

The **OCTOBER REVOLUTION**
and the
TRIUMPH of SOCIALISM



V.M. MOLOTOV

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THE
OCTOBER REVOLUTION
AND THE
STRUGGLE FOR
SOCIALISM

by

V. M. MOLOTOV

(Chairman of People's Commissars, U.S.S.R.)



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THE INTER-RELATION OF THE FORCES OF SOCIALISM AND CAPITALISM.

COMRADES, the fourteenth anniversary of the October Revolution marks a most important date in the history of the struggle of the proletariat for emancipation.

Fourteen years ago, the working-class of this country overthrew the rule of the landlords and capitalists. They assumed the lead of the toiling masses and undertook the building up of a new and free life based on socialist foundations.

During these years we have gone through a difficult struggle against hostile class forces. The class enemy both at home and abroad furiously resisted the construction of socialism. The construction of socialism had to contend with exceptional difficulties, owing to the fact that the U.S.S.R., the first Workers' Government in the world, is hemmed in by a hostile capitalist environment.

But notwithstanding these difficulties, Socialism has made enormous progress and greatly strengthened its position. Therefore, on the threshold of the fifteenth year of the October Revolution we are justified in saying that there are two main social forces, Socialism and Capitalism. The struggle between them determines the main line of world development.

Changes of no trifling nature have occurred in the co-relation of these two main world forces during these years. In summing up the results of the first years of the October Revolution, it is of supreme importance to decide just what are these changes which have taken place in the mutual relations between capitalism and socialism.

Looking back, the working-class can proudly assert that a truly triumphal path has been trodden. Socialism has already become a mighty and rapidly growing force. Its main line of development within the country has found expression in the progressive elimination of all forms of capitalism and in a successful unfolding of the forces of socialism all along the line.

The contrast between the path of development of Socialism and that of Capitalism is particularly striking as against the present profound economic crisis in the capitalist countries.

There is not a single capitalist country now unaffected by the crisis. Capitalism is sinking lower and lower in the abyss of the world economic crisis. In some countries the crisis has lasted for two years and more. So far the end is not yet in sight. On the contrary, the world crisis is undermining the very foundations of capitalism day in and day out.

We thus see that socialism and capitalism are proceeding along two diametrically opposite lines of development. Socialism is marching

triumphantly forward, Capitalism is becoming more and more entangled in its own contradictions and is losing, under the pressure of the crisis, one position after another.

There are many facts which eloquently testify to these fundamentally different lines of development of Socialism and Capitalism.

Let us begin with the facts relating to the development of industrial output in the post-war period.

After the war a number of capitalist countries experienced a certain period of industrial prosperity. But the economic crisis is now daily consuming more and more of the relatively meagre successes which the capitalist countries attained during that period. The fact is, that the general level of industrial output in the capitalist countries is barely higher than that of the pre-war period, while in such an advanced capitalist country as Germany, output has not even reached its pre-war level. Industrial output in that country at the present time is approximately at the level of thirty years ago. No one can therefore say that capitalism has achieved any tangible successes since the war.

The situation is quite otherwise in our country, where Socialism is being built.

A comparison of the industrial output of the U.S.S.R. with the Russian pre-war level gives a totally different picture. Here the level of industrial output is two-and-a-half times above pre-war. Besides, everyone can see the extensive development of socialist construction which guarantees an ever higher output from year to year.

The triumphant success of Socialism is thus an indisputable fact in the sphere of industry.

Let us take the question of the position of the working-class in the capitalist countries and in the Soviet Union. The figures of unemployment and wages will serve as the best material on this subject.

Employment Contrasts.

In the countries of capitalism unemployment has reached unprecedented proportions. The unemployed army has grown there into tens of millions. Unemployment, far from subsiding, is affecting fresh millions of workers. Hundreds of thousands and millions of unemployed have been brought to a state of starvation and semi-pauperism. In some countries the unemployed and semi-employed comprise more than half of all workers. Their condition is getting daily more and more desperate.

In the U.S.S.R. there is no unemployment. The country of socialism is constructing new mills and factories and opening new industrial giants. The number of industrial workers is steadily

growing and their growth becomes accelerated every year. In the industrial areas we experience a great shortage of workers.

But that is not all. To determine the conditions of the working-class the question of wages is of paramount importance.

No capitalist country in the world to-day is in a position to consider an increase in wages. On the contrary, we read daily reports about new wage cuts for the various sections of the working-class. While unemployment is rapidly growing we see the robbery of wage-cuts forced through by the capitalists with the aid of their governments and the active co-operation of the Social-Democrats.

It is in the U.S.S.R. alone that a policy of improving the material conditions of the working-class is undeviatingly pursued. Wages are rising yearly. In addition to the rise that the transport workers received this year, an increase in wages has been recently received by the coal-miners, the machinists and the teachers.

Many more facts could be enumerated illustrating how the living conditions of the workers are deteriorating in the capitalist countries and simultaneously improving in the Soviet Union. But the facts already given below throw sufficient light on the position of the workers both under capitalism and in the Socialist Soviet Republic. It is only under the proletarian dictatorship that the workers have before them wide possibilities of actually improving their material and cultural conditions.

The cardinal difference in the position of the peasantry in the capitalist countries and in the Soviet Union is also quite obvious.

Farmer Contrasts.

Millions of farmers under capitalism are now experiencing exceptionally hard times. The world crisis and its concomitant restriction of industrial output, together with the decrease in demand for raw materials and other farm products, is hitting the village and especially the basic rural masses particularly hard. The impoverishment of the peasantry, oppressed by the economic crisis and by the increasing tax burdens, is particularly rapid at the present time.

It is needless to add that the position of the workers in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is incredibly bad. The impoverishment of the villages here has reached its extreme point. The dominant capitalist States want to shift the main burden of the economic crisis onto the shoulders of the subjugated colonies and dependencies. The pressure of imperialism and the poverty of the masses of workers and peasants has here become extremely acute.

Quite different is the situation in our Workers' and Peasants' State.

Agriculture is flourishing in the Soviet Union primarily because of the rapid development of collectivisation. The creation of large collective farms based on modern technique, on tractors, combines, etc., greatly facilitates, the work of the peasant, increases the productivity of his labour and brings about a general improvement in his life. The growing agricultural progress and the constant improvement of material and cultural conditions of the peasants constitute one of the major successes of the October Revolution in recent years.

Such are the facts relating to the development of the productive forces and the position of the working masses in the capitalist countries on the one hand and in the Soviet Union on the other.

These facts indicate that it is not now merely a question of the worsening of the conditions in one or another capitalist country. It is not now a question merely of the capitalist countries having entered upon a stage of profound economic crisis. More than that is involved. There is an ever-multiplying array of facts to prove that capitalism as a distinct social system has entered upon a stage of decline, a stage of an ever deepening general crisis from which obviously, there is no way out.

The facts of social development speak ever more eloquently against Capitalism as a whole. At the same time these facts speak with no less emphasis in our favour, in favour of the coming victory that Socialism will celebrate over the whole capitalist system.

Such is the main trend of development in the interrelations of the two world forces, Socialism and Capitalism.

Capitalism is seeing its last days. Socialism is coming in its stead. The facts of the world development indicate that the requisite situation for the overthrow of capitalism is rapidly maturing throughout the world.

Towards International Revolution.

These facts speak more and more eloquently of the October Revolution not only as a great revolution of the working-class of our country, but also of its being the victorious commencement of the International Socialist Revolution. The momentous historical significance of the October Revolution lies in the fact that it has ushered in a new era in the development of the human race. The path that it has already taken, and each succeeding day in the present development of the main social forces of the world, clearly confirm the fact that we are passing through a period of a rapidly growing international proletarian revolution, a period of the approaching collapse of the whole capitalist system, a period of the approaching triumph of socialism.

Fourteen years have passed and our country is still the only socialist Soviet State in the world. But only the blind can fail to see that the

triumphant cause of international socialism is marching ahead with terrific speed.

The difficulties which face the struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries are now exceptionally great because the settlement of internal questions of the struggle between the workers and the capitalists of individual countries is becoming more inseparably linked up with the settlement of problems of the international struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The interests of the capitalist States have become so intertwined and this interrelation increases to such an extent from year to year that the solution of tasks of the struggle for socialism in one country becomes more and more interwoven with the solution of problems of the international struggle between capital and labour, between the proletariat and imperialism.

This means on the one hand an increase in the obstacles to the victory of the proletariat in any single capitalist country. But at the same time it means that any real success in the struggle of the working-class of any given capitalist country will further with unusual force the international victory of socialism. Therefore a successful struggle of the workers in one country is now linked up with the struggle of the whole international proletariat for emancipation from the yoke of imperialism.

The history of the October Revolution has shown us how this takes place in practice.

It is well known that the proletariat of our country had to fight during all these years not only against incessant attempts to organise economic blockades, but also against the direct armed intervention of the imperialist Powers. It is only thanks to the fact that the workers of our country, with the assistance of the workers of the capitalist countries, found enough strength to smash the class enemy at home and to help back the foreign imperialist invaders, that the October Revolution, as triumphantly celebrating its fourteenth anniversary to-day, is

The task of the workers of all countries is now considerably eased of the conquest of socialism in our country. The fact of the victorious construction of socialism in the Soviet Union has provided a decisive example in the history of the world of a struggle for the victory of the cause of the working-class in a single country and at the same time the victory of the cause of the international proletariat. It points out the path—of course, only in fundamentals!—for the workers of other countries. The victorious October Revolution has shown that only the ranks of the vanguard fighters for Communism in the Five-Year broad proletarian masses in the capitalist countries will

the triumph of Communism. Thus the progress of the U.S.S.R. makes victory for the working-class in other countries infinitely easier.

Nevertheless, there are still great difficulties which stand in the way of the victory of the proletariat in capitalist countries. These difficulties are, among other things, bound up with the fact that the solution of the cardinal problems of the working-class in individual capitalist countries becomes more and more interwoven with the solution of problems of an international character. But this, in its turn, means that the victory of the working-class, in one or another country—particularly in connection with the growing accentuation of all antagonisms, including the international antagonisms, in the camp of imperialism—will be the great stirring power in the cause of international socialism.

I am now coming back to the main question, namely, the question of what the results of the fourteen years of October Revolution give us in regard to the main line of development in the mutual relation of the two forces—socialism and capitalism. This development speaks in our favour, in favour of socialism and against our enemies, against capitalism. This means that the main line of world development is directed towards the victory of international socialism over imperialism.

On the eve of the fifteenth year of the October Revolution we are proud to state that the victory of world Bolshevism is drawing nearer with giant strides.

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THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE TASK OF THE MOMENT.

The October Revolution has its history.

This *history* is a history of the greatest of victories, and the greatest of these victories consists in the final winning over of the peasants to the side of the proletariat.

Lenin pointed out that this is our chief task until the victory of socialism in one or in several advanced capitalist countries has been won. From this viewpoint two decisive stages in the development of the October Revolution are of particular importance.

The first stage is that of the autumn of 1918 when the socialist revolution actually stepped from the city to the village. The second stage is that of 1929 when at last the final turn towards socialism took place among the principal section of the peasants, the middle peasants.

These two stages are of decisive importance in the progress of socialism in our country. These two dates, 1918 and 1929, are landmarks in the victory of socialism on the most backward and most difficult economic front, on the front of the socialist transformation of agriculture.

The significance of the glorious victories of the proletariat in the October Revolution is most clearly exemplified by the fact that the socialist forms of economy, not only in the town, but also in the village, have gained the upper hand. The elements of capitalism have been defeated not only in industry, but also in agriculture, i.e., in the most backward section of national economy. The successful collectivisation and the organisation of State farms have secured a dominant position for the socialist system over capitalism and even over the petty private husbandry of the peasant.

Thus in the struggle between the socialist and capitalist elements in our country, socialism has gained the upper hand. Lenin's question as to who will beat whom—whether socialism will conquer the capitalist elements, or, on the contrary, the latter will defeat the growth of socialism—has thus been fully answered. The working-class, supported by the overwhelming mass of peasants, united in collective farms, has conquered the capitalist elements. The victory of socialism in our country has thereby become fully and finally secured.

Such are the present premises of our socialist construction.

The Five-Year Plan.

But the essence of *our current tasks* emanates from the Five-Year Plan adopted by the Soviet Government.

The attention of the whole working-class and the toiling elements in our country is focussed on the Five-Year Plan and on its realisation. The questions which occupy everyone's mind in the republic of workers and peasants concern the progress made in that direction and what is required in order to score further success in the materialisation of the Five-Year Plan. In considering this question we listen attentively not only to what is said here and abroad by our friends and followers, but also by our ideological opponents and the class enemy.

It will not be out of place to recall here one of the numerous statements made after the Five-Year Plan, adopted by the Party, was published. I have in mind the statement of P. Scheffer, the well-known bourgeois journalist representing the *Berliner Tageblatt*, who was deported from the U.S.S.R. for anti-Soviet work approaching espionage. Scheffer at that time clearly expressed the feelings of a certain section of bourgeois circles abroad, when he said in 1929: "If the Five-Year Plan is three-quarters successful, then there will be no reason to doubt the final victory of the socialist method in Europe."

We ought to remind our political foes of these words to-day, and particularly since what was said then can now be tested by facts. This is what the facts will show.

It is still too early, of course, to speak of the final results of this year, we can only give some preliminary figures, but they give an idea of what the results of 1931 will be.

In the past few months there has been a considerable improvement in our industries. In the early part of the year several industries passed through certain hardships, especially as a result of defective work of the railways. But lately a general improvement has taken place throughout. This will largely neutralise the bad effects of the early months.

At any rate, the production realised by our industry this year is greater than that of the third year outlined in the Five-Year Plan. We can safely say now that at the present rate of progress reached in industrial development this year we shall be able fully to carry out the Five-Year Plan in 1932.

There can no longer be any doubt that 1932 will be the year which will witness the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan. This means the Five-Year Plan will be realised in four years.

The calculations of our enemies in the bourgeois camp proved faulty. Scheffer and others of his ilk considered the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan impossible even to the extent of 75 per cent. If they had thought otherwise, they would not have dared to "prophesy" the victory of the socialist method in Europe if three-quarters of the Plan were carried out.

But what is the actual state of affairs? This question is answered by the fact that already now, i.e., towards the end of the third year of the Pyatiletka, about three-quarters of the Plan has been carried out.

For us this is not enough. We want to be sure that the Five-Year Plan is carried out fully as quickly as possible. We therefore must all agree that we must pledge ourselves fully to carry out the Five-Year Plan next year, i.e., actually to carry it out in four years.

Our success in the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan in agriculture is in some respects even greater.

According to the Five-Year Plan, 20 per cent. of the peasantry were to be organised in collective farms by the end of 1933. However, over 60 per cent. have already been organised now in the third year, chiefly in agricultural artels. We have also exceeded the Five-Year Plan in the development of State farms. The reorganisation of agriculture along socialist lines has made enormous progress in the past few years. On the basis of this we can state that next year the collectivisation of agriculture in the Soviet Union will be on the whole completed.

That is the state of affairs with regard to socialist construction in the most important branches of economy.

Supplies.

A highly important place in our economy is occupied by the question of food supplies, the question of the proper organisation of Soviet trade. In this respect our successes are not quite sufficient. We must tackle this task with the greatest tenacity.

The shortcomings in the sphere of supplies are felt now at every turn. The complex organisation of this work and the insufficiency of Party members working in this sphere, while the trade institutions, especially the co-operative organisations, are full of alien bourgeois elements, renders the machinery of distribution the most vulnerable spot. The Party therefore points out with special emphasis the necessity of quickly improving the work of the distributing apparatus and of an intensive struggle against bureaucracy and even sabotage in the State and co-operative trading apparatuses.

The proper organisation of trade is linked up not only with the organisation of a network of stores in the towns and villages, but also with the establishment of proper interrelations between town and country. This is in itself indicative of the complexity of the whole matter and of the enormous political importance of the improvement of our work in this sphere.

The Party has now put this question in the forefront as one of the most vital questions of the day. The Bolsheviki, the leaders of the

workers and peasants, must bring about a decisive change in the organisation of Soviet trade in the immediate future.

We have all the material possibilities for a rapid improvement in the supply of first necessities. These possibilities become greater every day.

Not only is heavy industry swiftly developing in our country, but the light manufacturing industries are expanding too, Particularly successful has been the development of light industry of late. The very base of this industry has grown considerably. This guarantees a further swift development of output and an improvement in the supply of manufactured goods.

The development of socialist elements in the countryside has created much more favourable conditions for supplying the workers with farm products. In view of the growing progress of agriculture, the collection of larger quantities of food products and the improvement in supplying these products to the workers now largely depend upon ourselves and upon the improvement of our apparatus.

Persistent work for the improvement of the co-operative and government trade apparatus, relentless struggle against bureaucracy and against bourgeois tendencies in general, attraction of the broad sections of workers and collective farmers to active participation in the work of the trade organisations, can and should considerably improve the supplies in the immediate future.

At the same time we cannot fail to mention the biggest difficulties in construction which face us in spheres of decisive importance, namely, in mining, metallurgy and transport.

That these are of decisive importance in socialist economy is borne out by the entire history of the October Revolution. We must now concentrate a maximum of energy on the struggle for coal, metal, and transport. Since the October Revolution has in the main already settled the grain problem, that is, the question of bread, we should now fight with even greater energy for a final victory on the coal, metal and transport fronts.

Stalin's Six Points.

The Party has shown how these tasks must be tackled. Our tasks in this sphere, as well as in other spheres, under the new conditions of industrial activity at present obtaining, are given in the instructions of our Party and its Central Committee popularly known as "Stalin's Six Points." (See *New Conditions, New Tasks*, by Stalin. Modern Books, Ltd. 2d. Workers Library Publishers. 5c.)

These points contain very important practical instructions as to how to carry on our work.

They show what our duties are in the matter of recruiting, in an organised way, new workers for industry, so badly needed at the present time, how to secure in our wage policy the elimination of petty-bourgeois equalisation—this most pernicious manifestation in our economic practice of influences alien to the working-class—and how to combat the lack of personal responsibility in relation to our machines in factories, which cannot be tolerated in industry. At the same time the Party also explains in these points our tasks in relation to the old bourgeois and semi-bourgeois technicians as well as in relation to the training of new forces especially from the working-class. Finally, it boldly emphasises the necessity of a Bolshevik struggle for greater accumulation in socialist production and for the introduction of the system of economic accounting adopted by the Party and the Soviet Government.

There is still an endless amount of work to be done in the consolidation of the socialist elements in agriculture.

The Party has centred our attention on the task of better organising and consolidating the collective farms. The fulfilment of this task meets with the resistance of the kulaks, whose methods of struggle against the collective farms have greatly changed but who have by no means given up the fight. We have to combat bourgeois tendencies and attempts to ignore the vital demands and interests of the State which are found even in the State farms, while the influence of petty-bourgeois tendencies in the collective farms is even greater; for the kulak finds plenty of ways through which to influence one or another section of our collective farm life. Bolshevik education of the masses of collective farmers should find expression in the utmost organisation and strengthening of the collective farms and in the growth of the realisation in the collective farmers of the importance of doing their duty by the socialist State.

What has been said is a rough outline of what our present tasks are. The more persistent and persevering we shall be in carrying out these tasks, the greater will be the Bolshevik tempo of our construction, the higher will become the productivity of labour in our industry and agriculture, the more triumphant will be the forward march of socialism.

The struggle for the victory of socialism in our country is not the business of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union alone. The whole international proletariat is vitally interested in it.

This struggle is linked up with the securing of peaceful conditions for our development and is consequently linked up with the struggle for peace. There is no need to prove that the struggle for peace for which the U.S.S.R. is steadily working is also in the interests of the whole international proletariat, in the interests of the toilers of all countries.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM AND THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE.

The world crisis has wrought considerable changes in the international situation.

All the contradictions of the capitalist system have become more acute owing to the crisis, and the international antagonisms have become still more accentuated in the camp of imperialism. This is inevitable for the very reason that the economic crisis considerably restricts the markets, and this fact, in turn, places the capitalist countries at loggerheads. Naturally, this also leads to an accentuation of the main world antagonism, an antagonism which is fundamentally irreconcilable, namely, that between Imperialism and the Socialist Soviet Republics.

It is true that leaders of bourgeois governments of late have been making many declarations about their peaceful intentions and sympathies. Trips of diplomats and statesmen from capital to capital to carry on secret and semi-secret negotiations have become very frequent. But the peaceful declarations of bourgeois ministers have never in any way interfered, and do not interfere now, with the designs of imperialist interventionists and the occupation of foreign territories by the best prepared capitalist States.

The true meaning of the frequent conferences of representatives of the largest imperialist countries is perfectly obvious.

Since the world situation has changed, especially as a result of the growing economic crisis, a certain re-alignment of forces in the imperialist camp is inevitable. This is so because each country is keen on securing for itself bigger and more stable markets and spheres for capital investments, and on preventing foreign competitors from getting into its colonies and dependencies, etc., All this causes a certain re-alignment in the ranks of the imperialists, it brings about certain changes, if not replacements, of international treaties and blocs, an intensive search for new allies, new attempts at shifting the consequences of the crisis onto the shoulders of others, especially of the weaker Powers, the colonies and semi-colonies.

Needless to say, bourgeois diplomacy must in all, or at least the most important, international schemes reckon now with the growing relative strength of the Socialist Soviet Republics. A considerable rôle in these schemes is bound to be played by the attempts of the imperialists in one way or another to retard the success of our construction and to start anew the preparations for a new attack on the Soviet Union.

War Danger Increasing.

We must not forget that in the last resort the imperialist Powers settle their main issues only in direct armed conflict. The world economic crisis accentuates the problem of struggle for a new division of the world and therefore the danger of new imperialist wars is rapidly increasing.

Instability in the development of capitalist countries is becoming greater and greater. The sharpening of all antagonisms of capitalism as a result of the crisis, especially in connection with the great unevenness of development of the capitalist States, is upsetting the foundation of post-war international relations which but yesterday seemed to many to be stable.

Such, for example, is the situation in the carrying out of the Versailles Treaty. This is not the first time that there has been a commotion around the question of revising the Versailles Treaty. But the Versailles system is crumbling at this very moment. No one ventures to speak now of its stability. Yet, Versailles has been the basis of international relationships not only of post-war Europe, but of all the world.

It is worth dwelling upon some of the most important events of international significance.

Great Britain, one of the strongest imperialist Powers, is passing through considerable difficulties in connection with the crisis.

Without going into the political re-alignments in that country, the fact stands out that the British bourgeoisie has sacrificed its pound sterling. But the gold standard of the pound has certainly not been given up because the British bourgeoisie has strengthened its positions of late. The fall of the pound reflects a considerable increase in the shaking of the ground upon which the imperialist might of that country rests.

But though it has made it easier for itself to plunder the workers (wage-cuts, etc.), and having for a certain time placed its foreign trade in more favourable conditions from the point of view of competition, capitalist England has not as yet by any means extricated itself from its difficulties. On the contrary, the fall of the pound will inevitably lead to an aggravation of internal antagonism and to an accentuation of relations in the international imperialist struggle.

The situation in another mighty capitalist country, the U.S.A., also indicates great changes in the capitalist camp.

It was but yesterday that the United States boasted of its prosperity. This prosperity was enjoyed also by a certain group of the labour aristocracy. But for over two years the United States has been steadily on the downward grade. There is not a trace left of its prosperity. It

can hardly be said that such a trend of events could contribute to the strengthening of the positions of American capitalism. On the contrary, everything goes to show that the collapse of prosperity in America is one of the most glaring manifestations of the fast-growing universal crisis of capitalism.

The ground is being rapidly washed away from under capitalism's feet. There is growing instability in the economic and political development of the capitalist countries. In many instances the economic crisis is rapidly paving the way for a profound political crisis. The elements of a revolutionary explosion are accumulating. The approach of new waves of the proletarian revolution becomes clearer every day.

The Social-Democrats.

But capitalism has still plenty of loyal servants in the so-called labour organisations. Social-Democracy provides "master capital" not only with loyal lackeys, but with faithful dogs too.

The Second International has become the most important support of imperialism in the ranks of the working class. The social imperialists have not as yet lost their influence on some sections of the working-class. On the other hand, the "socialism" of the socialist gentry of the Second International has in some instances helped to discredit the cause of socialism in the eyes of the working masses.

The question, therefore, of the attitude towards Social-Democracy is a question of the highest importance for Communism, which is fighting for the masses. The struggle against Social-Democracy, and the systematic and constant exposure of its treacherous rôle and the firm pursuing of an irreconcilable and fundamentally revolutionary line in relation to the "socialist" and "labour" parties, both on the cardinal questions of the struggle of the working-class and on the trade union and other activities, must be placed in the centre of attention in fighting for the interests of the working-class, in fighting for Communism. Only by an irreconcilable and practical struggle against Social-Democracy will Communism solve its cardinal task, that of winning over the majority of the working-class in the capitalist countries. A consistent and truly relentless struggle against Social-Democracy, a struggle based on the principles of Marxism and Leninism, will break down also this prop of imperialism.

While facts show that the foundations of the capitalist countries are being more and more undermined, and that this is particularly the case at the moment of this most profound crisis, we see, on the other hand, that precisely at this stage of increasing economic and political instability in the capitalist countries a growing danger exists of

provocation of new imperialist intervention in the U.S.S.R. We must therefore with even still greater vigour continue our struggle for peace, our struggle to secure further peaceful opportunities for the building up of socialism.

Soviet Union Fights for Peace.

The Soviet Union has more than once shown, and is showing to-day, by its general international policy that the U.S.S.R. is the only true and, in fact, the only consistent fighter for peace.

Who, if not the Soviet Union, proposed at the Disarmament Commission in Geneva a pact stipulating complete disarmament of all countries? Who, if not the Soviet Union, proposed, after this project was rejected, a scheme of at least partial disarmament and especially the disarmament of the strongest imperialist Powers and of those which are the greatest menace to peace? This policy of struggle for peace and for the exposure of all imperialist provocations of new wars the Soviet Union regarded and regards to-day as one of its chief tasks.

We all know that the Soviet Union also proposed an international agreement directed against economic aggression on the part of one country against another. In this act as well one cannot fail to see the Soviet Republic's consistency in the struggle for universal peace.

The Soviet Union is doing its utmost to consolidate the peaceful relations with other countries. Each step along these lines always meets with our active support.

In this connection the meaning of such steps, for instance, as the recent prolongation of the Soviet-German treaty is clear.

We should mark with the greatest satisfaction the cordial reception accorded our People's Commissar, Comrade Litvinov, in Turkey and the fact that by the renewal of the Soviet-Turkish agreements we have consolidated the friendly relations of the two countries and thereby consolidated the peace of the world as a whole.

Our relations with France and also with Poland have until lately been of a peculiar nature. But recently a certain change for the better is to be observed also in this respect.

The Soviet Government proposed as early as in 1926 a non-aggression pact to Poland. But we received no satisfactory answer from the Polish Government for five years. Now it has been reported that the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Zaleski, has announced the willingness of the Polish Government to sign such a pact with the U.S.S.R. It is our sole wish that these words do not remain on paper alone.

As to our relations with France, an important fact, as is already known, is that the U.S.S.R. and France have already initialled a preliminary non-aggression pact. But the fact that our proposal to France to conclude such an agreement, made a long time ago, as well as the non-aggression pact recently initialled, have not yet been finally consummated, causes us to be somewhat sceptical about the whole matter.

At any rate, we are desirous that the non-aggression pact between the U.S.S.R. and France and the similar agreement with Poland should materialise in the near future.

Manchuria.

Now as to our position in connection with the events in Manchuria. I need not go into detail on this subject since the position of the Soviet Union on the question is quite clear to everybody. If only in this respect, it is fundamentally different from the position of the League of Nations.

Our policy of non-interference in the conflict follows from our respect for international agreements concluded with China, from our respect for the sovereign rights and independence of other States and from our unconditional opposition to the policy of military occupation and intervention. No matter what beautiful words and diplomatic gestures may be used in concealing the policy of imperialist intervention, the Soviet Union cannot in such instances take any other than a consistently negative attitude. Any other attitude would be incompatible with the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and with the invariable defence of the interests of universal peace by the Soviet Government. This was also stated quite clearly by Comrade Karakhan to the representative of the Japanese Government in Moscow.

If, in spite of this, some Japanese papers and prominent public men and also the numerous pack of imperialist papers in Europe and America try to drag in the "Red danger" into the Manchurian events, this is only because they have no other arguments to any degree even superficially convincing in defence of their policy of military occupation. But any new attempts to justify all that is happening in Manchuria by the "Red danger" and by insolent inventions of Red detachments being mobilised for interference will be unmasked and defeated, no matter from which side they come. We are convinced that all these inventions will in no way ease the position of the gentry of the League of Nations, who, together with the authors of the Kellogg Pact are ostensibly called upon to preserve the peace and prevent war, but who in practice,

both in this and in other cases, never have prevented and do not prevent military occupations and imperial interventions.

China.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Union has not concealed and will not conceal in the future its attitude towards the Chinese people, towards its struggle for emancipation from the imperialist yoke, towards its struggle for national independence and unity. In these respects the workers of our country are wholeheartedly with the Chinese people.

The events in China show that the imperialist Powers are now dividing up China, each relying on the support of one or the other of the militarist cliques in China. The policy of dividing up China is shamelessly disguised by them and they try to justify themselves by arguing that "China is no country, it is a continent" (in the words used by *Liberté*, a French imperialist paper). On this ground the imperialist gentlemen proclaim the right of the imperialist Powers to rule China, taking special care at the same time to create a Far Eastern base against the U.S.S.R.

Facts of recent years have shown that the Kuomintang is incapable of fighting imperialism. The fact is that various Kuomintang cliques act to some degree or other as the agencies of foreign imperialist Powers. All that was democratic within the Kuomintang has left it. The Kuomintang has already fully proved that the internal struggle going on in its organisation is a struggle between various militarist cliques representing the landlords and the bourgeoisie and that these cliques of exploiters maintain power only because they have the support of one imperialist Power or another, and in some instances of a whole group of imperialist Powers.

The masses of the Chinese people and especially the Chinese proletariat are drawing their own conclusions. They see that the path followed by the Kuomintang is not the path of improving their living conditions, of regenerating China as a nation. Naturally the Chinese people, the workers and peasants of China, are seeking their own path. The Soviet Union is becoming more and more popular among them and it is becoming clearer and clearer to them that only our path, the path of the struggle of the Russian workers and peasants, is the real way out, leading towards an improvement of their life and the national regeneration of China.

The Soviets, as organs of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants, have been in existence for some time in China. They have a great future before them. They alone are the true organs of struggle against the generals, the landlords and the whole

Chinese bourgeoisie, a struggle for improving the living conditions of the masses. They alone are capable of leading the struggle to its logical conclusion and liberating China from imperialism, gaining its independence and national unity. The Soviets alone, with the working-class at their head, will secure victory for the Chinese people.

From all this we draw our own conclusion as to the Soviet Union's foreign policy.

We consider our task in the sphere of foreign policy to be to continue an unyielding struggle for peace, a constant exposure of all provocations of new wars and all attempts to organise an attack on the U.S.S.R. and at the same time to strengthen by every means the defensive power of our country and to raise our glorious Red Army to its proper level.

This is the path we have followed until now and we have scored more than one victory already. In moving forward along this tried path we shall, in spite of all obstacles, gain new and decisive victories for socialism.

THE "SECRET" OF THE VICTORY OF BOLSHEVISM.

There is full justification for raising the question as to what the successes of Bolshevism are based on.

Bernard Shaw has answered this question in his own way in an article published recently. According to him the Communist leaders understand Communism as well as they understand capitalism. The capitalist demagogues understand neither capitalism nor Communism.

These words of Bernard Shaw no doubt have sense.

The science of Marxism and Leninism has always been the chief science of the Bolsheviks. Leninism and Marxism in our epoch have given us a fundamental lesson as to what capitalism is and how it is to be overthrown. Leninism has also taught us what socialism is and how it has to be built. The successes we have achieved in mastering the teachings of Leninism have not been in vain. Our victories, the victories of the October Revolution, were possible only because we were and still are bearing the banners of Leninism.

But to bear the banner of Leninism means to carry on a relentless struggle against opportunism. To carry through the principles of Leninism means to fight for Leninism against every possible variety of opportunism. Without an irreconcilable struggle against opportunism, which is nothing but a manifestation of bourgeois influence over various strata of the workers, we would not have been victorious in the October Revolution.

Our struggle for Leninism has been directed against two main opportunist distortions. On the one hand we fought against Trotskyist "leftism," which is petty-bourgeois in character, and on the other we had to fight the bourgeois kulak ideology of the right wing deviation. In this struggle our Bolshevik Party, which led and is leading the victorious October Revolution, has been forged.

The significance of this struggle of the Leninist Party, a struggle on two fronts, has been sufficiently explained. Now there is only the question of the outstanding results of the struggle, especially in connection with our future tasks.

These results cannot but interest us both from the point of view of the immediate interests of our socialist construction and from the point of view of struggle for the final victory of socialism throughout the world.

From the viewpoint of our internal tasks the struggle against the right wingers and against the Trotskyists is of immediate importance even now.

The Right-Wing Struggle.

It is well known that we scored a decisive victory over the right-wing opposition only when our attack on the kulaks and the organisation for the struggle against the kulaks of the poor and middle peasants proved successful. The right wingers surrendered only when the mass of middle peasants entered upon the path of solid collectivisation and when the masses of poor and middle peasants under the leadership of the Communist Party began actually to carry out the policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class.

But there is no need to prove that the individualist peasants of yesterday have not become socialists to-day and that they are still far from having discarded their numerous petty-bourgeois prejudices and customs as small property owners.

This gives the kulak ample opportunity to fight for influence over the peasant masses. Therefore the struggle against the attempts of the kulak to retain his influence over certain sections of the peasantry is now of the greatest importance. Without such a struggle the collective farms cannot be organisationally and economically consolidated, the productivity of labour not only in the collective but in the State farms as well cannot be increased as much as we should desire, and consequently the socialist forms of agriculture cannot prove victorious.

The right opportunist tendency in our Party has been smashed and it does not exist as an independent separate force. But right opportunist elements are still far from having been eliminated in the practical work of our organisations and they make themselves felt at every turn. They reveal themselves, in their most open form, by way of encouraging the kulaks, and also in the helplessness of some of our rural officials in the struggle against bourgeois tendencies in the collective and State farms. Manifestations of right-wing opportunist tendencies also reveal themselves frequently wherever a struggle is carried on for the Bolshevik tempo of socialist construction, and wherever alien class elements in our apparatus exercise influence upon some sections of our Bolshevik Party, expressed in various forms of opportunist opposition to the tempo carried out by the Party.

The Trotskyist Struggle.

But the struggle against Trotskyism has not lost its great political importance either.

It is true, Trotskyism as an open manifestation has completely degenerated into a counter-revolutionary political group. The average working man can now easily discern the Menshevik anti-Soviet essence behind the "left" phrases of the Trotskyists.

But even now we still come across traces of Trotskyism. Even now we have to wage a constant struggle against opportunist distortions of a Trotskyist nature.

The essence of Trotskyism was the denial of the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country. But this disbelief in the cause of socialism is in the long run the most characteristic feature of any sort of opportunism, of any petty-bourgeois tendency. Trotskyism is but the most glaring expression of this bourgeois lack of faith in the victory of the October Revolution and of socialism.

This lack of faith was always accompanied by panic in face of the difficulties of the class struggle, and particularly in face of the aggressiveness of the kulaks. The tactics of the Trotskyists were in keeping with this panic in face of the class enemy of the proletariat.

The tactics they pursued were the logical outcome of the Trotskyist theory that the middle peasant cannot be a strong ally of the working-class in the struggle for socialism. That is why the Trotskyist tactics actually meant the obliteration in practice of the fundamental difference between our attitude to the kulaks and our attitude to the middle peasants. In actual fact, they led to the application of the same tactics in relation to the middle peasants which we applied in our struggle against the kulaks. It is clear that this political line has nothing in common with Leninism and is hostile to it through and through.

But even in the new conditions, in the conditions of the transition to complete collectivisation, we have encountered mistakes of a Trotskyist nature in the villages. It is sufficient to recall the excesses of last year.

At the same time we must not dismiss the possibility of fresh opportunist distortions of a Trotskyist nature in the future.

We have over 60 per cent. of the peasants organised in collective farms. This, on the other side, means that about 40 per cent. of the peasants still farm on an individualist basis. The question of our attitude to these peasants is of great political importance.

Notwithstanding the fact that there is only a minority of the peasants outside the collective farms, the task of winning them over to our side remains on the order of the day. Dictatorial and compulsory methods in dealing with the toiling peasants are as intolerable to-day as in the past. Our task is to fight to bring all working peasants into the collective farms. But this we can accomplish in a Bolshevik manner only if we persistently and patiently explain to the masses of individualist peasants, and especially if we can actually prove to them, the advantage of working within the collective farms. Only through successful organisational and economic consolidation of the collective farms and consequently through actually raising the productivity of

labour of the collective farmers, shall we secure a full and final victory of collectivisation.

In order to ensure that only these methods are used in reaching the masses it is necessary to continue the struggle against Trotskyist distortions, irrespective of where they may come from and of what cover they may appear under.

Success of Leninism.

Finally, a few words about the importance of our struggle against opportunism from the viewpoint of our international tasks.

The history of fourteen years of the October Revolution has shown that the Bolsheviks were completely right in their struggle against Trotskyism, which denied the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country. Now this possibility has been proved by the living facts of the triumphant construction of socialism in our country.

The specific international significance of the present anniversary of the October Revolution lies in the fact that the Leninist theory of the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country has become a reality and is calling forth wild fear among our enemies and imbuing the working-class of the world with the firm assurance of the final victory of socialism.

Leninism, as we see, is triumphant. Not only the ranks of the working-class, but also the whole mass of toilers of town and country are being consolidated on the basis of Leninism. Therein lie the 'secret' of the Bolshevik victory.

The extent of the successes of Leninism in our country can be best judged by the attitude of the broad working masses towards the construction of socialism in practice. The most striking example is to be found in the growth of socialist competition and the organisation of shock brigades.

Socialist competition has already assumed the form of a wide movement of workers and is now spreading out towards the millions of collective farms. This means that the battle for the victory of socialism which is now clearly expressed in the rising productivity of labour in the factories and mines and on the railways, in the State and collective farms, has been consciously made their own by the millions of workers and peasants.

The Bolshevik Party is leading the construction of socialism. But the ranks of active fighters for socialism extend far beyond the Party limits. There are hundreds of thousands of most active and self-sacrificing fighters for socialism among the masses of non-Party workers.

We have already several million working men and women in the shock brigades in our industries. The majority of them are non-Party men and women proletarians. This means that the struggle for socialism, that the struggle for the higher productivity of labour in socialist industry has indeed become the task of millions. And therein lies the guarantee of the triumph of our cause.

Now that socialist economy has indubitably gained the upper hand, both in town and country, and inasmuch as this victory is the most convincing confirmation of the correctness of the line of our Leninist Party, the decisive factors in the further success of socialism lies in ourselves : they depend upon our ability in organising the masses, upon our ability to promote the necessary cadres of leaders and to secure their further promotion in the future. This is particularly so since during the period of the revolution a new generation has grown up, a generation of young men and women, especially the Young Communists, who possess revolutionary stamina.

Selecting leading cadres for socialist construction and promoting to the ranks of the leaders new advanced forces from among the masses of workers and collective farmers, and especially from the youth, must be one of our main tasks. This must be particularly stressed because we shall yet more than once have to deal with counter-revolutionary wreckers in the machinery of the State and to carry on a prolonged and stubborn struggle against bureaucracy, against putrid conservatism and similar ulcers on the body of our institutions.

The raising of the cultural level of the masses is of the greatest importance in this respect. Bound up with it is also the realisation of the task of mastering technique and the whole problem of production and administration by our growing cadres.

From what has been said it is obvious that the successes of socialist construction are the successes of the proletariat, fighting for its cause under the standard of Marxism-Leninism. Had we failed to carry out the principles of Lenin's doctrine we should not have accomplished what we have during the fourteen years of history of the October Revolution.

Conclusion.

From this we draw the conclusion that a consistent struggle for Leninism and an irreconcilable front to opportunism of all shades are the basic conditions for the victory of socialism.

Such is the main conclusion to be drawn from the fourteen years of history of the Soviet Union.

To sum up, the main tendency of development of the social forces of the world, of the correlation of forces of socialism and capitalism, is in our favour, is directed in favour of our cause.

It is indisputable that the new social order, the socialist order, is gaining for itself ever stronger positions, which, of course, cannot take place otherwise than at the expense of capitalism.

The significance of the path which we have already travelled cannot be fully appreciated now. At any rate no one can snatch out of our hands what we have already gained.

The Soviet Government has gone through most difficult stages. The chief internal difficulties have already been surmounted.

No force exists to-day, nor can one exist, which would be able to turn the working-class of the Soviet Union back to the old life, back to servile labour under the rule of capital. No force exists nor can exist which would be able to turn our peasants back to the old life, back to the yoke of the landlord, back to the lash of the village police : this is especially true of the collective farmers, who have tasted the great advantages of collective labour and who *have already felt the lightening of their work through the use of tractors and modern agricultural machines*. No force exists, nor can exist, which will be able to turn back to the old days our workers and peasants, of whom millions not only hate with all their heart the rule of the Tsar, the landlords and capitalists, but also know the true road to their emancipation.

The Task of Tasks.

What, then, is to-day the most vital factor for our final victory ?

It lies first and foremost in *raising the productivity of labour*, in the progress of our socialist economy.

In formulating the main condition of the victory of socialism in our country, Lenin said :

“Labour productivity is in the final analysis the prime and most important factor in the triumph of the new social order. Capitalism has created a degree of labour productivity unknown to the feudal system. Capitalism can be finally overthrown, and will be finally overthrown, by the fact that socialism will create a new and much higher level of labour productivity. This will be very difficult and will take a long time to accomplish, but a start has been made, and that is most essential” (Lenin, *The Great Beginning*.)

The importance of the question of productivity of labour was further emphasised by Lenin as follows :

“Communism means a higher level of labour productivity as compared with capitalism, of voluntary, class-conscious and united workers applying modern technique.” (Ibid.)

The quotations from Lenin referred to the period when, on the initiative of the workers, subbotniks were being organised in the country. These subbotniks were the embryo of new and real socialist elements in our industry and transport. Lenin immediately took note of the historical significance of subbotniks for the development of Communist forms of labour in our country.

Since then the socialist revolution has made gigantic progress. The successes which have been achieved have found magnificent expression in socialist competition and in shock brigades. The shock brigade movement of the proletariat has already embraced millions of workers. The shock brigade movement is growing among the collective farmers. This means that the cause of socialism is gaining an ever firmer material base for itself. This base is a higher productivity of labour in our socialist economy.

Our republic is something like a factory. We have many mammoth factories which produce enormous quantities of goods and are at the same time undergoing complete or partial reconstruction. There are a number of such factories. The success of our construction is incidentally based on the fact that such factories can steadily carry out the general line of reconstruction and at the same time carry on a successful struggle for higher productivity of labour in their departments, workshops, brigades and aggregates. Our Soviet Republic resembles such a factory at the present time.

The socialist element is already the dominating factor in our country to-day. Everything now depends on the work of our industrial undertakings, our railways, State farms and collective farms. Their shortcomings, and in particular their defects in the productivity of labour, greatly impede our construction. Successes achieved in raising the productivity of labour are the best victories for socialism.

To raise the productivity of labour in the mills and factories, in the mines and workshops, on the railways and waterways, in the State farms of every type and in the thousands of collective farms—this is in the last analysis our task of tasks.

Let us concentrate the maximum of effort on this. Let us concentrate on this the energy of our directors, our scientists and technicians, the maximum of effort of all our organisations. Let us develop in true Bolshevik fashion a struggle for the elimination of all bureaucratic elements in our apparatus who stand in the way of a radical improvement in their work. And let us rally the broad masses of workers and peasants, the collective farmers, under the leadership of our Party, to carry on this fight.

Uniform with this pamphlet is "The SUCCESS of the FIVE-YEAR PLAN" by the same author. In it, he reviews at greater length the successes of the building-up of Socialism and the relations of the Soviet Union with the Imperialist powers. It is a complementary work.

Indispensable also is the work of Stalin, "The Report to the 16th Congress, C.P.S.U." and "Building Collective Farms." "The Tasks of the Workers." "New Conditions, New Tasks."

The Five-Year plan in Agriculture is reviewed at greater length in the "RED VILLAGES" by Yakovlev.

HOW THEY DID IT

Lessons from the
experiences of the
Bolsheviks

The Strike in the
Crimea, 1905

Unemployed Councils
in St. Petersburg

From February to
October, 1917

Bolsheviks on Trial
'Potemkin'

