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LENINISM

LENINISM

Selected Writings

BY JOSEPH STALIN



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THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND THE TACTICS OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNISTS

I. THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL SETTING FOR THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

Three circumstances of an external nature determined the comparative ease with which the proletarian revolution in Russia succeeded in breaking the chains of imperialism and thus overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie.

First: The circumstance that the October Revolution began in a period of desperate struggle between the two principal imperialist groups, the Anglo-French and the Austro-German; at a time when, engaged in mortal struggle between themselves, these two groups had neither the time nor the means to devote serious attention to the struggle against the October Revolution. This circumstance was of tremendous importance for the October Revolution, for it enabled it to take advantage of the fierce conflict within the imperialist world to strengthen and organize its own forces.

Second: The circumstance that the October Revolution began during the imperialist war, at a time when the laboring masses, exhausted by the war and thirsting for peace, were, by the very logic of events, led to the proletarian revolution as the only way out of the war. This circumstance was of extreme importance for the October Revolution, for it put into its hands the mighty weapon of peace, furnished the opportunity of connecting the Soviet revolution with the ending of the hated war, and thus created mass sympathy for it both in the West, among the workers, and in the East, among the oppressed peoples.

Third: The existence of a powerful working-class movement in Europe and the fact that a revolutionary crisis was maturing in the West and in the East, brought on by the protracted imperialist war. This circumstance was of inestimable importance for the revolution in Russia, for it secured the revolution faithful allies outside Russia in its struggle against world imperialism.

But in addition to circumstances of an external nature, there were

also a number of favorable internal conditions which facilitated the victory of the October Revolution.

The following conditions must be regarded as the principal ones:

First: The October Revolution enjoyed the most active support of the overwhelming majority of the working class in Russia.

Second: It enjoyed the undoubted support of the poor peasants and of the majority of the soldiers, who were thirsting for peace and land.

Third: It had at its head, as its guiding force, a party so tried and tested as the Bolshevik Party, strong not only by reason of its experience and years of discipline, but also by reason of its vast connections with the laboring masses.

Fourth: The October Revolution was confronted by enemies who were comparatively easy to overcome, such as the rather weak Russian bourgeoisie, a landlord class which was utterly demoralized by peasant "revolts," and the compromising parties (the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries), which had become utterly bankrupt during the war.

Fifth: It had at its disposal the vast expanses of the young state, in which it was able to maneuver freely, retreat when circumstances so required, enjoy a respite, gather strength, etc.

Sixth: In its struggle against counter-revolution, the October Revolution could count upon sufficient resources of food, fuel and raw materials within the country.

The combination of these external and internal circumstances created that peculiar situation which determined the comparative ease with which the October Revolution won its victory.

This does not mean, of course, that there were no unfavorable features in the external and internal setting of the October Revolution. Think of such an unfavorable feature as, for example, the isolation, to some extent, of the October Revolution, the absence near it, or bordering on it, of a Soviet country on which it could rely for support. Undoubtedly, the future revolution, for example, in Germany, will be in a much more favorable situation in this respect, for it has in close proximity so powerful a Soviet country as our Soviet Union. I might also mention so unfavorable a feature of the October Revolution as the absence of a proletarian majority within the country.

But these unfavorable features only emphasize the tremendous importance of the peculiar external and internal conditions of the October Revolution of which I have spoken above.

These peculiar conditions must not be lost sight of for a single moment. They must be kept in mind particularly in analyzing the events

of the autumn of 1923 in Germany. Above all, they should be borne in mind by Trotsky, who draws a wholesale analogy between the October Revolution and the revolution in Germany and lashes violently at the German Communist Party for its actual and alleged mistakes.

It was easy for Russia [says Lenin], in the specific, historically very unique situation of 1917, to *start* the socialist revolution, but it will be more difficult for Russia than for European countries to *continue* the revolution and bring it to its consummation. I had occasion to point this out even at the beginning of 1918, and our experience of the past two years has entirely confirmed the correctness of this view. Certain specific conditions, *viz.* (1) the possibility of linking up the Soviet revolution with the ending (as a consequence of this revolution) of the imperialist war, which had exhausted the workers and peasants to an incredible degree; (2) the possibility of taking advantage for a certain time of the mortal conflict between two world-powerful groups of imperialist robbers, who were unable to unite against their Soviet enemy; (3) the possibility of holding out in a comparatively lengthy civil war, partly owing to the vast size of the country and to the poor means of communication; (4) the existence of such a profound bourgeois-democratic revolutionary movement among the peasantry that the party of the proletariat was able to adopt the revolutionary demands of the peasant party (the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, a party which, in its majority, was intensely hostile to Bolshevism) and to realize them at once, thanks to the conquest of political power by the proletariat; these specific conditions do not exist in Western Europe at present; and a repetition of such or similar conditions will not come about easily. That is why, apart from a number of other causes, it will be more difficult to *start* a socialist revolution in Western Europe than it was for us. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 105.)

These words of Lenin's should not be forgotten.

II. TWO PECULIAR FEATURES OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION—OR THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND TROTSKY'S THEORY OF PERMANENT REVOLUTION

There are two peculiar features of the October Revolution which must be understood first of all if we are to comprehend the inner meaning and the historical significance of that revolution.

What are these peculiar features?

First, the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat was born in our country as a power which came into existence on the basis of an alliance

between the proletariat and the laboring masses of the peasantry, the latter being led by the proletariat. Second, the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat became established in our country as a result of the victory of socialism in one country—a country with capitalism still little developed—while capitalism was preserved in other countries more highly developed in the capitalist sense. This does not mean, of course, that the October Revolution has no other peculiar features. But it is these two peculiar features that are important for us at the present moment, not only because they distinctly express the essence of the October Revolution, but also because they fully reveal the opportunist nature of the theory of “permanent revolution.”

Let us briefly examine these peculiar features.

The problem of the laboring masses of the petty bourgeoisie, both urban and rural, the problem of winning these masses to the side of the proletariat, is of exceptional importance for the proletarian revolution. Whom will the laboring people of town and country support in the struggle for power, the bourgeoisie or the proletariat; whose reserve will they become, the reserve of the bourgeoisie or the reserve of the proletariat—on this depend the fate of the revolution and the stability of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The revolutions in France in 1848 and 1871 came to grief chiefly because the peasant reserves proved to be on the side of the bourgeoisie. The October Revolution was victorious because it was able to deprive the bourgeoisie of its peasant reserves, because it was able to win these reserves to the side of the proletariat, and because in this revolution the proletariat proved to be the only guiding force for the vast masses of the laboring people of town and country.

He who has not understood this will never comprehend the character of the October Revolution, or the nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat, or the peculiar characteristics of the internal policy of our proletarian power.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is not simply a governing upper stratum “skillfully” “selected” by the careful hand of an “experienced strategist,” and “judiciously relying” on the support of one section or another of the population. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a class alliance between the proletariat and the laboring masses of the peasantry for the purpose of overthrowing capital, for achieving the final victory of socialism, on the condition that the guiding force of this alliance is the proletariat.

Thus, it is not a question of “slightly” underestimating or “slightly”

overestimating the revolutionary potentialities of the peasant movement, as certain diplomatic advocates of "permanent revolution" are now fond of expressing it. It is a question of the nature of the new proletarian state which arose as a result of the October Revolution. It is a question of the character of the proletarian power, of the foundations of the dictatorship of the proletariat itself.

The dictatorship of the proletariat [says Lenin] is a special form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the toilers, and the numerous non-proletarian strata of toilers (the petty bourgeoisie, the small proprietors, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, etc.), or the majority of these; it is an alliance against capital, an alliance aiming at the complete overthrow of capital, at the complete suppression of the resistance of the bourgeoisie and of any attempt on their part at restoration, an alliance aiming at the final establishment and consolidation of socialism. (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russian ed., Vol. XXIV, p. 311.)

And further on:

If we translate the Latin, scientific, historical-philosophical term "dictatorship of the proletariat" into more simple language, it means just the following: Only a definite class, namely, that of the urban workers and industrial workers in general, is able to lead the whole mass of the toilers and exploited in the struggle for the overthrow of the yoke of capital, in the process of this overthrow, in the struggle to maintain and consolidate the victory, in the work of creating the new, socialist social system, in the whole struggle for the complete abolition of classes. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. IX, p. 432.)

Such is the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat given by Lenin.

One of the peculiar features of the October Revolution is the fact that this revolution represents the classic application of Lenin's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Some believe that this theory is a purely "Russian" theory, applicable only to Russian conditions. That is wrong. It is absolutely wrong. In speaking of the laboring masses of the non-proletarian classes which are led by the proletariat, Lenin has in mind not only the Russian peasants, but also the laboring elements of the border regions of the Soviet Union, which until recently were colonies of Russia. Lenin constantly reiterated that without an alliance with these masses of other nationalities the proletariat of Russia could not achieve victory. In his articles on the national problem and in his speeches at the congresses of the Communist International, Lenin repeatedly said that the victory of the world revo-

lution was impossible without a revolutionary alliance, a revolutionary bloc, between the proletariat of the advanced countries and the oppressed peoples of the enslaved colonies. But what are colonies if not the oppressed laboring masses, and, primarily, the laboring masses of the peasantry? Who does not know that the question of emancipating the colonies is *essentially* a question of emancipating the laboring masses of the non-proletarian classes from the oppression and exploitation of finance capital?

But from this it follows that Lenin's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a purely "Russian" theory, but a theory which applies to all countries. Bolshevism is not only a Russian phenomenon. "*Bolshevism*," says Lenin, is "*a model of tactics for all*." (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VII, p. 183.)

Such are the characteristics of the first peculiar feature of the October Revolution.

How do matters stand with regard to Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution" in the light of this peculiar feature of the October Revolution?

We shall not dwell at length on Trotsky's position in 1905, when he "simply" forgot all about the peasantry as a revolutionary force and advanced the slogan of "no tsar, but a workers' government," that is, the slogan of revolution without the peasantry. Even Radek, that diplomatic defender of "permanent revolution," is now obliged to admit that "permanent revolution" in 1905 meant a "leap into the air" away from reality. Now everyone seems to admit that it is not worth while to deal any more with this "leap into the air."

Nor shall we dwell at length on Trotsky's position in the period of the war, say, in 1915, when, proceeding from the fact that "we are living in the era of imperialism," that imperialism "sets up not the bourgeois nation in opposition to the old regime, but the proletariat in opposition to the bourgeois nation," he arrived, in his article, *The Struggle for Power*, at the conclusion that the revolutionary role of the peasantry was bound to subside, that the slogan of the confiscation of the land no longer had the same importance as formerly. It is well known that at that time Lenin, in criticizing this article of Trotsky's, accused him of "denying" "the role of the peasantry," and said that "Trotsky is in fact helping the liberal labor politicians in Russia who by 'denial' of the role of the peasantry mean *refusal* to rouse the peasants to revolution." (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. V, p. 163.)

Let us pass on to the later works of Trotsky on this subject, to the

works of the period when the proletarian dictatorship had already become established and when Trotsky had had the opportunity to test his theory of "permanent revolution" in the light of actual events and to correct his errors. Let us take Trotsky's "Preface" to his book *The Year 1905*, written in 1922. Here is what Trotsky says in this "Preface" concerning "permanent revolution":

It was precisely during the interval between January 9 and the general strike of October 1905 that the views on the character of the revolutionary development of Russia which came to be known as the theory of "permanent revolution" crystallized in the author's mind. This abstruse term represented the idea that the Russian revolution, whose immediate objectives were bourgeois in nature, would not, however, stop when these objectives had been achieved. The revolution would not be able to solve its immediate bourgeois problems except by placing the proletariat in power. And the latter, upon assuming power, would not be able to confine itself to the bourgeois limits of the revolution. On the contrary, precisely in order to ensure its victory, the proletarian vanguard would be forced in the very early stages of its rule to make deep inroads not only into feudal property but into bourgeois property as well. In this it would come into *hostile collision* not only with all the bourgeois groupings which supported the proletariat during the first stages of its revolutionary struggle, *but also with the broad masses of the peasants* who had been instrumental in bringing it into power. The contradictions in the position of a workers' government in a backward country with an overwhelming majority of peasants can be solved *only* on an international scale, in the arena of the world proletarian revolution. [My italics.—J. S.]

This is what Trotsky says about his "permanent revolution."

One need only compare this quotation with the above quotations from Lenin's works on the dictatorship of the proletariat to perceive the great chasm that lies between Lenin's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution."

Lenin speaks of the *alliance* between the proletariat and the laboring strata of the peasantry as the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Trotsky sees a "*hostile collision*" between "the proletarian vanguard" and "the broad masses of the peasants."

Lenin speaks of the *leadership* of the toiling and exploited masses by the proletariat. Trotsky sees "*contradictions* in the position of a workers' government in a backward country with an overwhelming majority of peasants."

According to Lenin, the revolution draws its strength primarily from among the workers and peasants of Russia itself. According to Trotsky,

the necessary strength can be found *only* "in the arena of the world proletarian revolution."

But what if the world revolution is fated to arrive with some delay? Is there any ray of hope for our revolution? Trotsky sees no ray of hope, for "the contradictions in the position of a workers' government... can be solved *only*... in the arena of the world proletarian revolution." According to this plan, there is but one prospect left for our revolution: to vegetate in its own contradictions and rot away while waiting for the world revolution.

What is the dictatorship of the proletariat according to Lenin?

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a power which rests on an alliance between the proletariat and the laboring masses of the peasantry for "the complete overthrow of capital" and for "the final establishment and consolidation of socialism."

What is the dictatorship of the proletariat according to Trotsky?

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a power which comes into "hostile collision... with the broad masses of the peasants" and seeks the solution of its "contradictions" *only* "in the arena of the world proletarian revolution."

What difference is there between this "theory of permanent revolution" and the well-known theory of Menshevism which repudiates the concept of dictatorship of the proletariat?

In substance there is no difference.

There can be no doubt about it. "Permanent revolution" is not a mere underestimation of the revolutionary potentialities of the peasant movement. "Permanent revolution" is an underestimation of the peasant movement which leads to the *repudiation* of Lenin's theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Trotsky's "permanent revolution" is a variety of Menshevism.

This is how matters stand with regard to the first peculiar feature of the October Revolution.

What are the characteristics of the second peculiar feature of the October Revolution?

In his study of imperialism, especially in the period of the war, Lenin arrived at the law of the uneven, spasmodic economic and political development of the capitalist countries. According to this law, the development of enterprises, trusts, branches of industry and individual countries proceeds not evenly—not according to an established order of rotation, not in such a way that one trust, one branch of industry or one country is always in advance of the others, while other trusts or countries keep

regularly one behind the other—but spasmodically, with interruptions in the development of some countries and leaps ahead in the development of others. Under these circumstances the “quite legitimate” striving of the countries that have slowed down to hold their old positions and the equally “legitimate” striving of the countries that have leapt ahead to seize new positions lead to a situation in which armed clashes among the imperialist countries are inevitable. Such was the case, for example, with Germany, which half a century ago was a backward country in comparison with France and England. The same must be said of Japan as compared with Russia. It is well known, however, that by the beginning of the twentieth century Germany and Japan had leapt so far ahead that Germany had succeeded in overtaking France and had begun to press England hard on the world market, while Japan was pressing Russia. As is well known, it was from these contradictions that the recent imperialist war arose.

This law proceeds from the following:

1. “Capitalism has grown into a world system of colonial oppression and of the financial strangulation of the overwhelming majority of the population of the world by a handful of ‘advanced’ countries” (V. I. Lenin, Preface to French edition of *Imperialism, Selected Works*, Vol. V, p. 9);

2. “This ‘booty’ is shared between two or three powerful world marauders armed to the teeth (America, Great Britain, Japan), who involve the whole world in *their* war over the sharing of *their* booty.” (*Ibid.*);

3. In consequence of the growth of contradictions within the world system of financial oppression and of the inevitability of armed clashes, the world front of imperialism becomes easily vulnerable to revolution, and a breach in this front in individual countries becomes probable;

4. This breach is most likely to occur at those points, and in those countries, where the chain of the imperialist front is weakest, that is to say, where imperialism is least protected and where it is easiest for a revolution to expand;

5. In view of this, the victory of socialism in one country, even if this country is less developed in the capitalist sense, while capitalism is preserved in other countries, even if these countries are more highly developed in the capitalist sense—is quite possible and probable.

Such, in a nutshell, are the foundations of Lenin’s theory of the proletarian revolution.

What is the second peculiar feature of the October Revolution?

The second peculiar feature of the October Revolution lies in the fact that this revolution represents a model of the practical application of Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution.

He who has not understood this peculiar feature of the October Revolution will never understand either the international nature of this revolution, or its colossal international might, or its peculiar foreign policy.

Uneven economic and political development [Says Lenin] is an absolute law of capitalism. Hence, the victory of socialism is possible first in several or even in one capitalist country, taken singly. The victorious proletariat of that country, having expropriated the capitalists and organized its own socialist production, would stand up *against* the rest of the world, the capitalist world, attracting to its cause the oppressed classes of other countries, raising revolts in those countries against the capitalists, and in the event of necessity coming out even with armed force against the exploiting classes and their states. [For] the free union of nations in socialism is impossible without a more or less prolonged and stubborn struggle by the socialist republics against the backward states. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. V, p. 141.)

The opportunists of all countries assert that the proletarian revolution can begin—if it is to begin anywhere at all, according to their theory—only in industrially developed countries, and that the more highly developed these countries are industrially the more chances are there for the victory of socialism. Moreover, according to them, the possibility of the victory of socialism in one country, and in a country little developed in the capitalist sense at that, is excluded as something absolutely improbable. As far back as the period of the war, Lenin, taking as his basis the law of the uneven development of the imperialist states, opposed to the opportunists his theory of the proletarian revolution of the victory of socialism in one country, even if that country is less developed in the capitalist sense.

It is well known that the October Revolution has fully confirmed the correctness of Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution.

How do matters stand with Trotsky's "permanent revolution" in the light of Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution?

Let us take Trotsky's pamphlet *Our Revolution* (1906). Trotsky writes:

Without direct state support from the European proletariat, the working class of Russia will not be able to maintain itself in power and to transform its temporary rule into a lasting socialist dictatorship. We cannot doubt this for an instant.

What does this quotation mean? It means that the victory of socialism one country, in this case Russia, is impossible "without direct state support from the European proletariat," i.e., before the European proletariat has achieved power.

What is there in common between this "theory" and Lenin's thesis the possibility of the victory of socialism "in one capitalist country, singly"?

Clearly, there is nothing in common.

But let us assume that Trotsky's pamphlet, which was published in 1906, at a time when it was difficult to determine the character of our revolution, contains inadvertent errors and does not fully correspond to Trotsky's views at a later period. Let us examine another pamphlet written by Trotsky, his *Program of Peace*, which appeared before the October Revolution of 1917 and has now (1924) been reprinted in his book *The Year 1917*. In this pamphlet Trotsky criticizes Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution and the victory of socialism in one country and opposes to it the slogan of a United States of Europe. He asserts that the victory of socialism in one country is impossible, that the victory of socialism is possible only as a victory in several of the principal states of Europe (England, Russia, Germany), which should combine into a United States of Europe; otherwise it is not possible at all. He says quite plainly that "a victorious revolution in Russia or in England is inconceivable without a revolution in Germany, and vice versa."

The only more or less concrete historical argument [says Trotsky] advanced against the slogan of a United States of Europe was formulated in the Swiss *Sotsial-Demokrat* [at that time the central organ of the Bolsheviks—J. S.] in the following sentence: "Uneven economic and political development is an absolute law of capitalism." From this the *Sotsial-Demokrat* drew the conclusion that the victory of socialism is possible in one country, and that, therefore, there is no point in making the creation of a United States of Europe a condition for the dictatorship of the proletariat in each separate country. That capitalist development in different countries is uneven is an absolutely incontrovertible argument. But this unevenness is itself extremely uneven. The capitalist level of England, Austria, Germany or France is not identical. But in comparison with Africa and Asia all these countries represent capitalist "Europe," which has grown ripe for the social revolution. That no single country should "wait" for others in its own struggle is an elementary idea which it is useful and necessary to repeat in order to prevent the substitution of the idea of expectant international inaction for the idea of simultaneous international action. Without waiting for the others, we begin and continue our struggle on our national soil, confident that our initiative will give

an impetus to the struggle in other countries; but if that does not happen, it will be hopeless, in the light of historical experience and in the light of theoretical reasoning, to think that a revolutionary Russia, for example, could hold its own in the face of a conservative Europe, or that a socialist Germany could remain isolated in a capitalist world.

As you see, we have before us that same theory of the simultaneous victory of socialism in the principal countries of Europe which, as a rule, excludes Lenin's theory of revolution about the victory of socialism in one country.

It goes without saying that for the *complete* victory of socialism, for *complete* security against the restoration of the old order, the united efforts of the proletarians of several countries are necessary. It goes without saying that, without the support given to our revolution by the proletariat of Europe, the proletariat of Russia could not have held its own against the general onslaught, just as without the support the revolution in Russia gave to the revolutionary movement in the West the latter could not have developed at the pace at which it has begun to develop since the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia. It goes without saying that we need support. But what does support of our revolution by the West-European proletariat imply? Is not the sympathy of European workers for our revolution, their readiness to thwart the imperialists' plans of intervention—is not all this support? Is this not real assistance? Of course it is. If it had not been for this support, if it had not been for this assistance, not only from the European workers but also from the colonial and dependent countries, the proletarian dictatorship in Russia would have been in a tight corner. Has this sympathy and this assistance, coupled with the might of our Red Army and the readiness of the workers and peasants of Russia to defend their socialist fatherland to the last—has all this been sufficient to beat off the attacks of the imperialists and to win us the necessary conditions for the serious work of construction? Yes, it has been sufficient. Is this sympathy growing stronger, or is it ebbing away? Undoubtedly, it is growing stronger. Hence, have we favorable conditions, not only to push on with the organization of socialist economy, but also, in our turn, to give support to the West-European workers and to the oppressed peoples of the East? Yes, we have. This is eloquently proved by the seven years' history of the proletarian dictatorship in Russia. Can it be denied that a mighty wave of labor enthusiasm has already risen in our country? No, it cannot be denied.

After all this, what does Trotsky's assertion that a revolutionary Russia could not hold its own against a conservative Europe signify?

It can signify only this: first, that Trotsky does not appreciate the inherent strength of our revolution; secondly, that Trotsky does not understand the inestimable importance of the moral support which is given to our revolution by the workers of the West and the peasants of the East; thirdly, that Trotsky does not perceive the internal cancer which is eating at the heart of imperialism today.

Carried away by his criticism of Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution, Trotsky unwittingly confuted himself in his pamphlet *A Program of Peace*, which appeared in 1917 and was republished in 1924.

But perhaps this pamphlet too has become out of date and has ceased for some reason or other to correspond to Trotsky's present views? Let us take his later works, written after the victory of the proletarian revolution in *one country*, in Russia. Let us take, for example, Trotsky's "Postscript" to the new edition of his pamphlet *A Program of Peace*, which was written in 1922. Here is what he says in this "Postscript":

The assertion, repeated several times in *A Program of Peace*, that a proletarian revolution cannot be carried through to a victorious conclusion within the boundaries of one country may appear to some readers to have been refuted by the almost five years' experience of our Soviet republic. But such a conclusion would be groundless. The fact that the workers' state has maintained itself against the whole world in one country, and in a backward country at that, bears witness to the colossal might of the proletariat, which in other countries, more advanced, more civilized, will be capable of performing real miracles. But, although we have held our ground in the political and military sense as a state, we have not yet undertaken or even approached the task of creating a socialist society. . . . As long as the bourgeoisie remains in power in the other European countries, we will be compelled, in our struggle against economic isolation, to strive for agreement with the capitalist world: at the same time it may be said with certainty that these agreements may at best help us to mitigate some of our economic ills, to take one or another step forward, but that a genuine advance of socialist economy in Russia will become possible *only after the victory* [My italics.—J.S.] of the proletariat in the most important countries of Europe.

Thus speaks Trotsky, plainly sinning against reality and stubbornly trying to save his "permanent revolution" from final shipwreck.

It appears, then, that, twist and turn as you like, we have not only "not undertaken" the task of creating a socialist society but we have "not even approached" it. It appears that some people have been hoping for "agree-

ments with the capitalist world," but it also appears that nothing will come of these agreements, for, twist and turn as you like, a "genuine advance of socialist economy" will not be possible until the proletariat has been victorious in the "most important countries of Europe."

Well, then, since there is still no victory in the West, the only "choice" that remains for the revolution in Russia is: either to rot away or to degenerate into a bourgeois state.

It is no accident that Trotsky has been talking for two years now about the "degeneration" of our party.

It is no accident that last year Trotsky predicted the "doom" of our country.

How can this strange "theory" be reconciled with Lenin's theory of the "victory of socialism in one country"?

How can this strange "prospect" be reconciled with Lenin's view that the New Economic Policy would enable us "to lay the foundation of socialist economy"?

How can this "permanent" hopelessness be reconciled, for instance, with the following words of Lenin's:

Socialism is no longer a matter of the distant future, or an abstract picture, or an icon. We still retain our old bad opinion of icons. We have dragged socialism into everyday life, and here we must be able to keep our bearings. This is the task of our day, the task of our epoch. Permit me to conclude by expressing the conviction that, difficult as this task may be, new as it may be compared with our previous task, and no matter how many difficulties it may entail, we shall all—not in one day, but in the course of several years—all of us together fulfill it at any price; and N.E.P. Russia will be transformed into socialist Russia. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. IX, p. 381.)

How can this "permanent" hopelessness be reconciled, for instance, with the following words of Lenin's:

As a matter of fact, the power of state over all large-scale means of production, the power of state in the hands of the proletariat, the alliance of this proletariat with the many millions of small and very small peasants, the assured leadership of the peasantry by the proletariat, etc.—is not this all that is necessary in order to build a complete socialist society from the co-operatives, from the co-operatives alone, which we formerly treated as huckstering and which from a certain aspect we have the right to treat as such now, under N.E.P.? Is this not all that is necessary for the purpose of building a complete socialist society? This is not yet the building of socialist society, but it is all that is necessary and sufficient for this building. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. IX, p. 403.)

It is plain that these two views cannot be reconciled. Trotsky's "permanent revolution" is the negation of Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution; and, conversely, Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution is the negation of the theory of "permanent revolution."

Lack of faith in the strength and capabilities of our revolution, lack of faith in the strength and capabilities of the Russian proletariat—that is what lies at the root of the theory of "permanent revolution."

Hitherto only *one* aspect of the theory of "permanent revolution" has usually been noted—lack of faith in the revolutionary potentialities of the peasant movement. Now, in fairness, this must be supplemented by *another* aspect—lack of faith in the strength and capabilities of the proletariat in Russia.

What difference is there between Trotsky's theory and the ordinary Menshevik theory that the victory of socialism in one country, and in a backward country at that, is impossible without the preliminary victory of the proletarian revolution "in the principal countries of Western Europe"?

As a matter of fact, there is no difference.

There can be no doubt at all. Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution" is a variety of Menshevism.

Of late our press has begun to teem with rotten diplomats who try to palm off the theory of "permanent revolution" as something compatible with Leninism. Of course, they say, this theory proved to be worthless in 1905; but the mistake Trotsky made was that he ran too far ahead at that time and tried to apply to the situation in 1905 what could not then be applied.

But later, they say, in October 1917, for example, when the revolution had had time to mature completely, Trotsky's theory proved to be quite appropriate. It is not difficult to guess that the chief of these diplomats is Radek. Here, if you please, is what he says:

The war created a chasm between the peasantry, which was striving to win land and peace, and the petty-bourgeois parties; the war placed the peasantry under the leadership of the working class and of its vanguard, the Bolshevik Party. This rendered possible, not the dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry, but the dictatorship of the working class relying on the peasantry. What Rosa Luxemburg and Trotsky advanced against Lenin in 1905 [*i.e.*, "permanent revolution"—J.S.] proved, as a matter of fact, to be the second stage of the historic development.

Here every statement is a distortion.

It is not true that the war "rendered possible, not the dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry, but the dictatorship of the working class relying on the peasantry." Actually, the February Revolution of 1917 was the materialization of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, interwoven in a peculiar way with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

It is not true that the theory of "permanent revolution," which Radek modestly refrains from mentioning, was advanced in 1905 by Rosa Luxemburg and Trotsky. Actually, this theory was advanced by Parvus and Trotsky. Now, ten months later, Radek corrects himself and deems it necessary to rebuke Parvus for the theory of "permanent revolution." But in all fairness Radek should also rebuke Parvus' partner, Trotsky.

It is not true that the theory of "permanent revolution," which was brushed aside by the 1905 Revolution, proved to be correct in the "second stage of the historic development," that is, during the October Revolution. The whole course of the October Revolution, its whole development, has demonstrated and proved the utter bankruptcy of the theory of "permanent revolution" and its absolute incompatibility with the foundations of Leninism.

Honeyed speeches and rotten diplomacy cannot hide the yawning chasm which lies between the theory of "permanent revolution" and Leninism.

III. CERTAIN PECULIAR FEATURES OF THE TACTICS OF THE BOLSHEVIKS DURING THE PERIOD OF PREPARATION FOR THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

In order to understand the tactics the Bolsheviks pursued during the period of preparation for October we must get a clear idea of at least some of the particularly important features of those tactics. This is all the more necessary since in numerous pamphlets on the tactics of the Bolsheviks precisely these features are frequently overlooked.

What are these features?

First peculiar feature: To listen to Trotsky, one would think that there were only two periods in the history of the preparation for October: the period of reconnaissance and the period of insurrection, and that all else comes from the evil one. What was the April demonstration of 1917? "The April demonstration, which went more to the 'Left' than was in-

tended, was a reconnoitering sortie for the purpose of testing the temper of the masses and the relations between them and the majority in the Soviets." And what was the July demonstration of 1917? In Trotsky's opinion "this too was in fact another, more extensive reconnaissance at a new and higher phase of the movement." Needless to say, the June demonstration of 1917, which was organized at the demand of our party, should, according to Trotsky's idea, all the more be termed a "reconnaissance."

This would seem to imply that as early as March 1917, the Bolsheviks already had a complete political army of workers and peasants at their command, and that if they did not bring this army into action for insurrection in April, or in June, or in July, but engaged merely in "reconnoitering," it was because, and only because, "the information obtained from the reconnaissance" at the time was unfavorable.

Needless to say, this vulgarized presentation of the political tactics of our party is nothing but a confusion of ordinary military tactics with the revolutionary tactics of the Bolsheviks.

Actually, all these demonstrations were primarily the result of the spontaneous pressure of the masses, the result of the fact that the indignation of the masses against the war had boiled over and sought an outlet in the streets.

Actually, the task of the party at that time was to shape and to guide the spontaneously rising demonstrations of the masses along the line of the revolutionary slogans of the Bolsheviks.

Actually, the Bolsheviks had no political army ready in March 1917, nor could they have had one. The Bolsheviks built up such an army (and had it finally built up by October 1917) only in the course of the struggle and conflicts of the classes between April and October 1917; the April demonstration, the June and July demonstrations, the elections to the District and City Dumas, the struggle against the Kornilov revolt, and the winning over of the Soviets were all used as means for building up this army. A political army is not like a military army. A military command begins a war with an army ready to hand, whereas the party had to create its army in the course of the struggle itself, in the course of class conflicts, as the masses themselves became convinced through their own experience that the slogans of the party, the policy of the party, were right.

Of course, every such demonstration threw a certain amount of light on the non-apparent interrelations of the forces involved; there was a certain amount of reconnoitering, but this reconnoitering was not the motive for the demonstrations, but their natural result.

In analyzing the events preceding the insurrection in October and comparing them with the events that marked the period from April to July, Lenin says:

The situation now is not what it was prior to April 20-21, June 9, July 3, for then there was *spontaneous excitement* which we, as a party, either failed to realize (April 20) or tried to restrain and shape into a peaceful demonstration (June 9 and July 3). For at that time we were fully aware that the Soviets were *not yet* ours, that the peasants *still* trusted the Lieber-Dan-Chernov course and not the Bolshevik course (insurrection), and that, consequently, we could not have the majority of the people behind us, and, hence, insurrection was premature. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, p. 319.)

It is plain that "reconnoitering" alone does not take one very far.

Obviously, it was not a question of "reconnoitering," and the actual situation was as follows:

1. All through the period of preparation for October the party invariably relied in its struggle upon the spontaneous upsurge of the mass revolutionary movement;

2. While relying on the spontaneous upsurge, it maintained its own undivided leadership of the movement;

3. This leadership of the movement helped it to form the mass political army for the October insurrection;

4. This policy was bound to bring it to pass that the entire preparation for October proceeded under the leadership of *one* party, the Bolshevik Party;

5. This preparation for October, in its turn, brought it about that, as a result of the October insurrection, power was concentrated in the hands of *one* party, the Bolshevik Party.

Thus, the undivided leadership of *one* party, the Communist Party, as the principal factor in the preparations for October—such is the characteristic feature of the October Revolution, such is the first peculiar feature of the tactics of the Bolsheviks in the period of preparation for October.

It need hardly be proved that without this feature of the tactics of the Bolsheviks the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the conditions of imperialism would have been impossible.

In this the October Revolution differs favorably from the revolution of 1871 in France, where the leadership was divided between two parties, neither of which could be called a communist party.

Second peculiar feature: The preparation for October thus proceeded under the leadership of one party, the Bolshevik Party. But how did the

party effect its leadership, what line did it pursue? In effecting this leadership the party pursued the line of isolating the *compromising* parties as the most dangerous groupings in the period of the climax of the revolution, the line of isolating the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks.

What is the fundamental strategic rule of Leninism?

It is the recognition of the following:

1. The *compromising* parties are the most dangerous social support of the enemies of the revolution in the period of the approaching revolutionary climax.
2. It is impossible to overthrow the enemy (tsarism or the bourgeoisie) unless these parties are isolated.
3. The main weapons in the period of preparation for the revolution must therefore be directed towards isolating these parties, towards winning the broad masses of the working people away from them.

In the period of the struggle against tsarism, in the period of preparation for the bourgeois-democratic revolution (1905-16), the most dangerous social support of tsarism was the liberal-monarchist party, the Cadet Party. Why? Because it was the compromising party, the party of *compromise* between tsarism and the majority of the people, *i.e.*, the peasantry as a whole. Naturally, the party at that time directed its main blows at the Cadets, for unless the Cadets were isolated there could be no hope of a *rupture* between the peasantry and tsarism, and unless this rupture was insured there could be no hope of the revolution achieving victory. At that time many people did not understand this peculiar feature of Bolshevik strategy and accused the Bolsheviks of excessive "Cadetophobia"; they asserted that with the Bolsheviks the struggle against the Cadets "overshadowed" the struggle against the principal enemy—tsarism. But these accusations, for which there was no ground whatever, revealed an utter failure to understand the Bolshevik strategy, which called for the isolation of the compromising party *in order* to facilitate, to hasten the victory over the principal enemy.

It need hardly be proved that without this strategy the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution would have been impossible.

In the period of preparation for October the center of gravity of the forces in conflict shifted to another plane. The tsar was gone. The Cadet Party had been transformed from a compromising force into the governing force, into the ruling force of imperialism. Now the fight was no longer between tsarism and the people, but between the bourgeoisie and

the proletariat. In this period the petty-bourgeois democratic parties, the Socialist-Revolutionary Party and the Menshevik Party, were the most dangerous social support of imperialism. Why? Because these parties were then the compromising parties, the parties of *compromise* between imperialism and the laboring masses. Naturally, the Bolsheviks at that time directed their main blows at these parties, for unless these parties were isolated there could be no hope of a *rupture* between the laboring masses and imperialism, and unless this rupture was insured there could be no hope of the Soviet revolution achieving victory. Many people at that time did not understand this peculiar feature of the Bolshevik tactics and accused the Bolsheviks of displaying "excessive hatred" towards the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, and of "forgetting" the principal goal. But the entire period of preparation for October eloquently testifies to the fact that only by pursuing these tactics could the Bolsheviks insure the victory of the October Revolution.

The characteristic feature of this period was the growth of the revolutionary spirit among the laboring masses of the peasantry, their disillusionment with the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, their defection from these parties, their turn in the direction of closely rallying around the proletariat as the only force that was consistently revolutionary and capable of leading the country to peace. The history of this period is the history of the struggle between the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks on the one hand and the Bolsheviks on the other for the laboring masses of the peasantry, for winning these masses. The issue of this struggle was decided by the Coalition period, by the Kerensky period, by the refusal of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks to confiscate the land of the landlords, by the efforts of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks to continue the war, by the June offensive at the front, by the restoration of capital punishment for soldiers, by the Kornilov revolt. And they decided the issue of this struggle entirely in favor of the Bolshevik strategy; for unless the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks were isolated it would have been impossible to overthrow the government of the imperialists, and unless this government were overthrown it would have been impossible to break away from the war. The policy of isolating the Socialist-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks proved to be the only correct policy.

Thus, isolation of the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary parties as the main line in directing the preparations for October—such was the second peculiar feature of the tactics of the Bolsheviks.

It need hardly be proved that without this feature of the tactics of the

Bolsheviks the alliance of the working class and the laboring masses of the peasantry would have been left hanging in the air.

It is characteristic that in his *Lessons of October*, Trotsky says nothing, or next to nothing, about this peculiar feature of the Bolshevik tactics.

Third peculiar feature: Thus, the party, in directing the preparations for October, pursued the line of isolating the Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik parties, of winning the broad masses of the workers and peasants away from them. But how, concretely, was this isolation effected by the party—in what form, under what slogan? It was effected in the form of the revolutionary mass movement for the power of the Soviets, under the slogan “All power to the Soviets,” by means of the struggle to convert the Soviets from organs for mobilizing the masses into organs of insurrection, into organs of power, into the apparatus of the new proletarian state.

Why was it precisely the Soviets that the Bolsheviks seized upon as the principal organizational lever that could facilitate the task of isolating the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, that was capable of advancing the cause of the proletarian revolution, and that was destined to lead the millions of laboring masses to the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat?

What are the Soviets?

The Soviets [said Lenin as early as September 1917] are a new state apparatus, which, in the first place, provides an armed force of workers and peasants; and this force is not divorced from the people, as was the old standing army, but is most closely bound up with the people. From the military standpoint this force is incomparably more powerful than previous forces; from the revolutionary standpoint, it cannot be replaced by anything else. Secondly, this apparatus provides a bond with the masses, with the majority of the people, so intimate, so indissoluble, so readily controllable and renewable, that there was nothing even remotely like it in the previous state apparatus. Thirdly, this apparatus, by virtue of the fact that its personnel is elected and subject to recall at the will of the people without any bureaucratic formalities, is far more democratic than any previous apparatus. Fourthly, it provides a close contact with the most diverse professions, thus facilitating the adoption of the most varied and most radical reforms without bureaucracy. Fifthly, it provides a form of organization of the vanguard, *i.e.*, of the most class conscious, most energetic and most progressive section of the *oppressed* classes, the workers and peasants, and thus constitutes an apparatus by means of which the vanguard of the oppressed classes can elevate, train, educate, and lead *the entire vast mass* of these classes, which has hitherto stood remote from political life, from history. Sixthly, it makes it possible to combine the advantages of parlia-

mentarism with the advantages of immediate and direct democracy, *i.e.*, to unite in the persons of the elected representatives of the people both legislative and *executive* functions. Compared with bourgeois parliamentarism, this represents an advance in the development of democracy which is of world-wide historic significance. . . . If the creative impulse of the revolutionary classes of the people had not engendered the Soviets, the proletarian revolution in Russia would have been a hopeless cause, for the proletariat could certainly not have retained power with the old state apparatus, and it is impossible to create a new apparatus immediately. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, pp. 263-64.)

That is why the Bolsheviks seized upon the Soviets as the principal organizational link that could facilitate the task of organizing the October Revolution and the creation of a new, powerful apparatus of the proletarian state.

From the point of view of its internal development, the slogan "All power to the Soviets" passed through two stages: the first (up to the July defeat of the Bolsheviks, during the period of dual power), and the second (after the defeat of the Kornilov revolt).

During the first stage this slogan signified the rupture of the bloc of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries with the Cadets, the formation of a Soviet government consisting of the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries (for at that time the Soviets were Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik), the right of free agitation for the opposition (*i.e.*, for the Bolsheviks), and the free struggle of parties within the Soviets, in the expectation that by means of such a struggle the Bolsheviks would succeed in capturing the Soviets and changing the composition of the Soviet government in the course of a peaceful development of the revolution. This plan, of course, did not signify the dictatorship of the proletariat. But it undoubtedly facilitated the preparation of the conditions required for ensuring the dictatorship, for, by putting the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries in power and compelling them to carry out in practice their anti-revolutionary platform, it hastened the exposure of the true nature of these parties, hastened their isolation, their becoming detached from the masses. The July defeat of the Bolsheviks, however, interrupted this development, for it gave preponderance to the militarist Cadet counter-revolution and threw the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks into the arms of the latter. This compelled the party temporarily to withdraw the slogan "All power to the Soviets," only to put it forward again in the conditions of a fresh revolutionary upsurge.

The defeat of the Kornilov revolt ushered in the second stage. The

slogan "All power to the Soviets" was again put forward. But now this slogan had a different meaning from that in the first stage. Its content had radically changed. Now this slogan signified a complete rupture with imperialism and the passing of power to the Bolsheviks, for the majority of the Soviets were already Bolshevik. Now this slogan signified that the revolution must march directly towards the dictatorship of the proletariat by means of insurrection. More than that, this slogan now signified the organization and shaping of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a state.

The inestimable significance of the tactic of transforming the Soviets into organs of state power lay in the fact that it impelled the millions of working people to break away from imperialism, exposed the Socialist-Revolutionary and Menshevik parties as the tools of imperialism, and brought the masses by a direct route, as it were, to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Thus, the policy of transforming the Soviets into organs of state power, as the most important condition for isolating the compromising parties and for the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat—such is the third peculiar feature of the tactics of the Bolsheviks in the period of preparation for October.

Fourth peculiar feature: The picture would not be complete if we did not deal with the question of how and why the Bolsheviks were able to transform their party slogans into slogans for the vast masses, into slogans which pushed the revolution forward; why and how they succeeded in convincing not only the vanguard, and not only the majority of the working class, but also the majority of the people, of the correctness of their policy.

The fact is that for the victory of the revolution, if it is really a people's revolution which embraces the masses in their millions, correct party slogans alone are not enough. For the victory of the revolution one more necessary condition is required, namely, that the masses themselves become convinced through their own experience of the correctness of these slogans. Only then do the slogans of the party become the slogans of the masses themselves. Only then does the revolution really become a people's revolution. One of the peculiar features of the tactics of the Bolsheviks in the period of preparation for October was that they correctly determined the paths and turnings which would naturally lead the masses up to the party's slogans—to the very threshold of the revolution, so to speak—thus helping them to feel, to test, to realize by their own experience the correctness of these slogans. In other words, one

of the peculiar features of the tactics of the Bolsheviks is that they do not confuse leadership of the party with leadership of the masses; that they clearly see the difference between the first sort of leadership and the second sort of leadership; that they, therefore, represent the science, not only of party leadership, but of leadership of the vast masses of the working people.

A graphic example of the manifestation of this feature of Bolshevik tactics was provided by the experience of convening and dispersing the Constituent Assembly.

It is well known that the Bolsheviks advanced the slogan of a Soviet Republic as early as April 1917. It is well known that the Constituent Assembly was a bourgeois parliament, fundamentally opposed to the principles of a Soviet Republic. How could it happen that the Bolsheviks, who were aiming for a Republic of Soviets, at the same time demanded that the Provisional Government should immediately convene the Constituent Assembly? How could it happen that the Bolsheviks not only took part in the elections, but themselves convened the Constituent Assembly? How could it happen that a month before the insurrection, in the transition from the old to the new, the Bolsheviks considered a temporary combination of a Republic of Soviets with the Constituent Assembly possible?

This "happened" because:

1. The idea of a Constituent Assembly was one of the most popular ideas among the broad masses of the population.
2. The slogan of the immediate convocation of the Constituent Assembly helped to expose the counter-revolutionary nature of the Provisional Government.
3. In order to discredit the idea of a Constituent Assembly in the eyes of the masses, it was necessary to lead the masses to the gates of the Constituent Assembly with their demands for land, for peace, for the power of the Soviets, thus bringing them face to face with the real and authentic Constituent Assembly.
4. Only this could help the masses to become convinced through their own experience of the counter-revolutionary nature of the Constituent Assembly and of the necessity of dispersing it.
5. All this naturally presupposed the possibility of a temporary combination of the Soviet Republic with the Constituent Assembly, as one of the means of eliminating the latter.
6. Such a combination, if brought about *on the condition* that all power were transferred to the Soviets, could only signify the subordina-

tion of the Constituent Assembly to the Soviets, its conversion into an appendage of the Soviets, its painless extinction.

It need hardly be proved that had the Bolsheviki not adopted such a policy the dispersion of the Constituent Assembly would not have taken place so smoothly, and the subsequent actions of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviki under the slogan "All power to the Constituent Assembly" would not have failed so signally.

We took part [says Lenin] in the elections to the Russian bourgeois parliament, the Constituent Assembly, in September-November 1917. Were our tactics correct or not? . . . Did not we, the Russian Bolsheviki, in September-November 1917, have *more* right than any Western Communists to consider that parliamentarism was politically dead in Russia? Of course we did, for the point is *not* whether bourgeois parliaments have existed for a long time or for a short time, but to what extent the broad masses of the working people are *prepared* (ideologically, politically and practically) to accept the Soviet system and to disperse the bourgeois-democratic parliament (or allow it to be dispersed). That in Russia in September-November 1917 the urban working class and the soldiers and peasants were exceptionally well prepared, owing to a number of special conditions, for the acceptance of the Soviet system and for the dispersal of the most democratic bourgeois parliament is an absolutely incontestable and fully established historical fact. Nevertheless, the Bolsheviki did *not* boycott the Constituent Assembly, but took part in the elections both before and *after* the conquest of political power by the proletariat. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. X, pp. 100-101.)

Why then did they not boycott the Constituent Assembly? Because, says Lenin:

. . . participation in a bourgeois-democratic parliament even a few weeks before the victory of a Soviet republic, and even *after* such a victory, not only does no harm to the revolutionary proletariat, but makes it easier for it to *prove* to the backward masses why such parliaments deserve to be dispersed; it *facilitates* their successful dispersal, *facilitates* the process of bringing about the political end of bourgeois parliamentarism. (*Ibid.*)

It is characteristic that Trotsky does not understand this feature of Bolshevik tactics and jeers at the "theory" of combining the Constituent Assembly with the Soviets as Hilferdingism.

He does not understand that to permit such a combination, *accompanied* by the slogan of insurrection and the probable victory of the Soviets, in connection with the summoning of the Constituent Assembly, was the only revolutionary tactic to be adopted, one that had nothing

in common with the Hilferding tactic of converting the Soviets into an appendage of the Constituent Assembly; he does not understand that the mistake committed by some comrades in *this* question gives him no grounds for disparaging the absolutely correct position taken by Lenin and the party on the "combined type of state" *under* certain conditions. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, p. 309.)

He does not understand that if the Bolsheviki had not adopted this particular policy towards the Constituent Assembly they would not have succeeded in winning to their side the vast masses of the people; and if they had not won these masses they could not have transformed the October insurrection into a profound people's revolution.

It is interesting to note that Trotsky even snorts at the words "people," "revolutionary democracy," etc., occurring in articles by Bolsheviki, and considers them improper for a Marxist to use.

Trotsky has evidently forgotten that even in September 1917, a month before the victory of the dictatorship, Lenin, that unquestionable Marxist, wrote of the necessity of "the immediate transfer of the whole power to *the revolutionary democracy headed by the revolutionary proletariat.*" (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, p. 222.)

Trotsky has evidently forgotten that Lenin, that unquestionable Marxist, in quoting the well-known letter of Marx to Kugelmann (April 1871) to the effect that the smashing of the bureaucratic-military state machine is a preliminary condition for every true *people's* revolution on the Continent, writes in black and white the following lines:

... particular attention should be paid to Marx's extremely profound remark that the destruction of the bureaucratic-military state machine is "a preliminary condition for every real *people's* revolution." This idea of a "people's" revolution seems strange coming from Marx, and the Russian Plekhanovites and Mensheviks, those followers of Struve who wish to be regarded as Marxists, might possibly declare such an expression to be a "slip of the pen." They have reduced Marxism to such a state of wretched "liberal" distortion that nothing exists for them beyond the antithesis between bourgeois revolution and proletarian revolution—and even this antithesis they interpret in an utterly lifeless way. . . . In Europe, in 1871, there was not a single country on the Continent in which the proletariat constituted the majority of the people. A "people's" revolution, one that swept actually the majority into its stream, could be such only if it embraced both the proletariat and the peasantry. These two classes then constituted the "people." These two classes were united by the fact that the "bureaucratic-military state machine" oppressed, crushed, exploited them. To *smash* this machine, to *break it up*—this is what is truly in the interests of the "people," of the majority, of the workers and most of the

peasants, this is the "preliminary condition" for a free alliance between the poor peasantry and the proletarians; without such an alliance democracy is unstable and socialist transformation is impossible. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VII, pp. 37-38.)

These words of Lenin's should not be forgotten.

Thus, ability to convince the masses of the correctness of the party slogans on the basis of their own experience, by leading them up to the revolutionary positions, as the most important condition for winning the millions of working people to the side of the party—such is the fourth peculiar feature of the tactics of the Bolsheviki in the period of preparation for October.

I think that what I have said is sufficient to explain the characteristic features of these tactics.

THE PARTY'S THREE FUNDAMENTAL SLOGANS ON THE PEASANT PROBLEM

REPLY TO COMRADE YAN—SKY

Comrade Yan—sky,

I duly received your letter, of course. I am replying after some delay, for which please forgive me.

1. Lenin says that "*the main question of every revolution is the question of state power.*" (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXI, Book I, p. 164.)

In the hands of which class, or which classes, is power concentrated; which class, or which classes, must be overthrown; which class, or which classes, must take power—such is "the main question of every revolution."

The party's fundamental strategic slogans, which retain their validity during the whole period of any particular stage of the revolution, cannot be called fundamental slogans if they are not wholly and entirely based on this cardinal thesis of Lenin's. Fundamental slogans are correct slogans only if they are based on a Marxian analysis of class forces, if they indicate the correct plan of disposition of the revolutionary forces on the front of the class struggle, if they help to bring the masses up to the front of the struggle for the victory of the revolution, to the front of the struggle for the seizure of power by the new class, if they help the party to form a large and powerful political army from among the broad masses of the people, which is essential for the fulfillment of this task.

During any given stage of the revolution there may be defeats and retreats, failures and tactical errors, but that does not mean that the fundamental strategic slogan is wrong. Thus, for instance, the fundamental slogan during the *first* stage of our revolution—"together with the whole of the peasantry, against the tsar and the landlords, with the bourgeoisie neutralized, for the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution"—was an absolutely correct slogan, in spite of the fact that the Revolution of 1905 suffered defeat.

Consequently, the question of the fundamental slogan of the party must not be confused with the question of the defeats or setbacks of the revolution at any particular stage of its development.

It may happen that in the course of the revolution the fundamental slogan of the party may have already led to the overthrow of the power of the old classes, or of the old class, but a number of vital demands of the revolution, following from that slogan, have not been achieved, or their achievement has been delayed for a long period of time, or a new revolution may be required for their achievement; but this does not mean that the fundamental slogan was wrong. Thus, for instance, the February Revolution of 1917 overthrew tsardom and the landlords, but did not lead to the confiscation of the estates of the landlords, etc.; but this does not mean that our fundamental slogan in the first stage of the revolution was wrong. Or another example: the October Revolution accomplished the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the transfer of power to the proletariat, but did not immediately lead to (a) the consummation of the bourgeois revolution in general and (b) the isolation of the kulaks in the rural districts in particular—these were delayed for a certain period of time; but this does not mean that our fundamental slogan in the *second* stage of the revolution—"together with the poor peasantry, against capitalism in town and country, with the middle peasantry neutralized, for the power of the proletariat"—was wrong.

Consequently, the question of the fundamental slogan of the party must not be confused with the question of the time and forms of achieving any particular demand arising out of that slogan.

That is why the strategic slogans of our party cannot be appraised from the point of view of episodic successes or defeats of the revolutionary movement in any particular period; still less can they be appraised from the point of view of the time or forms of achieving any particular demands that arise out of those slogans. The strategic slogans of the party can be appraised only from the point of view of a Marxian analysis of the class forces and of the correct disposition of the revolutionary forces on the front of the struggle for the victory of the revolution, for the concentration of power in the hands of the new class.

Your error, Comrade Yan—sky lies in the fact that you overlooked this extremely important methodological question, or did not understand it.

2. You write in your letter:

Is it correct to assert that we were in alliance with the whole of the peasantry *only* up to October? No, it is not. The slogan, "alliance with the whole peasantry" was valid before October, *during October and in the first period after October*, inasmuch as the whole of the peasantry was interested in completing the bourgeois revolution.

From this quotation it follows that the strategic slogan of the party in the *first* stage of the revolution (1905 to February 1917), when the task was to overthrow the power of the tsar and the landlords and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, *did not differ* from the strategic slogan in the *second* stage of the revolution (February 1917 to October 1917), when the task was to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Consequently, you deny the fundamental difference between the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the proletarian-socialist revolution. You commit this error because, apparently, you will not understand so simple a matter as that the fundamental theme of a strategic slogan is the question of power in the particular stage of the revolution, the question as to *which* class is being overthrown and into the hands of *which* class power is being transferred. It need hardly be proved that on this point you are basically wrong.

You say that during October and in the first period after October we applied the slogan, "alliance with the *whole* of the peasantry," inasmuch as the whole peasantry was interested in completing the bourgeois revolution. But who told you that the October insurrection and the October Revolution were confined to, or that the main task they set themselves was, the completion of the bourgeois revolution? Where did you get that from? Do you think that the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat can be effected within the framework of the bourgeois revolution? Does not the achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat mean going beyond the framework of the bourgeois revolution? How can you assert that the kulaks (who, of course, are also peasants) could support the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the transfer of power to the proletariat? How can you deny that the decree on the nationalization of the land, the abolition of private property in land, the prohibition of the purchase and sale of land, etc., in spite of the fact that it cannot be regarded as a socialist decree, was put into effect by us in the midst of a *struggle against* the kulaks, and not in alliance with them? How can you assert that the kulaks (who are also peasants) could support the decrees of the Soviet government on the expropriation of mills, factories, railways, banks, etc., or the slogan of the proletariat on transforming the imperialist war into a civil war? How can you assert that the *fundamental* thing in October was not these and similar acts, not the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the completion of the bourgeois revolution?

No one denies that one of the main tasks of the October Revolution was

to complete the bourgeois revolution, that without the October Revolution it could not have been completed, just as the October Revolution itself could not have been consolidated unless the bourgeois revolution was completed; and inasmuch as the October Revolution did complete the bourgeois revolution it was bound to meet with the sympathy of all the peasants. All that is undeniable. But can it be asserted on these grounds that the completion of the bourgeois revolution was not a derivative phenomenon in the course of the October Revolution but its essence, its principal aim? What then, according to you, has become of the principal aim of the October Revolution, namely, the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the transformation of the imperialist war into civil war, the expropriation of the capitalists, etc.? And if the main theme of a strategic slogan is the fundamental question of every revolution, *i.e.*, the question of the transfer of power from one class to another class, does it not clearly follow from this that the question of the completion of the bourgeois revolution by the proletarian power must not be confused with the question of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and achieving this proletarian power, *i.e.*, with the question that was the main theme of the strategic slogan in the second stage of the revolution?

One of the greatest achievements of the dictatorship of the proletariat is that it completed the bourgeois revolution and swept the country clean of all the filth of medievalism. For the rural districts this was of supreme and indeed decisive importance. Without it the combination of peasant wars with the proletarian revolution, of which Marx spoke in the second half of the last century, could not have been brought about. Without it the proletarian revolution itself could not have been consolidated. Moreover, the following important circumstance must be borne in mind. The completion of the bourgeois revolution was not a single act. Actually, it was spread over a whole period embracing not only a part of 1918, as you assert in your letter, but also a part of 1919 (the Volga provinces and the Urals) and of 1919-1920 (the Ukraine). I am referring to the advance of Kolchak and Denikin, when the peasantry as a whole was faced with the danger of the restoration of the power of the landlords and when the peasantry, precisely as a *whole*, was compelled to rally around the Soviet power in order to ensure the completion of the bourgeois revolution and to preserve the fruits of that revolution. This complexity and variety of the processes of living experience, this "odd" interweaving of the direct socialist tasks of the dictatorship with the task of completing the bourgeois revolution, must always be kept in mind if we are to understand

correctly the quotations from Lenin you cite and the mechanics of achieving the party's slogans. Can it be said that this interweaving proves that the party's slogan in the *second* stage of the revolution was wrong, and that this slogan did not differ from the slogan in the *first* stage of the revolution? No, that cannot be said. On the contrary, this interweaving merely confirms the correctness of the party's slogan in the second stage of the revolution: together with the *poor* peasantry, against the capitalist bourgeoisie in town and country, for the power of the proletariat, etc. Why? Because in order to complete the bourgeois revolution it was necessary *first* to overthrow in October the power of the bourgeoisie and to set up the power of the proletariat, for only such a power is capable of completing the bourgeois revolution; and in order to set up the power of the proletariat in October it was necessary to prepare and organize for October the *necessary* political army, an army capable of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and of setting up the power of the proletariat; and there is no need to prove that *such* a political army could be prepared and organized *only* under the slogan: alliance of the proletariat with the poor peasantry against the bourgeoisie, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is clear that, without *such* a strategic slogan, which we carried through from April 1917 until October 1917, we could not have had *such* a political army, and that means that we would not have triumphed in October, we would not have overthrown the power of the bourgeoisie and, consequently, we would not have been able to complete the bourgeois revolution.

That is why the completion of the bourgeois revolution must not be contrasted to the strategic slogan of the second stage of the revolution, the purpose of which was to secure the seizure of power by the proletariat.

There is only one way to avoid all these "contradictions," namely, to recognize that there is a fundamental difference between the strategic slogan of the first stage of the revolution (the bourgeois-democratic revolution) and the strategic slogan of the second stage of the revolution (the proletarian revolution), to recognize that in the period of the first stage of the revolution we marched together with the *whole* of the peasantry for the bourgeois-democratic revolution and that in the period of the second stage of the revolution we marched together with the *poor* peasantry against the power of capital and for the proletarian revolution. And this must be recognized because an analysis of the class forces in the first and second stages of the revolution obliges us to do so. Otherwise it would be impossible to explain the fact that until February 1917 we carried on our work under the slogan of a revolutionary-*democratic* dictatorship of the

proletariat and the *peasantry*, while after February 1917 this slogan was superseded by the slogan of the *socialist* dictatorship of the proletariat and the *poor* peasantry. You will agree, Comrade Yan—sky, that the substitution of one slogan for another in March and April 1917 could not be explained if your scheme were to be accepted.

This fundamental difference between the two strategic slogans of the party was pointed out by Lenin as far back as in his pamphlet *Two Tactics*. He formulated the party's slogan during the period of preparation for the bourgeois-democratic revolution as follows:

The proletariat must carry to completion the democratic revolution by allying to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to crush by force the resistance of the autocracy and to paralyze the instability of the bourgeoisie. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. III, pp. 110-11.)

In other words: together with the whole peasantry against the autocracy, with the bourgeoisie neutralized, for a democratic revolution.

The party's slogan in the period of preparation for the socialist revolution he formulated as follows:

The proletariat must accomplish the socialist revolution by allying to itself the mass of semi-proletarian elements of the population in order to crush by force the resistance of the bourgeoisie and to paralyze the instability of the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie. (*Ibid.*, p. 111.)

In other words: together with the poor peasantry and the semi-proletarian sections of the population in general, against the bourgeoisie—with the petty bourgeoisie in town and country being neutralized—for the socialist revolution.

That was in 1905.

In April 1917, Lenin, describing the political situation at that time as the interweaving of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry with the actual power of the bourgeoisie, said:

The specific feature of the present situation in Russia is that it represents a *transition* from the *first* [My italics.—J.S.] stage of the revolution—which, owing to the insufficient class consciousness and organization of the proletariat, placed the power in the hands of the bourgeoisie—to the *second* stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the *poorest strata* [My italics.—J.S.] of the peasantry. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, p. 22.)

At the end of August 1917, when the preparations for the October Revolution were in full swing, Lenin, in a special article entitled "Peasants and Workers," wrote as follows:

Only the proletariat and the *peasantry* [My italics.—J.S.] can overthrow the monarchy—that, in those days [*i.e.*, 1905—J.S.], was the fundamental definition of our class policy. And that definition was a correct one. February and March 1917 proved it once again. Only the proletariat, leading the *poor peasantry* [My italics.—J.S.] (the semi-proletarians, as our program calls them) can end the war by a democratic peace, heal the wounds it has caused, and begin to take steps towards socialism which have become absolutely essential and *urgent*—such is the definition of our class policy now. (*Ibid.*, p. 385.)

That must not be understood to mean that we *now* have a dictatorship of the proletariat *and* the poor peasantry. That, of course, is not so. We marched towards October under the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry, and in October we put it into effect formally inasmuch as we had a bloc with the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries and shared the leadership with them, although actually the dictatorship of the proletariat already existed, since we Bolsheviks constituted the majority. The dictatorship of the proletariat *and* the poor peasantry ceased to exist formally, however, after the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries' *putsch*, after the rupture of the bloc with the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries, when the leadership passed *wholly and entirely* into the hands of *one* party, into the hands of our party, which does not share and cannot share the guidance of the state with any other party. This is what we call the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Finally, in November 1918, Lenin, casting a retrospective glance at the path the revolution had traversed, wrote:

Yes, our revolution is a bourgeois revolution *so long* as we march *with* the peasantry *as a whole*. This has been as clear as clear can be to us; we have said it hundreds and thousands of times since 1905, and we have never attempted to skip this necessary stage of the historical process or abolish it by decrees. . . . But beginning with *April 1917, long before the October Revolution*, that is, long before *we assumed power* [My italics.—J.S.] we publicly declared and explained to the people: the revolution cannot stop at this stage, for the country has marched forward, capitalism has advanced, ruin has reached unprecedented dimensions, which (whether one likes it or not) will *demand* steps forward, to *socialism*; for there is *no other way* of advancing, of saving the country, which is exhausted by war, and of *alleviating* the sufferings of the toilers and exploited. Things have turned out just as we said they would. The course taken by the revolution has confirmed the correctness of our reasoning. *First*, with the "whole" of the peasantry against the monarchy, against the landlords, against the medieval regime (and to that extent, the revolution remains bourgeois, bourgeois-democratic). *Then*,

with the poorest peasants, with the semi-proletarians, with all the exploited, *against capitalism*, including *the rural rich, the kulaks, the profiteers* [My italics.—J.S.] and to that extent the revolution becomes a *socialist* one. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VII, pp. 190-91.)

As you see, Lenin repeatedly emphasized the profound difference between the first strategic slogan, the slogan of the period of preparation for the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and the second strategic slogan, the slogan of the period of preparation for the October Revolution. The first slogan was: *together with the whole of the peasantry* against the autocracy; the second slogan: *together with the poor peasants* against the bourgeoisie.

The fact that the completion of the bourgeois revolution dragged on for quite a period of time after October and that inasmuch as we were carrying the bourgeois revolution to completion, the "whole" of the peasantry could not but sympathize with us—this fact does not, as I said above, in the least shake the fundamental thesis that we marched towards October and achieved victory in October together with the *poor peasantry*, that we overthrew the power of the bourgeoisie and set up the dictatorship of the proletariat (one of the tasks of which was to carry the bourgeois revolution to completion) together with the *poor peasantry*, against the resistance of the kulaks (also peasants) and with the middle peasantry vacillating.

That is clear, I think.

3. You write further in your letter:

Is the assertion true that "*we arrived at October under the slogan of alliance with the rural poor and the neutralization of the middle peasant*"? No, it is not true. For the reasons mentioned above, and from the quotations from Lenin, it will be seen that this slogan could arise only when "the class division among the peasantry had matured" (*Lenin*), *i.e.*, "in the summer and autumn of 1918."

From this quotation it follows that the party adopted the policy of neutralizing the middle peasant, not in the period of preparation for October and during October, but after October, and particularly after 1918, when the Committees of Poor Peasants were abolished. That is *entirely wrong*, Comrade Yan—sky. On the contrary, the policy of neutralizing the middle peasant did not begin, but *ended* when the Committees of Poor Peasants were abolished, after 1918. The policy of neutralizing the middle peasant was *abandoned* (and not introduced) after 1918. It

was after 1918, in March 1919, that Lenin, opening the Eighth Congress of our party, stated:

The best representatives of socialism of the old days—when they still believed in revolution and served it theoretically and ideologically—*spoke of neutralizing the peasantry, i.e., of turning the middle peasantry into a social stratum, which, if it did not actively aid the revolution of the proletariat, at least would not hinder it, would remain neutral and would not take the side of our enemies.* This abstract, theoretical presentation of the problem is perfectly clear to us. *But it is not enough.* [My italics.—J.S.] We have entered a *phase of socialist construction* [My italics.—J.S.] in which we must draw up concrete and detailed basic rules and instructions which have been tested by the experience of our work in the rural districts, by which we must be guided in order *to achieve a stable alliance* with the middle peasantry. (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russian ed., Vol. XXIV, p. 114.)

As you see, this is something that is the very opposite of what you say in your letter; you turn our *actual* party practice upside down by confusing the *beginning* of neutralization with its *end*.

The middle peasant sniveled and vacillated between revolution and counter-revolution as long as the bourgeoisie was being overthrown and as long as the Soviet power was not consolidated; therefore it was necessary to neutralize him. The middle peasant began to turn towards us when he began to realize that the bourgeoisie had been overthrown “for good,” that the Soviet power was being consolidated, that the kulak was being overcome and that the Red Army was beginning to achieve victory on the fronts of the civil war. And it was precisely after such a change that the third strategic slogan of the party, announced by Lenin at the Eighth Party Congress, became possible, namely: While relying on the poor peasants and establishing a durable alliance with the middle peasants, march forward towards socialist construction!

How could you have forgotten this well-known fact?

From your letter it also follows that the policy of neutralizing the middle peasant during the *transition* to the proletarian revolution and in the *first days* after the victory of that revolution is wrong, unsuitable and therefore unacceptable. This is *entirely* wrong, Comrade Yan—sky. The very opposite is the case. It is precisely while the power of the bourgeoisie is being overthrown and before the power of the proletariat is consolidated that the middle peasant vacillates and resists most of all. It is precisely in this period that alliance with the poor peasant and neutralization of the middle peasant are necessary.

Persisting in your error, you assert that the question of the peasantry is very important, not only for our country, but also for other countries "which more or less resemble the economic system of pre-October Russia." The latter statement is, of course, true. But here is what Lenin said in his theses on the agrarian question at the Second Congress of the Communist International regarding the policy of proletarian parties toward the middle peasant in the period when the proletariat is taking power. After defining the poor peasantry, or more precisely, "the toiling and exploited masses in the rural districts," as a separate group consisting of agricultural laborers, semi-proletarians, or allotment holders and small peasants, and proceeding to deal with the question of the middle peasantry as a separate group in the rural districts, Lenin says:

By "middle peasants" in the economic sense is meant small tillers of the soil who also possess as their private property, or lease, small plots of land which, though small, nevertheless, under capitalism, provide as a general rule not only meager sustenance for their families and their farms but also the opportunity of obtaining a certain surplus which, in good years, at any rate, may be transformed into capital, and who fairly frequently hire outside labor. . . . The revolutionary proletariat cannot set itself the task—at least in the immediate future and in the initial period of the dictatorship of the proletariat—of winning this stratum to its side; it must confine itself to the task of neutralizing this stratum, i.e., of inducing it not to offer active support to the bourgeoisie in its struggle against the proletariat. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 222.)

How, after this, can it be asserted that the policy of neutralizing the middle peasant "arose" in our country "only" "in the summer and autumn of 1918," i.e., after the decisive successes achieved in consolidating the power of the Soviets, the power of the proletariat?

As you see, the question of the strategic slogan of proletarian parties at the moment of transition to the socialist revolution and the consolidation of the power of the proletariat, as well as the question of the neutralization of the middle peasant, is not as simple as you imagine.

4. From all that has been said above, it is evident that the passages from the works of Lenin you quote can in no way be contrasted to the basic slogan of our party in the second stage of the revolution, since these quotations (a) deal, not with the basic slogan of the party before October, but with the completion of the bourgeois revolution after October and (b) they do not refute, but confirm the correctness of that slogan. I have already said above, and I must repeat, that the strategic slogan of the party in the second stage of the revolution, in the period before the

seizure of power by the proletariat, the main theme of which is the question of power, cannot be contrasted to the task of carrying the bourgeois revolution to completion, which is effected in the period *after* the proletariat has taken power.

5. You speak of the well-known article by Comrade Molotov in *Pravda* entitled "The Bourgeois Revolution in Our Country" (March 12, 1927), which it appears "induced" you to apply to me for an explanation. I do not know how you read articles, Comrade Yan—sky. I, too, have read Comrade Molotov's article and do not think that it in any way contradicts what I said in my report at the Fourteenth Congress of our party on our party's slogans regarding the peasantry. In his article, Comrade Molotov does not deal with the party's basic slogan in the period of October, but with the fact that, inasmuch as after October the party carried the bourgeois revolution to completion, it enjoyed the sympathy of all the peasants. But I have already said above that the statement of this fact does not refute, but, on the contrary, confirms the correctness of the fundamental thesis that we overthrew the power of the bourgeoisie and established the dictatorship of the proletariat in conjunction with the poor peasantry, the middle peasantry being neutralized, against the bourgeoisie of town and country; that without this we would not have carried the bourgeois revolution to completion.

THE SLOGAN OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE POOR PEASANTRY IN THE PERIOD OF PREPARATION FOR THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

REPLY TO COMRADE S. POKROVSKY

Comrade Pokrovsky,

I think that your letter of May 2 provides neither occasion nor grounds for a reply in detail, point by point, so to speak. It really offers nothing particularly new as compared with Comrade Yan—sky's letter. I am replying to your letter only because it contains certain elements which savor of a direct restoration of Kamenevism of the period of April and May 1917. It is only in order to expose these elements of the restoration of Kamenevism that I consider it necessary briefly to reply to your letter.

1. You say in your letter that "in fact, during the period from February to October we used the slogan of alliance with the *whole* of the peasantry," that "during the period from February to October the party upheld and defended its *old* slogan in relation to the peasantry: alliance with the *whole* of the peasantry."

Thus, it appears, first, that during the period of preparation for October (April to October) the Bolsheviks did not set themselves the task of drawing a line of demarcation between the poor peasants and the well-to-do peasants, but treated the peasantry as an integral unit.

It appears, secondly, that during the period of preparation for October the Bolsheviks did not substitute for the old slogan of "dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" a new slogan, namely, "dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry," but maintained the old positions laid down in Lenin's pamphlet *Two Tactics* in 1905.

It appears, thirdly, that the Bolshevik policy of combating the vacillations and compromising tactics of the Soviets during the period of preparation for October (March to October 1917), the vacillations of the middle peasants in the Soviets and at the front, the vacillations between revolution and counter-revolution, the vacillations and compromising

tactics which assumed a particularly acute character in the July days, when the Soviets, headed by the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Menshevik compromisers, joined hands with the counter-revolutionary generals in the attempt to isolate the Bolsheviks—it appears that the Bolshevik fight against these vacillations and compromising tactics among certain strata of the peasantry was aimless and absolutely unnecessary.

And, finally, it appears that Kamenev was right when, in April and May 1917, he defended the old slogan of dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, while Lenin, who regarded this slogan as already out of date and who proclaimed the new slogan of dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry, was wrong.

One need only formulate these questions to realize the utter absurdity of your whole letter.

But since you are very fond of isolated quotations from Lenin, let us turn to quotations from Lenin's works.

It does not require much effort to prove that what Lenin regarded as *new* in the agrarian relations in Russia after the February Revolution, from the point of view of the further development of the revolution, was not the community of interests of the proletariat and the peasantry as a whole, but the *cleavage* between the poor peasants and the well-to-do peasants, of whom the former, *i.e.*, the poor peasants, gravitated toward the proletariat, whereas the latter, *i.e.*, the well-to-do peasants, followed the Provisional Government.

Here is what Lenin said on this subject in April 1917, in his polemic against Kamenev and Kamenevism:

... It would be impermissible for the proletarian party *now* [My italics.—*J.S.*] to place hopes in a community of interests with the peasantry. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, p. 95.)

Further:

Already, we can discern in the decisions of a number of peasant congresses the idea of postponing the solution of the agrarian question until the convocation of the Constituent Assembly; this represents a victory for the *well-to-do peasantry* [My italics.—*J.S.*] which inclines towards the Cadets. (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX, Book I, p. 201.)

Further:

It is possible that the peasantry may seize all the land and the entire power. Far from forgetting this possibility, far from confining myself to the present moment only, I definitely and clearly formulate the agrarian program, taking

into account the *new* phenomenon, *i.e.*, the deeper *cleavage* [My italics.—J.S.] between the agricultural laborers and poor peasants on the one hand, and the well-to-do peasants, on the other. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, p. 36.)

This is what Lenin regarded as *new* and *important* in the new situation in the rural districts *after* the February Revolution.

This was Lenin's starting point in formulating the party's policy after February 1917.

This was the position Lenin started from when, at the Petrograd City Conference in April 1917, he said:

It was only here, on the spot, that we learned that the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies had surrendered its power to the Provisional Government. The Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies represents the realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the soldiers; among the latter, the majority are peasants. This is the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. But this "dictatorship" has entered into an agreement with the bourgeoisie. And it is here that the "*old Bolshevism*" is in need of revision. [My italics.—J.S.] (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX, Book I, p. 200.)

This was the position Lenin started from when, in April 1917, he wrote:

Whoever speaks *now* of a "revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" only is behind the times, has consequently in effect *gone over* to the side of the petty bourgeoisie and is against the proletarian class struggle. He deserves to be consigned to the archive of "Bolshevik" pre-revolutionary antiques (which might be called the archive of "Old Bolsheviks"). (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, p. 34.)

It was on this ground that the slogan of dictatorship of the proletariat and the *poor* peasantry was born *to replace* the old slogan of dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry.

You might say, as you do in your letter, that this is the Trotsky way of skipping the uncompleted peasant revolution; but that would be just as convincing as a similar argument which Kamenev leveled against Lenin in April 1917. Lenin took this argument fully into account when he said:

Trotskyism—"No tsar, and a workers' government." This is false. There is a petty bourgeoisie, and it cannot be ignored. But it is made up of two sections. The *poorest* [My italics.—J.S.] section is with the working class. (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XX, Book I, p. 207.)

Kamenev's error, and now yours, Comrade Pokrovsky, consists in the inability to discern and emphasize the difference between two sections of the petty bourgeoisie, in this case the peasantry; in the inability to *single out* the poor section of the peasantry from the mass of the peasantry as a whole, and on that basis to *build* the party's policy amidst the conditions of the transition from the first stage of the revolution in 1917 to the second stage; in the inability to *deduce* from this the new slogan, the party's second strategic slogan, *viz.*, dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry.

Let us trace in consecutive order the practical history of the slogan "dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry" from April to October 1917, as reflected in the works of Lenin.

April 1917:

The specific feature of the present situation in Russia is that it represents a *transition from the first* [My italics.—J.S.] stage of the revolution—which, owing to the insufficient class consciousness and organization of the proletariat, placed the power in the hands of the bourgeoisie—to the *second* stage, which must place power in the hands of the proletariat and the *poorest strata of the peasantry*. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, p. 22.)

July 1917:

Only the revolutionary workers, if they are supported by the *poor peasants*, [My italics.—J.S.] are capable of smashing the resistance of the capitalists and leading the people to the conquest of the land without compensation, to complete freedom, to salvation from famine and from the war, and to a just and lasting peace. (*Ibid.*, p. 204.)

August 1917:

Only the proletariat, leading the *poor peasantry* [My italics.—J.S.] (the semi-proletarians, as our program calls them), can end the war by a democratic peace, heal the wounds it has caused, and begin to take steps towards socialism, which have become absolutely essential and *urgent*—such is the definition of our class policy now. (*Ibid.*, p. 385.)

September 1917:

Only a dictatorship of the proletarians and the *poor peasants* [My italics.—J.S.] would be capable of breaking the resistance of the capitalists, of displaying really majestic courage and determination in government, and of securing the enthusiastic, supreme and truly heroic support of the masses in the army and among the peasantry. (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXI, Book I, p. 170.)

September-October 1917, the pamphlet *Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?*, in which Lenin, in controversy with *Novaya Zhizn* [*New Life*], says:

Either [My italics.—J.S.] the entire power passes to the bourgeoisie—you have long ceased to advocate; and even the bourgeoisie dare not hint at it, knowing that the people have once already, on April 20-21, thrown off such a power by one lift of the shoulder, and would do the same now with thrice the determination and ruthlessness. *Or* [My italics.—J.S.] power passes to the petty bourgeoisie—in other words, to a coalition (alliance, agreement) between it and the bourgeoisie; for the petty bourgeoisie has no desire to and *cannot* take power independently, as has been proved by the experience of all revolutions and by economic science, which explains that in a capitalist country one may support capital or one may support labor, but one cannot hold a middle course. This coalition in Russia tried dozens of methods in the course of half a year, and failed. *Or* [My italics.—J.S.], finally, the entire power passes to the proletarians and the *poor peasants* [My italics.—J.S.] and is turned against the bourgeoisie in order to break its resistance. This has not yet been tried, and from this you, gentlemen of the *Novaya Zhizn*, are *dissuading* the people, trying to frighten them by your own fear of the bourgeoisie. No fourth course is conceivable. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, pp. 285-86.)

Such are the facts.

You, however, “manage” to *evade* all these facts and events in the history of the preparation for the October Revolution; you “manage” to *expunge* from the history of Bolshevism the *struggle* the Bolsheviks waged during the period of preparation for October against the *vacillations* and the *compromising tactics* of the “peasant proprietors” who were in the Soviets at that time; you “manage” to *bury* Lenin’s slogan of dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry, and at the same time imagine that this is not *violating* history and Leninism.

From these passages, which could be multiplied, you must see, Comrade Pokrovsky, that the Bolsheviks took as their starting point after February 1917 not the peasantry as a whole, but the poor section of the peasantry; that they marched towards October not under the *old* slogan of dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, but under the *new* slogan of dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry.

From this it is evident that the Bolsheviks carried out this slogan in a fight against the vacillations and compromising tactics of the Soviets, against the vacillations and compromising tactics of a certain section of the peasantry represented in the Soviets, against the vacillations and

compromising tactics of certain parties representing petty-bourgeois democracy and known as Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks.

From this it is evident that without the new slogan of dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry we would have been unable to assemble a sufficiently powerful political army, one capable of overcoming the compromising tactics of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, of neutralizing the vacillations of a certain section of the peasantry, of overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie, and of thus making it possible to carry the bourgeois revolution to completion.

From this it is evident that "we marched towards October and achieved victory in October together with the poor peasantry... against the resistance of the kulaks (also peasants) and the vacillations of the middle peasantry." (Cf. "Reply to Comrade Yan—sky.") *

Thus, it follows that in April 1917, as well as during the whole period of preparation for October, Lenin was right, and not Kamenev; and you, Comrade Pokrovsky, now restoring Kamenevism, seem to be getting into not very good company.

2. As against all that has been said above you quote Lenin to the effect that in October 1917 we took power with the support of the peasantry *as a whole*. That we took power with a certain *amount* of support from the peasantry as a whole is quite true. But you forgot to add a "detail," namely, that the peasantry *as a whole* supported us in October, and after October, only *in so far* as we carried the bourgeois revolution to completion. That is a very important "detail," which in the present instance decides the issue. It does not befit a Bolshevik, Comrade Pokrovsky, to "forget" so important a "detail" and thus confuse so important an issue.

From your letter it is evident that you *contrast* what Lenin said about the support of the peasantry *as a whole* with the party's slogan of dictatorship of the proletariat and the *poor* peasantry, which was also advanced by Lenin. But in order to contrast what Lenin said on this subject with the passages we have quoted from the works of Lenin, in order to have grounds for refuting the passages from Lenin on the slogan of dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry by the passages you quote from Lenin about the peasantry as a whole, two things, at least, must be proved.

First: It must be proved that the completion of the bourgeois revolution was the *main thing* in the October Revolution. Lenin considers that the completion of the bourgeois revolution was a "by-product" of the October

* See page 36 of this volume.—Ed.

Revolution, which fulfilled this task "in passing." You must first refute this thesis of Lenin's and prove that the *main thing* in the October Revolution was not the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie and the transfer of power to the proletariat, but the completion of the bourgeois revolution. Try to prove that, Comrade Pokrovsky; and if you do I shall be ready to admit that from April to October 1917 the party's slogan was not dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry, but dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. From your letter it is evident that you do not think it possible to assume this more than risky task; but you try, however, to prove "in passing" that on one of the most important questions of the October Revolution, the question of peace, we were supported by the peasantry *as a whole*. That, of course, is untrue. It is quite untrue, Comrade Pokrovsky. On this question of peace you have strayed to the viewpoint of the philistine. As a matter of fact the question of peace was for us at that time a question of power, for only with the transfer of power to the proletariat could we count on extricating ourselves from the imperialist war. You must have forgotten what Lenin said about this—namely, that "the only way to stop the war is to transfer power to another class," and that "'Down with the war' does not mean flinging away your bayonets. It means the transfer of power to another class." (Lenin's speech at the Petrograd City Party Conference, April 1917, in *Collected Works*, Vol. XX, Book I, pp. 203, 206.)

Thus, it is either the one or the other: either you prove that the *main thing* in the October Revolution was the completion of the bourgeois revolution, or you do not prove it; in the latter case the obvious conclusion is that the peasantry *as a whole* could support us in the October Revolution only *in so far* as we carried the bourgeois revolution to completion.

Second: You must prove that the Bolsheviks could have secured the support of the peasantry as a whole both during October and after October, in so far as they carried the bourgeois revolution to completion, *without* systematically using the slogan of dictatorship of the proletariat and the *poor* peasantry during the whole period of preparation for October, *without* a systematic struggle against the compromising tactics of the petty-bourgeois parties, which follows from this slogan, *without* systematically exposing the vacillations of certain sections of the peasantry and of their representatives in the Soviets, which also follows from this slogan. Try to prove that, Comrade Pokrovsky. Indeed, why did we succeed in securing the support of the peasantry as a whole in October and after October? Because we were in a position to carry the bourgeois

revolution to completion. Why were we able to do this? Because we succeeded in overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie and replacing it by the power of the proletariat, which alone is able to carry the bourgeois revolution to completion. Why did we succeed in overthrowing the power of the bourgeoisie and establishing the power of the proletariat? Because we prepared for October under the slogan of dictatorship of the proletariat and the *poor* peasantry; because, proceeding from this slogan, we waged a systematic struggle against the compromising tactics of the petty-bourgeois parties; because, proceeding from this slogan, we waged a systematic struggle against the vacillations of the middle peasants in the Soviets; because *only with such a slogan* could we overcome the vacillations of the middle peasant, defeat the compromising tactics of the petty-bourgeois parties, and rally a political army capable of waging the struggle to transfer power to the proletariat. It need hardly be proved that without these preliminary conditions, which determined the fate of the October Revolution, we would not have obtained the support of the peasantry *as a whole* either during or after October.

This is how the combination of peasant wars with the proletarian revolution is to be understood, Comrade Pokrovsky.

This is why to *contrast* the support of the peasantry as a whole during October and after October with the preparations made for October under the slogan of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the *poor* peasantry *means to understand nothing of Leninism*.

Your principal error, Comrade Pokrovsky, is that you failed to understand either the interweaving during the October revolution of *socialist* tasks with the task of carrying the *bourgeois* revolution to completion, or the mechanics of achieving the various demands of the October Revolution that followed from the party's second strategic slogan, the slogan of dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry.

Reading your letter one might think that it was not we who used the peasantry in the service of the proletarian revolution but, on the contrary, that it was "the peasantry as a whole," including the kulaks, who used the Bolsheviks in their service. The Bolsheviks' affairs would be in a bad way if they so easily "entered" the service of non-proletarian classes.

Kamenevism of April 1917—that is what is dragging at your feet, Comrade Pokrovsky.

3. You assert that Stalin does not see the difference between the situation in 1905 and the situation about February 1917. That, of course, is not to be taken seriously. I never said that, and could not have said it. All I said

in my letter was that the party's slogan on the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, issued in 1905, was corroborated in the February Revolution of 1917. That, of course, is true. That is exactly how Lenin described the situation in his article "Peasants and Workers" in August, 1917:

Only the proletariat and the peasantry can overthrow the monarchy—that, in those days [*i.e.*, 1905—*J.S.*], was the fundamental definition of our class policy. And that definition was a correct one. *February and March 1917 have corroborated it once again.* [*My italics.—J.S.*] (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, p. 385.)

You are simply trying to find fault, my inordinately "dialectical" comrade.

4. You try, furthermore, to show that Stalin contradicts himself; and you do this by contrasting his thesis on the compromising tactics of the middle peasants *before October* with a quotation from his pamphlet *Problems of Leninism*, which speaks of the possibility of building socialism in conjunction with the middle peasantry *after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been consolidated*. It does not require much effort to prove that it is utterly unscientific to identify two different phenomena. The middle peasant before October, when the bourgeoisie was in power, and the middle peasant after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been consolidated, when the bourgeoisie has already been expropriated, when the co-operative movement has developed and the principal means of production are in the hands of the proletariat, are two different things. To identify these two kinds of middle peasants and to put them on an equal footing means to examine phenomena abstracted from their historical setting and to lose all sense of perspective. It is something like the Zinoviev manner of mixing up dates and periods when quoting. If this is what is called "revolutionary dialectics," it must be admitted that Comrade Pokrovsky has beaten all records for "dialectical" pettifoggery.

5. I shall not deal with the remaining questions, for I think they have been exhaustively dealt with in the correspondence with Comrade Yan—sky.

ON THE GRAIN FRONT

QUESTION: What is to be considered the cardinal factor in our difficulties in the matter of the grain supply? What is the way out of these difficulties? What, in connection with these difficulties, are the conclusions to be drawn as regards the rate of development of our industry, particularly from the point of view of the ratio between the light and heavy industries?

ANSWER: At the first glance it might appear that our grain difficulties are of a fortuitous nature, the result merely of faulty planning, the result merely of a number of mistakes committed in the sphere of economic co-ordination. But that might appear so only at the first glance. Actually the causes of the difficulties lie much deeper. That faulty planning and mistakes in economic co-ordination have played a considerable part—of that there cannot be the slightest doubt. But to attribute everything to faulty planning and chance mistakes would be a gross error. It would be an error to belittle the role and importance of planning. But it would be a still greater error to exaggerate the part played by the planning principle, in the belief that we have already reached a stage of development when it is possible to plan and regulate everything. It must not be forgotten that in addition to elements which lend themselves to planning there are elements in our national economy which do not as yet lend themselves to planning; and that, apart from everything else, there are hostile classes which cannot be overcome simply by the planning of the State Planning Commission. That is why I think that we must not reduce everything to mere chance, to mistakes in planning, etc.

Well, then, what is the underlying cause of our difficulties on the grain front?

The underlying cause of our grain difficulties is that the increase in the production of grain for the market is not keeping pace with the increase in the demand for grain. Industry is growing. The number of workers is growing. Cities are growing. And, lastly, the regions producing industrial crops (cotton, flax, sugar-beet, etc.) are growing, creating a demand for grain. All this leads to a rapid increase in our requirements as regards grain—grain available for the market. But the production of grain for the

market is increasing at a disastrously slow rate. It cannot be said that we have had a smaller amount of grain stocks at the disposal of the state this year than last year, or the year before. On the contrary, we have had far more grain in the hands of the state this year than in previous years. Nevertheless, we are faced with difficulties as regards the grain supply. Here are a few figures: In 1925-26 we managed to purchase 434,000,000 poods* of grain by April 1. Of this amount 123,000,000 poods were exported. Thus, there remained in the country 311,000,000 poods of grain. In 1926-27 we purchased 596,000,000 poods of grain by April 1. Of this amount 153,000,000 poods were exported. There remained in the country 443,000,000 poods. In 1927-28 we purchased 576,000,000 poods of grain by April 1. Of this amount 27,000,000 poods were exported. There remained in the country 549,000,000 poods. In other words, this year, by April 1, the grain supplies available to meet the requirements of the country amounted to 100,000,000 poods more than last year, and 230,000,000 poods more than the year before. Nevertheless, we are experiencing difficulties on the grain front this year.

I have already said in one of my reports that the capitalist elements in the rural districts, and primarily the kulaks, had taken advantage of these difficulties, in order to disrupt the Soviet economic policy. You know that the Soviet government adopted a number of measures with the object of putting a stop to the anti-Soviet action of the kulaks. I will not therefore dwell on this matter here. What interests me in the present case is another question. I have in mind the question of the reasons for the slow increase in the production of grain available for the market; the question as to why the increase in the production of grain for the market in our country is slower than the increase in the demand, in spite of the fact that our crop area and the gross production of grain have already reached the pre-war level.

Indeed, is it not a fact that as regards the area sown to grain crops we have already reached the pre-war mark? Yes, it is a fact. Is it not a fact that already last year the gross production of grain was equal to the pre-war output, *i.e.*, 5,000,000,000 poods? Yes, it is a fact. How, then, is it to be explained that, in spite of these facts, the amount of grain we are producing for the market is only one-half, and the amount we are exporting is only about one-twentieth, of what it was in pre-war times? The reason is primarily and chiefly the change in the structure of our agriculture brought about by the October Revolution, the change from large-scale landlord and large-scale kulak farming, which provided the largest pro-

* A pood equals 36 pounds.—*Ed.*

portion of marketed grain, to small and middle peasant farming, which provides the smallest proportion of marketed grain. The mere fact that before the war there were fifteen to sixteen million individual peasant farms, whereas now there are twenty-four to twenty-five million peasant farms, shows that the fundamental basis of our agriculture is small peasant farming, which provides a minimum amount of grain for the market. The strength of large-scale farming, irrespective of whether it is landlord, kulak or collective farming, lies in the fact that large farms are able to employ machinery, scientific knowledge, fertilizers, increase the productivity of labor, and thereby produce a maximum quantity of grain for the market. On the other hand, the weakness of small peasant farming lies in the fact that it lacks, or almost lacks, these opportunities, as a result of which it is semi-consuming farming, yielding little grain for the market. Take, for instance, the collective farms and the state farms. They market 47.2 per cent of their gross output of grain. In other words, they supply for the market a larger proportion of their output than did landlord farming in pre-war days. But what about the small and middle peasant farms? They market only 11.2 per cent of their total output of grain. The difference, as you see, is quite striking.

Here are a few figures illustrating the structure of grain production in the past, in the pre-war period, and at present, in the post-October period. These figures have been furnished by Comrade Nemchinov, a member of the Collegium of the Central Statistical Board. They do not claim to be exact, as Comrade Nemchinov explains in his memorandum; they permit of only approximate calculations. But these figures are quite adequate to enable us to understand the difference between the pre-war period and the post-October period in regard to the structure of grain production in general, and of the production of market grain in particular.

<i>Period</i>	<i>Gross grain production</i>		<i>Market grain (not consumed in the rural districts)</i>		<i>Percent- age of market grain</i>
	<i>Millions of poods</i>	<i>per cent</i>	<i>Millions of poods</i>	<i>per cent</i>	
<i>Pre-war</i>					
1. Landlords	600	12.0	281.6	21.6	47.0
2. Kulaks	1,900	38.0	650.0	50.0	34.0
3. Middle and poor peasants	2,500	50.0	369.0	28.4	14.7
Total	5,000	100.0	1,300.6	100.0	26.0

1926-1927					
1. State farms and collective farms	80.0	1.7	37.8	6.0	47.2
2. Kulaks	617.0	13.0	126.0	20.0	20.0
3. Middle and poor peasants	4,052.0	85.3	466.2	74.0	112
Total	4,749.0	100.0	630.0	100.0	133

What does this table show?

It shows, first, that the production of the overwhelming proportion of grain products has passed from the hands of landlords and kulaks into the hands of small and middle peasants. This means that the small and middle peasants, having completely emancipated themselves from the yoke of the landlords, and having, in the main, broken the strength of the kulaks, have thereby obtained the opportunity of considerably improving their material conditions. This is the result of the October Revolution. Here we see the effect, primarily, of the decisive gain which accrued to the great bulk of the peasantry as a result of the October Revolution.

It shows, secondly, that in our country the principal holders of grain available for the market are the small and, primarily, the middle peasants. This means that not only in respect to gross output of grain, but also in respect to the production of grain for the market, the U.S.S.R. has become, as a result of the October Revolution, a land of small peasant farming, and the middle peasant has become the "central figure" in agriculture.

It shows, thirdly, that the abolition of landlord (large-scale) farming, the reduction of kulak (large-scale) farming to less than one-third, and the change to small peasant farming with only 11 per cent of its output available for the market, under conditions of the absence in the sphere of grain growing of any more or less developed large-scale farming in common (collective farms and state farms), was bound to lead, and in fact has led, to a sharp reduction in the output of grain for the market as compared with pre-war times. It is a fact that the amount of marketed grain in our country is now half of what it was before the war, notwithstanding the fact that gross output of grain has reached the pre-war level.

That is the underlying cause of our difficulties on the grain front.

That is why our difficulties in the sphere of grain purchases must not be regarded as merely fortuitous.

No doubt the situation has been aggravated to some extent by the fact that our trading organizations took upon themselves the unnecessary task of supplying grain to a number of small and middle-sized towns, which could not but reduce to a certain extent the state's grain reserves.

But there are no grounds whatever to doubt that the underlying cause of our difficulties on the grain front is not this particular circumstance, but the slow development of the output of our agriculture for the market, accompanied by a rapid increase in the demand for marketable grain.

What is the way out of the situation?

Some people see the way out of the situation in a return to kulak farming, in the development and extension of kulak farming. These people dare not advocate a return to landlord farming, for they realize, evidently, that such talk is dangerous in our times. All the more eagerly, therefore, do they urge the necessity of the utmost development of kulak farming in the interest of . . . the Soviet power. These people think that the Soviet power can simultaneously rely on two opposite classes—the class of the kulaks, whose economic principle is the exploitation of the working class, and the class of the workers, whose economic principle is the abolition of all exploitation. A trick worthy of reactionaries. There is no need to prove that these reactionary “plans” have nothing in common with the interests of the working class, with the principles of Marxism, with the tasks of Leninism. All talk to the effect that the kulak is “no worse” than the urban capitalist, that the kulak is no more dangerous than the urban Nepman, and that, therefore, there is no reason to “fear” the kulaks now—all such talk is sheer liberal chatter which lulls the vigilance of the working class and of the great bulk of the peasantry. It must not be forgotten that in industry we can oppose to the small urban capitalist our large-scale socialist industry, which produces nine-tenths of the total output of manufactured goods, whereas in the sphere of production in the rural districts we can oppose to large-scale kulak farming only the still weak collective farms and state farms, which produce but one-eighth the amount of grain produced by the kulak farms. To fail to understand the significance of large-scale kulak farming in the rural districts, to fail to understand that the relative weight of the kulaks in the rural districts is a hundred-fold greater than that of the capitalists in urban industry, is to lose one’s senses, to break with Leninism, to desert to the side of the enemies of the working class.

What, then, is the way out of the situation?

1. The way out lies, first, in the transition from the small, backward and scattered peasant farms to amalgamated, large-scale common farms, equipped with machinery, armed with scientific knowledge and capable of producing a maximum of grain for the market. The solution lies in the transition from individual peasant farming to collective, to common farming.

Lenin called on the party to organize collective farms from the very first days of the October Revolution. From that time onward the propaganda of the idea of collective farming has not ceased within the ranks of our party. However, it is only recently that the call for collective farms has met with mass response. This is to be explained primarily by the fact that the widespread development of co-operative organizations in the rural districts paved the way for a change in the attitude of the peasants in favor of the collective farms, and the existence of a number of collective farms already yielding from 150 to 200 poods per dessiatin,* of which from 30 to 40 per cent represents a marketable surplus, is strongly attracting the poor peasants and the lower strata of the middle peasants toward the collective farms. Of no little importance in this connection is also the fact that only recently has it become possible for the state to lend serious financial assistance to the collective-farm movement. We know that this year the state has granted twice the amount of money it did last year in aid of the collective farms (more than sixty million rubles). The Fifteenth Party Congress was absolutely right in stating that the conditions have already ripened for a mass collective-farm movement and that the stimulation of the collective-farm movement is one of the most important means of increasing the output of grain for the market in the country.

According to the figures of the Central Statistical Board, the gross production of grain by the collective farms in 1927 amounted to no less than fifty-five million poods, with an average marketable surplus of 30 per cent. The widespread movement for the creation of new collective farms and for the expansion of the old collective farms that started at the beginning of this year should considerably increase the grain output of the collective farms by the end of the year. Our task is to maintain the present rate of development of the collective-farm movement, to combine the collective farms into larger units, to get rid of sham collective farms, replacing them by genuine ones, and to establish a system whereby the collective farms will deliver to the state and co-operative organizations the whole of their market grain under penalty of being deprived of state subsidies and credits. I think that if these conditions are adhered to we shall, in three or four years, be able to obtain from the collective farms about forty to fifty million poods of grain for the market.

The collective-farm movement is sometimes contrasted to the co-operative movement, apparently on the assumption that the collective farms are one thing, and the co-operative societies another. That, of course, is wrong.

* A dessiatin equals 2.7 acres.—*Ed.*

Some even go so far as to contrast the collective farms to Lenin's co-operative plan. Needless to say, the drawing of such a contrast has nothing in common with the truth. In actual fact, the collective farms are a form of co-operatives, the most striking form of producers' co-operatives. There are marketing co-operatives, there are supply co-operatives, and there are also producers' co-operatives. The collective farms are an inseparable and integral part of the co-operative movement in general, and of Lenin's co-operative plan in particular. To carry out Lenin's co-operative plan means to raise the peasantry from the level of marketing and supply co-operatives to the level of producers' co-operatives, of collective-farm co-operatives, so to speak. That, by the way, explains why our collective farms began to arise and develop only as a result of the development and consolidation of the marketing and supply co-operatives.

2. The way out lies, secondly, in expanding and strengthening the old state farms, and in organizing and developing new, large state farms. According to the figures of the Central Statistical Board, the gross output of grain in the existing state farms amounted in 1927 to no less than 45,000,000 poods with a marketable surplus of 65 per cent. There is no doubt that, given a certain amount of state support, the state farms could considerably increase the production of grain. But our task does not end there. There is a decision of the Soviet government, on the strength of which new large state farms (from 10,000 to 30,000 dessiatins each) are being organized in districts where there are no peasant holdings; and in five or six years these state farms should produce about 100,000,000 poods of grain for the market. The organization of these state farms has already begun. The task is to put this decision of the Soviet government into effect at all costs. I think that, provided these tasks are fulfilled, we shall in three or four years be able to obtain from the old and new state farms 80,000,000 to 100,000,000 poods of grain for the market.

3. Finally, the way out lies in systematically increasing the yield of the small and middle individual-peasant farms. We cannot and should not lend any support to the individual large kulak farms. But we can and should lend support to the individual small and middle-peasant farms, helping them to increase their crop yields and drawing them into the channel of co-operative organization. This is an old task; it was proclaimed with particular emphasis as early as 1921 when the tax in kind was substituted for the surplus-appropriation system. This task was confirmed by our party at its Fourteenth and Fifteenth Congresses. The importance of the task is now emphasized by the difficulties on the grain front. That is why this task must be fulfilled with the same persistence as

the first two tasks, the task with regard to collective farms and the task with regard to state farms.

All the data go to show that the yield of peasant farming can be increased 15 to 20 per cent in the course of a few years. At present no less than five million wooden plows are in use in our country. The substitution of modern plows for these would alone lead to a very considerable increase in the grain output of the country. This is apart from supplying the peasant farms with a certain minimum of fertilizers, selected seed, small machines, etc. The contract system, the system of concluding contracts with whole villages for supplying them with seed, etc., on the rigid condition that they in return deliver a corresponding quantity of grain products—this system is the best method of raising the yield of peasant farms and of drawing the peasants into the co-operative organizations. I think that with serious work in this direction we can, in three or four years, obtain from the small and middle individual peasant farms not less than 100,000,000 additional poods of grain for the market.

Thus, if all these tasks are fulfilled, the state can in three or four years' time have at its disposal 200,000,000 to 250,000,000 additional poods of marketable grain—a supply more or less sufficient to enable us to maneuver within the country as well as abroad.

Such, in the main, are the measures which must be taken in order to solve the difficulties on the grain front.

Our task at present is to combine these basic measures with current measures to improve planning in the sphere of supplying the rural districts with goods, relieving our trading organizations of the duty of supplying grain to a number of small and middle-sized towns.

In addition to these measures, should not a number of other measures be adopted—measures, say, to reduce the speed of development of our industry, the growth of which is causing a considerable increase in the demand for grain which at present is outstripping the increase in the production of grain for the market? No, they should not. Not under any circumstances! To reduce the speed of development of industry would mean to weaken the working class; for every step forward in the development of industry, every new factory, every new works, is, as Lenin expressed it, "a new stronghold" of the working class, which strengthens its position in the fight against the petty-bourgeois anarchy, in the fight against the capitalist elements in our economy. On the contrary, we must maintain the present speed of development of industry; we must at the first opportunity develop it still further in order to pour goods into the rural districts and obtain from them more grain, in

order to supply agriculture, primarily the collective farms and state farms, with machines, in order to industrialize agriculture and to increase the proportion of its output for the market.

Should we, perhaps, as a measure of greater "caution," retard the development of heavy industry and make light industry, which produces chiefly for the peasant market, the basis of our industry as a whole? Not under any circumstances! That would be suicidal; it would mean undermining our whole industry, including light industry. It would mean abandoning the slogan of industrializing our country, transforming our country into an appendage of the capitalist system of economy. In this respect we proceed from the well-known guiding theses which Lenin set forth at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, and which are absolutely binding on the whole of our party. Here is what Lenin said on this subject at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International:

The salvation of Russia lies not only in a good harvest on the peasant farms—that is not enough; and not only in the good condition of light industry, which provides the peasantry with consumers' goods—this, too, is not enough. We also need *heavy* industry.

Or again:

We are exercising economy in all things, even in schools. This must be so, because we know that unless we save heavy industry, unless we restore it, we shall not be able to build up any industry; and without that we shall be doomed as an independent country. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 328.)

These directives given by Lenin must never be forgotten.

How will the measures proposed affect the alliance between the workers and the peasants? I think that these measures can only help to strengthen the alliance between the workers and the peasants. Indeed, if the collective farms and the state farms develop at increased speed; if, as a result of direct assistance given to the small and middle peasants, the yield of their farms increases and the co-operative societies embrace wider and wider masses of the peasantry; if the state obtains hundreds of millions of poods of additional marketable grain required for the purposes of maneuvering; if, as a result of these and similar measures, the kulaks are curbed and gradually overcome—is it not clear that the contradictions between the working class and the peasantry within the alliance of workers and peasants will thereby be smoothed out more and

more; that the need for emergency measures in the purchase of grain will disappear; that the large masses of the peasantry will turn more and more to collective forms of farming and that the fight to overcome the capitalist elements in the rural districts will assume an increasingly mass and organized character? Is it not clear that the cause of the alliance between the workers and the peasants can only benefit by these measures?

It must only be borne in mind that the alliance of workers and peasants under the dictatorship of the proletariat is not an ordinary alliance. It is a special form of class alliance between the working class and the laboring masses of the peasantry, which sets itself the object: (a) of strengthening the position of the working class; (b) of ensuring the leading role of the working class within this alliance; (c) of abolishing classes and class society. Any other conception of the alliance of workers and peasants is opportunism, Menshevism, Social-Revolutionism—anything you like, but not Marxism, not Leninism.

How can the idea of the alliance of the workers and the peasants be reconciled with Lenin's well-known thesis that the peasantry is "the last capitalist class"? Is there not a contradiction here? The contradiction is only an apparent, a seeming one. Actually there is no contradiction here at all. In the very speech at the Third Congress of the Comintern in which Lenin characterized the peasantry as "the last capitalist class," in that same speech Lenin reiterates his arguments for the need of an alliance between the workers and the peasants, declaring that "the supreme principle of the dictatorship is the maintenance of the alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry in order that the former may retain its leading role and state power." It is clear that Lenin, at any rate, saw no contradiction in this.

How are we to understand Lenin's thesis that the peasantry is "the last capitalist class"? Does it mean that the peasantry consists of capitalists? No, it does not. It means, first, that the peasantry is a special class, which bases its economy on the private ownership of the implements and means of production and which, for that reason, differs from the class of proletarians, who base economic life on the collective ownership of the implements and means of production. It means, secondly, that the peasantry is a class which throws up from its midst, engenders and nourishes, capitalists, kulaks and all kinds of exploiters in general.

Is not this circumstance an insuperable obstacle to the organization of an alliance of the workers and the peasants? No, it is not. The alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not an alliance with the whole of the peasantry.

The alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry is an alliance of the working class with the laboring masses of the peasantry. Such an alliance cannot be effected without a struggle against the capitalist elements of the peasantry, against the kulaks. Such an alliance cannot be a durable one unless the poor peasants are organized as the bulwark of the working class in the rural districts. That is why the alliance between the workers and the peasants under the present conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat can be effected only in accordance with Lenin's well-known slogan: Rely on the poor peasant, establish a firm alliance with the middle peasant, do not for a moment relax the fight against the kulak. For only by applying this slogan can the bulk of the peasantry be drawn into the channel of socialist construction.

You see, therefore, that the contradiction between Lenin's two formulas is only an imaginary, a seeming contradiction. Actually, there is no contradiction between them at all.

LENIN AND THE QUESTION OF ALLIANCE WITH THE MIDDLE PEASANT *

REPLY TO COMRADE S.

Comrade S.:

It is not true that Lenin's slogan: "To come to an agreement with the middle peasant, while not for a moment renouncing the struggle against the kulak, and at the same time firmly relying solely on the poor peasant," which he advanced in his well-known article on Pitirim Sorokin, is, as is alleged, a slogan of the "period of the Committees of Poor Peasants," a slogan of "the end of the period of the so-called neutralization of the middle peasantry." *This is absolutely untrue.* The Committees of Poor Peasants were formed in June 1918. By the end of October 1918, our forces had already gained the upper hand over the kulaks in the rural districts, and the middle peasants had *turned* to the side of the Soviet power. It was on the basis of this turn that the decision of the Central Committee was taken to abolish the dual power of the Soviets and the Committees of Poor Peasants, to hold new elections for the *volost* † and village Soviets, to merge the Committees of Poor Peasants with the newly-elected Soviets and, consequently, to dissolve the Committees of Poor Peasants. This decision obtained official Soviet sanction, as is well known, on November 9, 1918, at the Sixth Congress of Soviets. I have in mind the decision of the Sixth Congress of Soviets of November 9, 1918, on the village and *volost* Soviet elections and the dissolution of the Committees of Poor Peasants in the Soviets. But when did Lenin's article, "Valuable Admissions by Pitirim Sorokin," ‡ in which he substituted the slogan of agreement with the middle peasant for the slogan of neutralizing the middle peasant, appear? It appeared on November 21, 1918, *i.e.*, nearly two weeks *after* the decision of the Sixth Congress of Soviets had been adopted. In this article Lenin plainly says that the policy of agreement with the middle peasant is dictated by the *turn* in our direction on the part of the middle peasant. Here is what Lenin says:

* Slightly abridged.—J. S.

† *Volost*—formerly an administrative unit in the rural districts.—*Ed.*

‡ V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 144.—*Ed.*

Our task in the rural districts is to destroy the landlord and smash the resistance of the exploiter and the kulak profiteer. For this purpose we can rely firmly *only* on the semi-proletarians, the "poor peasants." But the middle peasant is not our enemy. He vacillated, is vacillating and will continue to vacillate. The task of influencing the vacillators is *not identical* with the task of overthrowing the exploiter and defeating the active enemy. The task at the present moment is to learn to come to an agreement with the middle peasant, while not for a moment renouncing the struggle against the kulak and at the same time firmly relying solely on the poor peasant, for it is precisely now that *a turn in our direction on the part of the middle peasantry is inevitable* [my italics.—J.S.], owing to the causes above enumerated. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 150.)

What follows from this?

It follows from this that Lenin's slogan refers, not to the *old* period, not to the period of the Committees of Poor Peasants and the neutralization of the middle peasant, but to the *new* period, the period of agreement with the middle peasant. Thus, it reflects, not the *end* of the old period, but the *beginning* of a new period.

But your assertion regarding Lenin's slogan is not only wrong from the formal point of view, not merely, so to speak, chronologically; it is wrong in substance. It is known that Lenin's slogan regarding agreement with the middle peasant was proclaimed as a new slogan by the whole party at the Eighth Party Congress (March 1919). It is known that the Eighth Party Congress was the congress which laid the foundation of our policy of a durable alliance with the middle peasant. It is known that our program, the program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was adopted also at the Eighth Congress of the party. It is known that that program contains special points dealing with the party's attitude towards the various groups in the rural districts: the poor peasants, the middle peasants, and the kulaks. What do these points in the program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union say regarding the social groups in the rural districts and regarding our party's attitude towards them? Listen:

In all its work in the rural districts the Russian Communist Party continues, as hitherto, to *rely on the proletarian and semi-proletarian strata of the rural population*; it organizes primarily these strata into an independent force by establishing party nuclei in the villages, forming organizations of poor peasants, special types of trade unions of rural proletarians and semi-proletarians, etc., bringing them closer to the urban proletariat and wresting them from the influence of the rural bourgeoisie and the small-proprietor interests.

With respect to the kulaks, to the village bourgeoisie, the policy of the Russian Communist Party is *resolutely to combat their exploiting proclivities, to suppress their resistance to the Soviet policy.*

With respect to the middle peasants, the policy of the Russian Communist Party is to draw them, gradually and systematically, into the work of socialist construction. The party sets itself the task of separating them from the kulaks, of winning them to the side of the working class by carefully attending to their needs, of combating their backwardness by measures of ideological influence—not by any measures of repression—and of striving in all cases where their vital interests are involved to reach *practical agreements with them, making concessions to them in determining the methods of carrying out socialist reforms.* [My italics.—J.S.] (*Stenographic Report of the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party*, Russian ed., p. 396.)

Try to find the slightest, even verbal, difference between these points of the program and Lenin's slogan! You will not find any difference, for there is none. More than that. There cannot be the slightest doubt that Lenin's slogan not only does not contradict the decisions of the Eighth Congress on the middle peasant, but, on the contrary, it is a most apt and exact formulation of these decisions. And it is a fact that the program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was adopted in March 1919, at the Eighth Congress of the party, which specially discussed the question of the middle peasant, while Lenin's article against Pitirim Sorokin, which proclaimed the slogan of agreement with the middle peasant, appeared in the press in November 1918, four months before the Eighth Congress of the party.

Is it not clear that the Eighth Congress of the party *wholly and entirely confirmed* the slogan which Lenin proclaimed in his article against Pitirim Sorokin as a slogan by which the party must be *guided* in its work in the rural districts *during the whole of the present period of socialist construction?*

What is the essence of Lenin's slogan?

The essence of Lenin's slogan is the fact that here Lenin grasps with remarkable precision the *triune* task of party work in the rural districts and expresses it in a single condensed formula: (a) *rely* on the poor peasant; (b) come to *agreement* with the middle peasant, and (c) do not for a moment relax the *fight* against the kulak. Try to take from this formula any one of its parts as a basis for work in the rural districts at the present time and forget about the other parts, and you will inevitably find yourself in a blind alley. Is it possible in the present phase of socialist construction to reach a real and durable agreement with the middle

peasant without relying on the poor peasant and without fighting the kulak? It is impossible. Is it possible, under the present conditions of development, to carry on a successful fight against the kulak without relying on the poor peasant and without reaching agreement with the middle peasant? It is impossible. How can this triune task of party work in the rural districts be most aptly expressed in one all-embracing slogan? I think that Lenin's slogan is the most apt expression of this task. It must be admitted that you cannot express it more aptly than Lenin. . . .

Why is it necessary to emphasize the expediency of Lenin's slogan *particularly at the present time*, particularly *under the present conditions* of work in the rural districts?

Because, particularly at the present time we see a tendency on the part of certain comrades to break up this *triune* task of party work in the rural districts into parts and to sever these parts from one another. This is fully corroborated by the experience of our grain-purchasing campaign in January and February this year. Every Bolshevik knows that agreement must be reached with the middle peasant. But not everybody understands how this agreement is to be reached. Some think that agreement with the middle peasant can be brought about by abandoning the fight against the kulak, or by slackening this fight; because, they say, the fight against the kulak may frighten away a section of the middle peasantry, its well-to-do section. Others think that agreement with the middle peasant can be brought about by abandoning the work of organizing the poor peasants, or by slackening this work; because, they say, the organization of the poor peasants means singling out the poor peasants, and this may frighten the middle peasants away from us. The result of these deviations from the correct line is that such people forget the Marxian thesis that the middle peasant is a vacillating class, that agreement with the middle peasant can be durable only if a determined fight is carried on against the kulak and if the work among the poor peasants is intensified; that unless these conditions are adhered to the middle peasant may swing to the side of the kulak as a force. Remember what Lenin said at the Eighth Party Congress:

We must define our attitude to a class which *has no definite and stable position*. [My italics.—J.S.] The proletariat, in the mass, is for socialism; the bourgeoisie, in the mass, is opposed to socialism: to define the relation between these two classes is easy. But when we pass to a stratum like the middle peasantry, we find that *it is a class that vacillates*. The middle peasant is partly a property owner, partly a toiler. He does not exploit other representatives

of the toilers. For decades he had to defend his position under the greatest difficulties; he suffered the exploitation of the landlords and the capitalists; he has borne everything; yet at the same time he is a property owner. For that reason our attitude toward that vacillating class presents enormous difficulties. (*Stenographic Report of the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party*, Russian ed., p. 346.)

But there are other deviations from the correct line, no less dangerous than those already mentioned. In some cases the fight against the kulak is indeed carried on, but it is carried on in such a clumsy and senseless manner that the blows fall on the middle and poor peasants. As a result, the kulak escapes unscathed, a rift is made in the alliance with the middle peasant, and a section of the poor peasants temporarily falls into the clutches of the kulak who is fighting to undermine Soviet policy. In other cases attempts are made to transform the fight against the kulaks into expropriation of the kulaks, and grain purchasing into appropriation of surpluses, forgetting that under present conditions expropriation of the kulaks is folly and the surplus-appropriation system means, not an alliance with, but a fight against, the middle peasant.

What is the reason for such deviations from the party line?

The reason is: failure to understand that the triple task of party work in the rural districts is a *single* and *indivisible* task; failure to understand that the task of fighting the kulak *cannot be separated* from the task of reaching agreement with the middle peasant, and that these two tasks cannot be separated from the task of converting the poor peasant into a bulwark of the party in the rural districts.*

* From this it follows that the deviations from the correct line create a twofold danger to the alliance of the workers and peasants: a danger from the side of those who want, for instance, to transform the temporary emergency measures in connection with the grain-purchasing campaign into a permanent or long-term policy of the party; and the danger from the side of those who want to take advantage of the discontinuance of emergency measures in order to give the kulak a free hand, to proclaim complete freedom of trade, trade not regulated by the state. Hence, in order to ensure that the correct line is pursued the fight must be waged on two fronts.

I want to take this opportunity to observe that our press does not always follow this rule and sometimes betrays a certain one-sidedness. In some cases, for instance, the press exposes those who want to transform the temporary emergency measures in connection with the grain-purchasing campaign into a permanent line of our policy and thus endanger the bond. That is very good. But it is bad and wrong if at the same time our press fails to pay sufficient attention to and properly expose those who endanger the bond from the other side, who succumb to the petty-bourgeois atmosphere, demand a slackening of the fight against the capitalist elements in the rural districts and the establishment of complete freedom of trade, trade not regulated by the state, and thus undermine the bond from the other end. That is bad. That is one-sidedness.

It also happens that the press exposes those who, for instance, deny the possibility and

What must be done to make sure that these tasks are not separated from one another in the course of our current work in the rural districts?

We must, at least, issue a guiding slogan that will combine all these tasks in one general formula and, consequently, prevent these tasks from being separated from each other.

Is there such a formula, such a slogan in our party arsenal?

Yes, there is. That formula is Lenin's slogan: "To come to an agreement with the middle peasant, while not for a moment renouncing the struggle against the kulak and at the same time firmly relying on the poor peasant."

That is why I think that this slogan is the most expedient and all-embracing slogan, that it must be brought to the forefront *precisely at the present time, precisely under the present conditions* of our work in the rural districts.

You regard Lenin's slogan as an "opposition" slogan and in your letter you ask: "*How is it that . . . this opposition slogan was printed in Pravda for May 1, 1928. . . . How can the fact be explained that this slogan appeared in the pages of Pravda, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—is this merely a technical misprint, or is it a compromise with the opposition on the question of the middle peasant?*" This certainly sounds very formidable. But be careful "at the turns," Comrade S.; otherwise you may, in your zeal, come to the conclusion that we must *prohibit* the printing of our program, which fully confirms Lenin's slogan (this is a fact!), which in the main was drawn up by Lenin (who was certainly not in the opposition!), and which was adopted by the Eighth Congress of the party (also not in the opposition!). More respect for the well-known points in our program on the social groups in the rural districts! More respect for the decisions of the Eighth Party Congress on the middle peasantry! . . . As for the phrase "a compromise with the opposition on the question of the middle peasant," I do not think it is worth the trouble to refute it; no doubt you wrote it in the heat of the moment.

expediency of improving individual small and middle-peasant farms, which at the present stage are the basis of agriculture. That is very good. But it is bad and wrong if at the same time the press does not expose those who belittle the importance of the collective farms and the state farms and who fail to see that the task of improving individual small and middle-peasant farming must be supplemented by the practical task of intensifying collective and state farm construction. That is one-sidedness.

In order to ensure that the correct line is pursued the fight must be waged on *two fronts*, and all one-sidedness must be abandoned.—J.S.

You seem to be disturbed by the fact that both Lenin's slogan and the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union adopted by the Eighth Congress of the party speaks of *agreement* with the middle peasant, whereas in his speech in opening the Eighth Congress Lenin spoke of a *durable alliance* with the middle peasant. Evidently, you think there is something in the nature of a contradiction in this. Perhaps you are even inclined to believe that the policy of *agreement* with the middle peasant is something in the nature of a departure from the policy of *alliance* with the middle peasant. That is wrong, Comrade S. That is a serious error on your part. Only those who are able to read the letter of a slogan, but are unable to grasp its meaning, can think like that. Only those who are ignorant of the history of the slogan of alliance, of agreement with the middle peasant, can think like that. Only those can think like that who are capable of believing that Lenin, who, in his opening speech at the Eighth Congress, spoke about the policy of a "durable alliance" with the middle peasant, *departed* from his own position by saying in another speech *at the same congress*, and in the party program which was adopted by the Eighth Congress, that we now need a policy of "agreement" with the middle peasant.

What is the point then? The point is that both Lenin and the party, represented by the Eighth Congress, make *no distinction whatever* between the concept "agreement" and the concept "alliance." The point is that everywhere, in all his speeches at the Eighth Congress, Lenin places the *sign of equality* between the concept "alliance" and the concept "agreement." The same must be said about the resolution of the Eighth Congress on "The Attitude to the Middle Peasantry," in which *the sign of equality* is placed between the concept "agreement" and the concept "alliance." And since both Lenin and the party regard the policy of agreement with the middle peasant not as a casual and transient one but as a *long-term* policy, they had, and have, every reason to call the policy of agreement with the middle peasant a policy of durable alliance with him and, conversely, they had every reason to call the policy of durable alliance with the middle peasant a policy of agreement with him. One has only to read the stenographic report of the Eighth Congress of the party and the resolution of that Congress on the middle peasant to be convinced of this.

Here is a passage from Lenin's speech at the Eighth Congress:

Owing to the inexperience of Soviet workers and to the difficulties of the problem, the blows which were intended for the kulaks very frequently fell on the middle peasantry. Here we have sinned exceedingly. The experience we have gained in this respect will enable us to do everything to avoid this

in the future. That is the problem now facing us, not theoretically, but practically. You all know well that the problem is a difficult one. We have no benefits to offer the middle peasant; and he is a materialist, a practical man who demands definite, material benefits, which we are not now in a position to offer and with which the country will have to dispense, perhaps, for several months of severe struggle—the struggle which is now promising to end in complete victory. But there is a great deal we can do in our administrative work: we can improve our administrative machinery and correct a host of abuses. The line of our party, which has not done enough towards arriving at a bloc, *an alliance, an agreement* [My italics.—J.S.] with the middle peasantry can and must be straightened out and corrected. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 40.)

As you see, Lenin makes no distinction between “agreement” and “alliance.”

And here are excerpts from the resolution of the Eighth Congress on “The Attitude to the Middle Peasantry.”

To confuse the middle peasants with the kulaks, to extend to them, to any degree, the measures that are directed against the kulaks, means grossly to violate, not only all the decrees of the Soviet government and its whole policy, but also all the fundamental principles of communism, which point to an *agreement* between the proletariat and the middle peasantry during the period of the resolute struggle of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie as one of the conditions for the painless transition to the abolition of all forms of exploitation.

The middle peasantry, which possesses comparatively strong economic roots owing to the backwardness of agricultural technique compared with industry even in the most advanced capitalist countries, let alone Russia, will continue to exist for a fairly long time after the beginning of the proletarian revolution. That is why the tactics of the Soviet workers in the rural districts, as well as of all active party workers, must be based on the assumption that the *period of collaboration* with the middle peasantry *will be a long one*...

An absolutely correct policy pursued by the Soviet government in the rural districts thus ensures *an alliance and agreement* between the victorious proletariat and the middle peasantry...

The policy of the workers’ and peasants’ government and of the Communist Party must continue to be conducted in this *spirit of agreement* between the proletariat, together with the poor peasantry, and the middle peasantry. [My italics.—J.S.] (*Stenographic Report of the Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party*, Russian ed., pp. 417-20.)

As you see, the resolution also makes no distinction between “agreement” and “alliance.”

It will not be superfluous to observe that no mention is made in the resolution of the Eighth Congress of "a durable alliance" with the middle peasant. Does that mean, however, that the resolution thereby *departs* from the policy of "durable alliance" with the middle peasant? No, it does not. It only means that the resolution places the sign of equality between the concept "agreement," "collaboration" and the concept "durable alliance." For it is obvious: there can be no "alliance" with the middle peasant without an "agreement" with him; and the alliance with the middle peasant cannot be "durable" unless there is a "long-term" agreement and collaboration with him.

Such are the facts.

Either one thing or another: *either* Lenin and the Eighth Congress of the party *departed* from Lenin's statement about a "durable alliance" with the middle peasant, *or* this frivolous assumption must be abandoned and it must be admitted that Lenin and the Eighth Congress of the party made no *distinction* between the concept "agreement" and the concept "durable alliance."

Thus, he who does not want to be a victim of sheer pedantry, he who wants to grasp the essence of Lenin's slogan, which speaks of relying on the poor peasantry, of reaching agreement with the middle peasantry and of fighting the kulaks, cannot fail to understand that the policy of *agreement* with the middle peasant is a policy of *durable alliance* with him.

The mistake you made is that you failed to understand the fraudulent trick of the opposition and fell a prey to their provocation; you fell into the trap the enemy set for you. The opposition frauds noisily assure us that they are in favor of Lenin's slogan of agreement with the middle peasant; but at the same time they drop the provocatory hint that "agreement" with the middle peasant is one thing, and a "durable alliance" with him is something different. In this way they want to kill two birds with one stone: first, to conceal their real attitude to the middle peasant, which is not one of agreement with the middle peasant, but of "*disagreement* with the middle peasant" (*cf.* the well-known speech of the oppositionist Smirnov, which I quoted at the Sixteenth Moscow Provincial Party Conference); and, secondly, to catch the simpletons among the Bolsheviks with the *alleged* difference between "agreement" and "alliance," to muddle them up completely and to push them away from Lenin.

And how do certain of our comrades react to this? Instead of tearing the mask from the opposition frauds, instead of exposing them as deceiving the party about their true position, they nibble at the bait, fall

into the trap, and allow themselves to be pushed away from Lenin. The opposition is making a lot of noise about Lenin's slogan; the members of the opposition pretend to be adherents of Lenin's slogan; therefore, I must dissociate myself from this slogan, otherwise I may be confused with the opposition, otherwise I may be accused of "compromising with the opposition"—such is the logic of these comrades!

And this is not the only instance of the fraudulent tricks played by the opposition. Take, for instance, the slogan of self-criticism. Bolsheviks cannot but know that the slogan of self-criticism is one of the foundations of our party activities: it is a means of strengthening the proletarian dictatorship, the soul of the Bolshevik method of training cadres. The opposition makes a lot of noise protesting that they, the opposition, invented the slogan of self-criticism, that the party stole this slogan from them, and thereby capitulated to the opposition. By acting in this way the opposition is trying to gain at least two ends: first, to conceal from the working class and to deceive it about the fact that an abyss divides the self-criticism of the opposition, whose purpose is to *destroy* the party spirit, from Bolshevik self-criticism, whose purpose is to *strengthen* the party spirit; and, secondly, to catch certain simpletons and to induce them to dissociate themselves from the party slogan of self-criticism.

And how do some of our comrades react to this? Instead of tearing the mask from the opposition frauds and fighting for the slogan of Bolshevik self-criticism, they fall into the trap, dissociate themselves from the slogan of self-criticism, dance to the tune of the opposition and... capitulate to it, mistakenly believing that they are dissociating themselves from the opposition.

A host of such instances might be quoted.

But in our work we cannot dance to anybody's tune. Still less can we allow ourselves to be guided in our work by what the members of the opposition say about us. We must pursue our own path, brushing aside both the fraudulent attempts of the opposition and the errors of certain of our Bolsheviks who have fallen victims to the provocation of the opposition. Remember the words quoted by Marx: "Follow your own path, and let people say what they like!"

THE RIGHT DANGER IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

I think that we must first rid our minds of trivialities, of personal matters, and the like, in order to solve the problem of the Right deviation which interests us today. Is there a Right opportunist danger in our party? Are there any objective factors favorable to the development of such a danger? How should this danger be fought? These are the questions that now confront us. But we shall never solve the problem unless we purge it of all the trivialities and irrelevant elements which encumber it and which prevent us from understanding the essence of the problem.

Zapolsky is wrong in thinking that the question of the Right deviation is a fortuitous one. He declares that this is not a matter of a Right deviation, but of scandalmongering, personal intrigue, etc. Let us assume for a moment that scandalmongering and personal intrigue do play some part in this, as they do in all struggles. But to attribute everything to scandalmongering and to fail to see the essence of the problem behind it is to depart from the correct, Marxian path. A large, compact organization of long standing, such as the Moscow organization undoubtedly is, could not be agitated from top to bottom and excited by the efforts of a few scandalmongers or intriguers. No, comrades, such miracles do not happen. Nor do I need to dwell on the fact that the strength and power of the Moscow organization cannot be evaluated so lightly. Obviously, more profound causes have been at work here, causes which have nothing to do with scandalmongering and intrigue.

Fruntov is also wrong, for although he admits the existence of a Right danger, he does not think it worth while for serious, busy people to concern themselves with it seriously. In his opinion, the question of the Right deviation is a subject for noisemakers, not for serious people. I quite understand Fruntov: he is so absorbed in the day-to-day practical work that he has no time to think about the perspectives of our development. But that does not mean that we must convert the narrow, purely business and practical attitude of certain of our party workers into a dogma of our work of construction. A healthy business attitude is a good thing; but if it loses perspective in the work and fails to subordi-

nate the work to the basic line of the party, it becomes a drawback. And yet it should not be difficult to understand that the question of the Right deviation is a question of the basic line of our party; it is the question as to whether the perspectives of development outlined by our party at the Fifteenth Congress are right or wrong.

The comrades who in discussing the problem of the Right deviation concentrate on the question of the individuals representing the Right deviation are also wrong. Show us who are the Rights and the conciliators, they say, name them, so that we can deal with them accordingly. This is not the way the question should be presented. Individuals, of course, are of importance. Nevertheless, the question is not one of individuals, but of the conditions, of the situation that gives rise to the Right danger in the party. Individuals can be removed, but it does not mean that we have thereby cut the roots of the Right danger in our party. Therefore, the question of individuals does not solve the problem, although it is undoubtedly of interest. In this connection I cannot help recalling an incident which occurred in Odessa at the end of 1919 or the beginning of 1920, when our forces, having driven Denikin out of the Ukraine, were crushing the last remnants of his armies in the district of Odessa. A number of Red Armymen searched high and low for the "Entente" in Odessa, convinced that if they could only capture her—the "Entente"—the war would be over. It is conceivable that our Red Armymen might have captured some representatives of the Entente in Odessa, but that, of course, would not have settled the question of the Entente, for the roots of the Entente did not lie in Odessa, although Odessa at that time was Denikin's last terrain, but in world capitalism. The same can be said of certain of our comrades who in the question of the Right deviation concentrate on the individuals representing that deviation, forgetting about the conditions that give rise to it.

That is why we must first of all be clear about the conditions that give rise to the Right, and also to the "Left" (Trotskyite), deviation from the Leninist line.

Under capitalist conditions the Right deviation in communism is a tendency, an inclination, not yet formulated, it is true, and perhaps not yet consciously realized, but nevertheless a tendency on the part of a section of the Communists to depart from the revolutionary line of Marxism in the direction of Social-Democracy. When certain groups of Communists deny the expediency of the slogan "class against class" in election campaigns (France), or are opposed to the Communist Party putting up independent candidates (Great Britain), or are disinclined to

make a sharp issue of the fight against "Left" Social-Democracy (Germany), etc., etc., it shows that there are individuals in the Communist Parties who are striving to adapt Communism to Social-Democratism. A victory of the Right deviation in the Communist Parties in capitalist countries would mean the ideological collapse of the Communist Parties and an enormous accession of strength to Social-Democratism. And what does an enormous accession of strength to Social-Democratism mean? It means the strengthening and consolidation of capitalism, for Social-Democracy is the main prop of capitalism in the working class. Hence, a victory of the Right deviation in the Communist Parties in capitalist countries would add to the conditions necessary for the *preservation* of capitalism.

Under the conditions of Soviet development, when capitalism has already been overthrown, but its roots have not yet been torn up, the Right deviation in the Communist movement signifies a tendency, an inclination, not yet formulated, it is true, and perhaps not yet consciously realized, but nevertheless a tendency on the part of a section of Communists to depart from the general line of our party toward bourgeois ideology. When certain groups of our Communists strive to drag the party back from the decisions of the Fifteenth Congress and deny the need for an offensive against the capitalist elements in the rural districts; or demand a contraction of our industry in the belief that the present speed of development is fatal for the country; or deny the expediency of subsidies to the collective farms and state farms in the belief that such subsidies are money thrown to the winds; or deny the expediency of fighting against bureaucracy on the basis of self-criticism in the belief that self-criticism undermines our apparatus; or demand that the monopoly of foreign trade be relaxed, etc., etc., it means that there are people in the ranks of our party who are striving, perhaps without themselves realizing it, to adapt our socialist construction to the tastes and needs of the "Soviet" bourgeoisie. A victory of the Right deviation in our party would mean an enormous accession of strength to the capitalist elements in our country. And what does an accession of strength to the capitalist elements in our country mean? It means weakening the proletarian dictatorship and multiplying the chances of the restoration of capitalism. Hence, a victory of the Right deviation in our party would add to the conditions necessary *for the restoration* of capitalism in our country.

Are there any factors in our Soviet country which make the restoration of capitalism *possible*? Yes, there are. That, comrades, may appear

strange, but it is a fact. We have overthrown capitalism, we have established the dictatorship of the proletariat, we are developing our socialist industry at a rapid pace and are linking the peasant economy with it. But we have not yet torn up the roots of capitalism. Where are these roots implanted? They are implanted in the system of commodity production, in small production in the cities, and particularly in the rural districts. As Lenin said, the strength of capitalism lies "in the strength of *small production*. For, unfortunately, very, very much of small production still remains in the world, and small production *engenders* capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale." (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 60.) It is clear that since small production bears a mass, and even a predominant, character in our country, and since it *engenders* capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously and on a mass scale, particularly under the conditions of N.E.P., there are factors in our country that make the restoration of capitalism *possible*.

Have we the necessary means and forces in our Soviet country to abolish, to eliminate the *possibility* of restoring capitalism? Yes, we have. And it is this fact that proves the correctness of Lenin's thesis on the *possibility* of building a complete socialist society in the U.S.S.R. For this purpose it is necessary to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, to strengthen the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, to enlarge our key positions along the lines of industrializing the country, to develop industry at a rapid rate, to electrify the country, to place the whole of our national economy on a new technical basis, to organize the masses of the peasantry into co-operative societies and to increase the yield of their farms, gradually to amalgamate the individual peasant farms into collective farms, to develop state farms, to restrict and overcome the capitalist elements in town and country, etc., etc.

Here is what Lenin says on this subject:

As long as we live in a small-peasant country, there is a surer economic basis for capitalism in Russia than for communism. This must be borne in mind. Anyone who has carefully observed life in the countryside, as compared with life in the towns, knows that we have not torn up the roots of capitalism and have not undermined the foundation, the basis of the internal enemy. The latter depends on small-scale production, and there is only one way of undermining it, namely, to place the economy of the country, including agriculture, on a new technical basis, the technical basis of modern large-scale production. And it is only in electricity that we have such a basis.

Communism is the Soviet power plus electrification of the whole country.

Otherwise the country will remain a small-peasant country, and that we must clearly realize. We are weaker than capitalism, not only on the world scale but also within the country. Everybody knows that. We have realized it, and we shall see to it that the economic basis is transformed from a small-peasant basis into a large-scale industrial basis. Only when the country has been electrified, when industry, agriculture and transport have been placed on the technical basis of modern large-scale industry, only then shall we be fully victorious. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, pp. 276-77.)

It follows, first, that as long as we live in a small-peasant country, as long as we have not torn up the roots of capitalism, there is a surer economic basis for capitalism than for communism. It may happen that you cut down a tree but fail to tear up the roots; your strength does not suffice for this. Hence the *possibility* of the restoration of capitalism in our country.

Secondly, it follows that beside the possibility of the restoration of capitalism there is also the *possibility of the victory of socialism* in our country, because we *can* remove the *possibility* of the restoration of capitalism, we can tear up the roots of capitalism and secure the final victory over capitalism, *if* we intensify the work of electrifying the country, *if* we place our industry, agriculture and transport on the technical basis of modern, large-scale industry. Hence the *possibility* of the victory of socialism in our country.

And, finally, it follows that we cannot build socialism in industry alone and leave agriculture to the mercy of spontaneous development on the grounds that the countryside will "automatically" follow the lead of the towns. The existence of socialist industry in the towns is the principal factor in the socialist transformation of the countryside. But this does not mean that that factor is quite sufficient. If the socialist cities are to take the peasant countryside in tow and lead it all the way, it is essential, as Lenin says, "to place the economy of the country, *including agriculture* [My italics.—J. S.], on a new technical basis, the technical basis of modern large-scale production."

Does this quotation from Lenin contradict another of his statements, to the effect that "N.E.P. fully guarantees the *possibility* of building the foundations of socialist economy"? No, it does not. On the contrary, they fully coincide. Lenin does not say that N.E.P. gives us socialism ready made. Lenin merely says that N.E.P. guarantees the *possibility* of building the foundations of socialist economy. There is a great difference between the *possibility* of building socialism and the *actual building of socialism*. Possibility and actuality must not be confused. It is precisely for the pur-

pose of transforming possibility into actuality that Lenin proposes that the country be electrified and industry, agriculture and transport placed on the technical basis of modern large-scale production, as a condition for the final victory of socialism.

But this condition for the building of socialism cannot be fulfilled in one or two years. It is impossible in one or two years to industrialize the country, build up a powerful industry, organize the millions of peasants into co-operative societies, place agriculture on a new technical basis, amalgamate the individual peasant farms into big collective farms, develop state farms, and restrict and overcome the capitalist elements in town and country. Years and years of intense work of construction on the part of the proletarian dictatorship will be needed for this. And until that is accomplished—and it cannot be accomplished all at once—we shall remain a small-peasant country, where small production engenders capitalism and a bourgeoisie continuously and on a mass scale, and where the danger of the restoration of capitalism remains. And since the proletariat does not live in a vacuum, but in the midst of real life with all its variety of forms, the bourgeois elements which arise on the basis of small production “envelop the proletariat on every side in a petty-bourgeois atmosphere, which permeates and acts as a corrupting influence on the proletariat and causes constant relapses among the proletariat into petty-bourgeois spinelessness, isolatedness, individualism, and alternate moods of exaltation and dejection” (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 84), thereby causing in the ranks of the proletariat and of its party a certain amount of vacillation, a certain amount of wavering.

That is the root and the basis of all sorts of vacillations and deviations from the Leninist line in the ranks of the party.

That is why the Right and “Left” deviations in our party cannot be regarded as a trifling matter.

Where does the danger of the Right, frankly opportunist, deviation in our party lie? In the fact that it *underestimates* the strength of our enemies, the strength of capitalism; it does not see the danger of the restoration of capitalism; it does not understand the mechanism of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat and therefore so readily agrees to make concessions to capitalism, demanding a slowing down in the rate of development of our industry, demanding concessions for the capitalist elements in town and country, demanding that the question of collective farms and state farms be kept in the background, demanding that the monopoly of foreign trade be relaxed, etc., etc. There is no doubt that the triumph of the Right deviation in our party would unleash the

forces of capitalism, undermine the revolutionary position of the proletariat and increase the chances of restoring capitalism in our country.

Where does the danger of the "Left" (Trotskyite) deviation in our party lie? In the fact that it *overestimates* the strength of our enemies, the strength of capitalism; it sees only the possibility of restoring capitalism, but cannot see the possibility of building socialism by the efforts of our country; it gives way to despair and is obliged to console itself with prattle about the Thermidorianism of our party. From the words of Lenin that "as long as we live in a small-peasant country, there is a surer economic basis for capitalism in Russia than for communism," the "Left" deviation draws the false conclusion that it is impossible to build socialism in the U.S.S.R. at all; that nothing can be done with the peasantry; that the idea of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry is antiquated; that unless a victorious revolution in the West comes to our aid the dictatorship of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R. must fall or degenerate; that unless we adopt the fantastic plan of super-industrialization, even at the cost of a rupture with the peasantry, the cause of socialism in the U.S.S.R. must be regarded as doomed. Hence, the adventurism in the policy of the "Left" deviation. Hence, its "super-human" leaps in the sphere of policy. There is no doubt that the triumph of the "Left" deviation in our party would lead to the working class being separated from its peasant base, to the vanguard of the working class being separated from the rest of the working-class masses, and, consequently, to the defeat of the proletariat and to conditions facilitating the restoration of capitalism.

You see, therefore, that both dangers, the "Left" and the Right, both these deviations from the Leninist line, the Right and the "Left," lead to the same result, although from different directions.

Which of these dangers is worse? In my opinion one is as bad as the other. The difference between these deviations from the point of view of successfully combating them consists in the fact that the "Left" deviation is at the present moment more obvious to the party than the Right deviation. The intense struggle that has been waged against the "Left" deviation for several years has, of course, not been wasted on the party. It stands to reason that the party has learned a great deal in the years of the fight against the "Left," Trotskyite deviation and cannot now be easily deceived by "Left" phrases. As for the Right deviation, which existed before, but which now stands out more distinctly because of the growth of the petty-bourgeois element, as a result of the grain-purchasing crisis last year, I think it is not quite so obvious to certain sections of the party. That is why our task must be—while not abating the fight against

the "Left," Trotskyite danger one iota. We must lay the emphasis on the struggle against the Right deviation and to take all measures to make the danger of this deviation as obvious to the party as the Trotskyite danger.

The question of the Right danger might not have been as acute as it is now were it not for the fact that it is associated with the *difficulties* accompanying our development. But the whole point is that the existence of the Right deviation complicates the difficulties of our development and hinders the work of overcoming these difficulties. And for the very reason that the Right danger hinders the effort to overcome the difficulties, the question of overcoming the Right danger has assumed particularly great importance for us.

A few words about the nature of our difficulties. It should be borne in mind that our difficulties are not difficulties of stagnation or decline. There are difficulties that arise at a time of economic decline, or stagnation, and in such cases efforts are made to render the stagnation less painful, or the decline less profound. Our difficulties have nothing in common with such kind of difficulties. The characteristic feature of our difficulties is that they are difficulties of *expansion*, difficulties of growth. When we speak about difficulties we usually mean, by what per cent must industry be *expanded*, by what per cent must the crop area be *enlarged*, by how many poods must the crop yield be *increased*, etc. And because our difficulties are those of expansion, and not of decline or stagnation, they should constitute nothing particularly dangerous to the party. But difficulties are difficulties, nevertheless. And since in order to overcome difficulties it is necessary to exert all efforts, it is necessary to display firmness and endurance, and since not everybody can display sufficient firmness and endurance—perhaps as a result of fatigue and jaded nerves, or because of a preference for a quiet life, free from struggle and agitation—we get these vacillations and wavering, a tendency to adopt the line of least resistance, talk about slowing down the rate of industrial development, about making concessions to the capitalist elements, about rejecting collective farms and state farms and, in general, everything that goes beyond the calm and familiar conditions of ordinary routine. But unless we overcome the difficulties in our path we shall make no progress. And in order to overcome the difficulties we must first defeat the Right danger, we must first overcome the Right deviation which is hindering the fight against the difficulties and is trying to shake the party's will to fight to overcome the difficulties. I am speaking, of course, of a real fight against the Right deviation, not a verbal, or a paper

fight. There are people in our party who to soothe their conscience are prepared to cry: Fight the Right danger! in the same way as priests cry, "Hallelujah! Hallelujah!" But they will not do a thing, not a single practical thing, to organize the fight against the Right deviation as it should be organized, and really to overcome this deviation. We call this tendency a *conciliationist* tendency toward the Right, frankly opportunist, deviation. It is not difficult to understand that the fight against this conciliationist tendency is an integral part of the general fight against the Right deviation, against the Right danger. For it is impossible to overcome the Right opportunist deviation without conducting a systematic fight against the conciliationist tendency which takes the opportunists under its wing.

The question as to who are the representatives of the Right deviation is undoubtedly of interest, although it is not of decisive importance. We came across representatives of the Right danger in our lower party organizations during the grain-purchasing crisis last year, when a number of Communists in the volosts and villages opposed the party's policy and pursued a policy of forming a bond with kulak elements. As you know, such people were cleaned out of the party last spring, which matter was specially referred to in a document of the Central Committee of our party in February this year. But it would be wrong to say that no such people have been left in the party. If we go higher up, to the *uyezd** and provincial party organizations, or if we dig deeper into our Soviet and cooperative organizations, we shall without difficulty find representatives of the Right danger and the conciliationist tendency. We know of "letters," and "declarations," and other documents written by a number of workers in the party and Soviet apparatus in which the drift towards the Right deviation is distinctly expressed. You know that these letters and documents were referred to in the minutes of the July Plenum of the Central Committee. If we go higher still, and ask about the Central Committee, we shall have to admit that there are certain, very insignificant, it is true, elements of a conciliatory attitude towards the Right danger even there. The stenographic report of the July Plenum of the Central Committee gives direct proof of this. Well, and what about the Political Bureau? Are there any deviations in the Political Bureau? In the Political Bureau there are neither Right nor "Left" deviations nor a conciliatory attitude towards those deviations. This must be said quite categorically. It is time to put a stop to the gossip spread by the enemies of the party and by the oppositionists of all kinds to the effect that there is a Right deviation, or a

* *Uyezd*—formerly an administrative unit in Russia, equivalent to a county.—*Ed.*

conciliatory attitude towards the Right deviation, in the Political Bureau of our Central Committee.

Were there vacillations and wavering in the Moscow organization, or in its leading body, the Moscow Committee? Yes, there were. It would be absurd to assert now that there were no wavering and no vacillations there. The frank speech Penkov made is direct proof of this. Penkov is by no means the least important man in the Moscow organization and in the Moscow Committee. You heard him openly and straightforwardly confess that he had been wrong on a number of important questions of our party policy. This does not mean, of course, that the Moscow Committee as a whole was infected with the spirit of vacillation. No, it does not mean that. A document like the appeal of the Moscow Committee to the members of the Moscow organization in October this year undoubtedly proves that the Moscow Committee has succeeded in overcoming the vacillations of certain of its members. I have no doubt that the leadership of the Moscow Committee will be able completely to straighten out the situation.

Certain comrades are dissatisfied with the fact that the district organizations interfered in this matter and raised the question of putting an end to the mistakes and vacillations of certain leaders of the Moscow organization. I do not see what grounds there can be for this dissatisfaction. What is there wrong about district meetings of active members of the Moscow organization demanding that an end be put to mistakes and vacillations? Is not our work governed by the slogan—self-criticism from below? Is it not a fact that self-criticism increases the activity of the party rank and file and of the proletarian rank and file in general? What is there wrong, or dangerous, in the fact that the district meetings of the *active* proved equal to the situation?

Did the Central Committee act rightly in interfering in this matter? I think the Central Committee acted rightly. Berzin thinks that the Central Committee acted too rigorously in demanding the removal of one of the district leaders to whom the district organization was opposed. That is absolutely wrong. Let me remind Berzin of certain incidents in 1919 and 1920, when several members of the Central Committee who were guilty of certain, in my opinion, not very serious errors in respect of the party line, were, on Lenin's suggestion, subjected to exemplary punishment, one of them being sent to Turkestan, and the other almost paying the penalty of expulsion from the Central Committee. Was Lenin right in acting the way he did? I think he was absolutely right. The situation in the Central Committee then was not what it is now. Half

the members of the Central Committee followed Trotsky, and there was instability in the Central Committee. The Central Committee today is acting with more lenience. Why? Is it because we want to be more gentle than Lenin? No, that is not the point. The point is that the position of the Central Committee is more stable now than it was then, and the Central Committee can afford to act with more lenience. Nor is Sakharov right in asserting that the intervention of the Central Committee was belated. He, evidently, does not know that, properly speaking, the Central Committee began to intervene in February of this year. Sakharov can convince himself of this if he desires. It is true that the intervention of the Central Committee did not immediately secure the required results. But it would be strange to blame the Central Committee for that.

Conclusions: (1) The Right danger is a serious danger in our party, for it is rooted in the social and economic conditions of the country. (2) The danger of the Right deviation is rendered more profound by the existence of difficulties which cannot be overcome unless the Right deviation and the conciliatory attitude toward the Right deviation are overcome. (3) In the Moscow organization there have been vacillations and wavering, there have been elements of instability. (4) The leadership of the Moscow Committee, with the help of the Central Committee and the district *actives*, took all measures to put an end to these vacillations. (5) There can be no doubt that the Moscow Committee will succeed in overcoming the mistakes observable in the past. (6) Our task is to put a stop to the internal struggle, to consolidate the Moscow organization, and carry through the nuclei elections successfully on the basis of unrestricted self-criticism.

THE RIGHT DEVIATION IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

CLASS CHANGES AND OUR DIFFERENCES

What are our differences? What are they connected with?

They are connected, first of all, with the class changes that have been taking place recently in our country and in capitalist countries. Some comrades think that the differences in our party are of a fortuitous nature. That is wrong, comrades. That is absolutely wrong. The differences within our party have their roots in the class changes, in the intensification of the class struggle which has been taking place lately and which is marking a turning point in development. The principal mistake Bukharin's group makes is that it fails to see these changes and this turning point; it does not see them and does not want to see them. That, in fact, explains the failure to understand the new tasks of the party and of the Communist International which is the characteristic feature of the New Opposition.

Have you noticed, comrades, that the leaders of the New Opposition, in their speeches at the Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission, completely evaded the question of the class changes in our country, that they did not say a single word about the intensification of the class struggle and did not even remotely hint at the fact that our differences are connected with this very intensification of the class struggle? They talked about everything, about philosophy and about theory, but not a word did they say about the class changes which determine the orientation and the practical activity of our party at the present moment. How is this strange fact to be explained? Is it forgetfulness, perhaps? Of course not. Political leaders cannot ignore essentials. The explanation is that they neither see nor understand the new revolutionary processes now going on both here, in our country, and in capitalist countries. The explanation is that they have overlooked the essentials, they have overlooked the class changes, which a political leader has no right to overlook. This is the real explanation for the confusion and unpreparedness displayed by the New Opposition in face of the new tasks of our party.

Recall the recent events in our party. Recall the slogans our party has issued lately in connection with the new class changes in our country. I refer to such slogans as the slogan of *self-criticism*; the slogan of intensifying the *fight against bureaucracy and of purging the Soviet apparatus*; the slogan of *organizing new business cadres and Red experts*; the slogan of *strengthening the collective farm and state farm movement*; the slogan of *an offensive against the kulaks*; the slogan of *reducing costs of production and radically improving the methods of trade union work*; the slogan of *purging the party*, etc. To some comrades these slogans seemed overwhelming and dizzying. Yet it is obvious that these slogans are the most necessary and the most urgent slogans of the party at the present moment.

The whole thing began when, in connection with the Shakhty trial, we raised in a new way the question of new business cadres, of training Red experts from the ranks of the working class to take the place of the old experts. What did the Shakhty trial reveal? It revealed that the bourgeoisie was still far from being crushed; that it was organizing and would continue to organize wrecking activities to hamper our economic construction; that our business, trade union and, to a certain extent, our party organizations had failed to notice the undermining operations of our class enemies, and that it was therefore necessary to exert all our efforts and resources to reinforce and improve our organizations, to develop and heighten their class vigilance.

In this connection the slogan of *self-criticism* assumed acute importance. Why? Because we cannot improve our business, trade union and party organizations, we cannot advance the cause of building socialism and of curbing the wrecking activities of the bourgeoisie, unless we develop criticism and self-criticism to the utmost, unless we place the work of our organizations under the control of the masses. It is a fact that wrecking has been and is going on not only in the coalfields, but also in the metallurgical industries, in the war industries, in the People's Commissariat of Railways, in the gold and platinum industries, etc., etc. Hence the slogan of self-criticism.

Further, in connection with the grain-purchasing difficulties, in connection with the active opposition of the kulaks to the Soviet price policy, we have stressed the question of developing collective farms and state farms to the utmost, of launching an offensive against the kulaks, or organizing the grain-purchasing campaign by bringing pressure to bear on the kulak and well-to-do elements. What did the grain-purchasing difficulties reveal? They revealed that the kulak was not asleep, that the

kulak was growing, that he was working to undermine the policy of the Soviet government, while our party, Soviet and co-operative organizations—at all events, a section of them—either failed to see the enemy, or adapted themselves to him instead of fighting him.

Hence the new emphasis placed on the slogan of self-criticism, on the slogan of verifying and improving our party organizations and the co-operative and produce-purchasing organizations generally.

Further, in connection with the new tasks of reconstructing industry and agriculture on the basis of socialism, the slogan arose of systematically reducing costs of production, of tightening labor discipline, of developing socialist emulation, etc. These tasks called for a thorough revision of the methods of the trade unions and the Soviet apparatus, for radical measures to put new life into these organizations and for purging them of bureaucratic elements.

Hence the emphasis on the slogan of fighting bureaucracy in the trade unions and in the Soviet apparatus.

Finally, the slogan of purging the party. It would be ridiculous to think that it is possible to strengthen our Soviet, economic, trade union and co-operative organizations, that it is possible to purge them of the foulness of bureaucracy, without sharpening up the party itself. There can be no doubt that bureaucratic elements exist not only in the economic, co-operative, trade union and Soviet organizations, but in the organizations of the party itself. Since the party is the guiding force of all these organizations, it is obvious that purging the party is an essential condition for really putting new life into and improving all the other organizations of the working class.

Hence the slogan of purging the party.

Are these slogans of a casual nature? No, they are not. You see yourselves that they are not casual. *They are necessary links in the single, continuous chain which is called the offensive of socialism against the elements of capitalism.*

They are connected, primarily, with the period of the reconstruction of our industry and agriculture on the basis of socialism. What is the reconstruction of national economy on the basis of socialism? It is the offensive of socialism against the capitalist elements of the national economy along the whole front. It is a most important advance of the working class of our country toward the building of socialism. But in order to carry out this reconstruction we must first of all improve and strengthen the cadres of socialist construction—the business and Soviet cadres as well as trade union cadres, party cadres as well as co-operative cadres; we must

set all our organizations in order, purge them of foulness; we must stimulate the activity of the vast masses of the working class and the peasantry.

Further, these slogans are connected with the resistance of the capitalist elements of our national economy to advancing socialism. The so-called Shakhty trial cannot be regarded as a fortuitous incident. "Shakhtists" are at present entrenched in every branch of our industry. Many of them have been caught, but by no means all of them. Wrecking activities of the bourgeois intellectuals are one of the most dangerous forms of resistance to developing socialism. Wrecking activities are all the more dangerous because they are connected with international capital. Bourgeois wrecking is undoubtedly an indication of the fact that the capitalist elements have by no means laid down their arms, that they are gathering strength for fresh attacks on the Soviet government. As for the capitalist elements in the rural districts, there is still less reason to regard the attack of the kulaks on the Soviet price policy, which has been proceeding for over a year, as being of a fortuitous nature. Many people are still unable to understand why it is that until 1927 the kulak gave his grain voluntarily, and since 1927 he no longer gives his grain voluntarily. But there is nothing surprising in that. Formerly the kulak was still relatively feeble; he was unable to organize his farming properly; he lacked capital to improve his farm and so he was obliged to bring all or nearly all his surplus grain to the market. But now, after a number of good harvests, since he has been able to build up his farm, since he has succeeded in accumulating the necessary capital, he is in a position to maneuver on the market, he is able to set aside wheat and rye, the currency of currencies, as a reserve for himself, and prefers to bring to the market meat, oats, barley and other secondary products. It would be ridiculous now to hope that the kulak can be made to part with his wheat and rye voluntarily. This is at the root of the resistance which the kulak is offering to the policy of the Soviet government.

And what does the resistance offered by the capitalist elements of town and country to the socialist offensive represent? It represents a regrouping of the forces of the class enemies of the proletariat for the purpose of defending the old against the new. It is not difficult to understand that these circumstances cannot but lead to an intensification of the class struggle. But if we are to break the resistance of the class enemies and clear the road for the advance of socialism, we must, besides everything else, set all our organizations in order, purge them of bureaucracy, improve their cadres and mobilize the vast masses of the working class

and the laboring strata of the rural population against the capitalist elements of town and country.

It was on the basis of these class changes that our party's present slogans arose.

The same must be said about the class changes in capitalist countries. It would be ridiculous to think that the stabilization of capitalism has remained unchanged. Still more ridiculous would it be to assert that the stabilization is gaining in strength, that it is becoming secure. As a matter of fact capitalist stabilization is being undermined and shaken month after month and day after day. The intensification of the struggle for markets and raw materials, the increase of armaments, the growing antagonism between America and Great Britain, the growth of socialism in the U.S.S.R., the swing to the Left of the working class in the capitalist countries, the wave of strikes and class conflicts in the European countries, the growing revolutionary movement in the colonies, including India, the growth of communism in all countries of the world—all these are facts which indicate beyond a doubt that the elements of a new revolutionary upsurge are accumulating in the capitalist countries.

Hence the task of intensifying the fight against Social-Democracy, and primarily against its "Left" wing, which is the social prop of capitalism. Hence the task of intensifying the fight in the Communist Parties against the Right elements which are the agents of Social-Democratic influence. Hence the task of intensifying the fight against the tendency of conciliation with the Right deviation, which is the refuge of opportunism in the Communist Parties. Hence the slogan of purging the Communist Parties of Social-Democratic traditions. Hence the so-called tactics of communism in the trade unions. Some comrades do not understand the meaning and significance of these slogans. But a Marxist will always understand that, unless these slogans are put into effect, the preparation of the proletarian masses for new class battles is out of the question, victory over Social-Democracy is out of the question, and the selection of real leaders of the communist movement, capable of leading the working class into the fight for the overthrow of capitalism, is impossible.

Such, comrades, are the class changes in our country and in the capitalist countries, from which arose the present slogans of our party in its internal policy as well as in Communist International policy.

Our party sees these class changes. It understands the significance of the new problems and is mobilizing the forces for their solution. That is why it is facing events fully armed. That is why it does not fear the difficulties confronting it, for it is prepared to overcome them.

The misfortune of the New Opposition, the misfortune of Bukharin's group is that it does not see these class changes and fails to understand the new problems of the party. And it is because it does not understand them that it is in a state of utter confusion, is ready to fly from difficulties, to retreat in the face of the difficulties, to surrender the position.

Have you ever seen fishermen when a storm is brewing on a great river—say the Yenisei? I have seen them many a time. In the face of a storm one group of fishermen will muster all their forces, encourage their fellows and boldly put out to meet the storm: "Cheer up, lads, hold tight to the tiller, cut the waves, we'll pull her through!" But there is another kind of fishermen—those who, on sensing a storm, lose heart, begin to snivel and demoralize their own ranks: "What a misfortune, a storm is brewing; lie down, boys, in the bottom of the boat, shut your eyes; let's hope she'll make the shore somehow." Is any proof needed that the line and conduct of Bukharin's group is exactly like the line and conduct of the second group of fishermen, who retreat in panic in the face of difficulties?

We say that in Europe conditions are maturing for a new revolutionary upsurge, that this circumstance dictates to us the new tasks of intensifying the fight against the Right deviation in the Communist Parties and of driving the Right deviationists out of the party; of intensifying the fight against conciliationism which screens the Right deviation; of intensifying the fight against Social-Democratic traditions in the Communist Parties, etc., etc. Bukharin answers that all this is piffle, that no such new tasks confront us, that the whole fact of the matter is that the majority of the Central Committee want to "pick" him (*i.e.*, Bukharin) "to pieces."

We say that the class changes in our country dictate to us new tasks which call for a systematic reduction of costs of production and improvement of labor discipline in industry; that these tasks cannot be carried out without a radical change in the methods of work of the trade unions. But Tomsky answers that all this is piffle, that no such new tasks confront us, that the whole fact of the matter is that the majority of the Central Committee want to "pick" him (*i.e.*, Tomsky) "to pieces."

We say that the reconstruction of national economy dictates to us the new tasks of intensifying the fight against bureaucracy in the Soviet and economic apparatus, of purging this apparatus of rotten and alien elements, of wreckers, etc., etc. But Rykov answers that all this is piffle, that no such new tasks confront us, that the whole fact of the matter is that the majority in the Central Committee want to "pick" him (*i.e.*, Rykov) "to pieces."

Is this not ridiculous, comrades? Is it not clear that Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsy cannot see anything but their own navels?

The misfortune of Bukharin's group is that it does not see the new class changes and fails to understand the new tasks of the party. And it is because it fails to understand them that it is compelled to limp at the tail of events and to retreat in the face of difficulties.

Therein lies the root of our differences.

DIFFERENCES ON INTERNAL POLICY

I have already spoken of the class changes and the class struggle in our country. I have said that Bukharin's group is affected by blindness and fails to see these changes, fails to understand the new tasks of the party. I have said that this has caused confusion among the New Opposition, has made them fearful of difficulties and ready to yield to them. It cannot be said that mistakes of the New Opposition have dropped from the skies. On the contrary, they are connected with the stage of development we have already passed through and which is known as the period of *restoration* of national economy, during which construction proceeded peacefully, automatically, so to speak; during which the class changes now taking place did not exist; during which the intensification of the class struggle which we now observe was not yet in evidence. But we are now at a new stage of development, distinct from the old period, from the period of restoration. We are now in a new period of construction, the period of *reconstruction* of the whole national economy on the basis of socialism. This new period gives rise to new class changes, to an intensification of the class struggle. It demands new methods of struggle, the regrouping of our forces, the improvement and strengthening of all our organizations. The misfortune of Bukharin's group is that it is living in the past, that it fails to see the specific features of this new period and does not understand that new methods of struggle are needed. Hence its blindness, its bewilderment, its panic in the face of difficulties.

The Class Struggle

What is the theoretical basis for the blindness and bewilderment of Bukharin's group?

I think that the theoretical basis for this blindness and bewilderment is Bukharin's incorrect, non-Marxian approach to the question of the class struggle in our country. I have in mind Bukharin's non-Marxian theory

that the kulaks will grow into socialism, his failure to understand the mechanism of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The well-known passage from Bukharin's book, *The Path to Socialism*, on the kulak growing into socialism has been quoted several times here. But it has been quoted here with a number of omissions. Permit me to quote it in full. This is necessary, comrades, in order to demonstrate how far Bukharin has departed from the Marxian theory of the class struggle. Listen:

The main network of our co-operative peasant organizations will consist of co-operative nuclei, not of a kulak, but of a "toiler" type, nuclei which will grow into the system of our general state organs and thus become *links in the single chain of socialist economy*. On the other hand, *the kulak co-operative nests will, similarly, through the banks, etc., grow into the same system; but they will be to a certain extent alien bodies, similar, for instance, to the concessionaire enterprises.* [My italics.—J.S.]

In quoting this passage from Bukharin's pamphlet, some comrades, for some reason or other, omitted the last phrase about the concessionaires. Rosit, apparently desiring to help Bukharin, took advantage of this and shouted from the body of the hall that Bukharin was being misquoted. And yet, the essence of this whole passage lies precisely in the last phrase about the concessionaires. For if concessionaires are placed on a par with the kulaks, and the kulaks are growing into socialism—what follows? The only thing that follows is that the concessionaires are also growing into socialism; that not only the kulaks, but the concessionaires also are growing into socialism.

That is what follows.

Rosit: Bukharin says, "alien bodies."

Stalin: Bukharin says not "alien bodies," but "to a certain extent alien bodies." Consequently, the kulaks and concessionaires are "to a certain extent" alien bodies in the system of socialism. But the very point of the mistake Bukharin makes is that he says that kulaks and concessionaires, being "to a certain extent" alien bodies, nevertheless grow into socialism. This is the nonsense to which Bukharin's theory leads. Capitalists in town and country, kulaks and concessionaires who grow into socialism—such is the absurdity Bukharin has got into. No, comrades, this is not the kind of "socialism" we want. Let Bukharin have it.

Hitherto, we Marxists-Leninists thought that between the capitalists of town and country, on the one hand, and the working class, on the other, there is an *irreconcilable* antagonism of interest. This is exactly what the Marxian theory of the class struggle rests on. But now, according to

Bukharin's theory that the capitalists will *peacefully grow* into socialism, all this is turned topsy-turvy; the irreconcilable antagonism of class interests between the exploiters and the exploited disappears, the exploiters grow into socialism.

Rosit: That is not true, the dictatorship of the proletariat is presumed.

Stalin: But the dictatorship of the proletariat is the sharpest form of the class struggle.

Rosit: Yes, that is the whole point.

Stalin: But according to Bukharin the capitalists grow into this very dictatorship of the proletariat. How is it that you cannot understand this, Rosit? Against whom must we fight, against whom must we wage the sharpest form of class struggle if the capitalists of town and country grow into the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat? The dictatorship of the proletariat is needed for the purpose of waging a relentless struggle against the capitalist elements, for the purpose of suppressing the bourgeoisie and of tearing out capitalism by the roots. But if the capitalists of town and country, if the kulak and the concessionaire are growing into socialism, is the dictatorship of the proletariat needed at all? If it is, for the suppression of which class is it needed?

Rosit: The whole point is that according to Bukharin, the growing into presumes the class struggle.

Stalin: I see that Rosit has sworn to do Bukharin a good turn. But his service is really like that of the bear in the fable; for in his eagerness to save Bukharin he is hugging him to death. It is not for nothing that the proverb says, "An obliging bear is more dangerous than an enemy."

Either one thing or the other: either there is an irreconcilable antagonism of interests between the capitalist class and the class of the workers who have assumed power and have organized their dictatorship, or there is no such antagonism of interests, in which case only one thing remains: to proclaim the harmony of class interests.

Either Marx's theory of the class struggle, *or* the theory of the capitalists growing into socialism. *Either* an irreconcilable antagonism of class interests, *or* the theory of harmony of class interests. One or the other.

We can understand "Socialists" of the type of Brentano or Sydney Webb preaching about socialism growing into capitalism and capitalism into socialism, for these "Socialists" are really anti-Socialists, bourgeois liberals. But we cannot understand a man who wishes to be a Marxist, and yet preaches the theory that the capitalists will grow into socialism.

In his speech Bukharin tried to reinforce the theory of the kulaks growing into socialism by referring to a well-known passage from Lenin. He

asserted that Lenin says the *same thing* as Bukharin. This is not true, comrades. It is a gross and unpardonable slander against Lenin. Here is the text of this passage from Lenin:

Of course, in our Soviet Republic, the social order is based on the collaboration of two classes; the workers and peasants, in which the "Nepmen," *i.e.*, the bourgeoisie, are now permitted to participate on certain terms. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. IX, p. 386.)

You see that there is not a word here about capitalists growing into socialism. All that is said is that we have "permitted" the Nepmen, *i.e.*, the bourgeoisie, "on certain terms" to participate in the collaboration between the workers and the peasants. What does that mean? Does it mean that we have thereby admitted the possibility of the Nepmen growing into socialism? Of course not. Only people who have lost all sense of shame can interpret this passage from Lenin in that way. All that it means is that *at present* we do not destroy the bourgeoisie, that *at present* we do not confiscate their property, but permit them to exist on certain terms, *i.e.*, provided they unconditionally submit to the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat, *i.e.*, provided we increasingly restrict the capitalists with the object of gradually squeezing them out of national economic life. Can the capitalists be squeezed out and the roots of capitalism destroyed without a fierce class struggle? No, they cannot. Can classes be abolished if the theory and practice of capitalists growing into socialism prevails? No, they cannot. Such theory and practice can only cultivate and perpetuate classes, for this theory contradicts the theory of the class struggle. But the passage from Lenin is wholly and entirely based on the Marxian theory of the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. What can there be in common between Bukharin's theory that the kulaks will grow into socialism and Lenin's theory of the dictatorship as a fierce class struggle? Obviously, there is not, nor can there be, anything in common between them. Bukharin thinks that under the dictatorship of the proletariat the class struggle must *expire* and *pass away* if the abolition of classes is to be brought about. Lenin, on the contrary, teaches us that classes can be abolished only by means of a stubborn class struggle, which under the dictatorship of the proletariat becomes *fiercer* than it was before the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The abolition of classes [says Lenin] is a matter of long, difficult and stubborn *class struggle*, which, *after* the overthrow of the power of capital, *after* the destruction of the bourgeois state, *after* the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, does not disappear (as the vulgar representatives

of the old socialism and the old Social-Democracy imagine), but merely changes its forms, in many respects becoming fiercer. (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russian ed., Vol. XXIV, p. 315.)

That is what Lenin says about the abolition of classes.

The abolition of classes *by means of the fierce class struggle of the proletariat*—such is Lenin's formula.

The abolition of classes *by means of the subsidence of the class struggle and the capitalists growing into socialism*—such is Bukharin's formula.

What can there be in common between these two formulas? Obviously, there is not, nor can there be anything in common between them.

Bukharin's theory that the kulaks will grow into socialism is therefore a departure from the Marxist-Leninist theory of the class struggle. It comes close to the theory propounded by *Katheder Sozialismus*.*

This is the basis of all the errors committed by Bukharin and his friends.

It might be said that it is not worth while dwelling too much on Bukharin's theory that the kulaks will grow into socialism, since it itself speaks, and not only speaks, but cries out against Bukharin. That is wrong, comrades! As long as that theory was kept out of view it was not worth while paying attention to it—there are all kinds of stupidities in the writings of various comrades. Such has been our attitude until quite lately. But recently the situation has changed somewhat. The petty-bourgeois wave, which has been running high in recent years, has begun to inspire this anti-Marxist theory and lend it the character of a question of the day. Now it cannot be said that it is being kept out of view. Now, Bukharin's queer theory is aspiring to become the banner of the Right deviation in our party, the banner of opportunism. That is why we cannot now ignore this theory. That is why we must demolish it as a wrong and harmful theory, so as to help our party comrades to fight the Right deviation.

The Intensification of the Class Struggle

Bukharin's second mistake, which follows from his first mistake, consists in his wrong, non-Marxian approach to the question of the intensification of the class struggle, of the increasing resistance of the capitalist elements to the socialist policy of the Soviet government. What is the point we are discussing? Is it that the capitalist elements are growing faster than the socialist sector of our economy, and that, because of this,

* Professorial socialism.—Ed.

they are increasing their resistance, undermining socialist construction? No, that is not the point. Moreover, it is not true that the capitalist elements are growing faster than the socialist sector. If that were true, socialist construction would already be on the verge of collapse. The point is that socialism is conducting a successful offensive against the capitalist elements. Socialism is growing *faster* than the capitalist elements, and, as a result, the relative importance of the capitalist elements is *declining*; and for the very reason that the relative importance of the capitalist elements is *declining*, the capitalist elements realize that they are in mortal danger and are increasing their resistance. And they are still able to increase their resistance not only because world capitalism is supporting them, but also because, in spite of the decline in their relative importance, in spite of the decline in their growth compared with the growth of socialism, there is still an absolute growth of the capitalist elements, and this, to a certain extent, enables them to accumulate forces to resist the growth of socialism. It is on this basis that, *at the present stage of development and with the present relation of forces*, the intensification of the class struggle and the increase in the resistance of the capitalist elements of town and country is taking place. The mistake Bukharin and his friends make is that they fail to understand this simple and obvious truth. The mistake they make is that they approach the matter not in a Marxian, but in a philistine way, and try to explain the intensification of the class struggle by all kinds of fortuitous causes, as, for instance, the "incompetence" of the Soviet apparatus, the "incautious" policy of local comrades, the "absence" of flexibility, "excesses," etc., etc.

Here, for instance, is a passage from Bukharin's pamphlet, *The Path to Socialism*, which demonstrates an absolutely non-Marxian approach to the question of the intensification of the class struggle:

Here and there the class struggle in the rural districts breaks out in its former manifestations, and, as a rule, the outbreaks are provoked by the kulak elements. When, for instance, kulaks, or people who are growing rich at the expense of others and have crept into the organs of the Soviet government, begin to shoot village correspondents, it is a manifestation of the class struggle in its most acute form. [This is not true, for the most acute form of the struggle is rebellion.—J.S.] However, such incidents, as a rule, occur in those places where the local Soviet apparatus is weak. *As this apparatus improves*, as all the lower units of the Soviet government become stronger, as the local, village party and Young Communist organizations improve and become stronger, *such phenomena*, it is perfectly obvious, will become more and more rare and will finally *disappear leaving no trace*. [My italics.—J.S.]

Thus it follows that the intensification of the class struggle is to be explained by causes relating to the state of the Soviet apparatus, the competence or incompetence, the strength or weakness of our local organizations. It follows, for instance, that the wrecking activities of the bourgeois intellectuals in Shakhty, which are a form of resistance of the bourgeois elements to the Soviet government and a form of intensification of the class struggle, are to be explained, not by the relation of class forces, not by the growth of socialism, but by the incompetence of our apparatus. It follows that before the wholesale wrecking occurred in the Shakhty district, our apparatus had been a good one, but that later, the moment wholesale wrecking occurred, the apparatus, for some unspecified reason, became utterly incompetent. It follows that until last year, when grain collections proceeded spontaneously and the class struggle had not assumed particularly acute forms, our local organizations were good, even ideal; but that since last year, when the resistance of the kulaks assumed exceptionally acute forms, our organizations suddenly became bad and utterly incompetent. This is not an explanation, but a mockery of an explanation. This is not science, but sorcery.

What is the reason for the intensification of the class struggle?

There are two reasons.

First, our advance, our offensive, the growth of the socialist forms of economy in industry and in agriculture, a growth which is accompanied by a squeezing out of the corresponding sections of capitalists in town and country. The fact is that we are living according to Lenin's formula: "Who will win?" Shall we floor them, the capitalists—engage them, as Lenin put it, in the last and decisive fight—or will they floor us?

Second, the fact that the capitalist elements do not want to depart from the scene voluntarily; they are resisting, and will continue to resist socialism, for they realize that their last days are approaching. And they are still able to resist because, in spite of the decline of their relative importance, they are still growing in absolute number; the petty bourgeoisie in town and country, as Lenin said, daily and hourly throw up from their ranks capitalists and little capitalists, and these capitalist elements go to all lengths to preserve their existence.

There have been no cases in history where dying classes have voluntarily departed from the scene. There have been no cases in history where the dying bourgeoisie has not exerted all its remaining strength to preserve its existence. Whether our lower Soviet apparatus is good or bad, our advance, our offensive, will reduce the capitalist elements and

squeeze them out, and they, the dying classes, will still carry on their resistance.

This is the social basis for the intensification of the class struggle.

The mistake Bukharin and his friends make is that they identify the growing resistance of the capitalists with the growth of their relative importance. But there are absolutely no grounds for such an identification. There are no such grounds because the fact that the capitalists are resisting by no means implies that they have become stronger than we are. The very opposite is the case. The dying classes are resisting, not because they have become stronger than we, but because socialism is growing faster than they, and they are becoming weaker than we are. And precisely because they are becoming weaker, they feel that their last days are approaching and are compelled to resist with all the forces and all the means in their power.

Such is the mechanics of the intensification of the class struggle and the resistance of the capitalists at the present historical moment.

What should be the policy of the party in this situation?

The policy should be to arouse the working class and the exploited masses of the rural districts, to increase their fighting capacity and develop their preparedness to mobilize for the fight against the capitalist elements in town and country, for the fight against the resisting class enemies. The Marxist-Leninist theory of the class struggle is valuable, among other reasons, for the very fact that it facilitates the mobilization of the working class against the enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

What is the harm in the Bukharin theory that the capitalists will grow into socialism, and in the Bukharin conception of the question of the intensification of the class struggle?

It is that it lulls the working class to sleep, undermines the mobilization preparedness of the revolutionary forces of our country, demobilizes the working class and facilitates the attack of the capitalist elements against the Soviet government.

The Peasantry

The third mistake Bukharin makes is on the question of the peasantry. As you know, the peasant question is one of the most important questions of our policy. In the conditions prevailing in our country, the peasantry consists of various social groups, namely, the poor peasants, the middle peasants and the kulaks. It is obvious that our attitude to these various groups cannot be the same. The poor peasant is the *support* of the

working class, the middle peasant is the *ally*, the kulak is the *class enemy*—such is our attitude to these respective social groups. All this is obvious and generally understood. Bukharin, however, regards the matter somewhat differently. In his description of the peasantry the differentiation is lacking, the existence of social groups disappears, and there remains but a single drab patch which is called: the countryside. According to him the kulak is not a kulak, nor is the middle peasant a middle peasant; and the countryside presents a uniform picture of destitution. That is exactly what he said in his speech here: "Can our kulak really be called a kulak?" he said. "Why, he is a pauper! And our middle peasant, is he really like a middle peasant? Why, he is a pauper, leading a half-starved existence," Bukharin said here. Obviously, such a conception of the peasantry is radically wrong and incompatible with Leninism.

Lenin said that the peasantry is *the last capitalist class*. Is that thesis correct? Yes, it is absolutely correct. Why is the peasantry described as the last capitalist class? Because, of the two main classes of which our society is composed, the peasantry is a class whose economy is based on private property and small commodity production. Because the peasantry, as long as it remains a peasantry carrying on small commodity production, will breed capitalists in its ranks, and cannot help breeding them, constantly and continuously. This is of decisive importance in the question of our Marxian attitude to the problem of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry. This means that we need, not *any kind* of alliance with the peasantry, but only *such an alliance* as is based on the struggle against the capitalist elements of the peasantry. Thus you see that Lenin's thesis that the peasantry is the last capitalist class not only does not contradict the idea of an alliance between the working class and the peasantry but, on the contrary, supplies the basis for this alliance as an alliance between the working class and the peasantry directed against the capitalist elements in our economy. Lenin advanced this thesis in order to show that the alliance between the working class and the peasantry can be durable only if this alliance is based on the struggle against these very capitalist elements which the peasantry breeds in its midst.

The mistake Bukharin makes is that he does not understand and does not accept this simple thing, he forgets the social groups in the rural districts, he loses sight of the kulaks and the poor peasants, and all he sees is one uniform mass of middle peasants. This is undoubtedly a deviation to the Right on the part of Bukharin, in contradistinction to the "Left," Trotskyite deviation, which sees no other social groups in the

rural districts except the poor peasants and the kulaks, and which loses sight of the middle peasants.

What is the difference between Trotskyism and Bukharin's group on the question of the alliance with the peasantry? The fact that Trotskyism is *opposed* to the policy of *durable* alliance with the mass of the middle peasantry, while the Bukharin group is in favor of *any kind* of alliance with the peasantry. There is no need to prove that both these positions are wrong and that they are worthy of each other.

Leninism undoubtedly stands for a durable alliance with the great bulk of the peasantry, for an alliance with the middle peasants; not any kind of alliance, however, but such an alliance with the middle peasants as will guarantee the *leadership* of the working class, as will *consolidate* the dictatorship of the proletariat and *facilitate the abolition of classes*.

Agreement between the working class and the peasantry [says Lenin], may be taken to mean anything. If we do not bear in mind that, from the point of view of the working class, an agreement can be permissible, correct and possible in principle only if it supports the dictatorship of the working class and is one of the measures intended for the purpose of abolishing classes, then agreement between the working class and the peasantry is of course a formula to which all the enemies of the Soviet government, all the enemies of the dictatorship subscribe. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. IX, p. 208.)

And further:

At present [says Lenin], the proletariat holds power and guides the state. It guides the peasantry. What does guiding the peasantry mean? It means, first, pursuing a course towards the abolition of classes, and not towards the small producer. If we wandered away from this radical and main course we should cease to be Socialists and should find ourselves in the camp of the petty-bourgeoisie, in the camp of the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, who are now the most bitter enemies of the proletariat. (*Ibid.*, p. 222.)

This, then, is Lenin's point of view on the question of the alliance with the great bulk of the peasantry, of the alliance with the middle peasants.

The mistake Bukharin's group commits on the question of the middle peasant is that it fails to perceive the dual nature, the dual position, of the middle peasant between the working class and the capitalists. "The middle peasant is a vacillating class," said Lenin. Why? Because, on the one hand, the middle peasant is a toiler, which brings him close to the working class; but on the other hand he is a property owner, which

brings him close to the kulak. Hence the vacillations of the middle peasant. And this is true not only theoretically. These vacillations manifest themselves in practice, daily and hourly.

The peasant [says Lenin], as a toiler gravitates towards socialism, prefers the dictatorship of the workers to the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The peasant as a seller of grain gravitates towards the bourgeoisie, to free trade, *i.e.*, back to the "habitual," old "primordial" capitalism. (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russian ed., Vol. XXIV, p. 314.)

That is why the alliance with the middle peasant can be durable only if it is directed against the capitalist elements, against capitalism in general, if it guarantees the leadership of the working class in that alliance, if it facilitates the abolition of classes.

It is strange that Bukharin's group should forget these plain and intelligible things.

N.E.P. and Market Relations

The fourth mistake Bukharin makes is on the question of N.E.P. Bukharin's mistake is that he fails to see the dual nature of N.E.P., he sees only one side of N.E.P. When we introduced N.E.P. in 1921, we directed its spearhead against War Communism, against the regime and system which precluded *any and every form* of free trade. We considered, and still consider, that N.E.P. implies *a certain measure* of free trade. Bukharin remembers this side of the matter. That is very good. But he is mistaken when he thinks that this is the only side of N.E.P. Bukharin forgets that N.E.P. has another side. The point is that N.E.P. by no means implies *complete* free trade, the *free* play of prices in the market. N.E.P. is free trade within *certain* limits, within *certain* confines, *with the proviso that the role of the state as the regulator, its role in the market, is guaranteed*. That, precisely, is the second side of N.E.P. And this side of N.E.P. is no less if not more important than the first side. There is no free play of prices in the market in this country as is usually the case in capitalist countries. We, in the main, determine the price of grain. We determine the price of manufactured goods. We strive to carry out a policy of reducing costs of production and reducing prices of manufactured goods, while striving to stabilize the price of agricultural products. Is it not obvious that such special and specific market conditions do not exist in capitalist countries?

From this it follows that as long as N.E.P. exists, both its sides must be retained: the first side, which is directed against the regime of War

Communism, and the object of which is to guarantee a *certain* amount of free trade; and the second side, which is directed against *complete* free trade, and the object of which is to guarantee the role of the state as the regulator of the market. Destroy one of these sides, and N.E.P. disappears.

Bukharin thinks that danger can threaten N.E.P. only from the "Left," from people who want to abolish *all* free trade. This is not true. This is a gross error. Moreover, such a danger is the least real at the present moment, since there is nobody, or hardly anybody, in our local and central organizations now who does not understand the necessity and expediency of preserving a *certain degree* of free trade. The danger from the Right, from those who want to abolish the role of the state as regulator of the market, who want to "emancipate" the market and thereby open up an era of complete free trade, is much more real. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the danger of disrupting N.E.P. from the Right is much more real at the present time. It should not be forgotten that petty-bourgeois anarchy is working precisely in this direction, in the direction of disrupting N.E.P. from the Right. It should also be borne in mind that the outcries of the kulaks and the well-to-do elements, the outcries of the profiteers and merchants, which many of our comrades often yield to, bombard N.E.P. from precisely this quarter. The fact that Bukharin does not see this second, and very real, menace to N.E.P. undoubtedly shows that he has yielded to the pressure of the petty-bourgeois element.

Bukharin proposes to "normalize" the market and to "manipulate" grain-purchasing prices according to districts, *i.e.*, to raise the price of grain. What does this mean? It means that he is not satisfied with Soviet market conditions, he wants to put a brake on the role of the state as the regulator of the market and proposes that concessions be made to the petty-bourgeois element, which is disrupting N.E.P. from the Right.

Let us for a moment assume that we followed Bukharin's advice. What would be the result? We raise the price of grain, let us say, in the autumn, at the beginning of the grain-purchasing period. But since there are always people on the market, all sorts of profiteers and grain merchants, who can pay three times as much for grain, and since we cannot keep up with the profiteers, for they buy ten million poods or so whereas we have to buy hundreds of millions of poods, those who hold grain will continue to hold it in expectation of a further rise in price. Consequently, towards the spring, when the state's real need for grain mainly begins, we would again have to raise the price of grain. But what would raising

the price of grain in the spring mean? It would mean ruining the poor and weaker strata of the rural population who are themselves obliged to buy grain in the spring, partly for seed and partly for food—the very grain which they sold in the autumn at a lower price. Can we by such operations obtain anything like serious results in the way of securing a sufficient quantity of grain? Most probably not, for there will always be profiteers and grain merchants able to pay twice and three times as much for the same grain. Consequently, we would have to be prepared to raise the price of grain once again in a vain effort to catch up with the profiteers and grain merchants.

But from this it follows that having started on the path of raising grain prices we should have to continue further and further without any guarantee of securing a sufficient quantity of grain.

But the matter does not end there. First, having raised *purchasing* prices of grain we would next have to raise the price of raw materials as well, in order to maintain a certain proportion in the price of agricultural products. Secondly, after raising the grain-purchasing prices we would not be able to maintain the low price of bread in the towns, and, consequently, we would have to raise the *selling* price of bread. And since we cannot and must not injure the workers, we should rapidly have to increase wages. But this cannot but lead to a rise in the price of manufactured goods, for, otherwise, there would be a transfer of funds from the towns to the countryside to the detriment of the cause of industrialization. In the end we should have to equalize the price of manufactured goods with that of agricultural products, not on the basis of *falling*, or at any rate, stabilized prices, but on the basis of *rising* prices, both of grain and manufactured goods. In other words, we would have to pursue a policy of *raising the prices* of manufactured goods and agricultural products. It is not difficult to understand that such “manipulation” of prices can only lead to the complete nullification of the Soviet price policy, to the nullification of the regulating role of the state in the market, and to the complete release of petty-bourgeois anarchy. Who would profit by this? Only the well-to-do strata of the urban and rural population, for expensive manufactured goods and agricultural products cannot but put them beyond the reach of the working class and the poor and weaker strata of the rural population. It would profit the kulaks and the well-to-do, the Nepmen and the other wealthy classes.

This, too, would be a bond, but a peculiar bond, a bond with the wealthy strata of the rural and urban population. The workers and the poor strata of the rural population would have every right to ask us:

Whose government are you: a workers' and peasants' government or a kulak and Nepmen's government?

A rupture with the working class and the poor strata of the rural population and a bond with the well-to-do strata of the urban and rural population—that is what Bukharin's "normalization" of the market and "manipulation" of grain prices, according to districts, must lead to.

Obviously, the party cannot take this fatal path.

How far Bukharin has muddled all conceptions of N.E.P. and how firmly he has become a captive of the petty-bourgeois element is shown, among other things, by the more than negative attitude he displays to the question of the new forms of trade between town and country, between the state and the peasantry. He is indignant and cries out against the fact that the state has become the contractor for goods to be supplied to the peasantry and that the peasantry is becoming the contractor for grain for the state. He regards this as a violation of all the rules of N.E.P., almost the disruption of N.E.P. Why? On what grounds? What can there be objectionable in the fact that the state, state industry, is the contractor for goods to be supplied to the peasantry, and that the peasantry is the contractor for grain to be supplied to industry, to the state? What can there be objectionable, from the point of view of Marxism and a Marxian N.E.P. policy, in the fact that the peasantry *has already become* the contractor supplying cotton, beets and flax for the needs of state industry, and that state industry has become the contractor supplying city goods, seed and implements of production for these branches of agriculture? The contract system is here the principal method of establishing these new forms of trade between town and country. But does the contract system contradict the requirements of N.E.P.? What can there be objectionable in the fact that, thanks to this contract system, the peasantry *is becoming* the state's contractor to supply, not only cotton, beets, and flax, but also grain? If trade in small consignments, petty trade, can be termed trade, why cannot trade in large consignments, conducted by means of preliminary concluded agreements as to price and quality of goods (the contract system) be regarded as trade? Why this discrepancy? Is it so difficult to understand that it is precisely on the basis of N.E.P. that these new, mass forms of trade between town and country along the lines of the contract system have sprung up, that they mark a big step forward on the part of our organizations in respect of strengthening the planned, socialist control of national economy?

Is it not strange that Bukharin has lost the capacity to understand these plain and intelligible things?

*The Rate of Development of Industry
and the New Forms of the Bond*

Finally, as to the question of the rate of development of industry and of the new forms of the bond between town and country. This is one of our most important points of difference. The importance of this question lies in the fact that it concentrates within itself all the threads of our *practical* differences on the economic policy of the party.

What are the new forms of the bond, what do they signify from the point of view of our economic policy?

They signify, first, that besides the old forms of the bond between town and country, whereby industry chiefly satisfied the *personal* requirements of the peasantry (calico, footwear, cloth, etc.), we now need new forms of the bond, whereby industry will satisfy the *productive* requirements of peasant farming (agricultural machinery, tractors, improved seed, fertilizers, etc.). Whereas formerly we satisfied *mainly* the personal requirements of the peasants, hardly touching the productive requirements of their farms, now, while continuing to satisfy the personal requirements of the peasants, we must exert all our efforts to supply agricultural machinery, tractors, fertilizers, etc., which are directly related to the reconstruction of agriculture on a new technical basis. As long as it was a question of *restoring* agriculture and of the peasants assimilating the landlords' and kulaks' land, we could be content with the old forms of the bond. But now, when it is a question of *reconstructing* agriculture, this is not enough. Now we must go further and help the peasantry to reconstruct agriculture on the basis of a new technique and collective labor.

Secondly, they signify that simultaneously with the re-equipment of our industry, we must seriously begin to re-equip agriculture also. We are re-equipping, and have already partly re-equipped our industry, placing it on a new technical basis, supplying it with new and improved machinery and new and improved cadres. We are building new factories and plants and are reconstructing and extending the old ones; we are developing the iron and steel industry, the chemical industry and the machinery construction industry. On this basis new towns are springing up, new industrial centers are multiplying and the old ones are expanding. On this basis the demand for food products and for raw materials for industry is growing. But agriculture continues to employ the old equipment, the old methods of tillage practiced by our forefathers, the old, primitive, now useless, or nearly useless technique, the old, small-

peasant, individual forms of farming and labor. Think of it! Before the revolution there were nearly sixteen million peasant households, and now there are no less than twenty-five million! What does this indicate if not that agriculture is assuming a more and more scattered, fragmentary character. And the characteristic feature of scattered small farms is that they are unable sufficiently to employ technique, machines, tractors and scientific agronomic knowledge, that they are farms with a small output for the market. Hence, the insufficient output of agricultural products for the market. Hence, the danger of a rift between town and country, between industry and agriculture. Hence, the necessity for increasing, whipping up the tempo of development of agriculture to that of our industry. And so, in order to avoid the danger of a rift, we must begin thoroughly to re-equip agriculture on the basis of modern technique. But in order to re-equip it we must gradually amalgamate the scattered peasant farms into large farms, into collective farms; we must build up agriculture on the basis of collective labor, we must enlarge the collective farms, we must develop the old and new state farms, we must systematically employ the contract system on a mass scale in all the principal branches of agriculture, we must develop the system of machine and tractor stations which help the peasantry to assimilate the new technique and to collectivize labor—in a word, we must gradually transfer the small peasant farms to the basis of large-scale collective production, for only large-scale production of a socialized type is capable of making full use of scientific knowledge and modern technique, and of advancing the development of our agriculture with seven-league strides.

This, of course, does not mean that we must neglect individual poor and middle-peasant farming. Nothing of the kind. Individual poor and middle-peasant farming plays a predominant part in supplying industry with food and raw materials, and will continue to do so for some time. This is precisely why we must continue to assist individual poor and middle-peasant farming. But it does mean that individual peasant farming alone is *no longer* adequate. This is shown by our grain-purchasing difficulties. That is why the development of individual poor and middle-peasant farming must be *supplemented* by the widest possible development of collective forms of farming and of state farms. That is why we must build a bridge between individual poor and middle-peasant farming and collective, socialized forms of farming, in the shape of the contract system on a mass scale, in the shape of machine and tractor stations and in the shape of the fullest development of the co-operative movement, in order to help the peasants to transfer their small, individual

farming to the lines of collective labor. Without these conditions it will be impossible to develop agriculture to any extent. Without these conditions it will be impossible to solve the grain problem. Without these conditions it will be impossible to rid the weaker strata of the peasantry of poverty and distress.

Finally, they signify that we must develop our industry to the utmost as the principal source from which agriculture will be supplied with the means required for its reconstruction: we must develop our iron and steel, chemical and machinery-construction industries; we must build tractor works, agricultural machinery works, etc. There is no need to prove that it is impossible to develop collective farms, that it is impossible to develop machine and tractor stations without inducing the great bulk of the peasantry, with the aid of the contract system applied on a mass scale, to adopt collective forms of farming, without supplying agriculture with a fairly large quantity of tractors, agricultural machinery, etc. But it will be impossible to supply the rural districts with machines and tractors unless we accelerate the development of our industry. Hence, the speedy development of our industry is the key to the reconstruction of agriculture on the basis of collectivism.

Such is the meaning and significance of the new forms of the bond.

Bukharin's group is obliged to admit, in words, the necessity of the new forms of the bond. But it is an admission only *in words*, with the intention, under cover of a verbal recognition of the new forms of the bond, of smuggling in something which is the *very opposite*. Actually, Bukharin is opposed to the new forms of the bond. According to Bukharin the starting point is not the speedy rate of development of industry as the lever for the reconstruction of agriculture, but the development of individual peasant farming. He puts in the foreground the "normalization" of the market and permission for the free play of prices on the agricultural produce market, which in fact means allowing complete free trade. Hence his distrustful attitude to the collective farms which manifested itself in his speech at the July Plenum of the Central Committee and in his theses prior to the July Plenum of the Central Committee. Hence his disapproval of every and any form of emergency measures against the kulaks during grain-purchasing campaigns. We know that Bukharin shuns emergency measures as the devil shuns holy water. We know that Bukharin still fails to understand that under present conditions the kulak will not supply a sufficient quantity of grain voluntarily, of his own accord. That has been proved by our two years' experience of grain-purchasing campaigns.

But what if, in spite of everything, there will not be enough grain marketed? To this Bukharin replies: Do not worry the kulaks with emergency measures; import grain from abroad. Not long ago he proposed that we import about fifty million poods of grain, *i.e.*, to the value of about 100,000,000 rubles in foreign currency. But what if foreign currency is required to import equipment for industry? To this Bukharin replies: Preference must be given to imports of grain—thus, evidently, relegating imports of equipment for industry to the background.

It follows, therefore, that the basis for the solution of the grain problem and for the reconstruction of agriculture is not the speedy rate of development of industry, but the development of individual peasant farming, including also kulak farming, on the basis of a free market and the free play of prices in the market.

Thus we have two different plans of economic policy.

The party's plan:

1. We are re-equipping (reconstructing) industry.
2. We are beginning seriously to re-equip agriculture (reconstruction).
3. For this we must expand the development of collective farms and state farms, employ on a mass scale the contract system and machine and tractor stations as means of establishing a *bond* between industry and agriculture along the line of *production*.
4. As for the present grain-purchasing difficulties, we must admit the necessity for temporary emergency measures, reinforced by the public support of the middle and poor peasant masses, as one of the means of breaking the resistance of the kulaks and of obtaining from them the maximum grain surplus necessary in order to be able to dispense with importing grain and to save foreign currency for the development of industry.
5. Individual poor and middle-peasant farming plays, and will continue to play, a predominant part in supplying the country with food and raw materials. But alone it is no longer adequate; the development of individual poor and middle-peasant farming must therefore be *supplemented* by the development of collective farms and state farms, by the contract system applied on a mass scale, by accelerating the development of machine and tractor stations, in order to facilitate the squeezing out of the capitalist elements from agriculture and the gradual transfer of the individual peasant farms to the lines of large-scale collective farming, to the lines of collective labor.
6. But in order to achieve all this, it is necessary first of all to accelerate

the development of industry, of metals, chemicals, machinery construction, of tractor works, agricultural machinery works, etc. Without this it will be impossible to solve the grain problem and to reconstruct agriculture.

Conclusion: *The key to the reconstruction of agriculture is the speedy rate of development of our industry.*

Bukharin's plan:

1. "Normalize" the market; permit the free play of prices on the market and a rise in the price of grain, undeterred by the fact that this may lead to a rise in the price of manufactured goods, raw materials and bread.
2. The utmost development of individual peasant farming accompanied by a certain reduction of the rate of development of collective farms and state farms (Bukharin's theses of July and his speech at the July Plenum).
3. Grain purchasing on the spontaneity principle, precluding under all circumstances even the partial application of emergency measures against the kulaks, even though such measures are supported by the middle and poor peasant masses.
4. In the event of a lack of grain, to import grain to the value of about 100,000,000 rubles.
5. And if there is not enough foreign currency to cover grain imports and imports of equipment for industry, to reduce imports of equipment and, consequently, the rate of development of our industry—otherwise our agriculture will simply "mark time," or will even "directly decline."

Conclusion: *The key to the reconstruction of agriculture is the development of individual peasant farming.*

This is how it works out, comrades.

Bukharin's plan is a plan to *reduce* the rate of development of industry and to *undermine* the new forms of the bond.

Such are our differences.

Have we not been late in developing the new forms of the bond, in developing collective farms, state farms, etc.?

Some people assert that the party began to work along these lines about two years too late. This is wrong, comrades. It is absolutely wrong. Only noisy "Lefts" who have no conception of the economics of the U.S.S.R. can talk like that. What do people imply when they say that we were too late in this matter? If they imply that we should have foreseen the need for collective farms and state farms, then we can say that we began this at the time of the October Revolution. There cannot be the slightest doubt that already then—at the time of the October Revolution—the party

foresaw the need for collective farms and state farms. For that matter, we may refer to our program, which was adopted at the Eighth Congress of the party (March 1919). The need for collective farms and state farms is noted there with perfect clarity. But the mere fact that the top leadership of our party foresaw the need for collective farms and state farms was not enough to carry into effect and organize a *mass movement* for collective farms and state farms. Therefore, the question was not one of foreseeing, but of *carrying out* the plan of collective-farm and state-farm development. But in order to carry out such a plan a number of conditions are required which did not exist before, and which came into existence only very recently. That is the point, comrades.

In order to carry out the plan for a mass movement in favor of collective farms and state farms, it was necessary, first of all, that the party leadership should be supported in this course by the *mass* of the party membership. As you know, our party has over a million members. It was therefore necessary to convince the large masses of the party membership of the correctness of the policy of the top leadership. That is the first point.

Further, it was necessary that a mass movement should arise among the peasants in favor of collective farms, that the peasants—far from fearing the collective farms—should themselves join the collective farms and become convinced by experience of the advantage of collective farming over individual farming. This is a serious matter, requiring a certain amount of time. That is the second point.

Further, it was necessary that the state should possess the material resources required to finance the movement, to finance the collective farms and state farms. And this, dear comrades, requires hundreds and hundreds of millions. That is the third point.

Finally, it was necessary that industry should be developed sufficiently to be able to supply agriculture with machinery, tractors, fertilizers, etc. That is the fourth point.

Can it be said that all these conditions existed two or three years ago? No, it cannot.

It must not be forgotten that we are a *ruling party*, *not an opposition party*. An opposition party can issue slogans—I mean fundamental practical slogans of the movement—in order to carry them into effect after it comes into power. Nobody can accuse an opposition party of not carrying out its fundamental slogans immediately, for everybody knows that it is not the opposition party which is at the helm, but other parties. In the case of a ruling party, however, such as our Bolshevik Party is, the matter

is entirely different. The slogans of such a party are not mere (agitational) slogans, but something much more, for they have the force of *practical decision*, the *force of law*, and must be carried out immediately. Our party cannot issue practical slogans and then defer carrying them out. That would be deceiving the masses. Before issuing a slogan, especially so serious a slogan as transferring the vast masses of the peasantry to the lines of collectivism, the conditions must exist that will enable the slogan to be carried out directly; finally, these conditions must be created, organized. That is why it was not enough merely for the party leadership to foresee the need for collective farms and state farms. That is why we need the conditions to enable us *to realize, to carry out*, our slogans.

Was the *mass* of the party membership ready for the utmost development of collective farms and state farms, say, two or three years ago? No, it was not ready. The serious turn of the mass of the party membership towards the new forms of the bond began only with the first serious grain-purchasing difficulties. It required these difficulties for the mass of the party membership to become conscious of the full necessity of accelerating the adoption of the new forms of the bond, and, primarily, of the collective farms and state farms, and resolutely to support its Central Committee in this matter. This is one condition which did not exist before, but which does exist now.

Was there any serious movement among the vast masses of the peasantry in favor of collective farms or state farms two or three years ago? No, there was not. Everybody knows that two or three years ago the peasantry was hostile to the state farms and contemptuously called the collective farms "communia," regarding them as something utterly useless. And now? Now, the situation is different. Now we have whole strata of the peasantry who regard the state farms and collective farms as a source of assistance to peasant farming in the way of seed, improved cattle, machines and tractors. Now we have only to supply machines and tractors, and the cause of collective farming will advance at a rapid rate.

What was the cause of this change of attitude among certain, fairly considerable, strata of the peasantry? What helped to bring it about? In the first place, the development of the co-operative societies and the co-operative movement. There can be no doubt that without the powerful development of the co-operative societies, particularly of agricultural co-operative societies, which produced a change in the mentality of the peasantry in favor of the collective farms, we would not have had that urge towards the collective farms which is now displayed by whole strata of the peasantry. An important part in this was played by the existence of

well-organized collective farms, which set the peasants good examples of how agriculture can be improved by uniting small peasant farms into large collective farms. An important part in this was also played by the existence of well-organized state farms, which helped the peasants to improve their methods of farming. I need not mention other factors with which you are all familiar. This is another condition which did not exist before, but which does exist now.

Further, can it be asserted that we were able two or three years ago seriously to finance the collective farms and state farms, to assign hundreds of millions of rubles for this purpose? No, it cannot be asserted. You know very well that we did not even have sufficient funds with which to develop that minimum of industry without which industrialization in general is impossible, let alone the reconstruction of agriculture. Could we take these resources from industry, which is the basis for the industrialization of the country, and transfer them to the collective farms and state farms? Obviously, we could not. But now? Now we have the means for developing the collective farms and state farms.

Finally, can it be asserted that two or three years ago our industry was an adequate basis for supplying agriculture with large quantities of machines, tractors, etc.? No, it cannot be asserted. At that time our task was to create the *minimum industrial basis* required for supplying machines and tractors to agriculture *in the future*. It was on the creation of such a basis that our scanty financial resources were then spent. And now? Now we have the industrial basis for agriculture. At all events, this industrial basis is being created at a very rapid rate.

It follows that the conditions required for the mass development of the collective farms and state farms were created only recently.

That is how matters stand, comrades.

That is why it cannot be said that we were late in developing the new forms of the bond.

Bukharin as a Theoretician

Such, in the main, are the principal mistakes committed by the theoretician of the Right opposition, Bukharin, on the fundamental questions of our policy.

It is said that Bukharin is a theoretician of our party. He is a theoretician, of course, and a theoretician of no mean caliber. But the fact is that not all is well with his theorizing. This is evident if only from the fact that he has piled up the heap of mistakes on questions of party policy which I have just described. These mistakes, mistakes on Comintern

questions, mistakes on questions of the class struggle, of the intensification of the class struggle, on the peasantry, on N.E.P., on the new forms of the bond—these mistakes could not have arisen fortuitously. No, these mistakes are not fortuitous. Bukharin's mistakes arose out of the wrong line he pursued, out of the gaps in his theories. Yes, Bukharin is a theoretician, but he is not altogether a Marxian theoretician; he is a theoretician who has much to learn in order to become a full-fledged Marxian theoretician.

Reference is made to a letter in which Comrade Lenin speaks of Bukharin as a theoretician. Let us read the letter.

Of the younger members of the Central Committee [says Lenin], I should like to say a few words about Bukharin and Pyatakov. In my opinion, they are the most outstanding people (of the youngest forces), and regarding them the following should be borne in mind: Bukharin is not only a very valuable and important theoretician in our party, he is also legitimately regarded as the favorite of the whole party; *but it is very doubtful whether his theoretical views can be classed as fully Marxian, for there is something scholastic in him (he has never studied, and, I think he has never fully understood dialectics).* [My italics.—J.S.] (*Stenographic Report of the July Plenum, 1926, Russian ed., Part IV, p. 66.*)

Thus, he is a theoretician without dialectics. A scholastic theoretician. A theoretician about whom it was said: "It is very doubtful whether his theoretical views can be classed as fully Marxian." This is how Lenin characterized Bukharin's theoretical complexion.

You can well understand, comrades, that such a theoretician has still much to learn. And, if Bukharin understood that he is not yet a full-fledged theoretician, that he still has to learn, that he is a theoretician who has not yet fully assimilated dialectics—and dialectics is the soul of Marxism—if he understood that, he would be more modest, and the party would only benefit thereby. The trouble is that Bukharin is not given to modesty. The trouble is that not only is he not given to modesty, but he even presumes to teach our teacher Lenin on a number of questions, primarily, on the question of the state. This is the trouble, comrades.

Allow me in this connection to refer to the well-known theoretical controversy which flared up in 1916 between Lenin and Bukharin on the question of the state. This is important in order to reveal Bukharin's inordinate pretensions to teach Lenin, as well as the roots of his theoretical unsoundness on such important questions as the dictatorship of the proletariat, the class struggle, etc. As you know, an article by Bukharin appeared in 1916 in the magazine *Youth International*, signed *Nota Bene*;

this article, as a matter of fact, was directed against Comrade Lenin. In this article Bukharin wrote:

...It is quite a mistake to seek the difference between the Socialists and the Anarchists in the fact that the former are in favor of the state while the latter are against it. The real difference is that revolutionary Social-Democracy desires to organize the new social production as centralized production, *i.e.*, technically the most progressive method of production; whereas decentralized anarchist production would mean retrogression to old technique, to the old form of enterprises....

Social-Democracy, which is, or at least should be, the educator of the masses, must now more than ever emphasize its hostility to the state in principle.... The present war has shown how deeply the state idea has penetrated the souls of the workers.

Lenin replied in a special article, published in 1916, criticizing Bukharin's views. He said:

This is wrong. The author raises the question of the difference in the attitude of Socialists and Anarchists *toward the state*. But he replies not to *this* question, but to *another*, namely, the difference in the attitude of Socialists and Anarchists towards the economic foundation of future society. This, of course, is a very important and necessary question to discuss. But that does not mean that the *main* point of difference in the attitude of the Socialists and Anarchists towards the state can be ignored. The Socialists are in favor of utilizing the modern state and its institutions in the struggle for the emancipation of the working class, and they also urge the necessity of utilizing the state for the peculiar form of transition from capitalism to socialism. This transitional form is the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is *also* a state. The Anarchists want to "abolish" the state, to "blow it up" (*sprengen*), as Comrade *Nota Bene* expresses it in one place, erroneously ascribing this view to the Socialists. The Socialists—unfortunately the author quotes the words of Engels relevant to this subject rather incompletely—hold that the state will die out, will "gradually" "fall asleep" *after* the bourgeoisie has been expropriated....

In order to "emphasize" our "hostility" to the state "in principle," we must indeed understand it "clearly." This clarity, however, our author lacks. His remark about the "state idea" is entirely muddled. It is un-Marxian, and un-socialistic. The point is not that "the state idea" has clashed with the repudiation of the idea of the state, but that the opportunist policy (*i.e.*, an opportunist, reformist, bourgeois attitude towards the state) has clashed with revolutionary Social-Democratic policy (*i.e.*, the revolutionary Social-Democratic attitude to the bourgeois state and towards utilizing the state against the bourgeoisie in order to overthrow it). These are entirely different things. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. V, pp. 243-44.)

I think the point at issue is clear, and it is also clear that Bukharin landed in a semi-Anarchistic puddle.

Sten: At that time Lenin had not yet fully formulated the necessity for "blowing up" the state. Bukharin, while committing Anarchist errors, was approaching a formulation of the question.

Stalin: No, that is not what we are concerned with at present. What we are concerned with is the attitude toward the state in general. The point is that in Bukharin's opinion the working class should be hostile *in principle to the state as such*, including the working class state.

Sten: Lenin then only spoke about utilizing the state; he said nothing in his criticism of Bukharin regarding the "blowing up" of the state.

Stalin: You are mistaken. Let me assure you that the point here is that, in the opinion of Bukharin (and of the Anarchists), the workers should emphasize their hostility, as a matter of principle, to the state as such, and, therefore, to the state of the transition period, to the working class state as well. Try to explain to our workers that the working class must become imbued with hostility, as a matter of principle, to the proletarian dictatorship, which, of course, is also a state. Bukharin's position as set forth in his article in *Youth International* is that he repudiates the state in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism. Bukharin here overlooked a "trifle," namely, the whole transition period, during which the working class cannot do without its own state if it really wants to suppress the bourgeoisie and build socialism. That is the first point. The second point is that it is not true that Comrade Lenin at that time did not deal in his criticism with the theory of "blowing up," of "abolishing" the state in general. Lenin not only dealt with this theory, as is evident from the passages I have quoted, but he criticized and demolished it as an Anarchist theory, and opposed to it the theory of *creating* a new state after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, namely, the state of the proletarian dictatorship. Finally, the Anarchist theory of "blowing up" the state must not be confused with the Marxian theory of "breaking up," "smashing" the *bourgeois* state machine. Some comrades are inclined to confuse these two different concepts in the belief that they express the same idea. But this is wrong, absolutely wrong, comrades. Lenin proceeded precisely from the Marxian theory of "smashing" the *bourgeois* state machine when he criticized the Anarchist theory of "blowing up" and "abolishing" the state in general.

Perhaps it will not be superfluous if, in order to make the subject more clear, I quote a passage from a manuscript on the state written by Comrade Lenin, evidently at the end of 1916, or the beginning of 1917

(before the February Revolution of 1917). From this manuscript it is easily seen that (a) in criticizing Bukharin's semi-Anarchistic errors on the question of the state, Lenin proceeded from the Marxist theory of "breaking up" the bourgeois state machine; and (b) that although Bukharin, as Lenin expressed it, "is nearer to the truth than Kautsky," nevertheless, "instead of exposing the Kautskyists, he helps them with his mistakes." Here is the text of the manuscript.

Of *extremely* great importance on the question of the state is the letter of *Engels to Bebel* dated March 18-28, 1875.

Here is the most important passage in full:

"The free people's state is transformed into the free state. Taken in its grammatical sense, a free state is one in which the state is free in relation to its citizens and is therefore a state with a despotic government. *The whole talk about the state should be dropped, especially since the Commune, which was no longer a state in the proper sense of the word.* The 'people's state' has been thrown in our faces by the Anarchists too long, although Marx's book against Proudhon and later *The Communist Manifesto* definitely declared that *with the introduction of the socialist social order the state will dissolve of itself [sich auflöst] and disappear.* As, therefore, the state is only a transitional institution which is used in the struggle, in the revolution, in order to hold down one's adversaries by force, it is pure nonsense to talk about a 'free people's state'; so long as the proletariat still *uses* the state it does *not use it in the interests of freedom, but in order to hold down its adversaries, and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom, the state, as such, ceases to exist.* We would therefore propose to replace the word 'state' everywhere by the word '*Gemeinwesen*' ['community'], a good old German word which can very well represent the French word 'commune'." * [*Engels' italics.*]

This is, perhaps, the most remarkable, and certainly the most pronounced passage, so to speak, in the works of Marx and Engels "*against* the state."

1. "The whole talk about the state should be dropped."
2. "The Commune was *no longer* a state in the proper sense of the word." (What was it, then? A transitional form from the state to no state, obviously!)
3. The "people's state" has been "thrown in our faces" (*in die Zähne geworfen*, literally—thrown in our teeth) by the Anarchists too long (that is, Marx and Engels were ashamed of the obvious mistake made by their German friends; but they regarded it, and of course, *in the circumstances that then existed*, correctly regarded it as a far less serious mistake than that made by the Anarchists. (This N.B.!!))
4. The state will "disintegrate ('dissolve') (*Nota Bene*) of itself and dis-

* See *Correspondence of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, pp. 336-37.—Ed.

appear..." (compare later "will wither away") "with the introduction of the socialist social order..."

5. The state is a "temporary institution," which is used "in the struggle, in the revolution"... (used by the *proletariat*, of course)....

6. The state is not used in the interests of *freedom*, but for *holding down* (*Niederhaltung* is not suppression in the proper sense of the word, but preventing restoration, keeping in submission) the *adversaries of the proletariat*.

7. When there will be freedom, there will be no state.

8. "We" (*i.e.*, Engels and *Marx*) "would propose to replace the word 'state' everywhere (in the program) by the word '*Gemeinwesen*,' 'community,' 'commune' "!!!

This shows to what extent Marx and Engels were vulgarized and defiled, not only by the opportunists, but also by Kautsky.

The opportunists have not understood a single one of these eight rich ideas!! They have taken *only* what is practically necessary for the present time: to utilize the political struggle, to utilize the *present* state to educate, to train the proletariat, to "wrest concessions." That is correct (as against the Anarchists), but that is only one hundredth part of Marxism, if one can thus express it arithmetically.

In his propagandist works, and publications generally, Kautsky has completely ignored (or forgotten? or not understood?) points 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, and the "*zerbrechen*" of Marx (in his controversy with Pannekoek in 1912 or 1913, Kautsky (see below, pp. 45-47) completely dropped into opportunism on this question)....

What distinguishes us from the Anarchists is (α) the use of the state *now* and (β) during the proletarian *revolution* (the "dictatorship of the proletariat")—points of extreme and immediate importance in practice. (But it is these very points that Bukharin *forgot*.)

What distinguishes us from the opportunists is the more profound, "more permanent" truths regarding ($\alpha\alpha$) the "temporary" nature of the state, ($\beta\beta$) the *harm* of "chatter" about it now, ($\gamma\gamma$) the not entirely state character of the dictatorship of the proletariat, ($\delta\delta$) the contradiction between the state and freedom, ($\epsilon\epsilon$) the more correct idea (concept, program term) "community" instead of state, ($\zeta\zeta$) "smashing" (*zerbrechen*) of the bureaucratic-military machine. It must not be forgotten also that the avowed opportunists in Germany (Bernstein, Kolb, etc.) directly repudiate the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, and the official program and Kautsky indirectly repudiate it, by not saying anything about it in their day-to-day agitation and *tolerating* the renegacy of Kolb and Co.

In August 1916, Bukharin was written to: "allow your ideas about the state to *mature*." *Without*, however, allowing them to mature, he broke into print, as "*Nota Bene*" and did it in such a way that, instead of exposing the Kautskyists, he *helped them* with his mistakes!! Yet, as a matter of fact, Bukharin is nearer to the truth than Kautsky. (*V. I. Lenin*.)

Such is the brief history of the theoretical controversy on the question of the state.

The matter, it seems, should be clear: Bukharin made semi-Anarchist mistakes—it is time to correct those mistakes and proceed further in the footsteps of Lenin. But only Leninists can think like that. Bukharin, it appears, does not agree. On the contrary, he asserts that it was not he who was mistaken, but Lenin; that it was not he who followed, or ought to have followed, in the footsteps of Lenin, but, on the contrary, Lenin was compelled to follow in the footsteps of Bukharin. You do not believe this, comrades? Well, listen further. After the controversy in 1916, nine years later, during which interval Bukharin maintained silence, and *a year after the death of Lenin*—namely, in 1925—Bukharin published an article in the magazine *Revolutsia Prava* [*Revolution of Law*], entitled “The Theory of the Imperialist State,” which previously had been rejected by the editors of the magazine *Sbornik Sotsial Demokrata* (*i.e.*, by Lenin). In a *footnote* to this article Bukharin bluntly declares that not Lenin was right in this controversy, but he, Bukharin. That may seem incredible, comrades, but it is a fact.

Listen to the text of this footnote:

V.I. (*i.e.*, Lenin) wrote a short article in opposition to the article in *Youth International*. The reader will easily see that I had not made the mistake attributed to me, for I clearly saw the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat; on the other hand, from Ilyich’s article it will be seen that at that time he was *wrong about the thesis on “blowing up” the state* (bourgeois state, of course), *and confused that question with the question of the withering away of the dictatorship of the proletariat*. [My italics.—J.S.] Perhaps I should have enlarged on the question of the dictatorship more at that time. But in justification I may say that *at that time* there was such a wholesale exaltation of the bourgeois state by the Social-Democrats that it was natural to concentrate all attention on the question of *blowing up* that machine.

When I arrived in Russia from America and saw Nadezhda Konstantinovna* (that was at our illegal Sixth Congress and at that time V.I. was in hiding) her first words were: “V.I. asked me to tell you that he has no disagreements with you now over the question of the state.” Studying this question, *Ilyich came to the same conclusion* regarding “blowing up,” but he developed this theme, and later the theory of the dictatorship, to such an extent as to create a whole epoch in the development of theoretical thought in this field. [My italics.—J.S.]

This is what Bukharin writes about Lenin *a year after Lenin’s death*.

* Krupskaya —Ed

Here you have a pretty example of the hypertrophied pretentiousness of a half-educated theoretician.

Very likely Nadezhda Konstantinovna did tell Bukharin what he writes here. But what conclusions can be drawn from this fact? The only conclusion that can be drawn is that Lenin had certain reasons for believing that Bukharin had renounced or was ready to renounce his mistakes. That is all. But Bukharin thought differently. He decided that henceforth, not Lenin, but he, *i.e.*, Bukharin, was to be regarded as the creator, or, at least, the inspirer of the Marxian theory of the state.

Hitherto we have regarded ourselves, and we continue to regard ourselves, as Leninists. But it now appears that both Lenin and we, his disciples, are Bukharinists. Rather funny, comrades. But that's what happens when we have to deal with Bukharin's puffed-up pretentiousness.

It might be thought that Bukharin's footnote to the article above-mentioned was a slip of the pen, as it were; that he wrote something silly, and then forgot about it. But that does not seem to be the case. Bukharin, it turns out, spoke in all seriousness. That is evident, for example, from the fact that the statement he made in this footnote regarding Lenin's *mistakes* and Bukharin's *correctness* was reproduced recently, namely, in 1927, *i.e.*, two years after Bukharin's first sortie against Lenin, in a biographical sketch of Bukharin written by Maretsky, and it never occurred to Bukharin to protest against the... boldness of Maretsky. Obviously Bukharin's attack on Lenin cannot be regarded as accidental.

It appears, therefore, that Bukharin is right, and not Lenin, that the inspirer of the Marxian theory of the state is not Lenin, but Bukharin.

Such, comrades, is the picture of the theoretical twists and the theoretical pretensions of Bukharin.

And after all this the man has the presumption to say in his speech here that there is "something rotten" in the theoretical position of our party, that there is a deviation towards Trotskyism in the theoretical position of our party. And this is said by the very Bukharin who is making (and has made in the past) a number of gross theoretical and practical mistakes, who only recently was a pupil of Trotsky, who only the other day was seeking to form a bloc with the Trotskyites against the Leninists and was paying them visits by the back door. Is this not funny, comrades?

A Five-Year Plan or a Two-Year Plan

Permit me now to pass on to Rykov's speech. While Bukharin tried to provide the theoretical grounds for the Right deviation, Rykov attempted in his speech to put it on the basis of practical proposals and to frighten us with "horrors" drawn from our difficulties in the sphere of agriculture. That does not mean that Rykov did not touch upon theoretical questions. He did touch upon them. But in doing so he made at least two serious mistakes.

In his draft resolution on the Five-Year Plan, which was rejected by the commission of the Political Bureau, Rykov says that "the central idea of the Five-Year Plan is to increase the productivity of national labor." In spite of the fact that the commission of the Political Bureau rejected this absolutely false position, Rykov defended it here in his speech. Is it true that the central idea of the Five-Year Plan in the *Land of Soviets* is to increase the productivity of labor? No, it is not true. It is not *any kind* of increase in the productivity of national labor that we need. What we need is a *specific* increase in the productivity of national labor, namely, an increase that will guarantee the *systematic supremacy of the socialist sector of national economy over the capitalist sector*. That is the point, comrades. A Five-Year Plan which overlooks this central idea is not a five-year plan, but five-year rubbish. Every society, capitalist and pre-capitalist society included, is interested in increasing the productivity of labor in general. The difference between *Soviet* society and every other society lies in the very fact that it is interested, not in any kind of increase of productivity of labor, but in such an increase as will guarantee the supremacy of socialist forms of economy over other forms, and, primarily, over capitalist forms of economy, and will thus guarantee that the capitalist forms of economy will be overcome and eliminated. But Rykov forgot this really central idea of the Five-Year Plan of development of *Soviet* society. That is his first theoretical mistake.

His second mistake is that he does not distinguish, or does not want to understand the distinction—from the point of view of the exchange of goods—between, let us say, a collective farm and all kinds of individual enterprises, including individual capitalist enterprises. Rykov assures us that from the point of view of trade on the grain market, from the point of view of obtaining grain, he does not see any difference between a collective farm and a private holder of grain; to him, therefore, it is a matter of indifference whether we buy grain from a collective farm, or from a private holder, or from an Argentine grain merchant. That is

wrong, comrades. It is absolutely wrong. It is a repetition of the well-known statement of Frumkin who some time ago assured us that it was a matter of indifference to him where and from whom we buy grain, from a private dealer or from a collective farm. That is a masked form of defense, of rehabilitation, of justification of the machinations of the kulak on the grain market. The fact that this defense is conducted from the point of view of the exchange of goods does not alter the fact that it is, nevertheless, a justification of the machinations of the kulak on the grain market. If there is no difference between collective and non-collective forms of agriculture from the point of view of the exchange of goods is it worth while developing collective farms, is it worth while granting them privileges, is it worth while devoting ourselves to the difficult task of overcoming the capitalist elements in agriculture? It is obvious that Rykov has taken a wrong stand. This is his second theoretical mistake.

But this is in passing. Let us examine the practical questions raised in Rykov's speech.

Rykov said here that in addition to the Five-Year Plan we need another, a parallel plan, namely, a two-year plan for the development of agriculture. He justified this proposal for a parallel two-year plan on the grounds of the difficulties experienced in agriculture. He said: the Five-Year Plan was a good thing and he was in favor of it; but if at the same time we drew up a two-year plan for agriculture it would be still better—otherwise agriculture would be stranded. On the face of it there appears to be nothing wrong with this proposal. But when we examine it more closely we find that the two-year plan for agriculture was invented in order to point out that the Five-Year Plan was unfeasible, a plan merely on paper, whereas a two-year plan is feasible. Could we agree to that? Obviously, we could not. We said to Rykov: If you are dissatisfied with the Five-Year Plan with regard to agriculture, if you think that the funds we are assigning in the Five-Year Plan for developing agriculture are inadequate, then tell us openly what your additional proposals are, what additional investments you propose—we are ready to put these additional investments in agriculture into the Five-Year Plan. And what did we find? We found that Rykov had no additional proposals to make about additional investments in agriculture. The question, therefore, is: why the parallel two-year plan for agriculture? We also said to him: In addition to the Five-Year Plan there are yearly plans which are part of the Five-Year Plan. Let us put into the first two yearly plans the concrete additional proposals for developing agriculture that you have

to make, that is, if Rykov has any such proposals to make. And what did we find? We found that Rykov had no concrete proposals for additional appropriations to make. We then realized that Rykov's proposal for a two-year plan was not made for the purpose of developing agriculture, but sprang from a desire to point out that the Five-Year Plan was unfeasible, a plan merely on paper, from a desire to discredit the Five-Year Plan. For "conscience" sake, for appearance's sake, a Five-Year Plan; but for work, for practical purposes, a two-year plan—that was Rykov's strategy. Rykov brought the two-year plan on the scene in order subsequently, during the practical work of carrying out the Five-Year Plan, to oppose it to the Five-Year Plan, to reconstruct the Five-Year Plan and adapt it to the two-year plan by cutting down and curtailing the appropriations for industry.

It was on these grounds that we rejected Rykov's proposal for a parallel two-year plan.

The Question of the Crop Area

Rykov tried to frighten the party here by asserting that the crop area throughout the U.S.S.R. reveals a steady tendency to diminish. Moreover, he threw out the hint that the policy of the party was responsible for the diminution of the crop area. He did not say outright that we are faced with deterioration; but the impression left by his speech is that something like deterioration is taking place. Is it true that the crop area is showing a steady tendency to diminish? No, it is not. Rykov quoted average figures of the crop area for the country. But the method of using average figures, if it is not corrected by figures for the individual districts, is not a scientific method. Rykov has probably read Lenin's *Development of Capitalism*. If he has read it he ought to remember how Lenin inveighed against the bourgeois economists for using the method of average figures showing the expansion of the crop area and ignoring the figures for the individual districts. It is strange that Rykov should now repeat the mistakes of the bourgeois economists. Now, if we examine the movement of the crop area according to districts, *i.e.*, if we approach the matter scientifically, it will be seen that in certain districts the crop area is expanding *steadily*, while in others it *sometimes* diminishes, depending chiefly on meteorological conditions, and that, moreover, there are no facts to indicate that there is a steady diminution of the crop area anywhere, even in a single important grain-growing district.

Indeed, there has recently been a decrease in the crop area in districts

which have been affected by frost or drought, in certain regions of the Ukraine, for instance.

A voice: But not the whole Ukraine.

Schlichter: In the Ukraine the crop area has increased 2.7 per cent.

Stalin: I am referring to the steppe regions of the Ukraine. In other districts, for instance, in Siberia, the Volga region, Kazakhstan, Bashkiria, which were not affected by unfavorable climatic conditions, the crop area has been steadily expanding. How is it that in certain districts the crop area is steadily expanding, while in others it sometimes diminishes? It cannot really be asserted that the party has one policy in the Ukraine and another in the East or midlands of the U.S.S.R. That would be absurd, comrades. Obviously climatic conditions play no unimportant part in this.

It is true that the kulaks are withdrawing land from cultivation irrespective of climatic conditions. There, if you like, the policy of the party, which is to support the poor and middle peasant masses *against* the kulak, is "to blame." But what if it is? Did we ever undertake to pursue a policy which would satisfy all the social groups in the rural districts, including the kulaks? And, in general, can we possibly pursue a policy which would satisfy both the exploiters and the exploited—that is, if we are at all bent on pursuing a Marxian policy? What, then, is there strange in the fact that, as a result of our Leninist policy, which is intended to restrict and overcome the capitalist elements in the rural districts, the kulaks begin partly to reduce the area of their crops? What else would you expect? Is our policy wrong, perhaps? Then let it be said outright. Is it not strange that people who call themselves Marxists are so frightened as to claim that the partial withdrawal by the kulaks of land from cultivation signifies a decrease of the crop area *in general*, forgetting that apart from the kulaks there are also poor and middle peasants whose crop area is expanding, that there are collective farms and state farms whose area under cultivation is growing at an increasing rate?

Finally, I will mention another error which Rykov made in his speech regarding the crop area. Rykov complained here that in certain places, namely, where the collective farm movement is greatly developed, the tilled area of the individual poor and middle peasants is beginning to diminish. That is true. But what is wrong with that? How could it be otherwise? If the poor and middle-peasant farms are beginning to abandon individual tillage and are changing over to collective farming, is it not obvious that the expansion and multiplication of collective farms is bound to result in a certain decrease of the area of individual tillage of

the poor and middle peasants? What would you have? The collective farms now cover over two million hectares of land. At the end of the Five-Year Plan period, the collective farms will cover more than twenty-five million hectares. At whose expense is the tilled area of the collective farms expanding? At the expense of area tilled by individual poor and middle peasants. But what would you have? How else is the individual farming of the poor and middle peasants to be transferred to the lines of collective farming? Is it not obvious that in a large number of regions the tilled area of the collective farms will expand at the expense of individual tillage? Strange that people will not understand such elementary things.

The Grain-Purchasing Campaign

A pack of fables has been told here about our grain difficulties. But the main features of our present, temporary, grain difficulties have been lost sight of. First of all, it has been forgotten that this year we harvested about 500,000,000 to 600,000,000 poods of rye and wheat—I refer to the gross harvest—less than last year. Could this fail to affect our grain purchases? Of course it could not but affect them. Perhaps the policy of the Central Committee is responsible for this? No, the policy of the Central Committee has nothing to do with it. It is due to the serious failure of the crops in the steppe regions of the Ukraine (frost and drought), and to a partial failure of the crops in the North Caucasus, the Central Black Earth Region, and, finally, in the Northwestern Region. This is the principal reason why by April 1 last year we had purchased grain (rye and wheat) in the Ukraine to the amount of 200,000,000 poods, whereas this year we purchased only 26,000,000 to 27,000,000 poods. This also explains the drop in the wheat and rye purchases in the Central Black Earth Region to about one-eighth and in the North Caucasus to one-fourth. In certain regions in the East, grain purchases this year almost doubled. But this could not compensate, and, of course, did not compensate, for the grain deficit in the Ukraine, the North Caucasus and in the Central Black Earth Region. It must not be forgotten that in normal harvest years the Ukraine and the North Caucasus provide more than one-half, and sometimes two-thirds, of the total grain purchased in the U.S.S.R. Strange that Rykov lost sight of this fact.

Finally, the second circumstance, which represents the chief factor in our temporary grain-purchasing difficulties. I refer to the resistance of the kulaks and the well-to-do elements in the rural districts to the grain-purchasing policy of the Soviet government. Rykov ignored this cir-

cumstance. But to ignore it means to ignore the most important factor in the grain-purchasing campaign. What does the experience of the grain-purchasing campaigns of the past two years show? It shows that the well-to-do sections of the rural districts who hold considerable grain surpluses and who play a dominating role in the grain market refuse to deliver voluntarily the necessary quantity of grain at the prices fixed by the Soviet government. In order to provide bread for the towns and industrial centers, for the Red Army and the regions growing industrial crops, we require about 500,000,000 poods of grain annually. We are able to purchase 300,000,000 to 350,000,000 poods of grain which is delivered voluntarily. The remaining 150,000,000 have to be secured by exerting organized pressure on the kulaks and the well-to-do strata of the rural population. That is what the experience of the grain-purchasing campaigns of the past two years show.

What has occurred during these two years? Why these changes? Why was the amount of grain delivered voluntarily adequate in former years, and why is it inadequate this year? The reason is that during these years the kulak and well-to-do elements have grown, the series of good harvests has not been without benefit to them, they have become stronger economically; they have accumulated a little capital and now are in a position to maneuver in the market; they hold back their grain surpluses in expectation of higher prices, and trade in other products. Grain is not an ordinary commodity. Grain is not like cotton, which cannot be eaten and which cannot be sold to everybody. Unlike cotton, grain, under our present conditions, is a commodity which everybody will take and without which it is impossible to exist. The kulak knows this and holds back his grain, and other grain holders are infected by his example. The kulak knows that grain is the currency of currencies. The kulak knows that a surplus of grain is not only a means of self-enrichment, but also a means of enslaving the poor peasant. Under present conditions, grain surpluses in the hands of the kulak are a means of economically and politically strengthening the kulak elements. Therefore, by taking the grain surpluses from the kulaks, we not only facilitate the supply of grain to the towns and the Red Army, but we also destroy a means whereby the kulaks may become economically and politically strong.

What must be done to obtain these grain surpluses? We must, first of all, abolish the harmful and dangerous mentality of waiting for the spontaneous delivery of grain. Grain purchases must be *organized*. The poor and middle-peasant masses must be mobilized against the kulaks, and their public support for the measures adopted by the Soviet govern-

ment for increasing the grain purchases must be organized. The significance of the Urals and Siberian method of purchasing grain, which is based on the principle of self-imposed obligations, lies precisely in the fact that it permits of the mobilization of the laboring strata of the rural population against the kulaks for the purpose of increasing the grain purchases. Experience has shown that this method produces good results. Experience has shown that these good results are obtained in two directions: first, we extract the grain surpluses from the well-to-do strata of the rural population and thereby help to supply the country; secondly, we mobilize in this cause the poor and middle-peasant masses against the kulaks, educate them politically and organize them into a vast, powerful, political army following us in the rural districts. Certain comrades fail to realize the importance of this latter factor. Yet it is one of the most important results, if not the most important result, of the Urals-Siberian method of grain-purchasing. It is true that this method is sometimes coupled with the employment of emergency measures against the kulaks, which calls forth the comical wailings of Bukharin and Rykov. But what is wrong with that? Why should we not, sometimes, under certain conditions, employ emergency measures against our class enemy, against the kulaks? Why is it thought to be permissible to arrest urban profiteers by hundreds and exile them to the Turukhansk Territory, but not permissible to take the surplus grain from the kulaks—who are trying to seize the Soviet government by the throat and to enslave the poor peasants—by methods of public coercion, and at prices at which the poor and middle peasants sell their grain to our grain-purchasing organizations? What is the logic of this? Has our party ever declared that it is *on principle opposed* to the employment of emergency measures against the kulaks? Evidently, Rykov and Bukharin are *on principle* opposed to the employment of any emergency measures against the kulaks. But that is a bourgeois-liberal policy and not a Marxian policy. You cannot but know that after the introduction of N.E.P., Lenin even expressed himself in favor of a return to the Committees of Poor Peasants policy, under certain conditions, of course. And what indeed is the partial employment of emergency measures against the kulaks? Not even a drop in the ocean compared with the Committees of Poor Peasants policy.

The adherents of Bukharin's group hope to persuade the class enemy voluntarily to forego his interests and voluntarily to deliver his grain surpluses. They hope that the kulak, who has grown, who is able to hold out by selling other products and who conceals his grain surpluses—they hope that this kulak will give us his grain surpluses voluntarily at our

purchase prices. Have they lost their senses? Is it not obvious that they do not understand the mechanism of the class struggle, that they do not know what classes are? Do they know with what derision the kulaks treat our people and the Soviet government at village meetings called to assist the grain purchases? Have they heard of facts like the one, for instance, that happened in Kazakhstan, when one of our agitators tried for two hours to persuade the holders of grain to deliver that grain for feeding the country, and a kulak stepped forward with pipe in his mouth and said: "Do us a little dance, young fellow, and I will let you have a couple of poods of grain."

Voice: The swine!

Stalin: Try to persuade people like that. Class is class, comrades. You cannot get away from that truth. The Urals-Siberian method is a good one for the very reason that it helps to rouse the poor and middle-peasant masses against the kulaks, it helps to smash the resistance of the kulaks and compels them to deliver the grain surpluses to the organs of the Soviet government.

The most fashionable word just now among the New Opposition, among Bukharin's group, is the word "excesses," as applied to grain purchases. That word has become the most popular article among them, since it helps them to mask their own line. When they want to mask their own line they usually say: We, of course, are not opposed to pressure being brought to bear on the kulak, but we are opposed to the excesses which are being committed in this sphere and which hurt the middle peasant. They then go on to relate stories of the horrors of these excesses; they read letters from "peasants," panic-stricken letters from comrades, such as Markov, and they then draw the conclusion: the policy of bringing pressure to bear on the kulaks must be abandoned. This is the way it works out, if you please: *because* excesses are committed in carrying out a correct policy, *that correct policy must be abandoned*. That is the usual trick of the opportunists; on the pretext that excesses are committed in carrying out a correct line, abandon that line and adopt an opportunist line. Moreover, the members of Bukharin's group very carefully hush up the fact that there is another kind of excess, more dangerous and more harmful—namely, the excess in the direction of merging with the kulak, in the direction of adaptation to the wealthy strata of the rural population, in the direction of abandoning the revolutionary policy of the party for the opportunist policy of the Right deviationists.

Of course, we are all opposed to those excesses. None of us wants the

blows directed against the kulaks to affect the middle peasants. That is obvious, and there can be no doubt on this point. But we are most emphatically opposed to the attempts to use the chatter about excesses, which Bukharin's group so zealously indulges in, in order to secure the abandonment of the revolutionary policy of our party and the adoption of the opportunist policy of Bukharin's group. No, comrades, "that trick won't work here."

Mention at least one political measure taken by the party that has not been accompanied by excesses of one kind or another. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that we must combat excesses. But ought we *for this reason* decry the line itself, which is the only correct line? Take a measure like the introduction of the seven-hour day. There can be no doubt that this is one of the most revolutionary measures carried out by our party in recent years. Who does not know that this measure, which in itself is a most revolutionary one, is frequently accompanied by excesses, sometimes of a most objectionable kind? Does that mean that we ought to abandon the policy of the seven-hour day? Do the members of the New Opposition understand what a puddle they are slipping into in playing up the excesses committed during the grain-purchasing campaign?

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE RIGHT DEVIATION

Thus, we have examined all the main questions on which we differ in the sphere of theory, of international communist policy and of our party's internal policy. From what has been said it is evident that Rykov's statement to the effect that we have a *single* line does not conform to the truth. From what has been said it is evident that there are, in fact, *two* lines. One is the general line of our party, the revolutionary, Leninist line of our party. The other is the line of Bukharin's group. This second line is not yet clearly formulated, partly because of the incredible confusion of ideas that prevails in the ranks of Bukharin's group, and partly because, as this second line carries very little weight in the party, efforts are being made to mask it in one way or another. But, as you see, this second line nevertheless exists, and it exists as a line *distinct* from the line of the party, as a line *opposed* to the general line of the party on almost every question of our policy. This second line is fundamentally a line of *Right* deviation.

Bukharin spoke here of the "civil execution" of three members of the Political Bureau, who, he says, "were being picked to pieces" by the

organizations of our party. He said that the party had subjected these three members of the Political Bureau—Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsy—to “civil execution” by criticizing their errors in the press and at meetings, while they, the three members of the Political Bureau, were “compelled” to keep silent. That is nonsense, comrades. These are the false words of a communist gone liberal who is trying to weaken the party in its fight against the Right deviation.

According to Bukharin, even though he and his friends have become entangled in Right deviationist mistakes, the party has no right to expose these mistakes, the party must stop fighting the Right deviation and wait until it will please Bukharin and his friends to abandon their mistakes. Is not Bukharin asking too much? Is he not under the impression that the party exists for him, and not he for the party? Who is compelling him to keep silent, to remain in a state of inaction when the whole party is mobilized against the Right deviation and is conducting determined attacks against difficulties? Why should not he, Bukharin, and his close friends come forward now and engage in a determined fight against the Right deviation and the conciliationist tendency? Can anyone doubt that the party would welcome Bukharin and his close friends if they decided to take this, after all not so difficult, step? Why do they not decide to take this step, which, after all, is their duty? Is it not because they place the interests of their group above the interests of the party and its general line? Whose fault is it that Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsy are “absent” in the fight against the Right deviation? Is it not obvious that talk about the “civil execution” of the three members of the Political Bureau is a poorly concealed attempt on the part of the three members of the Political Bureau to compel the party to keep silent and to stop fighting against the Right deviation?

The fight against the Right deviation is not a secondary duty of our party. The fight against the Right deviation is one of the most decisive duties of our party. If we, in our own ranks, in our own party, in the political General Staff of the proletariat, which is directing the movement and is leading the proletariat forward—if we in this General Staff tolerated the free existence and the free functioning of the Right deviationists, who are trying to demobilize the party, to demoralize the working class, to adapt our policy to the tastes of the “Soviet” bourgeoisie, and thus yield to the difficulties of our construction—if we tolerated all this, what would it mean? Would it not mean that we want to send the revolution down hill, demoralize our socialist construction, flee from difficulties, surrender our positions to the capitalist elements? Does

Bukharin's group understand that to refuse to fight the Right deviation is to *betray* the working class, to *betray* the revolution? Does Bukharin's group understand that unless we overcome the Right deviation and the conciliationist tendency, it will be impossible to overcome the difficulties facing us, and that unless we overcome these difficulties it will be impossible to achieve decisive successes in socialist construction? Compared with this, what is the value of this pitiful talk about the "civil execution" of three members of the Political Bureau?

No, you will not frighten the party with liberal chatter about "civil execution." The party demands that you wage a determined struggle against the Right deviation and the conciliationist tendency side by side with all the members of the Central Committee of our party. It demands this of you in order to help to mobilize the working class, to organize the socialist offensive along the whole front, to break down the resistance of the class enemies and to make sure that the difficulties of our construction will be overcome. Either you carry out this demand of the party, in which case the party will welcome you; or you do not, in which case you will have only yourselves to blame.

A YEAR OF GREAT CHANGE

The past year witnessed a great change on all fronts of socialist construction. The change expressed itself, and is still expressing itself, in a determined *offensive* of socialism against the capitalist elements in town and country. The characteristic feature of this offensive is that it has already brought us a number of decisive *successes* in the principal spheres of the socialist reconstruction of our national economy.

We may therefore conclude that our party has made good use of the retreat effected during the first stages of the New Economic Policy in order to organize the *change* in the subsequent stages and to launch a *successful offensive* against the capitalist elements.

When the New Economic Policy was introduced Lenin said:

We are now retreating, going back, as it were; but we are doing this, retreating first, in order to prepare for a longer leap forward. It was only on this condition that we retreated in pursuing our New Economic Policy. . . . in order to start a persistent advance after our retreat. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. IX, p. 376.)

The results of the past year show beyond a doubt that the party is successfully carrying out this decisive advice of Lenin in the course of its work.

If we take the results of the past year in the sphere of economic construction, which is of decisive importance for us, we will find that the *successes* of our offensive on this front, our *achievements* during the past year, may be reduced to three main heads.

I. IN THE SPHERE OF PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOR

There can hardly be any doubt that one of the most important facts, if not the most important fact, of our construction during the past year is that we have succeeded in bringing about a *decisive change* in the sphere of productivity of labor. This change has found expression in an expansion of the *creative initiative* and intense *labor enthusiasm* of the vast masses of the working class on the front of socialist construction. This is our first *fundamental achievement* during the past year.

The expansion of the creative initiative and labor enthusiasm of the masses has been stimulated by three main factors: (a) the fight—by means of *self-criticism*—against bureaucracy, which shackles the labor initiative and labor activity of the masses; (b) the fight—by means of *socialist emulation*—against the labor shirkers and disrupters of proletarian labor discipline; and finally (c) the fight—by the introduction of the *uninterrupted week* *—against routine and inertia in industry. As a result we have a tremendous achievement on the labor front in the form of labor enthusiasm and emulation among the millions of the working class in all parts of our vast country. The significance of this achievement is truly inestimable, for only the labor enthusiasm and zeal of the millions can guarantee the progressive increase of labor productivity without which the final victory of socialism over capitalism is inconceivable.

In the last analysis [says Lenin], productivity of labor is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system. Capitalism created a productivity of labor unknown under serfdom. Capitalism can be utterly vanquished, and will be utterly vanquished, by the fact that socialism creates a new and much higher productivity of labor. (*Ibid.*, p. 438.)

Proceeding from this Lenin considered that:

We must become imbued with the labor enthusiasm, the will to work, the persistence upon which the early salvation of the workers and peasants, the salvation of the national economy now depend. (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russian ed., Vol. XXV, p. 477.)

That is the task Lenin set our party.

The past year has shown that the party is successfully carrying out this task and is resolutely overcoming the obstacles that stand in its path.

Such is the position regarding our party's first important achievement during the past year.

II. IN THE SPHERE OF INDUSTRIAL CONSTRUCTION

Inseparably connected with the first achievement of the party is the second achievement. This second achievement of the party consists in the fact that during the past year we have in the main successfully solved the *problem of accumulation* for capital construction in heavy industry; we have *accelerated* the development of the production of means of pro-

*The arrangement of the work at the factory in such a way that the workers get their weekly rest day in turns, while the factory as a whole works without interruption.—*Ibid.*

duction and have created the prerequisites for transforming our country into a *metal* country. This is our second fundamental *achievement* during the past year.

The problem of light industry presents no exceptional difficulties. We solved that problem several years ago. The problem of heavy industry is more difficult and more important. It is *more difficult* because it demands colossal investments of capital, and, as the history of industrially backward countries has shown, heavy industry cannot be developed without extensive long-term loans. It is *more important* because, unless we develop heavy industry, we can build no industry whatever, we cannot carry out any industrialization. And as we have never received, nor are we receiving, either long-term loans or credits for any lengthy period, the acuteness of the problem becomes more than obvious. It is precisely for this reason that the capitalists of all countries refuse us loans and credits; they believe that, left to our own resources, we cannot cope with the problem of accumulation, that we are bound to fail in the task of reconstructing our heavy industry, and will at last be compelled to come to them cap in hand and sell ourselves into bondage.

But the results of the past year tell us a different story. The significance of the results of the past year lies in the fact that the calculations of Messieurs the capitalists have been shattered. The past year has shown that in spite of the open and covert financial blockade of the U.S.S.R. we did not sell ourselves into bondage to the capitalists; that, with our own resources, we successfully solved the problem of accumulation and laid the foundation for heavy industry. Even the most inveterate enemies of the working class cannot deny this now. Indeed, since capital investments in large-scale industry last year amounted to over 1,600,000,000 rubles (of which about 1,300,000,000 rubles were invested in heavy industry), and capital investments in large-scale industry this year will amount to over 3,400,000,000 rubles (of which over 2,500,000,000 rubles will be invested in heavy industry); and since the gross output of large-scale industry last year showed an increase of 23 per cent, including a 30 per cent increase in the output of heavy industry, and the increase in the gross output of large-scale industry this year should be 32 per cent, including a 46 per cent increase in the output of heavy industry—is it not obvious that the problem of accumulation for the building up of heavy industry no longer presents insuperable difficulties? How can anyone doubt that in developing our heavy industry, we are advancing at an accelerated pace, exceeding our former speed and leaving behind our “traditional” backwardness?

Is it surprising after this that the estimates of the Five-Year Plan were

exceeded during the past year, and that the *optimum* variant of the Five-Year Plan, which the bourgeois scribes regarded as "wild fantasy," and which horrified our Right opportunists (Bukharin's group), has actually turned out to be a *minimum* variant?

The salvation of Russia [says Lenin] lies not only in a good harvest on the peasant farms—that is not enough; and not only in the good condition of light industry, which provides the peasantry with consumers' goods—this, too, is not enough. We also need *heavy* industry. . . . Unless we save heavy industry, unless we restore it, we shall not be able to build up any industry; and without heavy industry we shall be doomed as an independent country. . . . Heavy industry needs state subsidies. If we cannot provide them, then we are doomed as a civilized state—let alone as a socialist state. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 328.)

These are the blunt terms in which Lenin formulated the problem of accumulation and the task of our party in building up heavy industry.

The past year has shown that our party is successfully coping with this task, resolutely overcoming all obstacles in its path.

This does not mean, of course, that industry will not encounter any more serious difficulties. The task of building up heavy industry involves not only the problem of accumulation. It also involves the problem of cadres, the problem (a) of *enlisting* tens of thousands of Soviet-minded technicians and experts for the work of socialist construction, and (b) of *training* new Red technicians and Red experts from among the working class. While the problem of accumulation may in the main be regarded as solved, the problem of cadres still awaits solution. And the problem of cadres is now—when we are engaged in the technical reconstruction of industry—the decisive problem of socialist construction.

What we chiefly lack [says Lenin] is culture, administrative ability. . . . Economically and politically the New Economic Policy ensures us every possibility of building the foundations of socialist economy. It is "only" a matter of educated forces of the proletariat and its vanguard. (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russian ed., Vol. XXVII, p. 207.)

It is obvious that Lenin refers here primarily to the problem of "educated forces," the problem of the cadres required for economic construction in general, and for the building and administration of industry in particular.

But from this it follows that, in spite of important achievements in the sphere of accumulation, which is of vital significance for heavy industry,

the problem of building heavy industry cannot be regarded as fully solved until we have solved the problem of cadres.

Hence it is the duty of our party to grapple with the problem of cadres in all seriousness and to conquer this fortress at all costs.

Such is the position regarding our party's second achievement during the past year.

III. IN THE SPHERE OF AGRICULTURAL CONSTRUCTION

Finally, about the third achievement of our party during the past year, an achievement organically connected with the two first achievements. I have in mind the *radical change* that has taken place in the development of our agriculture from small, backward, *individual* farming to large-scale, advanced *collective* agriculture, to cultivation of the land in common, to machine and tractor stations, to artels and collective farms based on modern technique, and, finally, to giant state farms, equipped with hundreds of tractors and harvester combines. The achievement of the party consists in the fact that we have succeeded in *turning* the bulk of the peasantry in a large number of regions away from the old, *capitalist* path of development—which benefited only a small group of rich capitalists, while the vast majority of the peasants were compelled to linger in poverty—to the new, *socialist* path of development, which squeezes out the rich, the capitalists, and arms the middle and poor peasants with modern equipment, with modern implements, with tractors and agricultural machinery, thus enabling them to climb out of poverty and of bondage to the kulaks onto the high road of co-operative, collective cultivation of the land. The achievement of the party consists in the fact that we have succeeded in penetrating the very depths of the peasantry with this *radical change* and in having secured the following of the broad masses of the poor and middle peasants in spite of incredible difficulties, in spite of the desperate resistance of all the forces of darkness, from kulaks and priests to philistines and Right opportunists.

Here are a few figures. In 1928, the crop area of the state farms amounted to 1,425,000 hectares with a grain output for the market of more than 600,000 tons (over 36,000,000 poods), and the crop area of the collective farms amounted to 1,390,000 hectares with a grain output for the market of about 350,000 tons (over 20,000,000 poods). In 1929 the crop area of the state farms amounted to 1,816,000 hectares with a grain output for the market of about 800,000 tons (nearly 47,000,000 poods), and the

crop area of the collective farms amounted to 4,262,000 hectares with a grain output for the market of about 1,300,000 tons (nearly 78,000,000 poods). In the coming year, 1930, according to the control figures, the crop area of the state farms should amount to 3,280,000 hectares with a grain output of 1,800,000 tons (approximately 110,000,000 poods) available for the market, and the crop area of the collective farms should amount to 15,000,000 hectares with a grain output of 4,900,000 tons (approximately 300,000,000 poods) available for the market. In other words, in 1930, the grain output of the state farms and collective farms available for the market should amount to over 400,000,000 poods or more than 50 per cent of the marketable grain output of the *whole* of agriculture (grain sold outside of the rural districts).

It must be admitted that such an impetuous speed of development is unequalled even in our socialized large-scale industry, which in general is noted for its outstanding speed of development.

Is it not obvious that our young large-scale socialist agriculture (the collective farms and state farms) has a great future before it and will display miracles of growth?

This unprecedented success in the development of collective farming is due to a variety of causes, of which the following at least should be mentioned.

It is due, first of all, to the fact that our party carried out Lenin's policy of educating the masses, of consistently leading the masses of the peasantry to collective farming through the spread of the co-operative movement. It is due also to the fact that the party waged a successful struggle against those who tried to run ahead of the movement and force the development of collective farming by means of decrees (the "Left" phrasemongers) as well as against those who tried to drag the party back and remain at the tail of the movement (the Right blockheads). Had it not pursued such a policy the party would not have been able to transform the collective farm movement into a real movement of the peasant masses themselves.

... When the Petrograd¹ proletariat and the soldiers of the Petrograd garrison took power [said Lenin], they fully realized that our constructive work would encounter greater difficulties in the countryside; that here one must proceed more gradually; that to attempt to introduce common cultivation of the land by decrees and legislation would be the height of folly; that an insignificant number of enlightened peasants might agree to this, but that the vast majority of the peasants had no such object in view. We therefore confined ourselves to that which was absolutely essential in the interests of the development of the revolution, namely, in no case to endeavor to outrun

the development of the masses, but to wait until, as a result of their own experience and their own struggles, a progressive movement grew up. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, p. 490.)

The reason why the party achieved this great victory on the front of collective farm development is that it observed the tactical advice of Lenin to the letter.

Secondly, this unprecedented success in agricultural construction is due to the fact that the Soviet government paid proper heed to the growing needs of the peasants for new implements, for modern technique; it took proper cognizance of the hopeless position of the peasants under the old methods of farming; and, having taken cognizance of all this, it came to their aid in good time by organizing machine-hiring stations, tractor columns and machine and tractor stations; organizing common cultivation of the land, establishing collective farms, and, finally, arranging for the state farms to give every assistance to peasant farming. For the first time in the history of mankind a government appeared, the government of the Soviets, which has proved by deeds its readiness and ability to give systematic and lasting assistance to the laboring masses of the peasantry in the sphere of *production*. Is it not obvious that the masses of laboring peasants, suffering from age-long lack of equipment as they do, could not but clutch at this assistance and join the collective farming movement? And it will not be surprising if henceforth the old slogan of the workers, "face the village," will, as it seems likely, be supplemented by the new slogan of collective farm peasants, "face the town."

Finally, this unprecedented success in collective farm development is due to the fact that the matter was taken in hand by the advanced workers of our country. I refer to the workers' brigades, tens and hundreds of which are scattered in the principal regions of our country. It must be admitted that of all existing and possible propagandists of the collective farm movement, the worker propagandists are the best propagandists among the peasant masses. What is there surprising in the fact that the workers have succeeded in convincing the peasants of the advantages of large-scale collective farming over individual small farming, the more so that the existing collective farms and state farms are striking examples demonstrating these advantages?

Such was the basis for our achievement in collective farm development, an achievement which, in my opinion, is the most important and decisive of all our achievements in recent years.

All the arguments of "science" against the possibility and expediency of creating large grain factories of fifty thousand to one hundred thou-

sand hectares each have collapsed and crumbled into dust. Practice has refuted the objections of "science," and has once again shown that not only has practice to learn from "science" but that "science" has a lot to learn from practice. Large grain factories do not take hold in capitalist countries. But our is not a capitalist country. This "slight" difference must not be overlooked. In capitalist countries large grain factories cannot be organized, for there private ownership of land exists and the organization of such grain factories would entail the purchase of quite a number of plots of land or the payment of absolute ground rent, which could not but impose a heavy burden on production. In our country neither absolute ground rent, nor the sale and purchase of land exist, for in our country there is no private ownership of land, and this cannot but create favorable conditions for the development of large grain farms. In capitalist countries the purpose of large-scale farming is to extract the maximum profit, or, at all events, to extract a profit equal to the so-called average rate of profit, without which, in fact, there would be no incentive to sink capital in large-scale grain production. In our country, on the contrary, the large grain farms, which are state enterprises, need neither a maximum of profit, nor the average rate of profit for their development; they can limit themselves to a minimum of profit, and sometimes even forego profits altogether, which again creates favorable conditions for the development of large grain farms. Finally, under capitalism large grain farms do not enjoy special credit privileges or special taxation privileges, whereas under the Soviet system, which is designed to support the socialist sector, such privileges exist and will continue to exist. Esteemed "science" forgot all this.

The assertions of the Right opportunists (Bukharin's group) to the effect (a) that the peasants would not join the collective farms; (b) that the speedy development of collective farming would only arouse mass discontent and drive a wedge between the peasantry and the working class, (c) that the "highroad" of socialist development in the rural districts is *not* the collective farms, *but* the co-operative societies; and (d) that the development of collective farming and the offensive against the capitalist elements in the rural districts may in the end deprive the country of grain altogether—all these assertions have also collapsed and crumbled to dust. They have all collapsed and crumbled to dust as old bourgeois-liberal rubbish.

First, the peasants have joined the collective farms; they have joined in whole villages, whole *volosts*, whole districts.

Secondly, the mass collective farm movement is not weakening the

bond, but, on the contrary, is strengthening it by putting it on a new, production basis. Now even the blind can see that if there is any serious dissatisfaction among the great bulk of the peasantry it is not because of the collective farm policy of the Soviet government, but because the Soviet government is unable to keep pace with the growth of the collective farm movement in supplying the peasants with machines and tractors.

Thirdly, the controversy about the "highroad" of socialist development in the rural districts is a scholastic controversy, worthy of young petty-bourgeois liberals of the type of Eichenwald and Slepkov. It is obvious that, as long as there was no mass collective farm movement, the "highroad" was the lower form of the co-operative movement—supply and marketing co-operatives; but when the higher form of the co-operative movement—the collective farm—appeared, the latter became the "highroad" of development. The highroad (without quotation marks) of socialist development in the rural districts is Lenin's co-operative plan, which embraces all forms of agricultural co-operation, from the lowest (supply and marketing) to the highest (productive collective farms). To *draw a contrast* between collective farming and the co-operative societies is to make a mockery of Leninism and to acknowledge one's own ignorance.

Fourthly, now even the blind can see that without the offensive against the capitalist elements in the rural districts, and without the development of the collective-farm and state-farm movement, we would not have had the decisive successes achieved this year in the matter of grain collections, nor the tens of millions of poods of permanent grain reserves which have already accumulated in the hands of the state. Moreover, it can now be confidently asserted that, thanks to the growth of the collective farm and state farm movement, we are definitely emerging, or have already emerged, from the grain crisis. And if the development of the collective farms and state farms is accelerated, there is not the slightest ground for doubt that in about three years' time our country will be one of the largest grain countries in the world, if not *the* largest grain country in the world.

What is the *new* feature of the present collective farm movement? The new and decisive feature of the present collective farm movement is that the peasants are joining the collective farms not in separate groups, as was formerly the case, but in whole villages, whole *volosts*, whole districts, and even whole areas. And what does that mean? It means that *the middle peasant has joined the collective farm movement*. This is the basis of that radical change in the development of agriculture which represents the most important achievement of the Soviet government during the past year.

Trotskyism's Menshevik "conception" that the working class is incapable of leading the great bulk of the peasantry in the cause of socialist construction is collapsing and being smashed to atoms. Now even the blind can see that the middle peasant has turned towards the collective farm. Now it is obvious to all that the Five-Year Plan of industry and agriculture is a Five-Year Plan of building a socialist society, that those who do not believe in the possibility of building socialism in our country have no right to greet our Five-Year Plan.

The last hope of the capitalists of all countries, who are dreaming of restoring capitalism in the U.S.S.R.—"the sacred principle of private property"—is collapsing and vanishing. The peasants, whom they regarded as material for manuring the soil for capitalism, are abandoning *en masse* the lauded banner of "private property" and are taking the path of collectivism, the path of socialism. The last hope for the restoration of capitalism is crumbling.

This, by the way, explains the desperate attempts of the capitalist elements in our country to rouse all the forces of the old world against advancing socialism—attempts which have led to the intensification of the class struggle. Capital does not want "to grow into" socialism.

This also explains the furious howl against Bolshevism which has been raised recently by the watchdogs of capitalism, by the Struves, Hessens, Milyukovs, Kerenskys, Dans, Abramoviches and their ilk. The last hope for the restoration of capitalism is disappearing—that is no joke for them.

What else can be the meaning of the violent rage of our class enemies and the frenzied howling of the lackeys of capital but that our party has actually achieved a decisive victory on the most difficult front of socialist construction?

Only if we succeed [said Lenin] in proving to the peasants in practice the advantages of common, collective, cooperative, artel cultivation of the soil, only if we succeed in helping the peasants by means of cooperative or artel farming, will the working class, which holds the state power, be really able to convince the peasant of the correctness of its policy and to secure the real and durable following of the millions of peasants. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 198.)

That is how Lenin put the question as to the ways of winning the millions of peasants to the side of the working class, of the methods of transferring the peasants to the path of collective farm construction.

The past year has shown that our party is successfully coping with this task and is resolutely overcoming every obstacle standing in its path.

In a communist society [said Lenin], the middle peasants will be on our side only when we mitigate and ameliorate their economic conditions. If tomorrow we could supply one hundred thousand first-class tractors, provide them with fuel, provide them with drivers—you know very well that this at present is sheer fantasy—the middle peasant would say: “I am for the commune!” (*i.e.*, for communism). But in order to do that we must first defeat the international bourgeoisie, we must compel them to give us these tractors, or so develop our productive forces as to be able to provide them ourselves. That is the only correct way to pose this question. (*Ibid.*, p. 182.)

That is how Lenin put the question as to the ways and means of arming the middle peasant with modern technique, of winning him to the side of communism.

The past year has shown that the party is successfully coping with this task also. We know that by the spring of 1930 we shall have over 60,000 tractors in the fields, a year later we shall have over 100,000 tractors, and a year after that we shall have over 250,000 tractors. We are now able to accomplish and even to exceed what was considered “fantasy” several years ago.

And that is why the middle peasant has turned towards the “commune.”

Such is the position with regard to our party’s third achievement.

Such are the fundamental achievements of our party during the past year.

CONCLUSION

We are advancing full steam ahead along the path of industrialization—to socialism, leaving behind the age-long “Russian” backwardness. We are becoming a country of metal, a country of automobiles, a country of tractors. And when we have put the U.S.S.R. on an automobile, and the muzhik on a tractor, let the esteemed capitalists who boast so loudly of their “civilization,” try to overtake us! We shall see which countries may then be “classified” as backward and which as advanced.

PROBLEMS OF AGRARIAN POLICY IN THE U.S.S.R.

The main fact of our social-economic life at the present time, a fact which is attracting general attention, is the enormous growth of the collective farm movement.

The characteristic feature of the present collective farm movement is that not only are separate groups of poor peasants joining the collective farms, as has been the case hitherto, but that the mass of the middle peasants are also joining the collective farms. This means that the collective farm movement has been transformed from a movement of separate groups and sections of the laboring peasants into a movement of millions and millions, of the bulk of the peasantry. This, by the way, explains the tremendously important fact that the collective farm movement, which has assumed the character of a mighty and growing *anti-kulak* avalanche, is sweeping the resistance of the kulak from its path, is breaking kulakdom and clearing the road for extensive socialist construction in the rural districts.

But while we have reason to be proud of the *practical* successes achieved in socialist construction, the same cannot be said with regard to our *theoretical* work in the sphere of economics in general, and of agriculture in particular. Moreover, it must be admitted that theoretical thought is not keeping pace with our practical successes, that there is a certain gap between our practical successes and the development of theoretical thought. Yet our theoretical work must not only keep pace with practical work but must keep ahead of it and equip our practical workers for their fight for the victory of socialism.

I will not dwell at length here on the importance of theory. You are well aware of its importance. You know that theory, if it is genuine theory, gives practical workers the power of orientation, clarity of perspective, confidence in their work, faith in the victory of our cause. All this is, and cannot but be, of vast importance in our work of socialist construction. The unfortunate thing is that we are beginning to limp precisely in this sphere, in the sphere of the theoretical elaboration of the problems of our economy. How else can we explain the fact that in our

social-political life various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois theories on problems of our economy are still current? How can we explain the fact that these theories and would-be theories are not yet meeting with the proper rebuff? How can we explain the fact that a number of fundamental theses of Marxist-Leninist political economy, which are the most effective antidote to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois theories, are beginning to be forgotten, are not popularized in our press, are for some reason not placed in the foreground? Is it so difficult to understand that without a relentless struggle against bourgeois theories, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory, it will be impossible to achieve complete victory over our class enemies?

The new practice is giving rise to a new approach to the problems of the economy of the transition period. The problems of the New Economic Policy, of classes, of the rate of construction, of the bond with the peasantry, of party policy, are now presented in a new way. If we are not to lag behind practice we must immediately proceed to elaborate all these problems in the light of the new situation. Unless we do this it will be impossible to overcome the bourgeois theories which are clogging the minds of our practical workers. Unless we do this it will be impossible to eradicate these theories which have acquired the tenacity of prejudice. For only by combating bourgeois prejudices in the field of theory is it possible to consolidate the position of Marxism-Leninism.

Permit me now to characterize at least a few of these bourgeois prejudices which are called theories, and to demonstrate their unsoundness in the light of certain cardinal problems of our construction.

I. THE THEORY OF "EQUILIBRIUM"

You know, of course, that the so-called theory of the "equilibrium" between the sectors of our national economy is still current among Communists. This theory has, of course, nothing in common with Marxism. Nevertheless, this theory is advocated by a number of people in the camp of the Rights. According to this theory we have a socialist sector—which is one compartment, as it were—and a non-socialist or, if you like, a capitalist sector—which is another compartment. These two compartments move on different rails and glide peacefully forward, without touching one another. Geometry teaches that parallel lines do not meet. But the authors of this remarkable theory believe that these parallel lines will meet eventually, and when they meet we will have socialism. This theory loses sight of the fact that behind these so-called "compartments" there

are classes, and that these compartments move as a result of a fierce class struggle, a life and death struggle, a struggle on the principle of "who will win?"

It is not difficult to see that this theory has nothing in common with Leninism. It is not difficult to see that, objectively, the aim of this theory is to defend the position of individual peasant farming, to arm the kulak elements with a "new" theoretical weapon in their struggle against the collective farms and to jeopardize the position of the collective farms. Nevertheless, this theory is still current in our press. And it cannot be said that it is meeting with a serious rebuff, let alone a crushing rebuff, on the part of our theoreticians. How can this incongruity be explained if not by the backwardness of our theoretical thought?

And yet, all that was needed was to take from the treasury of Marxism the theory of reproduction and set it up against the theory of the equilibrium of the sectors to wipe out this latter theory without leaving a trace. Indeed, the Marxian theory of reproduction teaches that modern society cannot develop without accumulating from year to year; and accumulation is impossible unless there is expanded reproduction from year to year. This is clear and comprehensible. Our large-scale, centralized, socialist industry is developing according to the Marxian theory of expanded reproduction; for it is growing in volume from year to year, it has its accumulations and is advancing with seven-league strides. But our large-scale industry does not constitute the whole of our national economy. On the contrary, small peasant farming still predominates in our national economy. Can we say that our small peasant farming is developing according to the principle of expanded reproduction? No, we cannot say that. Not only is there no annual expanded reproduction in our small peasant farming, taken in the mass, but, on the contrary, it is not always able to obtain even simple reproduction. Can we advance our socialized industry at an accelerated rate while having to rely on an agricultural base, such as is provided by small peasant farming, which is incapable of expanded reproduction, and which, in addition, is the predominant force in our national economy? No, we cannot. Can the Soviet government and the work of socialist construction be, for any length of time, based on two *different* foundations: on the foundation of the most large-scale and concentrated socialist industry and on the foundation of the most scattered and backward, small-commodity peasant farming? No, they cannot. Sooner or later this would be bound to end in the complete collapse of the whole national economy. What, then, is the solution? The solution lies in enlarging the agricultural units, in making agricul-

ture capable of accumulation, of expanded reproduction, and in thus changing the agricultural base of our national economy. But how are the agricultural units to be enlarged? There are two ways of doing this. There is the *capitalist* way, which is to enlarge the agricultural units by introducing capitalism in agriculture—a way which leads to the impoverishment of the peasantry and to the development of capitalist enterprises in agriculture. We reject this way as incompatible with the Soviet economic system. There is a second way; the *socialist* way, which is to set up collective farms and state farms, the way which leads to the amalgamation of the small peasant farms into large collective farms, technically and scientifically equipped, and to the squeezing out of the capitalist elements from agriculture. We are in favor of this second way.

And so, the question stands as follows: either one way or the other, either *back*—to capitalism, or *forward*—to socialism. There is no third way, nor can there be. The “equilibrium” theory makes an attempt to indicate a third way. And precisely because it is based on a third (non-existent) way, it is utopian and anti-Marxian.

You see, therefore, that all that was needed was to set up Marx’s theory of reproduction against this theory of “equilibrium” between the sectors to wipe out this latter theory without leaving a trace.

Why, then, do our Marxist students of the agrarian question not do this? To whose interest is it that the ridiculous theory of “equilibrium” should have currency in our press while the Marxian theory of reproduction is kept hidden under a bushel?

II. THE THEORY OF “SPONTANEITY” IN SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

Let us now take up the second prejudice in political economy, the second theory of a bourgeois type. I have in mind the theory of “spontaneity” in socialist construction—a theory which has nothing in common with Marxism, but which is zealously advocated by the people belonging to the Right camp. The authors of this theory assert approximately the following: There was a time when capitalism existed in our country, industry developed on a capitalist basis, and the rural districts followed the capitalist towns spontaneously, automatically, changing in the image of the capitalist towns. Since *this* is what happened under capitalism, why should it not happen under the Soviet economic system as well, why should not the rural districts, small peasant farming, follow the socialist towns auto-

matically and change spontaneously in the image of the socialist towns? On these grounds the authors of this theory assert that the rural districts can follow the socialist towns spontaneously. Hence the question arises: Is it worth our while bothering about organizing state farms and collective farms; is it worth while breaking lances over this if the rural districts can follow the socialist towns without our interference?

Here you have another theory the aim of which, objectively, is to place a new weapon in the hands of the capitalist elements in the rural districts in their struggle against the collective farms. The anti-Marxian nature of this theory is beyond all doubt.

Is it not strange that our theoreticians have not yet taken the trouble to extirpate this queer theory which is clogging the minds of our practical workers on the collective farms?

There is no doubt that the leading role of the socialist towns in relation to the countryside, in which small-peasant farming predominates, is of great and inestimable value. It is upon this that the role of industry in transforming agriculture is based. But is this factor sufficient to cause the countryside, in which small-peasant farming predominates, to follow the towns in socialist construction of its own accord? No, it is not sufficient. Under capitalism the countryside followed the towns spontaneously because capitalist economy in the town and the small-commodity economy of the peasant are, at bottom, *the same type* of economy. Of course, small-peasant commodity economy is not yet capitalist economy. But it is, at bottom, the same type of economy as capitalist economy, for it rests on the private ownership of the means of production. Lenin was a thousand times right when, in his notes on Bukharin's *Economics of the Transition Period*, he referred to the "commodity-capitalist tendency of the peasantry" as opposed to the *socialist* tendency of the proletariat. [My italics.—J.S.] This explains why "small production *engenders* capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale." (*Lenin*.) Hence, can we regard small-commodity peasant economy as being, at bottom, the same type of economy as socialist production in the towns? Obviously, we cannot, unless we break with Marxism. Otherwise Lenin would not have said that "as long as we live in a country where small-peasant farming predominates, there is a firmer economic basis for capitalism in Russia than for communism." Consequently, the theory of "spontaneity" in socialist construction is a rotten anti-Leninist theory. Consequently, in order that the countryside, in which small-peasant farming predominates, may follow the socialist towns, it is necessary, apart from everything else, to *set up* in the countryside large-scale socialist farming

in the form of state farms and collective farms as the base of socialism, which—with the socialist towns in the lead—will be able to take the bulk of the peasantry *in tow*.

The matter is clear. The theory of “spontaneity” in socialist construction is an anti-Marxian theory. The socialist towns must *lead* the countryside, in which small-peasant farming predominates, *set up* collective farms and state farms in the rural districts and reorganize the rural districts on a new, socialist, basis.

It is strange that the anti-Marxian theory of “spontaneity” in socialist construction has not yet met with a proper rebuff from our theoreticians in the sphere of the agrarian question.

III. THE THEORY OF THE “STABILITY” OF SMALL-PEASANT FARMING

Let us now take up the third prejudice in political economy, the theory of the “stability” of small-peasant farming. Everybody is familiar with the argument of bourgeois political economy to the effect that the well-known thesis of Marxism on the advantages of large-scale production over small production applies only to industry, but does not apply to agriculture. Social-Democratic theoreticians of the type of David and Herz, who advocate this theory, have tried to “base” their arguments on the fact that the small peasant has endurance and patience, that he is ready to bear every hardship so as to hold on to his little plot of land, and that, as a consequence, small-peasant farming displays stability in the struggle against large-scale production in agriculture. It is not difficult to see that this kind of “stability” is worse than any instability. It is not difficult to see that this anti-Marxian theory has only one aim: to eulogize and strengthen the capitalist system. And it is precisely because this theory pursues this aim that it has been so easy for Marxists to shatter it. But this is not the point just now. The point is that our practice, our reality, is providing new arguments against this theory, whereas our theoreticians, strangely enough, either will not, or cannot, make use of this new weapon against the enemies of the working class. I have in mind our practice in abolishing the private ownership of land, our practice in nationalizing the land, our practice which liberates the small peasant from his slavish attachment to his little plot of land and thereby helps the change from *small* peasant farming to *large-scale* collective farming.

Indeed, what is it that has tied, still ties and will continue to tie the

small peasant of Western Europe to his small-commodity farming? Primarily and mainly the fact that he owns his little plot of land, the existence of private ownership of land. For years he saved up money in order to buy a little plot of land; he bought it, and of course he does not want to part with it, preferring to endure all privation, preferring to sink into barbarism rather than part with his little plot of land, the basis of his individual farm. Can it be said that this factor, in this form, continues to operate in our country under the Soviet system, too? No, it cannot be said. It cannot be said because there is no private ownership of land in our country. And precisely because there is no private ownership of land in our country, our peasants do not display that slavish attachment to the land which is observed among the peasants in the West. And this circumstance cannot but help to effect the change from small-peasant farming to collective farming.

This is one of the reasons why the *big* farms in the rural districts, the collective farms in our country, where the land is nationalized, are able to demonstrate so easily their *superiority* over the *small* peasant farm.

This is the great revolutionary significance of the Soviet agrarian laws which abolished absolute rent, abolished the private ownership of land and established the nationalization of the land.

But it follows from this that we now have at our command a new argument against those bourgeois economists who proclaim the stability of small peasant farming in its struggle against large-scale farming.

Why, then, is this new argument not sufficiently utilized by our agrarian theoreticians in their struggle against all and sundry bourgeois theories?

When we nationalized the land we proceeded, *inter alia*, from the theoretical premises laid down in the third volume of *Capital*, in Marx's well-known book, *Theories of Surplus Value*, and in Lenin's works on the agrarian problem which represent an extremely rich treasury of theoretical thought. I am referring to the theory of ground rent in general, and the theory of absolute ground rent in particular. It is now clear to everyone that the theoretical principles laid down in these works have been brilliantly confirmed by practice in our work of socialist construction in town and country.

One can only wonder why the anti-scientific theories of "Soviet" economists like Chayanov should have currency in our press, while Marx's, Engels' and Lenin's works of genius dealing with the theory of ground rent and absolute ground rent should not be popularized and brought into the foreground, should be kept hidden under a bushel.

You, no doubt, remember Engels' well-known work on *The Peasant*

Question. You, of course, remember the circumspection with which Engels approaches the question of transferring the small peasants to the path of co-operative farming, to the path of collective farming. Permit me to quote the passage in question from Engels:

... we stand decisively on the side of the small peasant; we will do everything possible to make his lot more bearable, to facilitate his transition to the co-operative if he decides to take this step; if he cannot as yet bring himself to this decision, we will give him *plenty of time* to ponder over it on *his holding*. [My italics.—J.S.]

You see with what circumspection Engels approaches the question of the transition of individual peasant farming to collectivism. How are we to explain this circumspection displayed by Engels, which at first sight seems exaggerated? What did he proceed from? Obviously, he proceeded from the existence of the private ownership of land, from the fact that the peasant has "his holding" which he will find it hard to part with. Such is the peasantry in the West. Such is the peasantry in capitalist countries where the private ownership of land exists. Naturally, great circumspection is needed there. Can it be said that such a situation exists in our country, in the U.S.S.R.? No, this cannot be said. It cannot be said because here we have no private ownership of land which chains the peasant to his individual farm. It cannot be said because in our country the land is nationalized, and this facilitates the transition of the individual peasant to collectivism.

This is one of the reasons for the comparative ease and rapidity with which the collective farm movement has of late been developing in our country.

It is to be regretted that our agrarian theoreticians have not yet attempted to bring out this difference between the position of the peasantry in our country and in the West with sufficient clarity. And yet this would be of the utmost value not only for us in the Soviet Union, but for the Communists of all countries. For it is not a matter of indifference to the proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries whether socialism will have to be built there, from the first day of the seizure of power by the proletariat, on the basis of the nationalization of the land or without this basis.

In my recent article, "A Year of Great Change,"* I advanced certain arguments in support of the superiority of large-scale farming over small farming; in this I had in mind big state farms. It is self-evident that all

* See page 134 of this volume.—Ed.

these arguments fully and entirely apply to the collective farms, which are also large economic units. I am speaking not only of developed collective farms which have machines and tractors at their disposal, but also of collective farms in their embryonic stage, which represent, as it were, the manufacture period of collective farm development and are based on peasant farm implements. I am referring to the embryonic collective farms which are now being formed in the regions of solid collectivization, and which are based upon the simple pooling of the peasants' implements of production. Take, for instance, the collective farms of the Khoper district in the former Don Region. Outwardly, the technique of these collective farms scarcely differs from that of the small peasant farm (few machines, few tractors). And yet the simple pooling of the peasant implements of production within the collective farms has produced results of which our practical workers have never dreamed. What are these results? The fact that the transition to collective farming has brought about an increase of the crop area by 30, 40 and 50 per cent. How are these "dizzying" results to be explained? By the fact that the peasants, who were powerless under the conditions of individual labor, have been transformed into a mighty force once they pooled their implements and became united in collective farms. By the fact that it became possible for the peasants to till waste and virgin soil, which is difficult to till by individual labor. By the fact that the peasants were enabled to avail themselves of virgin soil. By the fact that waste land, untilled plots, field boundaries, etc., etc., could now be cultivated.

The question of cultivating waste land and virgin soil is of the utmost importance for our agriculture. You know that the pivot of the revolutionary movement in Russia in the old days was the agrarian question. You know that one of the aims of the agrarian movement was to do away with the shortage of land. At that time there were many who thought that this shortage of land was absolute, *i.e.*, that no more free land suitable for cultivation was available in the U.S.S.R. And what transpired? Now it is clear to everyone that scores of millions of hectares of free land were and still are available in the U.S.S.R. But the peasants were quite unable to till this land with their wretched implements. And precisely because they were unable to till virgin and waste land, they longed for "soft soil," for the soil which belonged to the landlords, for soil which could be tilled with the aid of peasant implements by individual labor. This was at the bottom of the "land shortage." It is not surprising, therefore, that our Grain Trust is now able to place under cultivation about twenty million hectares of free land, land unoccupied

by peasants and unfit for cultivation by individual labor with the aid of small peasant implements.

The significance of the collective farm movement in all its phases—both in its embryonic phase and in its more developed phase when it is equipped with tractors—lies in the fact that it is now possible for the peasants to till waste and virgin land. This is the secret of the tremendous expansion of the crop area attending the transition of the peasants to collective labor. This is one of the bases of the superiority of the collective farms over individual peasant farming.

It goes without saying that the superiority of the collective farms over the individual peasant farms will become even more incontestable when our machine and tractor stations and tractor columns come to the aid of the embryonic collective farms in the regions of solid collectivization, and when the collective farms themselves obtain the opportunity to concentrate in their hands tractors and harvester combines.

IV. TOWN AND COUNTRYSIDE

There is a prejudice, cultivated by bourgeois economists, concerning the so-called "scissors." * Against this prejudice ruthless war must be declared, as well as against all other bourgeois theories which, unfortunately, are circulated in the Soviet press. I have in mind the theory which alleges that the October Revolution gave the peasantry less than the February Revolution; that, in fact, the October Revolution gave the peasantry nothing. At one time this prejudice was circulated in our press by a "Soviet" economist. This "Soviet" economist, it is true, later renounced his theory. [*Interjection—"Who was it?"*]

It was Groman. But this theory was seized upon by the Trotsky-Zinoviev opposition and used against the party. And there are no grounds for claiming that it is not current even now in "Soviet" public circles. This is a very important question, comrades. It touches the problem of the relations between town and countryside. It touches the problem of abolishing the contrast between town and country. It touches the very urgent question of the "scissors." I think, therefore, that it is worth while dealing with this strange theory.

Is it true that the peasants received nothing from the October Revolution? Let us turn to the facts.

* "Scissors"—a term implying the divergence between the price of manufactured goods and the price of agricultural products, which, depicted on a chart, represents the open blades of a pair of scissors.—*Ed.*

I have before me the table worked out by the well-known statistician Comrade Nemchinov which I quoted in my article "On the Grain Front" * According to this table the landlords "produced" in pre-revolutionary time no less than 600,000,000 poods of grain. Hence, the *landlords* were then the holders of 600,000,000 poods of grain. The *kulaks* at that time "produced" 1,900,000,000 poods of grain. That represented a very great power, which the kulaks possessed at that time. The *poor* and *middle* peasants produced 2,500,000,000 poods of grain. That was the situation in the old countryside, the countryside prior to the October Revolution.

What changes have taken place in the countryside since the October Revolution? I quote the figures from the same table. Take, for instance, the year 1927. How much did the *landlords* produce in that year? Obviously, they produced nothing and could not produce anything because they had been wiped out by the October Revolution. You will realize that this must have been a great relief to the peasantry; for the peasantry was liberated from the yoke of the landlords. This, of course, was a great gain for the peasantry, obtained as a result of the October Revolution. How much did the *kulaks* produce in 1927? Six hundred million poods of grain instead of 1,900,000,000. Thus, during the period following the October Revolution the kulaks had lost more than two-thirds of their power. You will realize that this could not but ease the position of the poor and middle peasants. And how much did the *poor* and *middle* peasants produce in 1927? Four billion poods, instead of 2,500,000,000 poods. Thus, after the October Revolution the poor and middle peasants began to produce 1,500,000,000 poods more grain than in pre-revolutionary times.

These are facts which show that the poor and middle peasants obtained colossal gains from the October Revolution.

This is what the October Revolution gave the poor and middle peasants.

How, after this, can it be asserted that the October Revolution gave the peasants nothing?

But that is not all, comrades. The October Revolution abolished the private ownership of land, abolished the sale and purchase of land, established the nationalization of the land. What does this mean? It means that the peasant has no need to buy land in order to produce grain. Formerly he was compelled to save up for years in order to buy land; he got into debt, went into bondage, only to acquire a piece of land. The expenses which the purchase of land involved naturally entered into the cost of production of grain. Now, the peasant does not have to spend money on the purchase of land. He can produce grain now without buy-

* See page 56 of this volume.—Ed.

ing land. Does this ameliorate the condition of the peasants or not? Obviously it does.

Further. Until recently, the peasant was compelled to dig the soil with the aid of obsolete implements by individual labor. Everyone knows that individual labor, equipped with obsolete, now unsuitable, means of production, does not produce the results required to enable one to lead a tolerable existence, systematically to improve one's material position, to develop one's culture and to get out onto the highroad of socialist construction. Today, after the accelerated development of the collective farm movement, the peasants are able to combine their labor with the labor of their neighbors, to unite in collective farms, to break up virgin soil, to cultivate waste land, to obtain machines and tractors and thereby double or even treble the productivity of their labor. And what does this mean? It means that today the peasant, by joining the collective farms, is able to produce much more than formerly with the same expenditure of labor. It means, therefore, that grain will be produced much more cheaply than was the case until quite recently. It means, finally, that, with stable prices, the peasant can obtain much more for his grain than he has obtained up to now.

How, after all this, can it be asserted that the peasantry gained nothing from the October Revolution?

Is it not clear that people who utter such falsehoods obviously slander the party and the Soviet power?

But what follows from all this?

It follows from this that the question of the "scissors," the question of closing the "scissors," must now be approached in a new way. It follows from this that if the collective farm movement grows at the present rate the "scissors" will be closed in the near future. It follows from this that the question of the relations between town and countryside is now put on a new basis, that the contrast between town and country will be washed away at an accelerated pace.

This fact, comrades, is of very great importance for our whole work of construction. It changes the psychology of the peasant and turns him towards the town. It creates the basis for the elimination of the contrast between town and countryside. It creates the basis on which the slogan of the party—"face the village"—will be supplemented by the slogan of the peasant collective farmers: "face the town." Nor is there anything surprising in this, for the peasant is now receiving from the town machines, tractors, agronomists, organizers and, finally, direct assistance in fighting and overcoming the kulaks. The old type of peasant, with his

animal mistrust of the town, which he regarded as a plunderer, is passing into the background. His place is being taken by the new peasant, by the collective farm peasant, who looks to the town with the hope of receiving real *productive* assistance. The place of the old type of peasant who is afraid of sinking to the status of the rural poor and is stealthily (for he may be deprived of the franchise!) rising to the position of a kulak, is being taken by the new peasant, with new prospects—the prospects of joining a collective farm and thereby emerging from poverty onto the highroad of economic progress.

This is how things turn out, comrades.

It is all the more regrettable, comrades, that our agrarian theoreticians have not taken all measures to extirpate and shatter to pieces all bourgeois theories which seek to discredit the gains of the October Revolution and the growing collective farm movement.

V. THE NATURE OF COLLECTIVE FARMS

The collective farm as a *type* of economic enterprise is one of the forms of socialist economy. There can be no doubt about that.

One of the speakers at this conference tried to discredit the collective farms. He said that the collective farms, as economic organizations, have nothing in common with the socialist form of economy. I must say, comrades, that such a characterization of the collective farms is absolutely wrong. There can be no doubt that this characterization has nothing in common with Leninism.

What determines the type of an economic enterprise? Obviously, the relations between people in the process of production. How else can the type of an economic enterprise be determined? But is there in the collective farms a class of people who own the means of production and a class of people who are deprived of these means of production? Is there an exploiting class and an exploited class in the collective farms? Does not the collective farm represent the socialization of the principal means of production on land which, moreover, belongs to the state? What grounds are there for asserting that the collective farms, as a type of economic enterprise, do not represent one of the forms of socialist economy?

Of course, there are contradictions in the collective farms. Of course, there are individualistic and even kulak survivals in the collective farms, which have not yet disappeared, but which are bound to disappear in the course of time as the collective farms become stronger, as they are provided with more machines. But can it be denied that the collective farms

as a whole, with all their contradictions and shortcomings, the collective farms as an *economic* fact, represent, in the main, a new path of development of the countryside, the *socialist* path of development of the countryside as *opposed* to the kulak, *capitalist* path of development? Can it be denied that the collective farms (I am speaking of real collective farms and not of sham collective farms) represent, under our conditions, a base and a nucleus of socialist construction in the countryside—a base and a nucleus which have grown up in desperate fights against the capitalist elements?

Is it not clear that the attempts of some comrades to discredit the collective farms and represent them as a bourgeois form of economy are devoid of all foundation?

In 1923 we did not yet have a mass collective farm movement. Lenin, in his pamphlet, *On Co-operation*, had in mind all forms of co-operation, its lower forms (marketing and supply co-operatives) and the higher forms (collective farms). What did he say at that time about co-operation, about co-operative enterprises? Here is a passage from Lenin's pamphlet, *On Co-operation*:

Under our present system, co-operative enterprises differ from private capitalist enterprises because they are collective enterprises, but they *do not differ* [My italics.—J.S.] from socialist enterprises if the land on which they are situated and the means of production belong to the state, *i.e.*, the working class. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 407.)

Hence, Lenin takes the co-operative enterprises not by themselves, but in connection with our system, in connection with the fact that they function on land which belongs to the state, in a country where the means of production belong to the state; and, regarding them in this light, Lenin declares that co-operative enterprises do not differ from socialist enterprises.

This is what Lenin says about co-operative enterprises in general.

Is it not clear that there is all the more ground for saying the same about the collective farms in our period?

This, by the way, explains why Lenin regarded the "mere growth of co-operation" under our conditions as "identical with the growth of socialism."

As you see, the speaker I have just referred to, in trying to discredit the collective farms, committed a grave mistake against Leninism.

From this mistake there follows his other mistake—about the class struggle in the collective farms. The speaker portrayed the class struggle

in the collective farms in such glaring colors that one might think the class struggle in the collective farms *does not differ* from the class struggle in the absence of collective farms. More than that, one might think it is becoming even fiercer there. Incidentally, it is not only this speaker who has sinned in this matter. Idle talk about the class struggle, squealing and shrieking about the class struggle in the collective farms, is now characteristic of all our noisy "Lefts." The most comical thing about this squealing is that the squealers "see" the class struggle where it does not exist, or hardly exists, but fail to see it where it does exist and is glaringly manifest.

Are there elements of the class struggle in the collective farms? Yes. There are bound to be elements of the class struggle in the collective farms as long as there still remain survivals of individualistic, or even kulak, psychology, as long as there still exists a certain amount of inequality in the collective farms. Can it be said that the class struggle in the collective farms is equivalent to the class struggle in the absence of collective farms? No, that cannot be said. The mistake our "Left" phrasemongers make lies precisely in that they do not see this difference. What is the class struggle *in the absence* of collective farms, *prior to* the establishment of collective farms? It is a fight against the kulak who *owns* the implements and means of production and who keeps the rural poor *in bondage* with the aid of these implements and means of production. This is a life and death struggle. But what does the class struggle mean with the collective farms *in existence*? It means, first, that the kulak has been defeated and deprived of the implements and means of production. It means, secondly, that the poor and middle peasants are united in collective farms on the basis of the socialization of the principal implements and means of production. It means, finally, that it is a struggle between members of collective farms, some of whom have not yet rid themselves of individualistic and kulak survivals and are striving to turn the inequality, which exists to some extent in the collective farms, to their own advantage, while the others want to eliminate these survivals and this inequality. Is it not clear that only the blind can fail to see the difference between the class struggle with the collective farms in existence and the class struggle in the absence of collective farms?

It would be a mistake to believe that since collective farms exist we have all that is necessary for building socialism. It would be all the more a mistake to believe that the members of the collective farms have already become socialists. No, a great deal of work has still to be done to remold the peasant collective farmer, to set right his individualistic psychology

and to transform him into a real worker of a socialist society. And the more rapidly the collective farms are provided with machines, the more rapidly they are supplied with tractors, the more rapidly will this be achieved. But this does not in the least belittle the enormous importance of the collective farms as a lever for the socialist transformation of the rural districts. The great importance of the collective farms lies precisely in that they represent the principal basis for the employment of machinery and tractors in agriculture, that they constitute the principal base for remolding the peasant, for changing his psychology in the spirit of proletarian socialism. Lenin was right when he said:

The task of remolding the small farmer, of remolding his whole psychology and habits is a task of generations. Only the material basis, technique, the employment of tractors and machines in agriculture on a mass scale, electrification on a mass scale, can solve this problem in relation to the small farmer, can cure, so to speak, his whole psychology. (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russian ed., Vol. XXVI, p. 239.)

Who can deny that the collective farms are precisely the form of socialist economy by which alone the vast masses of the small peasantry can have recourse to machines and tractors as the levers of economic progress, as levers of the socialist development of agriculture?

Our "Left" phrasemongers have forgotten all this.

And our speaker has forgotten about this, too.

VI. THE CLASS CHANGES AND THE TURN IN THE PARTY'S POLICY

Finally, the question of the class changes and the socialist offensive against the capitalist elements in the countryside.

The characteristic feature of our work during the past year is: (a) that we, the party and the Soviet government, have developed an offensive on the whole front against the capitalist elements in the countryside; and (b) that this offensive, as you know, has brought about and is bringing about very palpable, *positive* results.

What does this mean? It means that we have passed from the policy of *restricting* the exploiting proclivities of the kulaks to the policy of *eliminating* the kulaks as a class. This means that we have made, and are still making, one of the most decisive turns in our whole policy.

Until recently the party adhered to the policy of *restricting* the exploiting proclivities of the kulaks. As you know, this policy was proclaimed as

far back as the Eighth Party Congress. This policy was again announced at the time of the introduction of the New Economic Policy and at the Eleventh Congress of our party. We all remember Lenin's well-known letter to Preobrazhensky (1922), in which he again urged the necessity of pursuing this policy. Finally, this policy was confirmed by the Fifteenth Congress of our party. And it is this policy that we have pursued until recently.

Was this policy correct? Yes, it was absolutely correct. Could we have undertaken such an offensive against the kulaks five years or three years ago? Could we then have counted on success in such an offensive? No, we could not. That would have been the most dangerous adventurism! That would have been playing a very dangerous game at offensive. We would certainly have come to grief and, once we had come to grief, we would have strengthened the position of the kulaks. Why? Because we did not yet have strongholds in the rural districts in the shape of a wide network of state farms and collective farms upon which to rely in a determined offensive against the kulaks. Because at that time we were not yet able to *substitute* for the capitalist production of the kulaks socialist production in the shape of the collective farms and state farms.

In 1926-27, the Zinoviev-Trotsky opposition did their utmost to impose upon the party the policy of an immediate offensive against the kulaks. The party refused to embark on this dangerous adventure, for it knew that serious people cannot afford to play at offensives. An offensive against the kulaks is a serious matter. It must not be confused with declamations against the kulaks. Nor can it be confused with a policy of bickering with the kulaks, which the Zinoviev-Trotsky opposition did their utmost to impose upon the party. To launch an offensive against the kulaks means that we must smash the kulaks, eliminate them as a class. Unless we set ourselves these aims, an offensive would be mere declamation, bickering, empty noise, anything but a real Bolshevik offensive. To launch an offensive against the kulaks means that we must properly prepare for it and then strike at the kulaks, strike so hard as to prevent them from rising to their feet again. This is what we Bolsheviks call a real offensive. Could we have undertaken such an offensive five years or three years ago with any prospect of success? No, we could not.

Indeed, in 1927, the kulaks produced over 600,000,000 poods of grain, and of this amount they marketed outside the rural districts about 130,000,000 poods. That was a rather serious force, which had to be reckoned with. How much did our collective farms and state farms produce at that time? About 80,000,000 poods, of which they placed on the market

(marketable grain) about 35,000,000 poods. Judge for yourselves. Could we have then *substituted* for kulak output and kulak marketable grain the output and marketable grain of our collective farms and state farms? Obviously, we could not. What would it have meant to launch a determined offensive against the kulaks under such conditions? It would have meant inviting failure, strengthening the position of the kulaks and being left without grain. That is why we could not and should not have undertaken an offensive against the kulaks at that time, in spite of the adventurist declamations of the Zinoviev-Trotsky opposition.

But today? What is the position? Today, we have an adequate material base which enables us to strike at the kulaks, to break their resistance, to eliminate them as a class, and to *substitute* for their output the output of the collective farms and state farms. You know that in 1929 the grain produced on the collective farms and state farms amounted to no less than 400,000,000 poods (200,000,000 poods less than the gross output of the kulak farms in 1927). You also know that in 1929 the collective farms and state farms supplied more than 130,000,000 poods of grain for the market (*i.e.*, more than the kulaks in 1927). And, finally, you know that in 1930 the gross output of the collective farms and state farms will amount to no less than 900,000,000 poods of grain (*i.e.*, more than the gross output of the kulaks in 1927), and their output of grain for the market to not less than 400,000,000 poods (*i.e.*, incomparably more than the kulaks supplied in 1927).

This is the position today, comrades.

This is the change that has taken place in the economics of our country.

This is the change in the alignment of class forces that has taken place in recent years.

Now, as you see, we have the material base which enables us to *substitute* for kulak output the output of the collective farms and state farms. That is why our offensive against the kulaks is now meeting with undeniable success. That is how the offensive against the kulaks must be carried on, if we mean a real offensive and not futile declamations against the kulaks.

That is why we have recently passed from the policy of *restricting* the exploiting proclivities of the kulaks to the policy of *eliminating the kulaks as a class*.

Well, what about the policy of expropriating the kulaks? Can we permit the expropriation of kulaks in the regions of solid collectivization? This question is asked in various quarters. A ridiculous question! We could

not permit the expropriation of the kulaks as long as we were pursuing the policy of restricting the exploiting proclivities of the kulaks, as long as we were unable to launch a determined offensive against the kulaks, as long as we were unable to substitute for kulak output the output of the collective farms and state farms. At that time the policy of not permitting the expropriation of the kulaks was necessary and correct. But now? Now the situation is different. Now we are able to carry on a determined offensive against the kulaks, to break their resistance, to eliminate them as a class and substitute for their output the output of the collective farms and state farms. Now, the kulaks are being expropriated by the masses of poor and middle peasants themselves, by the masses who are putting solid collectivization into practice. Now the expropriation of the kulaks in the regions of solid collectivization is no longer just an administrative measure. Now, the expropriation of the kulaks is an integral part of the formation and development of the collective farms. That is why it is ridiculous and fatuous to expatiate today on the expropriation of the kulaks. You do not lament the loss of the hair of one who has been beheaded.

There is another question which seems no less ridiculous: whether the kulak should be permitted to join the collective farms. Of course not, for he is a sworn enemy of the collective farm movement. Clear, one would think.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

These, comrades, are six cardinal problems which the theoretical work of our Marxist students of the agrarian question must not ignore.

The importance of these problems lies, first, in that a Marxist analysis of them provides the means of eradicating all and sundry bourgeois theories which sometimes—to our shame—are circulated by our comrades, by Communists, and which clog the minds of our practical workers. And these theories should have been eradicated and discarded long ago. For only in a ruthless fight against these theories can the theoretical ideas of the Marxist students of the agrarian question grow and become strong.

The importance of these problems lies, finally, in that they give a new aspect to the old problems of the economics of the transition period.

Today the problems of the New Economic Policy, of classes, of collective farms, of the economics of the transition period, are presented in a new way. The mistake of those who interpret the New Economic Policy as a retreat, and only as a retreat, must be exposed. As a matter of fact,

even when the New Economic Policy was introduced Lenin said that it was not only a retreat, but also the preparation for a new, determined offensive against the capitalist elements in town and country. The mistake of those who think that the New Economic Policy is necessary only as a link between town and country must be exposed. We do not need any kind of a link between town and country. We need the kind of a link that will insure the victory of socialism. And if we adhere to the New Economic Policy it is because it serves the cause of socialism. When it ceases to serve the cause of socialism we will cast it to the devil. Lenin said that the New Economic Policy had been introduced in earnest and for a long time. But he never said that it had been introduced for all time.

We must also raise the question of popularizing the Marxian theory of reproduction. We must elaborate the problem of the structure of the balance sheet of our national economy. What the Central Statistical Board published in 1926 as the balance sheet of national economy is not a balance sheet, but a juggling with figures. Nor is the manner in which Bazarov and Groman treat the problem of the balance sheet of national economy suitable. The structure of the balance sheet of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. must be worked out by the revolutionary Marxists if they want to engage at all in working out the problems of the economics of the transition period.

It would be a good thing if our Marxist economists appointed a special group to elaborate the problems of the economics of the transition period in their new aspect.

THE POLICY OF ELIMINATING THE KULAKS AS A CLASS

The article, "The Elimination of the Kulaks as a Class," in No. 16 of *Krasnaya Zvezda* [*Red Star*], while undoubtedly correct on the whole, contains two inaccuracies in formulation. I think it is necessary to correct these inaccuracies.

1. The article states:

During the period of economic restoration we pursued the policy of restricting the capitalist elements in town and country. With the beginning of the reconstruction period we passed from the policy of restricting these elements to a policy of squeezing them out.

This thesis is wrong. The policy of restricting the capitalist elements and the policy of squeezing them out are not two different policies. They are one and the same policy. The squeezing out of the capitalist elements of the rural districts is an inevitable result and a *component* part of the policy of restricting the capitalist elements, the policy of restricting the exploiting proclivities of the kulaks. But squeezing out the capitalist *elements* in the rural districts does not yet mean squeezing out the kulaks as a *class*. Squeezing out the capitalist elements in the rural districts means squeezing out and overcoming *individual sections* of the kulaks who cannot hold out against the pressure of taxation, against the system of restrictive measures of the Soviet government. It is obvious that the policy of restricting the exploiting proclivities of the kulaks, the policy of restricting the capitalist elements in the rural districts, cannot but lead to the squeezing out of individual sections of the kulaks. That is why the squeezing out of individual sections of the kulaks cannot but be regarded as an inevitable result and a component part of the policy of restricting the capitalist elements in the rural districts.

We pursued this policy not only during the period of economic restoration, but also during the period of reconstruction, in the period following the Fifteenth Congress (December 1927), during the period of the Sixteenth Party Conference (April 1929), and in the period following that conference, right down to the summer of 1929, when solid collectivization

began and when we effected the *turn* towards the policy of *eliminating* the kulaks as a *class*.

If we examine the most important documents of our party, beginning, say, with the Fourteenth Congress in December 1925 (see the resolution on the Report of the Central Committee), and ending with the Sixteenth Conference in April 1929 (see the resolution on "Ways of Bringing about the Progress of Agriculture"), we cannot but observe that the thesis on "restricting the exploiting proclivities of the kulaks," or "restricting the growth of capitalism in the rural districts," is always *accompanied* by the thesis on "squeezing out the capitalist elements in the rural districts," on "overcoming the capitalist elements in the rural districts."

What does that mean?

It means that the party *does not draw a line* between squeezing out the capitalist elements in the rural districts and the policy of restricting the exploiting proclivities of the kulaks, the policy of restricting the capitalist elements in the rural districts.

The Fifteenth Party Congress, like the Sixteenth Conference, based itself entirely on the policy of "restricting the exploiting propensities of the rural bourgeoisie" (resolution of the Fifteenth Congress on "Work in the Rural Districts"); on the policy of adopting "new measures which would restrict the development of capitalism in the countryside" (*Ibid.*); on the policy of "resolutely restricting the exploiting proclivities of the kulaks" (resolution of the Fifteenth Congress on the Five-Year Plan); on the policy of "an offensive against the kulaks" in the sense of proceeding to further, more systematic and persistent restriction of the kulaks and private traders" (*Ibid.*); on the policy of "a more determined economic squeezing out" of the elements of private capitalist economy in town and country" (resolution of the Fifteenth Congress on the Report of the Central Committee).

Hence (a) the author of the above-mentioned article is wrong in representing the policy of restricting the capitalist elements and the policy of squeezing them out as two different policies. The facts show that here we have one general policy of restricting capitalism, and the squeezing out of individual sections of the kulaks is a component part and result of this policy.

Hence (b) the author of the above-mentioned article is wrong in maintaining that the squeezing out of the capitalist elements in the rural districts began only in the period of reconstruction, in the period of the Fifteenth Congress. Actually, this process went on before the Fifteenth Congress, during the period of economic restoration, and after the Fif-

teenth Congress, in the reconstruction period. In the period of the Fifteenth Congress the policy of restricting the exploiting proclivities of the kulaks was merely tightened up by new and supplementary measures, as a consequence of which the process of squeezing out individual sections of the kulaks was bound to become more intensified.

2. The article states:

The policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class follows entirely from the policy of squeezing out the capitalist elements and is a continuation of that policy at a new stage.

This thesis is inexact and therefore wrong. Of course, the policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class could not have dropped from the skies. It was prepared for by the whole preceding period of restricting and, hence, of squeezing out the capitalist elements in the rural districts. But that does not yet mean that it does not *radically* differ from the policy of restricting (and squeezing out) the capitalist elements in the rural districts; that it is a *continuation* of the policy of restriction. To assert what our author asserts is to deny that a *radical change* in the development of the rural districts began in the summer of 1929. To say that is to deny that during this period we effected a *turn* in the policy of our party in the rural districts. To say that is to provide a certain ideological shelter for the Right elements in our party who are now clutching at the decisions of the Fifteenth Congress in their opposition to the party's *new policy*, just as at one time Frumkin clutched at the decisions of the Fourteenth Congress in his opposition to the policy of setting up collective farms and state farms.

What did the Fifteenth Congress proceed from when it proclaimed the intensification of the policy of restricting (and squeezing out) the capitalist elements in the rural districts? From the consideration that, notwithstanding this restriction of the kulaks, the kulaks as a *class* must still, for some time, be allowed to *exist*. It was *for this reason* that the Fifteenth Congress allowed the law which permitted the renting of land to remain in force, knowing very well that the mass of those who rented land were kulaks. It was *for this reason* that the Fifteenth Congress allowed the law which permitted the hiring of labor in the rural districts to remain in force, demanding that it be strictly observed. It was *for this reason* that the party proclaimed once again that the expropriation of the kulaks was impermissible. Do these laws and these decisions contradict the policy of *restricting* (and squeezing out) the capitalist elements in the rural districts? Certainly *not*. Do these laws and these

decisions contradict the policy of *eliminating* the kulaks as a class? Certainly they *do!* Hence, these laws and these decisions must now be laid aside in the districts of solid collectivization, the area of which is extending daily and hourly. In point of fact, they have already been set aside by the very march of the collective farm movement in the districts of solid collectivization.

Consequently, can the policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class be regarded as a *continuation* of the policy of restricting (and squeezing out) the capitalist elements in the rural districts? Obviously, not.

The author of the above-mentioned article forgets that the kulak class, as a class, cannot be squeezed out by taxation measures and all sorts of other restrictions while the means of production are *left* in the hands of that class and it enjoys the right of freely using land, while the law which permits the hiring of labor in the rural districts, the law which permits the renting of land and the ban on the expropriation of the kulaks *remain* in operation. The author forgets that under the policy of restricting the exploiting proclivities of the kulaks we can count only on squeezing out individual sections of the kulaks, which does not contradict, but, on the contrary, presumes the retention of the kulaks as a class for the time being. For the purpose of squeezing out the kulaks as a class, the policy of restricting and squeezing out individual sections of the kulaks is not enough. In order to squeeze out the kulaks as a class we must *break down* the resistance of this class in open battle and *deprive* it of the productive sources of its existence and development (the free use of land, means of production, the renting of land, the right to hire labor, etc.). This is the *turn* toward the policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class. Without this, all talk of squeezing out the kulaks as a class is idle chatter, pleasing and profitable only to the Right deviationists. Without this, serious collectivization, let alone solid collectivization of the rural districts, is inconceivable. This has been grasped quite well by the poor and middle peasants in our rural districts who are routing the kulaks and realizing solid collectivization. This has, apparently, not yet been grasped by some of our comrades.

Hence, the present policy of our party in the rural districts is not a *continuation* of the old policy, but a *turn* from the old policy of *restricting* (and squeezing out) the capitalist elements in the rural districts to the new policy of *eliminating* the kulaks as a class.

DIZZY WITH SUCCESS

PROBLEMS OF THE COLLECTIVE FARM MOVEMENT

Everybody is now talking about the successes achieved by the Soviet government in the sphere of the collective farm movement. Even our enemies are compelled to admit that important successes have been achieved. And these successes are great indeed.

It is a fact that by February 20, this year, 50 per cent of the peasant farms of the U.S.S.R. had been collectivized. This means that by February 20, 1930, we had *fulfilled* the estimates of the Five-Year Plan *more than twice over*.

It is a fact that by February 28, this year, the collective farms had *already* stored more than 3,600,000 tons of seed for the spring sowing, *i.e.*, more than 90 per cent of the plan, or about 220,000,000 poods. It cannot but be admitted that the storing of 220,000,000 poods of seed by the collective farms alone—after the grain-purchasing plan had been successfully fulfilled—is a tremendous achievement.

What does all this show?

It shows that *the radical turn of the rural districts towards socialism may already be regarded as guaranteed*.

There is no need to prove that these successes are of tremendous importance for the fate of our country, for the whole working class as the leading force of our country, and, finally, for the party itself. Apart from the direct practical results, these successes are of tremendous importance for the internal life of the party itself, for the education of our party. They imbue the party with a spirit of cheerfulness and confidence in its strength. They arm the working class with confidence in the triumph of our cause. They bring to our party new millions of reserves.

Hence the task of our party: to *consolidate* the successes achieved and to *utilize* them systematically for the purpose of advancing further.

But successes also have their seamy side; especially when they are achieved with comparative "ease," "unexpectedly," so to speak. Such successes sometimes induce a spirit of conceit and arrogance: "We can do anything!" "We can win hands down!" People are often intoxicated by such successes, they become dizzy with success, they lose all sense of pro-

portion, they lose the faculty of understanding realities, they reveal a tendency to overestimate their own strength and to underestimate the strength of the enemy; reckless attempts are made to settle all the problems of socialist construction "in two ticks." In such cases care is not taken to *consolidate* the successes achieved and systematically to *utilize* them for the purpose of advancing further. Why should we consolidate successes? We shall anyhow reach the complete victory of socialism in "two ticks." "We can do anything!" "We can win hands down!"

Hence the task of the party: to wage a determined struggle against this frame of mind, which is dangerous and harmful to the cause, and to drive it out of the party.

It cannot be said that this dangerous and harmful frame of mind is really widespread in the ranks of our party. But this frame of mind nevertheless exists in our party, and, moreover, there are no grounds for asserting that it will not spread. And if this frame of mind acquires the rights of citizenship among us, there can be no doubt that the cause of the collective farm movement will be considerably weakened and the danger of that movement being disrupted may become real.

Hence the task of our press: systematically to expose this, or anything like this, anti-Leninist frame of mind.

A few facts.

1. The success of our collective farm policy is due, among other things, to the fact that this policy rests on the *voluntary* character of the collective farm movement, and that it *allows for the diversity of conditions* existing in the various parts of the U.S.S.R. Collective farms cannot be set up by force. To do so would be stupid and reactionary. The collective farm movement must rely on the active support of the great bulk of the peasantry. Methods of collective farm construction in developed districts cannot be mechanically transplanted to backward districts. To do so would be stupid and reactionary. Such a "policy" would discredit the idea of collectivization at one blow. In determining the speed and methods of collective farm construction we must carefully take into account the diversity of conditions prevailing in the various districts of the U.S.S.R.

In the collective farm movement the grain-growing districts are in the lead. Why? Because, first, it is in these districts that we have the largest number of firmly established state farms and collective farms, thanks to which the peasants have been able to convince themselves of the power and importance of the new technique, of the power and importance of the new, collective organization of farming. Because, secondly, these districts have already had two years of schooling in the

fight against the kulaks during the grain-purchasing campaigns, which could not but facilitate the development of the collective farm movement. And, finally, because these districts have been most plentifully supplied during the last few years with the best forces from the industrial centers.

Can it be said that these exceptionally favorable conditions exist in other districts, too, for instance, in the grain-importing districts, such as our Northern regions, or in the districts of still backward nationalities, such as, let us say, Turkestan?

No, that cannot be said.

It is obvious that the principle of allowing for the diverse conditions of the various districts of the U.S.S.R., coupled with the voluntary principle, is one of the most important prerequisites for a sound collective farm movement.

But what really happens sometimes? Can it be said that the voluntary principle and the principle of allowing for local peculiarities are not violated in a number of districts? No, unfortunately, that cannot be said. We know, for example, that in a number of the Northern districts of the grain-importing belt, where there are comparatively fewer favorable conditions for the immediate organization of collective farms than in the grain-growing districts, not infrequently efforts are made to *substitute* for preparatory work in organizing collective farms the bureaucratic decreeing of a collective farm movement from above, paper resolutions on the growth of collective farms, the formation of collective farms on paper—of farms which do not yet exist, but regarding the “existence” of which there is a pile of boastful resolutions. Or, take certain districts in Turkestan, where there are even fewer favorable conditions for the immediate organization of collective farms than in the Northern regions of the grain-importing belt. We know that in a number of districts in Turkestan attempts have already been made to “overtake and outstrip” the advanced districts of the U.S.S.R. by the method of threatening to resort to military force, by the method of threatening to deprive the peasants who do not as yet want to join the collective farms of irrigation water and of manufactured goods.

What is there in common between this Sergeant Prishibeyev* “policy” and the party’s policy which rests on the voluntary principle and allows for local peculiarities in collective farm construction? Obviously, they have not, nor can they have, anything in common.

* A character in Anton Chekhov’s story of the same name who introduces into private life the manners of the barracks and drill ground—*Ed.*

Who benefits by these distortions, this bureaucratic decreeing of a collective farm movement, these unseemly threats against the peasants? Nobody but our enemies!

What may these distortions lead to? To the strengthening of our enemies and the discrediting of the idea of the collective farm movement.

Is it not obvious that the authors of these distortions, who think they are "Lefts," are, in fact, bringing grist to the mill of Right opportunism?

2. One of the greatest merits of our party's political strategy is the fact that it is able at any given moment to pick out the *main link* in the movement, and by grasping this link to pull the whole chain towards one common goal and thus achieve the solution of the problem. Can we say that the party has already chosen the main link of the collective farm movement in the system of collective farm development? Yes, we can and should say that.

What is this main link?

Perhaps it is the *association for the joint cultivation of the land*? No, it is not. The associations for the joint cultivation of the land, in which the means of production are not yet socialized, represent an already superseded stage in the collective farm movement.

Perhaps it is the *agricultural commune*? No, it is not the commune. The communes are still isolated phenomena in the collective farm movement. The conditions are not yet ripe for making the agricultural communes, in which not only all production but distribution also is socialized, the *predominant* form.

The main link in the collective farm movement, its *predominant* form at the present moment, the link which we must now grasp, is the *agricultural artel*.

In the *agricultural artel* the principal means of production, chiefly those used in grain growing, are socialized: labor, the use of the land, machines and other implements, draught animals, farm buildings. But in the artel, household land (small vegetable gardens, small orchards), dwellings, a certain part of the dairy cattle, small livestock, poultry, etc., are *not socialized*. The artel is the *main link of the collective farm movement* because it is the most expedient form for solving the grain problem. And the grain problem is the *main link in the whole system of agriculture* because, unless that problem is solved, it is impossible to solve either the problem of livestock raising (large and small livestock), or the problem of industrial and special crops which provide the basic raw materials

for industry. That is why the agricultural artel is at the present moment the main link in the system of the collective farm movement.

It is from this that the "Model Rules" for collective farms—the final text of which is being published today*—proceeds.

It is from this, too, that our party and Soviet functionaries should proceed; it is their duty to make a thorough study of these rules and carry them out to the full.

This is the party's line at the present moment.

Can it be said that this line of the party is being carried out without infractions and distortions? No, unfortunately, that cannot be said. We know that in a number of districts in the U.S.S.R., where the struggle for the existence of the collective farms is far from being at an end, and where the artels are not yet consolidated, attempts are being made to skip the artel form and to organize agricultural communes from the outset. The artel is not yet consolidated, but they are already "socializing" dwellings, small livestock and poultry; and this sort of "socialization" degenerates into bureaucratic paper decrees, for the conditions which would make such socialization necessary do not yet exist. One might think that the grain problem has already been solved in the collective farms, that it is already a superseded stage, that the main task at the present moment is not to solve the grain problem, but to solve the problem of livestock and poultry farming. The question arises: Who benefits by this blockhead "work" of lumping together the various forms of the collective farm movement? Who benefits by this stupid and harmful precipitancy? Irritating the peasant collective farmer by "socializing" dwellings, all the dairy cattle, all the small livestock and the poultry when the grain problem is still *unsolved*, when the artel form of collective farming is *not yet consolidated*—is it not obvious that such a "policy" can please and benefit only our sworn enemies? One such overzealous "socializer" even went so far as to issue an order to an artel calling for "the registration within three days of every head of poultry in every household," for the appointment of special "commanders" to register and supervise, "to take over the key position in the artel," "to be in command of the battle for socialism, without quitting their posts," and—of course—to hold the artel in a tight grip. What is this—a policy of leading the collective farm, or a policy of *disintegrating and discrediting it*? And what about those "revolutionaries"—save the mark—who *begin* the work of organizing an artel by removing the church bells. Remove the church bells—how r-r-revolutionary indeed!

* *Pravda*, March 2, 1930—Ed.

How could such blockhead exercises in "socialization," such ludicrous attempts to lift oneself by one's own bootstraps—attempts aiming at getting away from classes and the class struggle, but which in practice bring grist to the mill of our class enemies—occur in our midst? They could occur only in the atmosphere of our "easy" and "unexpected" successes on the front of collective farm development. They could occur only as a result of the blockhead frame of mind in the ranks of a section of our party: "We can do anything!" "We can win hands down!" They could occur only as a result of the fact that certain of our comrades became dizzy with success, and for a moment lost the capacity of clear thinking and sober vision.

In order to straighten out the line of our work in the sphere of collective farm development *we must put an end to this frame of mind.*

This is now one of the immediate tasks of the party.

The art of leadership is a serious matter. One must not lag behind the movement, because to do so is to become isolated from the masses. But neither must one rush ahead, for to rush ahead is to lose contact with the masses. He who wants to lead a movement and at the same time keep in touch with the vast masses must wage a fight on two fronts—against those who lag behind and against those who rush on ahead.

Our party is strong and invincible because, while leading the movement, it knows how to maintain and multiply its contacts with the vast masses of the workers and peasants.

REPLY TO COLLECTIVE FARM COMRADES

As may be seen from the newspapers, my article "Dizzy with Success" and the well-known decision of the Central Committee on "Measures to Combat the Distortions of the Party Line in the Collective Farm Movement" have evoked a wide response among the practical workers in the collective farm movement. In this connection I have recently received a number of letters from comrades, members of collective farms, asking for a reply to the questions raised in them. It was my duty to reply to the letters in private correspondence; but that proved to be impossible, for more than half the letters received did not have any return addresses (the writers forgot to send their addresses). However, the questions raised in these letters are of tremendous political interest for all our comrades. Moreover, I could not, of course, leave unanswered the letters of those comrades who forgot to send their addresses. In view of this I found myself faced with the necessity of replying to the collective farm comrades publicly, *i.e.*, in the press, taking from their letters all the questions necessary for the purpose. I did this all the more willingly since I had a direct decision of the Central Committee to this effect.

First Question. What is the *root* of the mistakes in the peasant question?

Answer. The wrong approach to the middle peasant. The employment of coercion in the economic relations with the middle peasant. The proneness to forget that the economic bond with the masses of middle peasants must not be built on measures of coercion but on agreement with the middle peasant, on an alliance with the middle peasant. The proneness to forget that the basis of the collective farm movement at the present moment is the alliance of the working class and the poor peasants with the middle peasants against capitalism in general, and against the kulaks in particular.

As long as the offensive was directed against the kulaks in a united front with the middle peasant, all went well. But when certain of our comrades, intoxicated by success, began imperceptibly to slip from the path of offensive against the kulak to the path of fighting the middle

peasant; when, in the pursuit of high percentages of collectivization, they began to employ coercion against the middle peasant, depriving him of the franchise, "dekulakizing" and expropriating him, the offensive began to assume distorted forms, the united front with the middle peasant began to be undermined, and, naturally, the kulak received the opportunity to try to get on his feet again.

It was forgotten that force, which is necessary and useful in the fight against our class enemies, is impermissible and disastrous when employed against the middle peasant, who is our ally.

It was forgotten that cavalry raids, which are necessary and useful in solving military problems, are unsuitable and disastrous when employed in solving the problems of collective farm development, which, moreover, is being organized in alliance with the middle peasant.

This is the root of the mistakes in the peasant question.

Here is what Lenin says about economic relations with the middle peasant:

We must particularly stress the truth that here, by the very nature of the case, coercive methods can accomplish nothing. The economic task here is an entirely different one. Here there is not that upper layer which can be cut off, leaving the foundations and the building intact. That upper layer which in the cities was represented by the capitalists does not exist here. *Here coercion would ruin the whole cause.... Nothing is more stupid than the very idea of applying coercion in economic relations with the middle peasant.* (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 179.)

Further:

Coercion applied to the middle peasantry would cause untold harm. This stratum is a numerous one, it consists of millions of individuals. Even in Europe, where it nowhere achieves such strength, where technology and culture, city life and railroads are tremendously developed, and where it would be easiest of all to think of such a thing, nobody, not even the most revolutionary of socialists, has ever proposed adopting measures of coercion towards the middle peasant. (*Ibid.*, p. 178-79.)

Clear, one would think.

Second Question. What are the principal mistakes in the collective farm movement?

Answer. There are at least three such mistakes.

1. The Leninist principle that the formation of collective farms must

be voluntary has been violated. The basic instructions of the party and the Model Rules of the agricultural artels which provide that the formation of collective farms must be voluntary have been violated.

Leninism teaches that the peasants must be brought around to adopt collective farming voluntarily, by convincing them of the advantage of common, collective farming over individual farming. Leninism teaches that the peasants can be convinced of the advantage of collective farming only if it is *demonstrated* and *proved* to them in practice, by experience, that the collective farm is better than the individual farm, that it is more advantageous than the individual farm, and that the collective farm offers the peasant—the poor and middle peasant—a way out from poverty and want. Leninism teaches that unless these conditions are observed the collective farms cannot be stable. Leninism teaches that every attempt to impose collective farming by force, every attempt to set up collective farms by coercion, can only produce negative results, can only repel the peasants from the collective farm movement.

And, indeed, as long as this basic rule was observed, the collective farm movement scored success after success. But certain of our comrades, intoxicated by success, began to neglect this rule, began to display excessive haste, and in pursuit of high percentages of collectivization began to set up collective farms by means of coercion. It is not surprising that the negative consequences of this “policy” soon became apparent. The collective farms which had sprung up in such haste began to dissolve just as rapidly as they had sprung up, and a section of the peasants, who only yesterday had the greatest confidence in the collective farms, began to turn away from them.

This is the first and the principal mistake in the collective farm movement.

Here is what Lenin says about the principle that the formation of collective farms must be voluntary:

Our task now is to pass to *common* cultivation of the land, to *large-scale* common farming. But there must be no coercion on the part of the Soviet government; there is no law that makes it compulsory. The agricultural *commune* must be established *voluntarily*, the transition to *common cultivation* of the land must be only *voluntary*, there must not be the slightest coercion in this respect on the part of the Workers' and Peasants' Government, nor is it permitted by law. If any of you have observed any such coercion, you must know that it is an abuse, that it is a violation of the law, which we are doing our utmost to correct, and shall correct. [My italics.—J.S.] (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russian ed., Vol. XXIV, p. 43.)

Further:

Only if we succeed in *proving* to the peasants in practice the advantages of common, collective, cooperative, artel cultivation of the soil, only if we succeed in helping the peasants by means of cooperative or artel farming, will the working class, which holds the state power, be really able to convince the peasant of the correctness of its policy and secure the real and durable following of the millions of peasants. It is therefore impossible to exaggerate the importance of every measure intended to encourage cooperative, artel forms of agriculture. We have millions of individual farms in our country, scattered and dispersed throughout remote rural districts. . . . Only when it is *proved in practice, by experience* comprehensible to the peasants, that the transition to the cooperative, artel form of agriculture is essential and possible, shall we be entitled to say that in this vast peasant country, Russia, an important step towards socialist agriculture has been taken. [My italics.—J.S.] (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, pp. 198-99.)

Finally, one more passage from Lenin's works:

While encouraging cooperative associations of every kind, including agricultural communes of middle peasants, the representatives of the Soviet government must not resort to the *slightest compulsion* in the creation of such associations. Only such associations are valuable as are started by the peasants themselves on their own free initiative and the advantages of which have been tested by them in practice. *Excessive haste in this respect is harmful*, since it may only tend to aggravate the aversion of the middle peasants to innovations. Representatives of the Soviet government who permit themselves to resort even to indirect, not to mention direct, compulsion in order to get the peasants to join communes must be called to strict account and removed from work in the rural districts. [My italics.—J.S.] (*Ibid.*, p. 185.)

Clear, one would think.

It goes without saying, that the party will carry out these directions of Lenin with the utmost rigor.

2. The Leninist principle that allowances must be made for the diversity of conditions in the various districts of the U.S.S.R. has been violated in regard to collective farm construction. It has been forgotten that the most diverse regions exist in the U.S.S.R., with different economic formations and levels of culture. It has been forgotten that among them there are advanced, average and backward regions. It has been forgotten that the pace of the collective farm movement and the methods of collective farm construction *cannot be identical* in these far from identical regions.

Lenin says:

It would be a mistake were we to stereotype decrees for all parts of Russia, were the Bolshevik-Communists, the Soviet officials in the Ukraine and the Don, to extend these decrees to other regions wholesale without discrimination. . . . We shall in no case bind ourselves to uniform stereotypes; we shall not decide once and for all that our experience, the experience of Central Russia, can be transferred wholesale to every border region. (*Ibid.*, p. 38.)

Further, Lenin says:

It would be absolutely absurd to apply the same stereotype to Central Russia, the Ukraine and Siberia, to squeeze them into the same mold. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. IX, p. 115.)

Finally, Lenin urges on the Communists of the Caucasus the duty to . . . understand *the singularity of their position, of the position of their republics, as distinct from the position and conditions of the R.S.F.S.R.; to understand the necessity of not copying our tactics, but of thoughtfully varying them in accordance with the difference in the concrete conditions.* (*Ibid.*, p. 203.)

Clear, one would think.

Acting on these counsels of Lenin, the Central Committee of our party, in its decision on "The Rate of Collectivization," (*cf. Pravda*, January 6, 1930) divided up the regions of the U.S.S.R., from the point of view of the rate of collectivization, into three groups, of which the North Caucasus, the Middle Volga and the Lower Volga may, in the main, complete the process of collectivization by the spring of 1931, the other grain-producing regions (the Ukraine, the Central Black Earth Region, Siberia, the Urals, Kazakhstan, etc.) may complete it, in the main, by the spring of 1932, and the remaining regions may extend the period of completing the process of collectivization to the end of the Five-Year Plan period, *i.e.*, until 1933.

Comprehensible, one would think.

But what happened in practice? It transpired that certain of our comrades, intoxicated by the first successes of the collective farm movement, managed to forget both Lenin's counsels and the decision of the Central Committee. In the Moscow region, in the feverish pursuit of inflated collectivization figures, they began to orientate their people toward completing the process of collectivization by the spring of 1930, although it had no less than three years at its disposal (to the end of 1932). In the Central Black Earth Region, not desiring to "lag behind the others," they

began to orientate their people towards completing the process of collectivization by the first half of 1930, although it had no less than two years at its disposal (to the end of 1931). And the Transcaucasians and Turkestanians, in their zeal "to overtake and outstrip" the advanced regions, set out to complete the process of collectivization in "the shortest possible period," although they had fully four years at their disposal (to the end of 1933). In view of such quickfire "tempo" of collectivization, the districts which were less prepared for the collective farm movement, in their zeal to "outstrip" the more prepared districts, naturally found themselves obliged to resort to intense administrative pressure, and tried to compensate for the factors that were lacking for a rapid rate of development of the collective farm movement by their own administrative zeal. The results are well known. Everybody knows the confusion which resulted in those regions, and which subsequently had to be disentangled by the intervention of the Central Committee.

This is the second mistake in the collective farm movement.

3. The Leninist principle that it is not permissible to skip an incomplete form of a movement was violated with regard to collective farm construction. The Leninist principle that we must not run ahead of the development of the masses, that we must not decree the movement of the masses, that we must not isolate ourselves from the masses, but move together with the masses and lead them forward, lead them up to our slogans and help them to become convinced by their own experience of the correctness of our slogans—was violated.

When the Petrograd proletariat and the soldiers of the Petrograd garrison took power [says Lenin], they fully realized that our constructive work would encounter greater difficulties in the countryside; that here one must proceed more gradually; that *to attempt to introduce common cultivation of the land by decrees and legislation would be the height of folly*; that an insignificant number of enlightened peasants might agree to this, but that the vast majority of the peasants had no such object in view. We therefore confined ourselves to that which was absolutely essential in the interests of the development of the revolution, namely, in no case to endeavor *to outrun the development of the masses*, but to wait until, as a result of their own experience and their own struggles, a progressive movement grew up. [My italics.—J. S.] (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, p. 490.)

Proceeding from these counsels of Lenin, the Central Committee, in its well-known decision on "The Rate of Collectivization" (*cf. Pravda*, January 6, 1930), recognized (a) that the principal form of the collective farm movement at the present time is the agricultural *artel*; (b) that

it was necessary, in view of this, to draw up model rules for the agricultural artel as the principal form of the collective farm movement, and (c) that "decreeing" the collective farm movement from above and "playing at collectivization" must not be permitted in our practical work.

This means that at present we must steer our course not towards the commune, but towards the agricultural artel, as the principal form of collective farm development; that we must not allow any attempts to skip the agricultural artel form and to pass straight to the commune, and that the mass movement of the peasants to join collective farms must not be supplanted by "decreeing" collective farms or "playing at collective farms."

Clear, one would think.

But what happened in practice? It transpired that certain of our comrades, intoxicated by the first successes of the collective farm movement, managed to forget completely both Lenin's counsels and the decision of the Central Committee. Instead of organizing a mass movement in favor of the agricultural artel, these comrades began to "transfer" the individual peasants straight to the conditions that obtain in the commune. Instead of consolidating the artel form of the movement, they began to "socialize" by compulsory measures the small livestock, poultry, dairy cattle in personal use, and dwelling houses. The results of this haste, which is impermissible for a Leninist, are now known to all. As a rule, of course, they failed to create well established communes; but, on the other hand, they neglected a number of agricultural artels. True, "good" resolutions remained. But what is the use of them?

This is the third mistake in the collective farm movement.

Third Question. How could these mistakes arise, and how must the party correct them?

Answer. They arose out of our rapid successes in the collective farm movement. Success sometimes turns people's heads. It sometimes engenders excessive self-opinion and conceit. This may very easily happen to the representatives of a party which holds power, especially in the case of our party, the strength and prestige of which is almost immeasurable. Here, cases of Communist vanity, against which Lenin fought so fiercely, may very easily occur. Here, belief in the omnipotence of decrees, resolutions and orders is quite possible. Here, there is a real danger of the revolutionary measures of the party being transformed into empty, bureaucratic decreeing by individual representatives of the party in one corner or another of our vast country. I have in mind not only

local workers, but even certain Regional Committee members, and even certain members of the Central Committee.

Communist vanity [says Lenin] is characteristic of a man who, while still a member of the Communist Party, not having yet been combed out of it, imagines that he can solve all his problems by issuing communist decrees. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. IX, p. 273.)

This is the soil from which sprung the mistakes in the collective farm movement, the distortions of the party line in the matter of collective farm development.

Wherein lies the danger of these mistakes and distortions if they are allowed to continue, if they are not eliminated quickly and without a trace?

The danger here is that these mistakes lead us by direct route to the discrediting of the collective farm movement, to disagreement with the middle peasants, to the disorganization of the poor peasants, to confusion in our ranks, to the weakening of our entire socialist construction, to the restoration of the kulaks. In short, these mistakes have a tendency to push us off the path of consolidating the alliance with the bulk of the peasantry, the path of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the path of a rupture with these masses, to the path of undermining the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This danger was already evident in the latter half of February, at the very moment when a section of our comrades, blinded by their previous successes, galloped away from the path of Leninism. The Central Committee of the party realized this danger and intervened without delay, instructing me to warn the erring comrades in a special article on the collective farm movement. Some people think that the article "Dizzy with Success" was written on my personal initiative. That is nonsense, of course. It is not for the purpose of permitting anybody, whoever it may be, to exercise his personal initiative in matters of this kind that we have our Central Committee. It was a deep reconnaissance undertaken by the Central Committee. And when the depth and extent of the mistakes were ascertained, the Central Committee was quick in striking at these mistakes with all the force of its prestige, and accordingly issued its celebrated decision of March 15, 1930.

It is difficult to halt and divert to the right path people who are galloping at a furious pace and rushing headlong towards a precipice. But our Central Committee is called the Central Committee of the Leninist Party precisely for the reason that it is able to overcome diffi-

culties even greater than these. And, in the main, it has already overcome these difficulties.

It is difficult in such cases for whole sections of the party to stop their onrush, to turn to the right path in time and to reform their ranks while on the march. But our party is called the party of Lenin precisely for the reason that it possesses sufficient flexibility to overcome such difficulties. And, in the main, it has already overcome these difficulties.

The main thing is to have the courage to admit one's mistakes and to have the strength to correct them in the shortest possible time. The fear of admitting the mistakes committed after the intoxication by recent successes, fear of self-criticism, unwillingness to correct mistakes quickly and decisively—that is the main difficulty. All that is needed is to overcome this difficulty, to cast aside inflated figures and bureaucratic office maximalism, to switch our attention over to the tasks of the organizational and economic development of the collective farms for these mistakes to be swept away without leaving a trace. There is no reason whatever to doubt that, in the main, the party has already overcome this dangerous difficulty.

All revolutionary parties which have hitherto perished [says Lenin] did so because they *grew conceited*, failed to see where their strength lay, and *feared to speak of their weaknesses*. But we shall not perish, for we do not fear to speak of our weaknesses, and will learn to overcome them. [My italics.—J. S.] (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russian ed., Vol. XXVII, pp. 260-61.)

These words of Lenin must not be forgotten.

Fourth Question. Is not the fight against distortions of the party line a step backward, a retreat?

Answer. Of course not! Only those who regard the continuation of mistakes and distortions as an offensive, and the fight against errors as a retreat, can speak of this as a retreat. To wage an offensive by piling up mistakes and distortions—that would be a fine "offensive," indeed!

We proposed the agricultural *artel* as the principal form of the collective farm movement at the present moment and provided the corresponding Model Rules as a guide in the work of collective farm development. Are we retreating from that? Of course not!

We proposed the consolidation of the bond between the working class and poor peasants on the one hand and the middle peasants on the other along the lines of production as the basis for the collective farm movement at the present moment. Are we retreating from that? Of course not!

We advanced the slogan of eliminating the kulaks as a class as the

principal slogan in our practical work in the rural districts at the present moment. Are we retreating from that? Of course not!

In January 1930, we decided on a definite rate of collectivization of agriculture in the U.S.S.R., dividing up the regions of the U.S.S.R. into a number of groups and determining the rate of development for each group. Are we retreating from that? Of course not!

Where, then, is the party's "retreat"?

We want those who have made mistakes and distortions to retreat from their mistakes. We want the blockheads to retreat from their block-headedness to the position of Leninism. We want this, because only if this is done shall we be able to continue the *real* offensive against our class enemies. Does this mean that we are taking a step backward? Of course not! It merely means that we want to conduct a *proper* offensive and not engage in a muddle-headed pretense at offensive.

Is it not obvious that only cranks and "Left" distortionists can appraise this line of the party as a retreat?

Those who are babbling about a retreat fail to understand at least two things.

1. They do not know the laws of an offensive. They do not understand that an offensive *without* the positions already captured *having been consolidated* is an offensive that is doomed to failure. When can an offensive be successful, in the military sphere, let us say? When the people concerned do not confine themselves to a headlong advance along the whole line, but try at the same time to *consolidate* the positions captured, to *regroup* their forces in accordance with the changed circumstances, to *bring up* the rear and to *move up* reserves. Why is all this necessary? In order to be protected against surprises, in order to close up breaches in the line which may be caused in every offensive, and thus to prepare for the complete rout of the enemy. The mistake the Polish army made in 1920, if we take only the military side of the matter, was that it neglected this rule. This, among other reasons, is why, after advancing with a rush to Kiev, it was obliged to retreat as precipitously back to Warsaw. The mistake the Soviet forces made in 1920, again if we take only the military side of the matter, was that in their advance on Warsaw they repeated the mistake of the Poles.

The same must be said about the laws of an offensive on the front of the class struggle. It is impossible to conduct a successful offensive with the object of liquidating the class enemies *unless we consolidate* the positions already captured, *unless we regroup* our forces, supply the front with *reserves*, bring up the *rear*, etc.

The whole point is that the blockheads do not understand the laws of an offensive. The whole point is that the party does understand them and applies them in practice.

2. They do not understand the class nature of the offensive. They shout about an offensive. But an offensive against *which* class, in alliance with *which* class? We are conducting an offensive against the capitalist elements in the countryside in alliance with the middle peasants, for only such an offensive can bring us victory. But what if, owing to the excessive ardor of individual sections of the party, the offensive begins to swerve from the right path and its spearhead is turned against our ally, against the middle peasant? Is it *any kind* of offensive we want, and not an offensive against a definite class in alliance with a definite class? Don Quixote also imagined that he was attacking enemies when he attacked windmills. But we know that he only got a bruised head from this apology for an offensive.

Evidently, our "Left" distortionists are envious of the laurels of Don Quixote.

Fifth Question. Which is the principal danger, the Right or the "Left"?

Answer. The principal danger is the Right danger. The Right danger has been, and still is, the principal danger.

Does not this thesis contradict the well-known thesis in the decision of the Central Committee of March 15, 1930, to the effect that the mistakes and distortions of the "Left" distortionists are now the principal hindrance to the collective farm movement? No, it does not. The fact of the matter is that the mistakes of the "Left" distortionists in the sphere of the collective farm movement are of a kind which create favorable conditions for strengthening and consolidating the Right deviation in the party. Why? Because these mistakes put the line of the party in a false light—consequently, they help to discredit the party—and, therefore, facilitate the struggle of the Right elements against the party leadership. Discrediting the party leadership is the elementary basis on which alone the fight of the Right deviationists against the party can be waged. The "Left" distortionists, their mistakes and distortions, provide the Right deviationists with this basis. Therefore, if we are to combat Right opportunism successfully we must overcome the mistakes of the "Left" opportunists. Objectively, the "Left" distortionists are the allies of the Right deviationists.

Such is the peculiar connection between "Left" opportunism and Right deviationism.

And it is this connection that explains the fact that certain "Lefts" so often talk about a bloc with the Rights. This also explains the peculiar phenomenon that a section of the "Lefts," who only yesterday were "conducting" a rush offensive and tried to collectivize the U.S.S.R. in a matter of two or three weeks, are today lapsing into a state of passivity, are throwing up the sponge and are completely vacating the field in favor of the Right deviationists, thereby pursuing a line of real retreat (without quotation marks!) in the face of the kulaks.

The distinguishing feature of the present situation is that the fight against the mistakes of the "Left" distortions is a condition for and a peculiar form of the successful struggle against Right opportunism.

Sixth Question. What significance is to be attached to the fact that a section of the peasants have withdrawn from the collective farms?

Answer. The withdrawal of a section of the peasants signifies that of late a number of unstable collective farms sprang up, which are now getting rid of their wavering elements. This means that sham collective farms will disappear, while the firmly established collective farms will remain and become stronger. I think that this is quite a normal phenomena. Some comrades yield to despair over this, they fall into a panic and convulsively clutch at inflated percentages. Others gloat over this fact and prophesy the "collapse" of the collective farm movement. Both, however, are profoundly mistaken. Both are very far removed from a Marxian understanding of the nature of the collective farm movement.

In the first place, it is the so-called "dead souls" * that are leaving the collective farms. It is not so much a withdrawal, as the exposure of a vacuum. Do we need dead souls? Of course not. In my opinion the North Caucasians and the Ukrainians are acting quite properly in dissolving the collective farms which consist of dead souls and in organizing really live and really stable collective farms. The collective farm movement will only benefit thereby.

In the second place, it is the alien elements, elements which are directly hostile to our cause, that are leaving the collective farms. Obviously, the sooner these elements are ejected the better for the collective farm movement.

Finally, it is the wavering elements, those who can be regarded neither

* A term taken from Gogol's novel *Dead Souls*. In the present case it means fictitious members, persons who were registered as members of collective farms, but who had not actually joined.—Ed.

as alien elements nor as dead souls, that are leaving. These are the peasants whom we have been unable to convince of the correctness of our cause *today*, but whom we shall certainly convince *tomorrow*. The withdrawal of these peasants is a serious, although temporary, loss to the collective farm movement. That is why the struggle for the wavering elements in the collective farms is now one of the most urgent tasks of the collective farm movement.

It follows, therefore, that the withdrawal of a section of the peasants from the collective farms is to be regarded not only as a negative phenomenon. It follows, that, inasmuch as this withdrawal rids the collective farms of dead souls and of downright alien elements, it is a beneficial process of recovery and consolidation of the collective farms.

A month ago it was estimated that over 60 per cent of the farms in the grain-growing regions were collectivized. It is now clear that, as far as real and at all stable collective farms are concerned, this figure was obviously exaggerated. If, after the withdrawal of a section of the peasants, the collective farm movement stabilizes at 40 per cent of all farms in the grain-growing regions—and that is certainly an attainable figure—it will be a great achievement for the collective farm movement at the present moment. I am taking the average figure for the grain-growing regions, knowing very well that there are certain districts where solid collectivization has been achieved, covering from 80 to 90 per cent of the farms in the given district. Forty per cent collectivization in the grain-growing regions will mean that by the spring of 1930 we shall have fulfilled the original Five-Year Plan of collectivization *twice over*.

Who can dare deny the *decisive* character of this *historical* achievement in the socialist development of the U.S.S.R.?

Seventh Question. Are the wavering peasants acting properly in leaving the collective farms?

Answer. No, they are not acting properly. In leaving the collective farms they are acting contrary to their own interests, for only the collective farms offer the peasants a way out of poverty and ignorance. By leaving the collective farms they place themselves in a worse position, for they deprive themselves of the privileges and benefits which the Soviet government offers the collective farms. The mistakes and distortions committed in the collective farms are no excuse for leaving them. Mistakes must be rectified by joint efforts, and that implies staying in the collective farms. It will be all the easier to rectify them, since the Soviet government will combat them with all its might.

Lenin says:

...the small farming system under commodity production *offers no escape* for mankind from the poverty and oppression of the masses. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, p. 60)

Lenin says:

There is no escape from poverty for the small farm. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 195.)

Lenin says:

If we continue as of old on our small farms, even as free citizens on free land, we shall still be faced with inevitable ruin. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, p. 370.)

Lenin says:

Only by collective, co-operative, artel labor will it be possible to emerge from the impasse into which the imperialist war has driven us. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 191.)

Lenin says:

...it is essential to adopt joint cultivation on large model farms. Without that there can be no escape from the chaos, from the truly desperate condition, in which Russia finds herself. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, p. 371.)

What does all this signify?

It signifies that the collective farms are the *sole* means by which the peasants can escape from poverty and ignorance.

It is obvious that the peasants are not acting properly in leaving the collective farms.

Lenin says:

Of course, from all the activities of the Soviet government you know what *tremendous significance* we attach to the communes, artels, and all organizations generally that aim at transforming and gradually assisting the transformation of small, individual, peasant farming into social, co-operative or artel farming. [My italics.—J. S.] (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 198.)

Lenin says:

The Soviet government gave direct *preference* to communes and co-operative associations by putting them in the forefront. [My italics.—J. S.] (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VII, p. 201.)

What does this mean?

This means that the Soviet government will give the collective farms privileges and preferences over individual farms. It means that it will give the collective farms privileges in respect of land, the supply of machines, tractors, seed grain, etc., in respect of tax alleviation and in respect of credits.

Why does the Soviet government give privileges and preference to the collective farms?

Because the collective farms are the only means of saving the peasants from poverty.

Because preferential assistance to the collective farms is the most effective form of assistance to the poor and middle peasants.

A few days ago the Soviet government decided to *exempt* from taxation for *two years* all socialized draught animals in the collective farms (horses, oxen, etc.), all cows, pigs, sheep and poultry both in the collective possession of the collective farms and in the individual possession of the collective farmers.

In addition, the Soviet government decided to *prolong the term* of payment of arrears on credits granted to collective farmers until the end of the year, and to *wave* all fines and court penalties imposed prior to April 1 in the case of all peasants who have joined collective farms.

Lastly, it decided to advance credits to the collective farmers in the present year to the amount of 500,000,000 rubles.

These privileges will assist the peasants who are members of collective farms. These privileges will assist those peasants, members of collective farms, who withstood the wave of withdrawals from the collective farms, who have become steeled in the fight against the enemies of the collective farms, who have defended the collective farms and have kept the great banner of the collective farm movement flying. These privileges will assist the poor and middle peasants, members of collective farms, who now comprise the main core of our collective farms, who will consolidate and mold our collective farms, and who will win over to the side of socialism millions and millions of peasants. These privileges will assist those peasants, members of collective farms, who now represent the principal force of the collective farms and who fully deserve to be called heroes of the collective farm movement.

These privileges *will not be enjoyed* by the peasants who left the collective farms.

Is it not obvious that the peasants who leave the collective farms are making a mistake?

Is it not obvious that only by rejoining the collective farms can they ensure these privileges for themselves?

Eighth Question. What about the communes, should they not be dissolved?

Answer. No, they should not, and there is no reason why they should be dissolved. I have in mind real communes and not those which exist only on paper. In the grain-growing regions of the Soviet Union there are a number of excellent communes that deserve to be encouraged and supported. I have in mind the old communes which have survived years of trial, which have become steeled in the fight and have fully justified their existence. As regards the new communes that have been formed only recently, they will be able to continue to exist only if they have been organized *voluntarily*, with the active support of the peasants and without the *compulsory* socialization of the appurtenances of everyday life.

The organization and administration of communes is a complicated and difficult matter. Large and well-established communes can exist and develop only if they possess experienced cadres and tried leaders. Precipitate transition from the rules of the *artel* to the rules of the commune may only repel the peasants from the collective farm movement. That is why this matter must be treated with exceptional seriousness and without any haste. The *artel* is a simpler affair and more easily understood by the large mass of the peasants. That is why the *artel* is the most widespread form of the collective farm movement at the present time. Only as the agricultural *artels* become strong and consolidated will the ground be prepared for a mass movement of the peasants toward the communes. That is why the commune, which represents a higher form, can become the principal link in the collective farm movement only in the future.

Ninth Question. What about the kulaks?

Answer. So far we have spoken about the middle peasant. The middle peasant is an ally of the working class and our policy towards him must be a friendly one. The case of the kulak is different. The kulak is an enemy of the Soviet government. There is not and cannot be peace between him and us. Our policy towards the kulaks is to eliminate them as a class. That, of course, does not mean that we can eliminate them at one stroke. But it does mean that we shall proceed in such a way as to surround them and eliminate them.

Here is what Lenin says about the kulaks:

The kulaks are the most brutal, callous and savage exploiters, who in the history of other countries have time and again restored the power of the landlords, tsars, priests and capitalists. The kulaks are more numerous than the landlords and capitalists. Nevertheless, the kulaks are a minority of the people. . . . These bloodsuckers have grown rich on the want suffered by the people in the war; they have raked in thousands and hundreds of thousands of rubles by screwing up the price of grain and other products. These spiders have grown fat at the expense of the peasants who have been ruined by the war, at the expense of the hungry workers. These leeches sucked the blood of the toilers and grew richer as the workers in the cities and factories starved. These vampires have been gathering the landed estates into their hands; they keep on enslaving the poor peasants. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, pp. 130-31.)

We tolerated these bloodsuckers, spiders and vampires and pursued the policy of restricting their exploiting proclivities. We tolerated them because we had no substitute for the kulak farms, for kulak production. We are now in a position to substitute, and more than substitute, for their farms our collective farms and state farms. There is no need to tolerate these spiders and bloodsuckers any longer. To tolerate any longer these spiders and bloodsuckers, who are setting fire to collective farms, murdering active collective farm workers and attempting to disrupt the sowing campaign, would mean to go against the interests of the workers and the peasants.

That is why the policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class must be pursued with all the persistence and consistency of which Bolsheviks are capable.

Tenth Question. What is the immediate practical task of the collective farms?

Answer. The immediate practical task of the collective farms is to get the sowing done, to fight for the largest possible extension of the crop area, to fight for the proper organization of the sowing.

All other tasks of the collective farms must now be adapted to the task of sowing.

All other work in the collective farms must now be subordinated to the work of organizing the sowing.

This means that the stability of the collective farms and of their active non-party members, the ability of the collective farm leaders and the Bolshevik nucleus among them, will be tested not by bombastic resolu-

tions and pompous greetings, but by the actual work of correctly organizing the sowing.

But in order to fulfill this practical task with honor the attention of the collective farm executives must be directed toward the *economic* problems of collective farm development, toward the *internal* problems of building up the collective farms.

Until recently, collective farm executives were mainly concerned with chasing after high figures of collectivization and refused to see the difference between real collectivization and collectivization on paper. This passion for figures must now be abandoned. The attention of the executives must now be concentrated on *consolidating* the collective farms, on the organizational *molding* of the collective farms, on *organizing* the practical work of the collective farms.

Until recently, the attention of collective farm executives was concentrated on the organization of large collective farm units, on the organization of the so-called "giants"; and not infrequently these "giants" developed into huge red-tape headquarters, devoid of economic roots in the villages. Window-dressing thus swallowed up practical work. This passion for window-dressing must now be abandoned. Attention must now be concentrated on the organizational and economic work of the collective farms in the villages. When this work begins to show the required results the "giants" will appear as a matter of course.

Until recently, little attention was paid to enlisting the middle peasants for leading positions in the collective farms. Yet there are efficient managers among the middle peasants who are capable of becoming excellent administrators in collective farms. This defect in our work must now be removed. Our duty now is to enlist the best of the middle peasants for leading positions in the collective farms and to give them the opportunity to develop their abilities in this sphere.

Until recently, insufficient attention was paid to work among peasant women. The past period has shown that work among peasant women is the weakest spot in our activity. This defect must now be removed resolutely and for good.

Until recently, the Communists in a number of regions assumed that they could solve all the problems of collective farm development by their own efforts. On this assumption, they paid insufficient attention to drawing non-party people into responsible work in the collective farms, to promoting non-party workers to leading positions in the collective farms, to organizing large groups of active non-party people in the collective farms. The history of our party has shown, and the period

just elapsed in collective farm development has demonstrated once more, that such a course is fundamentally wrong. If Communists were to shut themselves up in their shells and wall themselves off from non-party people, they would ruin the whole cause. One of the reasons why the Communists succeeded in covering themselves with glory in the fight for socialism and why the enemies of communism were beaten was that the Communists knew how to enlist the best elements among non-party people for the cause, that they drew their forces from among the broad strata of non-party people and knew how to surround the party with large sections of active non-party people. This defect in our work among those who are not members of the party must now be removed, resolutely and for good.

To remove these defects in our work, to eradicate them completely—this is what is meant by placing the *economic* work of the collective farms on proper lines.

Hence:

1. The proper organization of the sowing—this is the task.
2. The concentration of attention on the economic problems of the collective farm movement—this is the means necessary for the fulfillment of the task.

THE TASKS OF BUSINESS EXECUTIVES

The deliberations of your conference are drawing to a close. You are now about to adopt resolutions. I have no doubt that they will be adopted unanimously. In these resolutions—I know something about them—you approve the control figures of industry for 1931 and pledge yourselves to fulfill them.

A Bolshevik's word is his bond. Bolsheviks are in the habit of fulfilling their pledges. But what does the pledge to fulfill the control figures for 1931 mean? It means ensuring a general increase of industrial output by 45 per cent. And this is a very big task. More than that. Such a pledge means that you not only promise to fulfill our Five-Year Plan in four years—that is decided, and no more resolutions are needed on that score—it means that you promise to fulfill it in three years in all the basic, decisive branches of industry.

It is good that the conference offers a promise to fulfill the plan for 1931, to fulfill the Five-Year Plan in three years. But we have been taught by "bitter experience." We know that promises are not always kept. In the beginning of 1930, also, a promise was given to fulfill the plan for the year. At that time it was necessary to increase the output of our industries by 31 to 32 per cent. But that promise was not kept to the full. Actually, the increase in industrial output in 1930 amounted to 25 per cent. We must ask ourselves: will not the same thing occur again this year? The directors and managers of our industries now promise to increase the industrial output in 1931 by 45 per cent. But what guarantee have we that this promise will be kept?

What is needed to fulfill the control figures, to achieve a 45 per cent increase in output, to secure the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan not in four, but, as regards the basic and decisive branches of industry, in three years?

Two fundamental conditions are needed for this.

First, real, or as we term it, "objective" possibilities.

Second, the willingness and ability to direct our enterprises in such a way as to realize these possibilities.

Did we have the "objective" possibility last year for completely ful-

filling the plan? Yes, we had. Incontestable facts testify to this. The facts are that in March and April of last year industrial output showed an increase of 31 per cent as compared with the previous year. Why then did we fail to fulfill the plan for the whole year? What prevented it? What was lacking? *The ability to make use of the available possibilities was lacking. The ability to direct the factories, mills and mines properly was lacking.*

We had the first condition: the "objective" possibilities for fulfilling the plan. But we did not have in sufficient degree the second condition: the ability to direct production. And precisely because we lacked the ability to direct the factories properly, the plan was not carried out in full. Instead of 31 to 32 per cent increase we had only 25 per cent increase.

Of course, a 25 per cent *increase* is a big thing. Not a single capitalist country *increased* its production in 1930, nor are there any that are *increasing* production now. All capitalist countries without exception show a sharp decline in production. Under such circumstances a 25 per cent *increase* is a big step forward. But we could have achieved more. We had all the necessary "objective" conditions for this.

Thus, what guarantee is there that what happened last year will not happen again this year; that the plan will be carried out in full; that proper use will be made of the available possibilities; that your promise will not, to some extent, remain a promise on paper?

In the history of states and countries, in the history of armies, there have been cases when every opportunity for success and for victory was on hand, but these opportunities were wasted because the leaders did not see them, did not know how to make use of them, and the armies suffered defeat.

Have we all the possibilities that are needed to fulfill the control figures for 1931?

Yes, we have these possibilities.

What are these possibilities? What are the necessary factors that *make* these possibilities real?

First of all, adequate natural *resources* in the country: iron ore, coal, oil, grain, cotton. Have we these resources? Yes, we have. We have them in larger quantities than any other country. Take the Urals, for example, which represent a combination of wealth that cannot be found in any other country. Ore, coal, oil, grain—what is there not in the Urals? We have everything in our country, except, perhaps, rubber. But within a year or two we will have our own rubber as well. As far as natural

resources are concerned we are fully secured. We have even more than enough.

What else is needed?

A *government* capable and willing to utilize these immense natural resources for the benefit of the people. Have we such a government? We have. True, our work in utilizing natural resources is sometimes accompanied by friction among our own executives. For instance, last year the Soviet government had to contend with a certain amount of struggle over the question of creating a second coal and metal base, without which we cannot develop further. But we have already overcome these obstacles and shall soon have this base.

What else is needed?

That this government should enjoy the *support* of the vast masses of workers and peasants. Does our government enjoy such support? Yes, it does. You will find no other government in the world that enjoys such support from the workers and peasants as does the Soviet government. There is no need for me to enlarge on the growth of socialist emulation, the spread of shock work, the campaign for counter-plans. All these facts, which clearly demonstrate the support which the vast masses give the Soviet government, are well known.

What else is needed to fulfill and overfulfill the control figures for 1931?

A *system* which is free of the incurable diseases of capitalism and which is greatly superior to capitalism. Crises, unemployment, waste, poverty among the masses—such are the incurable diseases of capitalism. Our system does not suffer from these diseases because power is in our hands, in the hands of the working class; because we are conducting a planned economy, systematically accumulating resources and properly distributing them among the different branches of national economy. We are free of the incurable diseases of capitalism. This is what distinguishes us from capitalism; this is what constitutes our decisive superiority over capitalism. See how the capitalists are trying to escape from the crisis. They are reducing the workers' wages to a minimum. They are reducing the prices of raw materials and food products as much as possible. But they do not want to reduce the prices of manufactured goods to any appreciable degree. This means that they want to overcome the crisis at the expense of the principal consumers, at the expense of the workers, at the expense of the peasants, at the expense of the toilers in countries which produce raw materials and food. The capitalists are cutting the ground from under their own feet. And instead of emerging

from the crisis they aggravate it; new conditions accumulate which lead to a new and even more severe crisis. The superiority of our system lies in that we have no crises of overproduction, we have not and never will have millions of unemployed, we have no anarchy in production; for we are conducting a planned economy. Nor is this all. We are a land of the most concentrated industry in the world. This means that we can build our industry on the basis of the best technique and thereby secure an unprecedented productivity of labor, an unprecedented rate of accumulation. Our weakness in the past consisted in the fact that this industry was based upon scattered and small peasant farming. That *was* the case; it is no longer the case now. Soon, perhaps within a year, we will become the land of agriculture run on the largest scale in the world. This year, the state farms and collective farms—and these are forms of large-scale agriculture—have already supplied half of all the grain available for the market. And that shows that our system, the Soviet system, affords opportunities of rapid progress of which not a single bourgeois country can dream.

What else is needed to advance in seven league strides?

A *party* sufficiently solid and united to direct the efforts of all the best members of the working class to one *purpose*, one sufficiently experienced not to be dismayed by difficulties, and systematically to pursue a correct, revolutionary Bolshevik policy. Have we such a party? We have. Is its policy correct? It is; for it has resulted in real successes. This is now admitted not only by the friends but also by the enemies of the working class. See how all the well-known “honorable” gentlemen, Fish in America, Churchill in England, Poincaré in France, fume and rave against our party! Why do they fume and rave in this way? Because the policy of our party is correct, because it is achieving success after success.

Such, comrades, are the possibilities which should help us to fulfill the control figures for 1931, which should enable us to fulfill the Five-Year Plan in four years, and in the key industries even in three years.

Thus we have the first condition for the fulfillment of the plan—the “objective” possibilities.

Have we the second condition, the ability to make use of these possibilities?

In other words, are our factories, mills and mines efficiently run? Is everything in order in this respect?

Unfortunately, not everything is in order here. And we, as Bolsheviks, must say this frankly and openly.

What does directing production mean? There are people among us who

do not always treat the question of factory management in a Bolshevik way. There are many people among us who think that to direct means to sign papers. This is sad, but true. At times one cannot help recalling Shchedrin's Pompadours. Do you remember how Lady Pompadour taught the young Pompadour: "Don't break your head over science, don't go into details, let others do this, it is not your business—your business is to direct, to sign papers." It must be admitted to our shame that even among us Bolsheviks there are not a few who direct by signing papers. But as for going into the details of the business, learning technique, becoming master of the business—why, by no manner of means.

How is it that we Bolsheviks, who have made three revolutions, who emerged victorious from the bitter civil war, who have solved the vast problem of building up industry, who have swung the peasantry to the path of socialism—how is it that in the matter of directing production we bow to a slip of paper?

The reason is that it is easier to sign papers than to direct production. And, so, many business executives chose this line of least resistance. We, too, in the center, bear a share of the blame. About ten years ago a slogan was issued: "Since Communists do not yet properly understand the technique of production, since they have yet to learn the art of management, let the old technicians and engineers—the experts—carry on production, and you, Communists, do not interfere with the technique of the business; but while not interfering, study technique, study tirelessly the art of management, in order later on to become, together with the experts who are loyal to us, true leaders of industry, true masters of the business." Such was the slogan. But how did it work out? The second part of this formula was cast aside, for it is harder to study than to sign papers; and the first part of the formula was vulgarized: non-interference was interpreted to mean refraining from studying the technique of production. The result has been nonsense, harmful and dangerous nonsense, which the sooner we discard the better.

Life itself has more than once signalled to us that all was not well in this field. The Shakhty case was the first signal. The Shakhty case showed that the party organizations and the trade unions lacked revolutionary vigilance. It showed that our business executives were disgracefully backward in regard to the knowledge of technology; that some of the old engineers and technicians, working without supervision, were more prone to engage in wrecking activities, especially as they were constantly being besieged by "offers" from our enemies abroad. The second signal was the "Industrial Party" trial.

Of course, the underlying cause of wrecking activities is the class struggle. Of course, the class enemy is furiously resisting the socialist offensive. This alone, however, is not an adequate explanation for the luxuriant growth of wrecking activities.

How is it that sabotage has assumed such wide dimensions? Who is to blame for this? We are to blame. Had we handled the business of industrial management differently, had we started much earlier to learn the technique of the business, to master technique, had we more frequently and efficiently intervened in the management of production, the wreckers could not have done so much damage.

We must ourselves become experts, masters of the business; we must turn to technical science—such was the lesson life itself was teaching us. But neither the first signal, nor even the second signal, brought about the necessary change. It is time, it is high time that we turned towards technique. It is time we cast aside the old slogan, the obsolete slogan of non-interference in technique, and ourselves become specialists, experts, complete masters in our various lines.

It is frequently asked: Why have we not one-man management? We do not have it and will not have it until we have mastered technique. Until there are among us Bolsheviks a sufficient number of people thoroughly familiar with technique, economics and finance, we will not have real one-man management. You can write as many resolutions as you please, take as many vows as you please, but, unless you master the technique, economics and finance of the mill, factory or mine, nothing will come of it, there will be no one-man management.

Hence, the task is for us to master technique ourselves, to become the masters of the job ourselves. This is the sole guarantee that our plans will be carried out in full, and that one-man management will be established.

This, of course, is no easy matter: but it can certainly be accomplished. Science, technical experience, knowledge, are all things that can be acquired. We may not have them today, but tomorrow we will. The main thing is to have the passionate Bolshevik desire to master technique, to master the science of production. Everything can be achieved, everything can be overcome, if there is a passionate desire to do so.

It is sometimes asked whether it is not possible to slow down the tempo a bit, to put a check on the movement. No, comrades, it is not possible! The tempo must not be reduced! On the contrary, we must increase it as much as is within our powers and possibilities. This is dictated to us by our obligations to the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. This is

dictated to us by our obligations to the working class of the whole world.

To slacken the tempo would mean falling behind. And those who fall behind get beaten. But we do not want to be beaten. No, we refuse to be beaten! One feature of the history of old Russia was the continual beatings she suffered for falling behind, for her backwardness. She was beaten by the Mongol Khans. She was beaten by the Turkish beys. She was beaten by the Swedish feudal lords. She was beaten by the Polish and Lithuanian gentry. She was beaten by the British and French capitalists. She was beaten by the Japanese barons. All beat her—for her backwardness: for military backwardness, for cultural backwardness, for political backwardness, for industrial backwardness, for agricultural backwardness. She was beaten because to do so was profitable and could be done with impunity. Do you remember the words of the pre-revolutionary poet: "You are poor and abundant, mighty and impotent, Mother Russia." These words of the old poet were well learned by those gentlemen. They beat her, saying: "You are abundant," so one can enrich oneself at your expense. They beat her, saying: "You are poor and impotent," so you can be beaten and plundered with impunity. Such is the law of the exploiters—to beat the backward and the weak. It is the jungle law of capitalism. You are backward, you are weak—therefore you are wrong; hence, you can be beaten and enslaved. You are mighty—therefore you are right; hence, we must be wary of you.

That is why we must no longer lag behind.

In the past we had no fatherland, nor could we have one. But now that we have overthrown capitalism and power is in the hands of the working class, we have a fatherland, and we will defend its independence. Do you want our socialist fatherland to be beaten and to lose its independence? If you do not want this you must put an end to its backwardness in the shortest possible time and develop genuine Bolshevik tempo in building up its socialist system of economy. There is no other way. That is why Lenin said during the October Revolution: "Either perish, or overtake and outstrip the advanced capitalist countries."

We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this distance in ten years. Either we do it, or they crush us.

This is what our obligation to the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. dictate to us.

But we have other still more serious and more important obligations. They are our obligations to the world proletariat. They coincide with

our obligations to the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. But we place them higher. The working class of the U.S.S.R. is part of the world working class. We achieved victory not only as a result of the efforts of the working class of the U.S.S.R., but also thanks to the support of the working class of the world. Without this support we would have been torn to pieces long ago. It is said that our country is the shock-brigade of the proletariat of all countries. This is well said. But this imposes very serious obligations upon us. Why does the international proletariat support us? How did we merit this support? By the fact that we were the first to hurl ourselves into the battle against capitalism, we were the first to establish a working class state, we were the first to start building socialism. By the fact that we are doing work which, if successful, will change the whole world and free the entire working class. But what is needed for success? The elimination of our backwardness, the development of a high Bolshevik tempo of construction. We must march forward in such a way that the working class of the whole world, looking at us, may say: "This is my vanguard, this is my shock-brigade, this is my working class state, this is my fatherland; they are promoting their cause, which is our cause, and they are doing this well; let us support them against the capitalists and spread the cause of the world revolution." Must we not justify the hopes of the world's working class, must we not fulfill our obligations to them? Yes, we must if we do not want utterly to disgrace ourselves.

Such are our obligations, internal and international.

You see, they dictate to us a Bolshevik tempo of development.

I will not say that we have accomplished nothing in regard to economic management during these years. In fact, we have accomplished a good deal. We have doubled our industrial output as compared with the pre-war level. We have created the largest scale agricultural production in the world. But we could have accomplished more had we tried hard during this period really to master the business of production, the technique of production, the financial and economic side of it.

In ten years at most we must make good the distance we are lagging behind the advanced capitalist countries. We have all the "objective" opportunities for this. The only thing lacking is the ability to make proper use of these opportunities. And that depends on us. *Only* on us! It is time we learned to use these opportunities. It is time to put an end to the rotten policy of non-interference in production. It is time to adopt a new policy, a policy adopted to the times—the policy of interfering in everything. If you are a factory manager, then interfere in all the

affairs of the factory, look into everything, let nothing escape you, learn and learn again. Bolsheviks must master technique. It is time Bolsheviks themselves became experts. In the period of reconstruction technique decides everything. And a business executive who does not want to study technique, who does not want to master technique, is a joke and not an executive.

It is said that it is hard to master technique. This is not true! There are no fortresses which Bolsheviks cannot capture. We have solved a number of most difficult problems. We have overthrown capitalism. We have assumed power. We have built up a huge socialist industry. We have turned the middle peasants to the path of socialism. We have already accomplished what is most important from the point of view of construction. What remains to be done is not so much: to study technique, to master science. And when we have done this we will develop a tempo of which we dare not even dream at present. And we can do this if we really want to.

NEW CONDITIONS, NEW TASKS IN ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION

The materials presented to this conference show that as regards the fulfillment of the plan our industry presents a rather motley picture. Some branches of industry have increased output during the past five months 40 to 50 per cent as compared with last year. Other branches have increased output not more than 20 to 30 per cent. And, finally, there are certain branches that show a very small increase, only 6 to 10 per cent, and even less. Among the latter we must include coal mining and the iron and steel industry. The picture, as you see, is a motley one.

How is this to be explained? What is the reason for the fact that certain branches of industry are lagging behind others? Why is it that certain branches of industry show an increase of only 20 to 25 per cent; while coal mining and the iron and steel industry show even a smaller increase and are trailing behind other branches?

The reason is that lately the conditions of development of industry have radically changed; new conditions demanding new methods of management have arisen; but some of our business executives, instead of changing their methods, are still continuing in the old way. Hence, the new conditions of development of industry demand new methods of work; but some of our business executives do not see this and do not realize that they must now adopt new methods of management.

This is the reason why certain of our industries are lagging behind.

What are the new conditions of development of our industry? How did they arise?

We can enumerate at least six such new conditions.

Let us examine them.

Labor Power

First of all, there is the question of the supply of *labor power* for our factories. Formerly, the workers themselves usually came to the factories and mills to seek work—hence, to some extent, things were left to take their own course in this sphere. And things could be allowed to take their own course because there was unemployment, there was

class differentiation among the rural population, there was poverty and fear of starvation, which drove people from the countryside to the towns. You remember the formula: "The flight of the muzhik from the countryside to the towns." What compelled the peasant to flee from the countryside to the towns? The fear of starvation, unemployment, the fact that the village was like a stepmother to him, and he was ready to flee from his village to the devil himself, if only he could find some sort of work.

Such, or nearly such, was the state of affairs in the recent past.

Can it be said that the same conditions prevail now? No, this cannot be said. On the contrary, conditions have now radically changed. And because conditions have changed we no longer have a spontaneous influx of labor power. What, in point of fact, has changed during this period? First, we have done away with unemployment—hence we have abolished a force that weighed heavily on the "labor market." Secondly, we have cut at the root of class differentiation in the countryside—hence we have abolished mass poverty which drove the peasant from the countryside to the towns. And, finally, we have supplied the rural districts with tens of thousands of tractors and agricultural machines; we have smashed the kulak, we have organized collective farms and have given the peasants the opportunity to live and work like human beings. The countryside can no longer be regarded as a stepmother to the peasant. And precisely because it can no longer be regarded as a stepmother, the peasant is beginning to settle down in the countryside; we no longer have the "flight of the muzhik from the countryside to the towns" and a spontaneous influx of labor power.

As you see, we now have an entirely new situation and new conditions in regard to ensuring labor power for our factories.

What follows from this?

It follows, first, that we must no longer count on a spontaneous influx of labor power. This means that we must pass from the "policy" of waiting for the spontaneous influx to the policy of *organized* recruiting of workers for industry. But there is only one way of achieving this—that of contracts concluded between the business organizations and the collective farms and collective farmers. As you are aware, certain business organizations and collective farms have already adopted this method; and experience has shown that this practice has very important advantages both for the collective farms and for the industrial enterprises.

It follows, secondly, that we must proceed immediately to *mechanize* the heavier processes of labor and develop this mechanization to the ut-

most (timber industry, building industry, coal industry, loading and unloading, transport, iron and steel industry, etc.). This, of course, does not mean that we must abandon manual labor entirely. On the contrary, manual labor will continue to play an important part in production for a long time to come. But it does mean that mechanization of labor processes is for us the *new* and *decisive* factor, without which we shall be unable to maintain either our tempo or the new scale of production.

There are still quite a number of our business executives who do not "believe" either in mechanization or in contracts with collective farms. These are the executives who fail to understand the new conditions, who do not want to work in the new way and sigh for the "good old times" when labor power "flocked" to industrial enterprises "as a matter of course." Needless to say, such business executives are as remote from the new tasks in economic construction demanded by the new conditions as the sky from the earth. Evidently they think that the difficulties in the supply of labor power are of a fortuitous nature and that the shortage of labor power will disappear of its own accord, so to speak. This is a delusion, comrades. The difficulties in the supply of labor power cannot disappear of themselves. They will disappear only as a result of our own efforts.

Hence, the task is *to recruit labor power in an organized way, by concluding contracts with the collective farms, and to mechanize labor.*

This is the position with regard to the first new condition of development of our industry.

Let us turn to the second condition.

Wages

I have just spoken about the organized recruiting of workers for our factories. But recruiting workers is only part of the job. In order to ensure the necessary labor power for our factories we must see to it that the workers remain in the factories and that the latter have a more or less permanent personnel. It need hardly be proved that without a permanent personnel of workers who have more or less mastered the technique of production and have become accustomed to the new machinery it will be impossible to make any headway, impossible to fulfill the production plans. Unless this is achieved, we shall have to keep on teaching new workers and to spend half the time on training them instead of making use of this time for production. What is actually happening now? Can it be said that our factories have a more or less permanent personnel? Unfortunately, this cannot be said. On the con-

trary, we still have a heavy *turnover* of labor power in our factories. Moreover, in a number of factories the turnover of labor power is not disappearing, but, on the contrary, is increasing and becoming more marked. At any rate, you will find few factories where the personnel does not change at least to the extent of 30 to 40 per cent of the total in the course of a half year, or even in one quarter.

Formerly, during the period of restoration of our industry, when its technical equipment was not very complex and the scale of production not very large, it was more or less possible to "tolerate" this heavy turnover of labor power. Now it is another matter. Conditions have changed radically. Now, in the period of intensive reconstruction, when the scale of production has become gigantic and technical equipment has become extremely complex, the heavy turnover of labor power has become the plague of production, and is disorganizing our factories. To "tolerate" the heavy turnover of labor power now would mean the disintegration of our industry, it would mean wrecking the opportunities of fulfilling production plans and ruining the opportunities of improving the quality of the articles produced.

What is the cause of the heavy turnover of labor power?

The cause is the wrong structure of wages, the wrong wage scales, the "Leftist" practice of wage equalization. In a number of our factories wage scales are drawn up in such a way as to practically wipe out the difference between skilled labor and unskilled labor, between heavy work and light work. The consequence of wage equalization is that the unskilled worker lacks the incentive to become a skilled worker and is thus deprived of the prospect of advancement; as a result he feels himself a "sojourner" in the factory, working only temporarily so as to earn a little and then go off to "seek his fortune" elsewhere. The consequence of wage equalization is that the skilled worker is obliged to wander from factory to factory until he finds one where his skill is properly appreciated.

Hence the "general" drift from factory to factory; hence the heavy turnover of labor power.

In order to put an end to this evil we must abolish wage equalization and discard the old wage scales. In order to put an end to this evil we must draw up wage scales that will take into account the difference between skilled labor and unskilled labor, between heavy work and light work. We cannot tolerate a situation where a rolling-mill hand in a steel mill earns no more than a sweeper. We cannot tolerate a situation where a railway locomotive driver earns only as much as a copying clerk. Marx and Lenin said that the difference between skilled labor and unskilled

labor would exist even under socialism, even after classes had been abolished; that only under communism would this difference disappear and that, therefore, even under socialism "wages" must be paid according to work performed and not according to needs. But the equalitarians among our business executives and trade union officials do not agree with this and believe that under our Soviet system this difference has already disappeared. Who is right, Marx and Lenin, or the equalitarians? We must take it that it is Marx and Lenin who are right. But if that is so, it follows that whoever draws up wage scales on the "principle" of wage equalization, without taking into account the difference between skilled labor and unskilled labor, breaks with Marxism, breaks with Leninism.

In every industry, in every factory, in every department of a factory, there is a leading group of more or less skilled workers who must first of all, and particularly, be retained in industry if we really want to secure for the factories a permanent personnel. These leading groups of workers are the chief link in production. By retaining them in the factory, in the department, we can retain the whole personnel and put an end to the heavy turnover of labor power. But how can we retain them in the factories? We can retain them only by promoting them to higher positions, by raising the level of their wages, by introducing a system of payment that will give the worker his due according to qualification. And what does promoting them to higher positions and raising their wage level imply? It implies, apart from everything else, opening up prospects for the unskilled worker and giving him a stimulus to rise higher, to rise to the category of a skilled worker. You know yourselves that we now need hundreds of thousands and even millions of skilled workers. But in order to get skilled workers we must give the unskilled worker a stimulus and prospect of advancement, of rising to a higher position. And the more boldly we do this the better; for this is the principal means of putting an end to the heavy labor turnover. To economize in this matter would be criminal, it would be going against the interests of our socialist industry.

But this is not all.

In order to retain the workers in the factories we must still further improve the supply of products to the workers and improve their housing conditions. It cannot be denied that not a little has been accomplished during the last few years in the sphere of housing construction and as regards improving the supply of products to the workers. But what has been accomplished is altogether inadequate compared with the

rapidly growing requirements of the workers. It will not do to plead that there were fewer houses before than there are now and that therefore we can rest content with the results achieved. Nor will it do to plead that workers' supplies were far worse before than they are now and therefore we can be satisfied with the present situation. Only those who are rotten to the core can content themselves with references to what existed in the past. We must proceed, not from the past, but from the growing requirements of the workers today. We must realize that the conditions of life of the workers have radically changed in our country. The worker today is not what he was before. The worker today, our Soviet worker, wants to live so as to have all his material and cultural needs satisfied: food, housing conditions, cultural and all other requirements. He has a right to this, and it is our duty to secure these conditions for him. True, our worker does not suffer from unemployment; he is free from the yoke of capitalism; he is no longer a slave, but the master of his job. But this is not enough. He demands that all his material and cultural requirements be ensured, and it is our duty to meet his demands. Do not forget that we ourselves are now putting certain demands to the workers—we demand labor discipline, intense effort, emulation, shock work. Do not forget that the vast majority of workers have accepted these demands of the Soviet government with great enthusiasm and are carrying them out heroically. Do not be surprised, therefore, that, while carrying out the demands of the Soviet government, the workers in their turn demand that the Soviet government shall carry out its pledge further to improve their material and cultural conditions.

Hence, the task is *to put an end to the heavy turnover of labor power, to do away with wage equalization, to organize wages properly and to improve the living conditions of the workers.*

This is the position with regard to the second new condition of development of our industry.

Let us turn to the third condition.

The Organization of Work

I have said that it is necessary to put an end to the heavy turnover of labor power, to retain the workers in the factories. But retaining the workers in the factories is not all; the matter does not end there. It is not enough to put an end to the heavy turnover of labor power. We must place the workers in conditions that will enable them to work efficiently, to increase their productivity and to improve the quality of the products. Consequently, we must so organize ~~work~~ in the factories

as to bring about an increase in labor productivity from month to month, from quarter to quarter.

Can it be said that the present organization of labor in our factories meets the modern requirements of production? Unfortunately, this cannot be said. At all events, there are still a number of factories where labor is organized abominably, where instead of order and co-ordination of work there is disorder and confusion, where instead of responsibility for the work done there is absolute irresponsibility, absolute *lack of personal responsibility*.

What does lack of personal responsibility mean? It means complete lack of responsibility for work that is entrusted to anyone, lack of responsibility for machinery and tools. Naturally, when there is no personal responsibility we cannot expect a tangible increase in productivity of labor, an improvement in the quality of products, the exercise of care in handling machinery and tools. You know what lack of personal responsibility led to on the railways. It is leading to the same result in industry. We have abolished the system under which there was lack of personal responsibility on the railways and have thus improved their work. We must do the same in industry if we are to raise its work to a higher level.

Formerly, we could "manage" somehow or other with bad organization of labor, which gets on quite nicely without personal responsibility, without every man being responsible for the job entrusted to him. Now it is a different matter. Conditions have entirely changed. With the present vast scale of production and the existence of giant enterprises, lack of personal responsibility has become the plague of industry, which is jeopardizing all our achievements in our factories in the sphere of production and organization.

How is it that lack of personal responsibility has become the rule in a number of factories? It entered the factories as the illegitimate companion of the uninterrupted working-week. It would be wrong to assert that the uninterrupted week necessarily leads to lack of personal responsibility in production. If work is properly organized, if each one is made responsible for a definite job, if definite groups of workers are assigned to machines, if the shifts are properly organized so that they correspond in quality and skill—given such conditions, the uninterrupted week leads to a tremendous increase in labor productivity, to an improvement in quality of work and to the eradication of the system under which there is a lack of personal responsibility. Such is the case on the railways, for example, where the uninterrupted week is in force, but where the system

under which there was no personal responsibility has been done away with. Can it be said that the uninterrupted week is equally satisfactory in industrial enterprises? Unfortunately, this cannot be said. The fact of the matter is that a number of our factories adopted the uninterrupted week far too hastily, without the necessary preparations, without properly organizing shifts so that they correspond more or less in quality and skill, without making each worker responsible for a definite job. The result is that the uninterrupted week, left to itself, has given rise to a lack of personal responsibility. The result is that in a number of factories we have the uninterrupted week on paper, in words; and lack of personal responsibility, not on paper, but in actual operation. The result is that there is no sense of responsibility for the job, machines are handled carelessly and break down frequently, and there is no stimulus for increasing the productivity of labor. It is not for nothing that the workers say: "We could raise the productivity of our labor and bring about real improvement; but who is going to appreciate it if nobody is responsible for anything?"

It follows from this that some of our comrades were a little too hasty in introducing the uninterrupted week, and in their hurry distorted it and transformed it into a system under which personal responsibility is eliminated. There are two ways of putting an end to this situation and of doing away with lack of personal responsibility: either change the method of enforcing the uninterrupted week so that it does not result in lack of personal responsibility, as was done on the railways, or, where the conditions do not favor this, abandon the nominal uninterrupted week, temporarily adopt the interrupted, six-day week, as was recently done in the Stalingrad Tractor Works, and then set about creating the conditions that will permit of a return to a real, not nominal, uninterrupted week, to an uninterrupted week that does not involve the elimination of personal responsibility.

There is no other way.

There can be no doubt that our business executives understand this very well. But they keep silent. Why? Because, evidently, they fear the truth. But since when have Bolsheviki begun to fear the truth? Is it not true that in a number of factories the uninterrupted week has resulted in lack of personal responsibility and has thus been distorted to the extreme? The question is: who wants such an uninterrupted week? Who can dare assert that the preservation of this nominal and distorted uninterrupted week is more important than the proper organization of labor, than increased productivity of labor, than a genuine uninterrupted week,

than the interests of our socialist industry? Is it not clear that the sooner we bury the nominal uninterrupted week the sooner will we achieve the organization of a genuine, and not only nominal, uninterrupted week?

Some comrades seem to think that we can do away with the lack of personal responsibility by means of incantations and glib speeches. At any rate, I know a number of business executives who in their fight against lack of personal responsibility confine themselves to speaking at meetings now and again, hurling curses at the lack of personal responsibility, evidently in the belief that after such speeches lack of personal responsibility will disappear of its own accord, so to speak. They are grievously mistaken if they think that lack of personal responsibility can be done away with by speeches and incantations. No, comrades, lack of personal responsibility will never disappear of itself. We alone can and must put an end to it; for it is we who are at the helm and we are answerable for everything, including the lack of personal responsibility. I think that it would be far better if our business executives, instead of making speeches and incantations, spent a month or two at some mine or factory, studied every detail, however "minute," of labor organization, put an end to lack of personal responsibility at these places and then applied the experience gained at the given enterprise to other enterprises. That would be far better. That would be really fighting against lack of personal responsibility, fighting for the proper, Bolshevik organization of labor, for the proper distribution of forces in the factories.

Hence, the task is *to put an end to lack of personal responsibility, to improve the organization of labor and to secure the proper distribution of forces in our enterprises.*

This is the position with regard to the third new condition of development of our industry.

Let us turn to the fourth condition.

A Working Class Industrial and Technical Intelligentsia

The situation has also changed in regard to the commanding staff of industry generally, and in regard to the engineering and technical personnel in particular.

Formerly, the main source of supplies for our industry was the coal and iron and steel base in the Ukraine. The Ukraine supplied metal to all our industrial regions: the South, Moscow and Leningrad. It also supplied coal to the principal enterprises in the U.S.S.R. I leave out the

Urals because it played an unimportant part in comparison with the Donetz Basin. Accordingly, we had three main centers for training people for leading posts in industry: the South, the Moscow district and the Leningrad district. Naturally, under those conditions we could somehow manage with the very small engineering and technical forces that our country could possibly possess at that time.

Such was the situation in the recent past.

But the situation is now entirely different. Now it is obvious, I think, that if we maintain the present rate of development and gigantic scale of production the Ukrainian coal and iron and steel base will not suffice. As you are aware, the Ukrainian coal and metal are already inadequate, in spite of the increase in their output. As you are aware, we have been obliged, as a result of this, to create a new coal and iron and steel base in the East—in the Urals-Kuzbas region. As you are aware, our work to create this base has been not without success. But that is not enough. We must proceed to create an iron and steel industry in Siberia itself to satisfy her own growing requirements. And we are already creating it. Besides this, we must create a new base for non-ferrous metals in Kazakstan and Turkestan. Finally, we must develop extensive railroad construction. That is dictated by the interests of the U.S.S.R. as a whole—by the interests of the border republics as well as of the center.

But it follows from this that we can no longer manage with the very small engineering, technical and administrative staffs with which we managed formerly. It follows that the old centers for training engineering and technical forces are no longer adequate, and that we must create a number of new centers—in the Urals, in Siberia and Central Asia. We must now ensure the supply of three times, five times the number of engineering, technical and administrative forces for industry if we seriously intend to carry out the program of the socialist industrialization of the U.S.S.R.

But we do not need just *any kind* of administrative, engineering and technical forces. We need *such* administrative, engineering and technical forces as are capable of understanding the policy of the working class of our country, are capable of assimilating that policy and are ready to carry it out conscientiously. And what does this mean? This means that our country has entered a phase of development in which the *working class must create its own industrial and technical intelligentsia*, one that is capable of upholding the interests of the working class in production as the interests of the ruling class.

No ruling class has managed without its own intelligentsia. There are

no grounds for believing that the working class of the U.S.S.R. can manage without its own industrial and technical intelligentsia.

The Soviet government has taken this fact into account and has opened wide the doors of all the higher educational institutions in every branch of national economy to members of the working class. You know that tens of thousands of working class and peasant youths are now attending the higher educational institutions. Whereas formerly, under capitalism, the higher educational institutions were the monopoly of the scions of the rich—today, under the Soviet system, the working class and peasant youth predominate in these institutions. There is no doubt that our educational institutions will soon be turning out thousands of new technicians and engineers, new commanders for our industries.

But that is only one side of the matter. The other side is that the industrial and technical intelligentsia of the working class will be recruited not only from among those who have passed through the institutions of higher learning, but also from among practical workers in our factories, from the skilled workers, from among the working class cultural forces in the mills, factories and mines. The initiators of socialist emulation, the leaders of shock-brigades, practical inspirers of labor enthusiasm, organizers of work in the various sections of our construction—such is the new stratum of the working class that, together with the comrades who have passed through the institutions of higher learning, must form the core of the intelligentsia of the working class, the core of the commanding personnel of our industry. The task is not to discourage these comrades who show initiative, but boldly to promote them to commanding positions; to give them the opportunity to display their organizing abilities and the opportunity to supplement their knowledge; to create suitable conditions for them to work in, not stinting money for this purpose.

Among these comrades not a few are non-party people. But that should not prevent us from boldly promoting them to leading positions. On the contrary, it is particularly these non-party comrades who must receive our special attention, who must be promoted to commanding positions so that they may see for themselves that the party appreciates capable and gifted workers. Some comrades think that only party members may be placed in leading positions in the mills and factories. This is the reason why they not infrequently shove aside non-party comrades who possess ability and initiative and promote party members instead, although they are less capable and show no initiative. Needless to say, there is nothing more stupid and reactionary than such a "policy," so-called. It need hardly be proved that such a policy can only discredit the party and repel the non-

party workers from it. Our policy is by no means to transform the party into an exclusive caste. Our policy is to create an atmosphere of "mutual confidence," of "mutual control" (*Lenin*) between party and non-party workers. One of the reasons why our party is strong among the working class is that it pursues such a policy.

Hence, the task is *to see to it that the working class of the U.S.S.R. has its own industrial and technical intelligentsia.*

This is the position with regard to the fourth new condition of development of our industry.

Let us turn to the fifth condition.

Symptoms of a Change of Attitude Among the Old Industrial and Technical Intelligentsia

The question of our attitude towards the old, bourgeois, industrial and technical intelligentsia is also presented in a new light.

About two years ago the more highly skilled section of the old technical intelligentsia was infected with the disease of wrecking. More than that, at that time wrecking was a sort of fad. Some engaged in wrecking, others shielded the wreckers, others again washed their hands of what was going on and remained neutral, while still others vacillated between the Soviet government and the wreckers. Of course, the majority of the old technical intelligentsia continued to work more or less loyally. But we are not speaking of the majority now, but of the more highly skilled section of the technical intelligentsia.

What gave rise to the wrecking movement? What fostered it? The intensification of the class struggle in the U.S.S.R., the Soviet government's policy of offensive against the capitalist elements in town and country, the resistance of the latter to the policy of the Soviet government, the complexity of the international situation and the difficulties attending collective farm and state farm development. While the activities of the militant section of the wreckers were augmented by the interventionist designs of the imperialists in capitalist countries and by the grain difficulties within our country, the vacillations of the other section of the old technical intelligentsia towards the active wreckers were encouraged by the modish utterances of the Trotskyite-Menshevik windbags to the effect that "nothing will come of the collective farms and state farms," that "the Soviet power is degenerating anyhow and will shortly collapse," that "the Bolsheviks by their policy are themselves facilitating intervention," etc., etc. Besides, if even certain old Bolsheviks

among the Right deviationists could not resist the "epidemic" and wobbled away from the party at that time, it is not surprising that a section of the old technical intelligentsia, who had never breathed the spirit of Bolshevism, should, with the help of God, also vacillate.

Naturally, under such circumstances, the Soviet government could pursue only one policy towards the old technical intelligentsia—the policy of *smashing* the active wreckers, *separating* the neutrals and *enlisting* those who are loyal.

That was a year or two ago.

Can we say that the same situation exists now? No, we cannot say that. On the contrary, an entirely new situation has arisen. To begin with, there is the fact that we have routed and are successfully overcoming the capitalist elements in town and country. Of course, this cannot evoke joy among the old intelligentsia. Very probably they still express sympathy for their defeated friends. But sympathizers, still less those who are neutral or who vacillate, are not in the habit of voluntarily agreeing to share the fate of their more active friends when the latter have suffered severe and irreparable defeat. Further, we have overcome the grain difficulties; and not only have we overcome them but we are now exporting a larger quantity of grain than has ever been exported since the existence of the Soviet power. Consequently, this "argument" of the vacillators is also eliminated. Furthermore, even the blind can now see that as regards the front of collective farm and state farm development we have gained a definite victory and achieved tremendous successes. Consequently, the most important "stock in trade" of the old intelligentsia has gone by the board. As for the hopes of the bourgeois intelligentsia for foreign intervention, it must be admitted that, for the time being at least, they have proved to be a house built on sand. Indeed, for six years intervention has been promised, but not a single attempt at intervention has been made. It may as well be admitted that our sapient bourgeois intelligentsia has simply been led by the nose; not to mention the fact that the conduct of the active wreckers at the famous trial in Moscow was enough to discredit, and actually did discredit, the whole idea of wrecking.

Naturally, these new circumstances could not but influence our old technical intelligentsia. The new state of affairs was bound to bring about, and actually has brought about, a new mental attitude on the part of the old technical intelligentsia. This, in fact, explains why we are observing definite signs of a change of attitude towards the Soviet government on the part of a certain section of the intelligentsia who formerly sympathized with the wreckers. The fact that not only this section of

the old intelligentsia, but even definite wreckers of yesterday, a considerable number of yesterday's wreckers, are beginning to work in many factories and workshops hand in hand with the working class—this fact shows without a doubt that a change of attitude among the old technical intelligentsia has already begun. This, of course, does not mean that there are no longer any wreckers in the country. No, it does not mean that. Wreckers exist and will continue to exist as long as we have classes and as long as we are surrounded by capitalist countries. But it does mean that since a large section of the old technical intelligentsia who formerly sympathized, in one way or another, with the wreckers have now turned to the side of the Soviet government, the active wreckers have become few in number, are isolated and are compelled to lie low for the time being.

But it follows from this that we must change our policy towards the old technical intelligentsia accordingly. Whereas during the height of the wrecking activities our attitude towards the old technical intelligentsia was mainly expressed by the policy of routing them, now, when these intellectuals are turning to the side of the Soviet government, our attitude towards them must be expressed mainly in the policy of enlisting them and solicitude for them. It would be wrong and undialectical to continue our former policy under the new, changed conditions. It would be stupid and unwise to regard practically every expert and engineer of the old school as an undetected criminal and wrecker. We have always regarded and still regard "expert-baiting" as a harmful and disgraceful phenomenon.

Hence, the task is *to change our attitude towards the engineers and technicians of the old school, to show them greater attention and solicitude, to display more boldness in enlisting their co-operation.*

This is the position with regards to the fifth new condition of development in our history.

Let us now turn to the last condition.

Business Accounting

The picture would be incomplete if I did not deal with one other new condition. I refer to the sources of capital accumulation for our history, for our national economy; I refer to the need for a faster rate of accumulation.

What is the new and particular factor in the development of our industry from the point of view of capital accumulation? The new factor

is that the old sources of accumulation are already **beginning** to prove inadequate for the further expansion of industry; that it is therefore necessary to seek for new sources of accumulation and to reinforce the old sources if we really want to maintain and develop the Bolshevik tempo in industrialization.

The history of capitalist countries shows that not a single young state that desired to raise its industry to a higher level was able to dispense with external aid in the form of long-term credits or loans. Proceeding from this, the capitalists in the Western countries have refused point-blank to advance credits and loans to our country, in the belief that the lack of credits and loans would disrupt the industrialization of our country. But the capitalists were mistaken. They failed to take into account the fact that our country, unlike capitalist countries, possesses certain special sources of accumulation sufficient to restore and further develop our industry. And indeed, not only have we restored our industry, not only have we restored our agriculture and transport, but we have already tackled the tremendous task of reconstructing our heavy industry, our agriculture and our transport. Of course, this cost us tens of billions of rubles. Where did we get these billions? From light industry, from agriculture and from budget accumulations. This is how we have managed up to recently.

But the situation is entirely different now. Whereas formerly the old sources of capital accumulation were sufficient for the reconstruction of industry and transport, now they are obviously becoming inadequate. Now it is not a question of reconstructing our old industries. It is a question of creating new, technically well-equipped industries in the Urals, in Siberia, in Kazakstan. It is a question of creating new, large-scale farming in the grain-growing and stock-raising districts of the U.S.S.R. and in the districts producing raw materials. It is a question of creating a new network of railroads connecting the East and West of the U.S.S.R. Obviously, the old sources of accumulation are inadequate for this gigantic task.

But this is not all. To this must be added the fact that owing to inefficiency the principles of business accounting are not being applied in a large number of our factories and business organizations. It is a fact that a number of enterprises and business organizations have long ceased to keep proper accounts, to calculate, to draw up sound balance sheets of income and expenditure. It is a fact that in a number of enterprises and business organizations such concepts as "regime of economy," "cutting down unproductive expenditures," "rationalization of production" have

long gone out of fashion. Evidently they assume that "the State Bank will advance the necessary money anyway." It is a fact that in a number of enterprises, cost of production has begun to increase of late. They were instructed to reduce costs by 10 per cent and more, but instead of that they are increasing costs. Yet what does a reduction in the cost of production mean to us? You know that a reduction of costs by one per cent means an accumulation in industry of 150,000,000 to 200,000,000 rubles. Obviously, to raise the cost of production under such circumstances means to deprive industry and the whole of national economy of hundreds of millions of rubles.

From all this it follows that it is no longer possible to rely solely on light industry, on budget accumulations and on revenue from agriculture. Light industry is a bountiful source of accumulation, and there is every prospect of its continuing to expand; but it is not an unlimited source. Agriculture is a no less bountiful source of accumulation, but now, during the period of its reconstruction, agriculture itself requires financial aid from the state. As for budget accumulation, you know yourselves that they cannot and must not be unlimited. What, then, remains? There remains the heavy industries. Consequently, the heavy industries, and particularly the machine-building industry, must also provide accumulations. Consequently, while reinforcing and expanding the old sources of accumulation, we must see to it that the heavy industries, and particularly the machine-building industry, also provide accumulations.

This is the way out.

What must we do to achieve this? We must put an end to inefficiency, mobilize the internal resources of industry, introduce and reinforce business accounting in all our enterprises, systematically reduce production costs and increase internal accumulations in every branch of industry without exception.

This is what we must do to achieve the way out.

Hence, the task is *to introduce and reinforce business accounting, to increase the accumulation of capital within industry itself.*

New Methods of Work, New Methods of Management

Such, comrades, are the new conditions of development of our industry.

The significance of these new conditions is that they are creating a new situation in industry, which demands new methods of work and new methods of management.

Hence:

(a) It follows that we can no longer count, as of old, on a spontaneous influx of labor power. In order to secure labor power for our industries it must be recruited in an organized manner, and labor must be mechanized. To believe that we can do without mechanizing labor, considering our present tempo and scale of production, is like believing that the sea can be emptied with a spoon.

(b) It follows, further, that we must no longer tolerate a heavy turnover of labor power in industry. In order to escape from this evil we must fix wages in a new way and see to it that the factories have a more or less permanent personnel.

(c) It follows, further, that we must no longer tolerate lack of personal responsibility in industry. In order to escape from this evil, work must be organized in a new way, and the forces must be so distributed that every group of workers is responsible for its work, for the machinery, and for the quality of the work.

(d) It follows, further, that we can no longer manage with the very small force of old engineers and technicians we inherited from bourgeois Russia. In order to increase the present rate and scale of production, we must see to it that the working class has its own industrial and technical intelligentsia.

(e) It follows, further, that we can no longer, as of old, lump together all the experts, engineers and technicians of the old school. If we are to take into account the changed conditions we must change our policy and display the utmost care and solicitude for those experts and engineering and technical forces who are definitely turning towards the working class.

(f) It follows, lastly, that we can no longer, as of old, manage with the old sources of capital accumulation. In order to insure the further development of industry and agriculture we must tap new sources of accumulation; we must put an end to inefficiency, introduce business accounting, reduce production costs and increase accumulation within industry itself.

Such are the new conditions of development of industry, which demand new methods of work and new methods of management in economic construction.

What is necessary in order to organize management along new lines?

First of all, our business executives must understand the new situation; they must study concretely the new conditions of development of industry

and readjust their methods of work to meet the requirements of the new conditions.

Further, our business executives must direct their enterprises not "in general," not by soaring "in the air," but concretely, with an eye to particulars; they must approach every question that arises, not from the point of view of general talk, but in a strictly business-like manner; they must not confine themselves to formal written instructions or to uttering common-place phrases and slogans, but study the technique of the business and enter into its every detail, however "minute," for it is out of "minute" details that great things are now being built.

Further, our present unwieldy combines, which sometimes consist of as many as one hundred or two hundred enterprises, must be immediately split up into several combines each. Obviously, a president of a combine who has to deal with a hundred or more factories cannot really know those factories, their capacities and the way they are working. Obviously, if he does not know those factories he is not in a position to direct them. Hence, in order that the president of a combine may be in a position to study the factories thoroughly, and direct them, he must be relieved of some of the factories; the combine must be split up into several smaller ones, and the head offices must be brought into closer contact with the factories.

Further, our combines must substitute one-man management for collegium management. The position at present is that there are from ten to fifteen men on the board of a combine, all writing papers and carrying on discussions. We cannot go on directing in this way, comrades. We must put a stop to paper "direction" and get down to genuine, business-like, Bolshevik work. Let one president and several vice-presidents remain at the head of a combine. This will be quite enough to take care of its management. The remaining members of the board should be sent to the factories and mills. That will be far more useful, both for the business and for themselves.

Further, the presidents and vice-presidents of combines must pay more frequent visits to the factories, stay and work there for longer periods, acquaint themselves more closely with the leading staff in the factories and not only teach but learn from the people on the spot. To think that you can now direct by sitting in an office, far away from the factories, is a delusion. In order to direct the factories you must come into more frequent contact with the leading staff in those factories, maintain real live connection with them.

Finally, a word or two regarding our production plan for 1931. There

are certain near-party philistines who contend that our production program is unfeasible, that it cannot be fulfilled. They are somewhat like Shchedrin's "sapient gudgeons" who are always ready to spread "a void of inanities" around themselves. Is our production program feasible or not? Most certainly, it is. It is feasible if for no other reason than that all the conditions necessary for its fulfillment are available. It is feasible if for no other reason than that its fulfillment depends only upon ourselves, on our ability and willingness to make use of the vast opportunities at our disposal. How else can we explain the fact that a large number of enterprises and whole branches of industry have already *overfulfilled* their plan? It would be foolish to think that the production plan is a mere enumeration of figures and assignments. Actually, the production plan is the embodiment of the living and practical activity of millions of people. What makes our production plan real is the millions of working people who are creating a new life. What makes our plan real is the living people, it is you and I, our will to work, our readiness to work in the new way, our determination to carry out the plan. Have we that determination? We have. Well then, our production plan can and must be carried out.

SOME QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE HISTORY OF BOLSHEVISM

Dear Comrades!

I emphatically protest against the publication in *Proletarskaya Revolyutsia* (*Proletarian Revolution*, No. 6, 1930) of Slutsky's anti-party and semi-Trotskyite article, "The Bolsheviks on German Social-Democracy in the Period of its Pre-War Crisis," as a discussion article.

Slutsky asserts that Lenin (the Bolsheviks) underestimated the danger of *centrism* in German Social-Democracy and in pre-war Social-Democracy in general; that is, underestimated the danger of camouflaged opportunism, the danger of conciliation with opportunism. In other words, according to Slutsky, Lenin (the Bolsheviks) did not wage a relentless struggle against opportunism, for, in essence, underestimation of centrism is tantamount to the renunciation of a forceful struggle against opportunism. Thus, it follows that in the period before the war Lenin was not yet a real Bolshevik; that it was only in the period of the imperialist war, or even at the close of that war, that Lenin became a real Bolshevik. This is the tale Slutsky tells in his article. And you, instead of branding this new-found "historian" as a slanderer and falsifier, enter into discussion with him, provide him with a forum. I cannot refrain from protesting against the publication of Slutsky's article in your journal as a discussion article, for the question of Lenin's *Bolshevism*, the question as to whether Lenin *did* or *did not* wage a relentless principled struggle against centrism as a certain form of opportunism, the question as to whether Lenin *was* or *was not* a real Bolshevik, cannot be made the subject of discussion.

In your statement entitled "From the Editors," sent to the Central Committee on October 20, you admit that the editors made a mistake in publishing Slutsky's article as a discussion article. This is all very well, of course, despite the fact that the editors' statement is very belated. But in your statement you commit a fresh mistake when you declare that the "editors consider it to be politically extremely urgent and necessary that the entire complex of problems connected with the relations between the Bolsheviks and the pre-war Second International be further dis-

cussed and elaborated in the pages of *Proletarskaya Revolyutsia*." This means that you intend once again to draw people into a discussion on questions which are axioms of Bolshevism. It means that you are again thinking of turning the question of Lenin's Bolshevism from an axiom into a problem needing "further elaboration." Why? On what grounds? Everyone knows that Leninism was born, grew up and became strong in its ruthless struggle against opportunism of every brand, including centrism in the West (Kautsky) and centrism in our country (Trotsky, etc.). This cannot be denied even by the outspoken enemies of Bolshevism. It is an axiom. But you are trying to drag us back by turning an axiom into a problem requiring "further elaboration." Why? On what grounds? Perhaps through ignorance of the history of Bolshevism? Perhaps for the sake of a rotten liberalism, so that the Slutskys and other disciples of Trotsky may not be able to say that they are being gagged? A rather strange sort of liberalism, this, exercised at the expense of the vital interests of Bolshevism....

What, exactly, is there in Slutsky's article that the editors regard as worthy of discussion?

1. Slutsky asserts that Lenin (the Bolsheviks) did not pursue a line directed towards a rupture, towards a split with the opportunists of German Social-Democracy, with the opportunists of the Second International of the pre-war period. You want to argue against this Trotskyite thesis of Slutsky's? But what is there to argue about? Is it not clear that Slutsky is simply slandering Lenin, slandering the Bolsheviks? Slander must be branded as such and not made the subject of discussion.

Every Bolshevik, if he is really a Bolshevik, knows that long before the war, approximately in 1903-04, when the Bolshevik group took shape in Russia and when the Lefts in German Social-Democracy first made themselves felt, Lenin pursued the line directed towards a rupture, towards a split with the opportunists both here, in the Russian Social-Democratic Party, and over there, in the Second International, particularly in the German Social-Democratic Party. Every Bolshevik knows that it was for that very reason that even at that time (1903-04) the Bolsheviks won for themselves in the ranks of the opportunists of the Second International honorable fame as "splitters" and "disrupters." But what could Lenin do, what could the Bolsheviks do, if the Left Social-Democrats in the Second International, and above all in the German Social-Democratic Party, represented a weak and impotent group, a group which had not yet taken organizational shape, which was ideologically ill-equipped and was afraid even to pronounce the word "rupture," "split"? Lenin, the Bolsheviks,

could not be expected to do, from Russia, the work of the Lefts and bring about a split in the West-European parties. This is apart from the fact that organizational and ideological weakness was a characteristic feature of the Left Social-Democrats not only in the period prior to the war. As is well known, the Lefts retained this negative feature in the post-war period as well. Everyone knows the appraisal of the German Left Social-Democrats given by Lenin in his famous article, "On Junius' Pamphlet,"* written in October 1916—that is, more than two years after the beginning of the war—in which Lenin, criticizing a number of very serious political mistakes committed by the Left Social-Democrats in Germany, speaks of "*the weakness of all German Lefts, who are entangled on all sides in the vile net of Kautskian hypocrisy, pedantry, 'friendship' for the opportunists*"; in which he says that "*Junius has not yet freed herself completely from the 'environment' of the German, even Left Social-Democrats, who are afraid of a split, are afraid to express revolutionary slogans to the full.*"

Of all the groups in the Second International, the Russian Bolsheviks were at that time the only group which, by its organizational experience and ideological training, was capable of undertaking anything serious in the sense of a direct rupture, of a split with its own opportunists in its own Russian Social-Democratic Party. If the Slutskys attempted not even to prove but simply to assume that the Russian Bolsheviks headed by Lenin did not exert all their efforts to organize a split with the opportunists (Plekhanov, Martov, Dan) and to oust the centrists (Trotsky and other adherents of the August bloc), then one could argue about Lenin's Bolshevism, about the Bolsheviks' Bolshevism. But the whole point is that the Slutskys dare not even hint at such a wild assumption. They dare not, for they are aware that the commonly known facts concerning the determined policy of rupture with the opportunists of all brands pursued by the Russian Bolsheviks (1904-12) cry out against such an assumption. They dare not, for they know that they would be pilloried the very next day.

But the question arises: Could the Russian Bolsheviks bring about a split with their opportunist and centrist conciliators long before the imperialist war (1904-12) without at the same time pursuing a policy of rupture, a policy of a split with the opportunists and centrists of the Second International? Who can doubt that the Russian Bolsheviks regarded their policy towards the opportunists and centrists as a model to

* Junius was the *nom-de-plume* adopted by Rosa Luxemburg, leader of the Lefts in the Social-Democratic Party of Germany.—Ed.

be followed by the Lefts in the West? Who can doubt that the Russian Bolsheviks did all they could to push the Left Social-Democrats in the West, particularly the Lefts in the German Social-Democratic Party, towards a rupture, towards a split with their own opportunists and centrists? It was not the fault of Lenin and of the Russian Bolsheviks that the Left Social-Democrats in the West proved to be too immature to follow in the footsteps of the Russian Bolsheviks.

2. Slutsky reproaches Lenin and the Bolsheviks for not resolutely and wholeheartedly supporting the German Left Social-Democrats, for supporting them only with important reservations, for allowing factional considerations to prevent them from giving unqualified support to the Lefts. You want to argue against this fraudulent and utterly false reproach. But what is there to argue about? Is it not plain that Slutsky is maneuvering and trying, by hurling a spurious reproach at Lenin and the Bolsheviks, to cover up the real gaps in the position of the Lefts in Germany? Is it not plain that the Bolsheviks could not support the Lefts in Germany, who time and again wavered between Bolshevism and Menshevism, *without* important reservations, *without* seriously criticizing their mistakes, and that to act otherwise would have been a *betrayal* of the working class and its revolution? Fraudulent maneuvers must be branded as such and not made a subject of discussion.

Yes, the Bolsheviks supported the Left Social-Democrats in Germany only with certain important reservations, criticizing their semi-Menshevik mistakes. But for this they ought to be applauded, not reproached.

Are there people who doubt this?

Let us turn to the most generally known facts of history.

(a) In 1903, serious disagreements were revealed between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks in Russia on the question of party membership. By their formula on party membership the Bolsheviks wanted to set up an organizational barrier against the influx of non-proletarian elements into the party. The danger of such an influx was very real at that time in view of the bourgeois-democratic character of the Russian revolution. The Russian Mensheviks advocated the opposite position, which threw the doors of the party wide open to non-proletarian elements. In view of the importance of the problems of the Russian revolution for the world revolutionary movement, the West-European Social-Democrats decided to intervene. The Left Social-Democrats in Germany, Parvus and Rosa Luxemburg, then the leaders of the Lefts, also intervened. But how? Both came out against the Bolsheviks. They accused the Bolsheviks of betraying ultra-centrist and Blanquist tendencies. Subsequently, these

vulgar and philistine epithets were caught up by the Mensheviks and spread far and wide.

(b) In 1905, disagreement developed between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks in Russia on the question of the character of the Russian revolution. The Bolsheviks advocated an alliance between the working class and the peasantry under the hegemony of the proletariat. The Bolsheviks asserted that the objective must be a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry for the purpose of passing immediately from the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, with the support of the rural poor secured. The Mensheviks in Russia rejected the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution; as against the policy of alliance between the working class and the peasantry they preferred the policy of agreement with the liberal bourgeoisie; and they declared that the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the working class and the peasantry was a reactionary Blanquist scheme which ran counter to the development of the bourgeois revolution. What was the attitude of the German Left Social-Democrats, of Parvus and Rosa Luxemburg, to this controversy? They invented the utopian and semi-Menshevik scheme of permanent revolution (a distorted representation of the Marxian scheme of revolution), which was permeated through and through with the Menshevik repudiation of the policy of alliance between the working class and the peasantry, and opposed this scheme to the Bolshevik scheme of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. Subsequently, this semi-Menshevik scheme of permanent revolution was caught up by Trotsky (in part by Martov) and transformed into a weapon of struggle against Leninism.

(c) In the period before the war, one of the most urgent questions that confronted the parties of the Second International was the national and colonial question, the question of the oppressed nations and colonies, the question of liberating the oppressed nations and colonies, the question of the paths to be followed in the struggle against imperialism, the question of the paths to be followed in order to overthrow imperialism. In the interests of developing the proletarian revolution and encircling imperialism, the Bolsheviks proposed the policy of supporting the liberation movement of the oppressed nations and colonies on the basis of the self-determination of nations, and developed the scheme for a united front between the proletarian revolution in the advanced countries and the revolutionary-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies and oppressed countries. The opportunists of all countries, the social-

chauvinists and social-imperialists of all countries hastened to rally against the Bolsheviks on this account. The Bolsheviks were baited like mad dogs. What position did the Left Social-Democrats in the West take up at that time? They developed the semi-Menshevik theory of imperialism, rejected the principle of self-determination of nations in its Marxian sense (including secession and formation of independent states), rejected the thesis that the liberation movement in the colonies and oppressed countries was of great revolutionary importance, rejected the thesis that a united front between the proletarian revolution and the movement for national emancipation was possible, and opposed this semi-Menshevik hodge-podge, which was nothing but an underestimation of the national and colonial question, to the Marxian scheme of the Bolsheviks. It is well known that this semi-Menshevik hodge-podge was subsequently caught up by Trotsky who used it as a weapon in the struggle against Leninism.

Such were the universally known mistakes committed by the Left Social-Democrats in Germany.

I need not speak of the other mistakes of the German Lefts which were criticized in various articles by Lenin.

Nor need I speak of the mistakes they committed in appraising the policy of the Bolsheviks in the period of the October Revolution.

What do these mistakes committed by the German Lefts, and referring to the history of the pre-war period, show, if not that the Left Social-Democrats, despite their leftism, had not yet rid themselves of their Menshevik baggage?

Of course, the record of the Lefts in Germany consists not only of serious mistakes. They also have great and important revolutionary deeds to their credit. I have in mind a number of services and their revolutionary line on questions of internal policy, and, in particular, of the electoral struggle, on questions concerning the struggle inside and outside of parliament, on the general strike, on war, on the Revolution of 1905 in Russia, etc. This is precisely why the Bolsheviks regarded them as Lefts, supported them and urged them forward. But this does not and cannot remove the fact that the Left Social-Democrats in Germany did commit a number of very serious political and theoretical mistakes; that they had not yet rid themselves of their Menshevik burden and therefore needed the very serious criticism of the Bolsheviks.

Now judge for yourselves whether the Bolsheviks headed by Lenin could have supported the Left Social-Democrats in the West *without serious reservations, without seriously criticizing* their mistakes, and, whether it would not have been a betrayal of the interests of the working

class, a betrayal of the interests of the revolution, a betrayal of communism, to act otherwise?

Is it not clear that in reproaching Lenin and the Bolsheviks for that for which he should have applauded them if he were a Bolshevik, Slutsky fully exposes himself as a semi-Menshevik, as a masked Trotskyite?

Slutsky assumes that in their appraisal of the Lefts in the West, Lenin and the Bolsheviks were guided by their own factional considerations; that, consequently, the Russian Bolsheviks sacrificed the great cause of the international revolution to their factional interests. It need hardly be proved that there can be nothing more vulgar and despicable than such an assumption. There can be nothing more vulgar, for even the most vulgar of Mensheviks are beginning to understand that the Russian revolution is not the private cause of Russians; that on the contrary, it is the cause of the working class of the whole world, the cause of the world proletarian revolution. There can be nothing more despicable, for even the professional slanderers in the Second International are beginning to understand that the consistent and thoroughly revolutionary internationalism of the Bolsheviks is a model of proletarian internationalism for the workers of all countries.

Yes, the Russian Bolsheviks did put in the forefront the fundamental problems of the Russian revolution, such problems as that of the party, of the attitude of Marxists towards the bourgeois-democratic revolution, of the alliance between the working class and the peasantry, of the hegemony of the proletariat, of the struggle inside and outside of parliament, of the general strike, of the bourgeois-democratic revolution passing into the socialist revolution, of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of imperialism, of the self-determination of nations, of the liberation movement of oppressed nations and colonies, of the policy of supporting this movement, etc. They advanced these problems as the touchstone on which they tested the revolutionary consistency of the Left Social-Democrats in the West.

Had they the right to do so? Yes, they had. They not only had the right, but it was their duty to do so. It was their duty to do so because all these problems were also the fundamental problems of the world revolution, to whose aims the Bolsheviks subordinated their policy and their tactics. It was their duty to do so because only on such problems could they really test the revolutionary character of the various groups in the Second International. The question arises: What has the "factionalism" of the Russian Bolsheviks and what have "factional" considerations to do with this?

As far back as 1902 Lenin wrote in his pamphlet *What Is To Be Done?* that "*history has now confronted us with an immediate task which is the most revolutionary of all the immediate tasks that confront the proletariat of any country,*" that "*the fulfilment of this task, the destruction of the most powerful bulwark not only of European but also of Asiatic reaction would make the Russian proletariat the vanguard of the international revolutionary proletariat.*" Thirty years have elapsed since that pamphlet, *What Is To Be Done?*, appeared. No one will dare deny that the events of this period have brilliantly confirmed Lenin's words. But does it not follow from this that the Russian revolution was (and remains) the nodal point of the world revolution; that the fundamental problems of the Russian revolution were (and are now) also the fundamental problems of the world revolution?

Is it not clear that only on these fundamental problems was it possible to put the revolutionism of the Left Social-Democrats of the West to a real test?

Is it not clear that those who regard these problems as "factional" problems fully expose their own vulgarity and degeneracy?

3. Slutsky asserts that so far there has not been found a sufficient number of official documents testifying to Lenin's (the Bolsheviks') determined and relentless struggle against centrism. He employs this bureaucratic thesis as an irrefutable argument in favor of the postulate that Lenin (the Bolsheviks) underestimated the danger of centrism in the Second International. And you start arguing against this nonsense, against this shabby pettifoggery. But what is there to argue about? Is it not clear without argument that by his talk about documents Slutsky is trying to cover up the wretchedness and the falsity of his so-called conception?

Slutsky considers the party documents now available as inadequate. Why? On what grounds? Are not the universally known documents on the Second International, as well as those dealing with the internal party struggle in Russian Social-Democracy, sufficient clearly to demonstrate the revolutionary relentlessness of Lenin and the Bolsheviks in their struggle against the opportunists and centrists? Is Slutsky at all familiar with these documents? What other documents does he need?

Let us assume that, in addition to the documents already known, a mass of other documents were found, in the shape of, say, resolutions of the Bolsheviks, again urging the necessity of wiping out centrism. Would that mean that the mere existence of paper documents is sufficient to demonstrate the real revolutionary character and the real relentlessness of

the Bolsheviks' attitude towards centrism? Who, save hopeless bureaucrats, can rely on paper documents alone? Who, besides archive rats, does not understand that a party and its leaders must be tested first of all by their *deeds* and not only by their declarations? History knows not a few Socialists who readily signed resolutions, no matter how revolutionary, in order to escape their annoying critics. But that does not mean that they *carried out* these resolutions. Furthermore, history knows not a few Socialists who, foaming at the mouth, called upon the workers' parties of *other* countries to perform the most revolutionary actions imaginable. But that does not mean that they did not in their own party, or in their own country, *shrink* from fighting *their own* opportunists, *their own* bourgeoisie. Is not this why Lenin taught us to test revolutionary parties, trends and leaders, not by their declarations and resolutions, but by their *deeds*?

Is it not clear that if Slutsky really wanted to test the relentlessness of Lenin's and the Bolsheviks' attitude towards centrism, he should have taken as the *basis* of his article, not a few separate documents and two or three personal letters, but a test of the Bolsheviks by their *deeds*, their *history*, their *actions*? Did we not have opportunists and centrists in the Russian Social-Democratic Party? Did not the Bolsheviks wage a determined and relentless struggle against all these trends? Were not these trends organizationally and ideologically connected with the opportunists and centrists in the West? Did not the Bolsheviks fight it out with the opportunists and centrists as no other Left group fought them anywhere else in the world? How can anyone say after all this that Lenin and the Bolsheviks underestimated the danger of centrism? Why did Slutsky ignore these facts, which are of decisive importance in characterizing the Bolsheviks? Why did he not resort to the most reliable method of testing Lenin and the Bolsheviks by their deeds, by their actions? Why did he prefer the less reliable method of rummaging among casually selected papers?

Because the more reliable method of testing the Bolsheviks by their deeds would have turned Slutsky's whole position upside down in a flash.

Because a test of the Bolsheviks by their deeds would have shown that the Bolsheviks are the *only* revolutionary organization in the world which has utterly smashed the opportunists and centrists and driven them out of the party.

Because the real deeds and the real history of the Bolsheviks would have shown that Slutsky's teachers, the Trotskyites, were the *principal* and *basic* group which spread centrism in Russia, and for this purpose

created a special organization—the August bloc, which was a hotbed of centrism.

Because a test of the Bolsheviks by their deeds would have exposed Slutsky once and for all as a falsifier of the history of our party, who is trying to cover up the centrism of pre-war Trotskyism by slanderously accusing Lenin and the Bolsheviks of underestimating the danger of centrism.

That, comrade editors, is how matters stand with Slutsky and his article.

As you see, the editors made a mistake in permitting a discussion with a falsifier of the history of our party.

What induced the editors to take this wrong road? I think that they were induced to take that road by the rotten liberalism which has spread to some extent among a section of the Bolsheviks. Some Bolsheviks think that Trotskyism is a faction of communism—one which makes mistakes, it is true, which does many foolish things, is sometimes even anti-Soviet, but which, nevertheless, is a faction of communism. Hence, there is a somewhat liberal attitude towards the Trotskyites and Trotskyite-thinking people. It need hardly be proved that such a view of Trotskyism is profoundly wrong and pernicious. As a matter of fact, Trotskyism has long since ceased to be a faction of communism. As a matter of fact, Trotskyism is the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie which is fighting communism, fighting the Soviet government, fighting the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R.

Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie an ideological weapon against Bolshevism in the form of the thesis that it is impossible to build socialism in our country, in the form of the thesis that the degeneration of the Bolsheviks is inevitable, etc? Trotskyism gave it that weapon. It is no accident that in their attempts to prove the inevitability of the struggle against the Soviet government all the anti-Soviet groups in the U.S.S.R. have been referring to the well-known thesis of Trotskyism that it is impossible to build socialism in our country, that the degeneration of the Soviet government is inevitable, that the return to capitalism is probable.

Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie in the U.S.S.R. a tactical weapon in the form of attempts at open actions against the Soviet government? The Trotskyites, who tried to organize anti-Soviet demonstrations in Moscow and Leningrad on November 7, 1927, gave it that weapon. It is a fact that the anti-Soviet actions of the Trotskyites raised the spirits of the bourgeoisie and let loose the wrecking activities of the bourgeois experts.

Who gave the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie an organizational weapon in the form of attempts at setting up underground anti-Soviet organizations? The Trotskyites, who organized their own anti-Bolshevik illegal group, gave it that weapon. It is a fact that the underground anti-Soviet work of the Trotskyites helped the anti-Soviet groups in the U.S.S.R. to organize.

Trotskyism is the vanguard of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

That is why a liberal attitude towards Trotskyism, even though the latter is shattered and concealed, is stupidly bordering on crime, bordering on treason to the working class.

That is why the attempts of certain "writers" and "historians" to smuggle disguised Trotskyite rubbish into our literature must be met with a determined rebuff on the part of the Bolsheviks.

That is why we cannot permit a literary discussion with the Trotskyite smugglers.

It seems to me that "historians" and "writers" of the Trotskyite smuggler category are for the present trying to pursue their smuggling work along two lines.

First, they are trying to prove that in the period before the war Lenin underestimated the danger of centrism, thus leaving the inexperienced reader to surmise that Lenin was not yet a real revolutionary at that time; that he became one only after the war, after he had "re-equipped" himself with Trotsky's assistance. Slutsky may be regarded as a typical representative of this type of smuggler. We have seen above that Slutsky and Co. are not worth making a fuss about.

Secondly, they are trying to prove that in the period prior to the war Lenin did not realize the necessity of the bourgeois-democratic revolution passing into a socialist revolution, thus leaving the inexperienced reader to surmise that Lenin was not a real Bolshevik at that time; that he realized this necessity only after the war, after he had "re-equipped" himself with Trotsky's assistance. We may regard Volosevich, author of *A Course of History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, as a typical representative of this type of smuggler. True, as far back as 1905 Lenin wrote that "*from the democratic revolution we shall at once, and just in accordance with the measure of our strength, the strength of the class-conscious and organized proletariat, begin to pass over to the socialist revolution,*" that "*we stand for uninterrupted revolution,*" that "*we shall not stop half-way.*" True, a very large number of facts and documents of an analogous nature can be found in the works of Lenin. But what do the Voloseviches care about the facts of Lenin's life and work? The

Voloseviches write in order, by camouflaging themselves in Bolshevik colors, to drag in their anti-Leninist contraband, to utter lies about the Bolsheviks and to falsify the history of the Bolshevik Party.

As you see, the Voloseviches are worthy of the Slutskys.

Such are the "paths and crossroads" of the Trotskyite smugglers.

You understand yourselves that it is not the business of the editors to facilitate the smuggling activities of such "historians" by providing them with a platform for discussion.

The task of the editors is, in my opinion, to raise the questions concerning the history of Bolshevism to the proper level, to put the study of the history of our party on scientific, Bolshevik lines, and to concentrate attention against the Trotskyite and all other falsifiers of the history of our party by systematically tearing off their masks.

This is all the more necessary since even some of our historians—I say, historians, without quotation marks, *Bolshevik* historians of our party—are not free from mistakes which bring grist to the mill of the Slutskys and Voloseviches. In this respect, even Comrade Yaroslavsky is not, unfortunately, an exception; his books on the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, despite all their merits, contain a number of errors in matters of principle and history.

With Communist greetings,
J. Stalin

THE RESULTS OF THE FIRST FIVE-YEAR PLAN

I. THE INTERNATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN

When the Five-Year Plan was published, people hardly anticipated that it could be of tremendous international significance. On the contrary, many thought that the Five-Year Plan was the private affair of the Soviet Union—an important and serious affair, but nevertheless a private, national affair of the Soviet Union.

History has shown, however, that the international significance of the Five-Year Plan is immeasurable. History has shown that the Five-Year Plan is not the private affair of the Soviet Union, but the cause of the whole international proletariat.

Long before the Five-Year Plan came into being, in the period when we were finishing our struggle against the interventionists and were embarking upon economic construction—even in that period Lenin said that our economic construction was of profound international significance; that every step forward taken by the Soviet government along the path of economic construction was finding a deep echo among the most varied strata in capitalist countries and dividing people into two camps—the camp of the adherents of the proletarian revolution and the camp of its opponents. Lenin said at that time:

At the present time we are exercising our main influence on the international revolution by our economic policy. All eyes are turned towards the Soviet Russian Republic, the eyes of all working people in all countries of the world, without exception and without exaggeration. This much has been achieved. . . . The struggle on this field is now being waged on a world scale. With this problem solved, we will have won on an international scale certainly and finally. That is why the questions of economic construction assume absolutely exceptional significance for us. On this front we must achieve victory by slow, gradual—it cannot be fast—but steadily increasing progress. (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russian ed., Vol. XXVI, pp. 410-11.)

This was said at the time when we were bringing to a close the war against the interventionists, when we were passing from the military

struggle against capitalism to the struggle on the economic front, to the period of economic construction.

Many years have elapsed since then, and every step forward the Soviet government has taken in the sphere of economic construction, every year, every quarter, has brilliantly confirmed the correctness of Comrade Lenin's words.

But the most brilliant confirmation of Lenin's words is provided by our Five-Year Plan of construction, by the way this plan originated, by its development and its fulfillment. Indeed, it seems that no step taken along the path of economic construction in our country has found such an echo among the most varied strata in the capitalist countries of Europe, America and Asia as the question of the Five-Year Plan, its development and its fulfillment.

At first the bourgeoisie and its press greeted the Five-Year Plan with ridicule. "Fantastic," "delirium," "utopia"—that is how they dubbed our Five-Year Plan at that time. Later on, when it began to be evident that the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan was producing real results, they began to beat the alarm, declaring that the Five-Year Plan was threatening the existence of the capitalist countries, that its fulfillment would lead to the flooding of European markets with goods, to intensive dumping and the increase of unemployment. Still later, when this trick used against the Soviet Union also failed to produce the expected results, a series of voyages to the U.S.S.R. was undertaken by representatives of all sorts of firms, of the press, of societies of various kinds, etc., for the purpose of seeing with their own eyes what was actually going on in the U.S.S.R. I am not referring here to the workers' delegations, which, from the very first appearance of the Five-Year Plan, have expressed their admiration of the enterprise and successes of the Soviet government and manifested their readiness to support the working class of the U.S.S.R.

From that time a cleavage began in so-called public opinion, in the bourgeois press, in various kinds of bourgeois societies, etc. Some maintained that the Five-Year Plan had utterly failed and that the Bolsheviks were on the verge of collapse. Others, on the contrary, declared that although the Bolsheviks were bad people, their Five-Year Plan was working out nevertheless and that in all probability they would achieve their object.

It will not be superfluous, perhaps, to quote the opinions of various bourgeois press organs.

Take, for example, *The New York Times*, an American newspaper. At the end of November 1932 this paper wrote:

A Five-Year Industrial Plan which sets out to defy the sense of proportion, which drives toward an objective regardless of cost, as Moscow has often proudly boasted, is really not a plan. It is a gamble.

So it seems that the Five-Year Plan is not even a plan, but a sheer gamble. And here is the opinion of an English bourgeois newspaper, the *Daily Telegraph*, expressed at the end of November 1932:

As a practical test of "planned economics" the scheme has quite clearly failed.

The opinion of *The New York Times* in November 1932:

The collectivization campaign is of course a ghastly failure. It has brought Russia to the verge of famine.

The opinion of a bourgeois newspaper in Poland, *Gazeta Polska*, in the summer of 1932:

The situation seems to show that in its policy of collectivizing the rural districts the government of the Soviets has reached an impasse.

The opinion of an English bourgeois newspaper, *The Financial Times*, in November 1932:

Stalin and his party, as the outcome of their policy, find themselves faced with the breakdown of the Five-Year Plan system and frustration of the aims it was expected to achieve.

The opinion of the Italian magazine *Politica*:

It would be absurd to think that nothing has been created in four years' work by a nation consisting of a hundred and sixty million, in four years of superhuman economic and political effort on the part of a regime of such strength as the Bolshevik regime represents. On the contrary, a great deal has been done. . . . Nevertheless, the catastrophe is evident—it is a fact obvious to all. Friends and enemies, Bolsheviks and anti-Bolsheviks, oppositionists on the Right and on the Left are convinced of this.

Finally, the opinion of the American bourgeois magazine, *Current History*:

A survey of the existing condition of affairs in Russia, therefore, leads to the conclusion that the Five-Year Program has failed both in terms of its announced statistical objectives and, more fundamentally, in terms of certain of its underlying social principles.

Such are the opinions of one section of the bourgeois press.

It is hardly worth while criticizing those who gave utterance to these opinions. I think it is not worth while. It is not worth while because these "dichards" belong to the species of medieval fossils to whom facts mean nothing, and who will persist in their opinion no matter how our Five-Year Plan is fulfilled.

Let us now turn to the opinion of other press organs of this same bourgeois camp.

Here is the opinion of a well-known bourgeois newspaper in France, *Le Temps*, expressed in January 1932:

The U.S.S.R. has won the first round, having industrialized herself without the aid of foreign capital.

The opinion of *Le Temps* again, expressed in the summer of 1932:

Communism is completing the process of reconstruction with enormous speed, whereas the capitalist system permits only of progress at a slow pace. . . . In France, where the land is infinitely divided up among individual property owners, it is impossible to mechanize agriculture; the Soviets, however, by industrializing agriculture, have solved the problem. . . . In the contest with us the Bolsheviks have proved the victors.

The opinion of a British bourgeois magazine, *The Round Table*:

. . . The development achieved under the Five Years Plan is astounding. The tractor plants of Kharkov and Stalingrad, the Amo automobile factory in Moscow, the Ford plant at Nizhni-Novgorod, the Dnieprostroi hydro-electric project, the mammoth steel plants at Magnitogorsk and Kuznetsk in Siberia, the network of machine shops and chemical plants in the Urals—which bid fair to become Russia's Ruhr—these and other industrial achievements all over the country show that whatever the shortcomings and difficulties, Russian industry, like a well-watered plant, keeps on gaining color, size and strength. . . . She has laid the foundations for future development. . . and has strengthened prodigiously her fighting capacity.

The opinion of the English bourgeois newspaper, *The Financial Times*:

The progress made in machine construction cannot be doubted, and the celebrations of it in the press and on the platform, glowing as they are, are not unwarranted. It must be remembered that . . . Russia, of course, produced machines and tools, but only of the simplest kind. . . .

. . . True, the importation of machines and tools is actually increasing in absolute figures; but the proportion of imported machines to those of native production is steadily diminishing. . . . Russia is producing today all the ma-

chinery essential to her metallurgical and electrical industries; has succeeded in creating her own automobile industry; has established her own tool-making industry from small precision instruments to the heaviest presses; and in the matter of agricultural machinery is independent of foreign imports....

...Nor do they agree that the retardation of production in the output of such basic industries as iron and coal is so serious as to endanger the fulfilment of the Plan in four years. . . . The one thing certain is that the enormous plants now being established guarantee a very considerable increase in the output of the heavy industries.

The opinion of an Austrian bourgeois newspaper, *Die Neue Freie Presse*, expressed in the beginning of 1932:

We may curse bolshevism, but we must understand it.... *The Five-Year Plan is a new huge quantity* which must be taken into account in every economic calculation.

The opinion of a British capitalist, John Gibson Jarvie, the chairman of the United Dominions Trust, expressed in October 1932:

Now I want it clearly understood that I am neither Communist nor Bolshevik. I am definitely a capitalist and an individualist.... Russia is forging ahead while all too many of our factories and shipyards lie idle... and approximately 3,000,000 of our people despairingly seek work.... Russia has accomplished her First Five-Year Plan. Jokes have been made about that plan; it has been scoffed at; it has been ridiculed and its failure has been predicted. You can take it beyond question, and you will be wise to accept it, that under the Five-Year Plan much more has been accomplished than was ever really anticipated. . . . In all these industrial towns which I visited, a new city is growing up, a city on a definite plan with wide streets in the process of being beautified by trees and grass plots, houses of the most modern type with plenty of air space between them, schools, hospitals, workers' clubs and the inevitable creche or nursery, where the children of working mothers are cared for. . . . Don't underrate the Russians or their plans, and don't make the mistake of believing that the Soviet government must crash. . . . Russia today is a country with a soul and an ideal. . . . Russia is a country of amazing activity. . . . I believe that the Russian objective is sound. . . . And perhaps most important of all, all these youngsters and these workers in Russia have one thing which is too sadly lacking in the capitalist countries today, and that is—hope!

The opinion of the American liberal bourgeois journal, *The Nation*, expressed in November 1932:

..The four years of the Five-Year Plan have witnessed truly remarkable developments.... Russia is working with war-time intensity on the positive

task of building the physical and social molds of a new life. The face of the country is being changed literally beyond recognition. This is true of Moscow, with hundreds of streets and squares paved . . . with new suburbs, new buildings, and a cordon of new factories on its outskirts, and it is true of smaller and less important cities. New towns have sprung out of the steppe, the wilderness, and the desert—not just a few towns, but at least fifty of them with populations of from 50,000 to 250,000—all in the last four years, each constructed round an enterprise for the development of some natural resource. Hundreds of new district power stations and a handful of “giants” like Dnieprostoi are gradually putting reality into Lenin’s formula: “Electricity plus Soviets equals socialism.” . . . The Soviet Union now engages in the large-scale manufacture of an endless variety of articles which Russia never before produced—tractors, combines, high-grade steels, synthetic rubber, ball bearings, high-power Diesel motors, 50,000-kilowatt turbines, telephone-exchange equipment, electrical mining machinery, aeroplanes, automobiles, lorries, bicycles, electric-welding equipment, and several hundred types of new machines. . . . For the first time Russia is mining aluminum, magnesium, apatite, iodine, potash, and many other valuable minerals. . . . The guiding landmark on the Soviet countryside is no longer the dome of a rich church towering over the ugly mud-thatched peasant huts clustered in its shadow, but the grain elevator and the silo. Collectives are building piggeries, barns, and houses. Electricity is penetrating the illiterate village, and radio and newspaper have conquered it. Workers are learning to operate the world’s most modern machines; peasant boys make and use agricultural machinery bigger and more complicated than ever America has seen. . . . Russia is becoming “machine-minded.” Russia is passing quickly from the age of wood into an age of iron, steel, concrete and motors.

The opinion of an English “Left”-reformist journal, the *Glasgow Forward*, expressed in September 1932:

Nobody can fail to notice the enormous amount of building work that is going on.

New factories, new picture-houses, new schools, new restaurants, new clubs, new big blocks of tenements, everywhere new buildings, many completed, others with scaffolding. . . .

It is difficult to convey to the mind of the British reader exactly what has been done, and what is being done.

It has to be seen to be believed. Our own war time efforts . . . are flea-bites to what has been done in Russia. Americans admit that even in the greatest rush days in the West there could have been nothing like the feverish building activity that is going on in Russia today.

One sees so many changes in the Russian scene after two years that one gives up trying to imagine what Russia will be like in another ten years.

So dismiss from your heads the fantastic scare stories of the British press that lies so persistently, so blatantly, so contemptibly about Russia, and all the half truths and misconceptions that are circulated by the dilettante literary academic intelligentsia that look at Russia patronizingly through superior middle-class spectacles without having the slightest understanding of what is going on. . . .

Russia is building up a new society on what are, generally speaking, fundamentally sound lines. To do this it is taking risks, it is working enthusiastically with an energy that has never been seen in the world before, it has tremendous difficulties inseparable from this attempt to build up socialism in a vast, undeveloped country isolated from the rest of the world. But the impression I have, after seeing it again after two years, is that of a nation making solid progress, planning, creating, constructing in a way that is a striking challenge to the hostile capitalist world.

Such are the discordant voices and the cleavage in the camp of bourgeois circles, of whom some stand for the annihilation of the U.S.S.R. with its allegedly bankrupt Five-Year Plan, while others, apparently, stand for commercial co-operation with the U.S.S.R., obviously calculating that they can obtain some advantage for themselves out of the success of the Five-Year Plan.

The question of the attitude of the working class in capitalist countries towards the Five-Year Plan, towards the successes of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., is in a category by itself. It may be sufficient to quote here the opinion of just one of the numerous workers' delegations that come to the U.S.S.R. every year, say, for example, the Belgian workers' delegation. The opinion of this delegation is typical of that of all workers' delegations without exception, whether they be English or French delegations, German or American delegations, or delegations of other countries. Here it is:

We are struck with admiration at the tremendous amount of construction that we have witnessed during our travels. In Moscow, as well as in Makeyevka, Gorlovka, Kharkov, and Leningrad, we could see for ourselves with what enthusiasm the work is carried on there. All the machines are the most up-to-date models. The factories are clean, well ventilated and well lit. We saw how medical assistance and hygienic conditions are provided for the workers in the U.S.S.R.

The workers' houses are built near the factories. Schools and creches are organized in the workers' towns, and the children are surrounded with every care. We could see the difference between the old and the newly constructed factories, between the old and the new houses. All that we have seen has given us a clear idea of the tremendous strength of the working people who are

building a new society under the leadership of the Communist Party. In the U.S.S.R. we have observed a great cultural revival, while in other countries there is decadence in all spheres, and unemployment reigns. We were able to see the frightful difficulties the working people of the Soviet Union encounter on their path. We can therefore appreciate all the more the pride with which they point to their victories. We are convinced that they will overcome all obstacles.

Here, then, is the international significance of the Five-Year Plan. It was enough for us to carry on construction work for a matter of two or three years, it was enough for us to show the first successes of the Five-Year Plan, for the whole world to split up into two camps—the camp of those who never tire of barking at us, and the camp of those who are amazed at the successes of the Five-Year Plan, not to mention the fact that we have all over the world our own camp, which is growing stronger—the camp of the working class in the capitalist countries, which rejoices at the successes of the working class in the U.S.S.R. and is prepared to support it, to the consternation of the bourgeoisie of the whole world.

What does this mean?

This means that there can be no doubt about the international significance of the Five-Year Plan, about the international significance of its successes and achievements.

This means that the capitalist countries are pregnant with the proletarian revolution, and that precisely because they are pregnant with the proletarian revolution, the bourgeoisie would like to find in the failure of the Five-Year Plan a fresh argument against revolution; whereas, on the other hand, the proletariat is striving to find, and indeed does find, in the successes of the Five-Year Plan a fresh argument in favor of revolution, against the bourgeoisie of the whole world.

The successes of the Five-Year Plan are mobilizing the revolutionary forces of the working class of all countries against capitalism—such is the indisputable fact.

There can be no doubt that the international revolutionary significance of the Five-Year Plan is really immeasurable.

All the more attention, therefore, must we devote to the question of the Five-Year Plan, of the content of the Five-Year Plan, of the fundamental tasks of the Five-Year Plan.

All the more carefully, therefore, must we analyze the results of the Five-Year Plan, the results of the execution and fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan.

II. THE FUNDAMENTAL TASK OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN AND THE PATH OF ITS FULFILLMENT

We now come to the question of the Five-Year Plan as such.

What is the Five-Year Plan?

What was the fundamental task of the Five-Year Plan?

The fundamental task of the Five-Year Plan was to transfer our country, with its backward, and in part medieval, technique, to the lines of new, modern technique.

The fundamental task of the Five-Year Plan was to convert the U.S.S.R. from an agrarian and weak country, dependent upon the caprices of the capitalist countries, into an industrial and powerful country, fully self-reliant and independent of the caprices of world capitalism.

The fundamental task of the Five-Year Plan was, in converting the U.S.S.R. into an industrial country, fully to eliminate the capitalist elements, to widen the front of socialist forms of economy, and to create the economic base for the abolition of classes in the U.S.S.R., for the construction of socialist society.

The fundamental task of the Five-Year Plan was to create such an industry in our country as would be able to re-equip and reorganize, not only the whole of industry, but also transport and agriculture—on the basis of socialism.

The fundamental task of the Five-Year Plan was to transfer small and scattered agriculture to the lines of large-scale collective farming, so as to ensure the economic base for socialism in the rural districts and thus to eliminate the possibility of the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R.

Finally, the task of the Five-Year Plan was to create in the country all the necessary technical and economic prerequisites for increasing to the utmost the defensive capacity of the country, to enable it to organize determined resistance to any and every attempt at military intervention from outside, to any and every attempt at military attack from without.

What dictated this fundamental task of the Five-Year Plan; what were the grounds for it?

The necessity of putting an end to the technical and economic backwardness of the Soviet Union, which doomed it to an unenviable existence; the necessity of creating in the country such prerequisites as would enable it not only to overtake but in time to outstrip, economically and technically, the advanced capitalist countries.

Consideration of the fact that the Soviet power could not maintain

itself for long on the basis of a backward industry; that a modern large-scale industry alone, one that is not only equal to but would in time excel the industries of capitalist countries, can serve as a real and reliable foundation for the Soviet power.

Consideration of the fact that the Soviet government could not for long rest upon two opposite foundations: on large-scale socialist industry, which *destroys* the capitalist elements, and on small, individual peasant farming, which *engenders* capitalist elements.

Consideration of the fact that until agriculture was placed on the basis of large-scale production, until the small peasant farms were united into large collective farms, the danger of the restoration of capitalism in the U.S.S.R. would be the most real of all possible dangers.

Lenin said:

The result of the revolution has been that the *political* system of Russia has in a few months caught up with that of the advanced countries.

But that is not enough. The war is inexorable; it puts the alternative with ruthless severity: either perish, or overtake and outstrip the advanced countries *economically* as well. . . . Perish or drive full steam ahead. That is the alternative with which history confronts us. (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXI, Book I, p. 216.)

Lenin said:

As long as we live in a small-peasant country there is a surer economic basis in Russia for capitalism than for communism. This must be borne in mind. Anyone who has carefully observed life in the countryside, as compared with life in the towns, knows that we have not torn up the roots of capitalism and have not undermined the foundations, the basis of the internal enemy. The latter depends on small-scale production, and there is only one way of undermining it, namely, to place the economy of the country, including agriculture, on a new technical basis, the technical basis of modern large-scale production. . . . Only when the country has been electrified, when industry, agriculture, and transport have been placed on the technical basis of modern large-scale industry, only then will we be fully victorious. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, pp. 276-77.)

It was on these theses that the party based its considerations which led to the drawing up of the Five-Year Plan and which determined the fundamental task of the Five-Year Plan. That is the position in regard to the fundamental task of the Five-Year Plan.

But the execution of such a grand plan cannot be started haphazardly, just anywhere. In order to carry out such a plan it is necessary first of all

to find its main link; for only after this main link has been found and grasped can all the other links of the plan be raised.

What was the main link in the Five-Year Plan?

The main link in the Five-Year Plan was heavy industry, with machine building as its core. For only heavy industry is capable of reconstructing industry as a whole, as well as the transport system and agriculture, and of putting them on their feet. It was necessary to start the realization of the Five-Year Plan from heavy industry. Hence, the restoration of heavy industry had to be made the basis of the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan.

We have Lenin's directions on this point also:

The salvation of Russia lies not only in a good harvest on the peasant farms—that is not enough—and not only in the good condition of light industry, which provides the peasantry with consumers' goods—this, too, is not enough; we also need *heavy* industry. . . . Unless we save heavy industry, unless we restore it, we shall not be able to build up any industry; and without that we shall be doomed as an independent country. . . . Heavy industry requires state subsidies. If we cannot provide them, then we are doomed as a civilized state—let alone as a socialist state. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 328.)

But the restoration and development of heavy industry, particularly in such a backward and poor country as our country was at the beginning of the Five-Year Plan period, is an extremely difficult task; for, as is well known, heavy industry calls for enormous financial expenditures and the availability of a certain minimum of experienced technical forces, without which, speaking generally, the restoration of heavy industry is impossible. Did the party know this, and did it take this into consideration? Yes, it did. Not only did the party know this, but it announced it for all to hear. The party knew how heavy industry had been built up in England, Germany and America. It knew that in those countries heavy industry had been built up either with the aid of big loans, or by plundering other countries, or by both methods simultaneously. The party knew that these paths were closed to our country. What, then, did it count on? It counted on our country's own resources. It counted on the fact that, with a Soviet government at the helm, and the land, industry, transport, the banks and commerce nationalized, we could pursue a regime of strict economy in order to accumulate sufficient resources for the restoration and development of heavy industry. The party declared frankly that this would call for serious sacrifices, and that we must openly and consciously make these sacrifices if we wanted to achieve our goal.

The party counted on carrying through this task with the aid of the *internal* resources of our country—without usurious credits and loans from outside.

Here is what Lenin said on this score:

We must strive to build up a state in which the workers retain their leadership in relation to the peasants, in which they retain the confidence of the peasants, and, by exercising the greatest economy, remove every trace of extravagance from our social relations.

We must reduce our state apparatus to the utmost degree of economy. We must remove from it all traces of extravagance, of which so much has been left over from tsarist Russia, from its bureaucratic capitalist apparatus.

Will not this be the reign of peasant narrowness?

No. If we see to it that the working class retains its leadership of the peasantry, we shall be able, by exercising the greatest possible economy in the economic life of our state, to use every kopek we save to develop our large-scale machine industry, to develop electrification, the hydraulic extraction of peat, to finish the construction of Volkhovstroi, etc.

In this, and this alone, lies our hope. Only when we have done this will we, speaking figuratively, be able to change horses, to change from the peasant, muzhik horse of poverty, from the horse of economy fit for a ruined peasant country, to the horse which the proletariat is seeking and cannot but seek—the horse of large-scale machine industry, of electrification, of Volkhovstroi, etc. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. X, pp. 400-01.)

To change from the muzhik horse of poverty to the horse of large-scale machine industry—such was the aim the party pursued in drawing up the Five-Year Plan and working for its fulfillment.

To exercise the strictest economy and to accumulate the resources necessary for financing the industrialization of our country—such was the road that had to be taken in order to secure the restoration of heavy industry and to carry out the Five-Year Plan.

A bold task? A difficult road? But our party is called a Leninist party precisely because it has no right to fear difficulties.

More than that. The party's confidence in the feasibility of the Five-Year Plan and its faith in the forces of the working class were so strong that the party found it possible to undertake to fulfill this difficult task not in five years, as was provided for in the Five-Year Plan, but in four years, or, strictly speaking, in four years and three months, if the special quarter be added.

This is what gave rise to the famous slogan: "The Five-Year Plan in Four Years."

And what has been the upshot?

Subsequent facts have proved that the party was right.

The facts have proved that without this boldness and this confidence in the forces of the working class the party could not have achieved the victory of which we are now so justly proud.

III. THE RESULTS OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN IN FOUR YEARS IN INDUSTRY

Let us now take up the results of the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan.

What are the results of the Five-Year Plan in four years in the sphere of *industry*?

Have we achieved victory in this sphere?

Yes, we have. And not only that, but we have accomplished more than we expected, more than the hottest heads in our party could have expected. Even our enemies do not deny this now; and certainly our friends cannot deny it.

We did not have an iron and steel industry, the foundation for the industrialization of the country. Now we have this industry.

We did not have a tractor industry. Now we have one.

We did not have an automobile industry. Now we have one.

We did not have a machine-tool industry. Now we have one.

We did not have a big and up-to-date chemical industry. Now we have one.

We did not have a real and big industry for the production of modern agricultural machinery. Now we have one.

We did not have an aircraft industry. Now we have one.

In output of electric power we were last on the list. Now we rank among the first.

In output of oil products and coal we were last on the list. Now we rank among the first.

We had only one coal and metallurgical base—in the Ukraine—which we barely managed to keep going. We have not only succeeded in improving this base, but have created a new coal and metallurgical base—in the East—which is the pride of our country.

We had only one center of the textile industry—in the North of our country. As a result of our efforts we will have in the very near future two new centers of the textile industry—in Central Asia and Western Siberia.

And we have not only created these new great industries, but have

created them on a scale and in dimensions that eclipse the scale and dimensions of European industry.

And as a result of all this the capitalist elements have been completely and irrevocably eliminated from industry, and socialist industry has become the sole form of industry in the U.S.S.R.

And as a result of all this our country has been converted from an agrarian into an industrial country; for the proportion of industrial output, as compared with agricultural output, has risen from 48 per cent of the total in the beginning of the Five-Year Plan period (1928) to 70 per cent at the end of the fourth year of the Five-Year Plan period (1932).

And as a result of all this we have succeeded by the end of the fourth year of the Five-Year Plan period in fulfilling the program of general industry output, which was drawn up for five years, to the extent of 93.7 per cent, thereby increasing the volume of industrial output more than *threefold* as compared with the pre-war output, and more than *twofold* as compared with that of 1928. As for the Five-Year Plan program of output for heavy industry, we have fulfilled that to the extent of 108 per cent. It is true that we are 6 per cent short of fulfilling the general program of the Five-Year Plan. But this is due to the fact that in order to improve the defenses of the country, in view of the refusal of neighboring countries to sign pacts of non-aggression with us, and in view of the complications that arose in the Far East, we were obliged hastily to switch a number of factories to the production of modern weapons of defense. And since this involved the necessity of going through a certain period of preparation, these factories had to suspend production for four months, which could not but affect the fulfillment of the general program of output provided for in the Five-Year Plan during 1932. As a result of this operation we have completely closed the breach in the defenses of the country. But it could not but affect the fulfillment of the program of output provided for in the Five-Year Plan. It is beyond any doubt that, but for this circumstance, we would not only have fulfilled, but overfulfilled the figures of the Five-Year Plan.

Finally, as a result of all this the Soviet Union has been converted from a weak country, unprepared for defense, into a country mighty in defense, a country prepared for every contingency, a country capable of producing on a mass scale all modern weapons of defense and of equipping its army with them in the event of an attack from without.

Such, in general terms, are the results of the Five-Year Plan in four years in the sphere of industry.

Now you may judge for yourselves what all the talk in the bourgeois

press about the "failure" of the Five-Year Plan in the sphere of industry is worth after this?

And what is the position in regard to growth of industrial output in the *capitalist* countries, which are now passing through a severe crisis?

Here are the generally known official figures.

While by the end of 1932 the volume of industrial output in the U.S.S.R. rose to 334 per cent of the pre-war output, the volume of industrial output in the U.S.A. *dropped* in this same period to 84 per cent, that of England to 75 per cent, that of Germany to 62 per cent.

While by the end of 1932 the volume of industrial output in the U.S.S.R. rose to 219 per cent of the 1928 output, the volume of industrial output in the U.S.A. during this same period *dropped* to 56 per cent, in England to 80 per cent, in Germany to 55 per cent, in Poland to 54 per cent.

What do these figures show if not that the capitalist system of industry has failed to stand the test in the contest with the Soviet system; that the Soviet system of industry has all the advantages over the capitalist system.

We are told: This is all very well; many new factories have indeed been built, and the foundations for industrialization have been laid; but it would have been far better to have abandoned the policy of industrialization, the policy of expanding the production of means of production, or at least to have relegated it to the background, and to have produced more cotton cloth, shoes, clothing, and other articles of general use. The output of articles of general use has been smaller than is required, and this creates certain difficulties.

But, then, we must know and take into account where such a policy of relegating the task of industrialization to the background would have led us. Of course, out of the 1,500,000,000 rubles in foreign currency that we spent on purchasing equipment for our heavy industries, we could have set apart a half for the purpose of importing raw cotton, hides, wool, rubber, etc. Then we would now have more cotton cloth, shoes and clothing. But we would not have a tractor industry or an automobile industry; we would not have anything like a big iron and steel industry; we would not have metal for the manufacture of machinery—and we would be unarmed, while we are surrounded by capitalist countries which are armed with modern technique. We would have deprived ourselves of the possibility of supplying our agriculture with tractors and agricultural machinery—which means that we would now have no bread. We would have deprived ourselves of the possibility of achieving victory over the capitalist elements in our country—which means that we would have

raised immeasurably the chances of the restoration of capitalism. We would not now have all the modern means of defense without which it is impossible for a country to be politically independent, without which a country is converted into a target for military attacks of foreign enemies. Our position would be more or less analogous to the present position of China, which has no heavy industry and no war industry of her own and which is pecked at by everybody who cares to do so.

In a word, in that case we would have had military intervention; not pacts of non-aggression, but war, dangerous and fatal war, a sanguinary and unequal war; for in such a war we would be almost unarmed in the face of the enemy, who has all the modern means of attack at his disposal.

This is how it turns out, comrades.

It is obvious that a self-respecting government and a self-respecting party could not adopt such a fatal point of view.

And it is precisely because the party rejected this anti-revolutionary line—it is precisely for that reason that it achieved a decisive victory in the fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan in the sphere of industry.

In carrying out the Five-Year Plan and organizing victory in the sphere of industrial construction the party pursued the policy of accelerating the development of industry to the utmost. The party, as it were, whipped up the country and spurred it onward.

Was the party right in pursuing the policy of accelerating development to the utmost?

Yes, it was absolutely right.

We had to spur on the country, which was a hundred years behind, and which was faced with mortal danger because it was behind. Only in this way was it possible to enable the country quickly to re-equip itself on the basis of modern technique and emerge onto the highroad at last.

Furthermore, we could not know just when the imperialists would attack the U.S.S.R. and interrupt our work of construction; but that they might attack us at any moment, taking advantage of the technical and economic backwardness of our country—of that there could not be any doubt. That is why the party was obliged to spur on the country, so as not to lose time, so as to make the utmost use of the respite to create in the U.S.S.R. the basis of industrialization which is the foundation of her power. The party could not afford to wait and maneuver; it had to pursue the policy of accelerating development to the utmost.

Finally, the party had to put an end, in the shortest possible space of time, to the weakness of the country in the sphere of defense. The conditions prevailing at the time, the growth of armaments in capitalist coun-

tries, the collapse of the idea of disarmament, the hatred of the international bourgeoisie towards the Soviet Union—all this impelled the party to accelerate the work of strengthening the defenses of the country, the foundation of her independence.

But did the party have the practical possibilities for pursuing the policy of accelerating development to the utmost? Yes, it had. It had these possibilities, not only because it succeeded in good time in rousing the country to make rapid progress, but primarily because in the work of extensive new construction it could fall back on the old, or renovated, factories and works, which the workers and the engineering and technical personnel had already mastered, and which therefore enabled us to achieve the utmost acceleration of development.

This was the basis for the rapid advance of new construction, for the enthusiasm displayed in the extensive construction work, for the rise of heroes and shock workers on construction jobs, for the tempestuous rates of development in our country in the period of the First Five-Year Plan.

Can it be said that exactly the same policy of accelerating development to the utmost will have to be pursued in the period of the Second Five-Year Plan? No, that cannot be said.

First, as a result of the successful fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan, we have, in the main, *already achieved* its principal object—to place industry, transport, and agriculture on a new, modern, technical basis. Is there really any need, after this, to urge and spur on the country? This is obviously no longer necessary.

Secondly, as a result of the successful fulfillment of the Five-Year Plan, we have *already succeeded* in raising the defenses of the country to the proper level. Is there really any need, after this, to urge and spur on the country? This is obviously no longer necessary.

Finally, as a result of the successful fulfillment* of the Five-Year Plan, we have been able to build scores and hundreds of big new factories and works, equipped with new, intricate machinery. This means that in the period of the Second Five-Year Plan the bulk of industrial output will be provided not by the old factories, whose technique has already been mastered, as was the case during the period of the First Five-Year Plan, but by the new factories, whose technique has not yet been mastered, but has still to be mastered. But the mastery of the new enterprises and of the new technique presents much greater difficulties than the utilization of old, or renovated, factories and works, whose technique has already been mastered. This requires more time, which must be spent in improving the qualifications of the workers and of the engineering and

technical personnel and in acquiring the new skill that is needed to make full use of the new machinery. Is it not clear after this that even if we desired we could not in the period of the Second Five-Year Plan, particularly during the first two or three years, pursue a policy of accelerating development to the utmost?

That is why I think that in the Second Five-Year Plan period we will have to adopt less speedy rates of increase in industrial output. In the period of the First Five-Year Plan the average annual increase in industrial output was 22 per cent. I think that in the Second Five-Year Plan we will have to provide for a 13 to 14 per cent average annual increase in industrial output. For capitalist countries such a rate of increase in industrial output is an unattainable ideal. And not only such a rate of increase in industrial output—even a 5 per cent average annual increase in industrial output is now an unattainable ideal for them. But, then, they are capitalist countries. The Soviet Union, with the Soviet system of economy, is altogether different. Under our system of economy we are fully able to obtain, and we must obtain, a 13 to 14 per cent annual increase of production as a *minimum*.

In the period of the First Five-Year Plan we succeeded in organizing enthusiasm and fervor *for new construction*, and achieved decisive successes. This is very good. But now that is not enough. Now we must supplement that with enthusiasm and fervor for *mastering* the new factories and the new technique, for a substantial rise in productivity of labor, for a substantial reduction of production costs.

This is the main thing at present.

For only on this basis will we be able, say, in the latter half of the Second Five-Year Plan period, to make a fresh powerful spurt both in respect of construction and in respect of increasing industrial output.

Finally, a few words about the rates and percentages of annual increase of production. Our executives in industry pay little attention to this question. And yet it is a very interesting question. What is behind the per cent increase of output; what does every per cent of increase imply? Take 1925, for example, the period of restoration. In that year the increase in output was 66 per cent. Gross industrial output amounted in value to 7,700,000,000 rubles. The increase of 66 per cent represented, in absolute figures, something over 3,000,000,000 rubles. Hence, every per cent of increase was then equal to 45,000,000 rubles. Now let us take the year 1928. In that year the increase was 26 per cent, *i.e.*, about one-third of that in 1925. Gross industrial output in 1928 amounted in value to 15,500,000,000 rubles. The total increase for the year amounted, in abso-

lute figures, to 3,280,000,000 rubles. Thus, every per cent of increase was then equal to 126,000,000 rubles, *i.e.*, almost three times as much as in 1925, when we had a 66 per cent increase. Finally, let us take 1931. In that year the increase was 22 per cent, *i.e.*, one-third of that in 1925. Gross industrial output in 1931 amounted in value to 30,800,000,000 rubles. The total increase, in absolute figures, amounted to a little over 5,600,000,000 rubles. Hence, every per cent of increase represented more than 250,000,000 rubles, *i.e.*, six times as much as in 1925, when we had a 66 per cent increase, and twice as much as in 1928, when we had a little over 26 per cent increase.

What does all this show? It shows that in studying the rate of increase of output we must not confine our examination to the total percentage of increase—we must also take account of what lies behind each per cent of increase and of what is the total sum of the annual increase of output. For 1933, for example, we are providing for a 16 per cent increase, *i.e.*, one-fourth that of 1925. But this does not mean that the actual increase of output in 1933 will also be one-fourth that of 1925. In 1925 the increase of output, in absolute figures, was a little over 3,000,000,000 rubles, and each per cent was equal to 45,000,000 rubles. There is no reason to doubt that a 16 per cent increase in output in 1933 will amount, in absolute figures, to not less than 5,000,000,000 rubles, *i.e.*, almost twice as much as in 1925; and each per cent of increase will be equal to at least 320,000,000 to 340,000,000 rubles, *i.e.*, will represent at least seven times as large a sum as each per cent of increase represented in 1925.

That is how things turn out to be, comrades, if we examine the question of rates of growth and percentages of increase in concrete terms.

Such is the position in regard to the results of the Five-Year Plan in four years in the sphere of industry.

IV. THE RESULTS OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN IN FOUR YEARS IN AGRICULTURE

Let us pass on to the question of the results of the Five-Year Plan in four years in the sphere of agriculture.

The Five-Year Plan in the sphere of agriculture was a Five-Year Plan of collectivization. What did the party proceed from in carrying out collectivization?

The party proceeded from the fact that in order to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and to build up socialist society it was necessary, in addition to industrialization, to pass from small, individual

peasant farming to large-scale collective agriculture equipped with tractors and modern agricultural machinery, as the only firm basis for the Soviet power in the rural districts.

The party proceeded from the fact that without collectivization it would be impossible to lead our country onto the highroad of building the economic foundations of socialism, impossible to free the vast masses of the laboring peasantry from poverty and ignorance.

Lenin said:

There is no escape from poverty for the small farm. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 195.)

Lenin said:

If we continue as of old on our small farms, even as free citizens on free land, we shall still be faced with inevitable ruin. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, p. 370.)

Lenin said:

Only by collective, cooperative, artel labor will it be possible to emerge from the impasse into which the imperialist war has driven us. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 191.)

Lenin said:

...It is essential to adopt joint cultivation on large model farms. Without that there can be no escape from the chaos, from the truly desperate condition, in which Russia finds herself. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VI, p. 371.)

Proceeding from this, Lenin arrived at the following fundamental conclusion:

Only if we succeed in proving to the peasants in practice the advantages of common, collective, cooperative, artel cultivation of the soil, only if we succeed in helping the peasant by means of cooperative or artel farming, will the working class, which holds the state power, be really able to convince the peasant of the correctness of its policy and to secure the real and durable following of the millions of peasants. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. VIII, p. 199.)

It was from these theses of Lenin's that the party proceeded in carrying out the program of collectivizing agriculture, the program of the Five-Year Plan in the sphere of agriculture.

In this connection, the object of the Five-Year Plan in the sphere of agriculture was to unite the scattered and small individual peasant farms,

which lacked the opportunity of utilizing tractors and modern agricultural machinery, into large collective farms, equipped with all the modern implements of highly developed agriculture, and to cover unoccupied land with model state farms.

The object of the Five-Year Plan in the sphere of agriculture was to convert the U.S.S.R. from a small-peasant and backward country into a large-scale agriculture organized on the basis of collective labor and providing the maximum output for the market.

What has the party achieved in carrying out the program of the Five-Year Plan in four years in the sphere of agriculture? Has it fulfilled this program, or has it failed?

The party has succeeded, in a matter of three years, in organizing more than 200,000 collective farms and about 5,000 state farms specializing mainly in grain growing and livestock raising, and at the same time it has succeeded, in the course of four years, in enlarging the crop area by 21,000,000 hectares.

The party has succeeded in getting more than 60 per cent of the peasant farms, which account for more than 70 per cent of the land cultivated by peasants, to unite into collective farms, which means that we have *fulfilled* the Five-Year Plan *threefold*.

The party has succeeded in creating the possibility of obtaining, not 500,000,000 to 600,000,000 poods* of marketable grain, which was the amount purchased in the period when individual peasant farming predominated, but 1,200,000,000 to 1,400,000,000 poods of grain annually.

The party has succeeded in routing the kulaks as a class, although they have not yet been dealt the final blow; the laboring peasants have been emancipated from kulak bondage and exploitation, and a firm economic basis for the Soviet government, the basis of collective farming, has been established in the countryside.

The party has succeeded in converting the U.S.S.R. from a land of small peasant farming into a land where agriculture is run on the largest scale in the world.

Such, in general terms, are the results of the Five-Year Plan in four years in the sphere of agriculture.

Now you may judge for yourselves what all the talk of the bourgeois press about the "collapse" of collectivization, about the "failure" of the Five-Year Plan in the sphere of agriculture is worth after all this?

And what is the position of agriculture in the *capitalist* countries, which are now passing through a severe agricultural crisis?

* A pood equals 36 pounds.—Ed.

Here are the generally known official figures:

In the principal grain-producing countries the crop area has been reduced 8 to 10 per cent. The cotton area in the United States has been reduced by 15 per cent; the area under sugar beet in Germany and Czechoslovakia has been reduced 22 to 30 per cent; the area under flax in Lithuania and Latvia has been reduced 25 to 30 per cent.

According to the figures of the United States Department of Agriculture, the value of the gross output of agriculture in the United States *dropped* from \$11,000,000,000 in 1929 to \$5,000,000,000 in 1932, *i.e.*, by more than 50 per cent. The value of the gross output of grain in that country *dropped* from \$1,288,000,000 in 1929 to \$391,000,000 in 1932, *i.e.*, by more than 68 per cent. The value of the cotton crop in that country *dropped* from \$1,389,000,000 in 1929 to \$397,000,000 in 1932, *i.e.*, by more than 70 per cent.

Do not all these facts testify to the superiority of the Soviet system of agriculture over the capitalist system? Do not these facts go to show that the collective farms are a more virile form of farming than individual and capitalist farms?

It is said that collective farms and state farms do not always pay, that they eat up an enormous amount of funds, that there is no sense in maintaining such enterprises, that it would be more expedient to dissolve them and to leave only those that pay. But only people who understand nothing about national economy, about economics, can say such things. A few years ago more than half of our textile mills did not pay. A section of our comrades suggested at the time that we should close down these mills. What would have happened had we followed their advice? We would have committed an enormous crime against the country, against the working class; for by doing that we would have ruined our rising industry. What did we do at that time? We waited a little more than a year, and finally succeeded in making the whole of our textile industry pay. And what about our automobile plant at Gorky? It also does not pay as yet. Would you, perhaps, have us close it down? Or our iron and steel industry, which also does not pay as yet? Shall we close that down, too, comrades? If this is going to be our view of whether a thing pays or not, then we ought to develop to the utmost only a few industries, those which are the most profitable, as, for example, the confectionery industry, flour milling, the perfumery industry, the knitted goods industry, the toy industry, etc. Of course, I am not opposed to developing these industries. On the contrary, they must be developed, for they, too, are needed for the population. But, in the first place, they cannot be de-

veloped without equipment and fuel, which are provided by the heavy industries. In the second place, we cannot use them as the basis of industrialization. That is the position, comrades.

We cannot approach the question of whether a thing pays or not from the huckster's point of view, from the point of view of the immediate present. We must approach it from the point of view of national economy as a whole, over a period of several years. Only such a point of view can be called a truly Leninist, a truly Marxist one. And this point of view is essential not only in regard to industry, but also, and to an even greater extent, in regard to the collective farms and state farms. Just think: in a matter of three years we have created more than 200,000 collective farms and more than 5,000 state farms, *i.e.*, we have created entirely new large enterprises which are of the same significance in agriculture as mills and factories in industry. Name another country which has managed in the course of three years to create, not 205,000 new large enterprises, but even 25,000. You will not be able to name it; for there is no such country, and there has never been one. But we have created 205,000 new enterprises in agriculture. It appears, however, that there are people who demand that these enterprises should immediately be placed on a paying basis, and if they cannot pay immediately they should be destroyed and dissolved. Is it not clear that these very strange people are envious of the laurels of Herostratus?

In saying that the collective farms and state farms do not pay, I do not want to suggest that all of them do not pay. Nothing of the kind! Everyone knows that even now we have quite a number of collective farms and state farms which pay very well. We have thousands of collective farms and scores of state farms which fully pay even now. These collective farms and state farms are the pride of our party, the pride of the Soviet government. Of course, not all collective farms and state farms are alike. Some collective farms and state farms are old, some are new, and some are very young. The latter are still weak economic organisms, which have not yet fully come out of the mold. They are passing through approximately the same period of organizational development that our factories and works passed through in 1920-21. Naturally, the majority of these cannot pay yet. But there cannot be the slightest doubt that they will begin to pay in the course of the next two or three years, just as our factories and mills began to pay after 1921. To refuse them assistance and support on the grounds that at the present moment not all of them pay would be committing a grave crime against the working class and the peasantry. Only enemies of the people and

counter-revolutionaries can raise the question of the collective farms and state farms being unnecessary.

In putting into effect the Five-Year Plan for agriculture, the party pursued a policy of collectivization at an accelerated tempo. Was the party right in pursuing the policy of an accelerated tempo of collectivization? Yes, it was absolutely right, even though certain excesses were committed in the process. In pursuing the policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class, and in destroying the kulak nests, the party could not stop half way. It was necessary to carry this work to completion. This is the first point.

Secondly, having tractors and agricultural machinery at its disposal, on the one hand, and taking advantage of the absence of private property in land (the nationalization of the land!), on the other, the party had every opportunity of accelerating the collectivization of agriculture. And, indeed, it achieved tremendous successes in this sphere, for it fulfilled the program of the Five-Year Plan of collectivization threefold.

Does this mean that we must pursue the policy of an accelerated tempo of collectivization in the period of the Second Five-Year Plan as well? No, it does not mean that. The point is that, in the main, we have *already completed* the collectivization of the principal regions of the U.S.S.R. Hence, we have done more in this sphere than could have been expected. And we have not only, in the main, completed collectivization. We have succeeded in making the overwhelming majority of the peasantry realize that collective farming is the most acceptable form of farming. This is a tremendous achievement, comrades. Is it worth while, after this, getting into a fever to accelerate the tempo of collectivization? Clearly, it is not.

Now it is no longer a question of accelerating the tempo of collectivization. Still less is it a question as to whether the collective farms should exist or not—that question has already been answered in the affirmative. The collective farms have come to stay, and the road back to old, individual farming is closed forever. The task now is to strengthen the collective farms *organizationally*; to oust the sabotaging elements from them; to recruit real, tried, Bolshevik cadres for the collective farms, and to make them really Bolshevik collective farms. This is the principal thing today.

This is the position in regard to the Five-Year Plan in four years in the sphere of agriculture.

V. THE RESULTS OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN IN FOUR YEARS IN THE SPHERE OF IMPROVING THE MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS

I have spoken of our successes in the sphere of industry and agriculture, of the progress of industry and agriculture in the U.S.S.R. What are the results of these successes as regards the improvement of the material conditions of the workers and peasants? What are the main results of our successes in the sphere of industry and agriculture as regards the radical improvement of the material conditions of the working people?

First, the fact that *unemployment has been abolished* and the uncertainty about the morrow among the workers has been removed.

Secondly, the fact that almost all of the peasant poor have joined the collective farms; that, on this basis, the process of differentiation among the peasantry into kulaks and poor peasants has been checked; and that, *as a result, an end has been put to impoverishment and pauperism in the rural districts.*

These are tremendous achievements, comrades, achievements of which not a single bourgeois state, be it even the most "democratic," can dream.

In our country, in the U.S.S.R., the workers have long forgotten unemployment. Some three years ago we had about one and a half million unemployed. It is already two years now since unemployment has been completely abolished. And in these two years the workers have already forgotten about unemployment, about its burden and its horrors. Look at the capitalist countries: what horrors are taking place there as a result of unemployment! These are now no less than thirty to forty million unemployed in those countries. Who are these people? Usually it is said of them that they are "down and out."

Every day they try to get work, seek work, are prepared to accept almost any conditions of work but they are not given work, because they are "superfluous." And this is taking place at a time when vast quantities of goods and products are wasted to satisfy the caprices of the darlings of fate, the scions of the capitalists and landlords. The unemployed are refused food because they have no money to pay for the food; they are refused shelter because they have no money to pay rent. How and where do they live? They live on the miserable crumbs from the rich man's table; by raking refuse cans, where they find decayed scraps of food;

they live in the slums of big cities, and more often in hovels outside of the towns, hastily put up by the unemployed out of packing cases and the bark of trees. But this is not all. It is not only the unemployed who suffer as a result of unemployment. The employed workers, too, suffer as a result of it. They suffer because the presence of a large number of unemployed makes their position in industry insecure, makes them uncertain of the morrow. Today they are employed, but they are not sure that when they wake up tomorrow they will not find themselves discharged.

One of the principal achievements of the Five-Year Plan in four years is that we have abolished unemployment and have relieved the workers of the U.S.S.R. of its horrors.

The same thing must be said in regard to the peasants. They, too, have forgotten about the differentiation of the peasants into kulaks and poor peasants, about the exploitation of the poor peasants by the kulaks, about the ruin which, every year, caused hundreds of thousands and millions of poor peasants to go begging. Three or four years ago the poor peasants represented no less than 30 per cent of the total peasant population in our country. They numbered more than 10,000,000. And further back, in the period before the October Revolution, the poor peasants represented no less than 60 per cent of the peasant population. Who were the poor peasants? They were people who usually lacked either seed, or horses, or implements, or all of these, for the purpose of carrying on their husbandry. The poor peasants were people who lived in a state of semi-starvation and, as a rule, were in bondage to the kulaks—and in the old days, both to the kulaks and to the landlords. Not so long ago about one and a half million, and sometimes two million, poor peasants used to go south—to the North Caucasus and the Ukraine—every year to hire themselves out to the kulaks—and still earlier, to the kulaks and the landlords. Still larger numbers used to come every year to the gates of the factories and swell the ranks of the unemployed. And it was not only the poor peasants who found themselves in this unenviable position. A good half of the middle peasants lived in the same state of poverty and privation as the poor peasants. All this is now gone and forgotten.

What has the Five-Year Plan in four years given to the poor peasants and to the lower stratum of the middle peasants? It has undermined and smashed the kulaks as a class, thus liberating the poor peasants and a good half of the middle peasants from bondage to the kulaks. It has brought the poor peasants and the lower stratum of the middle peasants

into the collective farms and placed them in a firm position. It has thus eliminated the possibility of the differentiation of the peasantry into exploiters—kulaks—and exploited—poor peasants. It has raised the poor peasants and the lower stratum of the middle peasants to a position of security in the collective farms, and has thereby put a stop to the process of ruination and impoverishment of the peasantry. Now it no longer happens in our country that millions of peasants leave their homes annually to seek work in remote parts. To get a peasant to go to work outside of his own collective farm it is now necessary to sign a contract with the collective farm and, in addition, to pay the collective farmer his railway expenses. Now there are no more cases of hundreds of thousands and millions of peasants being ruined and forced to hang around the gates of factories and mills. That is what used to happen; but that was long ago. Now the peasant is in a position of security; he is a member of a collective farm which has at its disposal tractors, agricultural machinery, a seed fund, a reserve fund, etc., etc.

This is what the Five-Year Plan has given to the poor peasants and to the lower stratum of the middle peasants.

This is the substance of the principal achievements of the Five-Year Plan in regard to the improvement of the material conditions of the workers and peasants.

As a result of these principal achievements in regard to the improvement of the material conditions of the workers and peasants, we have brought about during the period of the First Five-Year Plan:

(a) A *twofold* increase over 1928 in the number of workers and other employees in large-scale industry, which represents an overfulfillment of the Five-Year Plan by 57 per cent.

(b) An increase in the national income—hence, an increase in the incomes of the workers and peasants—to 45,100,000,000 rubles in 1932, which represents an increase of 85 per cent over 1928.

(c) An increase in the average annual wages of workers and other employees in large-scale industry by 67 per cent as compared with 1928, which represents an overfulfillment of the Five-Year Plan by 18 per cent.

(d) An increase in the social insurance fund by 292 per cent as compared with 1928 (4,120,000,000 rubles in 1932, as against 1,050,000,000 rubles in 1928), which represents an overfulfillment of the Five-Year Plan by 111 per cent.

(e) An increase in public catering facilities, which now provide for more than 70 per cent of the workers employed in the decisive indus-

tries, which represents an overfulfillment of the Five-Year Plan by 500 per cent.

Of course, we have not yet reached the point where we can fully satisfy the material requirements of the workers and peasants; and it is hardly likely that we shall reach this point within the next few years. But we have unquestionably attained a position where the material conditions of the workers and peasants are improving from year to year. The only ones who may have any doubts on this score are the sworn enemies of the Soviet government; or, perhaps, certain representatives of the bourgeois press, including some of the Moscow correspondents of this press, who probably know no more about the economics of nations and the condition of the working people than, say, an African king knows about higher mathematics.

And what is the position in regard to the condition of the workers and peasants in capitalist countries?

Here are the official figures:

The number of unemployed in the capitalist countries has increased catastrophically. In the United States, according to official figures, the number of employed workers in the manufacturing industries alone has dropped from 8,500,000 in 1928 to 5,500,000 in 1932; and according to the figures of the American Federation of Labor, the number of unemployed in the United States, in all industries, at the end of 1932, was 11,000,000. In Great Britain, according to official statistics, the number of unemployed has increased from 1,290,000 in 1928 to 2,800,000 in 1932. In Germany, according to official figures, the number of unemployed has increased from 1,376,000 in 1928 to 5,500,000 in 1932. This is the picture that is observed in all the capitalist countries. Moreover, official statistics, as a rule, minimize the number of unemployed; the total number of those unemployed in the capitalist countries ranges from 35,000,000 to 40,000,000.

The wages of the workers are being systematically reduced. According to official figures, average monthly wages in the United States have been reduced by 35 per cent as compared with 1928. In Great Britain wages have been reduced 15 per cent in the same period, and in Germany as much as 50 per cent. According to the calculations of the American Federation of Labor, the American workers lost more than \$35,000,000,000 as a result of wage cuts in 1930-31.

The workers' insurance funds, in Great Britain and Germany, small as they were, have been considerably reduced. In the United States and in France unemployment insurance does not exist, or hardly exists at

all, and, as a consequence, the number of homeless workers and destitute children is growing enormously, particularly in the United States.

The position is no better as regards the condition of the masses of the peasantry in the capitalist countries, where the agricultural crisis is utterly undermining peasant farming and is forcing millions of ruined peasants and farmers to go begging.

Such are the results of the Five-Year Plan in four years in regard to the improvement of the material conditions of the working people of the U.S.S.R.

VI. THE RESULTS OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN IN FOUR YEARS IN THE EXCHANGE OF GOODS BETWEEN TOWN AND COUNTRY

Let us now pass on to the question of the results of the Five-Year Plan in four years in regard to the growth of the exchange of goods between town and country.

The tremendous growth of the output of industry and agriculture, the growth of the marketable surplus both in industry and in agriculture, and, finally, the growth of the requirements of the workers and peasants—all this could not but lead, and really has led, to a revival and expansion of the exchange of goods between town and country.

Production ties are the fundamental form of the bond between town and country. But production ties alone are not sufficient. They must be supplemented by the bond of the exchange of goods, in order that the ties between town and country may be durable and unseverable. This can only be achieved by developing Soviet trade. It would be wrong to think that Soviet trade can be developed only along one channel, for example, the cooperative societies. In order to develop Soviet trade all channels must be used: the cooperative societies, the state trading system, and collective farm trade.

Some comrades think that the development of Soviet trade, and particularly the development of collective farm trade, is a reversion to the first stage of the New Economic Policy. This is absolutely wrong.

There is a fundamental difference between Soviet trade, including collective farm trade, and the trade that was carried on in the first stage of N.E.P.

In the first stage of N.E.P. we permitted a revival of capitalism, per-

mitted private trade, permitted the "activities" of private traders, capitalists, profiteers.

That was more or less free trade, restricted only by the regulating role of the state. At that time the private capitalist sector occupied a fairly important place in the commodity turnover in the country. This is apart from the fact that at that time we did not have the developed industry we now have, or collective farms and state farms working according to plan and placing at the disposal of the state huge reserves of agricultural produce and products of urban manufacture.

Can it be said that this is the position now? Of course not.

In the first place, Soviet trade cannot be placed on a par with trade in the first stage of N.E.P. even though the latter was regulated by the state. Whereas trade in the first stage of N.E.P. permitted the revival of capitalism and the functioning of the private capitalist sector in the exchange of goods, Soviet trade proceeds from the negation of both the one and the other. What is Soviet trade? Soviet trade is trade without capitalists, big or small; it is trade without profiteers, big or small. It is a special form of trade, which has never existed in history before, and which is practiced only by us, by the Bolsheviks, under the conditions of Soviet development.

Secondly, we now have a fairly widely developed state industry and a complete system of collective farms and state farms, which provide the state with huge reserves of agricultural and manufactured goods for the development of Soviet trade. This was not the case, nor could it be the case, under the conditions of the first stage of N.E.P.

Thirdly, we have succeeded in the last few years in completely eliminating private traders, merchants, and middlemen of all kinds from the sphere of the exchange of goods. Of course, this does not mean that private traders and profiteers may not, in accordance with the law of atavism, reappear in the sphere of the exchange of goods and take advantage of the most favorable field for them in this respect, namely, collective farm trading. Moreover, collective farmers themselves are sometimes prone to engage in profiteering, which does not do them honor, of course. But to combat these unhealthy symptoms we have the law recently passed by the Soviet government which provides for measures for the prevention and punishment of profiteering. You know, of course, that this law does not err on the side of leniency. You will understand, of course, that such a law was not, and could not have been passed under the conditions of the first stage of N.E.P.

Thus you see that anyone who talks of a reversion to the trade of the

first stage of N.E.P. after this understands nothing, absolutely nothing, about our Soviet economics.

We are told that it is impossible to develop trade, even if it is Soviet trade, without a sound money system and a sound currency; that we must first of all provide a sound basis for our money system and our Soviet currency, which, it is alleged, does not represent any value. This is what the economists in capitalist countries tell us. I think that these worthy economists understand no more about political economy than, say, the Archbishop of Canterbury understands about anti-religious propaganda. How can it be asserted that our Soviet currency does not represent any value? Is it not a fact that on this currency we built Magnitostroi, Dnieprostroi, Kuznetskstroi, the Stalingrad and Kharkov Tractor Works, the Gorky and Moscow Automobile Plants, hundreds of thousands of collective farms, and thousands of state farms? Do these gentlemen think that all these enterprises have been built with straw, or clay, and not with real materials, having definite value? What is it that secures the stability of Soviet currency—if we have in mind, of course, the organized market, which is of decisive significance in the exchange of goods in the country, and not the unorganized market, which is only of subordinate importance? Of course, it is not the gold reserve alone. The stability of Soviet currency is secured, first of all, by the vast quantity of goods held by the state and put into circulation at stable prices. What economist can deny that this security, which exists only in the U.S.S.R., is a more real guarantee for the stability of the currency than any gold reserve? Will the economists in capitalist countries ever understand that they are hopelessly muddled in their theory of a gold reserve being the only security for the stability of currency?

That is the position in regard to the questions concerning the expansion of Soviet trade.

What have we achieved as a result of carrying out the Five-Year Plan in the sphere of developing Soviet trade?

As a result of the Five-Year Plan we have:

(a) An increase in the output of light industry to 187 per cent of the output in 1928.

(b) An increase in cooperative and state retail trade, which now, calculated in prices of 1932, amounts to 39,600,000,000 rubles, *i.e.*, an increase in the volume of goods in retail trade to 175 per cent of the 1928 figure.

(c) An increase in the number of state and cooperative shops and stores by 158,000 over that of 1929.

(d) The continually increasing development of collective farm trade and of purchases of agricultural produce by various state and cooperative organizations. Such are the facts.

An altogether different picture of the condition of internal trade is presented in the *capitalist* countries, where the crisis has resulted in a catastrophic drop in trade, in the mass closing down of enterprises and the ruin of small and medium shopkeepers, in the bankruptcy of large commercial firms and the accumulation of large stocks of goods in commercial warehouses, while the purchasing power of the masses of the working people continues to decline.

Such are the results of the Five-Year Plan in four years in the sphere of the development of the exchange of goods.

VII. THE RESULTS OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN IN FOUR YEARS IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE REMNANTS OF THE HOSTILE CLASSES

As a result of the realization of the Five-Year Plan in the sphere of industry, agriculture, and trade we have established the principles of socialism in all spheres of the national economy and have expelled the capitalist elements from them.

What should this have led to with regard to the capitalist elements; and what has it actually led to?

It has led to this: the last remnants of the dying classes—the manufacturers and their servitors, the merchants and their henchmen, the former nobles and priests, the kulaks and their toadies, the former White officers and police officials, policemen and gendarmes, all sorts of bourgeois intellectuals of the chauvinist persuasion, and all other anti-Soviet elements—have been thrown out of their groove.

Thrown out of their groove, and scattered over the whole face of the U.S.S.R., these “have-beens” have crept into our plants and factories, into our government offices and trading organizations, into our railway and water transport enterprises, and, principally, into the collective farms and state farms. They have crept into these places and concealed themselves, donning the mask of “workers” and “peasants,” and some of them have even managed to make their way into the party.

What did they carry with them into these places? Of course, they carried with them a feeling of hatred towards the Soviet government, a

feeling of burning enmity towards the new forms of economy, life and culture.

These gentlemen are no longer able to launch a frontal attack against the Soviet government. They and their classes made such attacks several times, but they were defeated and dispersed. Hence the only thing left them is to do mischief and harm to the workers, to the collective farmers, to the Soviet government and to the party. And they are doing as much mischief as they can, stealthily sapping and undermining. They set fire to warehouses and break machines. They organize sabotage. They organize wrecking activities in the collective farms and state farms, and some of them, including certain professors, go to such lengths in their zeal for wrecking as to inject the germs of plague and anthrax into the cattle on the collective farms and state farms, help to spread meningitis among horses, etc.

But that is not the main thing. The main thing in the "activities" of these "have-beens" is that they organize mass theft and plundering of state property, cooperative property, and collective farm property. Theft and plundering in the factories and works, theft and plundering of railway freight, theft and plundering in warehouses and commercial enterprises—particularly theft and plundering in the state farms and collective farms—such is the main form of the "activities" of these "have-beens." Their class instinct, as it were, tells them that the basis of Soviet economy is public property, and that it is precisely this basis that must be shaken in order to do mischief to the Soviet government—and they try indeed to shake public property, by organizing mass theft and plundering.

In order to organize plundering they play on the private-property habits and survivals among the collective farmers, the individual farmers of yesterday who are now members of collective farms. You, as Marxists, should know that in its development the mentality of man lags behind his actual condition. In status the members of collective farms are no longer individual farmers, but collectivists; but their mentality is still the old one—that of the owner of private property. And so, the "have-beens" from the ranks of the exploiting classes play on the private-property habits of the collective farmers in order to organize the plundering of public wealth and thus shake the foundation of the Soviet system, *viz.*, public property.

Many of our comrades look complacently upon such phenomena and fail to understand the meaning and significance of this mass theft and plundering. Like the blind they pass by these facts and take the view that "there is nothing unusual in it." But these comrades are pro-

foundly mistaken. The basis of our system is public property, just as private property is the basis of capitalism. If the capitalists proclaimed private property sacred and inviolable when they were consolidating the capitalist system, there is all the more reason why we Communists should proclaim public property sacred and inviolable in order to consolidate the new socialist forms of economy in all spheres of production and trade. To permit theft and plundering of public property—no matter whether it is state property or cooperative or collective farm property—and to ignore such counter-revolutionary outrages is tantamount to aiding and abetting the undermining of the Soviet system, which rests on public property as its basis. It was on these grounds that our Soviet government passed the recent law for the protection of public property. That act is the basis of revolutionary law at the present time. And it is the primary duty of every Communist, of every worker, and of every collective farmer strictly to carry out this law.

It is said that revolutionary law at the present time does not differ in any way from revolutionary law in the first period of N.E.P.—that revolutionary law at the present time is a reversion to revolutionary law of the first period of N.E.P. This is absolutely wrong. The edge of revolutionary law in the first period of N.E.P. was turned mainly against the extremes of War Communism, against “illegal” confiscation and imposts. It guaranteed the security of the property of the private owner, of the individual farmer and of the capitalist, provided they strictly observed the Soviet laws. The position in regard to revolutionary law at the present time is entirely different. The edge of revolutionary law at the present time is turned, not against the extremes of War Communism, which have long been forgotten, but against thieves and wreckers in public economy, against hooligans and filchers of public property. The main concern of revolutionary law at the present time is, consequently, the protection of public property, and not something else.

That is why it is one of the fundamental tasks of the party to fight to protect public property, to fight with all the measures and all the means placed at our command by the laws of the Soviet government.

A strong and powerful dictatorship of the proletariat—that is what we must now have in order to scatter the last remnants of the dying classes to the winds and frustrate their thieving designs.

Some comrades interpreted the thesis on the abolition of classes, the establishment of classless society, and the withering away of the state to mean a justification of laziness and complacency, a justification of the counter-revolutionary theory that the class struggle is subsiding and that

state power is to be relaxed. Needless to say, such people cannot have anything in common with our party. They are either degenerates or double-dealers, and must be driven out of the party. The abolition of classes is not achieved by the subsiding of the class struggle, but by its intensification. The state will die out, not as a result of a relaxation of the state power, but as a result of its utmost consolidation, which is necessary for the purpose of finally crushing the remnants of the dying classes and of organizing defense against the capitalist encirclement, which is far from having been done away with as yet, and will not soon be done away with.

As a result of the realization of the Five-Year Plan we have succeeded in completely ejecting the remnants of the hostile classes from their positions in production; we have routed the kulaks and have prepared the ground for their extermination. Such are the results of the Five-Year Plan in the sphere of the struggle against the last detachments of the bourgeoisie. But that is not enough. The task is to eject these "have-beens" from our enterprises and institutions and render them utterly harmless.

It cannot be said that these "have-beens" can alter anything in the present position of the U.S.S.R. by their wrecking and thieving machinations. They are too weak and impotent to withstand the measures adopted by the Soviet government. But if our comrades do not arm themselves with revolutionary vigilance and do not actually put an end to the smug, petty-bourgeois attitude towards theft and plundering of public property, these "have-beens" will be able to do considerable mischief.

We must bear in mind that the growth of the power of the Soviet state will intensify the resistance of the last remnants of the dying classes. It is precisely because they are dying and their days are numbered that they will go on from one form of attack to other, sharper forms of attack; they will appeal to the backward sections of the population and try to mobilize them against the Soviet government. There is no mischief and slander that these "have-beens" will not resort to against the Soviet government and around which they will not try to mobilize the backward elements. This may provide grounds for a revival of the activities of the defeated groups of the old counter-revolutionary parties: the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks, and the bourgeois nationalists in the center and in the border regions; it may also provide grounds for a revival of the activities of the fragments of counter-revolutionary opposition elements, the Trotskyites and Right deviationists. This, of course, need not frighten us. But we must bear all this in mind if we want

to get rid of these elements quickly, and without unnecessary sacrifice.

That is why revolutionary vigilance is the quality that Bolsheviks particularly need at the present time.

VIII. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Such are the main results of the realization of the Five-Year Plan in industry and agriculture; in the improvement of the conditions of life of the working people and the development of the exchange of goods; in the consolidation of the Soviet power and the development of the class struggle against the remnants and survivals of the dying classes.

Such are the successes and gains the Soviet government has achieved in the past four years.

It would be a mistake to think that since these successes have been attained everything is as it should be. Of course, not everything with us is yet as it should be. There are plenty of defects and mistakes in our work. Inefficiency and confusion are still to be met in our practical activities. Unfortunately, I cannot now stop to deal with defects and mistakes, as the limits of the report I was instructed to make do not give me sufficient scope for this. But that is not the point just now. The point is that, notwithstanding defects and mistakes, whose existence none of us denies, we have achieved important successes, which evoke admiration among the working class all over the world, we have achieved a victory which is truly of worldwide historic significance.

What are the principal factors that could and actually did bring it about that, despite mistakes and defects, the party has nevertheless achieved decisive successes in carrying out the Five-Year Plan in four years?

What are the main forces that have ensured this historic victory for us in spite of everything?

They are, first and foremost, the activity and self-devotion, the enthusiasm and initiative of the millions of workers and collective farmers, who, together with the engineering and technical forces, displayed colossal energy in developing socialist emulation and shock work. There can be no doubt that without this we could not have achieved our goal, we could not have advanced a single step.

Secondly, the firm leadership of the party and of the government, which urged the masses forward and overcame all the obstacles that stood in the path to the goal.

And, lastly, the special merits and advantages of the Soviet system of

economy, which bears within itself the colossal potentialities necessary for overcoming any and all difficulties.

Such are the three main forces that determined the historic victory of the U.S.S.R.

General conclusions:

1. The results of the Five-Year Plan have refuted the assertions of the bourgeois and Social-Democratic leaders that the Five-Year Plan was a fantasy, delirium, an unattainable dream. The results of the Five-Year Plan show that the Plan has already been fulfilled.

2. The results of the Five-Year Plan have shattered the well-known bourgeois "article of faith" that the working class is incapable of building anything new, that it is capable only of destroying the old. The results of the Five-Year Plan have shown that the working class is as able to build the new as to destroy the old.

3. The results of the Five-Year Plan have shattered the thesis of the Social-Democrats that it is impossible to build socialism in one country, taken singly. The results of the Five-Year Plan have shown that it is quite possible to build a socialist society in one country; for the economic foundations of such a society have already been laid in the U.S.S.R.

4. The results of the Five-Year Plan have refuted the assertion of bourgeois economists that the capital system of economy is the best of all systems, that every other system of economy is unstable and incapable of standing the test of the difficulties attending economic development. The results of the Five-Year Plan have shown that the capitalist system of economy is bankrupt and unstable; that it has become obsolete and must give way to another, a higher, Soviet, socialist system of economy; that the only system of economy that has no fear of crises and is able to overcome the difficulties which capitalism cannot solve is the Soviet system of economy.

Finally, the results of the Five-Year Plan have shown that the party is invincible, *if* it knows its goal, and if it is not afraid of difficulties.

WORK IN THE RURAL DISTRICTS

I think that the previous speakers have correctly described the state of party work in the rural districts, its defects and its merits—particularly its defects. Nevertheless, it seems to me that they have failed to mention the most important thing about the defects of our work in the rural districts; they have not disclosed the roots of these defects. And yet this aspect is of the greatest interest to us. Permit me, therefore, to express my opinion on the defects of our work in the rural districts; to express it with all the straightforwardness characteristic of the Bolsheviks.

What was the main defect in our work in the rural districts during the past year, 1932?

The main defect was that our grain purchases in 1932 were accompanied by greater difficulties than in the previous year, in 1931.

This cannot be explained by the bad state of the harvest; for in 1932 our harvest was not worse, but better than in the preceding year. No one can deny that the total amount of grain harvested in 1932 was larger than in 1931, when the drought in five of the main districts of the northeastern part of the U.S.S.R. considerably reduced the country's grain balance. Of course, in 1932 we also suffered a certain loss of crops, as a consequence of unfavorable climatic conditions in the Kuban and Terek regions, and also in certain districts of the Ukraine. But there can be no doubt whatever that these losses do not amount to half the loss we suffered in 1931 as a result of the drought in the northeastern districts of the U.S.S.R. Hence, in 1932 we had more grain in the country than we had in 1931. And yet, despite these circumstances, our grain purchases were accompanied by greater difficulties in 1932 than in the previous year.

What was the trouble? What are the reasons for this defect in our work? How is this discrepancy to be explained?

1. It is to be explained, in the first place, by the fact that our comrades in the localities, our workers in the rural districts, failed to take into consideration the new situation created in the rural districts by the announcement of collective farm trade in grain. And precisely because they failed to take the new situation into consideration, precisely for that

reason, were they unable to reorganize their work on new lines to fit in with the new conditions. It was one thing when there was no collective farm trading in grain, when we did not have two prices for grain—the state price and the market price. With the announcement of collective farm trade in grain, the situation was bound to change sharply, because the announcement of collective farm trading implies the legalization of a market price for grain higher than the established state price. There is no need to prove that this circumstance was bound to bring about a certain reluctance among the peasants to deliver their grain to the state. The peasant calculated in the following way: “There has been an announcement of collective farm trade in grain; market prices have been legalized; in the market I can obtain more for a given quantity of grain than I can get for the same quantity if I deliver it to the state—hence, if I am not a fool, I must hold on to my grain, deliver less to the state, leave more grain for collective farm trade, and in this way get more for the same quantity of grain sold.”

It is the simplest and most natural logic!

But the unfortunate thing is that the persons in authority in the rural districts, at all events many of them, failed to understand this simple and natural thing. In order to prevent the disruption of the tasks set by the Soviet government, the Communists, in this new situation, should have done everything to increase and speed up grain purchases from the very first days of the harvest, as early as July 1932. That was what the situation demanded. But what did they actually do? Instead of speeding up grain purchases, they began to speed up the formation of all sorts of grain funds, thus encouraging the grain producers in their reluctance to fulfill their obligations to the state. Failing to understand the new situation, they began to fear, not that the reluctance of the peasants to deliver grain might impede the grain purchases, but that it would not occur to the peasants to withhold some of the grain in order, later on, to place it on the market for collective farm trading; that perchance they would go ahead and deliver all their grain to the elevators.

In other words, our rural Communists, the majority of them at all events, grasped only the *positive* aspect of collective farm trading; they understood and assimilated its *positive* aspect, but absolutely failed to understand and to assimilate the *negative* aspects of collective farm trading—they failed to understand that the negative aspects of collective farm trading would bring great harm to the state if they, *i.e.*, the Communists, did not begin to speed up the grain-purchasing campaign to the utmost from the very first days of the harvest.

And this mistake was committed not only by the persons in authority on the collective farms. It was committed also by directors of state farms, who criminally held up grain which ought to have been delivered to the state and began to sell it on the side at a higher price.

Did the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee take into consideration the new situation that would arise as a result of collective farm trading in grain when they issued their decision on the development of collective farm trade? Yes, they did take it into consideration. In that decision it is plainly stated that collective farm trading in grain may be started only after the plan of grain purchases has been wholly and entirely fulfilled, and after the seed has been stored. It is plainly stated in the decision that only after the grain purchases have been completed and the seed stored—approximately by January 15, 1933—that only after these conditions have been fulfilled may collective farm trading in grain be begun. By this decision the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee said, as it were, to our comrades in the rural districts: Do not allow your attention to be diverted by worries about all sorts of funds and reserves; do not be diverted from the main task; launch the grain-purchasing campaign from the very first days of the harvest, and speed it up; for the first commandment is—fulfill the plan of grain purchases; the second commandment is—get the seed stored; and only after these conditions have been fulfilled may collective farm trading in grain be started and developed.

Perhaps the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and the Council of People's Commissars made a mistake in not emphasizing this aspect of the matter strongly enough and in not warning our comrades in the rural districts loudly enough about the danger concealed in collective farm trading. But there can be no doubt whatever that they did warn against these dangers, and uttered the warning sufficiently clearly. It must be admitted that the Central Committee and the Council of People's Commissars somewhat overrated the degree of the Leninist training and insight of our comrades in authority in the localities, not only leaders of district bodies, but also a number of leaders of regional bodies.

Perhaps collective farm trading in grain should not have been announced? Perhaps this was a mistake, particularly if we bear in mind the circumstance that collective farm trading has not only positive aspects, but also certain negative aspects?

No, it was not a mistake. No revolutionary measure can be safeguarded against certain negative aspects if it is not properly applied. The same must be said of collective farm trading in grain. Collective farm trading

is necessary and advantageous to the rural districts as well as to the towns, to the working class as well as to the peasantry. And precisely because it is advantageous it had to be introduced.

What were the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee guided by when they introduced collective farm trading in grain?

First of all, by the consideration that this would widen the base for the exchange of goods between town and country, and thus improve the supply of agricultural produce to the workers and of urban manufacturers to the peasants. There can be no doubt that state and co-operative trade alone are not sufficient. These channels of trade had to be supplemented by a new channel—collective farm trading. And we have supplemented them by introducing collective farm trading.

Further, they were guided by the consideration that collective farm trading would give the collective farmers an additional source of income and strengthen their economic position.

Finally, they were guided by the consideration that the introduction of collective farm trading would give the peasants a fresh stimulus for improving the work of the collective farms both in regard to sowing and in regard to harvesting.

As you know, all these considerations by which the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Committee were guided have been fully and entirely confirmed by the recent facts in the life of the collective farms. The accelerated process of consolidation of the collective farms, the cessation of withdrawals of members from the collective farms, the growing eagerness of individual farmers to join the collective farms, the striving on the part of the collective farmers to show greater discrimination in accepting new members—all this, and much of a like character, shows beyond a doubt that collective farm trading has not only not weakened, but, on the contrary, has strengthened and consolidated the position of the collective farms.

Hence, the defects in our work in the rural districts are not to be explained by collective farm trading, but by the fact that it is not always properly conducted; by inability to take into consideration the new situation; by inability to reorganize our ranks to cope with the new situation created by the announcement of the permission of collective farm trade in grain.

2. The second reason for the defects in our work in the rural districts is that our comrades in the localities—and not only those comrades—have failed to understand the change that has taken place in the condi-

tions of our work in the rural districts as a result of the consolidation of the predominant position of the collective farms in the principal grain-growing districts. We all rejoice at the fact that the collective form of farming has become the predominant form in our grain-growing districts. But not all of us realize that this circumstance does not diminish but increases our cares and responsibilities in regard to the development of agriculture. Many think that once we have achieved, say, 70 or 80 per cent of collectivization in a given district, or in a given region, we have got all we need, and can now let things take their natural course, let things go their own way, on the assumption that collectivization will do its work itself and will itself raise agriculture to a higher level. But this is a profound delusion, comrades. As a matter of fact the transition to collective farming as the predominant form of farming does not diminish but increases our cares in regard to agriculture; does not diminish but increases the leading role of the Communists in raising agriculture to a higher level. Letting things take their own course is now more dangerous than ever for the development of agriculture. Letting things take their own course may prove fatal to the whole cause.

As long as the individual farmer predominated in the rural districts the party could confine its intervention in the development of agriculture to certain acts of assistance, advice and warning. At that time the individual farmer had to take care of his farm himself; for he had no one upon whom to throw the responsibility for his farm, which was his own personal farm, and he had no one to rely upon except himself. At that time the individual farmer had to worry about the sowing and harvesting, and all the processes of agricultural labor generally, himself, if he did not want to be left without bread and fall a victim to starvation. With the transition to collective farming the situation has changed materially. The collective farm is not the enterprise of any one individual. In fact, the collective farmers now say: "The collective farm is mine and not mine; it belongs to me, but it also belongs to Ivan, Philip, Mikhail, and other members of the collective farm; the collective farm is common property." Now, he, the collective farmer—the individual farmer of yesterday, who is the collectivist of today—can shift the responsibility to and rely upon other members of the collective farm, knowing that the collective farm will not leave him without bread. That is why the collective farmer now has fewer cares than when he was on his individual farm; for the cares and responsibility for the enterprise are now shared by all the members of the collective farm.

What, then, follows from this? It follows from this that the burden

of responsibility for conducting the enterprise has been transferred from the individual peasants to the leadership of the collective farm, to the leading group of the collective farm. Now it is not of themselves that the peasants demand care for the farm and its rational management, but of the leadership of the collective farm; or, to put it more correctly, not so much of themselves as of the leadership of the collective farm. And what does this mean? This means that the party can no longer confine itself to individual acts of intervention in the process of agricultural development. It must now take over the direction of the collective farms, assume responsibility for the work, and help the collective farmers to conduct their husbandry on the basis of science and technology.

But that is not all. A collective farm is a large enterprise. And a large enterprise cannot be managed without a plan. A large agricultural enterprise embracing hundreds and sometimes thousands of households can be run only on the basis of planned management. Without that it will inevitably fall into ruin and decay. This, then, is still another new condition arising from the collective farm system and radically different from the conditions under which individual small farms are run. Can we leave the management of such enterprises to the natural course of things; can we let it drift along? Clearly, we cannot. The management of an enterprise such as the collective farm requires a certain minimum number of people with at least some education, people who are capable of planning the business and running it in an organized manner. It stands to reason that without systematic intervention on the part of the Soviet government in the work of collective farm development, without its systematic aid, such an enterprise cannot be put in proper shape.

And what follows from this? It follows from this that the collective farm system does not diminish, but increases the cares and responsibility of the party and of the government in regard to the development of agriculture. It follows from this that if the party desires to direct the collective farm movement, it must enter into all the details of collective farm life and collective farm management. It follows from this that the party must not diminish but multiply its contacts with the collective farms; that it must know all that is going on in the collective farms, in order to render them timely aid and to avert the dangers that threaten them.

But what do we see in actual practice? In actual practice we see that quite a number of district and regional organizations are divorced from the life of the collective farms and from their requirements. People sit in offices, where they complacently indulge in pen-pushing, and fail to see

that the development of the collective farms is going on independently of bureaucratic offices. In some cases this divorce from the collective farms has become so complete that certain members of regional organizations have learned of what was going on in the collective farms in their regions, not from the respective district organizations, but from members of the Central Committee in Moscow. This is sad, but true, comrades. The transition from individual farming to collective farming should have led to an intensification of Communist leadership in the rural districts. In actual fact, however, it has led in a number of cases to Communists resting on their laurels, to their boasting of high percentages of collectivization, while leaving things to run their own way, letting them take their natural course. The problem of planned management of collective farms should have led to an intensification of Communist leadership in the collective farms. In actual fact, however, it happened that in a number of cases the Communists were quite out of it, and the collective farms were run by former White officers, former Petlyura-ists, and enemies of the workers and peasants generally.

This is the position in regard to the second reason for the defects in our work in the rural districts.

3. The third reason for the defects in our work in the rural districts is that many of our comrades overrated the collective farms as the new form of farming, overrated and converted them into an icon. They decided that since we have collective farms, which represent a socialist form of farming, we have everything; that this is sufficient to ensure the proper management of these farms, the proper planning of collective farming, and the conversion of the collective farms into exemplary socialist enterprises. They failed to understand that in their organizational structure the collective farms are still weak and need real assistance from the party both in the way of providing them with tried Bolshevik cadres, and in the way of giving the collective farms guidance in their everyday affairs. But this is not all, and not even the main thing. The main defect is that many of our comrades overrated the strength and the possibilities of the collective farms as the new form of organization of agriculture. They failed to understand that, notwithstanding the fact that they are a socialist form of farming, the collective farms by themselves are yet far from being secure against all sorts of dangers and against the penetration of all sorts of counter-revolutionary elements into their leadership; that they are not secure against anti-Soviet elements, under certain circumstances, utilizing the collective farms for their own ends.

The collective farm is a socialist form of *economic* organization, just

as the Soviets are a socialist form of *political* organization. The collective farms and the Soviets are both a tremendous achievement of our revolution, a tremendous achievement of the working class. But the collective farms and the Soviets are only a *form* of organization—true enough, a socialist form, but only a *form* of organization for all that. Everything depends upon the *content* that is put into this form. We know of cases when Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies for a certain time supported the counter-revolution against the revolution. That was the case in our country, in the U.S.S.R., for example, in July 1917, when the Soviets were led by the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries, and when the Soviets shielded the counter-revolution against the revolution. That was the case in Germany at the end of 1918, when the Soviets were led by the Social-Democrats, and when they shielded the counter-revolution against the revolution. Hence, it is not only a matter of Soviets as a form of organization, even though that form is a great revolutionary achievement in itself. It is primarily a matter of the content of the work of the Soviets; it is a matter of the character of the work of the Soviets; it is a matter of *who* leads the Soviets—revolutionaries or counter-revolutionaries. This, indeed, explains the fact that counter-revolutionaries are not always opposed to Soviets. It is well known, for example, that during the Kronstadt mutiny Milyukov, the leader of the Russian counter-revolution, came out in favor of Soviets, but without Communists. "Soviets without Communists"—that was the slogan Milyukov, the leader of the Russian counter-revolution, advanced at that time. The counter-revolutionaries understood that it is not merely a matter of the Soviets as such, but, primarily, a matter of who is to lead them.

The same must be said of the collective farms. Collective farms, as a socialist form of organization of farming, may perform miracles of economic construction if they are led by real revolutionaries, by Bolsheviks, Communists. On the other hand, collective farms may for a certain period become a shield for all sorts of counter-revolutionary acts if these collective farms are run by Socialist-Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, Petlyura officers and other Whiteguards, former Denikinities and Kolchakites. It also must be borne in mind that the collective farms, as a form of organization, are not only not secure against the penetration of anti-Soviet elements, but, at first, even provide certain facilities which enable counter-revolutionaries to take advantage of them temporarily. As long as the peasants were engaged in individual farming they were scattered and separated from each other, and therefore the counter-revolutionary ventures of anti-Soviet elements among the peasantry could not

be very effective. The situation is altogether different once the peasants have adopted collective farming. In the collective farms the peasants have a ready-made form of mass organization. Therefore, the penetration of anti-Soviet elements into the collective farms and their anti-Soviet activities may be much more effective. We must assume that the anti-Soviet elements take all this into account. We know that a section of the counter-revolutionaries, for example, in the North Caucasus, themselves strive to create something in the nature of collective farms, and use these as a legal screen for their underground organizations. We also know that the anti-Soviet elements in a number of districts, where they have not yet been exposed and crushed, willingly join the collective farms, and even praise the collective farms to the skies, in order to create within them nests of counter-revolutionary activity. We also know that a section of the anti-Soviet elements are now coming out in favor of collective farms, but on condition that there are no Communists in the collective farms. "Collective farms without Communists"—this is the slogan that is now being hatched among anti-Soviet elements. Hence, it is not only a matter of the collective farms themselves, as a socialist form of organization; it is primarily a matter of the content that is put into this form; it is primarily a matter of *who* stands at the head of the collective farms and *who* leads them.

From the point of view of Leninism, collective farms, like the Soviets, taken as a form of organization, are a weapon, and a weapon only. Under certain conditions this weapon may be turned against the revolution. It can be turned against counter-revolution. It can serve the working class and the peasantry. Under certain conditions it can serve the enemies of the working class and of the peasantry. It all depends upon who wields this weapon and against whom it is directed.

The enemies of the workers and the peasants, guided by their class instinct, are beginning to understand this.

Unfortunately, some of our Communists still fail to understand this.

And it is precisely because some of our Communists have not understood this simple thing, it is precisely for this reason that we have now a situation where a number of collective farms are managed by well camouflaged anti-Soviet elements, who organize wrecking and sabotage in these collective farms.

4. The fourth reason for the defects in our work in the rural districts is the inability of a number of our comrades in the localities to reorganize the front of the struggle against the kulaks; their failing to understand that the face of the class enemy has changed of late, that the tactics of the

class enemy in the rural districts have changed, and that we must change our tactics accordingly if we are to achieve success. The enemy understands the changed situation, understands the situation and the might of the new system in the countryside; and since he understands this, he has reorganized his ranks, has changed his tactics—has passed from frontal attacks against the collective farms to the method of stealthily sapping and undermining. But we have failed to understand this; we have overlooked the new situation, and continue to search for the class enemy where he is no longer to be found; we continue to apply the old tactics of over-simplified struggle against the kulak at a time when these tactics have long since become obsolete.

People look for the class enemy outside the collective farms; they look for persons with ferocious visages, with enormous teeth and thick necks, and with sawn-off shotguns in their hands. They look for kulaks like those depicted on our posters. But such kulaks have long ceased to exist on the surface. The present-day kulaks and their toadies, the present-day anti-Soviet elements in the rural districts, are in the main “quiet,” “smooth-spoken,” almost “saintly” people. There is no need to look for them far from the collective farms; they are inside the collective farms, occupying positions as warehouse men, store managers, accountants, secretaries, etc. They will never say, “Down with the collective farms!” They are “in favor” of collective farms. But inside the collective farms they carry on sabotage and wrecking work that certainly does the collective farms no good. They will never say, “Down with grain deliveries!” They are “in favor” of grain deliveries. They “only” resort to demagoguery and demand that the collective farm should set aside a fund for the needs of livestock-raising three times as large as that actually required; that the collective farm should set aside an insurance fund three times as large as that actually required; that the collective farm should provide from six to ten pounds of bread per worker per day for public feeding, etc. Of course, after such “funds” have been formed and such grants for public feeding made, after such rascally demagoguery, the economic power of the collective farms must be undermined, and there is little left for grain deliveries.

In order to detect such a cunning enemy and not to yield to demagoguery, one must possess revolutionary vigilance; one must possess the ability to tear the mask from the face of the enemy and reveal to the collective farmers his real counter-revolutionary features. But have we many Communists in the rural districts who possess these qualities? Not infrequently Communists not only fail to expose these class enemies, but, on

the contrary, they themselves yield to their rascally demagogy and follow in their trail.

Failing to detect the class enemy in his new mask, and unable to expose his rascally machinations, certain of our comrades not infrequently comfort themselves with the thought that the kulaks no longer exist; that the anti-Soviet elements in the rural districts have already been destroyed as a result of the application of the policy of eliminating the kulaks as a class; and, hence, that we can now reconcile ourselves to the existence of "neutral" collective farms, which are neither Bolshevik nor anti-Soviet, but which must come over to the side of the Soviet government spontaneously, as it were. But this is a profound delusion, comrades. The kulaks have been defeated, but they are far from being crushed yet. Moreover, they will not be crushed very soon if the Communists go round gaping in smug contentment, in the belief that the kulaks will themselves walk into their graves, in the process of their spontaneous development, so to speak. As for "neutral" collective farms, there is no such thing, nor can there be. "Neutral" collective farms are a fantasy conjured up by people who have eyes but do not see. Under the conditions of the acute class struggle that is now going on in our Soviet land there is no room for "neutral" collective farms; under these circumstances, collective farms can be *either* Bolshevik *or* anti-Soviet. And if it is not we who are leading certain collective farms, that means that they are being led by anti-Soviet elements. There cannot be the slightest doubt about that.

5. Finally, there is one other reason for the defects in our work in the rural districts. This is the underrating of the role and responsibility of the Communists in the work of collective farm development; the underrating of the role and responsibility of Communists in the work of organizing the grain purchases. In speaking of the difficulties accompanying grain purchases, Communists usually throw the responsibility upon the peasants, claiming that the peasants are to blame for everything. But that is absolutely untrue, and certainly unjust. The peasants are not to blame at all. If we are to speak of responsibility and blame, then the responsibility falls wholly and entirely upon the Communists, and we, the Communists, alone are to blame for all this.

There is not, nor has there ever been in the world such a powerful and authoritative government as our Soviet government. There is not, nor has there ever been in the world such a powerful and authoritative party as our Communist Party. No one prevents us, nor can anyone prevent us, from managing the affairs of the collective farms in a manner that

suits the interests of the collective farms, the interests of the state. And if we do not always succeed in managing the affairs of the collective farms in the way that Leninism calls for; if, not infrequently, we commit gross, unpardonable mistakes with regard to grain purchases, say—then we, and we alone, are to blame.

We are to blame for not having perceived the negative aspects of collective farm trading in grain, and for having committed a number of gross mistakes. *We* are to blame for the fact that a number of our organizations have become divorced from the collective farms, are resting on their laurels and are allowing themselves to drift with the stream of spontaneity. *We* are to blame for the fact that a number of our comrades still overrate the collective farms as a form of mass organization and fail to understand that it is not so much a matter of the form as of taking the leadership of the collective farms into our own hands and ousting the anti-Soviet elements from the leadership of the collective farms. *We* are to blame for having overlooked the new situation and for not having appreciated the new tactics of the class enemy, who is carrying on his sabotage stealthily.

The question is: why blame the peasants?

I know of whole groups of collective farms which are developing and flourishing, which punctually carry out the assignments of the state and are becoming economically stronger day after day. On the other hand, I also know of a number of collective farms, situated in the neighborhood of the first-mentioned collective farms, which, in spite of the fact that their harvests are the same and that they are working under the same objective conditions as the former, are nevertheless wilting and in a state of decay. What is the reason for this? The reason is that the first group of collective farms are led by real Communists, while the second group are led by duffers—duffers with party membership cards in their pockets, it is true, but duffers all the same.

The question is: why blame the peasants?

The result of underrating the role and responsibility of Communists is that, not infrequently, the reasons for the defects in our work in the rural districts are not sought where they should be sought, and because of this the defects are unremoved.

The reason for the difficulties connected with the grain purchases must not be sought among the peasants, but among ourselves, in our own ranks. For *we* are at the helm; *we* are in command of the instruments of the state; it is *our* mission to lead the collective farms; and *we* must bear the whole of the responsibility for the work in the rural districts.

These are the main reasons for the defects of our work in the rural districts.

It may be thought that I have drawn too gloomy a picture; that all our work in the rural districts is just one mass of defects. That, of course, is not true. As a matter of fact, while we have these defects, we have a number of important and decisive achievements to record in our work in the rural districts. But, as I said at the beginning of my speech, I did not set out to describe our achievements; I set out to speak only about the defects of our work in the rural districts.

Can these defects be remedied? Yes, unquestionably, they can. Will we remedy them in the near future? Yes, unquestionably, we will. There cannot be the slightest doubt about that.

I think that the Political Departments of the Machine and Tractor Stations and of the state farms represent one of the decisive means by which these defects can be removed in the shortest time.

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE FIRST ALL-UNION CONGRESS OF COLLECTIVE FARM SHOCK WORKERS

Comrades collective farmers, men and women! I did not intend to speak at your Congress. I did not intend to because the previous speakers have said all that had to be said—and have said it well and to the point. Is it worth while speaking after that? But as you insist, and the power is in your hands I must submit.

I will say a few words on certain questions.

The Collective Farm Path Is the Only Right Path

First question. Is the path which the collective farm peasantry has taken the right path; is the path of collective farming the right one?

This is not an idle question. You shock workers of the collective farms evidently have no doubt that the collective farms are on the right path. Perhaps, for that reason, this question will seem superfluous to you. But not all peasants think as you do. There are not a few among the peasants, even among the collective farmers, who have doubts as to whether the collective farm path is the right one. And there is nothing surprising about this. Indeed, for hundreds of years people have lived in the old way, have followed the old path, have bent their backs to the kulaks and the landlords, to the usurers and the profiteers. It cannot be said that this old capitalist path was approved by the peasants. But this old path was a beaten path, the customary path, and no one had actually proved that it was possible to live in a different way, in a better way. The more so that in all bourgeois countries people are still living in the old way.... And suddenly the Bolsheviks break in on this old bog of life, break in like a storm and say: "It is time to abandon the old path, it is time to live in a new way, in the collective farm way; it is time to leave off living as everyone lives in bourgeois countries, and live in a new way, co-operatively." But what is this new life—who can tell? May it not turn out to be worse than the old life? At all events, the new path is not the

customary path, it is not a beaten path, not a fully explored path. Would it not be better to continue along the old path? Would it not be better to wait a little before embarking on the new, collective farm path? Is it worth while taking the risk?

These are the doubts that are now troubling one section of the laboring peasantry.

Ought we not to dispel these doubts? Ought we not to bring these doubts out into the light of day and show what they are worth? Clearly, we ought to.

Hence, the question I have just put cannot be described as an idle question.

And so, is the path which the collective farm peasantry has taken the right one?

Some comrades think that the transition to the new path, to the collective farm path, started in our country three years ago. This is only partly true. Of course, the development of collective farms on a mass scale started in our country three years ago. This transition, as we know, was marked by the routing of the kulaks and by a movement among the millions of the poor and middle peasantry to join the collective farms. All this is true. But in order to start this mass transition to the collective farms, certain preliminary conditions had to be available; without these conditions, generally speaking, the mass collective farm movement would have been impossible. First of all, we had to have the Soviet power, which has helped and continues to help the peasantry to take the collective farm path. Secondly, it was necessary to drive out the landlords and the capitalists, to take their factories and their lands from them and declare these the property of the people. Thirdly, it was necessary to curb the kulaks and to take their machines and tractors from them. Fourthly, it was necessary to declare that these machines and tractors could be used only by the poor and middle peasants who were organized in collective farms. Finally, it was necessary to industrialize the country, to organize a new tractor industry, to build new factories for the manufacture of agricultural machinery, in order to supply tractors and machines in abundance to the collective farm peasantry. Without these preliminary conditions there could have been no question of a mass transition to the collective farm path such as started three years ago.

Hence, in order to adopt the collective farm path it was necessary first of all to accomplish the October Revolution, to overthrow the capitalists and the landlords, to take their land and factories away from them and to build up a new industry.

It was really with the October Revolution that the transition to the new path, to the collective farm path, started. This transition developed with fresh force only three years ago because only then did the economic results of the October Revolution make themselves fully felt; only by that time had we succeeded in pushing forward the industrialization of the country.

The history of nations knows not a few revolutions. But those revolutions differ from the October Revolution in that they were one-sided revolutions. One form of exploitation of the working people was replaced by another form of exploitation; but exploitation, as such, remained. One set of exploiters and oppressors was replaced by another set of exploiters and oppressors; but exploiters and oppressors, as such, remained.

Only the October Revolution set itself the aim of abolishing *all* exploitation and of eliminating *all* exploiters and oppressors.

The revolution of the slaves eliminated the slave-owners and abolished the slave form of exploitation of the toilers. But in their place it set up the serf-owners and the serf form of exploitation of the toilers. One set of exploiters was replaced by another set of exploiters. Under the slave system the "law" permitted the slave-owner to kill his slaves. Under the serf system the "law" permitted the serf-owner "only" to sell his serfs.

The revolution of the serf peasants eliminated the serf-owners and abolished the serf form of exploitation. But in place of these it set up the capitalists and landlords, the capitalist and landlord form of exploitation of the toilers. One set of exploiters was replaced by another set of exploiters. Under the serf system the "law" permitted the sale of serfs. Under the capitalist system the "law" permits "only" that the toilers be doomed to unemployment and poverty, to ruin and death from starvation.

It was only our Soviet Revolution, only our October Revolution that dealt with the question, not of substituting one set of exploiters for another, not of substituting one form of exploitation for another, but of eradicating all exploitation, of eradicating all exploiters, all rich and oppressors, old and new.

That is why the October Revolution was a preliminary condition and a necessary prerequisite for the peasants' transition to the new, collective farm path.

Did the peasants act wisely in supporting the October Revolution? Yes, they acted wisely. They acted wisely, because the October Revolution

helped them to shake off the landlords and the capitalists, the usurers and the kulaks, the merchants and the profiteers.

But this is only one side of the question. It is all very well to oust the oppressors, to oust the landlords and the capitalists, to curb the kulaks and the profiteers. But that is not enough. In order to become entirely free from the old fetters it is not enough merely to smash the exploiters. In order to achieve this it is necessary also to build up a new life—to build up a life that will afford the laboring peasants the opportunity of raising their standard of welfare and culture and of making continuous progress from day to day and from year to year. In order to achieve this, a new system must be set up in the countryside, the collective farm system. This is the other side of the question.

What is the difference between the old system and the new, collective farm system?

Under the old system the peasants each worked in isolation, following the ancient methods of their forefathers and using antiquated implements of labor; they worked for the landlords and capitalists, the kulaks and profiteers; they lived in penury while they enriched others. Under the new, collective farm system the peasants work in common, co-operatively, with the help of modern implements, tractors and agricultural machinery; they work for themselves and their collective farms; they live without capitalists and landlords, without kulaks and profiteers; they work with the object of raising their standard of welfare and culture from day to day. Over there, under the old system, the government is a bourgeois government, and it supports the rich against the laboring peasantry. Here, under the new, collective farm system, the government is a workers' and peasants' government, and it supports the workers and peasants against all the rich of every brand. The old system leads to capitalism. The new system leads to socialism.

These are the two paths, the capitalist path and the socialist path: the path forward—to socialism, and the path back—to capitalism.

Some people think that there is some sort of third path that could be followed. This unknown third path is most eagerly clutched at by some wavering comrades who are not yet quite certain whether the collective farm path is the right one. They want us to return to the old system, to return to individual farming, but without capitalists and landlords. Furthermore, they want us to permit the existence of "only" the kulaks and other small capitalists as a legitimate concomitant of our economic system. Actually, this is not a third path, but the second path—the path leading back to capitalism. For what does it mean to return to individual

farming and to restore the kulaks? It means that we are to restore kulak bondage, restore the exploitation of the peasantry by the kulaks, and give the kulaks power. But is it possible to restore the kulaks and at the same time to preserve the Soviet power? No, it is not possible. The restoration of the kulaks must lead to the creation of a kulak power and to the liquidation of the Soviet power—hence, it must lead to the formation of a bourgeois government. And the formation of a bourgeois government must in its turn lead to the restoration of the landlords and the capitalists, to the restoration of capitalism. The so-called third path is actually the second path, the path that would take us back to capitalism. Ask the peasants whether they want to restore kulak bondage, to return to capitalism, to destroy the Soviet power and restore the power of the landlords and capitalists. Ask them, and you will find out which path the majority of the laboring peasants regard as the only right path.

Hence, there are only two paths: *either* forward and uphill—to the new, collective farm system; *or* back and downhill—to the old kulak-capitalist system.

There is no third path.

The laboring peasants did right to reject the capitalist path and take the path of collective farm development.

It is said that the collective farm path is the right path, but a difficult one. This is only partly true. Of course, there are difficulties on this path. A good life cannot be obtained without effort. But the point is that the main difficulties are over; and those difficulties which now confront you are not worth talking about seriously. At all events, compared with the difficulties which the workers experienced ten or fifteen years ago, your present difficulties, comrades collective farmers, seem mere child's play. Your speakers have praised here the workers of Leningrad, Moscow, Kharkov and the Donbas. They said that these workers have achievements to their credit and that you, collective farmers, have far fewer achievements. I seemed to detect even a note of comradely envy in these speeches, which seemed to say: How good it would be if we collective farm peasants had the same achievements as you workers of Leningrad, Moscow, Donbas and Kharkov. . . . That is all very well. But do you know what these achievements cost the workers of Leningrad and Moscow; what privations they had to endure in order finally to attain these achievements? I could relate to you several facts from the life of the workers in 1918, when for whole weeks not a piece of bread, let alone meat and other provisions, was distributed to the workers. The best times were then considered to be the days on which we were able to

distribute to the workers in Leningrad and Moscow one-eighth of a pound of black bread each, and even that was half bran. And this continued, not for a month or six months, but for two whole years. But the workers bore it and did not lose heart; for they knew that better times would come and that they would achieve decisive successes. Well—you see that the workers were not mistaken. Compare your difficulties and hardships with the difficulties and hardships which the workers experienced, and you will see that they are not worth talking about seriously.

What is needed to forge ahead with the collective farm movement and extend collective farm development to the utmost?

What is needed, in the first place, is that the collective farms have at their disposal land fully secured to them and suitable for cultivation. Have you got that? Yes, you have. It is well known that the best lands have been transferred to the collective farms and have been durably secured to them. Hence, the collective farmers can cultivate and improve their land as much as they please without any fear that it will be taken from them and given to somebody else.

What is needed, secondly, is that the collective farmers have at their disposal tractors and machines. Have you got these? Yes, you have. Everyone knows that our tractor plants and agricultural machinery plants produce primarily and mainly for the collective farms, supplying them with all modern implements.

Finally, what is needed is that the government support the collective farm peasants to the utmost with men and money, and that it prevent the last remnants of the hostile classes from disrupting the collective farms. Have you got such a government? Yes, you have. It is called the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet Government. Name another country where the government supports, not the capitalists and landlords, not the kulaks and other rich, but the laboring peasants. There is not, nor has there ever been, another country like this in the world. Only here, in the Land of the Soviets, does a government exist which stands solidly for the workers and collective farm peasants, for all the working people of town and country, against all the rich and the exploiters.

Hence, you have all that is needed to extend collective farm development and to free yourself entirely from the old fetters.

Only one thing is demanded of you—and that is to work conscientiously; to distribute collective farm incomes according to the amount of work done; to take good care of collective farm property; to take care of the tractors and the machines; to organize proper care of the horses;

to fulfill the assignments of your Workers' and Peasants' State; to consolidate the collective farms and to eject from the collective farms the kulaks and their supporters who have wormed their way into them.

You will surely agree with me that to overcome these difficulties, *i.e.*, to work conscientiously and to take good care of collective farm property, is not so very difficult, the more so that you are now working, not for the rich and not for exploiters, but for yourselves, for your own collective farms.

As you see, the collective farm path, the path of socialism, is the only right path for the laboring peasants.

Our Immediate Task—To Make All the Collective Farmers Prosperous

Second question. What have we achieved on the new path, on our collective farm path; and what do we expect to achieve in the next two or three years?

Socialism is a good thing. A happy, socialist life is unquestionably a good thing. But all that is a matter of the future. The main question now is not what we will achieve in the future. The main question is: what have we already achieved? The peasantry has taken the collective farm path. That is very good. But what has it achieved on this path? What tangible achievements have we gained by following the collective farm path?

Our achievement is that we have helped millions of poor peasants to join the collective farms. Our achievement is that by joining the collective farms, where they have at their disposal the best land and the finest implements of production, millions of poor peasants have risen to the level of middle peasants. Our achievement is that millions of poor peasants who formerly lived in penury have now, in the collective farms, become middle peasants, have attained material security. Our achievement is that we have put a stop to the differentiation of the peasants into poor peasants and kulaks; that we have routed the kulaks and have helped the poor peasants to become masters of their own labor in the collective farms, to become middle peasants.

What was the situation before collective farm development was launched, about four years ago? The kulaks were growing rich and were on the upgrade. The poor peasants were becoming poorer, were sinking into ruin and falling into bondage to the kulaks. The middle

peasants were trying to make the grade and catch up with the kulaks, but they were continually losing their hold, tumbling down, and swelling the ranks of the poor peasants, to the amusement of the kulaks. It is not difficult to see that the only ones to profit by this scramble were the kulaks, and perhaps, here and there, some of the other well-to-do peasants. Out of every hundred households in the rural districts you could count four to five kulak households, eight or ten well-to-do peasant households, forty-five to fifty middle peasant households, and thirty-five poor peasant households. Hence, at the lowest estimate, thirty-five per cent of all the peasant households were poor peasant households, compelled to bear the yoke of kulak bondage. This is apart from the poorer section of the middle peasants, representing more than half of the middle peasantry, whose condition differed very little from that of the poor peasants and who were directly dependent upon the kulaks.

By developing collective farm construction we have succeeded in abolishing this scramble and injustice; we have smashed the yoke of kulak bondage, brought this vast mass of poor peasants into the collective farms, given them material security there, and raised them to the level of middle peasants, having at their disposal collective farm land, enjoying the privileges granted to collective farms and the use of tractors and agricultural machinery.

And what does this mean? It means that no less than twenty million of the peasant population, no less than twenty million poor peasants have been rescued from poverty and ruin, have been rescued from kulak bondage, and have attained material security thanks to the collective farms.

This is a great achievement, comrades. It is an achievement such as has never been known in the world before, such as no other state in the world has yet scored.

These, then, are the practical, tangible results of collective farm development, the results of the fact that the peasants have taken the collective farm path.

But this is only our *first* step, our first achievement on the path of collective farm development.

It would be wrong to think that we must stop at this first step, at this first achievement. No, comrades, we cannot stop at this achievement. In order to advance further and finally to consolidate the collective farms we must take the next step, we must secure a *new* achievement. What is this next step? It is to raise the collective farmers, both the former poor peasants and the former middle peasants, to a still higher

level. It is *to make all the collective farmers prosperous*. Yes, comrades, prosperous.

Thanks to the collective farms we have succeeded in raising the poor peasants to the level of the middle peasants. That is very good. But it is not enough. We must now take another step forward, and help all the collective farmers—both the former poor peasants and the former middle peasants—to rise to the level of prosperous peasants. This can be achieved, and we must achieve it at all costs. We now have all that is needed to achieve this aim. At present our machines and tractors are badly utilized. Our land is not cultivated as well as it might be. We need only make better use of the machines and tractors, we need only improve the cultivation of the land, to increase the quantity of our produce two-fold and threefold. And this will be quite sufficient to convert all our collective farmers into prosperous tillers of collective farm fields.

What was the position in regard to the prosperous peasants before? In order to become prosperous a peasant had to wrong his neighbors; he had to exploit them; to sell to them dear and buy from them cheap; to hire some laborers and exploit them a great deal; to accumulate some capital and, having strengthened his position, to attain the status of a kulak. This, indeed, explains why formerly, under individual farming, the prosperous peasants aroused suspicion and hatred among the poor and middle peasants. Now the position is different. And the conditions are now different, too. For collective farmers to become prosperous it is not at all necessary now that they wrong or exploit their neighbors. And besides, it is not easy to exploit anybody now; for private property in land and the renting of land no longer exist in our country; the machines and tractors belong to the state; and people who own capital are not in fashion in the collective farms. They were in fashion in the past, but that is gone forever. Only one thing is now needed for the collective farmers to become prosperous, and that is for them to work in the collective farms conscientiously; to make efficient use of the tractors and machines; to make efficient use of the draught cattle; to cultivate the land efficiently and to cherish collective farm property.

Sometimes it is said: If we are living under socialism, why do we have to toil? We toiled before and we are toiling now; is it not time we left off toiling? Such talk is fundamentally wrong, comrades. It is the philosophy of idlers and not of honest working people. Socialism is not the negation of work. On the contrary, socialism is based on work. Socialism and work are inseparable from each other. Lenin, our great teacher, said: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat." What does

this mean? Against whom are Lenin's words directed? Against the exploiters, against those who do not work themselves, but compel others to work for them, and get rich at the expense of others. And against whom else? Against idlers who want to live at the expense of others. Socialism demands, not idling, but that all should work conscientiously; that they should work, not for others, not for the rich and the exploiters, but for themselves, for the community. And if we work conscientiously, work for ourselves, for our collective farms, then we will succeed in a matter of two or three years in raising all the collective farmers, both the former poor peasants and the former middle peasants, to the level of prosperous peasants, to the level of people enjoying an abundance of produce and leading a fully cultured life.

This is our immediate task. This we can achieve and must achieve at all costs.

A Few Remarks

And now permit me to make a few separate remarks.

First of all about our *party members* in the rural districts. There are members of the party among you, but most of you are not party members. It is very good that there are more non-party people than party members present at this Congress, because it is precisely the non-party people that we must enlist for our work first of all. There are Communists who approach the non-party collective farmers in a Bolshevik manner. But there are also those who are puffed up because they belong to the party and keep aloof from non-party people. This is bad and harmful. The strength of the Bolsheviks, the strength of the Communists lies in the fact that they are able to rally millions of active non-party people around our party. We Bolsheviks would never have achieved the successes we have now achieved had we not been able to win for the party the confidence of millions of non-party workers and peasants. And what is needed for this? What is needed is for the members of the party not to isolate themselves from the non-party people; for the party members not to withdraw into their party shell, not to get puffed up about belonging to the party, but to heed the voice of the non-party people; not only to teach the non-party people, but also to learn from them.

It must not be forgotten that party members do not drop from the skies. We must remember that all party members were at one time not members of the party. Today a man does not belong to the party; tomorrow he will become a member of the party. What is there to get

puffed up about? Among us old Bolsheviks there are not a few who have been working in the party for twenty or thirty years. But there was a time when we, too, were not members of the party. What would have happened to us twenty or thirty years ago had the party members at that time domineered over us and kept us at a distance from the party? Perhaps we would then have been kept away from the party for a number of years. Yet we old Bolsheviks are not people of the least account in the world, comrades.

That is why our party members, the present young party members who sometimes turn up their noses at non-party people, should remember all this, should remember that it is not priggishness but modesty that is the adornment of the Bolshevik.

Now a few words about the *women*, the *women collective farmers*. The woman question in the collective farms is a big question, comrades. I know that many of you underrate the women and even laugh at them. That is a mistake, comrades, a serious mistake. The point is not only that women comprise half the population. Primarily, the point is that the collective farm movement has advanced a number of remarkable and capable women to leading positions. Look at this Congress, at the delegates, and you will realize that women have long since advanced from the ranks of the backward to the ranks of the forward. The women in the collective farms are a great force. To keep this force down would be criminal. It is our duty to bring the women in the collective farms forward and to make use of this great force.

Of course, not so long ago, the Soviet government had a slight misunderstanding with the women collective farmers. That was over the cow. But now this business about the cow has been settled, and the misunderstanding has been removed. We have reached the position where the majority of the collective farm households have a cow each. Another year or two will pass and there will not be a single collective farmer who will not have his own cow. We Bolsheviks will see to it that every one of our collective farmers has a cow.

As for the women collective farmers themselves, they must remember the power and significance of the collective farms for women; they must remember that only in the collective farm do they have the opportunity of becoming equal with men. Without collective farms—inequality; in collective farms—equal rights. Let our comrades, the women collective farmers, remember this and let them cherish the collective farm system as the apple of their eye.

A few words about the members of the *Young Communist League*,

young men and women, in the collective farms. The youth is our future, our hope, comrades. The youth must take our place, the place of the old people. It must carry our banner to final victory. Among the peasants there are not a few old people, borne down by the burden of the past, burdened with the habits and the recollections of the old life. Naturally, they are not always able to keep pace with the party, to keep pace with the Soviet government. But that cannot be said of our youth. They are free from the burden of the past, and it is easiest for them to assimilate Lenin's behests. And precisely because it is easiest for the youth to assimilate Lenin's behest, it is their mission to give guidance to the laggards and waverers. True, they lack knowledge. But knowledge is a thing that can be acquired. They have not the knowledge today; but they will have it tomorrow. Hence, the task is to study and study again the principles of Leninism. Comrades members of the Young Communist League! Learn the principles of Bolshevism and take the waverers in tow! Talk less and work more, and your success will be assured.

A few words about the *individual farmers*. Little has been said here about the individual farmers. But that does not mean that they no longer exist. No, it does not mean that. Individual farmers do exist, and we must not leave them out of our calculations; for they are our collective farmers of tomorrow. I know that one section of the individual farmers has become utterly corrupt and has taken to profiteering. This, no doubt, explains why the collective farmers accept new members into the collective farms with great circumspection, and sometimes do not accept them at all. This, of course, is quite proper, and there cannot be any objection to it. But there is another section of individual farmers, the majority, who have not taken to profiteering and who earn their bread by honest labor. These individual farmers, perhaps, would not be averse to joining the collective farms. But they are hindered in this, on the one hand, by their hesitation as to whether the collective farm path is the right path; and, on the other hand, by the anger which the collective farmers now feel towards the individual farmers.

Of course, we must understand the attitude of the collective farmers and appreciate their stand. During the past years they have often been the butt of insults and sneers on the part of the individual farmers. But we must not attach decisive importance to these insults and sneers. He is a bad leader who cannot forget an offense, and who puts his own feelings above the interests of the collective farm cause. If you want to be leaders, you must be able to forget the insults to which you were subjected by certain individual farmers. Two years ago I received a letter

from a peasant woman, a widow, living in the Volga region. She complained that the collective farm refused to accept her as a member, and she demanded my support. I made inquiries at the collective farm. I received a reply from the collective farm stating that they could not accept her because she had insulted a collective farm meeting. Now, what was it all about? It seems that at a meeting of peasants at which the collective farmers called upon the individual farmers to join the collective farm, this very widow, in reply to this appeal, had lifted up her skirt and said—"Here, take your collective farm!" Undoubtedly she had behaved badly and had insulted the meeting. But could her application to join the collective farm be rejected if, a year later, she sincerely repented and admitted her error? I think that her application should not be rejected, and that is what I wrote to the collective farm. The widow was accepted into the collective farm. And what happened? It turns out that she is now working in the collective farm, not in the last, but in the front ranks.

This, then, is another example which shows that leaders, if they want to remain leaders, must be able to forget an offense if the interests of the cause demand it.

The same thing must be said about individual farmers generally. I am not opposed to the exercise of circumspection in accepting people into the collective farms. But I am against barring the path to the collective farms to all individual farmers without discrimination. That is not our policy, not the Bolshevik policy. The collective farmers must not forget that not long ago they themselves were individual farmers.

Finally, a few words about *the letter written by the collective farmers of Bezenchuk*. This letter has been published, and you must have read it. It is unquestionably a good letter. It shows that among our collective farmers there are not a few experienced and intelligent organizers and agitators in the cause of collective farming, who are the pride of our country. But this letter contains one incorrect passage with which we cannot possibly agree. The Bezenchuk comrades describe their work in the collective farm as modest and almost insignificant work, while they describe the efforts of orators and leaders, who sometimes make speeches three yards long, as great and creative work. Can we agree with this? No, comrades, we cannot possibly agree with this. The Bezenchuk comrades have made a mistake here. Perhaps they made the mistake because of their modesty. But the mistake does not cease to be a mistake for all that. The times have passed when leaders were regarded as the only creators of history, while the workers and peasants

were not taken into account. The destinies of nations and of states are now determined, not only by leaders, but primarily and mainly by the working millions. The workers and the peasants, who work without fuss and noise, who build factories and mills, sink mines, lay railroads, build collective farms and state farms, those who create all the good things of life, who feed and clothe the whole world—they are the real heroes and the creators of the new life. Apparently, our Bezenchuk comrades have forgotten this. It is not good when people overrate their strength and begin to be puffed up about the services they have rendered. This leads to boasting, and boasting is not a good thing. But it is still worse when people begin to underrate their strength and fail to see that their “modest” and “insignificant” work is really great and creative work, which decides the fate of history.

I would like the Bezenchuk comrades to accept my slight amendment to their letter.

With this, let us conclude, comrades.

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

I. THE CONTINUING CRISIS OF WORLD CAPITALISM AND THE POSITION OF THE SOVIET UNION IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

More than three years have passed since the Sixteenth Congress. That is not a very long period. But it has been fuller in content than any other period. I do not think a single period in the last decade has been so rich in events as this one.

In the *economic* sphere these years have been years of continuing world economic crisis. The crisis has affected not only industry, but also agriculture as a whole. The crisis has raged not only in the sphere of production and trade; it has also invaded the sphere of credit and money circulation, and has turned the established credit and currency relations among countries upside down. While formerly people here and there still debated as to whether there was a world economic crisis or not, now this is no longer a matter of debate; for the existence of the crisis and its devastating effects are only too obvious. Now the controversy centers around another question: Is there a way out of the crisis or not; and if there is, how is it to be effected?

In the *political* sphere these years have been years of growing tension in the relations among capitalist countries and within these countries. Japan's war on China and the occupation of Manchuria, which have strained relations in the Far East; the victory of fascism in Germany and the triumph of the idea of revenge, which have strained relations in Europe; the withdrawal of Japan and Germany from the League of Nations, which has given a new impetus to the growth of armaments and to the preparations for an imperialist war; the defeat of fascism in Spain, which is one more indication that the revolutionary crisis is maturing and that fascism is far from being long-lived—such are the most im-

portant events of the period under review. It is not surprising that bourgeois pacifism is breathing its last and that the trend towards disarmament is openly and definitely giving way to a trend towards armament and re-armament.

Amid the surging waves of economic perturbations and military-political catastrophes, the U.S.S.R. stands out alone, like a rock, continuing its work of socialist construction and its fight to preserve peace. While in the capitalist countries the economic crisis is still raging, the U.S.S.R. is advancing steadily both in the sphere of industry and in the sphere of agriculture. While in the capitalist countries feverish preparations are in progress for a new war, for a new redivision of the world and of spheres of influence, the U.S.S.R. is continuing its systematic and persistent struggle against the menace of war and for peace; and it cannot be said that the efforts of the U.S.S.R. in this sphere have been entirely unsuccessful.

Such is the general picture of the international situation at the present moment.

Let us examine the most essential data on the economic and political situation in the capitalist countries.

The Course of the Economic Crisis in the Capitalist Countries

The present economic crisis in the capitalist countries differs from all analogous crises, among other things, in the fact that it is the longest and most protracted crisis. Formerly, crises would pass over in one or two years; the present crisis, however, is now in its fifth year, devastating the economy of the capitalist countries year after year and using up the fat accumulated in previous years. It is not surprising that this is the most severe of all the crises that have taken place.

How is the unprecedentedly protracted character of the present industrial crisis to be explained?

It is to be explained, first of all, by the fact that the industrial crisis has affected every capitalist country without exception, thus making it difficult for some countries to maneuver at the expense of others.

Secondly, it is to be explained by the fact that the industrial crisis has become interwoven with the agrarian crisis which has affected all the agrarian and semi-agrarian countries without exception, and this could not but make the industrial crisis more complicated and more profound.

Thirdly, it is to be explained by the fact that the agrarian crisis has

grown more acute in this period, and has affected all branches of agriculture, including livestock farming; that it has brought about a deterioration of agriculture, the reversion from machine labor to hand labor, the substitution of horses for tractors, a sharp reduction in, and in some cases the complete abandonment of, the use of artificial fertilizers—all of which has caused the industrial crisis to become still more protracted.

Fourthly, it is to be explained by the fact that the monopolist cartels which dominate industry strive to maintain high commodity prices, a circumstance which makes the crisis particularly painful and hinders the absorption of commodity stocks.

Lastly—and this is the most important thing—it is to be explained by the fact that the industrial crisis broke out in the conditions of the *general* crisis of capitalism, when capitalism no longer has, nor can have, either in the major countries or in the colonial and dependent countries, the strength and stability it had before the war and the October Revolution; when industry in the capitalist countries is confronted with the heritage it received from the imperialist war in the shape of chronic under-capacity operation of industry, and of an army of millions of unemployed of which it is no longer able to rid itself.

These are the circumstances that have combined to give the present industrial crisis its extremely protracted character.

These are also the circumstances that explain the fact that the crisis has not been confined to the sphere of production and trade, but has also affected the credit system, foreign exchange, the bond market, etc., and has broken down the traditionally established relations between countries and between social groups in the various countries.

An important part was played by the drop in commodity prices. Notwithstanding the resistance of the monopolist cartels, the drop in prices continued with elemental force, affecting primarily and mostly the unorganized commodity owners, *viz.*, peasants, artisans, small capitalists, and only gradually and to a smaller degree the organized commodity owners, *viz.*, the capitalists united in cartels. The drop in prices made the position of debtors (manufacturers, artisans, peasants, etc.) intolerable, while, on the other hand, it placed the creditors in an unprecedentedly privileged position. Such a situation was bound to lead, and actually did lead, to the mass bankruptcy of firms and of individual entrepreneurs. As a result, tens of thousands of joint stock companies have failed in the United States, Germany, Great Britain and France during the past three years. The bankruptcy of joint stock companies was

followed by a depreciation of currency, which slightly alleviated the position of the debtors. The depreciation of currency was followed by the non-payment of debts, both foreign and internal, legalized by the state. The collapse of such banks as the Darmstadt and the Dresden Banks in Germany and the Kredit-Anstalt in Austria, and of concerns like Kreuger's in Sweden, the Insull Company in the United States, etc., is well known to all.

Naturally, these phenomena, which shook the foundations of the credit system, were bound to bring in their train, and actually did bring about, the cessation of payments on credits and foreign loans, the cessation of payments on inter-Allied debts, the cessation of export of capital, a further decline in foreign trade, a further decline in the export of commodities, an intensification of the struggle for foreign markets, trade war between countries, and—dumping. Yes, comrades, dumping. I do not mean the alleged Soviet dumping about which only very recently certain honorable members of honorable parliaments in Europe and America were shouting until they were hoarse. I mean the real dumping that is now being practiced by almost all "civilized" states, and about which the gallant and honorable members of parliaments maintain a prudent silence.

Naturally, also, these destructive phenomena accompanying the industrial crisis, which set in outside the sphere of production, could not but in their turn influence the course of the industrial crisis, aggravating it and complicating the situation still further.

Such is the general picture of the course of the industrial crisis.

Here are a few figures taken from official data which illustrate the course of the industrial crisis in the period under review.

VOLUME OF INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT

(Per cent of 1929)

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
U.S.S.R.	100	129.7	161.9	184.7	201.6
U.S.A.	100	80.7	68.1	53.3	64.9
Great Britain	100	92.4	83.8	83.8	86.1
Germany	100	88.3	71.7	59.8	66.8
France	100	100.7	89.2	69.1	77.4

As you see, this table speaks for itself.

While industry in the principal capitalist countries declined from year to year, as compared with 1929, and began to recover somewhat only in 1933—though it is still far below the level of 1929—industry in the

U.S.S.R. increased from year to year, experiencing an uninterrupted rise.

While industry in the principal capitalist countries at the end of 1933 shows on the average a *reduction* of 25 per cent and more in volume of production as compared with 1929, industrial output in the U.S.S.R. has more than doubled during this period, *i.e.*, it has increased more than 100 per cent.

Judging by this table it may seem that of these four capitalist countries, Great Britain is in the most favorable position. But that is not quite correct. If we compare industry in these countries with its pre-war level we get a somewhat different picture.

Here is the corresponding table:

VOLUME OF INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT

(Per cent of pre-war level)

	1913	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
U.S.S.R.	100	194.3	252.1	314.7	359.0	391.9
U.S.A.	100	170.2	137.3	115.9	91.4	110.2
Great Britain	100	99.1	91.5	83.0	82.5	85.2
Germany	100	113.0	99.8	81.0	67.6	75.4
France	100	139.0	140.0	124.0	96.1	107.6

As you see, industry in Great Britain and Germany has not yet come up to the pre-war level, while the United States and France have exceeded it by several per cent, and the U.S.S.R. has increased its industrial output during this period by more than 290 per cent as compared with the pre-war level.

But there is still another conclusion to be drawn from these tables.

While industry in the principal capitalist countries declined steadily after 1930, and particularly after 1931, and reached its lowest point in 1932, in 1933 it began to recover and pick up somewhat. If we take the monthly returns for 1932 and 1933 we find still further confirmation of this conclusion; for they show that, despite fluctuations of output in the course of 1933, industry in these countries has revealed no tendency to drop to the lowest point reached in the summer of 1932.

What does this mean?

It means that, apparently, industry in the principal capitalist countries had already reached the lowest point of decline and did not return to it in the course of 1933.

Some people are inclined to ascribe this phenomenon exclusively to

the influence of artificial factors, such as the war and inflation boom. There can be no doubt that the war and inflation boom plays no small part in it. This is particularly true in regard to Japan, where this artificial factor is the principal and decisive force stimulating a certain revival in some industries, principally the war industries. But it would be a gross mistake to explain everything by the war and inflation boom. Such an explanation would be incorrect, if only for the reason that the changes in industry which I have described are observed, not in separate and chance districts, but in all, or nearly all, the industrial countries, including the countries with a stable currency. Apparently, in addition to the war and inflation boom, the internal economic forces of capitalism are also operating here.

Capitalism has succeeded in alleviating the position of industry somewhat *at the expense of the workers*, by speeding them up and thus intensifying their exploitation; *at the expense of the farmers*, by pursuing a policy of paying the lowest prices for the products of their labor—foodstuffs and, partly, raw materials; and *at the expense of the peasants in the colonies and in the economically weak countries*, by still further forcing down prices on the products of their labor, principally on raw materials, and also on foodstuffs.

Does this mean that we are witnessing a transition from a crisis to an ordinary depression, to be followed by a new upward trend and industrial boom? No, it does not mean that. At any rate, at the present time there are no data, direct or indirect, to indicate the approach of an industrial boom in capitalist countries. Moreover, judging by all things, there can be no such data, at least in the near future. There can be no such data, because all the unfavorable conditions which prevent industry in the capitalist countries from rising to any serious extent continue to operate. I have in mind the fact that the *economic* crisis is proceeding in the conditions of the continuing *general crisis* of capitalism: the chronic under-capacity operation of industry; chronic mass unemployment; the interweaving of the industrial crisis with an agricultural crisis; the absence of tendencies towards a more or less serious renewal of fixed capital, which usually heralds the approach of a boom, etc., etc.

Evidently, what we are witnessing is a transition from the lowest point of decline of industry, from the lowest point of the industrial crisis, to a depression—not an ordinary depression, but a depression of a special kind, which does not lead to a new upward trend and industrial boom, but which, on the other hand, does not force industry back to the lowest point of decline.

*The Growing Tension in the Political Situation
in the Capitalist Countries*

A result of the protracted economic crisis has been the hitherto unprecedented tension in the political situation in capitalist countries, both within these countries and in their mutual relations.

The intensified struggle for foreign markets, the disappearance of the last vestiges of free trade, prohibitive tariffs, trade war, currency war, dumping, and many other analogous measures which demonstrate extreme *nationalism* in economic policy have made the relations among the various countries extremely strained, have prepared the ground for military conflicts, and have put war on the order of the day as a means for a new redivision of the world and of spheres of influence in favor of the stronger states.

Japan's war against China, the occupation of Manchuria, Japan's withdrawal from the League of Nations and her advance in North China have made the situation still more tense. The intensified struggle for the Pacific and the growth of naval armaments in Japan, the United States, Great Britain and France are results of this increased tension.

Germany's withdrawal from the League of Nations and the specter of revenge have further added to the tension and have given a fresh impetus to the growth of armaments in Europe.

It is not surprising that bourgeois pacifism is now dragging out a miserable existence, and that idle talk of disarmament is giving way to "business-like" talk about armament and re-armament.

Again, as in 1914, the parties of bellicose imperialism, the parties of war and revenge are coming into the foreground.

Quite clearly things are heading for a new war.

The internal situation of the capitalist countries, in view of the operation of these same factors, is becoming even more tense. Four years of industrial crisis have exhausted the working class and reduced it to despair. Four years of agricultural crisis have utterly ruined the poorer strata of the peasantry, not only in the principal capitalist countries, but also—and particularly—in the dependent and colonial countries. It is a fact that, notwithstanding all attempts to manipulate statistics in order to show a drop in unemployment, the number of unemployed, according to the official figures of bourgeois institutions, reaches 3,000,000 in Great Britain, 5,000,000 in Germany and 10,000,000 in the United States, not to mention the other European countries. Add to this the more than ten million part-time workers; add the millions of ruined peasants—

and you will get an approximate picture of the poverty and despair of the laboring masses. The masses of the people have not yet reached the stage when they are ready to storm capitalism; but the idea of storming it is maturing in the minds of the masses—of that there can hardly be any doubt. This is eloquently testified to by such facts as, say the Spanish revolution which overthrew the fascist regime, and the expansion of the Soviet districts in China, which the united counter-revolution of the Chinese and foreign bourgeoisie is unable to stop.

This, indeed, explains why the ruling classes in the capitalist countries are so zealously destroying or nullifying the last vestiges of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy which might be used by the working class in its struggle against the oppressors; why they are driving the Communist parties underground and resorting to open terrorist methods to maintain their dictatorship.

Chauvinism and preparation for war as the main elements of foreign policy; repression of the working class and terrorism in the sphere of home policy as a necessary means for strengthening the rear with a view to future wars—that is what is now particularly engaging the minds of contemporary imperialist politicians.

It is not surprising that fascism has now become the most fashionable commodity among bellicose bourgeois politicians. I am referring not only to fascism in general, but, primarily, to fascism of the Germany type, which is wrongly called National-Socialism—wrongly because the most searching examination will fail to reveal even an atom of socialism in it.

In this connection the victory of fascism in Germany must be regarded not only as a symptom of the weakness of the working class and as a result of the betrayals of the working class by the Social-Democratic Party, which paved the way for fascism; it must also be regarded as a symptom of the weakness of the bourgeoisie, of the fact that the bourgeoisie is already unable to rule by the old methods of parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy, and, as a consequence, is compelled in its home policy to resort to terroristic methods of rule—as a symptom of the fact that it is no longer able to find a way out of the present situation on the basis of a peaceful foreign policy, and that, as a consequence, it is compelled to resort to a policy of war.

That is the situation.

As you see, things are heading towards a new imperialist war as a way out of the present situation.

Of course, there are no grounds for assuming that a war can provide

a real way out. On the contrary, it will confuse the situation still more. More than that, it is sure to unleash revolution and jeopardize the very existence of capitalism in a number of countries, as was the case in the course of the first imperialist war. And if, notwithstanding the experience of the first imperialist war, the bourgeois politicians clutch at war as a drowning man clutches at a straw, that shows that they have gotten into a hopeless mess, have reached an impasse, and are ready to rush headlong over the precipice.

It will not be amiss, therefore, briefly to examine the plans for the organization of war which are now being hatched in the circles of bourgeois politicians.

Some think that war should be organized against some one of the Great Powers. They think of inflicting a crushing defeat upon that power and of improving their own affairs at its expense. Let us assume that they organize such a war. What may be the upshot? As is well known, during the first imperialist war the intention was to destroy one of the Great Powers, *viz.*, Germany, and to profit at her expense. And what was the upshot of this? They did not destroy Germany; but they sowed such a hatred for the victors in Germany, and created such a rich soil for revenge, that they have not been able to clear up the revolting mess they made even to this day, and will not, perhaps, be able to do so for quite some time. But they did get the smash-up of capitalism in Russia, the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia, and—of course—the Soviet Union. What guarantee is there that the second imperialist war will produce “better” results for them than the first? Would it not be more correct to assume that the opposite will be the case?

Others think that war should be organized against a country that is weak in the military sense, but represents an extensive market—for example, against China, which, it transpires, cannot even be described as a state in the strict sense of the word, but is merely “unorganized territory” which needs to be seized by strong states. They evidently want to divide her up completely and improve their affairs at her expense. Let us assume that they organize such a war. What may be the upshot? It is well known that at the beginning of the nineteenth century Italy and Germany were regarded in the same light as China is today, *i.e.*, they were considered “unorganized territories” and not states, and they were subjugated. But what was the upshot of this? As is well known, the upshot was wars for independence waged by Germany and Italy, and the amalgamation of these countries into independent states. The upshot was increased hatred for the oppressors in the hearts of the peoples of these

countries, the results of which have not been removed to this day and will not, perhaps, be removed for quite some time. The question arises: What guarantee is there that the same thing will not result from an imperialist war against China?

Still others think that war should be organized by a "superior race," say, the German "race," against an "inferior race," primarily against the Slavs; that only such a war can provide a way out of the situation, for it is the mission of the "superior race" to fructify the "inferior race" and rule over it. Let us assume that this queer theory, which is as far removed from science as the sky from earth, let us assume that this queer theory is put into practice. What may be the upshot? It is well known that ancient Rome looked upon the ancestors of the present-day Germans and French in the same way as the representatives of the "superior race" now look upon the Slavonic tribes. It is well known that ancient Rome treated them as an "inferior race," as "barbarians," destined to live in eternal subordination to the "superior race," to "great Rome"; and between ourselves be it said, ancient Rome had some grounds for this, which cannot be said of the representatives of the "superior race" of today. But what was the upshot of this? The upshot was that the non-Romans, *i.e.*, all the "barbarians," united against the common enemy, hurled themselves against Rome, and bore her down with a crash. The question arises: What guarantee is there that the claims of the representatives of the "superior race" of today will not lead to the same deplorable results? What guarantee is there that the fascist literary politicians in Berlin will be more fortunate than the old and experienced conquerors in Rome? Would it not be more correct to assume that the opposite will be the case?

Still others, again, think that war should be organized against the U.S.S.R. Their plan is to defeat the U.S.S.R., divide up its territory, and profit at its expense. It would be a mistake to believe that it is only certain military circles in Japan who think in this way. We know that similar plans are being hatched in the leading political circles of certain states in Europe. Let us assume that these gentlemen pass from words to deeds. What may be the upshot? There can hardly be any doubt that such a war would be the most dangerous war for the bourgeoisie. It would be the most dangerous war, not only because the peoples of the U.S.S.R. would fight to the very death to preserve the gains of the revolution; it would be the most dangerous war for the bourgeoisie for the added reason that it would be waged not only at the fronts, but also behind the enemy's lines. The bourgeoisie need have no doubt that the

numerous friends of the working class of the U.S.S.R. in Europe and in Asia will do their best to strike a blow in the rear at their oppressors who start a criminal war against the fatherland of the working class of all countries. And let not Messieurs the bourgeoisie blame us if some of the governments so near and dear to them, which today rule happily "by the grace of God," are missing on the morrow after such a war. One such war against the U.S.S.R. was waged already, if you remember, fifteen years ago. As is well known, the universally esteemed Churchill clothed this war in a poetic formula—"the march of fourteen states." You remember, of course, that this war rallied the working people of our country into one united camp of heroic warriors, who stalwartly defended their workers' and peasants' homeland against the foreign foe. You know how it ended. It ended in the ejection of the invaders from our country and the establishment of revolutionary Councils of Action in Europe. It can hardly be doubted that a second war against the U.S.S.R. will lead to the complete defeat of the aggressors, to revolution in a number of countries in Europe and in Asia, and to the destruction of the bourgeois-landlord governments in those countries.

Such are the war plans of the perplexed bourgeois politicians.

As you see, they are not distinguished either for their brilliance or for their valor.

But while the bourgeoisie chooses the path of war, the working class in the capitalist countries, brought to despair by four years of crisis and unemployment, is taking the path of revolution. This means that a revolutionary crisis is maturing and will continue to mature. And the more the bourgeoisie becomes entangled in its war combinations, the more frequently it resorts to terroristic methods in its fight against the working class and the laboring peasantry, the more rapidly will the revolutionary crisis develop.

Some comrades think that, once there is a revolutionary crisis, the bourgeoisie must be in a hopeless position; that its end is therefore predetermined; that the victory of the revolution is thus assured, and that all they have to do is to wait for the fall of the bourgeoisie and to draw up victorious resolutions. This is a profound mistake. The victory of the revolution never comes by itself. It must be prepared for and won. And only a strong proletarian revolutionary party can prepare for and win victory. Moments occur when the situation is revolutionary, when the rule of the bourgeoisie is shaken to its very foundations, and yet the victory of the revolution does not come, because there is no revolutionary party of the proletariat sufficiently strong and influential to lead the

masses and to take power. It would be unwise to believe that such "cases" cannot occur.

It will not be amiss in this connection to recall Lenin's prophetic words on revolutionary crises, uttered at the Second Congress of the Communist International:

We have now come to the question of the revolutionary crisis as the basis of our revolutionary action. And here we must, first of all, note two widespread errors. On the one hand, the bourgeois economists represent this crisis simply as "unrest," as the English so elegantly express it. On the other hand, revolutionaries sometimes try to prove that the crisis is absolutely hopeless. That is a mistake. There is no such thing as an absolutely hopeless situation. The bourgeoisie is behaving like an arrant brigand who has lost his head; it commits blunder after blunder, thus making the situation more acute and hastening its own doom. All this is true. But it cannot be "proved" that there is absolutely no chance of its lulling some minority of the exploited with some concessions or other, or of suppressing some movement or uprising of some section or another of the oppressed and exploited. To try to "prove" beforehand that a situation is "absolutely" hopeless would be sheer pedantry, or juggling with concepts and catchwords. In this and similar questions the only real "proof" is practice. The bourgeois system all over the world is experiencing a most profound revolutionary crisis. And the revolutionary parties must now "prove" by their practical actions that they are intelligent and organized enough, are in contact enough with the exploited masses, are determined and skillful enough to utilize this crisis for a successful and victorious revolution. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. X, p. 192.)

The Relations Between the U.S.S.R. and the Capitalist States

It is quite easy to understand how difficult it has been for the U.S.S.R. to pursue its peace policy in this atmosphere which is poisoned with the miasma of war combinations.

In the midst of this eve-of-the-war hullabaloo which is going on in a number of countries, the U.S.S.R. during these years has stood firmly and indomitably by its position of peace: fighting against the menace of war; fighting to preserve peace; meeting half way those countries which for one reason or another stand for the preservation of peace; exposing and tearing the masks from those who are preparing for and provoking war.

What did the U.S.S.R. rely on in this difficult and complicated struggle for peace?

(a) On its growing economic and political might.

(b) On the moral support of the vast masses of the working class in every country, who are vitally interested in the preservation of peace.

(c) On the prudence of those countries which for one motive or another are not interested in disturbing the peace, and which want to develop commercial relations with such a punctual client as the U.S.S.R.

(d) Finally—on our glorious army, which stands ready to defend our country against attacks from without.

It was on this basis that we began our campaign for the conclusion of pacts of non-aggression and of pacts defining the aggressor with neighboring states. You know that this campaign has been successful. As you know, pacts of non-aggression have been concluded not only with the majority of our neighbors in the West and in the South, including Finland and Poland, but also with such countries as France and Italy; and pacts defining the aggressor have been concluded with those same neighboring states, including the Little Entente.

On this basis, also, the friendship between the U.S.S.R. and Turkey has been consolidated; relations between the U.S.S.R. and Italy have been improved and have become indisputably satisfactory; relations with France, Poland and other Baltic states have improved; relations have been restored with the U.S.A., China, etc.

Of the many facts reflecting the successes of the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. two facts of indisputably material significance should be noted and singled out.

1. I have in mind, first, the change for the better that has taken place recently in the relations between the U.S.S.R. and Poland and between the U.S.S.R. and France. As is well known, our relations with Poland in the past were not at all good. Representatives of our state were assassinated in Poland. Poland regarded herself as the barrier of the Western states against the U.S.S.R. All and sundry imperialists counted on Poland as their vanguard in the event of a military attack upon the U.S.S.R. The relations between the U.S.S.R. and France were no better. We need only recall the facts relating to the trial of the Ramzin wreckers' group in Moscow to bring back the picture of the relations between the U.S.S.R. and France. But now these undesirable relations are gradually beginning to disappear. They are giving way to other relations, which cannot be otherwise described than as relations of rapprochement. It is not only that we have concluded pacts of non-aggression with these countries, although these pacts in themselves are of great importance. The point is, primarily, that the atmosphere of mutual distrust is beginning to be dissipated. This does not mean, of course, that the incipient process of rapprochement

can be regarded as sufficiently stable and as guaranteeing ultimate success. Surprises and zig-zags in policy, for example in Poland, where anti-Soviet sentiments are still strong, cannot by far be regarded as precluded. But a change for the better in our relations, irrespective of its results in the future, is a fact worthy of being noted and singled out as a factor in the advancement of the cause of peace.

What is the cause of this change? What stimulates it?

Primarily, the growth of the strength and might of the U.S.S.R.

In our times it is not the custom to give any consideration to the weak—consideration is given only to the strong. Besides, there have been some changes in the policy of Germany which reflect the growth of imperialist and revenge sentiments in Germany.

In this connection some German politicians say that the U.S.S.R. has now taken an orientation towards France and Poland; that from an opponent of the Versailles Treaty it has become a supporter of that treaty, and that this change is to be explained by the establishment of the fascist regime in Germany. That is not true. Of course, we are far from being enthusiastic about the fascist regime in Germany. But fascism is not the issue here, if only for the reason that fascism in Italy, for example, has not prevented the U.S.S.R. from establishing the best relations with that country. Nor is it a question of any alleged change in our attitude towards the Versailles Treaty. It is not for us, who have experienced the shame of the Brest-Litovsk Peace, to sing the praises of the Versailles Treaty. We merely do not agree to the world being flung into the abyss of a new war on account of this treaty. The same must be said of the alleged new orientation taken by the U.S.S.R. We never had any orientation towards Germany, nor have we any orientation towards Poland and France. Our orientation in the past and our orientation at the present time is towards the U.S.S.R., and towards the U.S.S.R. alone. And if the interests of the U.S.S.R. demand rapprochement with one country or another which is not interested in disturbing peace, we take this step without hesitation.

No, that is not the point. The point is that Germany's policy has changed. The point is that even before the present German politicians came into power, and particularly after they came into power, a fight began in Germany between two political lines: between the old policy, which was reflected in the well-known treaties between the U.S.S.R. and Germany, and the "new" policy, which, in the main, recalls the policy of the former German Kaiser, who at one time occupied the Ukraine, marched against Leningrad, and converted the Baltic countries into a

place d'armes for this march; and this "new" policy is obviously gaining the upper hand over the old policy. The fact that the supporters of the "new" policy are gaining supremacy in all things, while the supporters of the old policy are in disfavor, cannot be regarded as an accident. Nor can the well-known statements made by Hugenberg in London, nor the equally well-known declarations of Rosenberg, who directs the foreign policy of the ruling party in Germany, be regarded as accidents. That is the point, comrades.

2. Secondly, I have in mind the restoration of normal relations between the U.S.S.R. and the United States. There cannot be any doubt that this act is of great significance for the whole system of international relations. It is not only that it improves the chances of preserving peace, and that it improves the relations between the two countries, strengthens commercial intercourse between them, and creates a base for their mutual collaboration. The point is that it is a landmark between the old position, when in various countries the United States was regarded as the bulwark for all sorts of anti-Soviet trends, and the new position, when this bulwark has been voluntarily removed, to the mutual advantage of both countries.

Such are the two main facts which reflect the successes of the Soviet peace policy.

It would be wrong, however, to think that everything went smoothly in the period under review. No, not everything went smoothly, by a long way.

Recall, say, the pressure that was brought to bear upon us by England; the embargo on our exports, the attempt to interfere in our internal affairs and thereby test our power of resistance. True, nothing came of this attempt, and later the embargo was lifted; but the unpleasant taste left after these sallies is still felt in everything affecting the relations between England and the U.S.S.R., including the negotiations for a commercial treaty. And these sallies against the U.S.S.R. must not be regarded as accidental. It is well known that a certain section of the English conservatives cannot live without such sallies. And precisely because they are not accidental we must bear in mind that in the future, too, sallies will be made against the U.S.S.R., all sorts of menaces will be created, attempts will be undertaken to damage the U.S.S.R., etc.

Nor can we lose sight of the relations between the U.S.S.R. and Japan, which stand in need of very considerable improvement. Japan's refusal to conclude a pact of non-aggression, of which Japan stands in no less need than the U.S.S.R., once again emphasizes the fact that all is not well

in the sphere of our relations. The same must be said of the rupture of negotiations concerning the Chinese-Eastern Railway due to no fault of the U.S.S.R.; and also of the outrageous actions of the Japanese agents on the Chinese-Eastern Railway; the illegal arrests of Soviet employees on the Chinese-Eastern Railway, etc. All this apart from the fact that one section of the military in Japan, with the avowed approval of another section of the military, is openly advocating in the press the necessity for a war against the U.S.S.R., and the seizure of the Maritime Province; while the government of Japan, instead of calling these instigators of war to order, pretends that it has nothing to do with the matter. It is not difficult to understand that such circumstances cannot but create an atmosphere of uneasiness and uncertainty. Of course, we will persistently continue our policy of peace and will strive to bring about an improvement in our relations with Japan, because we want to improve these relations. But it does not depend entirely upon us. That is why we must at the same time take all measures to guard our country against surprises, and be prepared to defend it in the event of attack.

As you see, besides successes in our peace policy we also have a number of negative phenomena.

Such is the situation as regards the foreign relations of the U.S.S.R.

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 the instigators of war blow for blow. Those who want peace and seek business relations with us will always have our support. But those who try to attack our country will receive a crushing repulse to teach them not to poke their pig snouts into our Soviet garden.

Such is our foreign policy.

The task is to continue this policy persistently and consistently.

II. THE CONTINUED PROGRESS OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN THE U.S.S.R.

I now pass to the question of the internal situation in the U.S.S.R.

From the point of view of the internal situation in the U.S.S.R., the period under review presents a picture of ever increasing progress, both in the sphere of national economy and in the sphere of culture.

This progress has not been merely a simple quantitative accumulation of strength. This progress is remarkable in that it has introduced fundamental changes into the structure of the U.S.S.R., and has radically changed the face of the country.

During this period, the U.S.S.R. has become radically transformed and has cast off the integument of backwardness and medievalism. From an agrarian country it has become an industrial country. From a land of small individual agriculture it has become a land of collective, large-scale, mechanized agriculture. From an ignorant, illiterate and uncultured country it has become—or rather it is becoming—a literate and cultured country, covered by a vast network of higher, intermediate and elementary schools teaching in the languages of the nationalities of the U.S.S.R.

New industries have been created: machine-tool construction, automobile, tractor, chemical, motor construction, aircraft, harvester combines, the construction of powerful turbines and generators, high-grade steel, ferro-alloys, synthetic rubber, nitrates, artificial fiber, etc., etc.

During this period thousands of new, up-to-date industrial enterprises have been built and started. Giants like the Dnieprostroi, Magnitostroi, Kuznetskstroi, Chelyabstroi, Bobriki, Uralmashstroi, and Krammashstroi have been built. Thousands of old enterprises have been reconstructed and provided with modern technical equipment. New enterprises have been built and industrial centers created in the national republics and in the border regions of the U.S.S.R.: in Byelorussia, in the Ukraine, in the North Caucasus, in Transcaucasia, in Central Asia, in Kazakstan, in Buryat-Mongolia, in Tataria, in Bashkiria, in the Urals, in East and West Siberia, in the Far East, etc.

More than 200,000 collective farms and 5,000 state farms have been organized, with new district centers and industrial centers serving them.

New large towns, with large populations, have sprung up in what were formerly almost vacant spaces. The old towns and industrial centers have grown enormously.

The foundations have been laid for the Urals-Kuznetsk Combine, which unites the coking coal of Kuznetsk with the iron ore of the Urals. Thus, we may consider that the dream of a new metallurgical base in the East has become a reality.

The foundations for a powerful new oil base have been laid in the regions on the Western and Southern slopes of the Ural range—in the Ural Region, Bashkiria and Kazakstan.

It is obvious that the enormous capital invested by the state in all

branches of national economy, which in the period under review amounted to over 60,000,000,000 rubles, has not been ill-spent, and is beginning to bear fruit.

As a result of these achievements the national income of the U.S.S.R. has increased from 29,000,000,000 rubles in 1929 to 50,000,000,000 in 1933; whereas there has been an enormous decline in the national income of all capitalist countries without exception during this period.

It goes without saying that all these achievements and all this progress had to lead—and really did lead—to the further consolidation of the internal situation in the U.S.S.R.

How was it possible for these colossal changes to take place in a matter of three or four years on the territory of a vast state with a backward technique and a backward culture? Was it not a miracle? It would have been a miracle had this development proceeded on the basis of capitalism and individual small farming. But it cannot be described as a miracle if we bear in mind that this development took place on the basis of expanding socialist construction.

It goes without saying that this enormous progress could take place only on the basis of the successful building of socialism; on the basis of the collective work of scores of millions of people; on the basis of the advantages which the socialist system of economy has over the capitalist and individual peasant system.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the colossal progress in the economy and culture of the U.S.S.R. during the period under review has also signified the elimination of the capitalist elements, and the relegation of individual peasant economy to the background. It is a fact that the socialist system of economy in the sphere of industry now represents 99 per cent of the total; and in agriculture, according to area sown to grain crops, it represents 84.5 per cent of the total, whereas individual peasant economy accounts for only 15.5 per cent.

It follows, then, that capitalist economy in the U.S.S.R. has already been eliminated and that the individual-peasant sector in the countryside has been forced back to a secondary position.

At the time when the New Economic Policy was being introduced Lenin said that we had the elements of five social-economic formations in our country: (1) patriarchal economy (largely natural economy); (2) small commodity production (the majority of the peasants who sell grain); (3) private capitalism; (4) state capitalism; (5) socialism. Lenin was of the opinion that the socialist formation would finally prevail over all the others. We can now say that the first, the third, and the fourth

social-economic formations no longer exist; the second social-economic formation has been forced into a secondary position; while the fifth social-economic formation—the socialist formation—now holds unchallenged sway and is the sole commanding force in the whole national economy.

Such is the result.

This result is the basis of the stability of the internal situation in the U.S.S.R., the basis of the firmness of its front and rear positions in the midst of the capitalist encirclement.

Let us now examine the concrete material relating to the various questions of the economic and political situation in the Soviet Union.

Progress of Industry

Of all branches of the national economy, the one that has grown most rapidly is industry. During the period under review, *i.e.*, since 1930, the output of our industry has more than doubled—it has increased by 101.6 per cent; and compared with the pre-war level it has grown almost fourfold—by 291.9 per cent.

This means that industrialization has been going on full steam ahead.

As a result of the rapid growth of industrialization the output of industry has advanced to first place in the total volume of production of the whole of our national economy.

Here is the corresponding table:

PROPORTION OF INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT IN GROSS OUTPUT OF NATIONAL ECONOMY

(Per cent of total, in prices of 1926-27)

	1913	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
1. Industry (without small industry)	42.1	54.5	61.6	66.7	70.7	70.4
2. Agriculture	57.9	45.5	38.4	33.3	29.3	29.6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

This means that our country has definitely and finally become an industrial country.

Of decisive significance for the industrialization of the country is the growth of the output of implements and means of production in the gross output representing the development of industry. The figures for the period under review show that this item has become predominant in the gross output of industry.

Here is the corresponding table:

PROPORTION OF OUTPUT OF THE TWO MAIN GROUPS
OF LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRIES

(In prices of 1926-27)

	<i>Volume of output in billions of rubles</i>				
	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Total large-scale industry	21.0	27.5	33.9	38.5	41.9
Of which:					
Group "A": implements and means of production	10.2	14.5	18.8	22.0	24.3
Group "B": consumers' goods	10.8	13.0	15.1	16.5	17.6
	<i>Per cent of total</i>				
Group "A": implements and means of production	48.5	52.6	55.4	57.0	58.0
Group "B": consumers' goods	51.5	47.4	44.6	43.0	42.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100

As you see, this table requires no explanation.

In our country, which is still young as regards technical development, industry has a special task to fulfill. It must reconstruct on a new technical basis not only itself, not only all branches of industry, including the light industries, the food industries, and the timber industry; it must also reconstruct all forms of transport and all branches of agriculture. It can fulfill this task, however, only if the machine-building industry—which is the main lever for the reconstruction of the national economy—occupies a predominant place in it. The figures for the period under review show that our machine-building industry has advanced to the leading place in the total volume of industrial output.

Here is the corresponding table:

PROPORTION OF OUTPUT OF VARIOUS BRANCHES
OF INDUSTRY IN GROSS OUTPUT

(Per cent of total)

	1913	1929	1932	1933
Coal	2.9	2.1	1.7	2.0
Coke	0.8	0.4	0.5	0.6
Oil (extraction)	1.9	1.8	1.5	1.4
Oil (refining)	2.3	2.5	2.9	2.6
Iron and steel	*	4.5	3.7	4.0
Non-ferrous metals	*	1.5	1.3	1.2
Machine-building	11.0	14.8	25.0	26.1
Basic chemicals	0.8	0.6	0.8	0.9
Cotton textiles	18.3	15.2	7.6	7.3
Woolen textiles	3.1	3.1	1.9	1.8

* Figures not available.—J.S.

This shows that our industry is developing on a sound foundation, and that the key to reconstruction—the machine-building industry—is entirely in our hands. All that is required is that we use it skillfully and rationally.

The development of our industry during this period according to social sectors presents an interesting picture.

Here is the corresponding table:

GROSS OUTPUT OF LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRY
ACCORDING TO SOCIAL SECTORS

(In prices of 1926-27)

	<i>(In millions of rubles)</i>				
	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Total output	21,025	27,477	33,903	38,464	41,968
Of which:					
I. Socialized industry	20,891	27,402	*	38,436	41,940
Of which:					
(a) State industry	19,143	24,989	*	35,587	38,932
(b) Co-operative industry	1,748	2,413	*	2,849	3,008
II. Private industry	134	75	*	28	28
	<i>(Per cent of total)</i>				
Total output	100	100	100	100	100
Of which:					
I Socialized industry	99.4	99.7	*	99.93	99.93
Of which:					
(a) State industry	91.1	90.9	*	92.52	92.76
(b) Co-operative industry	8.3	8.8	*	7.41	7.17
II. Private industry	0.6	0.3	*	0.07	0.07

* Figures not available.—J.S.

From this table it is evident that we have put an end to the capitalist elements in industry and that the socialist system of economy is now the sole system, the system holding a position of monopoly, in our industry.

However, of all the achievements scored by industry in the period under review the most important is the fact that it has succeeded in this period in training and steeling thousands of new men and women, of new leaders of industry, a whole stratum of new engineers and technicians, hundreds of thousands of young skilled workers who have mastered the new technique and who have advanced our socialist industry. There can be no doubt that without these men and women industry could not have achieved the successes it has achieved, and of which it has a perfect right to be proud. The figures show that in this period about 800,000 more or

less qualified workers have been graduated from factory training schools, and over 180,000 engineers and technicians from higher technical educational institutions, universities and technical schools; all of these are now working in industry. If it is true that the problem of cadres is a most important problem of our development, then it must be admitted that our industry is beginning really to cope with this problem.

Such are the main achievements of our industry.

It would be wrong, however, to think that industry has only successes to record. No, it also has its defects. The principal of these are:

(a) The continuing lag of the iron and steel industry;
(b) The lack of order in the non-ferrous metals industries;
(c) The underestimation of the great importance of developing the mining of *local coal* for the general fuel balance of the country (Moscow region, Caucasus, Urals, Karaganda, Central Asia, Siberia, the Far East, the Northern Territory, etc.);

(d) The absence of proper attention to the question of organizing new centers of the oil industry in the Ural, Bashkiria, and Emba districts;

(e) The absence of serious concern for the development of the production of consumers' goods both in the light and food industries and in the timber industry;

(f) The absence of proper attention to the question of developing *local industry*;

(g) An absolutely intolerable attitude towards the question of improving the quality of products;

(h) The continuing backwardness in the matter of increasing the productivity of labor, reducing the cost of production, and inculcating business accounting;

(i) The fact that bad organization of work and wages, lack of personal responsibility in work, and wage equalization have not yet been eliminated:

(j) The fact that bureaucratic routine methods of management in the economic Commissariats and their departments, including the People's Commissariats of the light and food industries, have not yet been eliminated by far.

The absolute necessity for the speedy elimination of all these defects need hardly be explained. As you know, the iron and steel and non-ferrous metals industries failed to fulfill their plan throughout the First Five-Year Plan period; nor have they fulfilled the plan of the first year of the Second Five-Year Plan period. If they continue to lag behind they may become a drag on industry and cause disruptions in its work. As

to the creation of new centers of the coal and oil industries, it is not difficult to understand that unless this urgent task is fulfilled both industry and transport may be run aground. The question of producing consumers' goods and of developing local industry, as well as the questions of improving the quality of output, of increasing the productivity of labor, of reducing production costs, and of inculcating business accounting also need no further explanation. As for the bad organization of work and wages, and the bureaucratic routine methods of management, the case of the Donbas and of the factories in the light and food industries has shown that this dangerous disease has affected all our industries and hinders their development. If it is not removed, industry will just hobble along.

Our immediate tasks are:

1. To maintain the leading role of machine-building in the system of industries.
2. To eliminate the lag of the iron and steel industry.
3. To put the non-ferrous metals industries in order.
4. To develop to the utmost the mining of local coal in all the districts where it is known to be available; to develop new coal fields (for example, in the Bureya District in the Far East), and to convert the Kuzbas into a second Donbas.
5. To tackle seriously the job of organizing a center of the oil industry in the districts on the Western and Southern slopes of the Ural range.
6. To expand the production of consumers' goods in all the industries controlled by the economic Commissariats.
7. To develop local Soviet industry; to give it the opportunity to display initiative in the production of consumers' goods and to lend it all possible assistance in the way of raw materials and funds.
8. To improve the quality of manufactured goods; to discontinue the practice of producing incomplete sets of goods, and to punish all those comrades, without respect of person, who violate or evade the laws of the Soviet government about the quality and completeness of sets of goods.
9. To secure a systematic increase in the productivity of labor, a reduction in production costs, and the inculcation of business accounting.
10. To put an end to lack of personal responsibility in work and to wage equalization.
11. To eliminate bureaucratic routine methods of management in all the departments of the economic Commissariats, and to check up systematically on the fulfillment of the decisions and instructions of the directing centers by the subordinate organizations.

Progress of Agriculture

Development in the sphere of agriculture has proceeded somewhat differently. In the period under review progress in the main branches of agriculture was much slower than in industry, but nevertheless more rapid than in the period when individual farming predominated. In livestock farming, however, there was even a reverse process—a decline in the number of livestock; only in 1933 were symptoms of progress observed, and then only in hog breeding.

Apparently the enormous difficulties attending the amalgamation of scattered small peasant farms into collective farms, the difficult task of creating a large number of big grain and livestock farms, which had to be built practically from the ground up, and, in general, the period of *reorganization*, when individual agriculture was being remodeled and put on the new, collective farm basis, which requires considerable time and involves considerable outlay—all these factors inevitably predetermined the slow rate of progress in agriculture, as well as the relatively long period of decline in the number of livestock.

In point of fact, in agriculture the period under review was not so much a period of a rapid rise and powerful upswing as a period during which we created the conditions for such a rise and upswing in the near future.

If we take the figures for the increase in the area under all crops, and separately the figures for industrial crops, we will get the following picture of the development of agriculture in the period under review.

AREA UNDER ALL CROPS IN THE U.S.S.R.

(In millions of hectares)

	1913	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Total crop area	105.0	118.0	127.2	136.3	134.4	129.7
(a) Grain crops	94.4	96.0	101.8	104.4	99.7	101.5
(b) Industrial crops	4.5	8.8	10.5	14.0	14.9	12.0
(c) Vegetables and melons	3.8	7.6	8.0	9.1	9.2	8.6
(d) Fodder	2.1	5.0	6.5	8.8	10.6	7.3

AREA UNDER INDUSTRIAL CROPS IN THE U.S.S.R.

(In millions of hectares)

	1913	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Cotton	0.69	1.06	1.58	2.14	2.17	2.05
Flax (long fiber)	1.02	1.63	1.75	2.39	2.51	2.40
Sugar	0.65	0.77	1.04	1.39	1.54	1.21
Oil seed	2.00	5.20	5.22	7.55	7.98	5.79

These tables reflect the two main lines in agriculture:

1. The line of the greatest possible expansion of crop areas in the period when the reorganization of agriculture was at its height, when collective farms were being formed by the tens of thousands and were driving the kulaks from the land, seizing the vacated land, and taking charge of it.

2. The line of discontinuing the practice of indiscriminate expansion of crop areas; the line of passing on from indiscriminate expansion of crop areas to improved cultivation of the land, to the introduction of proper rotation of crops and fallow, to increasing the harvest yield and, if practice shows this to be necessary, to a temporary reduction in crop areas.

As is well known, the second line, the only correct line in agriculture, was proclaimed in 1932, when the period of reorganization in agriculture was drawing to a close, and when the question of increasing the harvest yield became one of the fundamental questions of the progress of agriculture.

But the figures for the crop areas cannot be regarded as a sufficient index of the development of agriculture. It sometimes happens that while the crop area increases, output does not increase, or even declines, because cultivation has deteriorated, and the yield per hectare has declined. In view of this, the figures for crop areas must be supplemented by figures for gross output.

Here is the corresponding table:

GROSS OUTPUT OF GRAIN AND INDUSTRIAL CROPS
IN THE U.S.S.R.

(In millions of centners)

	1913	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Grain	801.0	717.4	835.4	694.8	698.7	898.0
Raw cotton	7.4	8.6	11.1	12.9	12.7	13.2
Flax fiber	3.3	3.6	4.4	5.5	5.0	5.6
Sugar beet	109.0	62.5	140.2	120.5	65.6	90.0
Oil seeds	21.5	35.8	36.2	51.0	45.5	46.0

It can be seen from this table that the years in which the reorganization of agriculture was at its height, *viz.*, 1931 and 1932, were the years in which the output of grain diminished most.

It can also be seen from this table that in the flax and cotton districts, where the reorganization of agriculture proceeded at a slow pace, flax and cotton hardly suffered, and progressed more or less evenly and steadily, while maintaining a high level of development.

Thirdly, it can be seen from this table that while there was only a

slight fluctuation in the output of oil seeds, and a high level of development, as compared with the pre-war level, was maintained, a different situation obtained in the sugar beet districts, where the reorganization of agriculture proceeded at the most rapid rate; sugar beet farming, which was the last to enter the period of reorganization, suffered its worst decline in the last year of reorganization, *viz.*, in 1932, when output dropped below the pre-war level.

Lastly, it can be seen from this table that 1933, the first year after the completion of the reorganization period, marks a turning point in the development of grain and industrial crops.

This means that from now on grain crops, to begin with, and then industrial crops, will firmly and surely advance with giant strides.

It was livestock farming that suffered most in the reorganization period. Here is the corresponding table:

LIVESTOCK IN THE U.S.S.R.

(Million head)

	1916	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
(a) Horses	35.1	34.0	30.2	26.2	19.6	16.6
(b) Large cattle	58.9	68.1	52.5	47.9	40.7	38.6
(c) Sheep and goats	115.2	147.2	108.8	77.7	52.1	50.6
(d) Hogs	20.3	20.9	13.6	14.4	11.6	12.2

This table shows that in the period under review there was not an improvement, but a continual decline in the number of livestock in the country as compared with the pre-war level. It is obvious that this table reflects, on the one hand, the fact that livestock farming was dominated by big kulak elements to a greater extent, and, on the other, the intense kulak agitation for the slaughter of livestock which found favorable soil in the years of reorganization.

Furthermore, it follows from this table that the decline in the number of livestock began in the very first year of reorganization (1930) and continued right up to 1933. The decline was most marked in the first three years; in 1933, however, the first year after the termination of the period of reorganization, when progress had been made in grain crops, the decline in the number of livestock reached its minimum.

Lastly, it follows from this table that the reverse process has already commenced in hog breeding, and that in 1933 symptoms of direct progress were already to be seen.

This means that the year 1934 can and must mark a turning point towards progress in all branches of livestock farming.

How did the collectivization of peasant farms develop in the period under review?

Here is the corresponding table:

COLLECTIVIZATION

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Number of collective farms (thousands)	57.0	85.9	211.1	211.05	224.5
Number of households in collective farms (millions)	1.0	6.0	13.0	14.9	15.2
Per cent of peasant farms collectivized	3.9	23.6	52.7	61.5	65.0

And what was the development as regards the areas under grain crops according to sectors?

Here is the corresponding table:

AREAS UNDER GRAIN CROPS ACCORDING TO SECTORS

(In millions of hectares)

Sectors	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	<i>Per cent of total area in 1933</i>
1. State farms	1.5	2.9	8.1	9.3	10.8	10.6
2. Collective farms	3.4	29.7	61.0	69.1	75.0	73.9
3. Individual peasant farms	91.1	69.2	35.3	21.3	15.7	15.5
Total U.S.S.R.	96.0	101.8	104.4	99.7	101.5	100.0

What do these tables show?

They show that the period of reorganization in agriculture, during which the number of collective farms and the number of their members increased at a tempestuous pace, is now at an end; that it came to an end already in 1932.

Hence, the further process of collectivization is a process of the gradual absorption of the remaining individual peasant farms and the re-education of the individual peasants by the collective farms.

This means that the collective farms have triumphed completely and irrevocably.

They show also that the state farms and collective farms together control 84.5 per cent of the total area under grain in the U.S.S.R.

This means that the collective farms and state farms together have become so great a force as to determine the fate of the whole of agriculture and of all its branches.

The tables further show that the 65 per cent of the peasant farms which are organized in collective farms control 73.9 per cent of the total area under grain; whereas all the individual farms put together, representing 35 per cent of the entire peasant population, control only 15.5 per cent of the total area under grain crops.

If we add to this the fact that in 1933 the different deliveries to the state made by the collective farms amounted to more than 1,000,000,000 poods of grain, while the individual peasants, who fulfilled their plan 100 per cent, delivered only about 130,000,000 poods; whereas in 1929-30 the individual peasants delivered to the state about 780,000,000 poods, and the collective farms not more than 120,000,000 poods—then it becomes as clear as clear can be that during the period under review the collective farms and the individual peasants have completely exchanged roles: the collective farms during this period have become the predominant force in agriculture, whereas the individual peasants have dropped to the position of a secondary force and are compelled to submit and adapt themselves to the collective farm system.

It must be admitted that the laboring peasantry, our Soviet peasantry, has completely and irrevocably taken its stand under the red flag of socialism.

Let the Socialist-Revolutionary, Menshevik, and bourgeois-Trotskyite gossips tell old wives' tales about the peasantry being counter-revolutionary by its very nature; about its being destined to restore capitalism in the U.S.S.R.; about its inability to serve as the ally of the working class in building socialism, and about the impossibility of building socialism in the U.S.S.R. The facts show that these gentlemen are slandering the U.S.S.R. and the Soviet peasantry. The facts show that our Soviet peasantry has quit the shores of capitalism for good and is headed, in alliance with the working class, for socialism. The facts show that we have already built the foundation of socialist society in the U.S.S.R., and that all we have to do now is to erect the superstructures—a task which undoubtedly is much easier than that of building the foundations of socialist society.

The increase in crop area and in output is not the only thing, however, that reflects the strength of the collective farms and state farms. Their strength is reflected also in the increase in the number of tractors at their disposal, and in the growth of their supply of machines. There is no doubt that in this respect our collective farms and state farms have made very marked progress.

Here is the corresponding table:

**NUMBER OF TRACTORS EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE
IN THE U.S.S.R.**

(Allowance made for depreciation)

	Number of tractors, in thousands					Capacity in thousand h.p.				
	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Total number of tractors	34.9	72.1	125.3	148.5	204.1	391.4	1,003.5	1,850.0	2,225.0	3,100.0
(a) In machine and tractor stations	2.4	31.1	63.3	74.8	122.3	23.9	372.5	848.0	1,077.0	1,782.0
(b) In state farms of all systems	9.7	27.7	51.5	64.0	81.8	123.4	483.1	892.0	1,043.0	1,318.0

Thus, we have 204,000 tractors with a total of 3,100,000 h.p. working for the collective farms and state farms. As you see, this is not a small force; it is a force capable of pulling up all the roots of capitalism in the countryside; it is a force twice as great as the number of tractors that Lenin once mentioned as a remote prospect.

As regards the number of agricultural machines in the machine and tractor stations and in the state farms under the People's Commissariat of State Farms, the figures are given in the following tables:

IN MACHINE AND TRACTOR STATIONS

	1930	1931	1932	1933
Harvester combines (thousands)	7 (units)	0.1	2.2	11.5
Internal combustion and steam engines (thousands)	0.1	4.9	6.2	17.6
Complex and semi-complex grain threshers (thousands)	2.9	27.8	37.0	50.0
Electric threshing installations (units)	168.0	268.0	551.0	1,283.0
M.T.S. repair shops (units)	104.0	770.0	1,220.0	1,933.0
Motor trucks (thousands)	0.2	1.0	6.0	13.5
Passenger automobiles (units)	17.0	191.0	245.0	2,800.0

**IN STATE FARMS CONTROLLED BY THE COMMISSARIAT
OF STATE FARMS**

	1930	1931	1932	1933
Harvester combines (thousands)	1.7	6.3	11.9	13.5
Internal combustion and steam engines (thousands)	0.3	0.7	1.2	2.5
Complex and semi-complex grain threshers (thousands)	1.4	4.2	7.1	8.0
Electric installations (units)	42.0	112.0	164.0	222.0
Repair shops (units)				
(a) For capital repairs	72.0	133.0	208.0	302.0
(b) For medium repairs	75.0	160.0	215.0	476.0
(c) For current repairs	205.0	310.0	578.0	1,166.0
Motor trucks (thousands)	2.1	3.7	6.2	10.9
Passenger automobiles (units)	118.0	385.0	625.0	1,890.0

I do not think these figures require explanation.

Of no little importance for the progress of agriculture was the formation of the political departments of the machine and tractor stations and state farms and the sending of qualified workers into agriculture. Everybody admits now that the personnel of the political departments played an important part in improving the work of the collective farms and state farms. You know that during the period under review the Central Committee of the party sent more than 23,000 Communists to the rural districts to reinforce the cadres in agriculture. Of these, more than 3,000 were sent to work in the land departments, more than 2,000 to state farms, more than 13,000 to the political departments of the M.T.S., and over 5,000 to the political departments of the state farms.

The same is to be said in regard to the task of providing new engineering, technical and agronomic forces for the collective farms and state farms. As you know, more than 111,000 workers of this category were sent into agriculture during the period under review.

During the period under review, over 1,900,000 tractor drivers, harvester combine drivers and operators, and automobile drivers were trained and sent to work by the organizations under the People's Commissariat of Agriculture alone.

During the same period more than 1,600,000 chairmen and members of management boards of collective farms, foremen for field work, foremen on livestock ranches, and bookkeepers were trained, or received additional training.

This, of course, is not enough for our agriculture. But still it is something.

As you see, the state did all it possibly could to help the departments of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and of the People's Commissariat of State Farms to direct the work of collective farm and state farm development.

Can it be said that the best use has been made of these possibilities?

Unfortunately, this cannot be said.

To begin with, these Commissariats are more infected than others with the disease of bureaucratic office routine. Decisions are made, but not a thought is given to checking up on their fulfillment, to calling to order those who disobey the instructions and orders of the leading bodies, and to promoting honest and conscientious workers.

One would think that the existence of an enormous number of tractors and machines would impose upon the land departments the obligation to keep these valuable machines in good condition, to see to their timely

repair, to employ them in a more or less rational manner. But what are they really doing in this respect? Unfortunately, very little. The maintenance of tractors and machines is unsatisfactory. Repairs are also unsatisfactory, because even to this day these people refuse to understand that the basis of repairs is current and medium repairs, and not capital repairs. As for the utilization of tractors and machines, the unsatisfactory position in this respect is so clear and well known that it needs no proof.

One of the immediate tasks in agriculture is to introduce proper rotation of crops and to secure the extension of clean fallow and the improvement of seeds in all branches of agriculture. What is being done in this sphere? Unfortunately, very little as yet. The state of affairs in regard to grain and cotton seed is so muddled that it will take a long time to straighten things out.

One of the effective means of increasing the yield of industrial crops is to supply them with fertilizers. What is being done in this sphere? Very little as yet. Fertilizers are available, but the organizations of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture fail to get them; and when they do get them they do not take the trouble to deliver them on time to the places where they are required, and to see to it that they are utilized properly.

In regard to the state farms, it must be said that they still fail to cope with their tasks. I do not in the least underestimate the great revolutionizing role of our state farms. But if we compare the enormous sums the state has invested in the state farms with the actual results they have achieved to date, we will find an enormous balance against the state farms. The principal reason for this discrepancy is the fact that our state grain farms are too unwieldy; the directors cannot manage such huge farms. The farms are also too specialized; they have no rotation of crops and fallow land; they do not engage in livestock breeding. Evidently, it will be necessary to split up the state farms and make them less specialized. One might think that it was the People's Commissariat of State Farms that raised this question opportunely and succeeded in solving it. But that is not so. The question was raised and settled on the initiative of people who had no connection whatsoever with the People's Commissariat of State Farms.

Finally, there is the question of livestock farming. I have already reported on the gravity of the situation with regard to livestock. One might think that our land departments would display feverish activity in the effort to put an end to the livestock crisis; that they would raise the alarm and mobilize their people to attack the livestock problem. Unfortunately,

nothing of the kind has happened, or is happening. Not only have they failed to raise the alarm about the serious livestock situation, but, on the contrary, they try to gloss over the question, and sometimes in their reports even try to conceal from the public opinion of the country the real state of affairs in regard to livestock, which is an absolutely impermissible thing for Bolsheviks to do. To hope, after this, that the land departments will be able to bring livestock farming onto the highroad and raise it to its proper level would be building on sand. The whole party, all our forces, party and non-party, must take this matter in hand, bearing in mind that the livestock problem today is just as urgent as the grain problem—now successfully solved—was yesterday. There is no need to prove that our Soviet men and women, who have overcome more than one serious obstacle in the path to the goal, will be able to overcome this obstacle as well.

Such is a brief and far from complete list of defects which must be removed, and the list of tasks which must be fulfilled in the near future.

But the matter does not end with these tasks. There are other tasks in agriculture, concerning which a few words must be said.

First of all, we must bear in mind that the old division of our regions into industrial regions and agrarian regions has now become obsolete. We no longer have exclusively agrarian regions to supply grain, meat and vegetables to the industrial regions; nor have we exclusively industrial regions which can count on receiving all the necessary produce from other regions. Development is leading to the point when all our regions will be more or less industrial; and they will become more and more so as this development proceeds. This means that the Ukraine, the North Caucasus, the Central Black Earth Region, and other formerly agrarian districts can no longer supply the industrial centers with as much produce as they supplied in the past; because now they have to feed their own towns and their own workers, whose number will be increasing. But from this it follows that every region will have to develop its own agricultural base, so as to have its own supply of vegetables, potatoes, butter and milk, and, to some extent, grain and meat, if it does not want to get into difficulties. You know that this is quite practicable and is being done now.

The task is to pursue this line to the end at all costs.

Furthermore, we should note the fact that the accepted division of our regions into consuming regions and producing regions is also beginning to lose its hard and fast character. This year "consuming" regions such as the Moscow and Gorky regions delivered nearly 80,000,000 poods of grain to the state. This, of course, is no small item. In the so-called consuming

zone there are about 5,000,000 hectares of virgin soil, covered with scrub. It is well known that the climate in this zone is not bad; there is sufficient precipitation, and droughts do not occur. If this land were cleared of scrub and a number of organizational measures were undertaken, it would be possible to obtain a vast area for planting grain, which at the usually high yield in these districts could supply no less grain for the market than is now supplied by the Lower and Middle Volga. This would be a great help for the industrial centers in the North.

Evidently the task is to develop large tracts of grain land in the districts of the consuming zone.

Finally, there is the question of combating drought in the Trans-Volga regions. Afforestation, the planting of protective forest zones, in the Eastern districts of the Trans-Volga is a matter of enormous importance. As you know, this work has been started already, although it cannot be said that it is being carried on with sufficient intensity. Further, we must not allow the matter of irrigating the Trans-Volga region—the most important thing in combating drought—to be indefinitely postponed. It is true that this work has been held up somewhat by certain external circumstances which caused a considerable diversion of forces and funds to other purposes. But now there is no longer any reason why this work should be further postponed. We cannot do without a large and absolutely stable grain base on the Volga which shall be independent of the vagaries of the weather and which shall provide annually about 200,000,000 poods of grain for the market. This is absolutely necessary, in view of the growth of the towns on the Volga, on the one hand, and of the possibilities of complications in the sphere of international relations, on the other.

The task is to set to work seriously to organize the irrigation of the Trans-Volga regions.

The Rise in the Material and Cultural Standard of the Working People

We have thus depicted the state of our industry and agriculture: their development in the period under review and their position at the present moment.

To sum up, we have:

- (a) A mighty advance in production both in industry and in the main branches of agriculture.
- (b) The final victory, on the basis of this advance, of the socialist

system of economy over the capitalist system both in industry and in agriculture; the socialist system has become the sole system in the whole of the national economy, and the capitalist elements have been forced out of all spheres of the national economy.

(c) The final abandonment of individual small commodity farming by the overwhelming majority of the peasants; their amalgamation in collective farms on the basis of collective labor and the collective ownership of the means of production; the complete victory of collective farming over individual small commodity farming.

(d) The ever increasing expansion of the collective farms through the absorption of individual peasant farms, whose number is thus diminishing month by month, the individual peasant farms being, in fact, converted into an auxiliary force for the collective farms and state farms.

It goes without saying that this historic victory over the exploiters could not but lead to a radical improvement in the material standard of the working people and in their conditions of life generally.

The elimination of the parasitic classes has led to the disappearance of the exploitation of man by man. The labor of the worker and the peasant is freed from exploitation. The incomes which the exploiters used to squeeze out of the labor of the people now remains in the hands of the working people and are used partly for the expansion of production and the enlistment of new detachments of working people in production, and partly for the purpose of directly increasing the incomes of the workers and peasants.

Unemployment, that scourge of the working class, has disappeared. In the bourgeois countries millions of unemployed suffer want and privation owing to lack of work; but in our country there are no longer any workers who have no work and no earnings.

With the disappearance of kulak bondage, poverty in the countryside has disappeared. Every peasant, whether a collective farmer or an individual farmer, now has the opportunity of enjoying a human existence, if only he wants to work conscientiously and not to be an idler, a tramp, and a despoiler of collective farm property.

The abolition of exploitation, the abolition of unemployment in the cities, and the abolition of poverty in the countryside are such historic achievements in the material standard of the working people that they are beyond even the dreams of the workers and peasants in bourgeois countries, even in the most "democratic" ones.

The very appearance of our large cities and industrial centers has changed. An inevitable feature of the big cities in bourgeois countries are

the slums, the so-called working-class districts on the outskirts of the towns—a heap of dark, damp, and dilapidated dwellings, mostly of the basement type, where usually the poor live in filth and curse their fate. The revolution in the U.S.S.R. has swept the slums out of our towns. They have been replaced by blocks of bright and well-built workers' houses; in many cases the working class districts of our towns present a better appearance than the central districts.

The appearance of our rural districts has changed even more. The old type of village, with the church in the most prominent place, with the best houses—those of the police officer, the priest, and the kulaks—in the foreground, and the dilapidated huts of the peasants in the background, is beginning to disappear. Its place is being taken by the new type of village, with its public buildings, clubs, radio, cinemas, schools, libraries, and crèches; with its tractors, harvester combines, threshing machines, and automobiles. The former important personages of the village, the kulak-exploiter, the blood-sucking usurer, the profiteering merchant, the "little father" police officer, have disappeared. Now, the prominent personages of the village are the leading workers in the collective farms and state farms, in the schools and clubs, the chief tractor and combine drivers, the team leaders in field work and livestock raising, and the best men and women shock workers on the collective farm fields.

The contract between town and country is disappearing. The peasants are ceasing to regard the town as the center of their exploitation. The economic and cultural bond between town and country is becoming stronger. The country now receives assistance from the city and from urban industry in the shape of tractors, agricultural machinery, automobiles, workers, and funds. And the rural districts, too, now have their own industry, in the shape of the machine and tractor stations, repair shops, all sorts of industrial undertakings in the collective farms, small electric power plants, etc. The cultural gulf between town and country is being bridged.

Such are the main achievements of the working people in the sphere of improving their material conditions, their everyday life, and their cultural standard.

On the basis of these achievements we have the following to record for the period under review:

(a) An increase in the national income from 35,000,000,000 rubles in 1930 to 50,000,000,000 rubles in 1933. In view of the fact that the income of the capitalist elements, including concessionaires, at the present time represents less than one-half of one per cent of the total national income,

almost the whole of the national income is distributed among the workers and office employees, the laboring peasants, the co-operative societies, and the state.

(b) An increase in the population of the Soviet Union from 160,500,000 at the end of 1930 to 168,000,000 at the end of 1933.

(c) An increase in the number of workers and other employees from 14,530,000 in 1930 to 21,883,000 in 1933. The number of manual workers increased during this period from 9,489,000 to 13,797,000; the number of workers employed in large-scale industry, including transport, increased from 5,079,000 to 6,882,000; the number of agricultural workers increased from 1,426,000 to 2,519,000, and the number of workers and other employees employed in trade increased from 814,000 to 1,497,000.

(d) An increase in the total payroll of the workers and other employees from 13,597,000,000 rubles in 1930 to 34,280,000,000 rubles in 1933.

(e) An increase in the average annual wages of industrial workers from 991 rubles in 1930 to 1,519 in 1933.

(f) An increase in the social insurance fund for workers and other employees from 1,810,000,000 rubles in 1930 to 4,610,000,000 rubles in 1933.

(g) The adoption of a seven-hour day in all surface industries.

(h) State aid to the peasants in the form of 2,860 machine and tractor stations, involving an investment of 2,000,000,000 rubles.

(i) State aid to the peasants in the form of credits to the collective farms amounting to 1,600,000,000 rubles.

(j) State aid to the peasants in the form of seed and food loans amounting, in the period under review, to 262,000,000 poods of grain.

(k) State aid to poorer peasants in the shape of partial or complete exemption from taxation and insurance payments, amounting to 370,000,000 rubles.

As regards the cultural development of the country, we have the following to record for the period under review:

(a) The introduction of universal compulsory elementary education throughout the U.S.S.R., and an increase in literacy among the population from 67 per cent at the end of 1930 to 90 per cent at the end of 1933.

(b) An increase in the number of pupils and students attending schools of all grades from 14,358,000 in 1929 to 26,419,000 in 1933, including an increase from 11,697,000 to 19,163,000 in the number of pupils attending *elementary* schools, from 2,453,000 to 6,674,000 in the number attending *intermediate* schools, and from 207,000 to 491,000 in the number of students attending institutions of *higher* learning.

(c) An increase in the number of children receiving pre-school education from 838,000 in 1929 to 5,917,000 in 1933.

(d) An increase in the number of higher educational institutions, general and special, from 91 in 1914 to 600 in 1933.

(e) An increase in the number of scientific research institutes from 400 in 1929 to 840 in 1933.

(f) An increase in the number of clubs and similar institutions from 32,000 in 1929 to 54,000 in 1933.

(g) An increase in the number of cinema theaters, cinema installations in clubs, and travelling cinemas, from 9,800 in 1929 to 29,200 in 1933.

(h) An increase in the circulation of newspapers from 12,500,000 in 1929 to 36,500,000 in 1933.

Perhaps it will not be amiss to point out that the number of workers among the students in our higher educational institutions represents 51.4 per cent of the total, and that of laboring peasants 16.5 per cent; whereas in Germany, for instance, the number of workers among the students in higher educational institutions in 1932-33 represented only 3.2 per cent and that of small peasants only 2.4 per cent of the total.

We must note as a pleasing fact and as an indication of the progress of culture in the rural districts the increased activity of the women collective farmers in social and organizational work. We know, for example, that about 6,000 women collective farmers are chairmen of collective farms, more than 60,000 are members of management boards of collective farms, 28,000 are group leaders, 100,000 are branch organizers, 9,000 are managers of collective farm dairies, and 7,000 are tractor drivers. Needless to say, these figures are incomplete; but even these figures are sufficient to indicate the great progress of culture in the rural districts. This fact, comrades, is of tremendous significance. It is of tremendous significance because women represent half the population of our country; they represent a huge army of workers; and they are called upon to bring up our children, our future generation, that is to say, our future. That is why we must not permit this huge army of working people to linger in darkness and ignorance! That is why we must welcome the growing social activity of the working women and their promotion to leading posts as an indubitable indication of the growth of our culture.

Finally, I must point out one more fact, but of a negative character. I have in mind the intolerable fact that our pedagogical and medical "faculties" are still neglected. This is a great defect bordering on violation of the interests of the state. We must remove this defect without fail, and the sooner this is done the better.

Progress in Trade and the Transport Services

Thus we have:

- (a) An increased output of manufactured goods, including consumers' goods.
- (b) An increased output of agricultural produce.
- (c) A growth in the requirements of the laboring masses of town and country and an increased demand for produce and for manufactured goods.

What is needed to complete these conditions and to make sure that the masses of consumers receive the necessary goods and produce?

Some comrades think that these conditions alone are sufficient for the economic life of the country to make rapid progress. That is a profound delusion. We can imagine a situation in which all these conditions exist; yet if the goods do not reach the consumers, economic life, far from making progress, will, on the contrary, be dislocated and disorganized to its very foundations. It is high time we realized that in the last analysis goods are produced not for the sake of producing them, but for consumption. Cases have occurred where we have had a fair quantity of goods and produce, but these did not reach the consumers; for years they flowed backwards and forwards in the bureaucratic backwaters of our so-called commodity-distribution system, out of reach of the consumers. It goes without saying that under these circumstances industry and agriculture lost all stimulus to increase production; the commodity-distribution centers became overstocked, while the workers and peasants had to go without these goods and produce. The result was a dislocation of the economic life of the country, notwithstanding the fact that goods and produce were available. If the economic life of the country is to make rapid progress, and industry and agriculture to have a stimulus for further increasing their output, one more condition is necessary—namely, fully developed *trade* between town and country, between the various districts and regions of the country, between the various branches of the national economy. The country must be covered with a vast network of wholesale distribution bases, shops and stores. There must be a ceaseless flow of goods through these bases, shops, and stores from the producer to the consumer. The state trading system, the co-operative trading system, the local industries, the collective farms, and the individual peasants must be drawn into this work.

This is what we call fully developed *Soviet trade*, trade *without* capitalists, trade *without* profiteers.

As you see, the expansion of Soviet trade is a very urgent problem, which, if not solved, will make further progress impossible.

And yet, in spite of the fact that this truth is perfectly obvious, the party had to contend in the period under review with a number of obstacles which arose in the way of expanding Soviet trade as a result of what could briefly be described as a dislocation of the brain among a section of the Communists on the question of the necessity and significance of Soviet trade.

To begin with, there is still among a section of Communists a supercilious, contemptuous attitude towards trade in general, and towards Soviet trade in particular. These so-called Communists look upon Soviet trade as a thing of secondary importance, hardly worth bothering about, and regard those engaged in trade as doomed. Evidently, these people do not realize that their supercilious attitude towards Soviet trade does not express the Bolshevik point of view, but rather the point of view of shabby noblemen who are full of ambition but lack ammunition. These people do not realize that Soviet trade is our own, Bolshevik, work, and that the workers employed in trade, including those behind the counter—if only they work conscientiously—are doing our revolutionary, Bolshevik, work. It goes without saying that the party had to give these Communists a slight drubbing and throw their aristocratic prejudices on the refuse dump.

Then we had to overcome prejudices of another kind. I have in mind the Leftist chatter that has gained currency among another section of our functionaries to the effect that Soviet trade is a superseded stage; that it is now necessary to organize the direct exchange of products; that money will soon be abolished, because it has become mere tokens; that it is unnecessary to develop trade, since the direct exchange of products is knocking at the door. It must be observed that this Leftist petty-bourgeois chatter, which plays into the hands of the capitalist elements who are striving to prevent the expansion of Soviet trade, has gained currency not only among a section of our Red professors, but also among certain persons in charge of trade. Of course, it is ridiculous and funny to hear these people, who are incapable of organizing the very simple business of Soviet trade, chatter about their readiness to organize the far more complicated and difficult business of a direct exchange of products. But Don Quixotes are called Don Quixotes precisely because they lack the most elementary sense of reality. These people, who are as far removed from Marxism as the sky is from the earth, evidently do not realize that we shall use money for a long time to come, right up to the time when the first stage of com-

munism, *i.e.*, the socialist stage of development, has been completed. They do not realize that money is the instrument of bourgeois economy which the Soviet government has taken over and adapted to the interests of socialism for the purpose of expanding Soviet trade to the utmost, and of thus creating the conditions necessary for the direct exchange of products. They do not realize that the direct exchange of products can replace, and be the result of, only a perfectly organized system of Soviet trade, of which we have not a trace as yet, and are not likely to have for some time.

It goes without saying that in trying to organize developed Soviet trade our party found it necessary to give a drubbing to these "Left" freaks as well, and to scatter their petty-bourgeois chatter to the winds.

Furthermore, we had to overcome among the people in charge of trade the unhealthy habits of distributing goods mechanically; we had to put a stop to their indifference to the demand for varied assortments and to the requirements of the consumers; we had to put an end to the mechanical consignment of goods, to lack of personal responsibility in trade. For this purpose, regional and inter-district wholesale distribution bases and tens of thousands of new shops and booths were opened.

Furthermore, we had to put an end to the monopoly position of the co-operative societies in the market. In this connection we instructed all People's Commissariats to start trade in the goods manufactured by the industries under their control; and the People's Commissariat of Supplies was instructed to develop an extensive open trade in agricultural produce. This has led, on the one hand, to an improvement in co-operative trade as a result of emulation, and, on the other hand, to a drop in market prices and to sounder conditions in the market.

A wide network of dining rooms was established which provide food at reduced prices ("public catering"). Workers' Supply Departments were set up in the factories, and all those who had no connection with the factory were taken off the supply list; in the factories under the control of the People's Commissariat of Heavy Industry alone, 500,000 such persons had to be removed from the list.

We have ensured the proper functioning of our single centralized short-term credit bank—the State Bank, with its 2,200 district branches capable of financing commercial operations.

As a result of these measures we have the following to record for the period under review:

(a) An increase in the number of shops and trading booths from 184,662 in 1930 to 277,974 in 1933.

(b) A newly created network of regional wholesale distribution bases, numbering 1,011, and inter-district wholesale distribution bases, numbering 864.

(c) A newly created network of Workers' Supply Departments, numbering 1,600.

(d) An increase in the number of commercial stores for the sale of bread, which now exist in 330 towns.

(e) An increase in the number of public dining rooms, which at the present time cater to 19,800,000 consumers.

(f) An increase in state and cooperative trade, including public dining rooms, from 18,900,000,000 rubles in 1930 to 49,000,000,000 rubles in 1933.

It would be wrong, however, to think that this expansion of Soviet trade is sufficient to satisfy the requirements of our economy. On the contrary, it has now become more clear than ever that the present state of trade cannot satisfy our requirements. Hence, the task is to develop Soviet trade still further; to draw local industry into this trade; to increase collective farm peasant trade, and thus to achieve new and decisive successes in the sphere of increasing Soviet trade.

It must be pointed out, however, that we cannot restrict ourselves merely to the expansion of Soviet trade. While the development of our economy depends upon the development of the exchange of goods, upon the development of Soviet trade, the development of Soviet trade, in its turn, depends upon the development of our transport system, of our railways and waterways, and also of automobile transport. It may happen that goods are available, that all the possibilities exist for expanding trade, but the transport system cannot keep up with the development of trade and refuses to carry the freight. As you know, this happens rather often. Hence, transport is the weak spot which may cause a hitch, and perhaps is already causing a hitch, in the whole of our economy, primarily in the sphere of trade.

It is true that the railway system has increased its freight turnover from 133,900,000,000 ton-kilometers in 1930 to 172,000,000,000 ton-kilometers in 1933. But this is too little, far too little for us, for our economy.

The water transport system has increased its freight turnover from 45,600,000,000 ton-kilometers in 1930 to 59,900,000,000 ton-kilometers in 1933. But this is too little, far too little for our economy.

I need not mention automobile transport, in which the number of automobiles (trucks and passenger cars) has increased from 8,800 in 1913 to 117,800 at the end of 1933. This is so inadequate for our national economy that one is ashamed to speak of it.

There can be no doubt that all these transport services could work ever so much better if the transport system did not suffer from the well-known disease called bureaucratic-routine methods of management. Hence, in addition to helping the transport system by providing forces and funds, our task is to root out the bureaucratic-routine attitude prevalent in the administration departments of the transport system and to make them more efficient.

Comrades, we have succeeded in finding the correct solutions for the main problems of industry, and industry is now standing firmly on its feet. We have also succeeded in finding the correct solutions for the main problems of agriculture, and we can say quite definitely that agriculture is now also standing firmly on its feet. But we are in danger of losing all these achievements if trade begins to limp and if transport becomes a fetter on our feet. Hence, the task of expanding trade and of decisively improving transport is the immediate and urgent problem; and unless this problem is solved, further progress will be impossible.

III. THE PARTY

I now come to the question of the party.

The present Congress is taking place under the flag of the complete victory of Leninism; under the flag of the liquidation of the remnants of the anti-Leninist groups.

The anti-Leninist Trotskyite group has been defeated and scattered. Its organizers are now to be found in the backyards of the bourgeois parties abroad.

The anti-Leninist group of the Right deviationists has been defeated and scattered. Its organizers have long since renounced their views and are now trying in various ways to expiate the sins they committed against the party.

The national deviationist groups have been defeated and scattered. Their organizers have either completely merged with the interventionist emigrés, or else recanted.

The majority of the adherents of these anti-revolutionary groups have been compelled to admit that the line of the party was correct and have capitulated before the party.

At the Fifteenth Party Congress it was still necessary to prove that the party line was correct and to wage a struggle against certain anti-Leninist groups; and at the Sixteenth Party Congress we had to deal the final blow to the last adherents of these groups. At this Congress, however, there is

nothing more to prove and, it seems, no one to fight. Everyone now sees that the line of the party has triumphed.

The policy of industrializing the country has triumphed. Its results are obvious to everyone. What arguments can be advanced against this fact?

The policy of eliminating the kulaks and of mass collectivization has triumphed. Its results are also obvious to everyone. What arguments can be advanced against this fact?

The experience of our country has shown that it is entirely possible for socialism to achieve victory in one country, taken singly. What arguments can be advanced against this fact?

It is obvious that all these successes, and primarily the victory of the Five-Year Plan, have utterly demoralized and smashed all and sundry anti-Leninist groups.

It must be admitted that the party today is united as it has never been before.

Problems of Ideological-Political Leadership

Does this mean, however, that the fight is ended, and that the offensive of socialism is to be discontinued as unnecessary?

No, it does not mean that.

Does this mean that all is well in our party; that there will be no more deviations, and that, therefore, we may now rest on our laurels?

No, it does not mean that.

We have defeated the enemies of the party, the opportunists of all shades, the national deviationists of all types. But remnants of their ideologies still live in the minds of individual members of the party, and not infrequently they find expression. The party must not be regarded as something isolated from the people who surround it. It lives and works in its environment. It is not surprising that at times unhealthy moods penetrate into the party from outside. And the soil for such moods undoubtedly still exists in our country, if only for the reason that there still exist in town and country certain intermediary strata of the population who represent the medium that breeds such moods.

The Seventeenth Conference of our party declared that one of the fundamental political tasks in connection with the fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan is "to overcome the survivals of capitalism in economic life and in the minds of people." This is an absolutely correct idea. But can we say that we have already overcome all the survivals of capitalism in economic life? No, we cannot say that. Still less can we say that we have overcome the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people. We

cannot say that, not only because the development of people's minds trails behind their economic position, but also because we are still surrounded by capitalist countries, which are trying to revive and sustain the survivals of capitalism in the economic life and in the minds of the people of the U.S.S.R., and against which we Bolsheviks must always keep our powder dry.

It stands to reason that these survivals cannot but create a favorable soil for the revival of the ideology of the defeated anti-Leninist groups in the minds of individual members of our party. Add to this the not very high theoretical level of the majority of the members of our party, the inadequate ideological work of the party organs, and the fact that our party workers are overburdened with purely practical work, which deprives them of the opportunity of augmenting their theoretical knowledge, and you will understand the origin of the confusion on a number of problems of Leninism that exists in the minds of individual party members, a confusion which occasionally penetrates into our press and helps to revive the survivals of the ideology of the defeated anti-Leninist groups.

That is why we cannot say that the fight is ended and that there is no longer any need for the policy of the socialist offensive.

A number of problems of Leninism could be taken to demonstrate the tenacity of the survivals of the ideology of the defeated anti-Leninist groups in the minds of certain party members.

Take, for example, the problem of building a *classless socialist society*. The Seventeenth Party Conference declared that we are heading for the formation of a classless socialist society. It goes without saying that a classless society cannot come of itself, spontaneously, as it were. It has to be achieved and built by the efforts of all the working people, by strengthening the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat, by intensifying the class struggle, by abolishing classes, by eliminating the remnants of the capitalist classes, and in battles with enemies both internal and external.

The point is clear, one would think.

And yet, who does not know that the promulgation of this clear and elementary thesis of Leninism has given rise to not a little confusion and to unhealthy sentiments among a section of party members? The thesis that we are advancing towards a classless society—which was put forward as a slogan—was interpreted by them to mean a spontaneous process. And they began to reason in this way: If it is classless society, then we can relax the class struggle, we can relax the dictatorship of the proletariat, and get rid of the state altogether, since it is fated to die out soon in any case. They dropped into a state of moon-calf ecstasy, in the expectation

that soon there will be no classes, and therefore no class struggle, and therefore no cares and worries, and therefore we can lay down our arms and retire—to sleep and to wait for the advent of classless society.

There can be no doubt that this confusion of mind and these sentiments are as like as two peas to the well-known views of the Right deviationists, who believed that the old must automatically grow into the new, and that one fine day we shall wake up and find ourselves in socialist society.

As you see, remnants of the ideology of the defeated anti-Leninist groups can be revived, and have not lost their tenacity by far.

It goes without saying that if this confusion of mind and these non-Bolshevik sentiments obtained a hold over the majority of our party, the party would find itself demobilized and disarmed.

Now take the question of the agricultural *artel* and the agricultural *commune*. Everybody admits now that under present conditions the *artel* is the only proper form of the collective farm movement. And that is quite understandable: (a) the *artel* properly combines the individual, everyday interests of the collective farmers with their public interests; (b) the *artel* successfully adapts the individual, everyday interests to public interests, and thereby helps to educate the individual peasants of yesterday in the spirit of collectivism.

Unlike the *artel*, where only the means of production are socialized, the communes, until recently, socialized not only the means of production, but also the appurtenances of life of every member of the commune; that is to say, the members of a commune, unlike the members of an *artel*, did not individually own poultry, small livestock, a cow, grain, or household land. This means that in the commune the individual, everyday interests of the members have not so much been taken into account and combined with the public interests as they have been eclipsed by the latter in the pursuit of petty-bourgeois uniformity. It is clear that this is the weakest side of the commune. This really explains why communes are not widespread, why there are so few of them. For the same reason the communes, in order to preserve their existence and save themselves from disruption, have been compelled to abandon the system of socializing the appurtenances of life; they are beginning to work on the principle of the work-day unit, and have begun to distribute grain among their members, to permit their members to own poultry, small livestock, a cow, etc. But from this it follows that, actually, the commune has assumed the status of the *artel*. And there is nothing bad in this, because this is necessary in the interests of the sound development of the mass collective farm movement.

This does not mean, of course, that the commune is not needed at all,

and that it no longer represents a higher form of the collective farm movement. No, the commune is needed, and, of course, it is a higher form of the collective farm movement. This does not apply, however, to the present commune, which arose on the basis of undeveloped technique and of a shortage of products, and which is itself assuming the status of the artel; it applies to the commune of the future, which will arise on the basis of a more developed technique and of an abundance of products. The present agricultural commune arose on the basis of an under-developed technique and a shortage of products. This really explains why it practiced equalization and showed little concern for the individual, everyday interests of its members—as a result of which it is now being compelled to assume the status of the artel, in which the individual and public interests of the collective farmers are rationally combined. The future communes will arise out of developed and prosperous artels. The future agricultural commune will arise when the fields and farms of the artel are replete with grain, with cattle, with poultry, with vegetables, and all other produce; when the artels have mechanized laundries, modern dining rooms, mechanized bakeries, etc.; when the collective farmer sees that it is more to his advantage to receive his meat and milk from the collective farm's meat and dairy department than to keep his own cow and small livestock; when the woman collective farmer sees that it is more to her advantage to take her meals in the dining room, to get her bread from the public bakery, and to get her linen washed in the public laundry, than to do all these things herself. The future commune will arise on the basis of a more developed technique and of a more developed artel, on the basis of an abundance of products. When will that be? Not soon, of course. But be it will. It would be criminal to accelerate artificially the process of transition from the artel to the future commune. That would confuse the whole issue, and would facilitate the work of our enemies. The transition from the artel to the future commune must proceed gradually, to the extent that *all* the collective farmers become convinced that such a transition is necessary.

This is the position in regard to the question of the artel and the commune.

One would think that this was clear and almost elementary.

And yet there is a fair amount of confusion on this question among a section of the members of the party. There are those who think that in declaring the artel to be the fundamental form of the collective farm movement the party has drifted away from socialism, has retreated from the commune, from the higher form of the collective farm movement,

to a lower form. The question arises—why? Because, it appears, there is no equality in the *artel*, since differences in the requirements and in the individual lives of the members of the *artel* are preserved; whereas in the *commune* there is equality, because the requirements and the individual position of all its members have been made equal. But in the first place, there are no longer any *communes* which practice levelling, equalization in requirements and in individual life. Practice has shown that the *communes* would certainly have been doomed had they not abandoned equalization and had they not actually assumed the status of *artels*. Hence, it is useless talking about what no longer exists. Secondly, every Leninist knows (that is, if he is a real Leninist) that equality in the sphere of requirements and individual life is a piece of reactionary petty-bourgeois absurdity worthy of a primitive sect of ascetics, but not of a socialist society organized on Marxian lines; for we cannot expect all people to have the same requirements and tastes, and all people to live their individual lives on the same model. And, finally, are not differences in requirements and in individual life still preserved among the workers? Does that mean that the workers are more remote from socialism than the members of the agricultural *communes*?

These people evidently think that socialism calls for equalization, for levelling the requirements and the individual lives of the members of society. Needless to say, such an assumption has nothing in common with Marxism, with Leninism. By equality Marxism means, not equalization of individual requirements and individual life, but the abolition of classes, *i.e.*, (a) the equal emancipation of all working people from exploitation after the capitalists have been overthrown and expropriated; (b) the equal abolition for all of private property in the means of production after they have been converted into the property of the whole of society; (c) the equal duty of all to work according to their ability, and the equal right of all working people to receive remuneration according to the amount of work performed (*socialist* society); (d) the equal duty of all to work according to their ability, and the equal right of all working people to receive remuneration according to their needs (*communist* society). Furthermore, Marxism proceeds from the assumption that people's tastes and requirements are not, and cannot be, identical, equal, in quality or in quantity, either in the period of socialism or in the period of communism.

That is the Marxian conception of equality.

Marxism has never recognized, nor does it recognize, any other equality.

To draw from this the conclusion that socialism calls for equalization,

for the levelling of the requirements of the members of society, for the levelling of their tastes and of their individual lives—that according to the plans of the Marxists all should wear the same clothes and eat the same dishes in the same quantity—is to deal in vulgarities and to slander Marxism.

It is time it was understood that Marxism is an enemy of equalization. Even in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* Marx and Engels scourged primitive utopian socialism and described it as reactionary because it preached “universal asceticism and social levelling in its crudest form.” In his *Anti-Dühring* Engels devoted a whole chapter to a withering criticism of the “radical equalitarian socialism” proposed by Dühring in opposition to Marxian socialism.

...the real content of proletarian demand for equality [said Engels] is the demand for the *abolition of classes*. Any demand for equality which goes beyond that of necessity passes into absurdity.

Lenin said the same thing:

Engels was a thousand times right when he wrote that any conception of equality *beyond* the abolition of classes is a stupid and absurd prejudice. Bourgeois professors have tried to make use of the idea of equality to accuse us of wanting to make all men equal to one another. They have tried to accuse the Socialists of this absurdity, which they themselves invented. But in their ignorance they did not know that the Socialists—and precisely the founders of modern scientific socialism, Marx and Engels—said: Equality is an empty phrase unless by equality is meant the abolition of classes. We want to abolish classes, and in this respect we stand for equality. But the claim that we want to make all men equal to one another is an empty phrase and a stupid invention of intellectuals. (V. I. Lenin, “On Deceiving the People with Slogans About Liberty and Equality,” *Collected Works*, Russian ed., Vol. XXIV, pp. 293-94.)

Clear, one would think.

Bourgeois writers are fond of depicting Marxian socialism in the shape of the old tsarist barracks, where everything is subordinated to the “principle” of equalization. But Marxists cannot be held responsible for the ignorance and stupidity of bourgeois writers.

There can be no doubt that the confusion in the minds of certain party members concerning Marxian socialism, and their infatuation with the equalitarian tendencies of agricultural communes, are as like as two peas to the petty-bourgeois views of our Leftist blockheads, who at one time idealized the agricultural commune to such an extent that they even tried

to set up communes in factories, where skilled and unskilled workers, each working at his trade, had to pool their wages in a common fund, which was then shared equally. You know what harm these infantile equalitarian exercises of our "Left" blockheads caused our industry.

As you see, the remnants of the ideology of the defeated anti-party groups still display rather considerable tenacity.

It is obvious that if these Leftist views were to triumph in the party, the party would cease to be a Marxist party; and the collective farm movement would be utterly disorganized.

Or take, for example, the slogan "*Make all the collective farmers prosperous.*" This slogan applies not only to collective farmers; it applies still more to the workers, for we want to make all the workers prosperous—people leading a prosperous and fully cultured life.

One would think that the point was clear. There would have been no use overthrowing capitalism in October 1917 and building socialism all these years if we were not going to secure a life of plenty for our people. Socialism does not mean poverty and privation, but the abolition of poverty and privation; it means the organization of a prosperous and cultured life for all members of society.

And yet this clear and really elementary slogan has caused perplexity, bewilderment, and confusion among a section of our party members. Is not this slogan, they ask, a reversion to the old slogan, "Enrich yourselves," that was rejected by the party? If everyone becomes prosperous, they argue, and the poor cease to be with us, upon whom can we Bolsheviks then rely in our work? How can we work without the poor?

This may sound funny, but the existence of such naïve and anti-Leninist views among a section of the members of the party is an undoubted fact, which we cannot but take note of.

Evidently, these people do not understand that a wide gulf lies between the slogan "Enrich yourselves" and the slogan "Make all collective farmers prosperous." In the first place, only *individual* persons or groups can enrich themselves; whereas the slogan concerning a prosperous life applies, not to individual persons or groups, but to *all* collective farmers. Secondly, *individual* persons or groups enrich themselves for the purpose of subjugating other people and of *exploiting* them; whereas the slogan concerning a prosperous life for *all* collective farmers—with the means of production in the collective farms socialized—*precludes* all possibility of the exploitation of some persons by others. Thirdly, the slogan "Enrich yourselves" was issued in the period when the New Economic Policy was in its initial stage, when capitalism was being partly restored, when the

kulak was a power, when individual peasant farming predominated in the country and collective farming was in a rudimentary state; whereas the slogan "Make all collective farmers prosperous" was issued in the last stage of N.E.P., when the capitalist elements in industry had been eliminated, the kulaks in the countryside crushed, individual peasant farming forced into the background and the collective farms had become the predominant form of agriculture. This is apart from the fact that the slogan "Make all collective farmers prosperous" is not an isolated slogan, but is inseparably bound up with the slogan "Make the collective farms Bolshevik farms."

Is it not clear that in point of fact the slogan "Enrich yourselves" was a call for the *restoration* of capitalism, whereas the slogan "Make all collective farmers prosperous" is a call to *deal the final blow* to the last remnants of capitalism by increasing the economic power of the collective farms and by transforming all collective farmers into prosperous working people?

Is it not clear that there is not, and cannot be, anything in common between these two slogans?

As for the argument that Bolshevik work and socialism are inconceivable without the existence of the poor, it is so stupid that it is embarrassing even to talk about it. The Leninists rely upon the poor when there exist capitalist elements and the poor who are exploited by the capitalists. But when the capitalist elements have been crushed and the poor have been emancipated from exploitation, the task of the Leninists is not to perpetuate and preserve poverty and the poor—the conditions for whose existence have already been eliminated—but to abolish poverty and to raise the poor to the standard of prosperity. It would be absurd to think that socialism can be built on the basis of poverty and privation, on the basis of reducing individual requirements and the standard of living to the level of the poor, who, moreover, refuse to remain poor any longer and are pushing their way upward to prosperity. Who wants this sort of socialism, so called? This would not be socialism, but a caricature of socialism. Socialism can only be built upon the basis of a rapid growth of the productive forces of society; on the basis of an abundance of products and goods; on the basis of the prosperity of the working people, and on the basis of the rapid growth of culture. For, socialism, Marxian socialism, means, not cutting down individual requirements, but developing them to the utmost, to full bloom; not the restriction of these requirements, or a refusal to satisfy them, but the full and all-round satisfaction of all the requirements of culturally developed working people.

There can be no doubt that this confusion in the minds of certain members of the party concerning poverty and prosperity is a reflection of the views of our Leftist blockheads, who idealize the poor as the eternal bulwark of Bolshevism under all conditions, and who regard the collective farms as the arena of fierce class struggle.

As you see, here too, on this question, the remnants of the ideology of the defeated anti-party groups have not yet lost their tenacity.

It goes without saying that had such blockheaded views prevailed in our party, the collective farms would not have achieved the successes they have gained during the past two years, and would have disintegrated in a very short time.

Or take, for example, the *national problem*. Here, too, in the sphere of the national problem, just as in the sphere of other problems, there is a confusion in the views of a section of the party which creates a certain danger. I have spoken of the tenacity of the survivals of capitalism. It should be observed that the survivals of capitalism in people's minds are much more tenacious in the sphere of the national problem than in any other sphere. They are more tenacious because they are able to disguise themselves well in national costume. Many think that Skrypnik's fall was an individual case, an exception to the rule. This is not true. The fall of Skrypnik and his group in the Ukraine is not an exception. Similar "dislocations" are observed among certain comrades in other national republics as well.

What is the deviation towards nationalism—regardless of whether we refer to the deviation towards Great-Russian nationalism or to the deviation towards local nationalism? The deviation towards nationalism is the adaptation of the internationalist policy of the working class to the nationalist policy of the bourgeoisie. The deviation towards nationalism reflects the attempts of "one's own" "national" bourgeoisie to undermine the Soviet system and to restore capitalism. The source of both these deviations, as you see, is the same. It is a *departure* from Leninist internationalism. If you want to keep both these deviations under fire, then aim primarily against this source, against those who depart from internationalism, regardless of whether the deviation is towards local nationalism or towards Great-Russian nationalism.

There is a controversy as to which deviation represents the major danger: the deviation towards Great-Russian nationalism, or the deviation towards local nationalism? Under present conditions, this is a formal, and, therefore, a pointless controversy. It would be absurd to attempt to give ready-made recipes suitable for all times and for all conditions as

regards the major and the minor danger. Such recipes do not exist. The major danger is the deviation against which we have ceased to fight, thereby allowing it to grow into a danger to the state.

In the Ukraine, only very recently, the deviation towards Ukrainian nationalism did not represent the major danger; but when we ceased to fight it and allowed it to grow to such an extent that it merged with the interventionists, this deviation became the major danger. The question as to which is the major danger in the sphere of the national problem is determined not by futile, formal controversies, but by a Marxian analysis of the situation at the given moment, and by a study of the mistakes that have been committed in this sphere.

The same should be said of *the Right and the "Left" deviations* in the sphere of general policy. Here, too, as in other spheres, there is no little confusion in the views of certain members of our party. Sometimes, while fighting against the Right deviation, they turn away from the "Left" deviation and relax the fight against it, on the assumption that it is not dangerous, or hardly dangerous. This is a grave and dangerous error. This is a concession to the "Left" deviation which is impermissible for a member of the party. It is all the more impermissible for the reason that of late the "Lefts" have completely slid over to the positions of the Rights, so that there is no longer any essential difference between them.

We have always said that the "Lefts" are also Rights, only they mask their Right-ness behind Left phrases. Now the "Lefts" themselves confirm the correctness of our statement. Take last year's issues of the Trotskyite *Bulletin*. What do Messieurs the Trotskyites demand; what do they write about; how does their "Left" program express itself? They demand: *the dissolution of the state farms* because they do not pay; *the dissolution of the majority of the collective farms* because they are fictitious, *the abandonment of the policy of eliminating the kulaks; reversion to the policy of concessions, and the leasing of a number of our industrial enterprises to concessionaires* because they do not pay.

There you have the program of these contemptible cowards and capitulators—their counter-revolutionary program of restoring capitalism in the U.S.S.R.!

What difference is there between this program and that of the extreme Rights? Clearly, there is none. It follows, then, that the "Lefts" have openly associated themselves with the counter-revolutionary program of the Rights in order to enter into a bloc with them and to wage a joint struggle against the party.

How can it be said, after this, that the "Lefts" are not dangerous, or

hardly dangerous? Is it not clear that those who talk such rubbish bring grist to the mill of the sworn enemies of Leninism?

As you see, here too in the sphere of deviations from the line of the party—regardless of whether they are deviations on general policy or deviations on the national problem—the survivals of capitalism in people's minds, including the minds of certain members of our party, are quite tenacious.

These, then, are a few serious and urgent problems of our ideological and political work on which there is a lack of clarity, confusion, and even direct deviation from Leninism among certain strata of the party. Nor are these the only problems which could serve to demonstrate the confusion in the views of certain members of the party.

After this, can it be said that all is well in the party?

Clearly, this cannot be said.

Our tasks in the sphere of ideological and political work are:

1. To raise the theoretical level of the party to the proper plane;
2. To intensify ideological work in all the links of the party;
3. To carry on unceasing propaganda of Leninism in the ranks of the party;
4. To train the party organizations and the non-party *active* which surrounds them in the spirit of Leninist internationalism.
5. Not to gloss over, but boldly to criticize the deviations of certain comrades from Marxism-Leninism.
6. Systematically to expose the ideology and remnants of the ideology of trends that are hostile to Leninism.

Problems of Organizational Leadership

I have spoken of our successes. I have spoken of the victory of the party line in the sphere of national economy and of culture, as well as in the sphere of overcoming anti-Leninist groups in the party. I have spoken of the world-wide historical significance of our victory. But this does not mean that we have achieved victory everywhere and in all things, and that all our problems have been solved. Such successes and such victories never occur in real life. Plenty of unsolved problems and defects of all sorts still remain. We are confronted by a host of problems demanding solution. But it does undoubtedly mean that the major part of the urgent problems has already been successfully solved, and in this sense the great victory of our party is beyond any doubt.

But here the question arises: how was this victory brought about; how

was it actually obtained; what fight was put up for it; what efforts were exerted to achieve it?

Some people think that it is sufficient to draw up a correct party line, proclaim it from the housetops, state it in the form of general theses and resolutions, and take a vote and carry it unanimously for victory to come of itself, spontaneously, as it were. This, of course, is wrong. It is a gross delusion. Only incorrigible bureaucrats and chair-warmers can think so. As a matter of fact, these successes and victories did not come spontaneously, but as the result of a fierce struggle for the application of the party line. Victory never comes by itself—it usually has to be attained. Good resolutions and declarations in favor of the general line of the party are only a beginning; they merely express the desire for victory, but not the victory itself. After the correct line has been laid down, after a correct solution of the problem has been found, success depends on how the work is organized; on the organization of the struggle for the application of the party line; on the proper selection of personnel; on the way a check is kept on the fulfillment of the decisions of the leading bodies. Otherwise the correct line of the party and the correct solutions are in danger of being seriously prejudiced. Furthermore, after the correct political line has been laid down, organizational work decides everything, including the fate of the political line itself, its success or failure.

As a matter of fact, victory was achieved and won by a stern and systematic struggle against all sorts of difficulties that stood in the way of carrying out the party line; by overcoming the difficulties; by mobilizing the party and the working class for the purpose of overcoming the difficulties; by organizing the struggle to overcome the difficulties; by removing inefficient executives and choosing better ones, capable of waging the struggle against difficulties.

What are these difficulties; and wherein are they lodged?

They are difficulties attending our organizational work, difficulties attending our organizational leadership. They are lodged in ourselves, in our leading people, in our organizations, in the apparatus of our party, state, economic, trade union, Young Communist League, and all other organizations.

We must realize that the strength and prestige of our party, state, economic, and all other organizations, and of their leaders, have grown to an unprecedented degree. And precisely because their strength and prestige have grown to an unprecedented degree, it is their work that now determines everything, or nearly everything. There can be no justification for references to so-called objective conditions. Now that the correctness

of the party's political line has been confirmed by the experience of a number of years, and there is no longer any doubt as to the readiness of the workers and peasants to support this line, the part played by so-called objective conditions has been reduced to a minimum; whereas the part played by our organizations and their leaders has become decisive, exceptional. What does this mean? It means that from now on nine-tenths of the responsibility for the failures and defects in our work rests, not on "objective" conditions, but on ourselves, and on ourselves alone.

We have in our party more than two million members and candidate members. In the Young Communist League we have more than four million members and candidate members. We have over three million worker and peasant correspondents. The Aviation and Chemical Defense League has more than twelve million members. The trade unions have a membership of over seventeen million. It is to these organizations that we are indebted for our successes. And if, notwithstanding the existence of such organizations and of such possibilities, which facilitate the achievement of success, we still suffer from a number of defects and not a few failures in our work, then it is only we ourselves, our organizational work, our bad organizational leadership, that are to blame for this.

Bureaucracy and red tape in the administrative apparatus; idle chatter about "leadership in general" instead of real and concrete leadership; the functional structure of our organizations and lack of individual responsibility; lack of personal responsibility in work, and wage equalization; the absence of a systematic check upon the fulfillment of decisions; fear of self-criticism—these are the sources of our difficulties; this is where our difficulties are now lodged.

It would be naïve to think that these difficulties can be overcome by means of resolutions and decisions. The bureaucrats have long become past masters in the art of demonstrating their loyalty to party and government decisions in words, and pigeonholing them in deed. In order to overcome these difficulties it was necessary to put an end to the disparity between our organizational work and the requirements of the political line of the party; it was necessary to raise the level of organizational leadership in all spheres of the national economy to the level of political leadership; it was necessary to see to it that our organizational work guarantees the practical realizations of the political slogans and decisions of the party.

In order to overcome these difficulties and achieve success it was necessary to *organize* the struggle to eliminate these difficulties; it was necessary to draw the masses of the workers and peasants into this struggle;

it was necessary to mobilize the party itself; it was necessary to purge the party and the economic organizations of unreliable, unstable and demoralized elements.

What was needed for this?

We had to organize:

1. Extensive self-criticism and exposure of the defects in our work.
2. The mobilization of the party, state, economic, trade union, and Young Communist League organizations for the struggle against difficulties.
3. The mobilization of the masses of the workers and peasants to fight for the application of the slogans and decisions of the party and of the government.
4. The extension of emulation and shock work among the working people.
5. A wide network of political departments of machine and tractor stations and state farms and the bringing of the party and Soviet leadership closer to the villages.
6. The division of the People's Commissariats, head offices, and trusts, and the establishment of closer contacts between the business leadership and the enterprises.
7. The elimination of lack of personal responsibility in work and the elimination of wage equalization.
8. The abolition of the "functional" system; the extension of individual responsibility, and a policy directed towards doing away with collegium management.
9. The exercise of greater control over the fulfillment of decisions, while taking the line towards reorganizing the Central Control Commission and the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection with a view to the further enhancement of the work of checking up on the fulfillment of decisions.
10. The transfer of qualified workers from offices to posts that will bring them into closer contact with production.
11. The exposure and expulsion from the administrative apparatus of incorrigible bureaucrats and chair-warmers.
12. The removal from their posts of people who violate the decisions of the party and the government, of "window-dressers" and windbags, and the promotion to their place of new people—business-like people, capable of concretely directing the work entrusted to them and of tightening party and state discipline.
13. The purging of state and economic organizations and the reduction of their staffs.

14. Lastly, the purging of the party of unreliable and demoralized persons.

These, in the main, are the measures which the party has had to adopt in order to overcome difficulties, to raise our organizational work to the level of political leadership, and in this way to ensure the application of the party line.

You know that this is exactly how the Central Committee of the party carried on its organizational work during the period under review.

In this, the Central Committee was guided by the brilliant thought uttered by Lenin to the effect that the main thing in organizational work is—*choosing the right people and keeping a check on the fulfillment of decisions.*

In regard to choosing the right people and dismissing those who fail to justify the confidence placed in them, I would like to say a few words.

Aside from the incorrigible bureaucrats and chair-warmers, as to whose removal there are no differences of opinions among us, there are two other types of executives who retard our work, hinder our work, and hold up our advance.

One of these types of executives is represented by people who have rendered certain services in the past, people who have become aristocrats, who consider that party decisions and the laws issued by the Soviet government are not written for them, but for fools. These are the people who do not consider it their duty to fulfill the decisions of the party and of the government, and who thus destroy the foundations of party and state discipline. What do they count upon when they violate party and Soviet laws? They presume that the Soviet government will not have the courage to touch them, because of their past services. These over-conceited aristocrats think that they are irreplaceable, and that they can violate the decisions of the leading bodies with impunity. What is to be done with executives of this kind? They must unhesitatingly be removed from their leading posts, irrespective of past services. They must be demoted to lower positions, and this must be announced in the press. This must be done in order to knock the pride out of these over-conceited aristocrat-bureaucrats, and to put them in their proper place. This must be done in order to tighten up party and Soviet discipline in the whole of our work.

And now about the second type of executives. I have in mind the windbags, I would say, honest windbags, people who are honest and loyal to the Soviet government, but who are incompetent as executives, incapable of organizing anything. Last year I had a conversation with one such comrade, a very respected comrade, but an incorrigible windbag,

capable of drowning any living cause in a flood of talk. Here is the conversation.

I: How are you getting on with the sowing?

He: With the sowing, Comrade Stalin? We have mobilized ourselves.

I: Well, and what then?

He: We have put the question squarely.

I: And what next?

He: There is a turn, Comrade Stalin; soon there will be a turn.

I: But still?

He: We can say that there is an indication of some progress.

I: But for all that, how are you getting on with the sowing?

He: So far, Comrade Stalin, we have not made any headway with the sowing.

Here you have the physiognomy of the windbag. They have mobilized themselves, they have put the question squarely, they have a turn and some progress, but things remain as they were.

This is exactly how a Ukrainian worker recently described the state of a certain organization when he was asked whether that organization had any definite line: "Well," he said, "they have a line all right, but they don't seem to be doing any work." Evidently that organization also has its quota of honest windbags.

And when such windbags are dismissed from their posts and are given jobs far removed from operative work, they shrug their shoulders in perplexity and ask: "Why have we been dismissed? Did we not do all that was necessary to get the work done? Did we not organize a rally of shock workers? Did we not proclaim the slogans of the party and of the government at the conference of shock workers? Did we not elect the whole of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee to the Honorary Presidium? Did we not send greetings to Comrade Stalin—what more do they want of us?"

What is to be done with these incorrigible windbags? Why, if they were allowed to remain on operative work they would drown every living cause in a flood of watery and endless speeches. Obviously, they must be removed from leading posts and given work other than operative work. There is no place for windbags on operative work.

I have already briefly reported on how the Central Committee handled the selection of personnel for the Soviet and economic organizations, and how it pursued the work of keeping a closer check on the fulfillment of decisions. Comrade Kaganovich will deal with this in greater detail in his report on the third item of the agenda of the Congress.

I would like to say a few words, however, about future work in connection with the task of keeping a closer check on the fulfillment of decisions.

The proper organization of the work of checking up on the fulfillment of decisions is of decisive importance in the fight against bureaucracy and office routine. Are the decisions of the leading bodies carried out, or are they pigeonholed by bureaucrats and chair-warmers? Are they carried out properly, or are they distorted? Is the apparatus working conscientiously and in a Bolshevik manner, or running with the motor idling? These things can be promptly found out only if a proper check is kept on the fulfillment of decisions. A proper check on the fulfillment of decisions is a searchlight which helps to reveal how the apparatus is functioning at any moment, exposing bureaucrats and chair-warmers to full view. We can say with certainty that nine-tenths of our defects and failures are due to the lack of a properly organized system of check-up on the fulfillment of decisions. There can be no doubt that had there been such a system of check-up on fulfillment, defects and failures would certainly have been averted.

But for the work of checking up on fulfillment to achieve its purpose, two conditions at least are required: first, that fulfillment be checked up systematically and not spasmodically; second, that the work of checking up on fulfillment in all the links of the party, state, and economic organizations be entrusted not to second-rate people, but to people with sufficient authority, the leaders of the organizations concerned.

The proper organization of the work of checking up on fulfillment is of supreme importance for the central leading bodies. The organizational structure of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection does not meet the requirements of a well-functioning system for checking up on fulfillment of decisions. Several years ago, when our economic work was simpler and less satisfactory, and when we could count on the possibility of *inspecting* the work of all the People's Commissariats and of all the economic organizations, the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection was adequate. But now, when our economic work has expanded and has become more complicated, and when it is no longer necessary, or possible, to *inspect* it from one center, the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection must be reorganized. What we need now is not an inspectorate, but the checking up on the fulfillment of the decisions of the center—what we need now is the *control* over fulfillment of the decisions of the center. We now need an organization that will not set itself the universal aim of inspecting everything and everybody, but which can concentrate all its attention on

the work of control, on the work of checking up on the fulfillment of the decisions of the central bodies of the Soviet government. Such an organization can be only a Soviet Control Commission under the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., working on the assignments of the Council of People's Commissars, and having local representatives who are independent of the local authorities. And in order that this organization may wield sufficient authority and be able, when necessary, to take proceedings against any responsible executive, candidates for the Soviet Control Commission must be nominated by the Party Congress and endorsed by the Council of People's Commissars and the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. I think that only such an organization can tighten up Soviet control and Soviet discipline.

As for the Central Control Commission, it is well known that it was set up primarily and mainly for the purpose of averting a split in the party. You know that at one time there really was a danger of a split. You know that the Central Control Commission and its organizations succeeded in averting the danger of a split. Now there is no longer any danger of a split. But, on the other hand, there is an imperative need for an organization that could concentrate its attention mainly on checking up on the fulfillment of the decisions of the party and of its Central Committee. Such an organization can be only a party Control Commission under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, working on the assignments of the party and of its Central Committee and having local representatives who are independent of the local organizations. It goes without saying that such a responsible organization must have great authority. In order that it may have sufficient authority, and in order that it may be able to take proceedings against any responsible comrade, including members of the Central Committee, who has committed any misdemeanor, the right to elect or dismiss the members of this Commission must be vested only in the supreme organ of the party, *viz.*, the party congress. There can be no doubt that such an organization will be quite capable of ensuring control over the fulfillment of the decisions of the central organs of the party and of tightening up party discipline.

Such is the position in regard to the questions of organizational leadership.

Our tasks in the sphere of organizational work are:

1. To continue to adapt our organizational work to the requirements of the political line of the party.
2. To raise organizational leadership to the level of political leadership.

3. To see to it that organizational leadership is fully equal to the task of ensuring the realization of the political slogans and decisions of the party.

I have now come to the end of my report, comrades.

What conclusions must be drawn from it?

Everybody now admits that our successes are great and extraordinary. In a relatively short space of time our country has been switched to the basis of industrialization and collectivization. The First Five-Year Plan has been successfully carried out. This rouses a sense of pride in our workers and increases their confidence in their own powers. That is all very good, of course. But successes sometimes have their seamy side. They sometimes give rise to certain dangers, which, if allowed to develop, may wreck the whole cause. There is, for example, the danger that some of our comrades may have their heads turned by these successes. There have been cases like that, as you know. There is the danger that certain of our comrades, having become intoxicated with success, will get swelled heads and begin to lull themselves with boastful songs, such as "It's a walk-over," "We can knock anybody into a cocked hat," etc. This is not precluded by any means, comrades. There is nothing more dangerous than sentiments of this kind, for they disarm the party and demobilize its ranks. If such sentiments were to gain sway in our party we would be faced with the danger of all our successes being wrecked. Of course, the First Five-Year Plan has been successfully carried out. That is true. But the matter does not, nor can it, end there, comrades. Before us is the Second Five-Year Plan, which we must carry out, and also successfully. You know that plans are carried out in the course of a struggle against difficulties, in the process of overcoming difficulties. That means that there will be difficulties and there will be a struggle against them. Comrades Molotov and Kuibyshev will tell you about the Second Five-Year Plan. From their reports you will see what great difficulties we will have to surmount in order to carry out this great plan. This means that we must not lull the party, but sharpen its vigilance; we must not lull it to sleep, but keep it ready for action; not disarm it, but arm it; not demobilize it, but hold it in a state of mobilization for the fulfillment of the Second Five-Year Plan.

Hence, the first conclusion: *We must not allow ourselves to be carried away by the successes achieved, and must not get swelled heads.*

We have achieved successes because we have had the correct guiding line of the party, and because we have been able to organize the masses

for the purpose of applying this line. Needless to say, without these conditions we would not have achieved the successes we have achieved, and of which we are justly proud. But it is a very rare thing for ruling parties to have a correct line and to be able to apply it.

Look at the countries which surround us: can you find many ruling parties there that have a correct line and are applying it? In point of fact, there are no longer any such parties in the world; for they are all living without prospects; they are floundering in the chaos of the crisis, and see no road to lead them out of the swamp. Our party alone knows where to direct the cause; and it is leading it forward successfully. To what does our party owe its superiority? To the fact that it is a Marxian party, a Leninist party. It owes it to the fact that it is guided in its work by the tenets of Marx, Engels and Lenin. There cannot be any doubt that as long as we remain true to these tenets, as long as we have this compass, we will achieve successes in our work.

It is said that in some countries in the West Marxism has already been destroyed. It is said that it has been destroyed by the bourgeois-nationalist trend known as fascism. That is nonsense, of course. Only people who are ignorant of history can say such things. Marxism is the scientific expression of the fundamental interests of the working class. If Marxism is to be destroyed, the working class must be destroyed. And it is impossible to destroy the working class. More than eighty years have passed since Marxism came into the arena. During this time scores and hundreds of bourgeois governments have tried to destroy Marxism. But what has been the upshot? Bourgeois governments have come and gone, but Marxism still goes on. Moreover, Marxism has achieved complete victory on one-sixth of the globe—has achieved it in the very country in which Marxism was considered to have been utterly destroyed. It cannot be regarded as an accident that the country in which Marxism has fully triumphed is now the only country in the world which knows no crises and unemployment, whereas in all other countries, including the fascist countries, crisis and unemployment have been reigning for four years now. No, comrades, this is not an accident.

Yes, comrades, our successes are due to the fact that we have worked and fought under the banner of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

Hence the second conclusion: *We must remain true to the end to the great banner of Marx, Engels and Lenin.*

The working class of the U.S.S.R. is strong not only because it has a Leninist party that has been tried in battles; and, further, it is strong not only because it enjoys the support of the millions of laboring peasants; it

is strong also because it is supported and assisted by the world proletariat. The working class of the U.S.S.R. is part of the world proletariat, its vanguard; and our republic is the cherished child of the world proletariat. There can be no doubt that had our working class not been supported by the working class in the capitalist countries it would not have been able to retain power; it would not have secured the conditions for socialist construction, and, hence, would not have achieved the successes that it has achieved. International ties between the working class of the U.S.S.R. and the workers of the capitalist countries; the fraternal alliance between the workers of the U.S.S.R. and the workers of all countries—this is one of the cornerstones of the strength and might of the Republic of Soviets. The workers in the West say that the working class of the U.S.S.R. is the shock brigade of the world proletariat. This is very good. It shows that the world proletariat is prepared to continue rendering all the support it can to the working class of the U.S.S.R. But this imposes a very serious duty upon us. This means that we must prove by our work that we deserve the honorable title of shock brigade of the proletarians of all countries. It imposes upon us the duty of working better and fighting better for the final victory of socialism in our country, for the victory of socialism in all countries.

Hence, the third conclusion: *we must remain true to the end to the cause of proletarian internationalism, to the cause of the fraternal alliance of the proletarians of all countries.*

Such are the conclusions.

Long live the great and invincible banner of Marx, Engels, and Lenin!

IN LIEU OF A SUMMARY

Comrades, the discussion at this Congress has revealed complete unity of opinion among our party leaders on all questions of party policy. As you know, no objections whatever have been raised against the report. Hence, it has been revealed that there is extraordinary ideological-political and organizational solidarity in the ranks of our party. The question arises: Is there any need, after this, for a speech in reply to the discussion? I think there is no need for it. Permit me therefore to refrain from making a speech in reply.

ADDRESS TO THE GRADUATES OF THE RED ARMY ACADEMIES

It cannot be denied that in the last few years we have achieved great successes both in the sphere of construction and in the sphere of administration. In this connection there is too much talk about the services rendered by chiefs, by leaders. They are credited with all, or nearly all, of our achievements. That, of course, is wrong, it is incorrect. It is not merely a matter of leaders. But it is not of this I wanted to speak today. I should like to say a few words about cadres, about our cadres in general and about the cadres of our Red Army in particular.

You know that we inherited from the past a technically backward, impoverished and ruined country. Ruined by four years of imperialist war, and ruined again by three years of civil war, a country with a semi-literate population, with a low technical level, with isolated industrial islands lost in a sea of dwarf peasant farms—such was the country we inherited from the past. The task was to transfer this country from medieval darkness to modern industry and mechanized agriculture. A serious and difficult task, as you see. The question that confronted us was: *Either* we solve this problem in the shortest possible time and consolidate socialism in our country, *or* we do not solve it, in which case our country—weak technically and unenlightened in the cultural sense—will lose its independence and become a stake in the game of the imperialist powers.

At that time our country was passing through a period of an appalling dearth in technique. There were not enough machines for industry. There were no machines for agriculture. There were no machines for transport. There was not that elementary technical base without which the reorganization of a country on industrial lines is inconceivable. There were only isolated prerequisites for the creation of such a base. A first-class industry had to be built up. This industry had to be so directed as to be capable of technically reorganizing not only industry, but also agriculture and our railway transport. And to achieve this it was necessary to make sacrifices and to exercise the most rigorous economy in everything; it was necessary to economize on food, on schools, on textiles, in order to accumulate the funds required for building up industry. There was no other

way of overcoming the dearth in technique. That is what Lenin taught us, and in this matter we followed in the footsteps of Lenin.

Naturally, uniform and rapid successes could not be expected in so great and difficult a task. In a task like this successes become apparent only after several years. We therefore had to arm ourselves with strong nerves, Bolshevik grit, and stubborn patience to overcome our first failures and to march unswervingly towards the great goal, permitting no wavering or uncertainty in our ranks.

You know that that is precisely how we set about this task. But not all our comrades had the necessary spirit, patience and grit. There turned out to be people among our comrades who at the first difficulties began to call for a retreat. "Let bygones be bygones," it is said. That, of course, is true. But man is endowed with memory, and in summing up the results of our work one involuntarily recalls the past. Well, then, there were comrades among us who were frightened by the difficulties and began to call on the party to retreat. They said: "What is the good of your industrialization and collectivization, your machines, your iron and steel industry, tractors, harvester combines, automobiles? You should rather have given us more textiles, bought more raw materials for the production of consumers' goods, and given the population more of the small things that make life pleasant. The creation of an industry, and a first-class industry at that, when we are so backward, is a dangerous dream."

Of course, we could have used the three billion rubles in foreign currency, obtained as a result of a most rigorous economy, and spent on building up our industry, for importing raw materials and for increasing the output of articles of general consumption. That is also a "plan," in a way. But with such a "plan" we would not now have a metallurgical industry, or a machine-building industry, or tractors and automobiles, or aeroplanes and tanks. We would have found ourselves unarmed in face of foreign foes. We would have undermined the foundations of socialism in our country. We would have fallen captive to the bourgeoisie, home and foreign.

It is obvious that a choice had to be made between two plans: between the plan of retreat, which would have led, and was bound to lead, to the defeat of socialism, and the plan of advance, which led and, as you know, has already brought us to the victory of socialism in our country.

We chose the plan of advance, and moved forward along the Leninist road, brushing aside those comrades as people who could only see what was under their noses, but who closed their eyes to the immediate future of our country, to the future of socialism in our country.

But these comrades did not always confine themselves to criticism and passive resistance. They threatened to raise a revolt in the party against the Central Committee. More, they threatened some of us with bullets. Evidently, they reckoned on frightening us and compelling us to turn from the Leninist road. These people, apparently, forgot that we Bolsheviks are people of a special mold. They forgot that neither difficulties nor threats can frighten Bolsheviks. They forgot that we had been trained and steeled by the great Lenin, our leader, our teacher, our father, who knew and recognized no fear in the fight. They forgot that the more the enemies rage and the more hysterical the foes within the party become, the more ardent the Bolsheviks become for fresh struggles and the more vigorous they push forward.

Of course, it never even occurred to us to turn from the Leninist road. Moreover, once we stood firmly on this road, we pushed forward still more vigorously, brushing every obstacle from our path. True, in pursuing this course we were obliged to handle some of these comrades roughly. But that cannot be helped. I must confess that I too had a hand in this.

Yes, comrades, we proceeded confidently and vigorously along the road of industrializing and collectivizing our country. And now we may consider that the road has been traversed.

Everybody now admits that we have achieved tremendous successes along this road. Everybody now admits that we already have a powerful, first-class industry, a powerful mechanized agriculture, a growing and improving transport system, an organized and excellently equipped Red Army.

This means that we have in the main emerged from the period of dearth in technique.

But, having emerged from the period of dearth in technique, we have entered a new period, a period, I would say, of a dearth in people, in cadres, in workers capable of harnessing technique and advancing it. The point is that we have factories, mills, collective farms, state farms, a transport system, an army; we have technique for all this; but we lack people with sufficient experience to squeeze out of this technique all that can be squeezed out of it. Formerly, we used to say that "technique decides everything." This slogan helped us to put an end to the dearth in technique and to create a vast technical base in every branch of activity for the equipment of our people with first-class technique. That is very good. But it is not enough, it is not enough by far. In order to set technique going and to utilize it to the full, we need people who have mastered technique, we need cadres capable of mastering and utilizing this technique accord-

ing to all the rules of the art. Without people who have mastered technique, technique is dead. In the charge of people who have mastered technique, technique can and should perform miracles. If in our first-class mills and factories, in our state farms and collective farms and in our Red Army we had sufficient cadres capable of harnessing this technique, our country would secure results three times and four times as great as at present. That is why emphasis must now be laid on people, on cadres, on workers who have mastered technique. That is why the old slogan, "Technique decides everything," which is a reflection of a period already passed, a period in which we suffered from a dearth in technique, must now be replaced by a new slogan, the slogan "Cadres decide everything." That is the main thing now.

Can it be said that our people have fully grasped and realized the great significance of this new slogan? I would not say that. Otherwise, there would not have been the outrageous attitude towards people, towards cadres, towards workers, which we not infrequently observe in practice. The slogan "Cadres decide everything" demands that our leaders should display the most solicitous attitude towards our workers, "little" and "big," no matter in what sphere they are engaged, cultivating them assiduously, assisting them when they need support, encouraging them when they show their first successes, promoting them, and so forth. Yet in practice we meet in a number of cases with a soulless, bureaucratic, and positively outrageous attitude towards workers. This, indeed, explains why instead of being studied, and placed at their posts only after being studied, people are frequently flung about like pawns. People have learned to value machinery and to make reports on how many machines we have in our mills and factories. But I do not know of a single instance when a report was made with equal zest on the number of people we have trained in a given period, on how we have assisted people to grow and become tempered in their work. How is this to be explained? It is to be explained by the fact that we have not yet learned to value people, to value workers, to value cadres.

I recall an incident in Siberia, where I lived at one time in exile. It was in the spring, at the time of the spring floods. About thirty men went to the river to pull out timber which had been carried away by the vast, swollen river. Towards evening they returned to the village, but with one comrade missing. When asked where the thirtieth man was, they replied indifferently that the thirtieth man had "remained there." To my question, "How do you mean, remained there?" they replied with the same indifference, "Why ask—drowned, of course." And thereupon one of them

began to hurry away, saying, "I've got to go and water the mare." When I reproached them with having more concern for animals than for men, one of them said, amid the general approval of the rest: "Why should we be concerned about men? We can always make men. But a mare... just try and make a mare." Here you have a case, not very significant perhaps, but very characteristic. It seems to me that the indifference of certain of our leaders to people, to cadres, their inability to value people, is a survival of that strange attitude of man to man displayed in the episode in far-off Siberia that I have just related.

And so, comrades, if we want successfully to get over the dearth in people and to provide our country with sufficient cadres capable of advancing technique and setting it going, we must first of all learn to value people, to value cadres, to value every worker capable of benefiting our common cause. It is time to realize that of all the valuable capital the world possesses, the most valuable and most decisive is people, cadres. It must be realized that, under our present conditions, "cadres decide everything." If we have good and numerous cadres in industry, agriculture, transport, and the army, our country will be invincible. If we do not have such cadres, we shall be lame on both legs.

In concluding my speech, permit me to offer a toast to the health and success of our graduates of the Red Army Academies. I wish them success in the work of organizing and directing the defense of our country.

Comrades, you have graduated from institutions of higher learning, in which you received your first tempering. But school is only a preparatory stage. Cadres receive their real tempering in practical work, outside school, in fighting difficulties, in overcoming difficulties. Remember, comrades, that only those cadres are any good who do not fear difficulties, who do not hide from difficulties, but who, on the contrary, go out to meet difficulties, in order to overcome them and eliminate them. It is only in the fight against difficulties that real cadres are forged. And if our army possesses genuinely steeled cadres in sufficient numbers, it will be invincible.

Your health, comrades!

SPEECH AT THE FIRST ALL-UNION CONFERENCE OF STAKHANOVITES

So much has been said at this conference about the Stakhanovites, and it has been said so well, that there is really very little left for me to say. But since I have been called upon to speak, I will have to say a few words.

The Stakhanov movement cannot be regarded as an ordinary movement of working men and women. The Stakhanov movement is a movement of working men and women which will go down in the history of our socialist construction as one of its most glorious pages.

The Significance of the Stakhanov Movement

Wherein lies the significance of the Stakhanov movement?

Primarily, in the fact that it is the expression of a new wave of socialist emulation, a new and higher stage of socialist emulation. Why new, and why higher? Because the Stakhanov movement, as an expression of socialist emulation, contrasts favorably with the old stage of socialist emulation. In the past, some three years ago, in the period of the first stage of socialist emulation, socialist emulation was not necessarily associated with modern technique. At that time, in fact, we had hardly any modern technique. The present stage of socialist emulation, the Stakhanov movement, on the other hand, is necessarily associated with modern technique. The Stakhanov movement would be inconceivable without a new and higher technique. We have before us people like Comrades Stakhanov, Busygin, Smetanin, Krivonoss, Pronin, the Vinogradovas, and many others, new people, working men and women, who have completely mastered the technique of their jobs, have harnessed it and driven ahead. There were no such people, or hardly any such people, some three years ago. These are new people, people of a special type.

Further, the Stakhanov movement is a movement of working men and women which sets itself the aim of surpassing the present technical standards, surpassing the existing designed capacities, surpassing the existing production plans and estimates; surpassing them—because these standards

have already become antiquated for our day, for our new people. This movement is breaking down the old views on technique, it is shattering the old technical standards, the old designed capacities, and the old production plans, and demands the creation of new and higher technical standards, designed capacities, and production plans. It is destined to produce a revolution in our industry. That is why the Stakhanov movement is at bottom a profoundly revolutionary movement.

It has already been said here that the Stakhanov movement, as an expression of new and higher technical standards, is a model of that high productivity of labor which only socialism can give, and which capitalism cannot give. That is absolutely true. Why was it that capitalism smashed and defeated feudalism? Because it created higher standards of productivity of labor, it enabled society to procure an incomparably greater quantity of products than could be procured under the feudal system; because it made society richer. Why is it that socialism can, should, and certainly will defeat the capitalist system of economy? Because it can furnish higher models of labor, a higher productivity of labor, than the capitalist system of economy; because it can provide society with more products and can make society richer than the capitalist system of economy can.

Some people think that socialism can be consolidated by a certain equalization of people's material conditions, based on a poor man's standard of living. That is not true. That is a petty-bourgeois conception of socialism. In point of fact, socialism can succeed only on the basis of a high productivity of labor, higher than under capitalism, on the basis of an abundance of products and of articles of consumption of all kinds, on the basis of a prosperous and cultured life for all members of society. But if socialism is to achieve this aim and make our Soviet society the most prosperous of all societies, our country must have a productivity of labor which surpasses that of the foremost capitalist countries. Without this we cannot even think of securing an abundance of products and of articles of consumption of all kinds. The significance of the Stakhanov movement lies in the fact that it is a movement which is smashing the old technical standards, because they are inadequate, a movement which in a number of cases is surpassing the productivity of labor of the foremost capitalist countries, and is thus creating the practical possibility of further consolidating socialism in our country, the possibility of converting our country into the most prosperous of all countries.

But the significance of the Stakhanov movement does not end there. Its significance lies also in the fact that it is preparing the conditions for the transition from socialism to communism.

The principle of socialism is that in a socialist society each works according to his ability and receives articles of consumption, not according to his needs, but according to the work he performs for society. This means that the cultural and technical level of the working class is as yet not a high one, that the distinction between mental and manual labor still exists, that the productivity of labor is still not high enough to insure an abundance of articles of consumption, and, as a result, society is obliged to distribute articles of consumption not in accordance with the needs of its members, but in accordance with the work they perform for society.

Communism represents a higher stage of development. The principle of communism is that in a communist society each works according to his abilities and receives articles of consumption, not according to the work he performs, but according to his needs as a culturally developed individual. This means that the cultural and technical level of the working class has become high enough to undermine the basis of the distinction between mental labor and manual labor, that the distinction between mental labor and manual labor has already disappeared, and that productivity of labor has reached such a high level that it can provide an absolute abundance of articles of consumption, and as a result society is able to distribute these articles in accordance with the needs of its members.

Some people think that the elimination of the distinction between mental labor and manual labor can be achieved by means of a certain cultural and technical equalization of mental and manual workers by lowering the cultural and technical level of engineers and technicians, of mental workers, to the level of average skilled workers. That is absolutely incorrect. Only petty-bourgeois windbags can conceive communism in this way. In reality the elimination of the distinction between mental labor and manual labor can be brought about only by raising the cultural and technical level of the working class to the level of engineers and technical workers. It would be absurd to think that this is unfeasible. It is entirely feasible under the Soviet system, where the productive forces of the country have been freed from the fetters of capitalism, where labor has been freed from the yoke of exploitation, where the working class is in power, and where the younger generation of the working class has every opportunity of obtaining an adequate technical education. Only such a rise in the cultural and technical level of the working class can undermine the basis of the distinction between mental labor and manual labor, only this can insure the high level of productivity of labor

and the abundance of articles of consumption which are necessary in order to begin the transition from socialism to communism.

In this connection, the Stakhanov movement is significant for the fact that it contains the first beginnings—still feeble, it is true, but nevertheless the beginnings—of precisely such a rise in the cultural and technical level of the working class of our country.

And, indeed, look at our comrades, the Stakhanovites, more closely. What type of people are they? They are mostly young or middle-aged working men and women, people with cultural and technical knowledge, who show examples of precision and accuracy in work, who are able to appreciate the time factor in work and who have learned to count not only the minutes, but also the seconds. The majority of them have taken the technical minimum courses and are continuing their technical education. They are free of the conservatism and stagnation of certain engineers, technicians and business executives; they are marching boldly forward, smashing the antiquated technical standards and creating new and higher standards; they are introducing amendments into the designed capacities and economic plans drawn up by the leaders of our industry; they often supplement and correct what the engineers and technicians have to say, they often teach the latter and impel them forward, for they are people who have completely mastered the technique of their job and who are able to squeeze out of technique the maximum that can be squeezed out of it. Today the Stakhanovites are still few in number, but who can doubt that tomorrow there will be ten times more of them? Is it not clear that the Stakhanovites are innovators in our industry, that the Stakhanov movement represents the future of our industry, that it contains the seed of the future rise in the cultural and technical level of the working class, that it opens to us the path by which alone can be achieved those high indices of productivity of labor which are essential for the transition from socialism to communism and for the elimination of the distinction between mental labor and manual labor.

Such, comrades, is the significance of the Stakhanov movement for our socialist construction.

Did Stakhanov and Busygin think of this great significance of the Stakhanov movement when they began to smash the old technical standards? Of course not. They had their own worries—they were trying to get their enterprises out of difficulties and to overfulfill the economic plan. But in seeking to achieve this aim they had to smash the old technical standards and to develop a high productivity of labor, surpassing that of the foremost capitalist countries. It would be ridiculous, however, to think that

this circumstance can in any way detract from the great historical significance of the movement of the Stakhanovites.

The same may be said of those workers who first organized the Soviets of Workers' Deputies in our country in 1905. They never thought, of course, that the Soviets of Workers' Deputies would become the foundation of the socialist system. They were only defending themselves against tsarism, against the bourgeoisie, when they created the Soviets of Workers' Deputies. But this circumstance in no way contradicts the unquestionable fact that the movement for the Soviets of Workers' Deputies begun in 1905 by the workers of Leningrad and Moscow led in the end to the rout of capitalism and the victory of socialism on one-sixth of the globe.

The Roots of the Stakhanov Movement

We now stand at the cradle of the Stakhanov movement, at its source.

Certain characteristic features of the Stakhanov movement should be noted.

What first of all strikes the eye is the fact that this movement began somehow of itself, almost spontaneously, from below, without any pressure whatsoever from the administrators of our enterprises. More than that—this movement in a way arose and began to develop in spite of the administrators of our enterprises, even in opposition to them. Comrade Molotov has already told you what troubles Comrade Mussinsky, the Archangelsk saw-mill worker, had to go through when he worked out new and higher technical standards, secretly from the administration and from the inspectors. The lot of Stakhanov himself was no better, for in his progress he had to defend himself not only against certain officials of the administration, but also against certain workers, who jeered and hounded him because of his "new-fangled ideas." As to Busygin, we know that he almost paid for his "new-fangled ideas" by losing his job at the factory, and it was only the intervention of the shop superintendent, Comrade Sokolinsky, that helped him to remain at the factory.

So you see, if there was any kind of action at all on the part of the administrators of our enterprises, it was not to help the Stakhanov movement but to hinder it. Consequently, the Stakhanov movement arose and developed as a movement coming from below. And just because it arose of itself, just because it comes from below, it is the most vital and irresistible movement of the present day.

Mention should further be made of another characteristic feature of the Stakhanov movement. This characteristic feature is that the Stakhanov

movement spread over the whole of our Soviet Union not gradually, but at an unparalleled speed, like a hurricane. How did it begin? Stakhanov raised the technical standard of output of coal five or six times, if not more. Busygin and Smetanin did the same—one in the sphere of machine-building and the other in the shoe industry. The newspapers reported these facts. And suddenly, the flames of the Stakhanov movement enveloped the whole country. What was the reason? How is it that the Stakhanov movement has spread so rapidly? Is it perhaps because Stakhanov and Busygin are great organizers, with wide contacts in the regions and districts of the U.S.S.R., and they organized this movement themselves? No, of course not! Is it perhaps because Stakhanov and Busygin have ambitions of becoming great figures in our country, and they themselves carried the sparks of the Stakhanov movement all over the country? That is also not true. You have seen Stakhanov and Busygin here. They spoke at this conference. They are simple, modest people, without the slightest ambition to acquire the laurels of national figures. It even seems to me that they are somewhat embarrassed by the scope the movement has acquired, beyond all their expectations. And if, in spite of this, the match thrown by Stakhanov and Busygin was sufficient to start a conflagration, that means that the Stakhanov movement is absolutely ripe. Only a movement that is absolutely ripe, and is awaiting just a jolt in order to burst free—only such a movement can spread with such rapidity and grow like a rolling snow-ball.

How is it to be explained that the Stakhanov movement proved to be absolutely ripe? What are the causes for its rapid spread? What are the roots of the Stakhanov movement?

There are at least four such causes.

1. The basis for the Stakhanov movement was first and foremost the radical improvement in the material welfare of the workers. Life has improved, comrades. Life has become more joyous. And when life is joyous, work goes well. Hence the high rates of output. Hence the heroes and heroines of labor. That, primarily, is the root of the Stakhanov movement. If there had been a crisis in our country, if there had been unemployment—that scourge of the working class—if people in our country lived badly, drably, joylessly, we should have had nothing like the Stakhanov movement. Our proletarian revolution is the only revolution in the world which had the opportunity of showing the people not only political results but also material results. Of all workers' revolutions, we know only one which managed to achieve power. That was the Paris Commune. But it did not last long. True, it endeavored to smash the fetters of

capitalism; but it did not have time enough to smash them, and still less to show the people the beneficial material results of revolution. Our revolution is the only one which not only smashed the fetters of capitalism and brought the people freedom, but also succeeded in creating the material conditions of a prosperous life for the people. Therein lies the strength and invincibility of our revolution. It is a good thing, of course, to drive out the capitalists, to drive out the landlords, to drive out the tsarist henchmen, to seize power and achieve freedom. That is very good. But, unfortunately, freedom alone is not enough, by far. If there is a shortage of bread, a shortage of butter and fats, a shortage of textiles, and if housing conditions are bad, freedom will not carry you very far. It is very difficult, comrades, to live on freedom alone. In order to live well and joyously, the benefits of political freedom must be supplemented by material benefits. It is a distinctive feature of our revolution that it brought the people not only freedom, but also material benefits and the possibility of a prosperous and cultured life. That is why life has become joyous in our country, and that is the soil from which the Stakhanov movement sprang.

2. The second source of the Stakhanov movement is the fact that there is no exploitation in our country. People in our country do not work for exploiters, for the enrichment of parasites, but for themselves, for their own class, for their own Soviet society, where power is wielded by the best members of the working class. That is why labor in our country has social significance, and is a matter of honor and glory. Under capitalism, labor bears a private and personal character. You have produced more—well, then, receive more, and live as best you can. Nobody knows you, or wants to know you. You work for the capitalists, you enrich them? Well, what do you expect? That is why they hired you, so that you should enrich the exploiters. If you do not agree with that, join the ranks of the unemployed and get along as best you can—"we shall find others who are more tractable." That is why people's labor is not valued very highly under capitalism. Under such conditions, of course, there can be no room for a Stakhanov movement. But things are different under the Soviet system. Here the working man is held in esteem. Here he works not for the exploiters, but for himself, for his class, for society. Here the working man cannot feel neglected and alone. On the contrary, the man who works feels himself a free citizen of his country, a public figure, in a way. And if he works well and gives society his best—he is a hero of labor, and is covered with glory. Obviously, the Stakhanov movement could have arisen only under such conditions.

3. We must regard as the third source of the Stakhanov movement the fact that we have a modern technique. The Stakhanov movement is organically bound up with the modern technique. Without the modern technique, without the modern mills and factories, without the modern machinery, the Stakhanov movement could not have arisen. Without modern technique, technical standards might have been doubled or trebled, but not more. And if the Stakhanovites have raised technical standards five and six times, that means that they rely entirely on the modern technique. It thus follows that the industrialization of our country, the reconstruction of our mills and factories, the introduction of modern technique and modern machinery, was one of the causes that gave rise to the Stakhanov movement.

4. But modern technique alone will not carry you very far. You may have first-class technique, first-class mills and factories, but if you have not the people capable of harnessing that technique, you will find that your technique is just bare technique. For modern technique to produce results, people are required, cadres of working men and women capable of taking charge of the technique and advancing it. The birth and growth of the Stakhanov movement means that such cadres have already appeared among the working men and women of our country. Some two years ago the party declared that in building new mills and factories and supplying our enterprises with modern machinery, we had performed only half of the job. The party then declared that enthusiasm for the construction of new factories must be supplemented by enthusiasm for mastering these factories, that only in this way could the job be completed. It is obvious that the mastering of this new technique and the growth of new cadres have been proceeding during these two years. It is now clear that we already have such cadres. It is obvious that without such cadres, without these new people, we would never have had a Stakhanov movement. Hence the new people, working men and women, who have mastered the new technique constitute the force that has shaped and advanced the Stakhanov movement.

Such are the conditions that gave rise to and advanced the Stakhanov movement.

New People—New Technical Standards

I have said that the Stakhanov movement developed not gradually, but like an explosion, as if it had broken through some sort of dam. It is obvious that it had to overcome certain barriers. Somebody was hindering

it, somebody was holding it back; and then, having gathered strength, the Stakhanov movement broke through these barriers and swept over the country.

What was wrong? Who exactly was hindering it?

It was the old technical standards, and the people behind these standards, that were hindering it. Several years ago our engineers, technical workers, and business managers drew up certain technical standards, adapted to the technical backwardness of our working men and women. Several years have elapsed since then. During this period people have grown and acquired technical knowledge. But the technical standards have remained unchanged. Of course, these standards have now proved out of date for our new people. Everybody now abuses the existing technical standards. But, after all, they did not fall from the skies. And the point is not that these technical standards were set too low at the time when they were drawn up. The point is primarily that now, when these standards have already become antiquated, attempts are made to defend them as modern standards. People cling to the technical backwardness of our working men and women, guiding themselves by this backwardness, basing themselves on this backwardness, and this finally reaches a pitch when people begin to pretend backwardness. But what is to be done if this backwardness is becoming a thing of the past? Are we really going to worship our backwardness and turn it into an icon, a fetish? What is to be done if the working men and women have already managed to grow and to gain technical knowledge? What is to be done if the old technical standards no longer correspond to reality, and our working men and women have already managed in practice to exceed them five or ten-fold? Have we ever taken an oath of loyalty to our backwardness? It seems to me we have not, have we, comrades? Did we ever assume that our working men and women would remain backward forever? We never did, did we? Then what is the trouble? Will we really lack the courage to smash the conservatism of certain of our engineers and technicians, to smash the old traditions and standards and allow free scope to the new forces of the working class?

People talk about science. They say that the data of science, the data contained in technical handbooks and instructions, contradict the demands of the Stakhanovites for new and higher technical standards. But what kind of science are they talking about? The data of science have always been tested by practice, by experience. Science which has severed contact with practice, with experience—what sort of science is that? If science were the thing it is represented to be by certain of our conservative com-

rades, it would have perished for humanity long ago. Science is called science just because it does not recognize fetishes, just because it does not fear to raise its hand against the obsolete and antiquated, and because it lends an attentive ear to the voice of experience, of practice. If it were otherwise, we would have no science at all; we would have no astronomy, say, and would still have to get along with the outworn system of Ptolemy; we would have no biology, and would still be comforting ourselves with the legend of the creation of man; we would have no chemistry, and would still have to get along with the auguries of the alchemists.

That is why I think that our engineers, technical workers, and business managers, who have already managed to fall a fairly long distance behind the Stakhanov movement, would do well if they ceased to cling to the old technical standards and readjusted their work in a real scientific manner to the new way, the Stakhanov way.

Very well, we shall be told, but what about technical standards in general? Does industry need them, or can we get along without any standards at all?

Some say that we no longer need any technical standards. That is not true, comrades. More, it is stupid. Without technical standards, planned economy is impossible. Technical standards are, moreover, necessary in order to help the masses who have fallen behind to catch up with the more advanced. Technical standards are a great regulating force which organizes the masses of the workers in the factories around the advanced elements of the working class. We therefore need technical standards; not those, however, that now exist, but higher ones.

Others say that we need technical standards, but that they must immediately be raised to the level of the achievements of people like Stakhanov, Busygin, the Vinogradovas, and the others. That is also not true. Such standards would be unreal at the present time, since working men and women with less technical knowledge than Stakhanov and Busygin could not fulfill these standards. We need technical standards somewhere between the present technical standards and those achieved by people like Stakhanov and Busygin. Take, for example, Maria Demchenko, the well-known "five-hunderer" in sugar beet. She achieved a harvest of over 500 centners of sugar beet per hectare. Can this achievement be made the standard yield for the whole of sugar beet production, say, in the Ukraine? No, it cannot. It is too early to speak of that. Maria Demchenko secured over 500 centners from one hectare, whereas the average sugar beet harvest this year in the Ukraine, for instance, is 130

or 132 centners per hectare. The difference, as you see, is not a small one. Can we set the standard of sugar beet yield at 400 or 300 centners? Every expert in this field says that this cannot be done yet. Evidently, the standard yield per hectare for the Ukraine in 1936 must be set at 200 or 250 centners. And this is not a low standard, for if it were fulfilled it might give us twice as much sugar as we got in 1935. The same must be said of industry. Stakhanov exceeded the existing standard of output ten times or even more, I believe. To declare this achievement the new technical standard for all pneumatic drill operators would be unwise. Obviously, a standard must be set somewhere between the existing technical standard and that achieved by Comrade Stakhanov.

One thing, at any rate, is clear: the present technical standards no longer correspond to reality; they have fallen behind and have become a brake on our industry; and in order that there shall be no brake on our industry, they must be replaced by new, higher technical standards. New peoples, new times—new technical standards.

Immediate Tasks

What are our immediate tasks from the standpoint of the interests of the Stakhanov movement?

In order not to be diffuse, let us reduce the matter to two immediate tasks.

First. The task is to help the Stakhanovites further to develop the Stakhanov movement and to spread it in all directions throughout all the regions and districts of the U.S.S.R. That, on the one hand. And on the other hand, the task is to curb all those elements among the business managers, engineers, and technical workers who obstinately cling to the old, do not want to advance and systematically hinder the development of the Stakhanov movement. The Stakhanovites alone, of course, cannot spread the Stakhanov movement in its full scope over the whole face of our country. Our party organizations must take a hand in this matter and help the Stakhanovites to consummate the movement. In this respect the Donetz regional organization has undoubtedly displayed great initiative. Good work is being done in this direction by the Moscow and Leningrad regional organizations. But what about the other regions? They, apparently, are still "getting started." For instance, we somehow hear nothing, or very little, from the Urals, although, as you know, the Urals is a vast industrial center. The same must be said of Western Siberia and the Kuzbas, where, to all appearances, they have not yet managed to

“get started.” However, we need have no doubt that our party organizations will take a hand in this matter and help the Stakhanovites to overcome their difficulties. As to the other aspect of the matter—the curbing of the obstinate conservatives among the business managers, engineers and technical workers—things will be a little more complicated. We shall have, in the first place, to persuade these conservative elements in industry, persuade them in a patient and comradely manner, of the progressive nature of the Stakhanov movement and of the necessity of readjusting themselves to the Stakhanov way. And if persuasion does not help, more vigorous measures will have to be adopted. Take, for instance, the People’s Commissariat of Railways. In the central apparatus of that Commissariat there was until recently a group of professors, engineers, and other experts—among them Communists—who assured everybody that a commercial speed of 13 or 14 kilometers per hour was a limit that could not be exceeded without contradicting “the science of railway operation.” This was a fairly authoritative group, who preached their views in verbal and printed form, issued instructions to the various departments of the People’s Commissariat of Railways, and in general were the “dictators of opinion” in the traffic departments. We, who are not experts in this sphere, basing ourselves on the suggestions of a number of practical workers on the railways, on our part assured these authoritative professors that 13 or 14 kilometers could not be the limit, and that if matters were organized in a certain way this limit could be extended. In reply, this group, instead of heeding the voice of experience and practice and revising their attitude to the matter, launched into a fight against the progressive elements on the railways and still further intensified the propaganda of their conservative views. Of course, we had to give these esteemed individuals a light tap on the jaw and very politely remove them from the central apparatus of the People’s Commissariat of Railways. And what is the result? We now have a commercial speed of 18 and 19 kilometers per hour. It seems to me, comrades, that at the worst we shall have to resort to this method in other branches of our national economy as well—that is, of course, if the stubborn conservatives do not cease interfering with the Stakhanov movement.

Second. In the case of those business executives, engineers and technicians who do not want to hinder the Stakhanov movement, who sympathize with this movement, but have not yet been able to readjust themselves and assume the lead of this movement, the task is to help them readjust themselves to take the lead of the Stakhanov movement. I must say, comrades, that we have quite a few such business executives,

engineers and technicians. And if we help these comrades, there will undoubtedly be still more of them.

I think that if we fulfill these tasks, the Stakhanov movement will develop to its full scope, will embrace every region and district of our country, and will show us miracles of new achievements.

A Few More Words

A few words regarding the present conference, regarding its significance. Lenin taught us that only such leaders can be real Bolsheviki leaders who know not only how to teach the workers and peasants but also how to learn from them. Certain Bolsheviki were not pleased with these words of Lenin's. But history has shown that Lenin was one hundred per cent right in this field also. And, indeed, millions of working people, workers and peasants, labor, live and struggle. Who can doubt that these people do not live in vain, that, living and struggling, these people accumulate vast practical experience? Can it be doubted that leaders who scorn this experience cannot be regarded as real leaders? Hence, we leaders of the party and the government must not only teach the workers, but also learn from them. I shall not undertake to deny that you, the members of the present conference, have learned something here at this conference from the leaders of our government. But neither can it be denied that we, the leaders of the government, have learned a great deal from you, the Stakhanovites, the members of this conference. Well, comrades, thanks for the lesson, many thanks!

Finally, a few words about how it would be fitting to mark this conference. We here in the presidium have conferred and have decided that this conference between the leaders of the government and the leaders of the Stakhanov movement must be marked in some way. Well, we have come to the decision that a hundred or a hundred and twenty of you will have to be recommended for the highest distinction.

Voices: Quite right.

If you approve, comrades, that is what we shall do.

ON THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.S.R.

I. FORMATION OF THE CONSTITUTION COMMISSION AND ITS TASKS

The Constitution Commission, whose draft has been submitted for consideration to the present Congress, was formed, as you know, by special decision of the Seventh Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. This decision was adopted on February 6, 1935. It reads:

1. To amend the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the direction of:

(a) Further democratizing the electoral system by replacing not entirely equal suffrage by equal suffrage, indirect elections by direct elections, and the open ballot by the secret ballot;

(b) Giving more precise definition to the social and economic basis of the Constitution by bringing the Constitution into conformity with the present relation of class forces in the U.S.S.R. (the creation of a new, socialist industry, the demolition of the kulak class, the victory of the collective farm system, the consolidation of socialist property as the basis of Soviet society, and so on).

2. To enjoin the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to elect a Constitution Commission which shall be instructed to draw up an amended text of the Constitution in accordance with the principles indicated in Clause I and to submit it for approval to a Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

3. To conduct the next ordinary elections of the organs of the Soviet government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the basis of the new electoral system.

This was on February 6, 1935. The day after this decision was adopted, *i.e.*, February 7, 1935, the First Session of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. met and, in pursuance of the decision of the Seventh Congress of the Soviets of the U.S.S.R., set up a Constitution Commission consisting of thirty-one persons. It instructed the Constitution Commission to prepare a draft of an amended Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

Such were the formal grounds and instructions of the supreme body of the U.S.S.R. on the basis of which the work of the Constitution Commission was to proceed.

Thus, the Constitution Commission was to introduce changes in the Constitution now in force, which was adopted in 1924, taking into account the changes in the direction of socialism which have been brought about in the life of the U.S.S.R. in the period from 1924 to the present day.

II. CHANGES IN THE LIFE OF THE U.S.S.R. IN THE PERIOD FROM 1924 TO 1936

What are the changes in the life of the U.S.S.R. that have been brought about in the period from 1924 to 1936 and which the Constitution Commission was to reflect in its Draft Constitution?

What is the essence of these changes?

What was the situation in 1924?

That was the first period of the New Economic Policy, when the Soviet government permitted a certain revival of capitalism while taking all measures to develop socialism; when it calculated on securing, in the course of competition between the two systems of economy—the capitalist system and the socialist system—the preponderance of the socialist system over the capitalist system. The task was to consolidate the position of socialism in the course of this competition, to achieve the elimination of the capitalist elements, and to consummate the victory of the socialist system as the fundamental system of the national economy.

Our industry, particularly heavy industry, presented an unenviable picture at that time. True, it was being gradually restored, but it had not yet raised its output to anywhere near the pre-war level. It was based on the old, backward, and insufficient technique. Of course, it was developing in the direction of socialism. The socialist sector of our industry at that time accounted for about 80 per cent of the whole. But the capitalist sector still controlled no less than 20 per cent of industry.

Our agriculture presented a still more unsightly picture. True, the landlord class had already been eliminated, but, on the other hand, the agricultural capitalist class, the kulak class, still represented a fairly considerable force. On the whole, agriculture at that time resembled a boundless ocean of small individual peasant farms with backward, medieval technical equipment. In this ocean there existed, in the form of isolated small dots and islets, collective farms and state farms which, strictly speaking, were not yet of any considerable significance in our national economy.

The collective farms and state farms were weak, while the kulak was still strong. At that time we spoke not of eliminating the kulaks, but of restricting them.

The same must be said about our country's trade. The socialist sector in trade represented some 50 or 60 per cent, not more, while all the rest of the field was occupied by merchants, profiteers, and other private traders.

Such was the picture of economic life in our country in 1924.

What is the situation now, in 1936?

At that time we were in the first period of the New Economic Policy, the beginning of N.E.P., the period of a certain revival of capitalism; now, however, we are in the last period of N.E.P., the end of N.E.P., the period of the complete liquidation of capitalism in all spheres of the national economy.

Take the fact, to begin with, that during this period our industry has grown into a gigantic force. Now it can no longer be described as weak and technically ill-equipped. On the contrary, it is now based on new rich, modern technical equipment, with a powerfully developed heavy industry and an even more developed machine-building industry. But the most important thing is that capitalism has been banished entirely from the sphere of our industry, while the socialist form of production now holds undivided sway in the sphere of our industry. The fact that in volume of output our present socialist industry exceeds pre-war industry more than sevenfold cannot be regarded as a minor detail.

In the sphere of agriculture, instead of the ocean of small individual peasant farms, with their poor technical equipment, and a strong kulak influence, we now have mechanized production, conducted on a scale larger than anywhere else in the world, with up-to-date technical equipment, in the form of an all-embracing system of collective farms and state farms. Everybody knows that the kulak class in agriculture has been eliminated, while the sector of small individual peasant farms, with its backward, medieval technical equipment, now occupies an insignificant place; its share in agriculture as regards crop area does not amount to more than two or three per cent. We must not overlook the fact that the collective farms now have at their disposal 316,000 tractors with a total of 5,700,000 horse power, and, together with the state farms, over 400,000 tractors, with a total of 7,580,000 horse power.

As for the country's trade, the merchants and profiteers have been banished entirely from this sphere. All trade is now in the hands of the state, the co-operative societies, and the collective farms. A new, Soviet trade—

trade without profiteers, trade without capitalists—has arisen and developed.

Thus the complete victory of the socialist system in all spheres of the national economy is now a fact.

And what does this mean?

It means that the exploitation of man by man has been abolished, eliminated, while the socialist ownership of the implements and means of production has been established as the unshakable foundation of our Soviet society.

As a result of all these changes in the sphere of the national economy of the U.S.S.R., we now have a new, socialist economy, which knows neither crises nor unemployment, which knows neither poverty nor ruin, and which provides our citizens with every opportunity to lead a prosperous and cultured life.

Such, in the main, are the changes which have taken place in the sphere of our *economy* during the period from 1924 to 1936.

In conformity with these changes in the economic life of the U.S.S.R., the *class structure* of our society has also changed.

The landlord class, as you know, had already been eliminated as a result of the victorious conclusion of the civil war. As for the other exploiting classes, they have shared the fate of the landlord class. The capitalist class in the sphere of industry has ceased to exist. The kulak class in the sphere of agriculture has ceased to exist. And the merchants and profiteers in the sphere of trade have ceased to exist. Thus all the exploiting classes have now been eliminated.

There remains the working class.

There remains the peasant class.

There remains the intelligentsia.

But it would be a mistake to think that these social groups have undergone no change during this period, that they have remained the same as they were, say, in the period of capitalism.

Take, for example, the working class of the U.S.S.R. By force of habit, it is often called the proletariat. But what is the proletariat? The proletariat is a class bereft of the instruments and means of production, under an economic system in which the instruments and means of production belong to the capitalists and in which the capitalist class exploits the proletariat. The proletariat is a class exploited by the capitalists. But in our country, as you know, the capitalist class has already been eliminated, and the instruments and means of production have been taken from the capitalists and transferred to the state, of which the leading force is the

working class. Consequently, there is no longer a capitalist class which could exploit the working class. Consequently, our working class, far from being bereft of the instruments and means of production, on the contrary, possesses them jointly with the whole people. And since it possesses them, and the capitalist class has been eliminated, all possibility of the working class being exploited is precluded. This being the case, can our working class be called the proletariat? Clearly, it cannot. Marx said that if the proletariat is to emancipate itself, it must crush the capitalist class, take the instruments and means of production from the capitalists, and abolish those conditions of production which give rise to the proletariat. Can it be said that the working class of the U.S.S.R. has already brought about these conditions for its emancipation? Unquestionably, this can and must be said. And what does this mean? This means that the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. has been transformed into an entirely new class, into the working class of the U.S.S.R., which has abolished the capitalist economic system, which has established the socialist ownership of the instruments and means of production and is directing Soviet society along the road to communism.

As you see, the working class of the U.S.S.R. is an entirely new working class, a working class emancipated from exploitation, the like of which the history of mankind has never known before.

Let us pass on to the question of the peasantry. It is customary to say that the peasantry is a class of small producers, with its members atomized, scattered over the face of the land, delving away in isolation on their small farms with their backward technical equipment; that they are slaves to private property and are exploited with impunity by landlords, kulaks, merchants, profiteers, usurers, and the like. And, indeed, in capitalist countries the peasantry, if we take it in the mass, is precisely such a class. Can it be said that our present-day peasantry, the Soviet peasantry, taken in the mass, resembles that kind of peasantry? No, that cannot be said. There is no longer such a peasantry in our country. Our Soviet peasantry is an entirely new peasantry. In our country there are no longer any landlords and kulaks, merchants and usurers who could exploit the peasants. Consequently, our peasantry is a peasantry emancipated from exploitation. Further. Our Soviet peasantry, its overwhelming majority, is a collective farm peasantry, *i.e.*, it bases its work and wealth not on individual labor and on backward technical equipment, but on collective labor and up-to-date technical equipment. Finally, the economy of our peasantry is based, not on private property, but on collective property, which has grown up on the basis of collective labor.

As you see, the Soviet peasantry is an entirely new peasantry, the like of which the history of mankind has never known before.

Lastly, let us pass on to the question of the intelligentsia, to the question of engineers and technicians, of workers on the cultural front, of employees in general, and so on. The intelligentsia, too, has undergone great changes during this period. It is no longer the old hidebound intelligentsia which tried to place itself above classes, but which actually, for the most part, served the landlords and the capitalists. Our Soviet intelligentsia is an entirely new intelligentsia, bound up by its very roots with the working class and the peasantry. In the first place, the composition of the intelligentsia has changed. People who come from the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie constitute but a small percentage of our Soviet intelligentsia; 80 to 90 per cent of the Soviet intelligentsia are people who have come from the working class, from the peasantry, or from other strata of the working population. Finally, the very nature of the activities of the intelligentsia has changed. Formerly it had to serve the wealthy classes, for it had no alternative. Today it must serve the people, for there are no longer any exploiting classes. And that is precisely why it is now an equal member of Soviet society, in which, side by side with the workers and peasants, pulling together with them, it is engaged in building the new, classless, socialist society.

As you see, this is an entirely new, working intelligentsia, the like of which you will not find in any other country on earth.

Such are the changes which have taken place during this period as regards the class structure of Soviet society.

What do these changes signify?

First, they signify that the dividing lines between the working class and the peasantry, and between these classes and the intelligentsia, are being obliterated, and that the old class exclusiveness is disappearing. This means that the distance between these social groups is steadily diminishing.

Secondly, they signify that the economic contradictions between these social groups are declining, are becoming obliterated.

And, lastly, they signify that the political contradictions between them are also declining and becoming obliterated.

Such is the position in regard to the changes in the *class structure* of the U.S.S.R.

The picture of the changes in the social life of the U.S.S.R. would be incomplete if a few words were not said about the changes in yet another sphere. I have in mind the sphere of *national* relationships in the U.S.S.R.

As you know, within the Soviet Union there are about sixty nations, national groups and nationalities. The Soviet state is a multi-national state. Clearly, the question of the relations among the peoples of the U.S.S.R. cannot but be one of prime importance for us.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as you know, was formed in 1922, at the First Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. It was formed on the principles of equality and voluntary affiliation of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. The Constitution now in force, adopted in 1924, was the first Constitution of the U.S.S.R. That was the period when relations among the peoples had not yet been properly adjusted, when survivals of distrust towards the Great Russians had not yet disappeared, and when centrifugal forces still continued to operate. Under those conditions it was necessary to establish fraternal cooperation among the peoples on the basis of economic, political, and military mutual aid by uniting them in a single, federated, multi-national state. The Soviet government could not but see the difficulties of this task. It had before it the unsuccessful experiments of multi-national states in bourgeois countries. It had before it the experiment of old Austria-Hungary, which ended in failure. Nevertheless, it resolved to make the experiment of creating a multi-national state, for it knew that a multi-national state which has arisen on the basis of socialism is bound to stand every and any test.

Since then fourteen years have elapsed. A period long enough to test the experiment. And what do we find? This period has shown beyond a doubt that the experiment of forming a multi-national state based on socialism has been completely successful. This is the undoubted victory of the Leninist national policy.

How is this victory to be explained?

The absence of exploiting classes, which are the principal organizers of strife between nations; the absence of exploitation, which cultivates mutual distrust and kindles nationalist passions; the fact that power is in the hands of the working class, which is the foe of all enslavement and the true vehicle of the ideas of internationalism; the actual practice of mutual aid among the peoples in all spheres of economic and social life; and, finally, the flourishing national culture of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., culture which is national in form and socialist in content—all these and similar factors have brought about a radical change in the aspect of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.; their feeling of mutual distrust has disappeared, a feeling of mutual friendship has developed among them, and thus real fraternal cooperation among 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 whose stability might well be envied by any national state in any part of the world.

Such are the changes which have taken place during this period in the sphere of *national relations* in the U.S.S.R.

Such is the sum total of changes which have taken place in the sphere of the economic and social-political life of the U.S.S.R. in the period from 1924 to 1936.

III. THE PRINCIPAL SPECIFIC FEATURES OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

How are all these changes in the life of the U.S.S.R. reflected in the draft of the new Constitution?

In other words: What are the principal specific features of the Draft Constitution submitted for consideration to the present Congress?

The Constitution Commission was instructed to amend the text of the Constitution in 1924. The work of the Constitution Commission has resulted in a new text of the Constitution, a draft of a new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. In drafting the new Constitution, the Constitution Commission proceeded from the proposition that a constitution must not be confused with a program. This means that there is an essential difference between a program and a constitution. Whereas a program speaks of that which does not yet exist, of that which has yet to be achieved and won in the future, a constitution, on the contrary, must speak of that which already exists, of that which has already been achieved and won now, at the present time. A program deals mainly with the future, a constitution with the present.

Two examples by way of illustration.

Our Soviet society has already, in the main, succeeded in achieving socialism; it has created a socialist system, *i.e.*, it has brought about what Marxists in other words call the first, or lower, phase of communism. Hence, in the main, we have already achieved the first phase of communism, socialism. The fundamental principle of this phase of communism is, as you know, the formula: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his work." Should our Constitution reflect this fact, the fact that socialism has been achieved? Should it be based on this achievement? Unquestionably, it should. It should, because for the U.S.S.R. socialism is something already achieved and won.

But Soviet society has not yet reached the higher phase of communism,

in which the ruling principle will be the formula: "From each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs," although it sets itself the aim of achieving the higher phase of communism in the future. Can our Constitution be based on the higher phase of communism, which does not yet exist and which has still to be achieved? No, it cannot, because for the U.S.S.R. the higher phase of communism is something that has not yet been realized, and which has to be realized in the future. It cannot, if it is not to be converted into a program or a declaration of future achievements.

Such are the limits of our Constitution at the present historical moment.

Thus, the draft of the new Constitution is a summary of the path that has been traversed, a summary of the gains already achieved. In other words, it is the registration and legislative embodiment of what has already been achieved and won in actual fact.

That is the first specific feature of the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

Further. The constitutions of bourgeois countries usually proceed from the conviction that the capitalist system is immutable. The main foundation of these constitutions consists of the principles of capitalism, of its main pillars: the private ownership of the land, forests, factories, works, and other implements and means of production; the exploitation of man by man and the existence of exploiters and exploited; insecurity for the toiling majority at one pole of society, and luxury for the non-toiling but secure minority at the other pole, etc., etc. They rest on these and similar pillars of capitalism. They reflect them, they embody them in law.

Unlike these, the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. proceeds from the fact that the capitalist system has been liquidated, and that the socialist system has triumphed in the U.S.S.R. The main foundation of the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is the principles of socialism, whose main pillars are things that have already been achieved and realized: the socialist ownership of the land, forests, factories, works and other instruments and means of production; the abolition of exploitation and of exploiting classes; the abolition of poverty for the majority and of luxury for the minority; the abolition of unemployment; work as an obligation and an honorable duty for every able-bodied citizen, in accordance with the formula: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat"; the right to work, *i.e.*, the right of every citizen to receive guaranteed employment; the right to rest and leisure; the right to education, etc., etc. The draft of the new Constitution rests on these and

similar pillars of socialism. It reflects them, it embodies them in law.

Such is the second specific feature of the draft of the new Constitution.

Further. Bourgeois constitutions tacitly proceed from the premise that society consists of antagonistic classes, of classes which own wealth and classes which do not own wealth; that no matter what party comes into power, the guidance of society by the state (the dictatorship) must be in the hands of the bourgeoisie; that a constitution is needed for the purpose of consolidating a social order desired by and beneficial to the propertied classes.

Unlike bourgeois constitutions, the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. proceeds from the fact that there are no longer any antagonistic classes in society; that society consists of two friendly classes, of workers and peasants; that it is these classes, the laboring classes, that are in power; that the guidance of society by the state (the dictatorship) is in the hands of the working class, the most advanced class in society; that a constitution is needed for the purpose of consolidating a social order desired by and beneficial to the working people.

Such is the third specific feature of the draft of the new Constitution.

Further. Bourgeois constitutions tacitly proceed from the premise that nations and races cannot have equal rights, that there are nations with full rights and nations without full rights, and that, in addition, there is a third category of nations or races, for example in the colonies, which have even fewer rights than the nations without full rights. This means that, at bottom, all these constitutions are nationalistic, *i.e.*, constitutions of ruling nations.

Unlike these constitutions, the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is, on the contrary, profoundly internationalistic. It proceeds from the proposition that all nations and races have equal rights. It proceeds from the fact that neither difference in color or language, cultural level, or level of political development, nor any other difference between nations and races, can serve as grounds for justifying national inequality of rights. It proceeds from the proposition that all nations and races, irrespective of their past and present position, irrespective of their strength or weakness, should enjoy equal rights in all spheres of the economic, social, political and cultural life of society.

Such is the fourth specific feature of the draft of the new Constitution.

The fifth specific feature of the draft of the new Constitution is its consistent and thoroughgoing democratism. From the standpoint of democratism bourgeois constitutions may be divided into two groups: One group of constitutions openly denies, or actually nullifies, the equal-

ity of rights of citizens and democratic liberties. The other group of constitutions readily accepts, and even advertises, democratic principles, but at the same time it makes reservations and provides for restrictions which utterly mutilate these democratic rights and liberties. They speak of equal suffrage for all citizens, but at the same time limit it by residential, educational, and even property qualifications. They speak of equal rights for citizens, but at the same time they make the reservation that this does not apply to women, or that it applies to them only in part. And so on and so forth.

What distinguishes the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is the fact that it is free from such reservations and restrictions. For it, there exists no division of citizens into active and passive ones; for it, all citizens are active. It does not recognize any difference in rights as between men and women, "residents" and "non-residents," propertied and propertyless, educated and uneducated. For it, all citizens have equal rights. It is not property status, not national origin, not sex, nor office, but personal ability and personal labor, that determines the position of every citizen in society.

Lastly, there is still one more specific feature of the draft of the new Constitution. Bourgeois constitutions usually confine themselves to stating the formal rights of citizens, without bothering about the conditions for the exercise of these rights, about the opportunity of exercising them, about the means by which they can be exercised. They speak of the equality of citizens, but forget that there cannot be real equality between employer and workman, between landlord and peasant, if the former possess wealth and political weight in society while the latter are deprived of both—if the former are exploiters while the latter are exploited. Or again: they speak of freedom of speech, assembly, and the press, but forget that all these liberties may be merely a hollow sound for the working class, if the latter cannot have access to suitable premises for meetings, good printing shops, a sufficient quantity of printing paper, etc.

What distinguishes the draft of the new Constitution is the fact that it does not confine itself to stating the formal rights of citizens, but stresses the guarantees of these rights, the means by which these rights can be exercised. It does not merely proclaim equality of rights for citizens, but ensures it by giving legislative embodiment to the fact that the regime of exploitation has been abolished, to the fact that the citizens have been emancipated from all exploitation. It does not merely proclaim the right to work, but ensures it by giving legislative embodiment to the fact that there are no crises in Soviet society, and that unemployment has been abolished. It does not merely proclaim democratic liberties, but legisla-

tively ensures them by providing definite material resources. It is clear, therefore, that the democratism of the draft of the new Constitution is not the "ordinary" and "universally recognized" democratism in the abstract, but *socialist* democratism.

These are the principal specific features of the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

This is the way the draft of the new Constitution reflects the progress and changes that have been brought about in the economic and social-political life of the U.S.S.R. in the period from 1924 to 1936.

IV. BOURGEOIS CRITICISM OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

A few words about bourgeois criticism of the Draft Constitution.

The question of the attitude of the foreign bourgeois press towards the Draft Constitution is undoubtedly of some interest. Inasmuch as the foreign press reflects the public opinion of the various sections of the population of bourgeois countries, we cannot ignore its criticism of the Draft Constitution.

The first reaction of the foreign press to the Draft Constitution was expressed in a definite tendency—to hush up the Draft Constitution. I am referring here to the most reactionary press, the fascist press. This group of critics thought it best simply to hush up the Draft Constitution and to pretend that there is no such Draft, and never has been. It may be said that silence is not criticism. But that is not true. The method of keeping silence, as a special method of ignoring things, is also a form of criticism—a stupid and ridiculous form, it is true, but a form of criticism, for all that. But their silence was of no avail. In the end they were obliged to open the valve and to inform the world that, sad though it may be, a Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R. does exist, and not only does it exist but it is beginning to exercise a pernicious influence on people's minds. Nor could it be otherwise; for, after all, there is such a thing as public opinion in the world, there is the reading public, living people, who want to know the facts, and to hold them in the vise of deception for long is quite impossible. Deception does not carry one far....

The *second* group of critics admits that there really is such a thing as a Draft Constitution, but considers that the draft is not of much interest, because it is really not a Draft Constitution but a scrap of paper, an empty promise, with the idea of performing a certain maneuver to de-

ceive people. And they add that the U.S.S.R. could not produce a better draft, because the U.S.S.R. itself is not a state, but only a geographical concept, and since it is not a state, its Constitution cannot be a real constitution. A typical representative of this group of critics is, strange as this may appear, the German semi-official organ, *Deutsche Diplomatisch-Politische Korrespondenz*. This journal bluntly declares that the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is an empty promise, a fraud, a "Potemkin village." It unhesitatingly declares that the U.S.S.R. is not a state, that the U.S.S.R. "is nothing more nor less than a strictly defined geographical concept," and that in view of this, the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. cannot be regarded as a real constitution.

What can one say about such critics, if they can be so called?

In one of his tales the great Russian writer Shchedrin portrays a pig-headed official, very narrowminded and obtuse, but self-confident and zealous to the extreme. After this bureaucrat had established "order and tranquillity" in the region "under his charge," having exterminated thousands of its inhabitants and burned down scores of towns in the process, he looked around him, and on the horizon espied America—a country little known, of course, where, it appears, there are liberties of some sort or other which serve to agitate the people, and where the state is administered in a different way. The bureaucrat espied America and became indignant: What country is that, how did it get there, by what right does it exist? Of course, it was discovered accidentally several centuries ago, but couldn't it be shut up again so that not a ghost of it remains? Thereupon he wrote an order: "Shut America up again!"

It seems to me that the gentlemen of the *Deutsche Diplomatisch-Politische Korrespondenz* and Shchedrin's bureaucrat are as like as two peas. The U.S.S.R. has long been an eyesore to these gentlemen. For nineteen years the U.S.S.R. has stood like a beacon, spreading the spirit of emancipation among the working class all over the world and rousing the fury of the enemies of the working class. And it turns out that this U.S.S.R. not only exists, but is even growing; is not only growing, but is even flourishing; and is not only flourishing, but is even composing a draft of a new Constitution, a draft which is stirring the minds and inspiring the oppressed classes with new hope. How can the gentlemen of the German semi-official organ be anything but indignant after this? What sort of country is this?—they howl; by what right does it exist? And if it was discovered in October 1917, why can't it be shut up again so that not a ghost of it remains? Thereupon they resolved: Shut the U.S.S.R. up again; proclaim publicly that the U.S.S.R., as a state, does

not exist, that the U.S.S.R. is nothing but a mere geographical concept!

In writing his order to shut America up again, Shchedrin's bureaucrat, despite all his obtuseness, evinced some sense of reality by adding to himself: "However, it seems that same is not in my power." I do not know whether the gentlemen of the German semi-official organ are endowed with sufficient intelligence to suspect that—while, of course, they can "shut up" this or that country on paper—speaking seriously, however, "same is not in their power."...

As for the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. being an empty promise, a "Potemkin village," etc., I would like to refer to a number of established facts which speak for themselves.

In 1917 the peoples of the U.S.S.R. overthrew the bourgeoisie and established the dictatorship of the proletariat, established a Soviet government. This is a fact, not a promise.

Further, the Soviet government eliminated the landlord class and transferred to the peasants over 150,000,000 hectares of former landlord, government, and monasterial lands, over and above the lands which were already in the possession of the peasants. This is a fact, not a promise.

Further, the Soviet government expropriated the capitalist class, took away their banks, factories, railways, and other implements and means of production, declared these to be socialist property, and placed at the head of these enterprises the best members of the working class. This is a fact, not a promise.

Further, having organized industry and agriculture on new, socialist lines, with a new technical base, the Soviet government has today attained a position where agriculture in the U.S.S.R. is producing one and a half times as much as was produced in pre-war times, where industry is producing seven times more than was produced in pre-war times, and where the national income has increased fourfold compared with pre-war times. All these are facts, not promises.

Further, the Soviet government has abolished unemployment, has introduced the right to work, the right to rest and leisure, the right to education, has provided better material and cultural conditions for the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, and has ensured the introduction of universal, direct and equal suffrage with secret ballot for its citizens. All these are facts, not promises.

Finally, the U.S.S.R. has produced the draft of a new Constitution which is not a promise but the registration and legislative embodiment of these generally known facts, the registration and legislative embodiment of what has already been achieved and won.

One may ask: In view of all this, what can all the talk of the gentlemen of the German semi-official organ about "Potemkin villages" amount to but an attempt on their part to conceal from the people the truth about the U.S.S.R., to mislead the people, to deceive them.

Such are the facts. And facts, it is said, are stubborn things. The gentlemen of the German semi-official organ may say: So much the worse for the facts. But then, we can answer them in the words of the well-known Russian proverb: "Laws are not made for fools."

The *third* group of critics are not averse to recognizing certain merits in the Draft Constitution; they regard it as a good thing; but, you see, they doubt very much whether a number of its principles can be applied in practice, because they are convinced that these principles are generally impracticable and must remain a dead letter. These, to put it mildly, are skeptics. These skeptics are to be found in all countries.

It must be said that this is not the first time we have met them. When the Bolsheviks took power in 1917 the skeptics said: The Bolsheviks are not bad fellows, perhaps, but nothing will come of their government; they will fail. Actually it turned out, however, that it was not the Bolsheviks who failed, but the skeptics.

During the civil war and foreign intervention this group of skeptics said: The Soviet government is not a bad thing, of course, but Denikin and Kolchak, plus the foreigners, will, we venture to say, come out on top. Actually, it turned out, however, that the skeptics were wrong again in their calculations.

When the Soviet government published the First Five-Year Plan the skeptics again appeared on the scene saying: The Five-Year Plan is a good thing, of course, but it is hardly feasible; the Bolsheviks' Five-Year Plan is not likely to succeed. The facts proved, however, that once again the skeptics had bad luck: the Five-Year Plan was carried out in four years.

The same must be said about the draft of the new Constitution and the criticism levelled against it by the skeptics. No sooner was the Draft published than this group of critics again appeared on the scene with their gloomy skepticism and their doubts as to the practicability of certain principles of the Constitution. There is not the slightest ground for doubt that in this case, too, the skeptics will fail, that they will fail today as they have failed more than once in the past.

The *fourth* group of critics, in attacking the draft of the new Constitution, characterize it as a "swing to the Right," as the "abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat," as the "liquidation of the Bolshevik

regime." "The Bolsheviks have swung to the Right, that is a fact," they declare in a chorus of different voices. Particularly zealous in this respect are certain Polish newspapers, and also some American newspapers.

What can one say about these so-called critics?

If the broadening of the basis of the dictatorship of the working class and the transformation of the dictatorship into a more flexible, and, consequently, a more powerful system of guidance of society by the state is interpreted by them not as strengthening the dictatorship of the working class but as weakening it, or even abandoning it, then it is legitimate to ask: Do these gentlemen really know what the dictatorship of the working class means?

If the legislative embodiment given to the victories of socialism, the legislative embodiment given to the successes of industrialization, collectivization and democratization is represented by them as a "swing to the Right," then it is legitimate to ask: Do these gentlemen really know the difference between left and right?

There can be no doubt that these gentlemen have entirely lost their way in their criticism of the Draft Constitution, and, having lost their way, they confuse right with left.

One cannot help recalling, in this connection, the "wench" Pelageya in Gogol's *Dead Souls*. Gogol relates that Pelageya offered to act as guide to Chichikov's coachman, Seliphan; but not knowing the right side of the road from the left, she lost her way and got into an embarrassing situation. It must be admitted that, notwithstanding all their pretensions, the intelligence of our critics on the Polish newspapers is not much above that of the "wench" Pelageya in *Dead Souls*. If you remember, the coachman Seliphan thought fit to chide Pelageya for confusing right with left and said to her: "Oh, you, dirty-legs... you don't know which is right and which is left." It seems to me that our luckless critics should be chided in the same way: "Oh, you, sorry critics... you don't know which is right and which is left."

Finally, there is yet another group of critics. While the last-mentioned group accuses the Draft Constitution of abandoning the dictatorship of the working class, this group, on the contrary, accuses it of not changing anything in the existing position in the U.S.S.R., of leaving the dictatorship of the working class intact, of not granting freedom to political parties, and of preserving the present leading position of the Communist Party in the U.S.S.R. And this group of critics maintains that the absence of freedom for parties in the U.S.S.R. is a symptom of the violation of the principles of democratism.

I must admit that the draft of the new Constitution does preserve the regime of the dictatorship of the working class, just as it also preserves unchanged the present leading position of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. If the esteemed critics regard this as a flaw in the Draft Constitution, that is only to be regretted. We Bolsheviks regard it as a merit of the Draft Constitution.

As to freedom for various political parties, we adhere to somewhat different views. A party is a part of a class, its most advanced part. Several parties, and, consequently, freedom for parties, can exist only in a society in which there are antagonistic classes whose interests are mutually hostile and irreconcilable—in which there are, say, capitalists and workers, landlords and peasants, kulaks and poor peasants, etc. But in the U.S.S.R. there are no longer such classes as the capitalists, the landlords, the kulaks, etc. In the U.S.S.R. there are only two classes, workers and peasants, whose interests—far from being mutually hostile—are, on the contrary, friendly. Hence there is no ground in the U.S.S.R. for the existence of several parties, and, consequently, for freedom for these parties. In the U.S.S.R. there is ground only for one party, the Communist Party. In the U.S.S.R. only one party can exist, the Communist Party, which courageously defends the interests of the workers and peasants to the very end. And that it defends the interests of these classes not at all badly, of that there can hardly be any doubt.

They talk of democracy. But what is democracy? Democracy in capitalist countries, where there are antagonistic classes, is, in the last analysis, democracy for the strong, democracy for the propertied minority. In the U.S.S.R., on the contrary, democracy is democracy for the working people, *i.e.*, democracy for all. But from this it follows that the principles of democratism are violated, not by the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R., but by the bourgeois constitutions. That is why I think that the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is the only thoroughly democratic constitution in the world.

Such is the position with regard to the bourgeois criticism of the draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

V. AMENDMENTS AND ADDENDA TO THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Let us pass on to the amendments and addenda to the Draft Constitution proposed by citizens during the nationwide discussion of the draft.

The nationwide discussion of the Draft Constitution, as you know, pro-

duced a fairly large number of amendments and addenda. These have all been published in the Soviet press. In view of the great variety of amendments and the fact that they are not all of equal value, they should, in my opinion, be divided into three categories.

The distinguishing feature of the amendments in the first category is that they deal not with constitutional questions but with questions which come within the scope of the current legislative work of the future legislative bodies. Certain questions concerning insurance, some questions concerning collective farm development, some questions concerning industrial development, financial questions—such are the subjects with which these amendments deal. Evidently the authors of these amendments were not clear as to the difference between constitutional questions and questions of current legislation. That is why they strive to squeeze as many laws as possible into the Constitution, thus tending to convert the Constitution into something in the nature of a code of laws. But a constitution is not a code of laws. A constitution is the fundamental law, and only the fundamental law. A constitution does not preclude but presupposes current legislative work on the part of the future legislative bodies. A constitution provides the juridical basis for the future legislative activities of these bodies. Therefore, amendments and addenda of this kind, which have no direct bearing on the Constitution, should, in my opinion, be referred to the future legislative bodies of the country.

To the second category should be assigned those amendments and addenda which strive to introduce into the Constitution elements of historical references, or elements of declarations concerning what the Soviet government has not yet achieved and what it should achieve in the future. To describe in the Constitution the difficulties the party, the working class, and all the working people have overcome during the long years of struggle for the victory of socialism; to indicate in the Constitution the ultimate goal of the Soviet movement, *i.e.*, the building of a complete communist society—such are the subjects with which these amendments deal, in different variations. I think that such amendments and addenda should also be set aside as having no direct bearing on the Constitution. The Constitution is the registration and legislative embodiment of the gains that have already been achieved and secured. Unless we want to distort this fundamental character of the Constitution, we must refrain from filling it with historical references to the past, or with declarations concerning the future achievements of the working people of the U.S.S.R. For this we have other means and other documents.

Finally, to the third category should be assigned amendments

and addenda which have a direct bearing on the Draft Constitution.

A large number of amendments in this category are simply a matter of wording. They could therefore be referred to the Drafting Commission of the present Congress which I think the Congress will set up, with instructions to decide on the final text of the new Constitution.

As for the rest of the amendments in the third category, they are of greater material significance, and in my opinion a few words should be said about them.

1. First of all about the amendments to Article 1 of the Draft Constitution. There are four amendments. Some propose that we substitute for the words "state of workers and peasants" the words "state of working people." Others propose that we add the words "and working intelligentsia" to the words "state of workers and peasants." A third group proposes that we substitute for the words "state of workers and peasants" the words "state of all the races and nationalities inhabiting the territory of the U.S.S.R." A fourth group proposes that we substitute for the word "peasants" the words "collective farmers" or "toilers of socialist agriculture."

Should these amendments be adopted? I think they should not be adopted.

What does Article 1 of the Draft Constitution speak of? It speaks of the class composition of Soviet society. Can we Marxists ignore the question of the class composition of our society in the Constitution? No, we cannot. As we know, Soviet society consists of two classes, workers and peasants. And it is of this that Article 1 of the Draft Constitution speaks. Consequently, Article 1 of the Draft Constitution properly reflects the class composition of our society. It may be asked: What about the working intelligentsia? The intelligentsia has never been a class, and never can be a class—it was and remains a stratum, which recruits its members from among all classes of society. In the old days the intelligentsia recruited its members from the ranks of the nobility, of the bourgeoisie, partly from the ranks of the peasantry, and only to a very inconsiderable extent from the ranks of the workers. In our day, under the Soviets, the intelligentsia recruits its members mainly from the ranks of the workers and peasants. But no matter where it may recruit its members, and what character it may bear, the intelligentsia is nevertheless a stratum and not a class.

Does this circumstance infringe upon the rights of the working intelligentsia? Not in the least! Article 1 of the Draft Constitution deals not with the rights of the various strata of Soviet society, but with the class

composition of that society. The rights of the various strata of Soviet society, including the rights of the working intelligentsia, are dealt with mainly in Chapters X and XI of the Draft Constitution. It is evident from these chapters that the workers, the peasants, and the working intelligentsia enjoy entirely equal rights in all spheres of the economic, political, social, and cultural life of the country. Consequently, there can be no question of an infringement upon the rights of the working intelligentsia.

The same must be said of the nations and races comprising the U.S.S.R. In Chapter II of the Draft Constitution it is stated that the U.S.S.R. is a free union of nations possessing equal rights. Is it worth while repeating this formula in Article 1 of the Draft Constitution, which deals not with the national composition of Soviet society, but with its class composition? Clearly it is not worth while. As to the rights of the nations and races comprising the U.S.S.R., these are dealt with in Chapters II, X, and XI of the Draft Constitution. From these chapters it is evident that the nations and races of the U.S.S.R. enjoy equal rights in all spheres of the economic, political, social, and cultural life of the country. Consequently, there can be no question of an infringement upon national rights.

It would also be wrong to substitute for the word "peasant" the words "collective farmer" or "toiler of socialist agriculture." In the first place, besides the collective farmers, there are still over a million households of non-collective farmers among the peasantry. What is to be done about them? Do the authors of this amendment propose to strike them off the books? That would be unwise. Secondly, the fact that the majority of the peasants have started collective farming does not mean that they have already ceased to be peasants, that they no longer have their personal economy, their own households, etc. Thirdly, for the word "worker" we would then have to substitute the words "toiler of socialist industry," which, however, the authors of the amendment for some reason or other do not propose. Finally, have the working class and the peasant class already disappeared in our country? And if they have not disappeared, is it worth while deleting from our vocabulary the established names for them? Evidently, what the authors of the amendment have in mind is not present society, but future society, when classes will no longer exist and when the workers and peasants will have been transformed into toilers of a homogeneous communist society. Consequently, they are obviously running ahead. But in drawing up a constitution one must not proceed from the future, but from the present, from what already exists. A constitution should not and must not run ahead.

2. Then follows an amendment to Article 17 of the Draft Constitution. The amendment proposes that we completely delete from the Constitution Article 17, which reserves to the Union Republics the right of free secession from the U.S.S.R. I think that this proposal is a wrong one and therefore should not be adopted by the Congress. The U.S.S.R. is a voluntary union of Union Republics with equal rights. To delete from the Constitution the article providing for the right of free secession from the U.S.S.R. would be to violate the voluntary character of this union. Can we agree to this step? I think that we cannot and should not agree to it. It is said that there is not a single republic in the U.S.S.R. that would want to secede from the U.S.S.R., and that therefore Article 17 is of no practical importance. It is, of course, true that there is not a single republic that would want to secede from the U.S.S.R. But this does not in the least mean that we should not fix in the Constitution the right of Union Republics freely to secede from the U.S.S.R. In the U.S.S.R. there is not a single Union Republic that would want to subjugate another Union Republic. But this does not in the least mean that we ought to delete from the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. the article dealing with the equality of rights of the Union Republics.

3. Then there is a proposal that we add a new article to Chapter II of the Draft Constitution, to the following effect: that on reaching the proper level of economic and cultural development Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics may be raised to the status of Union Soviet Socialist Republics. Can this proposal be adopted? I think that it should not be adopted. It is a wrong proposal not only because of its content, but also because of the condition it lays down. Economic and cultural maturity can no more be urged as grounds for transferring Autonomous Republics to the category of Union Republics than economic or cultural backwardness can be urged as grounds for leaving any particular republic in the list of Autonomous Republics. This would not be a Marxist, not a Leninist approach. The Tatar Republic, for example, remains an Autonomous Republic, while the Kazakh Republic is to become a Union Republic; but this does not mean that from the standpoint of cultural and economic development the Kazakh Republic is on a higher level than the Tatar Republic. The very opposite is the case. The same can be said, for example, of the Volga German Autonomous Republic and the Kirghiz Union Republic, of which the former is on a higher cultural and economic level than the latter, although it remains an Autonomous Republic.

What are the grounds for transferring Autonomous Republics to the category of Union Republics?

There are three such grounds.

First, the republic concerned must be a border republic, not surrounded on all sides by U.S.S.R. territory. Why? Because since the Union Republics have the right to secede from the U.S.S.R., a republic, on becoming a Union Republic, must be in a position logically and actually to raise the question of secession from the U.S.S.R. And this question can be raised only by a republic which, say, borders on some foreign state, and, consequently, is not surrounded on all sides by U.S.S.R. territory. Of course, none of our republics would actually raise the question of seceding from the U.S.S.R. But since the right to secede from the U.S.S.R. is reserved to the Union Republics, it must be so arranged that this right does not become a meaningless scrap of paper. Take, for example, the Bashkir Republic or the Tatar Republic. Let us assume that these Autonomous Republics are transferred to the category of Union Republics. Could they logically and actually raise the question of seceding from the U.S.S.R.? No, they could not. Why? Because they are surrounded on all sides by Soviet republics and regions, and, strictly speaking, they have nowhere to go to if they secede from the U.S.S.R. Therefore, it would be wrong to transfer such republics to the category of Union Republics.

Secondly, the nationality which gives its name to a given Soviet republic must constitute a more or less compact majority within that republic. Take the Crimean Autonomous Republic, for example. It is a border republic, but the Crimean Tatars do not constitute the majority in that republic; on the contrary, they are a minority. Consequently, it would be wrong and illogical to transfer the Crimean Republic to the category of Union Republics.

Thirdly, the republic must not have too small a population; it should have a population of, say, not less but more than a million, at least. Why? Because it would be wrong to assume that a small Soviet Republic with a very small population and a small army could hope to maintain its existence as an independent state. There can hardly be any doubt that the imperialist beasts of prey would soon lay hands on it.

I think that unless these three objective grounds exist, it would be wrong at the present historical moment to raise the question of transferring any particular Autonomous Republic to the category of Union Republics.

4. Next it is proposed to delete from Articles 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29 the detailed enumeration of the administrative territorial division of the Union Republics into territories and regions. I think that this proposal is also unacceptable. There are people in the U.S.S.R. who are

always ready and eager to go on tirelessly recarving the territories and regions and thus cause confusion and uncertainty in our work. The Draft Constitution puts a check on these people. And that is very good, because here, as in many other things, we need an atmosphere of certainty, we need stability and clarity.

5. The fifth amendment concerns Article 33. The creation of two Chambers is regarded as inexpedient, and it is proposed that the Soviet of Nationalities be abolished. I think that this amendment is also wrong. A single-chamber system would be better than a dual-chamber system if the U.S.S.R. were a single-nation state. But the U.S.S.R. is not a single-nation state. The U.S.S.R., as we know, is a multi-national state. We have a supreme body in which are represented the *common* interests of all the working people of the U.S.S.R. irrespective of nationality. This is the Soviet of the Union. But in addition to common interests, the nationalities of the U.S.S.R. have *their particular, specific* interests, connected with their specific national characteristics. Can these specific interests be ignored? No, they cannot. Do we need a special supreme body to reflect precisely these specific interests? Unquestionably, we do. There can be no doubt that without such a body it would be impossible to administer a multi-national state like the U.S.S.R. Such a body is the second chamber, the Soviet of Nationalities of the U.S.S.R.

Reference is made to the parliamentary history of European and American states; it is pointed out that the dual-chamber system in these countries has produced only negative results—that the second chamber usually degenerates into a center of reaction and a brake on progress. All that is true. But this is due to the fact that in those countries there is no equality between the two chambers. As we know, the second chamber is not infrequently granted more rights than the first chamber, and, moreover, as a rule the second chamber is constituted undemocratically, its members not infrequently being appointed from above. Undoubtedly, these defects will be obviated if equality is established between the chambers and if the second chamber is constituted as democratically as the first.

6. Further, an addendum to the Draft Constitution is proposed calling for an equal number of members in both chambers. I think that this proposal might be adopted. In my opinion, it has obvious political advantages, for it emphasizes the equality of the chambers.

7. Next comes an addendum to the Draft Constitution which proposes that the members of the Soviet of Nationalities be elected by direct vote, as in the case of the members of the Soviet of the Union. I think that this proposal might also be adopted. True, it may create certain technical

inconveniences during elections; but, on the other hand, it would be of great political advantage, for it would enhance the prestige of the Soviet of Nationalities.

8. Then follows an addendum to Article 40, proposing that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet be granted the right to pass provisional acts of legislation. I think that this addendum is wrong and should not be adopted by the Congress. It is time we put an end to a situation in which not one but a number of bodies legislate. Such a situation runs counter to the principle that laws should be stable. And we need stability of laws now more than ever. Legislative power in the U.S.S.R. must be exercised only by one body, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

9. Further, an addendum is proposed to Article 48 of the Draft Constitution, demanding that the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. be elected not by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. but by the whole population of the country. I think this addendum is wrong, because it runs counter to the spirit of our Constitution. According to the system of our Constitution there must not be an individual president in the U.S.S.R., elected by the whole population on a par with the Supreme Soviet, and able to put himself in opposition to the Supreme Soviet. The president in the U.S.S.R. is a collegium, it is the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, including the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, elected, not by the whole population, but by the Supreme Soviet, and accountable to the Supreme Soviet. Historical experience shows that such a structure of the supreme bodies is the most democratic, and safeguards the country against undesirable contingencies.

10. Then follows another amendment to Article 48. It reads as follows: that the number of Vice-Presidents of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. be increased to eleven, one from each Union Republic. I think that this amendment might be adopted, for it would be an improvement and would enhance the prestige of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

11. Then follows an amendment to Article 77. It calls for the organization of a new All-Union People's Commissariat—the People's Commissariat of the Defense Industry. I think that this amendment should likewise be accepted, for the time has arrived to separate our defense industry and have a corresponding People's Commissariat for it. It seems to me that this would only improve the defense of our country.

12. Next follows an amendment to Article 124 of the Draft Constitution, demanding that the article be changed to provide for the prohibition of the performance of religious rites. I think that this amend-

ment should be rejected as running counter to the spirit of our Constitution.

13. Finally, there is one other amendment of a more or less material character. I am referring to an amendment to Article 135 of the Draft Constitution. It proposes that ministers of religion, former White Guards, all the former rich, and persons not engaged in socially useful occupations be disfranchised, or, at all events, that the franchise of people in this category be restricted to the right to elect, but not to be elected. I think that this amendment should likewise be rejected. The Soviet government disfranchised the non-working and exploiting elements not for all time, but temporarily, up to a certain period. There was a time when these elements waged open war against the people and actively resisted the Soviet laws. The Soviet law depriving them of the franchise was the Soviet government's reply to this resistance. Quite some time has elapsed since then. During this period we have succeeded in abolishing the exploiting classes, and the Soviet government has become an invincible force.

Has not the time arrived for us to revise this law? I think the time has arrived. It is said that this is dangerous, as elements hostile to the Soviet government, some of the former White Guards, kulaks, priests, etc., may worm their way into the supreme governing bodies of the country. But what is there to be afraid of? If you are afraid of wolves, keep out of the woods. In the first place, not all the former kulaks, White Guards and priests are hostile to the Soviet government. Secondly, if the people in some place or other do elect hostile persons, that will show that our propaganda work was very badly organized, and we shall fully deserve such a disgrace; if, however, our propaganda work is conducted in a Bolshevik way, the people will not let hostile persons slip into the supreme governing bodies. This means that we must work and not whine, we must work and not wait to have everything put before us ready-made by official order. As far back as 1919, Lenin said that the time was not far distant when the Soviet government would deem it expedient to introduce universal suffrage without any restrictions. Please note: *without any restrictions*. He said this at a time when foreign military intervention had not yet been overcome, and when our industry and agriculture were in a desperate condition. Since then, seventeen years have elapsed. Comrades, is it not time we carried out Lenin's behest? I think it is.

Here is what Lenin said in 1919 in his *Draft Program of the Russian Communist Party*. Permit me to read it:

The Russian Communist Party must explain to the masses of the working people, in order to avoid a wrong generalization of transient historical needs, that the disfranchisement of a section of citizens does not in the Soviet Republic affect, as has been the case in the majority of bourgeois-democratic republics, a definite category of citizens disfranchised for life, but applies only to the exploiters, only to those who, in violation of the fundamental laws of the socialist Soviet Republic, persist in defending their position as exploiters, in preserving capitalist relationships. Consequently, in the Soviet Republic, on the one hand, every day of added strength for socialism and diminution in the number of those who have objective possibilities of remaining exploiters or of preserving capitalist relationships, automatically reduces the percentage of disfranchised persons. In Russia at the present time this percentage is hardly more than two or three per cent. On the other hand, in the not distant future the cessation of foreign invasion and the completion of the expropriation of the expropriators may, under certain conditions, create a situation in which the proletarian state power will choose other methods of suppressing the resistance of the exploiters and will introduce universal suffrage *without any restriction*. (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Russian ed., Vol. XXIV, p. 94.)

That is clear, I think.

Such is the position with regard to the amendments and addenda to the Draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R.

VI. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE U.S.S.R.

Judging by the results of the nationwide discussion, which lasted nearly five months, it may be presumed that the Draft Constitution will be approved by the present Congress.

In a few days' time the Soviet Union will have a new, socialist Constitution, built on the principles of fully developed socialist democracy.

It will be an historical document dealing in simple and concise terms, almost in the style of minutes, with the facts of the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., with the facts of the emancipation of the working people of the U.S.S.R. from capitalist slavery, with the facts of the victory in the U.S.S.R. of full and thoroughly consistent democracy.

It will be a document testifying to the fact that what millions of honest people in capitalist countries have dreamed of and still dream of has already been realized in the U.S.S.R.

It will be a document testifying to the fact that what has been realized in the U.S.S.R. is fully possible of realization in other countries also.

But from this it follows that the international significance of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. can hardly be exaggerated.

Today, when the turbid wave of fascism is bespattering the socialist movement of the working class and besmirching the democratic strivings of the best people in the civilized world, the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. will be an indictment against fascism, declaring that socialism and democracy are invincible. The new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. will give moral assistance and real support to all those who are today fighting fascist barbarism.

Still greater is the significance of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. for the peoples of the U.S.S.R. While for the peoples of capitalist countries the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. will have the significance of a program of action, it is significant for the peoples of the U.S.S.R. as the summary of their struggles, a summary of their victories in the struggle for the emancipation of mankind. After the path of struggle and privation that has been traversed, it is pleasant and joyful to have our Constitution, which treats of the fruits of our victories. It is pleasant and joyful to know what our people fought for and how they achieved this victory of worldwide historical importance. It is pleasant and joyful to know that the blood our people shed so plentifully was not shed in vain, that it has produced results. This arms our working class, our peasantry, our working intelligentsia spiritually. It impels them forward and rouses a sense of legitimate pride. It increases confidence in our strength and mobilizes us for fresh struggles for the achievement of new victories of communism.

DIALECTICAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALISM

Dialectical materialism is the world outlook of the Marxist-Leninist party. It is called dialectical materialism because its approach to the phenomena of nature, its method of studying and apprehending them, is *dialectical*, while its interpretation of the phenomena of nature, its conception of these phenomena, its theory, is *materialistic*.

Historical materialism is the extension of the principles of dialectical materialism to the study of social life, an application of the principles of dialectical materialism to the phenomena of the life of society, to the study of society and of its history.

When describing their dialectical method, Marx and Engels usually refer to Hegel as the philosopher who formulated the main features of dialectics. This, however, does not mean that the dialectics of Marx and Engels is identical with the dialectics of Hegel. As a matter of fact, Marx and Engels took from the Hegelian dialectics only its "rational kernel," casting aside its idealistic shell, and developed it further so as to lend it a modern scientific form.

My dialectic method [says Marx] is fundamentally not only different from the Hegelian, but is its direct opposite. To Hegel, the process of thinking, which, under the name of "the Idea," he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurge (creator) of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of "the Idea." With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought (Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. xxx.)

When describing their materialism, Marx and Engels usually refer to Feuerbach as the philosopher who restored materialism to its rights. This, however, does not mean that the materialism of Marx and Engels is identical with Feuerbach's materialism. As a matter of fact, Marx and Engels took from Feuerbach's materialism its "inner kernel," developed it into a scientific-philosophical theory of materialism and cast aside its idealistic and religious-ethical encumbrances. We know that Feuerbach, although he was fundamentally a materialist, objected to the name materialism. Engels more than once declared that "in spite of the materialist

foundation, Feuerbach remained bound by the traditional idealist fetters," and that "the real idealism of Feuerbach becomes evident as soon as we come to his philosophy of religion and ethics." (Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 439, 442.)

Dialectics comes from the Greek *dialego*, to discourse, to debate. In ancient times dialectics was the art of arriving at the truth by disclosing the contradictions in the argument of an opponent and overcoming these contradictions. There were philosophers in ancient times who believed that the disclosure of contradictions in thought and the clash of opposite opinions was the best method of arriving at the truth. This dialectical method of thought, later extended to the phenomena of nature, developed into the dialectical method of apprehending nature, which regards the phenomena of nature as being in constant movement and undergoing constant change, and the development of nature as the result of the development of the contradictions in nature, as the result of the interaction of opposed forces in nature.

In its essence, dialectics is the direct opposite of metaphysics.

I. *The principal features of the Marxist dialectical method are as follows:*

(a) Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics does not regard nature as an accidental agglomeration of things, of phenomena, unconnected with, isolated from, and independent of, each other, but as a connected and integral whole, in which things, phenomena, are organically connected with, dependent on, and determined by, each other.

The dialectical method therefore holds that no phenomenon in nature can be understood if taken by itself, isolated from surrounding phenomena, inasmuch as any phenomenon in any realm of nature may become meaningless to us if it is not considered in connection with the surrounding conditions, but divorced from them; and that, vice versa, any phenomenon can be understood and explained if considered in its inseparable connection with surrounding phenomena, as one conditioned by surrounding phenomena.

(b) Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics holds that nature is not a state of rest and immobility, stagnation and immutability but a state of continuous movement and change, of continuous renewal and development, where something is always arising and developing, and something always disintegrating and dying away.

The dialectical method therefore requires that phenomena should be considered not only from the standpoint of their interconnection and interdependence, but also from the standpoint of their movement, their

change, their development, their coming into being and going out of being.

The dialectical method regards as important primarily not that which at the given moment seems to be durable and yet is already beginning to die away, but that which is arising and developing, even though at the given moment it may appear to be not durable, for the dialectical method considers invincible only that which is arising and developing.

All nature [says Engels], from the smallest thing to the biggest, from a grain of sand to the sun, from the protista [the primary living cell—J. S.] to man, is in a constant state of coming into being and going out of being, in a constant flux, in a ceaseless state of movement and change. (Frederick Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, p. 13.)

Therefore, dialectics, Engels says, “takes things and their perceptual images essentially in their interconnection, in their concatenation, in their movement, in their rise and disappearance.” (*Ibid.*)

(c) Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics does not regard the process of development as a simple process of growth, where quantitative changes do not lead to qualitative changes, but as a development which passes from insignificant and imperceptible quantitative changes to open, fundamental changes; to qualitative changes; a development in which the qualitative changes occur not gradually, but rapidly and abruptly, taking the form of a leap from one state to another; they occur not accidentally but as the natural result of an accumulation of imperceptible and gradual quantitative changes.

The dialectical method therefore holds that the process of development should be understood not as movement in a circle, not as a simple repetition of what has already occurred, but as an onward and upward movement, as a transition from an old qualitative state to a new qualitative state, as a development from the simple to the complex, from the lower to the higher:

Nature [says Engels] is the test of dialectics, and it must be said for modern natural science that it has furnished extremely rich and daily increasing materials for this test, and has thus proved that in the last analysis nature's process is dialectical and not metaphysical, that it does not move in an eternally uniform and constantly repeated circle, but passes through a real history. Here prime mention should be made of Darwin, who dealt a severe blow to the metaphysical conception of nature by proving that the organic world of today, plants and animals, and consequently man too, is all a product of a process of development that has been in progress for millions of years. (Frederick Engels, *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, p. 48.)

Describing dialectical development as a transition from quantitative changes to qualitative changes, Engels says:

In physics . . . every change is a passing of quantity into quality, as a result of a quantitative change of some form of movement either inherent in a body or imparted to it. For example, the temperature of water has at first no effect on its liquid state; but as the temperature of liquid water rises or falls, a moment arrives when this state of cohesion changes and the water is converted in one case into steam and in the other into ice. . . . A definite minimum current is required to make a platinum wire glow; every metal has its melting temperature; every liquid has a definite freezing point and boiling point at a given pressure, as far as we are able with the means at our disposal to attain the required temperatures; finally, every gas has its critical point at which, by proper pressure and cooling, it can be converted into a liquid state. . . . What are known as the constants of physics [the point at which one state passes into another—*J. S.*] are in most cases nothing but designations for the nodal points at which a quantitative (change) increase or decrease of movement causes a qualitative change in the state of the given body, and at which, consequently, quantity is transformed into quality. (Frederick Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, pp. 29-30.)

Passing to chemistry Engels continues:

Chemistry may be called the science of the qualitative changes which take place in bodies as the effect of changes of quantitative composition. This was already known to Hegel. . . . Take oxygen: if the molecule contains three atoms instead of the customary two, we get ozone, a body definitely distinct in odor and reaction from ordinary oxygen. And what shall we say of the different proportions in which oxygen combines with nitrogen or sulphur, and each of which produces a body qualitatively different from all other bodies! (*Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.)

Finally, criticizing Dühring, who scolded Hegel for all he was worth but surreptitiously borrowed from him the well-known thesis that the transition from the insentient world to the sentient world, from the kingdom of inorganic matter to the kingdom of organic life, is a leap to a new state, Engels says:

This is precisely the Hegelian nodal line of measure relations, in which, at certain definite nodal points, the purely quantitative increase or decrease gives rise to a *qualitative leap*, for example, in the case of water which is heated or cooled, where boiling-point and freezing-point are the nodes at which—under normal pressure—the leap to a new aggregate state takes place, and where consequently quantity is transformed into quality. (Frederick Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, p. 54.)

(d) Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics holds that internal contradictions are inherent in all things and phenomena of nature, for they all have their negative and positive sides, a past and a future, something dying away and something developing; and that the struggle between these opposites, the struggle between the old and the new, between that which is dying away and that which is being born, between that which is disappearing and that which is developing, constitutes the internal content of the process of development, the internal content of the transformation of quantitative changes into qualitative changes.

The dialectical method therefore holds that the process of development from the lower to the higher takes place not as a harmonious unfolding of phenomena, but as a disclosure of the contradictions inherent in things and phenomena, as a "struggle" of opposite tendencies which operate on the basis of these contradictions.

In its proper meaning [Lenin says], dialectics is the study of the contradiction *within the very essence of things*. (V. I. Lenin, *Philosophical Notebooks*, Russian ed., p. 263.)

And further:

Development is the "struggle" of opposites. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. XI, pp. 81-82.)

Such, in brief, are the principal features of the Marxist dialectical method.

It is easy to understand how immensely important is the extension of the principles of the dialectical method to the study of social life and the history of society, and how immensely important is the application of these principles to the history of society and to the practical activities of the party of the proletariat.

If there are no isolated phenomena in the world, if all phenomena are interconnected and interdependent, then it is clear that every social system and every social movement in history must be evaluated not from the standpoint of "eternal justice" or some other preconceived idea, as is not infrequently done by historians, but from the standpoint of the conditions which gave rise to that system or that social movement and with which they are connected.

The slave system would be senseless, stupid and unnatural under modern conditions. But under the conditions of a disintegrating primitive communal system, the slave system is a quite understandable and natural

phenomenon, since it represents an advance on the primitive communal system.

The demand for a bourgeois-democratic republic when tsardom and bourgeois society existed, as, let us say, in Russia in 1905, was a quite understandable, proper and revolutionary demand, for at that time a bourgeois republic would have meant a step forward. But now, under the conditions of the U.S.S.R., the demand for a bourgeois-democratic republic would be a meaningless and counter-revolutionary demand, for a bourgeois republic would be a retrograde step compared with the Soviet republic.

Everything depends on the conditions, time and place.

It is clear that without such a *historical* approach to social phenomena, the existence and development of the science of history is impossible, for only such an approach saves the sciences of history from becoming a jumble of accidents and an agglomeration of most absurd mistakes.

Further, if the world is in a state of constant movement and development, if the dying away of the old and the upgrowth of the new is a law of development, then it is clear that there can be no "immutable" social systems, no "eternal principles" of private property and exploitation, no "eternal ideas" of the subjugation of the peasant to the landlord, of the worker to the capitalist.

Hence the capitalist system can be replaced by the socialist system, just as at one time the feudal system was replaced by the capitalist system.

Hence we must not base our orientation on the strata of society which are no longer developing, even though they at present constitute the predominant force, but on those strata which are developing and have a future before them, even though they at present do not constitute the predominant force.

In the eighties of the past century, in the period of the struggle between the Marxists and the Narodniks, the proletariat in Russia constituted an insignificant minority of the population, whereas the individual peasants constituted the vast majority of the population. But the proletariat was developing as a class, whereas the peasantry as a class was disintegrating. And just because the proletariat was developing as a class the Marxists based their orientation on the proletariat. And they were not mistaken, for, as we know, the proletariat subsequently grew from an insignificant force into a first-rate historical and political force.

Hence, in order not to err in policy, one must look forward, not backward.

Further, if the passing of slow quantitative changes into rapid and abrupt qualitative changes is a law of development, then it is clear that revolutions made by oppressed classes are a quite natural and inevitable phenomenon.

Hence the transition from capitalism to socialism and the liberation of the working class from the yoke of capitalism cannot be effected by slow changes, by reforms, but only by a qualitative change of the capitalist system, by revolution.

Hence, in order not to err in policy, one must be a revolutionary, not a reformist.

Further, if development proceeds by way of the disclosure of internal contradictions, by way of collisions between opposite forces on the basis of these contradictions and so as to overcome these contradictions, then it is clear that the class struggle of the proletariat is a quite natural and inevitable phenomenon.

Hence we must not cover up the contradictions of the capitalist system, but disclose and unravel them; we must not try to check the class struggle but carry it to its conclusion.

Hence, in order not to err in policy, one must pursue an uncompromising proletarian class policy, not a reformist policy of harmony of the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, not a compromisers' policy of "the growing of capitalism into socialism."

Such is the Marxist dialectical method when applied to social life, to the history of society.

As to Marxist philosophical materialism, it is fundamentally the direct opposite of philosophical idealism.

2. *The principal features of Marxist philosophical materialism are as follows:*

(a) Contrary to idealism, which regards the world as the embodiment of an "absolute idea," a "universal spirit," "consciousness," Marx's philosophical materialism holds that the world is by its very nature *material*, that the multifold phenomena of the world constitute different terms of matter in motion, that interconnection and interdependence of phenomena, as established by the dialectical method, are a law of the development of moving matter, and that the world develops in accordance with the laws of movement of matter and that it stands in no need of a "universal spirit."

The materialistic outlook on nature [says Engels] means no more than simply conceiving nature just as it exists, without any foreign admixture. (Frederick Engels, *Ludwig Feuerbach*, p. 79.)

Speaking of the materialist views of the ancient philosopher Heraclitus, who held that "the world, the all in one, was not created by any god or any man, but was, is and ever will be a living flame, systematically flaring up and systematically dying down," Lenin comments: "A very good exposition of the rudiments of dialectical materialism." (V. I. Lenin, *Philosophical Notebooks*, Russian ed., p. 318.)

(b) Contrary to idealism, which asserts that only our mind really exists, and that the material world, being, nature, exists only in our mind, in our sensations, ideas and perceptions, the Marxist materialist philosophy holds that matter, nature, being, is an objective reality existing outside and independent of our mind; that matter is primary, since it is the source of sensations, ideas, mind, and that mind is secondary, derivative, since it is a reflection of matter, a reflection of being; that thought is a product of matter which in its development has reached a high degree of perfection, namely, of the brain, and the brain is the organ of thought; and that therefore one cannot separate thought from matter without committing a grave error. Engels says:

The question of the relation of thinking to being, the relation of spirit to nature is the paramount question of the whole of philosophy. . . . The answers which the philosophers gave to this question split them into two great camps. Those who asserted the primacy of spirit to nature . . . comprised the camp of *idealism*. The others, who regarded nature as primary, belong to the various schools of *materialism*. (Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 430-31.)

And further:

The material, sensuously perceptible world to which we ourselves belong is the only reality. . . . Our consciousness and thinking, however supra-sensuous they may seem, are the product of a material, bodily organ, the brain. Matter is not a product of mind, but mind itself is merely the highest product of matter. (*Ibid.*, p. 435.)

Concerning the question of matter and thought, Marx says:

It is impossible to separate thought from matter that thinks. Matter is the subject of all changes. (*Ibid.*, p. 397.)

Describing the Marxist philosophy of materialism, Lenin says:

Materialism in general recognizes objectively real being (matter) as independent of consciousness, sensation, experience. . . . Consciousness is only the reflection of being, at best, an approximately true (adequate, ideally exact) reflection of it. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. XI, p. 377.)

And further:

(a) Matter is that which, acting upon our sense-organs, produces sensation; matter is the objective reality given to us in sensation. . . . Matter, nature, being, the physical—is primary, and spirit, consciousness, sensation, the psychical—is secondary. (*Ibid.*, pp. 207, 208.)

(b) The world picture is a picture of how matter moves and of how “*matter thinks.*” (*Ibid.*, p. 402.)

(c) The brain is the organ of thought. (*Ibid.*, p. 214.)

(c) Contrary to idealism, which denies the possibility of knowing the world and its laws, which does not believe in the authenticity of our knowledge, does not recognize objective truth, and holds that the world is full of “things-in-themselves” that can never be known to science, Marxist philosophical materialism holds that the world and its laws are fully knowable, that our knowledge of the laws of nature, tested by experiment and practice, is authentic knowledge having the validity of objective truth, and that there are no things in the world which are unknowable, but only things which are still not known, but will be disclosed and made known by the efforts of science and practice.

Criticizing the thesis of Kant and other idealists that the world is unknowable and that there are “things-in-themselves” which are unknowable, and defending the well-known materialist thesis that our knowledge is authentic knowledge, Engels writes:

The most telling refutation of this as of all other philosophical fancies is practice, *viz.*, *experiment and industry*. If we are able to prove the correctness of our conception of a natural process by making it ourselves, bringing it into being out of its conditions and using it for our own purposes into the bargain, then there is an end of the Kantian incomprehensible “thing-in-itself.” The chemical substances produced in the bodies of plants and animals remained such “things-in-themselves” until organic chemistry began to produce them one after another, whereupon the “thing-in-itself” became a thing for us, as for instance, alizarin, the coloring matter of the madder, which we no longer trouble to grow in the madder roots in the field, but produce much more cheaply and simply from coal tar. For three hundred years the Copernican solar system was a hypothesis, with a hundred, a thousand or ten thousand chances to one in its favor, but still always a hypothesis. But when Leverrier, by means of the data provided by this system, not only deduced the necessity of the existence of an unknown planet, but also calculated the position in the heavens which this planet must necessarily occupy, and when Galle really found this planet, the Copernican system was proved. (Karl Marx, *Selected Works*. Vol. I, pp. 432-33.)

Accusing Bogdanov, Bazarov, Yushkevich and the other followers of Mach of fideism (a reactionary theory, which gives preference to reliance on faith rather than on science), and defending the well-known materialist thesis that our scientific knowledge of the laws of nature is authentic knowledge, and that the laws of science represent objective truth, Lenin says:

Contemporary fideism does not at all reject science; all it rejects is the "exaggerated claims" of science, to wit, its claim to objective truth. If objective truth exists (as the materialists think), if natural science, reflecting the outer world in human "experience," is alone capable of giving us objective truth, then all fideism is absolutely refuted. (V. I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. XI, p. 188.)

Such, in brief, are the characteristic features of the Marxist philosophical materialism.

It is easy to understand how immensely important is the extension of the principles of philosophical materialism to the study of social life, of the history of society, and how immensely important is the application of these principles to the history of society and to the practical activities of the party of the proletariat.

If the connection between the phenomena of nature and their interdependence are laws of the development of nature, it follows, too, that the connection and interdependence of the phenomena of social life are laws of the development of society, and not something accidental.

Hence social life, the history of society, ceases to be an agglomeration of "accidents," and becomes the history of the development of society according to regular laws, and the study of the history of society becomes a science.

Hence the practical activity of the party of the proletariat must not be based on the good wishes of "outstanding individuals," not on the dictates of "reason," "universal morals," etc., but on the laws of development of society and on the study of these laws.

Further, if the world is knowable and our knowledge of the laws of development of nature is authentic knowledge, having the validity of objective truth, it follows that social life, the development of society, is also knowable, and that the data of science regarding the laws of development of society are authentic data having the validity of objective truths.

Hence the science of the history of society, despite all the complexity

of the phenomena of social life, can become as precise a science as, let us say, biology, and capable of making use of the laws of development of society for practical purposes.

Hence the party of the proletariat should not guide itself in its practical activity by casual motives, but by the laws of development of society, and by practical deductions from these laws.

Hence socialism is converted from a dream of a better future for humanity into a science.

Hence the bond between science and practical activity, between theory and practice, their unity, should be the guiding star of the party of the proletariat.

Further, if nature, being, the material world, is primary, and mind, thought, is secondary, derivative; if the material world represents objective reality existing independently of the mind of men, while the mind is a reflection of this objective reality, it follows that the material life of society, its being, is also primary, and its spiritual life secondary, derivative, and that the material life of society is an objective reality existing independently of the will of men, while the spiritual life of society is a reflection of this objective reality, a reflection of being.

Hence the source of formation of the spiritual life of society, the origin of social ideas, social theories, political views and political institutions, should not be sought for in the ideas, theories, views and political institutions themselves, but in the conditions of the material life of society, in social being, of which these ideas, theories, views, etc., are the reflection.

Hence, if in different periods of the history of society different social ideas, theories, views and political institutions are to be observed; if under the slave system we encounter certain social ideas, theories, views and political institutions, under feudalism others, and under capitalism others still, this is not to be explained by the "nature," the "properties" of the ideas, theories, views and political institutions themselves, but by the different conditions of the material life of society at different periods of social development.

Whatever is the being of a society, whatever are the conditions of material life of a society, such are the ideas, theories, political views and political institutions of that society.

In this connection, Marx says:

It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. (Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 356.)

Hence, in order not to err in policy, in order not to find itself in the position of idle dreamers, the party of the proletariat must not base its activities on abstract "principles of human reason," but on the concrete conditions of the material life of society, as the determining force of social development; not on the good wishes of "great men," but on the real needs of development of the material life of society.

The fall of the utopians, including the Narodniks, Anarchists and Socialist-Revolutionaries, was due, among other things, to the fact that they did not recognize the primary role which the conditions of the material life of society play in the development of society, and, sinking to idealism, did not base their practical activities on the needs of the development of the material life of society, but, independently of and in spite of these needs, on "ideal plans" and "all-embracing projects" divorced from the real life of society.

The strength and vitality of Marxism-Leninism lies in the fact that it does base its practical activity on the needs of the development of the material life of society and never divorces itself from the real life of society.

It does not follow from Marx's words, however, that social ideas, theories, political views and political institutions are of no significance in the life of society, that they do not reciprocally affect social being, the development of the material conditions of the life of society. We have been speaking so far of the *origin* of social ideas, theories, views and political institutions, of *the way they arise*, of the fact that the spiritual life of society is a reflection of the conditions of its material life. As regards the *significance* of social ideas, theories, views and political institutions, as regards their *role* in history, historical materialism, far from denying them, stresses the role and importance of these factors in the life of society, in its history.

There are different kinds of social ideas and theories. There are old ideas and theories which have outlived their day and which serve the interests of the moribund forces of society. Their significance lies in the fact that they hamper the development, the progress of society. Then there are new and advanced ideas and theories which serve the interests of the advanced forces of society. Their significance lies in the fact that they facilitate the development, the progress of society; and their significance is the greater the more accurately they reflect the needs of development of the material life of society.

New social ideas and theories arise only after the development of the material life of society has set new tasks before society. But once they

have arisen they become a most potent force which facilitates the carrying out of the new tasks set by the development of the material life of society, a force which facilitates the progress of society. It is precisely here that the tremendous organizing, mobilizing and transforming value of new ideas, new theories, new political views and new political institutions manifests itself. New social ideas and theories arise precisely because they are necessary to society, because it is *impossible* to carry out the urgent tasks of development of the material life of society without their organizing, mobilizing and transforming action. Arising out of the new tasks set by the development of the material life of society, the new social ideas and theories force their way through, become the possession of the masses, mobilize and organize them against the moribund forces of society, and thus facilitate the overthrow of these forces which hamper the development of the material life of society.

Thus social ideas, theories and political institutions, having arisen on the basis of the urgent tasks of the development of the material life of society, the development of social being, themselves then react upon social being, upon the material life of society, creating the conditions necessary for completely carrying out the urgent tasks of the material life of society, and for rendering its further development possible.

In this connection Marx says:

Theory becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses. (*Zur Kritik der Hegelschen Rechtsphilosophie.*)

Hence, in order to be able to influence the conditions of material life of society and to accelerate their development and their improvement, the party of the proletariat must rely upon such a social theory, such a social idea as correctly reflects the needs of development of the material life of society, and which is therefore capable of setting into motion broad masses of the people and of mobilizing them and organizing them into a great army of the proletarian party, prepared to smash the reactionary forces and to clear the way for the advanced forces of society.

The fall of the "Economists" and Mensheviks was due among other things to the fact that they did not recognize the mobilizing, organizing and transforming role of advanced theory, of advanced ideas and, sinking to vulgar materialism, reduced the role of these factors almost to nothing, thus condemning the party to passivity and inaction.

The strength and vitality of Marxism-Leninism is derived from the fact that it relies upon an advanced theory which correctly reflects the needs of development of the material life of society, that it elevates theory

to a proper level, and that it deems it its duty to utilize every ounce of the mobilizing, organizing and transforming power of this theory.

That is the answer historical materialism gives to the question of the relation between social being and social consciousness, between the conditions of development of material life and the development of the spiritual life of society.

It nows remains to elucidate the following question: what, from the viewpoint of historical materialism, is meant by the "conditions of material life of society" which in the final analysis determine the physiognomy of society, its ideas, views, political institutions, etc.?

What, after all, are these "conditions of material life of society," what are their distinguishing features?

There can be no doubt that the concept "conditions of material life of society" includes, first of all, nature which surrounds society, geographical environment, which is one of the indispensable and constant conditions of material life of society and which, of course, influences the development of society. What role does geographical environment play in the development of society? Is geographical environment the chief force determining the physiognomy of society, the character of the social system of men, the transition from one system to another?

Historical materialism answers this question in the negative.

Geographical environment is unquestionably one of the constant and indispensable conditions of development of society and, of course, influences the development of society, accelerates or retards its development. But its influence is not the *determining* influence, inasmuch as the changes and development of society proceed at an incomparably faster rate than the changes and development of geographical environment. In the space of three thousand years three different social systems have been successively superseded in Europe: the primitive communal system, the slave system and the feudal system. In the eastern part of Europe, in the U.S.S.R., even four social systems have been superseded. Yet during this period geographical conditions in Europe have either not changed at all, or have changed so slightly that geography takes no note of them. And that is quite natural. Changes in geographical environment of any importance require millions of years, whereas a few hundred or a couple of thousand years are enough for even very important changes in the system of human society.

It follows from this that geographical environment cannot be the chief cause, the *determining* cause of social development, for that which remains almost unchanged, in the course of tens of thousands of years can-

not be the chief cause of development of that which undergoes fundamental changes in the course of a few hundred years.

Further, there can be no doubt that the concept "conditions of material life of society" also includes growth of population, density of population of one degree or another, for people are an essential element of the conditions of material life of society, and without a definite minimum number of people there can be no material life of society. Is not growth of population the chief force that determines the character of the social system of man?

Historical materialism answers this question too in the negative.

Of course, growth of population does influence the development of society, does facilitate or retard the development of society, but it cannot be the chief force of development of society, and its influence on the development of society cannot be the *determining* influence because, by itself, growth of population does not furnish the clue to the question why a given social system is replaced precisely by such and such a new system and not by another, why the primitive communal system is succeeded precisely by the slave system, the slave system by the feudal system, and the feudal system by the bourgeois system, and not by some other.

If growth of population were the determining force of social development, then a higher density of population would be bound to give rise to a correspondingly higher type of social system. But we do not find this to be the case. The density of population in China is four times as great as in the U.S.A., yet the U.S.A. stands higher than China in the scale of social development, for in China a semi-feudal system still prevails, whereas the U.S.A. has long ago reached the highest stage of development of capitalism. The density of population in Belgium is nineteen times as great as in the U.S.A., and twenty-six times as great as in the U.S.S.R. Yet the U.S.A. stands higher than Belgium in the scale of social development; and as for the U.S.S.R., Belgium lags a whole historical epoch behind this country, for in Belgium the capitalist system prevails, whereas the U.S.S.R. has already done away with capitalism and has set up a socialist system.

It follows from this that growth of population is not, and cannot be, the chief force of development of society, the force which *determines* the character of the social system, the physiognomy of society.

What, then, is the chief force in the complex of conditions of material life of society which determines the physiognomy of society, the character of the social system, the development of society from one system to another?

This force, historical materialism holds, is the *method of procuring the means of life* necessary for human existence, the *mode of production of material values*—food, clothing, footwear, houses, fuel, instruments of production, etc.—which are indispensable for the life and development of society.

In order to live, people must have food, clothing, footwear, shelter, fuel, etc.; in order to have these material values, people must produce them; and in order to produce them, people must have the instruments of production with which food, clothing, footwear, shelter, fuel, etc., are produced; they must be able to produce these instruments and to use them.

The *instruments of production* wherewith material values are produced, the *people* who operate the instruments of production and carry on the production of material values thanks to a certain *production experience* and *labor skill*—all these elements jointly constitute the *productive forces* of society.

But the productive forces are only one aspect of production, only one aspect of the mode of production, an aspect that expresses the relation of men to the objects and forces of nature which they make use of for the production of material values. Another aspect of production, another aspect of the mode of production, is the relation of men to each other in the process of production, men's *relations of production*. Men carry on a struggle against nature and utilize nature for the production of material values not in isolation from each other, not as separate individuals, but in common, in groups, in societies. Production, therefore, is at all times and under all conditions *social* production. In the production of material values men enter into mutual relations of one kind or another within production, into relations of production of one kind or another. These may be relations of co-operation and mutual help between people who are free from exploitation; they may be relations of domination and subordination; and, lastly, they may be transitional from one form of relations of production to another. But whatever the character of the relations of production may be, always and in every system, they constitute just as essential an element of production as the productive forces of society.

In production [Marx says], men not only act on nature but also on one another. They produce only by cooperating in a certain way and mutually exchanging their activities. In order to produce, they enter into definite connections and relations with one another and only within these social connections and relations does their action on nature, does production, take place. (Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 264.)

Consequently, production, the mode of production, embraces both the productive forces of society and men's relations of production, and is thus the embodiment of their unity in the process of production of material values.

One of the features of production is that it never stays at one point for a long time and is always in a state of change and development, and that, furthermore, changes in the mode of production inevitably call forth changes in the whole social system, social ideas, political views and political institutions—they call forth a reconstruction of the whole social and political order. At different stages of development people make use of different modes of production, or, to put it more crudely, lead different manners of life. In the primitive commune there is one mode of production, under slavery there is another mode of production, under feudalism a third mode of production, and so on. And, correspondingly, men's social system, the spiritual life of men, their views and political institutions also vary.

Whatever is the mode of production of a society, such in the main is the society itself, its ideas and theories, its political views and institutions.

Or, to put it more crudely, whatever is man's manner of life, such is his manner of thought.

This means that the history of development of society is above all the history of the development of production, the history of the modes of production which succeed each other in the course of centuries, the history of the development of productive forces and of people's relations of production.

Hence the history of social development is at the same time the history of the producers of material values themselves, the history of the laboring masses who are the chief force in the process of production and who carry on the production of material values necessary for the existence of society.

Hence if historical science is to be a real science, it can no longer reduce the history of social development to the actions of kings and generals, to the actions of "conquerors" and "subjugators" of states, but must above all devote itself to the history of the producers of material values, the history of the laboring masses, the history of peoples.

Hence the clue to the study of the laws of history of society must not be sought in men's minds, in the views and ideas of society, but in the mode of production practiced by society in any given historical period; it must be sought in the economic life of society.

Hence the prime task of historical science is to study and disclose the laws of production, the laws of development of the productive forces and of the relations of production, the laws of economic development of society.

Hence, if the party of the proletariat is to be a real party, it must above all acquire a knowledge of the laws of development of production, of the laws of economic development of society.

Hence, if it is not to err in policy, the party of the proletariat must both in drafting its program and in its practical activities proceed primarily from the laws of development of production, from the laws of economic development of society.

A second feature of production is that its changes and development always begin with changes and development of the productive forces, and, in the first place, with changes and development of the instruments of production. Productive forces are therefore the most mobile and revolutionary element of production. First the productive forces of society change and develop, and then, *depending* on these changes and *in conformity with them*, men's relations of production, their economic relations, change. This, however, does not mean that the relations of production do not influence the development of the productive forces and that the latter are not dependent on the former. While their development is dependent on the development of the productive forces, the relations of production in their turn react upon the development of the productive forces, accelerating or retarding it. In this connection it should be noted that the relations of production cannot for too long a time lag behind and be in a state of contradiction to the growth of the productive forces, inasmuch as the productive forces can develop in full measure only when the relations of production correspond to the character, the state of the productive forces and allow full scope for their development. Therefore, however much the relations of production may lag behind the development of the productive forces, they must, sooner or later, come into correspondence with—and actually do come into correspondence with—the level of development of the productive forces, the character of the productive forces. Otherwise we would have a fundamental violation of the unity of the productive forces and the relations of production within the system of production, a disruption of production as a whole, a crisis of production, a destruction of productive forces.

An instance in which the relations of production do not correspond to the character of the productive forces, conflict with them, is the economic crises in capitalist countries, where private capitalist ownership

of the means of production is in glaring incongruity with the social character of the process of production, with the character of the productive forces. This results in economic crises, which lead to the destruction of productive forces. Furthermore, this incongruity itself constitutes the economic basis of social revolution, the purposes of which is to destroy the existing relations of production and to create new relations of production corresponding to the character of the productive forces.

In contrast, an instance in which the relations of production completely correspond to the character of the productive forces is the socialist national economy of the U.S.S.R., where the social ownership of the means of production fully corresponds to the social character of the process of production, and where, because of this, economic crises and the destruction of productive forces are unknown.

Consequently, the productive forces are not only the most mobile and revolutionary element in production, but are also the determining element in the development of production.

Whatever are the productive forces such must be the relations of production.

While the state of the productive forces furnishes an answer to the question—with what instruments of production do men produce the material values they need?—the state of the relations of production furnishes the answer to another question—who owns the *means of production* (the land, forests, waters, mineral resources, raw materials, instruments of production, production premises, means of transportation and communication, etc.), who commands the means of production, whether the whole of society, or individual persons, groups, or classes which utilize them for the exploitation of other persons, groups or classes?

Here is a rough picture of the development of productive forces from ancient times to our day. The transition from crude stone tools to the bow and arrow, and the accompanying transition from the life of hunters to the domestication of animals and primitive pasturage; the transition from stone tools to metal tools (the iron axe, the wooden plow fitted with an iron colter, etc.), with a corresponding transition to tillage and agriculture; a further improvement in metal tools for the working up of materials, the introduction of the blacksmith's bellows, the introduction of pottery, with a corresponding development of handicrafts, the separation of handicrafts from agriculture, the development of an independent handicraft industry and, subsequently, of manufacture; the transition

from handicraft tools to machines and the transformation of handicraft and manufacture into machine industry; the transition to the machine system and the rise of modern large-scale machine industry—such is a general and far from complete picture of the development of the productive forces of society in the course of man's history. It will be clear that the development and improvement of the instruments of production was effected by men who were related to production, and not independently of men; and, consequently, the change and development of the instruments of production was accompanied by a change and development of men, as the most important element of the productive forces, by a change and development of their production experience, their labor skill, their ability to handle the instruments of production.

In conformity with the change and development of the productive forces of society in the course of history, men's relations of production, their economic relations also changed and developed.

Five *main* types of relations of production are known to history: primitive communal, slave, feudal, capitalist and socialist.

The basis of the relations of production under the primitive communal system is that the means of production are socially owned. This, in the main, corresponds to the character of the productive forces of that period. Stone tools, and, later, the bow and arrow, precluded the possibility of men individually combating the forces of nature and beasts of prey. In order to gather the fruits of the forest, to catch fish, to build some sort of habitation, men were obliged to work in common if they did not want to die of starvation, or fall victim to beasts of prey or to neighboring societies. Labor in common led to the common ownership of the means of production, as well as of the fruits of production. Here the conception of private ownership of the means of production did not yet exist, except for the personal ownership of certain implements of production which were at the same time means of defense against beasts of prey. Here there was no exploitation, no classes.

The basis of the relations of production under the slave system is that the slave owner owns the means of production; he also owns the worker in production—the slave, whom he can sell, purchase, or kill as though he were an animal. Such relations of production in the main correspond to the state of the productive forces of that period. Instead of stone tools, men now have metal tools at their command; instead of the wretched and primitive husbandry of the hunter, who knew neither pasturage, nor tillage, there now appear pasturage, tillage, handicrafts, and a division of labor between these branches of production. There appears the possibility

of the exchange of products between individuals and between societies, of the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few, the actual accumulation of the means of production in the hands of a minority, and the possibility of subjugation of the majority by a minority and their conversion into slaves. Here we no longer find the common and free labor of all members of society in the production process—here there prevails the forced labor of slaves, who are exploited by the non-laboring slave owners. Here, therefore, there is no common ownership of the means of production or of the fruits of production. It is replaced by private ownership. Here the slave owner appears as the prime and principal property owner in the full sense of the term.

Rich and poor, exploiters and exploited, people with full rights and people with no rights, and a fierce class struggle between them—such is the picture of the slave system.

The basis of the relations of production under the feudal system is that the feudal lord owns the means of production and does not fully own the worker in production—the serf, whom the feudal lord can no longer kill, but whom he can buy and sell. Alongside of feudal ownership there exists individual ownership by the peasant and the handicraftsman of his implements of production and his private enterprise based on his personal labor. Such relations of production in the main correspond to the state of the productive forces of that period. Further improvements in the smelting and working of iron; the spread of the iron plow and the loom; the further development of agriculture, horticulture, viniculture and dairying; the appearance of manufactories alongside of the handicraft workshops—such are the characteristic features of the state of the productive forces.

The new productive forces demand that the laborer shall display some kind of initiative in production and an inclination for work, an interest in work. The feudal lord therefore discards the slave, as a laborer who has no interest in work and is entirely without initiative, and prefers to deal with the serf, who has his own husbandry, implements of production, and a certain interest in work essential for the cultivation of the land and for the payment in kind of a part of his harvest to the feudal lord.

Here private ownership is further developed. Exploitation is nearly as severe as it was under slavery—it is only slightly mitigated. A class struggle between exploiters and exploited is the principal feature of the feudal system.

The basis of the relations of production under the capitalist system is that the capitalist owns the means of production, but not the workers in

production—the wage laborers, whom the capitalist can neither kill nor sell because they are personally free, but who are deprived of means of production and, in order not to die of hunger, are obliged to sell their labor power to the capitalist and to bear the yoke of exploitation. Alongside of capitalist property in the means of production, we find, at first on a wide scale, private property of the peasants and handicraftsmen in the means of production, these peasants and handicraftsmen no longer being serfs, and their private property being based on personal labor. In place of the handicraft workshops and manufactories there appear huge mills and factories equipped with machinery. In place of the manorial estates tilled by the primitive implements of production of the peasant, there now appear large capitalist farms run on scientific lines and supplied with agricultural machinery.

The new productive forces require that the workers in production shall be better educated and more intelligent than the down-trodden and ignorant serfs, that they be able to understand machinery and operate it properly. Therefore, the capitalists prefer to deal with wage workers who are free from the bonds of serfdom and who are educated enough to be able properly to operate machinery.

But having developed productive forces to a tremendous extent, capitalism has become enmeshed in contradictions which it is unable to solve. By producing larger and larger quantities of commodities, and reducing their prices, capitalism intensifies competition, ruins the mass of small and medium private owners, converts them into proletarians and reduces their purchasing power, with the result that it becomes impossible to dispose of the commodities produced. On the other hand, by expanding production and concentrating millions of workers in huge mills and factories, capitalism lends the process of production a social character and thus undermines its own foundation, inasmuch as the social character of the process of production demands the social ownership of the means of production; yet the means of production remains private capitalist property, which is incompatible with the social character of the process of production.

These irreconcilable contradictions between the character of the productive forces and the relations of production make themselves felt in periodical crises of overproduction, when the capitalists, finding no effective demand for their goods owing to the ruin of the mass of the population which they themselves have brought about, are compelled to burn products, destroy manufactured goods, suspend production, and destroy productive forces at a time when millions of people are forced to suffer

unemployment and starvation, not because there are not enough goods, but because there is an overproduction of goods.

This means that the capitalist relations of production have ceased to correspond to the state of productive forces of society and have come into irreconcilable contradiction with them.

This means that capitalism is pregnant with revolution, whose mission it is to replace the existing capitalist ownership of the means of production by socialist ownership.

This means that the main feature of the capitalist system is a most acute class struggle between the exploiters and the exploited.

The basis of the relations of production under the socialist system, which so far has been established only in the U.S.S.R., is the social ownership of the means of production. Here there are no longer exploiters and exploited. The goods produced are distributed according to labor performed, on the principle: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat." Here the mutual relations of people in the process of production are marked by comradely co-operation and the socialist mutual assistance of workers who are free from exploitation. Here the relations of production fully correspond to the state of productive forces, for the social character of the process of production is reinforced by the social ownership of the means of production.

For this reason socialist production in the U.S.S.R. knows no periodical crises of overproduction and their accompanying absurdities.

For this reason, the productive forces here develop at an accelerated pace, for the relations of production that correspond to them offer full scope for such development.

Such is the picture of the development of men's relations of production in the course of human history.

Such is the dependence of the development of the relations of production on the development of the productive forces of society, and primarily on the development of the instruments of production, the dependence by virtue of which the changes and development of the productive forces sooner or later lead to corresponding changes and development of the relations of production.

The use and fabrication of instruments of labor* [says Marx], although existing in the germ among certain species of animals, is specifically characteristic of the human labor-process, and Franklin therefore defines man as a tool-making animal. Relics of bygone instruments of labor possess the same

* By instruments of labor Marx has in mind primarily instruments of production.—J.S.

importance for the investigation of extinct economic forms of society, as do fossil bones for the determination of extinct species of animals. It is not the articles made, but how they are made, and by what instruments that enables us to distinguish different economic epochs. . . . Instruments of labor not only supply a standard of the degree of development to which human labor has attained but they are also indicators of the social condition under which that labor is carried on. (Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 159.)

And further:

Social relations are closely bound up with productive forces. In acquiring new productive forces men change their mode of production; and in changing their mode of production, in changing the way of earning their living, they change all their social relations. The hand-mill gives you society with the feudal lord; the steam-mill, society with the industrial capitalist. (Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy*, p. 92.)

There is a continual movement of growth in productive forces, of destruction in social relations, of formation in ideas; the only immutable thing is the abstraction of movement. (*Ibid.*, p. 93.)

Speaking of historical materialism as formulated in *The Communist Manifesto*, Engels says:

Economic production and the structure of society of every historical epoch necessarily arising therefrom constitute the foundation for the political and intellectual history of that epoch; . . . consequently, ever since the dissolution of the primeval communal ownership of land all history has been a history of class struggles, of struggles between exploited and exploiting, between dominated and dominating classes at various stages of social evolution; . . . this struggle, however, has now reached a stage where the exploited and oppressed class (the proletariat) can no longer emancipate itself from the class which exploits and oppresses it (the bourgeoisie), without at the same time forever freeing the whole of society from exploitation, oppression and class struggles. (Preface to the German edition of *The Communist Manifesto*, Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 192-93.)

A third feature of production is that the rise of new productive forces and of the relations of production corresponding to them does not take place separately from the old system, after the disappearance of the old system, but within the old system; it takes place not as a result of the deliberate and conscious activity of man, but spontaneously, unconsciously, independently of the will of man. It takes place spontaneously and independently of the will of man for two reasons.

First, because men are not free to choose one mode of production or

another, because as every new generation enters life it finds productive forces and relations of production already existing as the result of the work of former generations, owing to which it is obliged at first to accept and adapt itself to everything it finds ready made in the sphere of production in order to be able to produce material values.

Secondly, because, when improving one instrument of production or another, one element of the productive forces or another, men do not realize, do not understand or stop to reflect what *social* results these improvements will lead to, but only think of their everyday interests, of lightening their labor and of securing some direct and tangible advantage for themselves.

When, gradually and gropingly, certain members of primitive communal society passed from the use of stone tools to the use of iron tools, they, of course, did not know and did not stop to reflect what *social* results this innovation would lead to; they did not understand or realize that the change to metal tools meant a revolution in production, that it would in the long run lead to the slave system. They simply wanted to lighten their labor and secure an immediate and tangible advantage; their conscious activity was confined within the narrow bounds of this everyday personal interest.

When, in the period of the feudal system, the young bourgeoisie of Europe began to erect, alongside of the small guild workshops, large manufacturing, and thus advanced the productive forces of society, it, of course, did not know and did not stop to reflect what *social* consequences this innovation would lead to; it did not realize or understand that this "small" innovation would lead to a regrouping of social forces which was to end in a revolution both against the power of kings, whose favors it so highly valued, and against the nobility, to whose ranks its foremost representatives not infrequently aspired. It simply wanted to lower the cost of producing goods, to throw large quantities of goods on the markets of Asia and of recently discovered America, and to make bigger profits. Its conscious activity was confined within the narrow bounds of this commonplace practical aim.

When the Russian capitalists, in conjunction with foreign capitalists, energetically implanted modern large-scale machine industry in Russia, while leaving tsardom intact and turning the peasants over to the tender mercies of the landlords, they, of course, did not know and did not stop to reflect what *social* consequences this extensive growth of productive forces would lead to; they did not realize or understand that this big leap in the realm of the productive forces of society would lead to a re-

grouping of social forces that would enable the proletariat to effect a union with the peasantry and to bring about a victorious socialist revolution. They simply wanted to expand industrial production to the limit, to gain control of the huge home market, to become monopolists, and to squeeze as much profit as possible out of the national economy. Their conscious activity did not extend beyond their commonplace, strictly practical interests. Accordingly, Marx says:

In the social production which men carry on [that is, in the production of the material values necessary to the life of men—J.S.] they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and *independent* [My italics.—J.S.] of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material forces of production. (Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 356.)

This, however, does not mean that changes in the relations of production, and the transition from old relations of production to new relations of production proceed smoothly, without conflicts, without upheavals. On the contrary, such a transition usually takes place by means of the revolutionary overthrow of the old relations of production and the establishment of new relations of production. Up to a certain period the development of the productive forces and the changes in the realm of the relations of production proceed spontaneously, independently of the will of men.

But that is so only up to a certain moment, until the new and developing productive forces have reached a proper state of maturity. After the new productive forces have matured, the existing relations of production and their upholders—the ruling classes—become that “insuperable” obstacle which can only be removed by the conscious action of the new classes, by the forcible acts of these classes, by revolution. Here there stands out in bold relief the *tremendous role* of new social ideas, of new political institutions, of a new political power, whose mission it is to abolish by force the old relations of production. Out of the conflict between the new productive forces and the old relations of production, out of the new economic demands of society, there arise new social ideas; the new ideas organize and mobilize the masses; the masses become welded into a new political army, create a new revolutionary power, and make use of it to abolish by force the old system of relations of production, and to firmly establish the new system. The spontaneous process of development yields place to the conscious action of men, peaceful development to violent upheaval, evolution to revolution.

The proletariat [says Marx], during its contest with the bourgeoisie, is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class... by means of a revolution it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production. (*The Communist Manifesto*, Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, p. 228.)

And further:

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, *i.e.*, of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible. (*Ibid.*, p. 227.)

Force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one. (Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 776.)

Here is the brilliant formulation of the essence of historical materialism given by Marx in 1859 in his historic preface to his famous book, *Critique of Political Economy*:

In the social production which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material forces of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or—what is but a legal expression for the same thing—with the property relations within which they have been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations a distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, æsthetic or philosophic—in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so can we not judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, this consciousness must be explained rather from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the

social forces of production and the relations of production. No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have been developed; and new higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society itself. Therefore, mankind always sets itself only such tasks as it can solve; since, looking at the matter more closely, we will always find that the task itself arises only when the material conditions necessary for its solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation. (Karl Marx, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, pp. 356-57.)

Such is Marxist materialism as applied to social life, to the history of society.

Such are the principal features of dialectical and historical materialism.

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TO THE EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

I. THE SOVIET UNION AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Five years have elapsed since the Seventeenth Party Congress. No small period, as you see. During this period the world has undergone considerable changes. States and countries, and their mutual relations, are now in many respects totally altered.

What changes exactly have taken place in the international situation in this period? In what way exactly have the foreign and internal affairs of our country changed?

For the capitalist countries this period was one of very profound perturbations in both the economic and political spheres. In the economic sphere these were years of depression, followed, from the beginning of the latter half of 1937, by a period of new economic crisis, of a new decline of industry in the United States, Great Britain and France; consequently, these were years of new economic complications. In the political sphere they were years of serious political conflicts and perturbations. A new imperialist war is already in its second year, a war waged over a huge territory stretching from Shanghai to Gibraltar and involving over five hundred million people. The map of Europe, Africa and Asia is being forcibly redrawn. The entire post-war system, the so-called regime of peace, has been shaken to its foundations.

For the Soviet Union, on the contrary, these were years of growth and prosperity, of further economic and cultural progress, of further development of political and military might, of struggle for the preservation of peace throughout the world.

Such is the general picture.

Let us now examine the concrete data illustrating the changes in the international situation.

New Economic Crisis in the Capitalist Countries, Intensification of the Struggle for Markets and Sources of Raw Material, and for a New Redivision of the World

The economic crisis which broke out in the capitalist countries in the latter half of 1929 lasted until the end of 1933. After that the crisis passed into a depression, and was then followed by a certain revival, a certain upward trend of industry. But this upward trend of industry did not develop into a boom, as is usually the case in a period of revival. On the contrary, in the latter half of 1937 a new economic crisis began which seized the United States first of all and then England, France and a number of other countries.

The capitalist countries thus found themselves faced with a new economic crisis before they had even recovered from the ravages of the recent one.

This circumstance naturally led to an increase of unemployment. The number of unemployed in capitalist countries, which had fallen from thirty million in 1933 to fourteen million in 1937, has now again risen to eighteen million as a result of the new economic crisis.

A distinguishing feature of the new crisis is that it differs in many respects from the preceding one, and, moreover, differs for the worse and not for the better.

First, the new crisis did not begin after an industrial boom, as was the case in 1929, but after a depression and a certain revival, which, however, did not develop into a boom. This means that the present crisis will be more severe and more difficult to cope with than the previous crisis.

Further, the present crisis has broken out not in time of peace, but at a time when a second imperialist war has already begun; at a time when Japan, already in the second year of her war with China, is disorganizing the immense Chinese market and rendering it almost inaccessible to the goods of other countries; when Italy and Germany have already placed their national economy on a war footing, squandering their reserves of raw material and foreign currency for this purpose; and when all the other big capitalist powers are beginning to reorganize themselves on a war footing. This means that capitalism will have far less resources at its disposal for a normal way out of the present crisis than during the preceding crisis.

Lastly, as distinct from the preceding crisis, the present crisis is not a general one, but as yet involves chiefly the economically powerful countries which have not yet placed themselves on a war economy basis. As

regards the aggressive countries, such as Japan, Germany and Italy, which have already reorganized their economy on a war footing, they, because of the intense development of their war industry, are not yet experiencing a crisis of overproduction, although they are approaching it. This means that by the time the economically powerful, non-aggressive countries begin to emerge from the phase of crisis the aggressive countries, having exhausted their reserves of gold and raw material in the course of the war fever, are bound to enter a phase of very severe crisis.

This is clearly illustrated, for example, by the figures for the visible gold reserves of the capitalist countries.

VISIBLE GOLD RESERVES OF THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

(In millions of former gold dollars)

	<i>End of 1936</i>	<i>September 1938</i>
<i>Total</i>	12,980	14,301
U.S.A.	6,649	8,126
Great Britain	2,029	2,396
France	1,769	1,435
Holland	289	595
Belgium	373	318
Switzerland	387	407
Germany	16	17
Italy	123	124
Japan	273	97

This table shows that the combined gold reserves of Germany, Italy and Japan amount to less than the reserves of Switzerland alone.

Here are a few figures illustrating the state of crisis of industry in the capitalist countries during the past five years and the trend of industrial progress in the U.S.S.R.

VOLUME OF INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT COMPARED WITH 1929

(1929 = 100)

	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
U.S.A.	66.4	75.6	88.1	92.2	72.0
Great Britain	98.8	105.8	115.9	123.7	112.0
France	71.0	67.4	79.3	82.8	70.0
Italy	80.0	93.8	87.5	99.6	96.0
Germany	79.8	94.0	106.3	117.2	125.0
Japan	128.7	141.8	151.1	170.8	165.0
U.S.S.R.	238.3	293.4	382.3	424.0	477.0

This table shows that the Soviet Union is the only country in the world where crises are unknown and where industry is continuously on the upgrade.

This table also shows that a serious economic crisis has already begun and is developing in the United States, Great Britain and France.

Further, this table shows that in Italy and Japan, which placed their national economy on a war footing earlier than Germany, the downward course of industry already began in 1938.

Lastly, this table shows that in Germany, which reorganized her economy on a war footing later than Italy and Japan, industry is still experiencing a certain upward trend—although a small one, it is true—corresponding to that which took place in Japan and Italy until recently.

There can be no doubt that unless something unforeseen occurs, German industry must enter the same downward path as Japan and Italy have already taken. For what does placing the economy of a country on a war footing mean? It means giving industry a one-sided, war direction; developing to the utmost the production of goods necessary for war and not for consumption by the population; restricting to the utmost the production and, especially, the sale of articles of general consumption—and, consequently, reducing consumption by the population and confronting the country with an economic crisis.

Such is the concrete picture of the trend of the new economic crisis in the capitalist countries.

Naturally, such an unfavorable turn of economic affairs could not but aggravate relations among the powers. The preceding crisis had already mixed the cards and intensified the struggle for markets and sources of raw materials. The seizure of Manchuria and North China by Japan, the seizure of Ethiopia by Italy—all this reflected the acuteness of the struggle among the powers. The new economic crisis must lead, and is actually leading, to a further sharpening of the imperialist struggle. It is no longer a question of competition in the markets, of a commercial war, of dumping. These methods of struggle have long been recognized as inadequate. It is now a question of a new redivision of the world, of spheres of influence and colonies, by military action.

Japan tried to justify her aggressive actions by the argument that she had been cheated when the Nine-Power Pact was concluded and had not been allowed to extend her territory at the expense of China, whereas Britain and France possess vast colonies. Italy recalled that she had been cheated during the division of the spoils after the first imperialist war and that she must recompense herself at the expense of the spheres of

influence of Britain and France. Germany, who had suffered severely as a result of the first imperialist war and the Peace of Versailles, joined forces with Japan and Italy, and demanded an extension of her territory in Europe and the return of the colonies of which the victors in the first imperialist war had deprived her.

Thus the bloc of three aggressor states came to be formed.

A new redivision of the world by means of war became imminent.

Aggravation of the International Political Situation. Collapse of the Post-War System of Peace Treaties. Beginning of a New Imperialist War

Here is a list of the most important events during the period under review which mark the beginning of the new imperialist war. In 1935 Italy attacked and seized Ethiopia. In the summer of 1936 Germany and Italy organized military intervention in Spain, Germany entrenching herself in the north of Spain and in Spanish Morocco, and Italy in the south of Spain and in the Balearic Islands. Having seized Manchuria, Japan in 1937 invaded North and Central China, occupied Peking, Tientsin and Shanghai and began to oust her foreign competitors from the occupied zone. In the beginning of 1938 Germany seized Austria, and in the autumn of 1938 the Sudeten region of Czechoslovakia. At the end of 1938 Japan seized Canton, and at the start of 1939 the Island of Hainan.

Thus the war, which has stolen so imperceptibly upon the nations, has drawn over five hundred million people into its orbit and has extended its sphere of action over a vast territory, stretching from Tientsin, Shanghai and Canton, through Ethiopia, to Gibraltar.

After the first imperialist war the victor states, primarily Britain, France and the United States, had set up a new regime in the relations between countries, the post-war regime of peace. The main props of this regime were the Nine-Power Pact in the Far East, and the Versailles Treaty and a number of other treaties in Europe. The League of Nations was set up to regulate relations between countries within the framework of this regime, on the basis of a united front of states, of collective defense of the security of states. However, three aggressive states, and the new imperialist war launched by them, have upset the entire system of this post-war peace regime. Japan tore up the Nine-Power Pact, and Germany and Italy the Versailles Treaty. In order to have their hands free, these three states withdrew from the League of Nations.

The new imperialist war became a fact.

It is not so easy in our day to break loose suddenly and plunge straight into war without regard for treaties of any kind or for public opinion. Bourgeois politicians know this very well. So do the fascist rulers. That is why the fascist rulers decided, before plunging into war, to frame public opinion to suit their ends, that is, to mislead it, to deceive it.

A military bloc of Germany and Italy against the interests of England and France in Europe? Bless us, do you call that a bloc? "We" have no military bloc. All "we" have is an innocuous "Berlin-Rome axis"; that is, just a geometrical equation for an axis.

A military bloc of Germany, Italy and Japan against the interests of the United States, Great Britain and France in the Far East? Nothing of the kind! "We" have no military bloc. All "we" have is an innocuous "Berlin-Rome-Tokyo triangle"; that is, a slight penchant for geometry.

A war against the interests of England, France, the United States? Nonsense! "We" are waging war on the Comintern, not on these states. If you don't believe it, read the "anti-Comintern pact" concluded between Italy, Germany and Japan.

That is how Messieurs the aggressors thought of framing public opinion, although it was not hard to see how preposterous this whole clumsy game of camouflage was; for it is ridiculous to look for Comintern "hot-beds" in the deserts of Mongolia, in the mountains of Ethiopia, or in the wilds of Spanish Morocco.

But war is inexorable. It cannot be hidden under any guise. For no "axis," "triangles" or "anti-Comintern pacts" can hide the fact that in this period Japan has seized a vast stretch of territory in China, that Italy has seized Ethiopia, that Germany has seized Austria and the Sudeten region, that Germany and Italy together have seized Spain—and all this in defiance of the interests of the non-aggressive states. The war remains a war; the military bloc of aggressors remains a military bloc; and the aggressors remain aggressors.

It is a distinguishing feature of the new imperialist war that it has not yet become universal, a world war. The war is being waged by aggressor states, which in every way infringe upon the interests of the non-aggressive states, primarily England, France and the U.S.A., while the latter draw back and retreat, making concession after concession to the aggressors.

Thus we are witnessing an open redivision of the world and spheres of influence at the expense of the non-aggressive states, without the least attempt at resistance, and even with a certain amount of connivance, on the part of the latter.

Incredible, but true.

To what are we to attribute this one-sided and strange character of the new imperialist war?

How is it that the non-aggressive countries, which possess such vast opportunities, have so easily, and without any resistance, abandoned their positions and their obligations to please the aggressors?

Is it to be attributed to the weakness of the non-aggressive states? Of course not! Combined, the non-aggressive, democratic states are unquestionably stronger than the fascist states, both economically and in the military sense.

To what then are we to attribute the systematic concessions made by these states to the aggressors?

It might be attributed, for example, to the fear that a revolution might break out if the non-aggressive states were to go to war and the war were to assume world-wide proportions. The bourgeois politicians know, of course, that the first imperialist world war led to the victory of the revolution in one of the largest countries. They are afraid that the second imperialist world war may also lead to the victory of the revolution in one or several countries.

But at present this is not the sole or even the chief reason. The chief reason is that the majority of the non-aggressive countries, particularly England and France, have rejected the policy of collective security, the policy of collective resistance to the aggressors, and have taken up a position of non-intervention, a position of "neutrality."

Formally speaking, the policy of non-intervention might be defined as follows: "Let each country defend itself from the aggressors as it likes and as best it can. That is not our affair. We shall trade both with the aggressors and with their victims." But actually speaking, the policy of non-intervention means conniving at aggression, giving free rein to war, and, consequently, transforming the war into a world war. The policy of non-intervention reveals an eagerness, a desire, not to hinder the aggressors in their nefarious work: not to hinder Japan, say, from embroiling herself in a war with China, or, better still, with the Soviet Union; not to hinder Germany, say, from enmeshing herself in European affairs, from embroiling herself in a war with the Soviet Union; to allow all the belligerents to sink deeply into the mire of war, to encourage them surreptitiously in this; to allow them to weaken and exhaust one another; and then, when they have become weak enough, to appear on the scene with fresh strength, to appear, of course, "in the interests of peace," and to dictate conditions to the enfeebled belligerents.

Cheap and easy!

Take Japan, for instance. It is characteristic that before Japan invaded North China all the influential French and British newspapers shouted about China's weakness and her inability to offer resistance, and declared that Japan with her army could subjugate China in two or three months. Then the European and American politicians began to watch and wait. And then, when Japan started military operations, they let her have Shanghai, the vital center of foreign capital in China; they let her have Canton, a center of Britain's monopoly influence in South China; they let her have Hainan, and they allowed her to surround Hongkong. Does not this look very much like encouraging the aggressor? It is as though they were saying: "Embroider yourself deeper in war; then we shall see."

Or take Germany, for instance. They let her have Austria, despite the undertaking to defend her independence; they let her have the Sudeten region; they abandoned Czechoslovakia to her fate, thereby violating all their obligations; and then began to lie vociferously in the press about "the weakness of the Russian army," "the demoralization of the Russian air force," and "riots" in the Soviet Union, egging the Germans on to march farther east, promising them easy pickings, and prompting them: "Just start war on the Bolsheviks, and everything will be all right." It must be admitted that this too looks very much like egging on and encouraging the aggressor.

The hullabaloo raised by the British, French and American press over the Soviet Ukraine is characteristic. The gentlemen of the press there shouted until they were hoarse that the Germans were marching on Soviet Ukraine, that they now had what is called the Carpathian Ukraine, with a population of some seven hundred thousand, and that not later than this spring the Germans would annex the Soviet Ukraine, which has a population of over thirty million, to this so-called Carpathian Ukraine. It looks as if the object of this suspicious hullabaloo was to incense the Soviet Union against Germany, to poison the atmosphere and to provoke a conflict with Germany without any visible grounds.

It is quite possible, of course, that there are madmen in Germany who dream of annexing the elephant, that is, the Soviet Ukraine, to the gnat, namely, the so-called Carpathian Ukraine. If there really are such lunatics in Germany, rest assured that we shall find enough straitjackets for them in our country. But if we ignore the madmen and turn to normal people, is it not clearly absurd and foolish seriously to talk of annexing the Soviet Ukraine to this so-called Carpathian Ukraine? Imagine: The gnat comes to the elephant and says perkily: "Ah, brother, how sorry I am for you. . . . Here you are without any landlords, without any capitalists, with no

national oppression, without any fascist bosses. Is that a way to live? ... As I look at you I can't help thinking that there is no hope for you unless you annex yourself to me. ... Well, so be it: I allow you to annex your tiny domain to my vast territories. ..."

Even more characteristic is the fact that certain European and American politicians and newspapermen, having lost patience waiting for "the march on the Soviet Ukraine," are themselves beginning to disclose what is really behind the policy of non-intervention. They are saying quite openly, putting it down in black on white, that the Germans have cruelly "disappointed" them, for instead of marching farther east, against the Soviet Union, they have turned, you see, to the west and are demanding colonies. One might think that the districts of Czechoslovakia were yielded to Germany as the price of an undertaking to launch war on the Soviet Union, but that now the Germans are refusing to meet their bills and are sending them to Hades.

Far be it from me to moralize on the policy of non-intervention, to talk of treason, treachery and so on. It would be naïve to preach morals to people who recognize no human morality. Politics is politics, as the old, case-hardened bourgeois diplomats say. It must be remarked, however, that the big and dangerous political game started by the supporters of the policy of non-intervention may end in a serious fiasco for them.

Such is the true face of the prevailing policy of non-intervention.

Such is the political situation in the capitalist countries.

The Soviet Union and the Capitalist Countries

The war has created a new situation with regard to the relations between countries. It has enveloped them in an atmosphere of alarm and uncertainty. By undermining the post-war peace regime and overriding the elementary principles of international law, it has cast doubt on the value of international treaties and obligations. Pacifism and disarmament schemes are dead and buried. Feverish arming has taken their place. Everybody is arming, small states and big states, including primarily those which practise the policy of non-intervention. Nobody believes any longer in the unctuous speeches which claim that the Munich concessions to the aggressors and the Munich agreement opened a new era of "appeasement." They are disbelieved even by the signatories to the Munich agreement, Britain and France, who are increasing their armaments no less than other countries.

Naturally, the U.S.S.R. could not ignore these ominous events. There

is no doubt that any war, however small, started by the aggressors in any remote corner of the world constitutes a danger to the peaceable countries. All the more serious then is the danger arising from the new imperialist war, which has already drawn into its orbit over five hundred million people in Asia, Africa and Europe. In view of this, while our country is unswervingly pursuing a policy of preserving peace, it is at the same time doing a great deal to increase the preparedness of our Red Army and our Red Navy. At the same time, in order to strengthen its international position, the Soviet Union decided to take certain other steps. At the end of 1934 our country joined the League of Nations, considering that despite its weakness the League might nevertheless serve as a place where aggressors can be exposed, and as a certain instrument of peace, however feeble, that might hinder the outbreak of war. The Soviet Union considers that in alarming times like these even so weak an international organization as the League of Nations should not be ignored. In May 1935 a treaty of mutual assistance against possible attack by aggressors was signed between France and the Soviet Union. A similar treaty was simultaneously concluded with Czechoslovakia. In March 1936 the Soviet Union concluded a treaty of mutual assistance with the Mongolian People's Republic. In August 1937 the Soviet Union concluded a pact of non-aggression with the Chinese Republic.

It was in such difficult international conditions that the Soviet Union pursued its foreign policy of upholding the cause of peace.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is clear and explicit.

1. We stand for peace and the strengthening of business relations with all countries. That is our position; and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass on the interests of our country.

2. We stand for peaceful, close and friendly relations with all the neighboring countries which have common frontiers with the U.S.S.R. That is our position; and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass, directly or indirectly, on the integrity and inviolability of the frontiers of the Soviet state.

3. We stand for the support of nations which are the victims of aggression and are fighting for the independence of their country.

4. We are not afraid of the threats of aggressors, and are ready to deal two blows for every blow delivered by instigators of war who attempt to violate the Soviet borders.

Such is the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

In its foreign policy the Soviet Union relies upon:

1. Its growing economic, political and cultural might.
2. The moral and political unity of our Soviet society.
3. The mutual friendship of the nations of our country.
4. Its Red Army and Red Navy.
5. Its policy of peace.
6. The moral support of the working people of all countries, who are vitally concerned in the preservation of peace.
7. The good sense of the countries which for one reason or another have no interest in the violation of peace.

The tasks of the party in the sphere of foreign policy are:

1. To continue the policy of peace and of strengthening business relations with all countries.
2. To be cautious and not allow our country to be drawn into conflicts by warmongers who are accustomed to have others pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them.
3. To strengthen the might of our Red Army and Red Navy to the utmost.
4. To strengthen the international bonds of friendship with the working people of all countries, who are interested in peace and friendship among nations.

II. INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE SOVIET UNION

Let us now pass to the internal affairs of our country.

From the standpoint of its internal situation, the Soviet Union, during the period under review, presented a picture of further progress of its entire economic life, a rise in culture and the strengthening of the political might of the country.

In the sphere of economic development, we must regard the most important result during the period under review to be the fact that the reconstruction of industry and agriculture on the basis of a new, modern technique has been completed. There are no more or hardly any more old plants in our country, with their old technique, and hardly any old peasant farms, with their antediluvian equipment. Our industry and agriculture are now based on new, up-to-date technique. It may be said without exaggeration that from the standpoint of the technique of production, from the standpoint of the degree of saturation of industry and agriculture with new machinery, our country is more advanced than any

other country, where the old machinery acts as a fetter on production and hampers the introduction of modern technique.

In the sphere of the social and political development of the country, we must regard the most important achievement during the period under review to be the fact that the remnants of the exploiting classes have been completely eliminated, that the workers, peasants and intellectuals have been welded into one common front of the working people, that the moral and political unity of Soviet society has been strengthened, that the friendship among the nations of our country has become closer, and, as a result, that the political life of our country has been completely democratized and a new Constitution created. No one will dare deny that our Constitution is the most democratic in the world, and that the results of the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., as well as to the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics, have been the most exemplary.

The result of all this is a completely stable internal situation and a stability of government which any other government in the world might envy.

Let us examine the concrete data illustrating the economic and political situation of our country.

(a) *Industry.* During the period under review our industry presented a picture of uninterrupted progress. This progress was reflected not only in an increase of output generally, but, and primarily, in the flourishing state of socialist industry, on the one hand, and the doom of private industry, on the other.

Here is a table which illustrates this:

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS OF THE U.S.S.R. IN 1934-38

	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	Per cent of previous year						
							1934	1935	1936	1937	1938		
												1938 compared with 1933 (per cent)	
	<i>In millions of rubles at 1926-27 prices</i>												
Total output	42,030	50,477	62,137	80,929	90,166	100,375	120.1	123.1	130.2	111.4	111.3	238.8	
Of which:													
1. Socialist industry	42,002	50,443	62,114	80,898	90,138	100,349	120.1	123.1	130.2	111.4	111.3	238.9	
2. Private industry	28	34	23	31	28	26	121.4	67.6	134.8	90.3	92.9	92.9	
	Per cent												
Total output	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00							
Of which:													
1. Socialist industry	99.93	99.93	99.96	99.96	99.97	99.97							
2. Private industry	0.07	0.07	0.04	0.04	0.03	0.03							

This table shows that during the period under review the output of our industry more than doubled, and that, moreover, the whole increase in output was accounted for by socialist industry.

Further, this table shows that the only system of industry in the U.S.S.R. is the socialist system.

Lastly, this table shows that the complete ruin of private industry is a fact which even a blind man cannot now deny.

The ruin of private industry must not be regarded as a thing of chance. Private industry perished, first, because the socialist economic system is superior to the capitalist system; and, secondly, because the socialist economic system made it possible for us to re-equip in a few years the whole of our *socialist* industry on new and up-to-date technical lines. This is a possibility which the capitalist economic system does not and cannot offer. It is a fact that, from the standpoint of the technique of production and from the standpoint of the degree of saturation of industry with modern machinery, our industry holds first place in the world.

If we take the rate of growth of our industry, expressed in percentages of the pre-war level, and compare it with the rate of growth of the industry of the principal capitalist countries, we get the following picture:

GROWTH OF INDUSTRY IN THE U.S.S.R. AND THE PRINCIPAL
CAPITALIST COUNTRIES IN 1913-38

	1913	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
U.S.S.R.	100.0	380.5	457.0	562.6	732.7	816.4	908.8
U.S.A.	100.0	108.7	112.9	128.6	149.8	156.9	120.0
Great Britain	100.0	87.0	97.1	104.0	114.2	121.9	113.3
Germany	100.0	75.4	90.4	105.9	118.1	129.3	131.6
France	100.0	107.0	99.0	94.0	98.0	101.0	93.2

This table shows that our industry has grown more than nine-fold as compared with pre-war, whereas the industry of the principal capitalist countries continues to mark time round about the pre-war level, exceeding the latter by only 20 or 30 per cent.

This means that as regards rate of growth our socialist industry holds first place in the world.

Thus we find that as regards technique of production and rate of

growth of our industry, we have already overtaken and outstripped the principal capitalist countries.

In what respect are we lagging? We are still lagging economically, that is, as regards the volume of our industrial output per head of population.

In 1938 we produced about 15,000,000 tons of pig iron; Great Britain produced 7,000,000 tons. It might seem that we are better off than Great Britain. But if we divide this number of tons by the number of population we shall find that the output of pig iron per head of population in 1938 was 145 kilograms in Great Britain, and only 87 kilograms in the U.S.S.R. Or, further: in 1938 Great Britain produced 10,800,000 tons of steel and about 29,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours of electricity, whereas the U.S.S.R. produced 18,000,000 tons of steel and over 39,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours of electricity. It might seem that we are better off than Great Britain. But if we divide this number of tons and kilowatt-hours by the number of population we shall find that in 1938 in Great Britain the output of steel per head of population was 226 kilograms and of electricity 620 kilowatt-hours, whereas in the U.S.S.R. the output of steel per head of population was only 107 kilograms, and of electricity only 233 kilowatt-hours.

What is the reason for this?

The reason for this is that our population is several times larger than the population of Great Britain, and hence our requirements are greater: the Soviet Union has a population of 170,000,000, whereas Great Britain has a population of not more than 46,000,000. The economic power of a country's industry is not expressed by the volume of industrial output in general, irrespective of the size of population, but by the volume of industrial output taken in direct reference to the amount consumed per head of population. The larger a country's industrial output per head of population, the greater is its economic power; and, conversely, the smaller the output per head of population, the less is the economic power of the country and of its industry. Consequently, the larger a country's population, the greater is the need for articles of consumption, and hence the larger should be the industrial output of the country.

Take, for example, the output of pig iron. In order to outstrip Great Britain economically in respect to the production of pig iron, which in 1938 amounted in that country to 7,000,000 tons, we must increase our annual output of pig iron to 25,000,000 tons. In order economically to outstrip Germany, which in 1938 produced 18,000,000 tons of pig iron in

all, we must raise our annual output to 40,000,000 or 45,000,000 tons. And in order to outstrip the U.S.A. economically—not as regards the level of 1938, which was a year of crisis, and in which the U.S.A. produced only 18,800,000 tons of pig iron, but as regards the level of 1929, when the U.S.A. was experiencing an industrial boom and when it produced about 43,000,000 tons of pig iron—we must raise our annual output of pig iron to 50,000,000 or 60,000,000 tons.

The same must be said of the production of steel and rolled steel, of the machine-building industry, and so on, inasmuch as all these branches of industry, like the other branches, depend in the long run on the production of pig iron.

We have outstripped the principal capitalist countries as regards technique of production and rate of industrial development. That is very good, but it is not enough. We must outstrip them economically as well. We can do it, and we must do it. Only if we outstrip the principal capitalist countries economically can we reckon upon our country being fully saturated with consumers' goods, on having an abundance of products, and on being able to make the transition from the first phase of communism to its second phase.

What do we require to outstrip the principal capitalist countries economically?

First of all, we require the earnest and the indomitable desire to move ahead and the readiness to make sacrifices and invest very considerable amounts of capital for the utmost expansion of our socialist industry. Have we these requisites? We undoubtedly have! Further, we require a high technique of production and a high rate of industrial development. Have we these requisites? We undoubtedly have! Lastly, we require time. Yes, comrade, time. We must build new factories. We must train new cadres for industry. But this requires time, and no little at that. We cannot outstrip the principal capitalist countries economically in two or three years. It will require rather more than that. Take, for example, pig iron and its production. How much time do we require to outstrip the principal capitalist countries economically in regard to the production of pig iron?

At the time the Second Five-Year Plan was being drawn up, certain members of the old personnel of the State Planning Commission proposed that the annual output of pig iron towards the end of the Second Five-Year Plan should be fixed in the amount of sixty million tons. That means that they assumed the possibility of an average annual increase in pig iron production of ten million tons. This, of course, was

sheer fantasy, if not worse. Incidentally, it was not only in regard to the production of pig iron that these comrades indulged their fantasy. They considered, for example, that during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan the annual increase of population in the U.S.S.R. should amount to three or four million persons, or even more. This was also fantasy, if not worse.

But if we ignore these fantastic dreamers and if we come down to reality, we may consider quite feasible an average annual increase in the output of pig iron of two or two and a half million tons, bearing in mind the present state of the technique of iron smelting. The industrial history of the principal capitalist countries, as well as of our country, shows that such an annual rate of increase involves a great strain, but that it is quite feasible.

Hence, we require time, and no little time at that, in order to outstrip the principal capitalist countries economically. And the higher our productivity of labor becomes, and the more our technique of production is perfected, the more rapidly can we accomplish this cardinal economic task, and the more are we able to reduce the period of its accomplishment.

(b) *Agriculture.* Like the development of industry, the development of agriculture during the period under review has followed an upward trend. This upward trend is expressed not only in an increase of agricultural output, but, and primarily, in the growth and consolidation of socialist agriculture, on the one hand, and the utter decline of individual peasant farming on the other. Whereas the grain area of the collective farms increased from 75,000,000 hectares in 1933 to 92,000,000 in 1938, the grain area of the individual peasant farmers dropped in this period from 15,700,000 hectares to 600,000 hectares, or to 0.6 per cent of the total grain area. I will not mention the area under industrial crops, a branch where individual peasant farming has been reduced to zero. Furthermore, it is well known that the collective farms now unite 18,800,000 peasant households, or 93.5 per cent of all the peasant households, not counting the collective fisheries and collective trapping and handicraft industries.

This means that the collective farms have been firmly established and consolidated, and that the socialist system of farming is now our only form of agriculture.

If we compare the areas under all crops during the period under review with the crop areas in the pre-revolutionary period, we observe the following picture of growth:

AREAS UNDER ALL CROPS IN THE U.S.S.R.

	<i>(Millions of hectares)</i>						<i>1938 com- pared with 1913 (per cent)</i>
	<i>1913</i>	<i>1934</i>	<i>1935</i>	<i>1936</i>	<i>1937</i>	<i>1938</i>	
Total crop area	105.0	131.5	132.8	133.8	135.3	136.9	130.4
Of which:							
(a) Grain	94.4	104.7	103.4	102.4	104.4	102.4	108.5
(b) Industrial	4.5	10.7	10.6	10.8	11.2	11.0	244.4
(c) Vegetable	3.8	8.8	9.9	9.8	9.0	9.4	247.4
(d) Fodder	2.1	7.1	8.6	10.6	10.6	14.1	671.4

This table shows that we have an increase in area for all cultures, and above all for fodder, industrial crops, and vegetables.

This means that our agriculture is becoming more high-grade and productive, and that a solid foundation is being provided for the increasing application of proper crop rotation.

The way our collective farms and state farms have been increasingly supplied with tractors, harvester combines and other machines during the period under review is shown by the following tables:

I. TRACTORS EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE IN THE U.S.S.R.

	<i>1933</i>	<i>1934</i>	<i>1935</i>	<i>1936</i>	<i>1937</i>	<i>1938</i>	<i>1938 comp. with 1933 (per cent)</i>
<i>I. Number of tractors (thousands)</i>							
Totals	210.9	276.4	360.3	422.7	454.5	483.5	229.3
Of which:							
(a) In machine and tractor stations	123.2	177.3	254.7	328.5	365.8	394.0	319.8
(b) In state farms and auxiliary agricultural undertakings	83.2	95.5	102.1	88.5	84.5	85.0	102.2
<i>II. Capacity (thous. h. p.)</i>							
All tractors	3,209.2	4,462.8	6,184.0	7,672.4	8,385.0	9,256.2	288.4
Of which:							
(a) In machine and tractor stations	1,758.1	2,753.9	4,281.6	5,856.0	6,679.2	7,437.0	423.0
(b) In state farms and auxiliary agricultural undertakings	1,401.7	1,669.5	1,861.4	1,730.7	1,647.5	1,751.8	125.0

2. TOTAL HARVESTER COMBINES AND OTHER MACHINES
EMPLOYED IN AGRICULTURE IN THE U.S.S.R.

	<i>(In thousands; at end of year)</i>						<i>1938 comp. with 1933 (per cent)</i>
	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	
Harvester combines	25.4	32.3	50.3	87.8	128.8	153.5	604.3
Internal combustion and steam engines	48.0	60.9	69.1	72.4	77.9	83.8	174.6
Complex and semi- complex grain threshers	120.3	121.9	120.1	123.7	126.1	130.8	108.7
Motor trucks	26.6	40.3	63.7	96.2	144.5	195.8	736.1
Automobile (units)	3,991.0	5,533.0	7,555.0	7,630.0	8,156.0	9,594.0	240.4

If in addition to these figures, we bear in mind that in the period under review the number of machine and tractor stations increased from 2,900 in 1934 to 6,350 in 1938, it may be safely said that the reconstruction of our agriculture on the basis of a new and up-to-date machine technique has in the main already been completed.

Our agriculture, consequently, is not only run on the largest scale, and is the most mechanized in the world, and therefore produces the largest surplus for the market, but is also more fully equipped with modern machinery than the agriculture of any other country.

If we compare the harvests of grain and industrial crops during the period under review with the pre-revolutionary period, we get the following picture of growth:

GROSS PRODUCTION OF GRAIN AND INDUSTRIAL CROPS
IN THE U.S.S.R.

	<i>(In millions of centners)</i>						<i>1938 comp. with 1913 (per cent)</i>
	1913	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	
Grain	801.0	894.0	901.0	827.3	1,202.9	949.9	118.6
Raw cotton	7.4	11.8	17.2	23.9	25.8	26.9	363.5
Flax fiber	3.3	5.3	5.5	5.8	5.7	5.46	165.5
Sugar beet	109.0	113.6	162.1	168.3	218.6	166.8	153.0
Oil seed	21.5	36.9	42.7	42.3	51.1	46.6	216.7

From this table it can be seen that despite the drought in the Eastern and Southeastern districts in 1936 and 1938, and despite the unprecedentedly large harvest in 1913, the gross production of grain and industrial

crops during the period under review steadily increased as compared with 1913.

Of particular interest is the question of the amount of grain marketed by the collective farms and state farms as compared with their gross harvests. Comrade Nemchinov, the well-known statistician, has calculated that of a gross grain harvest of 5,000,000,000 poods in pre-war times, only about 1,300,000,000 poods were marketed. Thus the proportion of marketed produce of grain farming at that time was 26 per cent. Comrade Nemchinov computes that the proportion of marketed produce to gross harvest in the years 1926-27, for example, was about 47 per cent in the case of collective and state farming, which is large-scale farming, and about 12 per cent in the case of individual peasant farming. If we approach the matter more cautiously and assume the amount of marketed produce in the case of collective and state farming in 1938 to be 40 per cent of the gross harvest, we find that in that year our socialist grain farming was able to release, and actually did release, about 2,300,000,000 poods of grain for the market, or 1,000,000,000 poods more than marketed in pre-war times.

Consequently, the high proportion of produce marketed constitutes an important feature of state and collective farming and is of cardinal importance for the food supply of our country.

It is this feature of the collective farms and state farms that explains the secret why our country has succeeded so easily and rapidly in solving the grain problem, the problem of producing an adequate supply of market grain for this vast country.

It should be noted that during the last three years annual grain deliveries to the state have not dropped below 1,600,000,000 poods, while sometimes, as for example in 1937, they have reached 1,800,000,000 poods. If we add to this about 200,000,000 poods or so of grain purchased annually by the state, as well as several hundred million poods sold by collective farms and farmers directly in the market, we get in all the total of grain marketed by the collective farms and state farms already mentioned.

Further, it is interesting to note that during the last three years the base of market grain has shifted from the Ukraine, which was formerly considered the granary of our country, to the north and the east, that is, to the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic. We know that during the last two or three years grain deliveries in the Ukraine have amounted in all to about 400,000,000 poods annually, whereas in the R.S.F.S.R. the grain deliveries during these years have amounted to 1,100,000,000 or 1,200,000,000 poods annually.

That is how things stand with regard to grain farming.

As regards livestock farming, considerable progress has been made during the past few years in this, the most backward, branch of agriculture, as well. True, in the number of horses and in sheep breeding we are still below the pre-revolutionary level; but as regards cattle and hog breeding we have already passed the pre-revolutionary level.

Here are the figures:

TOTAL HEAD OF LIVESTOCK IN THE U.S.S.R.

(In millions)

	July 1916 according to census	July						1938 compared with	
		1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1916 census (per cent)	1933 (per cent)
Horses	35.8	16.6	15.7	15.9	16.6	16.7	17.5	48.9	105.4
Cattle	60.6	38.4	42.4	49.2	56.7	57.0	63.2	104.3	164.6
Sheep and goats	121.2	50.2	51.9	61.1	73.7	81.3	102.5	84.6	204.2
Hogs	20.9	12.1	17.4	22.5	30.5	22.8	30.6	146.4	252.9

There can be no doubt that the lag in horse breeding and sheep breeding will be remedied in a very short period.

(c) *Trade and transport.* The progress in industry and agriculture was accompanied by an increase in the trade of the country. During the period under review the number of state and co-operative retail stores increased by 25 per cent. State and co-operative retail trade increased by 178 per cent. Trade in the collective farm markets increased by 112 per cent.

Here is the corresponding table:

TRADE

	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1938 com- pared with 1933 (per cent)
1. State and co-operative retail stores and booths— at end of year	285,355	286,236	268,713	289,473	327,361	356,930	125.1
2. State and co-operative retail trade, including public catering (million of rubles)	49,789.2	61,814.7	81,712.1	106,760.9	125,943.2	138,574.3	278.3
3. Trade in collective farm markets (millions of rubles)	11,500.0	14,000.0	14,500.0	15,607.2	17,799.7	24,399.2	212.2
4. Regional wholesale departments of the People's Commissariats of the Food Industry, Light Industry, Heavy Industry, Timber Industry, and Local Industry of the Union Republics—at end of year	718	836	1,141	1,798	1,912	1,994	277.7

It is obvious that trade in the country could not have developed in this way without a certain increase in freight traffic. And indeed during the period under review freight traffic increased in all branches of transport, especially rail and air. There was an increase in water-borne freight, too, but with considerable fluctuations, and in 1938, it is to be regretted, there was even a drop in water-borne freight as compared with the previous year. Here is the corresponding table:

FREIGHT TRAFFIC

	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1938 comp. with 1933 (per cent)
Railways (in millions of ton-kilometers)	169,500	205,700	258,100	323,400	354,800	369,100	217.7
River and marine transport (in millions of ton-kilometers)	50,200	56,500	68,300	72,300	70,100	66,000	131.5
Civil air fleet (in thousands of ton-kilometers)	3,100	6,400	9,800	21,900	24,900	31,700	1,022.6

There can be no doubt that the lag in water transport in 1938 will be remedied in 1939.

2. Further Rise in the Material and Cultural Standard of the People

The steady progress of industry and agriculture could not but lead, and has actually led, to a new rise in the material and cultural standard of the people.

The abolition of exploitation and the consolidation of the socialist economic system, the absence of unemployment, with its attendant poverty, in town and country, the enormous expansion of industry and the steady growth in the number of workers, the increase in the productivity of labor of the workers and collective farmers, the securing of the land to the collective farms in perpetuity, and the vast number of first-class tractors and agricultural machines supplied to the collective farms—all this has created effective conditions for a further rise in the standard of

living of the workers and peasants. In its turn, the improvement in the standard of living of the workers and peasants has naturally led to an improvement in the standard of living of the intelligentsia, who represent a considerable force in our country and serve the interests of the workers and the peasants.

Now it is no longer a question of finding room in industry for unemployed and homeless peasants who have been set adrift from their villages and live in fear of starvation—of giving them jobs out of charity. The time has long gone by when there were such peasants in our country. And this is a good thing, of course, for it testifies to the prosperity of our countryside. If anything, it is now a question of asking the collective farms to comply with our request and to release, say, one and a half million young collective farmers annually for the needs of our expanding industry. The collective farms, which have already become prosperous, should bear in mind that if we do not get this assistance from them it will be very difficult to continue the expansion of our industry, and that if we do not expand our industry we will not be able to satisfy the peasants' growing demand for consumers' goods. The collective farms are quite able to meet this request of ours, since the abundance of machinery in the collective farms releases a portion of the rural workers, who, if transferred to industry, could be of immense service to our whole national economy.

As a result, we have the following indications of the improvement in the standard of living of the workers and peasants during the period under review:

1. The national income rose from 48,500,000,000 rubles in 1933 to 105,000,000,000 rubles in 1938.
2. The number of workers and other employees rose from a little over 22,000,000 in 1933 to 28,000,000 in 1938.
3. The total annual payroll of workers and other employees rose from 34,953,000,000 rubles to 96,425,000,000 rubles.
4. The average annual wages of industrial workers, which amounted to 1,513 rubles in 1933, rose to 3,447 rubles in 1938.
5. The total monetary incomes of the collective farms rose from 5,661,900,000 rubles in 1933 to 14,180,100,000 rubles in 1937.
6. The average amount of grain received per collective farm household in the grain-growing regions rose from 61 poods in 1933 to 144 poods in 1937, exclusive of seed, emergency seed stocks, fodder for the collectively-owned cattle, grain deliveries, and payments in kind for work performed by the machine and tractor stations.

7. State budget appropriations for social and cultural services rose from 5,839,900,000 rubles in 1933 to 35,202,500,000 rubles in 1938.

As regards the cultural standard of the people, its rise was commensurate with the rise in the standard of living.

From the standpoint of the cultural development of the people, the period under review has been marked by a veritable cultural revolution. The introduction of universal compulsory elementary education in the languages of the various nations of the U.S.S.R., an increasing number of schools and scholars of all grades, an increasing number of college-trained experts, and the creation and growth of a new intelligentsia, a Soviet intelligentsia—such is the general picture of the cultural advancement of our people.

Here are the figures:

I. RISE IN THE CULTURAL LEVEL OF THE PEOPLE

	<i>Unit of measure- ment</i>	1933-34	1938-39	<i>1938-39 compared with 1933-34 (per cent)</i>
Number of pupils and students of all grades	thousands	23,814.0	33,965.4	142.6
Of which:				
In elementary schools	"	17,873.5	21,288.4	119.1
In intermediate schools (general and special)	"	5,482.2	12,076.0	220.3
In higher educational institutions	"	458.3	601.0	131.1
Number of persons engaged in all forms of study in the U.S.S.R.	"	47,442.1
Number of public libraries	"	40.3	70.0	173.7
Number of books in public libraries	millions	86.0	126.6	147.2
Number of clubs	thousands	61.1	95.6	156.5
Number of theaters	units	587.0	790.0	134.6
Number of cinema installations (excluding narrow-film)	"	27,467.0	30,461.0	110.9
Of which:				
With sound equipment	"	498.0	15,202.0	31 (times)
Number of cinema installations (excluding narrow-film) in rural districts	"	17,470.0	18,991.0	108.7
Of which:				
With sound equipment	"	24.0	6,670.0	278 (times)
Annual newspaper circulation	millions	4,984.6	7,092.4	142.3

2. NUMBER OF SCHOOLS BUILT IN THE U.S.S.R. IN 1933-38

	<i>In towns and hamlets</i>	<i>In rural localities</i>	<i>Total</i>
1933	326	3,261	3,587
1934	577	3,488	4,065
1935	533	2,829	3,362
1936	1,505	4,206	5,711
1937	730	1,323	2,053
1938	583	1,246	1,829
Total (1933-38)	4,254	16,353	20,607

3. YOUNG SPECIALISTS GRADUATED FROM HIGHER
EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN 1933-38*(In thousands)*

	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
Total for U.S.S.R. (exclusive of military specialists)	34.6	49.2	83.7	97.6	104.8	106.7
1. Engineers for industry and building	6.1	14.9	29.6	29.2	27.6	25.2
2. Engineers for transport and communications	1.8	4.0	7.6	6.6	7.0	6.1
3. Agricultural engineers, agronomists, veterinarians and zoo-technicians	4.8	6.3	8.8	10.4	11.3	10.6
4. Economists and jurists	2.5	2.5	5.0	6.4	5.0	5.7
5. Teachers of intermediate schools, workers' faculties, technical schools, and other educational workers, including art workers	10.5	7.9	12.5	21.6	31.7	35.7
6. Physicians, pharmacists, and physical culture instructors	4.6	2.5	7.5	9.2	12.3	13.6
7. Other specialities	4.3	11.1	12.7	14.2	9.9	9.8

As a result of this immense cultural work a numerous new, Soviet intelligentsia has arisen in our country, an intelligentsia which has emerged from the ranks of the working class, peasantry and Soviet employees, which is of the flesh and blood of our people, which has never known the yoke of exploitation, which hates exploiters, and which is ready to serve the peoples of the U.S.S.R. faithfully and devotedly.

I think that the rise of this new socialist intelligentsia of the people is one of the most important results of the cultural revolution in our country.

Further Consolidation of the Soviet System

One of the most important results of the period under review is that it has led to the further internal consolidation of the country, to the further consolidation of the Soviet system.

Nor could it be otherwise. The firm establishment of the socialist system in all branches of national economy, the progress of industry and agriculture, the rising material standard of the people, the rising cultural standard of the people and their increasing political activity—all this, accomplished under the guidance of the Soviet power, could not but lead to the further consolidation of the Soviet system.

The feature that distinguishes Soviet society today from any capitalist society is that it no longer contains antagonistic, hostile classes; that the exploiting classes have been eliminated, while the workers, peasants and intellectuals, who make up Soviet society, live and work in friendly collaboration. While capitalist society is torn by irreconcilable contradictions between workers and capitalists and between peasants and landlords—resulting in its internal instability—Soviet society, liberated from the yoke of exploitation, knows no such contradictions, is free of class conflicts, and presents a picture of friendly collaboration between workers, peasants and intellectuals. It is this community of interest which has formed the basis for the development of such motive forces as the moral and political unity of Soviet society, the mutual friendship of the nations of the U.S.S.R., and Soviet patriotism. It has also been the basis for the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. adopted in November 1936, and for the complete democratization of the elections to the supreme organs of the country.

As to the elections themselves, they were a magnificent demonstration of that unity of Soviet society and of that amity among the nations of the U.S.S.R. which constitute the characteristic feature of the internal situation of our country. As we know, in the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in December 1937, nearly ninety million votes, or 98.6 per cent of the total vote, were cast for the Communist and non-party bloc, while in the elections to the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics in June 1938, ninety-two million votes, or 99.4 per cent of the total vote, were cast for the Communist and non-party bloc.

There you have the basis of the stability of the Soviet system and the source of the inexhaustible strength of the Soviet power.

This means, incidentally, that in case of war, the rear and front of our

army, by reason of their homogeneity and inherent unity, will be stronger than those of any other country, a fact which people beyond our borders who love military conflicts would do well to remember.

Certain foreign pressmen have been talking drivel to the effect that the purging of the Soviet organizations of spies, assassins and wreckers like Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamanev, Yakir, Tukhachevsky, Rosengoltz, Bukharin and other fiends has "shaken" the Soviet system and caused its "demoralization." One can only laugh at such cheap drivel. How can the purging of Soviet organizations of noxious and hostile elements shake and demoralize the Soviet system? This Trotsky-Bukharin bunch of spies, murderers and wreckers, who kowtowed to the foreign world, who were possessed by a slavish instinct to grovel before every foreign bigwig, and who were ready to enter his employ as a spy; this handful of people who did not understand that the humblest Soviet citizen, being free from the fetters of capital, stands head and shoulders above any high-placed foreign bigwig whose neck wears the yoke of capitalist slavery—who needs this miserable band of venal slaves, of what value can they be to the people, and whom can they "demoralize"? In 1937 Tukhachevsky, Yakir, Uborevich and other fiends were sentenced to be shot. After that, the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. were held. In these elections, 98.6 per cent of the total vote was cast for the Soviet power. At the beginning of 1938 Rosengoltz, Rykov, Bukharin and other fiends were sentenced to be shot. After that, the elections to the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics were held. In these elections 99.4 per cent of the total vote was cast for the Soviet power. Where are the symptoms of "demoralization," we would like to know, and why was this "demoralization" not reflected in the results of the elections?

To listen to these foreign drivellers one would think that if the spies, murderers and wreckers had been left at liberty to wreck, murder and spy without let or hindrance, the Soviet organizations would have been far sounder and stronger. Are not these gentlemen giving themselves away too soon by so insolently defending the cause of spies, murderers and wreckers?

Would it not be truer to say that the weeding out of spies, murderers and wreckers from our Soviet organizations was bound to lead, and did lead, to the further strengthening of these organizations?

What, for instance, do the events at Lake Khasan show, if not that the weeding out of spies and wreckers is the surest means of strengthening our Soviet organizations?

The tasks of the party in the sphere of internal policy are:

1. To increase the progress of our industry, the rise of productivity of labor, and the perfection of the technique of productions, in order, having already outstripped the principal capitalist countries in technique of production and rate of industrial development, to outstrip them economically as well in the next ten or fifteen years.

2. To increase the progress of our agriculture and stock breeding so as to achieve in the next three or four years an annual grain harvest of 8,000,000,000 poods, with an average yield of 12-13 centners per hectare; an average increase in the harvest of industrial crops of 30-35 per cent; and an increase in the number of sheep and hogs by 100 per cent, of cattle by about 40 per cent, and of horses by about 35 per cent.

3. To continue to improve the material and cultural standards of the workers, peasants and intellectuals.

4. Steadfastly to carry into effect our socialist constitution; to complete the democratization of the political life of the country; to strengthen the moral and political unity of Soviet society and fraternal collaboration among our workers, peasants and intellectuals; to promote the friendship of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. to the utmost, and to develop and cultivate Soviet patriotism.

5. Never to forget that we are surrounded by a capitalist world; to remember that the foreign espionage services will smuggle spies, murderers and wreckers into our country; and, remembering this, to strengthen our socialist intelligence service and systematically help it to defeat and eradicate the enemies of the people.

III. FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

From the standpoint of the political line and day-to-day practical work, the period under review was one of complete victory for the general line of our party.

The principal achievements demonstrating the correctness of the policy of our party and the correctness of its leadership are the firm establishment of the socialist system in the entire national economy, the completion of the reconstruction of industry and agriculture on the basis of a new technique, the fulfillment of the Second Five-Year Plan in industry ahead of time, the increase of the annual grain harvest to a level of 7,000,000,000 poods, the abolition of poverty and unemployment, and the raising of the material and cultural standard of the people.

In the face of these imposing achievements, the opponents of the general line of our party, all the various "Left" and "Right" trends, all the Trotsky-Pyatakov and Bukharin-Rykov degenerates were forced to creep into their shells, to tuck away their hackneyed "platforms," and to retreat into hiding. Lacking the manhood to submit to the will of the people, they preferred to merge with the Mensheviks, Socialist-Revolutionaries and fascists, to become the tools of foreign espionage services, to hire themselves out as spies, and to obligate themselves to help the enemies of the Soviet Union to dismember our country and to restore capitalist slavery in it.

Such was the inglorious end of the opponents of the line of our party, who finished up as enemies of the people.

When it had smashed the enemies of the people and purged the party and Soviet organizations of degenerates, the party became still more united in its political and organizational work and rallied even more solidly around its Central Committee.

Let us examine the concrete facts illustrating the development of the internal life of the party and its organizational and propaganda work during the period under review.

Measures to Improve the Composition of the Party. Division of Organizations. Closer Contact Between the Leading Party Bodies and the Work of the Lower Bodies

The strengthening of the party and of its leading bodies during the period under review proceeded chiefly along two lines: along the line of regulating the composition of the party, ejecting unreliable elements and selecting the best elements, and along the line of dividing up the organizations, reducing their size, and bringing the leading bodies closer to the concrete, day-to-day work of the lower bodies.

There were 1,874,488 party members represented at the Seventeenth Party Congress. Comparing this figure with the number of party members represented at the preceding congress, the Sixteenth Party Congress, we find that in the interval between these two congresses 600,000 new members joined the party. The party could not but feel that in the conditions prevailing in 1930-33 such a mass influx into its ranks was an unhealthy and undesirable expansion of its membership. The party knew that its ranks were being joined not only by honest and loyal people, but also by chance elements and careerists, who were seeking to utilize the badge of the party for their own personal ends. The party could not but know that its

strength lay not only in the size of its membership, but, and above all, in the quality of its members. This raised the question of regulating the composition of the party. It was decided to continue the purge of party members and candidate members begun in 1933; and the purge actually was continued until May 1935. It was further decided to suspend the admission of new members into the party; and the admission of new members actually was suspended until September 1936, the admission of new members being resumed only on November 1, 1936. Further, in connection with the dastardly murder of Comrade Kirov, which showed that there were quite a number of suspicious elements in the party, it was decided to undertake a verification of the records of party members and an exchange of old party cards for new ones, both these measures being completed only in September 1936. Only after this was the admission of new members and candidate members into the party resumed. As a result of all these measures, the party succeeded in weeding out chance, passive, careerist and directly hostile elements, and in selecting the most staunch and loyal people. It cannot be said that the purge was not accompanied by grave mistakes. There were unfortunately more mistakes than might have been expected. Undoubtedly, we shall have no further need of resorting to the method of mass purges. Nevertheless, the purge of 1933-36 was unavoidable and its results, on the whole, were beneficial. The number of party members represented at this, the Eighteenth Congress is about 1,600,000, which is 270,000 less than were represented at the Seventeenth Congress. But there is nothing bad in that. On the contrary, it is all to the good, for the party strengthens itself by clearing its ranks of dross. Our party is now somewhat smaller in membership, but on the other hand it is better in quality.

That is a big achievement.

As regards the improvement of the day-to-day leadership of the party by bringing it closer to the work of the lower bodies and by making it more concrete, the party came to the conclusion that the best way to make it easier for the party bodies to guide the organizations and to make the leadership itself concrete, alive and practical was to divide up the organizations, to reduce their size. People's Commissariats as well as the administrative organizations of the various territorial divisions, that is, the Union Republics, territories, regions, districts, etc., were divided up. The result of the measures adopted is that instead of seven Union Republics, we now have eleven; instead of fourteen People's Commissariats of the U.S.S.R. we now have thirty-four; instead of seventy territories and regions we now have 110; instead of 2,559 urban and rural

districts we now have 3,815. Correspondingly, within the system of leading party bodies, we now have eleven central committees, headed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Union, six territorial committees, 104 regional committees, 30 area committees, 212 city committees, 336 city district committees, 3,479 rural district committees, and 113,060 primary party organizations.

It cannot be said that the division of organizations is already over. Most likely it will be carried further. But, however that may be, it is already yielding good results both in the improvement of the day-to-day leadership of the work and in bringing the leadership itself closer to the concrete work of the lower bodies. I need not mention that the division of organizations has made it possible to promote hundreds and thousands of new people to leading posts.

That, too, is a big achievement.

Selection, Promotion and Allocation of Cadres

The regulation of the composition of the party and the bringing of the leading bodies closer to the concrete work of the lower bodies was not, and could not be, the only means of further strengthening the party and its leadership. Another means adopted in the period under review was a radical improvement in the training of cadres, an improvement in the work of selecting, promoting and allocating cadres and of testing them in the process of work.

The party cadres constitute the commanding staff of the party; and since our party is in power they also constitute the commanding staff of the leading organs of state. After a correct political line has been worked out and tested in practice, the party cadres become the decisive force in the work of guiding the party and the state. A correct political line is, of course, the primary and most important thing. But that in itself is not enough. A correct political line is not needed as a declaration, but as something to be carried into effect. But in order to carry a correct political line into effect, we must have cadres, people who understand the political line of the party, and who accept it as their own line, who are prepared to carry it into effect, who are able to put it into practice and are capable of answering for it, defending it and fighting for it. Failing this, a correct political line runs the risk of being purely nominal.

And here arises the question of the correct selection of cadres, the training of cadres, the promotion of new people, the correct allocation of cadres, and the testing of cadres by work accomplished.

What is meant by the correct selection of cadres?

The correct selection of cadres does not mean just gathering around one a lot of assistants and subs, setting up an office and issuing order after order. Nor does it mean abusing one's powers, switching scores and hundreds of people back and forth from one job to another without rhyme or reason and conducting endless "reorganizations."

The proper selection of cadres means:

First, valuing cadres as the gold reserve of the party and the state, treasuring them, respecting them.

Secondly, knowing cadres, carefully studying their individual merits and shortcomings, knowing in what post the capacities of a given worker are most likely to develop.

Thirdly, carefully fostering cadres, helping every promising worker to advance, not grudging time on patiently "bothering" with such workers and accelerating their development.

Fourthly, boldly promoting new and young cadres in time, so as not to allow them to stagnate in their old posts and grow stale.

Fifthly, allocating workers to posts in such a way that each feels he is in the right place, that each may contribute to our common cause the maximum his personal capacities enable him to contribute, and that the general trend of the work of allocating cadres may fully answer to the demands of the political line for the carrying out of which this allocation of cadres is designed.

Particularly important in this respect is the bold and timely promotion of new and young cadres. It seems to me that our people are not quite clear on this point yet. Some think that in selecting people we must chiefly rely on the old cadres. Others, on the contrary, think that we must chiefly rely on young cadres. It seems to me that both are mistaken. The old cadres, of course, represent a valuable asset to the party and the state. They possess what the young cadres lack, namely, tremendous experience in leadership, a schooling in Marxist-Leninist principles, knowledge of affairs, and a capacity for orientation. But, firstly, there are never enough old cadres, there are far less than required, and they are already partly going out of commission owing to the operation of the laws of nature. Secondly, part of the old cadres are sometimes inclined to keep a too persistent eye on the past, to cling to the past, to stay in the old rut and fail to observe the new in life. This is called losing the sense of the new. It is a very serious and dangerous shortcoming. As to the young cadres, they, of course, have not the experience, the schooling, the knowledge of affairs and the capacity of orientation of the old cadres. But, first, the

young cadres constitute the vast majority; secondly, they are young, and as yet are not subject to the danger of going out of commission; thirdly, they possess in abundance the sense of the new, which is a valuable quality in every Bolshevik worker; and, fourthly, they develop and acquire knowledge so rapidly, they press upward so eagerly, that the time is not far off when they will overtake the old fellows, take their stand side by side with them, and become worthy of replacing them. Consequently the thing is not whether to rely on the old cadres or on the new cadres, but to steer for a combination, a union of the old and the young cadres in one common symphony of leadership of the party and the state.

That is why we must boldly and in good time promote young cadres to leading posts.

One of the important achievements of the party during the period under review in the matter of strengthening the party leadership is that, when selecting cadres, it has successfully pursued, from top to bottom, just this course of combining old and young workers.

Data in the possession of the Central Committee of the party show that during the period under review the party succeeded in promoting to leading state and party posts over five hundred thousand young Bolsheviks, members of the party and people standing close to the party, over twenty per cent of whom were women.

What is our task now?

Our task now is to concentrate the work of selecting cadres, from top to bottom, in the hands of one body and to raise it to a proper, scientific, Bolshevik level.

This entails putting an end to the division of the work of studying, promoting and selecting cadres among various departments and sectors, and concentrating it in one body.

This body should be the Cadres Administration of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Soviet Union and a corresponding cadres department in each of the republican, territorial and regional party organizations.

Party Propaganda. Marxist-Leninist Training of Party Members and Party Cadres

There is still another sphere of party work, a very important and very responsible sphere, in which the work of strengthening the party and its leading bodies has been carried on during the period under review.

I am referring to party propaganda and agitation, oral and printed, the work of training the party members and the party cadres in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, the work of raising the political and theoretical level of the party and its workers.

There is hardly need to dwell on the cardinal importance of party propaganda, of the Marxist-Leninist training of our people. I am referring not only to party functionaries. I am also referring to the workers in the Young Communist League, trade union, trade, co-operative, economic, state, educational, military and other organizations. The work of regulating the composition of the party and of bringing the leading bodies closer to the activities of the lower bodies may be organized satisfactorily; the work of promoting, selecting and allocating cadres may be organized satisfactorily; but, with all this, if our party propaganda for some reason or other goes lame, if the Marxist-Leninist training of our cadres begins to languish, if our work of raising the political and theoretical level of these cadres flags, and the cadres themselves cease on account of this to show interest in the prospect of our further progress, cease to understand the truth of our cause and are transformed into narrow plodders with no outlook, blindly and mechanically carrying out instructions from above—then our entire state and party work must inevitably languish.

It must be accepted as an axiom that the higher the political level and the Marxist-Leninist knowledge of the workers in any branch of state or party work the better and more fruitful will be the work itself, and the more effective the results of the work; and, vice versa, the lower the political level of the workers, and the less they are imbued with the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, the greater will be the likelihood of disruption and failure in the work, of the workers themselves becoming shallow and deteriorating into paltry plodders, of their degenerating altogether. It may be confidently stated that if we succeeded in training the cadres in all branches of our work ideologically, and in schooling them politically, to such an extent as to enable them easily to orientate themselves in the internal and international situation; if we succeeded in making them quite mature Marxists-Leninists capable of solving the problems involved in the guidance of the country without serious error, we would have every reason to consider nine-tenths of our problems already settled. And we certainly can accomplish this, for we have all the means and opportunities for doing so.

The training and molding of our young cadres usually proceeds in some particular branch of science or technology, along the line of spe-

cialization. This is necessary and desirable. There is no reason why a man who specializes in medicine should at the same time specialize in physics or botany, or vice versa. But there is one branch of science which Bolsheviks in all branches of science are in duty bound to know, and that is the Marxist-Leninist science of society, of the laws of social development, of the laws of development of the proletarian revolution, of the laws of development of socialist construction, and of the victory of communism. For a man who calls himself a Leninist cannot be considered a real Leninist if he shuts himself up in his specialty, in mathematics, botany or chemistry, let us say, and see nothing beyond that specialty. A Leninist cannot be just a specialist in his favorite science; he must also be a political and social worker, keenly interested in the destinies of his country, acquainted with the laws of social development, capable of applying these laws, and striving to be an active participant in the political guidance of the country. This, of course, will be an additional burden on specialists who are Bolsheviks. But it will be a burden more than compensated for by its results.

The task of party propaganda, the task of the Marxist-Leninist training of cadres, is to help our cadres in all branches of work to become proficient in the Marxist-Leninist science of the laws of social development.

Measures for improving the work of propaganda and of the Marxist-Leninist training of cadres have been discussed many times by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union jointly with propagandists from various regional party organizations. The publication, in September, 1938, of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* was taken into account in this connection. It was ascertained that the publication of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* had given a new impetus to Marxist-Leninist propaganda in our country. The results of the work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union have been published in its decision, "On the Organization of Party Propaganda in Connection with the Publication of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*."

On the basis of this decision and with due reference to the decisions of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of March, 1937, "On Defects in Party Work," the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has outlined the following major measures for eliminating the defects in party propaganda and improving the work of Marxist-Leninist training of party members and party cadres:

1. To concentrate the work of party propaganda and agitation in one body and to merge the propaganda and agitation departments and the press departments into a single Propaganda and Agitation Administration of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and to organize corresponding propaganda and agitation departments in each republic, territorial and regional party organization;
2. Recognizing as incorrect the infatuation for the system of propaganda through study circles, and considering the method of individual study of the principles of Marxism-Leninism by party members to be more expedient, to center the attention of the party on propaganda through the press and on the organization of a system of propaganda by lectures;
3. To organize one-year courses of instruction for our lower cadres in each regional center;
4. To organize two-year Lenin Schools for our middle cadres in various centers of the country;
5. To organize a higher school of Marxism-Leninism under the auspices of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with a three-year course for the training of highly qualified party theoreticians;
6. To set up one-year courses of instruction for propagandists and journalists in various parts of the country;
7. To set up in connection with the higher school of Marxism-Leninism six-month courses of instruction for teachers of Marxism-Leninism in the higher educational establishments.

There can be no doubt that the realization of these measures, which are already being carried out, although not yet sufficiently, will soon yield beneficial results.

Some Questions of Theory

Another of the defects of our propagandist and ideological work is the absence of full clarity among our comrades on certain theoretical questions of vital practical importance, the existence of a certain amount of confusion on these questions. I refer to the question of the state in general, and of our socialist state in particular, and to the question of our Soviet intelligentsia.

It is sometimes asked: We have abolished the exploiting classes; there are no longer any hostile classes in the country; there is nobody to suppress; hence there is no more need for the state; it must die away. Why then do we not help our socialist state to die away? Why do we not strive to put an end to it? Is it not time to throw out all this rubbish of a state?

Or further: "The exploiting classes have already been abolished in our country; socialism has been built in the main; we are advancing towards communism. Now, the Marxist doctrine of the state says that there is to be no state under communism. Why then do we not help our socialist state to die away? Is it not time we relegated the state to the museum of antiquities?"

These questions show that those who ask them have conscientiously memorized certain propositions contained in the doctrine of Marx and Engels about the state. But they also show that these comrades have failed to understand the essential meaning of this doctrine; that they have failed to realize in what historical conditions the various propositions of this doctrine were elaborated; and, what is more, that they do not understand present-day international conditions, have overlooked the capitalist encirclement and the dangers it entails for the socialist country. These questions not only betray an underestimation of the capitalist encirclement, but also an underestimation of the role and significance of the bourgeois states and their organs, which send spies, assassins and wreckers into our country and are waiting for a favorable opportunity to attack it by armed force.

They likewise betray an underestimation of the role and significance of our socialist state and of its military, punitive and intelligence organs, which are essential for the defense of the socialist land from foreign attack. It must be confessed that the comrades mentioned are not the only ones to sin in this underestimation. All the Bolsheviks, all of us without exception, sin to a certain extent in this respect. Is it not surprising that we learned about the espionage and conspiratorial activities of the Trotskyite and Bukharinite leaders only quite recently, in 1937 and 1938, although as the evidence shows, these gentry were in the service of foreign espionage organizations and carried on conspiratorial activities from the very first days of the October Revolution? How could we have failed to see so grave a matter? How are we to explain this blunder? The usual answer to this question is that we could not possibly have assumed that these people could fall so low. But that is no explanation, still less is it a justification; for the blunder was a blunder.

How is this blunder to be explained? It is to be explained by an underestimation of the power and purpose of the mechanism, of the bourgeois states surrounding us and of their espionage organs, which endeavor to take advantage of people's weaknesses, their vanity, their slackness of will, to enmesh them in their espionage nets and use them to surround the organs of the Soviet state. It is to be explained by an

underestimation of the role and significance of the mechanism of our socialist state and of its intelligence service, by an underestimation of this intelligence service, by the twaddle that an intelligence service in a Soviet state is an unimportant trifle, and that the Soviet intelligence service and the Soviet state itself will soon have to be relegated to the museum of antiquities.

What could have given rise to this underestimation?

It arose owing to the fact that certain of the general propositions in the Marxist doctrine of the state were incompletely worked out and inadequate. It received currency owing to our unpardonably heedless attitude to matters pertaining to the theory of the state, in spite of the fact that we have twenty years of practical experience in matters of state which provide rich material for theoretical generalizations, and in spite of the fact that, given the desire, we have every opportunity of successfully filling this gap in theory. We have forgotten Lenin's highly important injunction about the theoretical duties of Russian Marxists, that it is their mission to further develop the Marxist theory. This is what Lenin said in this connection:

We do not regard Marxist theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the cornerstone of the science which Socialists *must* further advance in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life. We think that an *independent* elaboration of the Marxist theory is especially essential for Russian Socialists, for this theory provides only general *guiding* principles, which, *in particular*, are applied in England differently from France, in France differently from Germany, and in Germany differently from Russia. (V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. II, p. 492. Russian ed.)

Consider, for example, the classical formulation of the theory of the development of the socialist state given by Engels:

As soon as there is no longer any class of society to be held in subjection; as soon as, along with class domination and the struggle for individual existence based on the former anarchy of production, the collisions and excesses arising from these have also been abolished, there is nothing more to be repressed which would make a special repressive force, a state, necessary. The first act in which the state really comes forward as the representative of society as a whole—the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society—is at the same time its last independent act as a state. The interference of the state power in social relations becomes superfluous in one sphere after another, and then ceases of itself. The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things and the direction of the process of

production. The state is not "abolished," *it withers away*. (Frederick Engels, *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science* [*Anti-Dühring*], pp. 308-09.)

Is this proposition of Engels' correct?

Yes, it is correct, but only on one of two conditions: (1) *if* we study the socialist state only from the angle of the internal development of the country, abstracting ourselves in advance from the international factor, isolating, for the convenience of investigation, the country and the state from the international situation; or (2) *if* we assume that socialism is already victorious in all countries, or in the majority of countries, that a socialist encirclement exists instead of a capitalist encirclement, that there is no more danger in foreign attack, and that there is no more need to strengthen the army and the state.

Well, but what if socialism has been victorious only in one country, and if, in view of this, it is quite impossible to abstract oneself from international conditions—what then? Engels' formula does not furnish an answer to this question. As a matter of fact, Engels did not set himself this question, and therefore could not have given an answer to it. Engels proceeds from the assumption that socialism has already been victorious in all countries, or in a majority of countries, more or less simultaneously. Consequently, Engels is not here investigating any specific socialist state of any particular country, but the development of the socialist state in general, on the assumption that socialism has been victorious in a majority of countries—according to the formula: "Assuming that socialism is victorious in a majority of countries, what changes must the proletarian, socialist state undergo?" Only this general and abstract character of the problem can explain why in his investigation of the question of the socialist state Engels completely abstracted himself from such a factor as international conditions, the international situation.

But it follows from this that Engels' general formula about the destiny of the socialist state in general cannot be extended to the partial and specific case of the victory of socialism in one country only, a country which is surrounded by a capitalist world, is subject to the menace of foreign military attack, cannot therefore abstract itself from the international situation, and must have at its disposal a well-trained army, well-organized punitive organs, and a strong intelligence service—consequently, must have its own state, strong enough to defend the conquests of socialism from foreign attack.

We have no right to expect of the classical Marxist writers, separated as they were from our day by a period of forty-five or fifty-five years,

that they should have foreseen each and every zigzag of history in the distant future in every separate country. It would be ridiculous to expect that the classical Marxist writers should have elaborated for our benefit ready-made solutions for each and every theoretical problem that might arise in any particular country fifty or one hundred years afterwards, so that we, the descendants of the classical Marxist writers, might calmly doze at the fireside and munch ready-made solutions. But we can and should expect of the Marxist-Leninists of our day that they do not confine themselves to learning by rote a few general tenets of Marxism; that they delve deeply into the essence of Marxism; that they learn to take account of the experience gained in the twenty years of existence of the socialist state in our country; that, lastly, they learn, with the use of this experience and with knowledge of the essence of Marxism, to apply the various general theses of Marxism concretely, to lend them greater precision and improve them. Lenin wrote his famous book, *State and Revolution*, in August, 1917, that is, a few months before the October Revolution and the establishment of the Soviet state. Lenin considered it the main task of this book to defend Marx's and Engels' doctrine of the state from the distortions and vulgarizations of the opportunists. Lenin was preparing to write a second volume of *State and Revolution*, in which he intended to sum up the principal lessons of the experience of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917. There can be no doubt that Lenin intended in the second volume of his book to elaborate and develop the theory of the state on the basis of the experience gained during the existence of Soviet power in our country. Death, however, prevented him from carrying this task into execution. But what Lenin did not manage to do should be done by his disciples.

The state arose because society split up into antagonistic classes; it arose in order to keep in restraint the exploited majority in the interests of the exploiting minority. The instruments of state authority have been mainly concentrated in the army, the punitive organs, the espionage service, the prisons. Two basic functions characterize the activity of the state: at home (the main function), to keep in restraint the exploited majority; abroad (not the main function), to extend the territory of its class, the ruling class, at the expense of the territory of other states, or to defend the territory of its own state from attack by other states. Such was the case in slave society and under feudalism. Such is the case under capitalism.

In order to overthrow capitalism it was not only necessary to remove the bourgeoisie from power, it was not only necessary to expropriate the

capitalists, but also to smash entirely the bourgeois state machine and its old army, its bureaucratic officialdom and its police force, and to substitute for it a new, proletarian form of state, a new, socialist state. And that, as we know, is exactly what the Bolsheviks did. But it does not follow that the new proletarian state may not preserve certain functions of the old state, changed to suit the requirements of the proletarian state. Still less does it follow that the forms of our socialist state must remain unchanged, that all the original functions of our state must be fully preserved in the future. As a matter of fact, the forms of our state are changing and will continue to change in line with the development of our country and with the changes in the international situation.

Lenin was absolutely right when he said:

The forms of the bourgeois state are extremely varied, but in essence they are all the same; in one way or another, in the last analysis, all these states are inevitably the *dictatorship of the bourgeoisie*. The transition from capitalism to communism will certainly create a great variety and abundance of political forms, but in essence there will inevitably be only one: *the dictatorship of the proletariat*. (V. I. Lenin, "State and Revolution," *Selected Works*, Vol. VII.)

Since the October Revolution, our socialist state has passed through two main phases in its development.

The first phase was the period from the October Revolution to the elimination of the exploiting classes. The principal task in that period was to suppress the resistance of the overthrown classes, to organize the defense of the country against the attack of the interventionists, to restore industry and agriculture, and to prepare the conditions for elimination of the capitalist elements. Accordingly, in this period our state performed two main functions. The first function was to suppress the overthrown classes inside the country. In this respect our state bore a superficial resemblance to previous states whose functions had also been to suppress recalcitrants, with the fundamental difference, however, that our state suppressed the exploiting minority in the interest of the laboring majority, while previous states had suppressed the exploited majority in the interests of the exploiting minority. The second function was to defend the country from foreign attack. In this respect it likewise bore a superficial resemblance to previous states, which also undertook the armed defense of their countries, with the fundamental difference, however, that our state defended from foreign attack the gains of the laboring majority, while previous states in such cases defended the wealth and privileges of the exploiting minority. Our state had yet a

third function: this was the work of economic organization and cultural education performed by our state bodies with the purpose of developing the infant shoots of the new, socialist economic system and re-educating the people in the spirit of socialism. But this new function did not attain to any considerable development in that period.

The second phase was the period from the elimination of the capitalist elements in town and country to the complete victory of the socialist economic system and the adoption of the new Constitution. The principal task in this period was to establish the socialist economic system all over the country and to eliminate the last remnants of the capitalist elements, to bring about a cultural revolution, and to form a thoroughly modern army for the defense of the country. And the functions of our socialist state changed accordingly. The function of military suppression inside the country ceased, died away; for exploitation had been abolished, there were no more exploiters left, and so there was no one to suppress. In place of this function of suppression the state acquired the function of protecting socialist property from thieves and pilferers of the people's property. The function of defending the country from foreign attack fully remained; consequently, the Red Army and the Navy also fully remained, as did the punitive organs and the intelligence service, which are indispensable for the detection and punishment of the spies, assassins and wreckers sent into our country by foreign espionage services. The function of economic organization and cultural education by the state organs also remained, and was developed to the full. Now the main task of our state inside the country is the work of peaceful economic organization and cultural education. As for our army, punitive organs, and intelligence service, their edge is no longer turned to the inside of the country but to the outside, against external enemies.

As you see, we now have an entirely new, socialist state, without precedent in history and differing considerably in form and functions from the socialist state of the first phase.

But development cannot stop there. We are going ahead, toward communism. Will our state remain in the period of communism also?

Yes, it will, unless the capitalist encirclement is liquidated, and unless the danger of foreign military attack has disappeared. Naturally, of course, the forms of our state will again change in conformity with the change in the situation at home and abroad.

No, it will not remain and will atrophy if the capitalist encirclement is liquidated and a socialist encirclement takes its place.

That is how the question stands with regard to the socialist state.

The second question is that of the Soviet intelligentsia.

On this question, too, as on the question of the state, there is a certain unclearness and confusion among party members.

In spite of the fact that the position of the party on the question of the Soviet intelligentsia is perfectly clear, there are still current in our party views hostile to the Soviet intelligentsia and incompatible with the party position. As you know, those who hold these false views practice a disdainful and contemptuous attitude to the Soviet intelligentsia and regard it as an alien force, even as a force hostile to the working class and the peasantry. True, during the period of Soviet development the intelligentsia has undergone a radical change both in its composition and status. It has come closer to the people and is honestly collaborating with the people, in which respect it differs fundamentally from the old, bourgeois intelligentsia. But this apparently means nothing to these comrades. They go on harping on the old tunes and wrongly apply to the Soviet intelligentsia views and attitudes which were justified in the old days when the intelligentsia was in the service of the landlords and capitalists.

In the old days, under capitalism, before the revolution, the intelligentsia consisted primarily of members of the propertied classes—noblemen, manufacturers, merchants, kulaks and so on. Some members of the intelligentsia were sons of small tradesmen, petty officials, and even of peasants and workingmen, but they did not and could not play a decisive part. The intelligentsia as a whole depended for their livelihood on the propertied classes and ministered to the propertied classes. Hence it is easy to understand the mistrust, often bordering on hatred, with which the revolutionary elements of our country and above all the workers regarded the intellectuals. True, the old intelligentsia produced some courageous individuals, handfuls of revolutionary people who adopted the standpoint of the working class and completely threw in their lot with the working class. But such people were all too few among the intelligentsia, and they could not change the complexion of the intelligentsia as a whole.

Matters with regard to the intelligentsia have undergone a fundamental change, however, since the October Revolution, since the defeat of the foreign armed intervention, and especially since the victory of industrialization and collectivization, when the abolition of exploitation and the firm establishment of the socialist economic system made it really possible to give the country a new constitution and to put it into effect. The most influential and qualified section of the old intelligentsia broke away from the main body in the very first days of the October Revo-

lution, proclaimed war on the Soviet government, and joined the ranks of the saboteurs. They met with well-deserved punishment for this; they were smashed and dispersed by the organs of Soviet power. Subsequently the majority of those that survived were recruited by the enemies of our country as wreckers and spies, and thus were expunged by their own deeds from the ranks of the intellectuals. Another section of the old intelligentsia, less qualified but more numerous, long continued to mark time, waiting for "better days"; but then, apparently giving up hope, decided to go and serve and to live in harmony with the Soviet government. The greater part of this group of the old intelligentsia are well on in years and are beginning to go out of commission. A third section of the old intelligentsia, mainly comprising its rank-and-file, and still less qualified than the section just mentioned, joined forces with the people and supported the Soviet government. It needed to perfect its education, and it set about doing so in our universities. But parallel with this painful process of differentiation and break-up of the old intelligentsia there went on a rapid process of formation, mobilization and mustering of forces of a new intelligentsia. Hundreds of thousands of young people coming from the ranks of the working class, the peasantry and the working intelligentsia entered the universities and technical colleges, from which they emerged to reinforce the attenuated ranks of the intelligentsia. They infused fresh blood into it and reanimated it in a new, Soviet spirit. They radically changed the whole aspect of the intelligentsia, molding it in their own form and image. The remnants of the old intelligentsia were dissolved in the new, Soviet intelligentsia, the intelligentsia of the people. There thus arose a new, Soviet intelligentsia, intimately bound up with the people and, for the most part, ready to serve them faithfully and loyally.

As a result, we now have a numerous, new, popular, socialist intelligentsia, fundamentally different from the old, bourgeois intelligentsia both in composition and in social and political character.

The old theory about the intelligentsia, which taught that it should be treated with distrust and combated, fully applied to the old, pre-revolutionary intelligentsia, which served the landlords and capitalists. This theory is now out-of-date and does not fit our new, Soviet intelligentsia. Our new intelligentsia demands a new theory, a theory teaching the necessity for a cordial attitude towards it, solicitude and respect for it, and co-operation with it in the interests of the working class and the peasantry.

That is clear, I should think.

It is therefore all the more astonishing and strange that after all these fundamental changes in the status of the intelligentsia people should be found within our party who attempt to apply the old theory, which was directed against the bourgeois intelligentsia, to our new, Soviet intelligentsia, which is basically a socialist intelligentsia. These people, it appears, assert that workers and peasants who until recently were working in Stakhanov fashion in the factories and collective farms, and who were then sent to the universities to be educated, thereby ceased to be real people and became second-rate people. So we are to conclude that education is a pernicious and dangerous thing. We want all our workers and peasants to be cultured and educated, and we shall achieve this in time. But in the opinion of these queer comrades, this purpose harbors a grave danger; for after the workers and peasants become cultured and educated they may face the danger of being classified as second-rate people. The possibility is not precluded that these queer comrades may in time sink to the position of extolling backwardness, ignorance, benightedness and obscurantism. It would be quite in the nature of things. Theoretical vagaries have never led, and never can lead, to any good.

Such is the position with regard to our new, socialist intelligentsia.

Our tasks in respect to the further strengthening of the party are:

1. Systematically to improve the composition of the party, raising the level of knowledge of its membership, and admitting into its ranks, by a process of individual selection, only tried and tested comrades who are loyal to the cause of communism.
2. To establish closer contact between the leading bodies and the work of the lower bodies, so as to make their work of leadership more practical and specific and less confined to meetings and offices.
3. To centralize the work of selecting cadres, to train them carefully and foster them, to study the merits and demerits of workers thoroughly, to promote young workers boldly and adapt the selection and allocation of cadres to the requirements of the political line of the party.
4. To centralize party propaganda and agitation, to extend the propaganda of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, and to raise the theoretical level and improve the political schooling of our cadres.

Comrades, I am now about to conclude my report.

I have sketched in broad outline the path traversed by our party during the period under review. The results of the work of the party and of its Central Committee during this period are well known. There

have been mistakes and shortcomings in our work. The party and the Central Committee did not conceal them and strove to correct them. There have also been important successes and big achievements, which must not be allowed to turn our heads.

The chief conclusion to be drawn is that the working class of our country, having abolished the exploitation of man by man and firmly established the socialist system, has proved to the world the truth of its cause. That is the chief conclusion, for it strengthens our faith in the power of the working class and in the inevitability of its ultimate victory.

The bourgeoisie of all countries asserts that the people cannot get along without capitalists and landlords, without merchants and kulaks. The working class of our country has proved in practice that the people can get along without exploiters perfectly well.

The bourgeoisie of all countries asserts that, having destroyed the old bourgeois system, the working class is incapable of building anything new to replace the old. The working class of our country has proved in practice that it is quite capable not only of destroying the old system but of building a new and better system, a socialist system, a system, moreover, to which crises and unemployment are unknown.

The bourgeoisie of all countries asserts that the peasantry is incapable of taking the path of socialism. The collective farm peasants of our country have proved in practice that they can do so quite successfully.

The chief endeavor of the bourgeoisie of all countries and of its reformist hangers-on is to kill in the working class faith in its own strength, faith in the possibility and inevitability of its victory, and thus to perpetuate capitalist slavery. For the bourgeoisie knows that if capitalism has not yet been overthrown and still continues to exist, it owes it not to its own merits, but to the fact that the proletariat has still not faith enough in the possibility of its victory. It cannot be said that the efforts of the bourgeoisie in this respect have been altogether unsuccessful. It must be confessed that the bourgeoisie and its agents among the working class have to some extent succeeded in poisoning the minds of the working class with the venom of doubt and skepticism. If the successes of the working class of our country, if its fight and victory serve to rouse the spirit of the working class in the capitalist countries and to strengthen its faith in its own power and in its victory, then our party may say that its work has not been in vain. And there need be no doubt that this will be the case.

Long live our victorious working class!
Long live our victorious collective farm peasantry!
Long live our socialist intelligentsia!
Long live the great friendship of the nations of our country!
Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

