the record year of 1917." I might add, also, that except in the World War days, the workers never before won such a large percentage of their strikes.

In this great organizing strike movement the Communist Party has played a very important role. It threw its best forces into the struggle. It is now conducting the biggest Party recruiting campaign in its history in order to draw into its ranks thousands of its new proletarian contacts.

THE SABOTAGE AND RESISTANCE OF THE A. F. OF L. LEADERS TO THE GROWTH OF THE C. I. O.

The craft union leaders have watched the spectacular growth of the C.I.O. with obvious alarm. They became almost panicky at the time of the C.I.O.'s great strike victory over the General Motors Company and its signing of an agreement with the United States Steel Corporation. Fearful of losing their positions at the head of organized labor, these reactionary bureaucrats have stuck at nothing, not even open strike-breaking, to stop the progress of the C.I.O.

When the General Motors strike was at its most crucial point and the immediate fate of the C.I.O.'s whole organization drive depended upon the success of this great strike, William Green, President of A. F. of L., telephoned to the Governor of Michigan, who was conducting the strike conference, and urged him to prevent the General Motors from signing an agreement with C.I.O. This gross betrayal did not succeed, however, and when the C.I.O. secured not only favorable agreements with the General Motors, but also with the Chrysler and United States Steel, Green joined with the reactionary capitalist press in denouncing these important settlements as betrayals of the labor movement.

The A. F. of L. leaders have also used a whole bag of other disruptive tricks against the C.I.O. They have carried on

a policy of gradually suspending C.I.O. delegates out of the city and state federations of labor in order to prevent co-operation of A. F. of L. lower bodies with the C. I. O.

At the present time the influential capitalist press is carrying on a powerful agitation against the C.I.O. The burden of its song is that the C.I.O. is dominated by Communists and that its policies are lawless and destructive. The A. F. of L. leaders joined whole-heartedly in this union-smashing campaign and have become leaders of it. Green denounced the sit-down strike and mass picketing as criminal offenses, declared the C.I.O. unions to be irresponsible, and alleged that the policies of the C.I.O. are dictated by the Central Committee of the Communist Party. Green's, Frey's and Woll's attacks of the C.I.O. are almost indistinguishable from those of the worst capitalist enemies of labor, the Girdlers, Hearsts, Fords, *et. al.*

The A. F. of L. is making open war upon the C.I.O. and says so publicly. This has already had international repercussions by the A. F. of L.'s rushing off to the Warsaw meeting of the Amsterdam International to renew its international affiliations and thus to forestall possible international recognition of the C.I.O.

This A. F. of L. leaders' war against the C.I.O. lacks real mass support. The C.I.O. is very popular among the masses, not only those in its own unions and among the unorganized, but also in the A. F. of L. organizations. The A. F. of L. workers are largely infected with the C.I.O.'s militant spirit. But the A. F. of L. bureaucrats' splitting war, although it does not stop the progress of the C.I.O., is certainly a big handicap to it. Were trade union unity established on a sound basis, far greater progress would be made in organizing the unorganized.

RELATION OF FORCES BETWEEN THE A. F. OF L. AND THE C.I.O.

The C.I.O.'s latest figures (October) show 3,718,000 members; while those of the A. F. of L. (August) claim 3,600,000

members, a figure obviously much inflated.

The A. F. of L. membership is distributed into 100 national unions, while the C.I.O.'s is contained in 32 unions. This shows the much greater concentration of the C.I.O. unions. The largest A. F. of L. unions are: the carpenters, 300,000; electrical workers (principally building trades), 170,000; chauffeurs, 161,000; machinists (light metal), 113,000; musicians, 100,000. The largest C.I.O. organizations are: the coal miners, 600,000; steel workers, 490,000; auto workers, 400,000; textile workers, 340,000; ladies' garment workers, 250,000; men's clothing, 180,000; wood workers (lumber), 100,000; agricultural, 100,000; oil, 100,000; radio and electrical (manufacturing), 100,000.

The C.I.O. industrial unions completely dominate coal and metal mining, steel and heavy metal, clothing, auto, textile, lumber, oil, agriculture, glass, rubber.

The A. F. of L. craft unions occupy the field alone in the building trades. The A. F. of L. further has a strong group in the railroads.

In light metal there is an open struggle between the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions, with the tide going toward the former. The same is also true of the meat packing industry, where C.I.O. organization is becoming strongly dominant. In the hotels and restaurants, although the A. F. of L. still has the upper hand, the mass sentiment is decidedly C.I.O. In the printing trades, the largest union, the printers (90,000) is sympathetic to, and through its president is connected with, the C.I.O. And in the shoe industry the C.I.O. is dominant.

At the present time the Teachers' Union and the Newspaper Guild, both unions with officers openly affiliated to the C.I.O., are now taking referendum votes regarding affiliation.

During the past three months a number of A. F. of L. unions, principally those of a progressive character, have gone over to the C.I.O. The C.I.O. has become the main American trade union center. This for three major reasons: First, the C.I.O., growing rapidly, al-

ready has very probably a somewhat larger actual membership than the A. F. of L. Second, the C.I.O. is more strategically situated in industry than is the A. F. of L., its main stronghold being the basic, mass production industries; whereas the A. F. of L., except for transport, is concentrated chiefly in the lighter industries. Third, the C.I.O., possessed of more progressive leadership, policies and structure than the A. F. of L., is more capable of defending the economic and political interests of the working class.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE MENACE OF REACTION, FOR TRADE UNION UNITY

There is a great necessity that unity be established in the American labor movement. If based on a sound program, such unity would vastly strengthen the trade union movement all along the line. The joining together of the A. F. of L. unions and the C.I.O., with the latter's new millions of members, new policies, new leadership, new structure and new enthusiasm, would shake the conservative and antiquated A. F. of L. craft union system to its foundations. It would decisively strengthen the progressive forces in the coming elections and would improve the workers' hegemony in the progressive movements and realignments now taking place. It would also lead to American labor's taking a more constructive, resolute attitude towards the interventionist wars in Spain and China.

But there is another, still more urgent, reason why trade union unity needs to be achieved. This is the fact that the forces of reaction, defeated heavily in November, 1936, presidential elections, are now dangerously raising their head again and, in order to fight them back, trade union unity is one of the measures basically necessary.

After the national elections, with the workers in a very militant mood, the C.I.O. had plain sailing. Its great organizing campaigns prospered and it easily won strike after strike. The capitalists became alarmed and the A. F. of L. leaders panicky. Quickly the employers began to organize their forces. They

launched a widespread press campaign against the C.I.O. as Communist-led. They attacked the National Labor Relations Board as dominated by the C.I.O. They violently condemned the sit-down strike and mass picketing as Communist importations from Moscow. They demanded that the trade unions be legally curbed. They evaded the laws against company unionism by reorganizing these bodies as pseudo-independent unions. They armed their factories. They blamed the whole labor upheaval upon the Roosevelt administration. They lavished praise upon the conservative A. F. of L. leaders. They especially tried to drive a wedge between the workers and the farmers, and city petty bourgeoisie.

The employers made their first successful stand against the great organizing campaign in the C.I.O. strike of so-called "little steel," already mentioned. The crushing of the strike as a result of physical violence over the workers has had important consequences. For one thing it somewhat checked the stormy advance of the C.I.O. It also sharpened relations between Lewis and Roosevelt, because in the heat of the fierce strike, Roosevelt criticized the militancy of the strikers and several of his most influential people demanded that the Communists be driven out of the C.I.O. But, more important, the employers' strike victory in "little steel" enormously enthused the reactionary forces. Their whole press sang a paean of victory.

They redoubled their attacks on the C.I.O. and the Roosevelt administration, and they began definitely to pass over to the offensive.

The next big clash came in Congress around Roosevelt's plan to reorganize the United States Supreme Court. No sooner had the President made this proposal than the whole reactionary pack were after him in full cry. Not only the Republicans who are the real leaders of the reaction, but also the conservative Democrats. Whole great sections of the Democratic Party are reactionary in the South, New York City, Chicago, etc., and the entrenched reactionaries, long chafing under Roosevelt's progressive pro-

gram, were able to seize upon the Supreme Court issue to organize themselves and to deal a blow at Roosevelt's policy. As the world now knows, they succeeded, together with Republican help, in defeating Roosevelt's court proposal and in smothering his legislative program.

While not overestimating the importance of this reactionary victory it would be dangerous to pass it over as unimportant. It is patent that the progressive forces have urgent need to reform their lines. They must center upon the big political issues they are going to fight upon, and enter militantly into the coming local and state elections. They must strengthen the alliance between the workers, farmers and lower city petty bourgeoisie—which has become somewhat strained in the big struggle. And especially the workers need to unify the trade union movement. There is no single measure that will more strengthen the progressive line-up, inspire the broad masses and bring greater dismay to the capitalist reactionaries than a movement on the part of the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. to unify their forces. The Communist Party is laying great stress upon all these proposals in its agitation and mass work.

THE PERSPECTIVES OF THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY IN THE U.S.A.

The near future holds in store sharp political struggles for the United States. The capitalist reactionaries, for their part, are eager to follow up their recent successes by fresh attacks on the progressive elements. They have a number of immediate objectives in mind: to defeat Roosevelt's New Deal legislative proposals, to undermine Roosevelt's mass prestige and to split the Democratic Party, to stop the advance of the C.I.O., to revive the anemic Republican Party.

The toiling masses are also in a fighting mood. The hardships of this last economic crisis are still fresh in their minds, and signs multiply of a new coming crash. With living costs rising rapidly and with 8,000,000 still unemployed, the workers are militant in their demands for wage increases, hours' limita-

tions, unemployment relief and the right to organize. The farmers are also clamorous for relief, and discontent is also widespread among the white collar elements. And the leaders of these various groups are putting forth militant slogans, including demands for an active peace policy aimed to curb the fascists.

President Roosevelt, in a number of recent speeches, has announced that he will continue the fight to curb the Supreme Court and in support of his legislative program. He declared for "democracy and more democracy," and named the United States Chamber of Commerce, the Liberty League and the National Association of Manufacturers as dangerous enemies of American democracy. John L. Lewis, head of the C.I.O., militantly denounced the reactionary Congress and broadly hinted at the necessity for the workers to form a political party of their own, and the farm organization leaders are aggressively demanding suitable farm legislation.

In the next months these big class forces will clash on several battle grounds.* The fall municipal elections, especially in New York City, will be a series of sharp struggles between the forces of reaction and democracy, likewise the Congressional elections of 1938. There will also be a bitter fight at the next session of Congress.

Besides this, serious struggles loom on the industrial field, notably in the C.I.O. campaigns to organize the Ford plant and the textile industry. The five railroad brotherhoods, most conservative of American labor unions, are also now threatening to strike nationally if their wage demands are not met.

In entering this great struggle period the political forces of the people are only scatteringly organized. There is no formal People's Front in existence, and the Democratic Party, the vehicle around which the progressive forces have rallied in the past five years, is surging with reactionary factionalism and it is less than ever a fit instrument for organizing the struggle against the gathering forces of reaction and fascism. This lack of organization is being keenly felt and

there is growing talk of labor and its allies organizing a Farmer-Labor Party for the 1940 national elections.

But the weakest spot in the people's organization is the split in the ranks of organized labor. Although they talk much of unity, the A. F. of L. leaders in the meantime prepare unrelenting war against the C.I.O. They demand unconditional surrender by the C.I.O. And as for the latter organization, it puts all its stress on pushing through its organizing campaigns. The C.I.O. has done splendid work in organizing the new unions and arousing the workers' political consciousness, but it is a great weakness that it does not give a more aggressive lead for the establishment of trade union unity.

The situation is now especially ripe for the C.I.O. actively to fight for unity. Not only for the political reasons above-cited, but also because it has demonstrated in practice the validity of its industrial union program. A year ago many honest trade unionists had doubts of the advisability of setting up industrial unions in the mass production industries; but now that proposal has been proved correct by life itself. Auto, steel, rubber, etc., have been largely organized. The industrial unions are here in the flesh, millions strong, and labor unity can and must be brought about on the basis of the recognition of this living fact. The A. F. of L. proposal to split these new industrial unions into a multiplicity of craft unions is unthinkable.

Among the masses of organized and unorganized workers themselves strong unity tendencies are in evidence, notwithstanding the hostility of the reactionary leaders of the A. F. of L. and the inactivity of the C.I.O. on this question. These unity tendencies are manifested in various ways: by cooperation of C.I.O. and A. F. of L. locals in organizing campaigns and strike, by their carrying on of joint legislative activities, by the refusal of A. F. of L. central labor councils and state federations of labor to expel C.I.O. local unions, by the adoption of trade union unity resolutions, etc.

The Communist Party is pushing an

active campaign for trade union unity. As practical immediate steps towards unity it proposes (a) full support to the C.I.O. organizing campaigns and strikes; (b) the cultivation of all possible cooperation between A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unions in strikes, legislative activities, etc.; (c) the holding of a great unity convention to unite the C.I.O., the A. F. of L. and the railroad brotherhoods into one powerful federation.

In the big industrial and political struggles now convulsing the United States there are gradually being laid the foundations of a broad People's Front to struggle against the forces of reaction, fascism and war. The Communist Party has need to exert all its initiative and energy to give the maximum possible development to this vital mass movement, the first proletarian axle of which is made up of the progressive unions and the movement for trade union unity.

This article was written before the conclusion of the national C.I.O. conference which was held October 11-15 in Atlantic City, New Jersey. This conference, which was attended by about four hundred leaders and officers of the thirty-two affiliated C.I.O. unions, sent a unanimously approved telegram to the A. F. of L. convention, then in session in Denver, Colo., proposing a unity conference between representative delegations of the two organizations.

At the first sessions of this unity conference, held November 4, the C.I.O. submitted as a basis for the unification of the trade union movement the following:

1. The organization of the unorganized in the mass production, public utilities and marine industries into industrial unions;

2. The organization of a "C.I.O." department within the A. F. of L. which is to have complete autonomy and sole responsibility for the organization of the above-mentioned categories of workers and complete control of these organizations. This department is to include, in addition to those to be organized, the affiliated unions of the C.I.O.;

3. The holding of a national convention of delegates from the now existing C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions for the adoption of this agreement and perfecting the organizational details.

These proposals were taken into "consideration" by the A. F. of L.

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 twenty 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 organized 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 labor 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 labor 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 stronger than ever 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 businessmen, farmers and 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 organization, with its history of struggle reaching back to the Chartists, to lead in organizing and

rallying the whole people, but the chief labor organizations 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 labor movement to the advantage of no one but the capitalists.

The recent Labor 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 Seventh 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 Seventh 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 Trotskyite 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 trade 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 with expulsion and excommunication Stafford Cripps, who led the campaign inside the Labor Party. They prevented help being given to Spain, sup-

ported 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 Labor 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 labor 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 Labor 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 Labor Party, stood out clearly but a large center 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 their splitting plans and compelled the Right wing to maneuver. 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. In July there was a definite outspoken opposition in Parliament to the National government policy comprising Labor and Liberal M.P.'s and Lloyd George.

Second, 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 Labor Party as itself being the "one and only" united front.

Third, the obvious setback to the Labor Party throughout the country, caused by the Bevin-Citrine policy and the apparent unlikelihood of an early Labor

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 Labor and Liberal intellectuals.

Fourth, 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 labor 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 Trade Union Congress in September and the Labor Party Conference in October, the Bevin-Citrine leadership planned its maneuver 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 Labor 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 program.

How did the maneuver succeed? At the Trades Union Congress it was successful; at the Labor Party Conference the Bevin-Citrine group, while winning on the question of arms and unity, were severely defeated on inner-party democracy and on the elections to the Executive. The Labor Party Conference represents a defeat that seriously impairs the success of the whole maneuver.

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 interna-

tional 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.

Actually, this yielding on Spain, China on 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 Trades Union Congress.

At the Labor 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 by referring back 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 Labor 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 Labor Parties and by the election of new forces standing for working class unity. The local Labor 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 five to seven, 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 representa-

tives directly by the local Labor Parties. They were defeated. Further, the local Labor Parties made use of their newly-won rights to elect to the Executive as their representatives, Cripps (leader of the campaign for unity within the Labor Party), Laski and Pritt. This was a still more serious defeat.

The *Daily Herald*, together with the *Manchester Guardian*, tried to make light of this result which they presented as evidence of the magnanimity and brotherly-love spirit of the Labor leaders. But the fact was that the representatives of the local Labor Parties, though by no means all of them Left in their outlook, are seriously alarmed by the situation of the Labor 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 "Labor 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 Labor 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 Labor 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 freelancers 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 Labor Party Conference have caused dismay among the bourgeoisie. Despite the reactionary decisions on unity and on the arms policy of the National government, this Bournemouth Labor 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, require 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 labor 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 Labor Party is organized 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 labor immediately—the greater will be the possibilities for the development of a mass movement of all working class and progressive people of Britain."

But for this purpose, and for the defeat of the National government, working class unity is essential. Therefore, the Communist Party of Great Britain in this statement once again expressed

"its readiness to become affiliated to the Labor Party" and said:

"We wish to overcome the difficulties which have hitherto prevented cooperation between the Labor 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 Labor Party, it will abide by all decisions of Labor Party Conferences; it will not ask for special privileges and will accept the same obligations and rights as all other affiliated organizations to the Labor Party."

It dealt with the various objections raised to Communist affiliation and stated that:

"The Communist Party in all earnestness and seriousness declares its readi-

ness to discuss with representatives of the Labor 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 Labor 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 Belgian Labor Party Congress

BY T. ALVAREZ

THE Fifty-sixth Annual Congress of the Belgian Labor 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 Communist Party and proletarian unity on the pages of the Socialist press, despite the measures adopted to hamper the activities of rank-and-file organizations, despite the slanderous speeches made by the congress by Haye, the trade union leader who defended the viewpoint of the reactionary, Right leaders of the Belgian Labor 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 Labor 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, criticized the policy of the party on the question of unity and the report made by Buset, declaring that it was essential to give all-around consideration to the serious-

ness 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 Labor Party, to all Socialist organizations 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 Labor 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 Labor 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 organizations affiliated to the Belgian Labor Party, for instance, the Brussels Builders' Union, some of the Brussels branches of the Labor 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 Communist Party of Belgium to the Belgian Labor Party as an autonomous body.

These organizations declared for the establishment of unity with the Communists. The Congress of the Brussels organizations of the Belgian Labor 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 Labor 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 today: 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 Brouckere, President of the Socialist International and one of the oldest leaders of the Belgian Labor Party, and of Bosmans, one of the few delegates from the rank-and-file or-

ganizations, showed how great is the desire for unity of a certain section of the Socialists. De Brouckere made a long speech in favor of unity with the Communist Party.

On October 10, during the work of the Congress of the Belgian Labor Party, a demonstration of 30,000 people took place in Brussels, organized 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 honor 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 Brouckere also expressed this in a telegram addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party 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 Brouckere wrote, but the reactionary leaders of the Belgian Labor Party continue the campaign against unity, against the Communists. What is more, they are acting to the detriment of their own party, the Belgian Labor Party, when they try to split the Young Socialist Guard organization. They are acting to the detriment of the Belgian Labor Party and the trade union commission when they want to drive out of the Socialist trade unions about 100,000 members who sympathize with the Communists.

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 organizations of the Belgian youth: the Socialist Young Guard and the Young Communist League, a united organization 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 organizations of the Youth Socialist Guard, and also of the reactionary leaders of the Belgian Labor Party.

On the eve of the Youth Unity Congress, the leadership of the Labor 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 Labor 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 Labor 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 Labor Party, at the session of the General Council which took place on August 25, resorted to a new maneuver 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 Labor Party," and that the "Socialist Youth Guard must subordinate itself to the discipline and decisions of the Belgian Labor Party."

This decision of the General Council of the Belgian Labor 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 Labor Party, the youth organization in Molenbeck sent a letter to the leadership of the Belgian Labor Party in which it said, among other things:

"This attempt again to bring about a split in the ranks of the labor youth is being made precisely at a time when in the Far East and the Far West proletarian blood is being shed. This 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 to 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 organizations."

Similar resolutions were adopted by many other organizations of the Young Guard of Liege, Forest, and also of Brussels.

The voting at the provincial congresses of the Young Guard organizations 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 ma-

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 Labor 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 Labor Party.

The discussion of the question of the Young Guard at the Congress was very sharp and showed serious differences in the Labor 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, to the effect that former Young Communists be deprived for a year of the right to be elected to office in the Young Guard. This reactionary maneuver, 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 Labor Party, Vandervelde, opposed this addendum.

After having fully discussed the decision of the Belgian Labor Party, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Belgium, on October 13, appealed to the 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 organization.

"In making this painful but necessary sacrifice to the cause of unity, the Central Committee sends its greetings to the young comrades who are leaving the Communist Party, fully confident that the coming together of the Belgian Labor Party and the Communist Party will soon enable them to meet in a untied party of the working class."

* * *

The October Congress of the Belgian Labor 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 Labor 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.

Second, 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 Labor Party to seek an alliance with reaction.

Third, 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 of pro-fascist tendencies" and against "any encroachment on the rights of the cooperatives or the freedom of the trade union organizations." The congress also pointed to the existence of the fascist danger inside the country and emphasized 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 Labor Party:

"Rex may tomorrow 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 realization of the plans of these plague bearers whose strength some people are trying to underestimate."

The question of foreign policy called forth a lively discussion. The Socialist Senator Rolin made a speech in which he criticized 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. First, 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. Second, 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 neighbors, 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 restor-

ation of real peace, with the support of the U.S.A." Putting on record the obvious collapse of the policy of non-intervention, the resolution joins with the political and trade union organizations 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 by Rolin, regarding the application of sanctions against the aggressor in accordance with the Covenant of the League of Nations, was rejected by the Congress.

* * *

The Congress of the Labor 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 Labor 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 defense 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 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 Labor Party like De Brouckere, in the *Soir*,

Pierrard in the *Journal de Charleroi*, etc.). 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 Labor 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 seventeen-months' military training for young people. It has arrested volunteers on their return from Spain, including even Delvigne, former president of the Belgian Labor Party. It has displayed extreme weakness towards the fascists. And the fact that the representatives of the Labor Party in the government supported this policy without and 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 had 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 at Antwerp (October 16), after the Belgian Labor Party Congress, De Man praised the program of the Van Zeeland government. He declared that the state was no longer the tool of the propertied classes, that the Belgian Labor 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 Labor Party is leading the working class into the arms of reaction. The Spaaks 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 Labor 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 Labor Party been so great as now. Spaak and De Man and their friends as opposed to De Brouckere, Vandervelde. Rolin and others stand out as representatives of the class enemy who use the platform of the congress as advocates of the enemy.

About Feuchtwanger's Book, "Moscow, 1937"

BY F. ERNST

L EON 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-feeling, and inertia are at work in making suspect, traducing and denying everyting in the East that is likely to bear fruit. But no writer who has seen something great should ever withhold his evidence, even if the thing is unpopular and his words are distasteful to many. Therefore I am bearing witness." (Foreword, p. xii.)**

The author frankly tells of the shortcomings and difficulties to overcome which the government and peoples of

* *Moscow 1937*, by Leon Feuchtwanger. Querido-Verlag, Amsterdam, 1937. 153 pp. English edition published by The Viking Press, New York, 151 pp. \$2.

** All references are to English translation, published by The Viking Press.

the U.S.S.R. have turned their attention, and then goes on to say:

"The fact that there is a self-evident plan behind the whole structure of the national economy consoles the individual for the shortcomings of his private life—in so far as he is conscious of these shortcomings at all. For the glaring contrast between the past and the present makes it easy for him to forget any deficiencies. Anyone with eyes to see, or whose ears can recognize the true or false in human speech, feels at every turn that it is no empty phrase when everywhere in the country the people talk of their 'happy life'" (P. 9.)

". . . And the fact that the leaders have been as good as their word so far is the people's guarantee that the plan will materialize increasingly and that things will improve from month to month. As surely as the people of Moscow know the train leaves for Leningrad at such and such a time, so surely do they know that in two years they will have clothes and in ten years houses, as many and as varied as they require." (P. 11.)

"The recognition, therefore, confirmed by the experience of twenty years, that the state is not reserving the enjoyment of the good things for the few to the exclusion of the majority, but that it really is helping the whole in the most reasonable way, has become inherent in the mentality of the whole population and has created a confidence in the leaders such as I have never found elsewhere." (P. 12.)

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 life.

"Most of the letters which I receive from young people outside the Soviet Union are S.O.S. messages. Countless young people in the West cannot find their proper place in life, either mentally or socially. Not only have they no hope of getting the work they like but no hope of work of any kind. They do not know which way to turn, nor what meaning to attach to their lives: all paths seem to lead nowhere.

"How cheering it is after such experiences to meet those young people who have been able to reap the first benefits of their Soviet upbringing, these young intellectuals from peasantry and proletariat. How sturdily and with what calm confidence do they face life, feeling that they are organic parts of a purposeful whole. The future lies before them like a well-defined and carefully tended path through a beautiful landscape. Whether they are speaking at a meeting or talking privately there is not a trace of artificiality in their enthusiasm, with which they refer to 'their happy life'; they are unable to repress the happiness which fills them." (P. 14.)

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 Trotskyite prompters that he who —

"... deduces ... complete identification with the fascist dictatorships is overlooking one essential difference. The Soviet Union forbids agitation in support of the principle twice two is five, whilst the fascist dictatorships forbid active pursuit of the principle that twice two is four." (P. 67.)

The Trotskyite 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:

"Stalin, the great practical psychologist, has worked the miracle of mobilizing the patriotism of many peoples for the ends of international socialism. Today it really is a fact that distant Siberian settlements regard the attack of Germany and Italy on the Spanish Republic with an indignation as strong as if they themselves were threatened. In every house of the Union hangs a map of Spain, and I have known peasants in the vicinity of Moscow to leave their work or their food in order to go to a meeting house where they could hear the radio announcements on the events in that country. Even amongst the villagers it has proved possible, despite all their nationalism, to arouse a feeling of international fellowship." (P. 80.)

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 Oppermans*, 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 Trotskyite Center—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:

"It cannot be denied that the most impressive feature of the confessions is their precision and coherence, and so the sceptics have built up a fantastic hypotheses as to the methods employed to bring them about.

"The first and most reasonable supposition is, of course, that the confessions were extracted from the prisoners by torture and by the threat of still worse tortures. Yet this first conjecture was refuted by the obvious freshness and vitality of the prisoners, by their whole physical and mental aspect. Thus in order to explain the 'impossible' confessions, the sceptics had to grope round for other causes. The prisoners, they proclaimed, had been given all sorts of poisons; they had been hypnotized or drugged.

"If this be true, then no one else in the world has ever succeeded in obtaining such powerful and lasting results, and the scientist who did succeed would

hardly be satisfied with acting as the mysterious handyman of police forces. He would presumably use his methods with a view to increasing his scientific prestige. But those who take exception to the conduct of the trial prefer to clutch at the most absurd backstair hypotheses rather than believe what is under their noses—that the prisoners were properly convicted and that their confessions were founded on fact." (P. 121.)

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 which one breathes in the West is stale and foul. In the Western civilization there is no longer clarity or resolution. One does not dare to defend oneself against the oncoming barbarism with the fist or even only with strong words; one does it half-heartedly, with vague gestures, and the declarations of those in authority against fascism are sugared over and much beclouded. Who has not been sickened by the feebleness and hypocrisy with which these people in authority have reacted to the invasion of the Spanish Republic by the fascists?

"One breathes again when one comes from this oppressive atmosphere of a counterfeit democracy and hypocritical humanism into the invigorating atmosphere of the Soviet Union." (P. 149.)

"It does one good, after all the compromise of the West, to see an achievement such as this, to which a man can say, 'Yes, yes, yes,' with all his heart; and because it seemed ungrateful to keep this 'Yes' within me, I wrote this book." (P. 151.)

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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