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Ten Years of Victorious Proletarian Revolution.

Report of Comrade BUKHARIN at the VIIIth Trade Union Congress of the Moscow Gouvernement on October 12th, 1927.

I. THE WORLD REVOLUTION AND THE SOVIET UNION.

Comrades, I believe it is not only in the camp of our friends but also in the camp of our enemies that the great historical significance of the tenth anniversary of the October revolution is recognised.

Our friends will look with increased hopes to the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and to the iron dictatorship of the working class which has waged so successful a fight for the last ten years in what was once imperial Russia. Our enemies of every kind, whether direct representatives of imperialism or leaders and functionaries of the reformist Internationals, the camp of social traitors, whether representatives of the big bourgeoisie or of the great landowners, of the imperialist and militarist circles or of the Fascist petty-bourgeois clique in the following of the great bourgeoisie, all and every of these opponents of ours, of whatever country, of whatever nationality or race, will be obliged to recognise the magnitude and the enormous

importance of the historical fact that the working class has been able to maintain its authority for ten years.

The history of revolutions knows several dictatorships. There was the dictatorship of the English bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of Cromwell in England. There was the revolutionary dictatorship of the Jacobins, the petty-bourgeois Left wing during the great French revolution. There was for some months also the Paris Commune. And now there has been a decade of proletarian dictatorship in what was once Tsarist Russia.

The former dictatorships of the various strata of the bourgeoisie, however, have an essentially different significance to the dictatorship of the proletariat, since the bourgeois revolution is of an essentially different nature to the proletarian revolution. Our October revolution will therefore stand at the opening of a new historical epoch of humanity, as having upset and reversed the former social class pyramid in transferring power to the proletariat, the most oppressed, most exploited, and there-

fore most consistently revolutionary class ever known in the history of mankind.

No that we are approaching this most significant jubilee in the history of mankind, it is no more than natural that the workers of the whole world and our Party should feel a certain necessity and desire to survey in the light of our collected historical experiences the achievements made in consequence of the October revolution by the working class and the working peasantry. Nay, more than that. In connection with the difficult situation and with the period of particularly new difficulties upon which the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics appears to be entering — in view of partial vacillations noticeable in some, albeit quite insignificant, sections of the working class and even in certain, yet more insignificant, sections of our own Party — we are confronted again with the fundamental questions of our revolution.

How far have we actually got? Whither are we really going? Is the flag under which we march just as bright, just as red, as was the case ten years ago, when it fluttered in the powder-smoke of the October struggle, or has it changed, has it even paled in part? Does the State power created in the October of the great year 1917 still represent the iron dictatorship of a proletarian cohort, or has this authority changed into something else by reason of a host of insignificant, atomic, unnoticeable little processes; has it experienced an alteration of its social basis; has it ceased or is it ceasing to be the dictatorship of the revolutionary proletariat?

Is our economy consolidating by becoming increasingly Socialistic, or have, on the other hand, internal processes of degeneration brought our economy to such a pass that it has ceased, even in its nationalised branches, to be a weapon in the hands of the victorious working class, changing rather in a growing measure into something that is under the influence of former workers who have ceased to be members of the revolutionary class, who are tied by many threads to the new bourgeoisie and the new bureaucracy, both of which are as far as heaven is from earth from the cares and worries of that class which set up the banner of its authority in October 1917?

All these questions now require to be answered; all of them now call for a solution, and that not so much because the main mass of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, are in need of persuasion, but rather from another point of view, viz., that the new sections of the working class, the new generations of the proletariat, and the new generations of the working peasantry must be enlightened, sections that neither knew nor witnessed the old regime, who have grown up on new foundations, and to whom the decisive difference between the pre-October era and the post-October era is not so apparent as it is to the older generations of workers and peasants.

Comrades, I shall thus begin with a theme which has frequently been discussed of late both in our press and in our literature and at our public Party and Soviet meetings. The tenth anniversary of the October revolution reminds us that the October revolution was an outcome of the world war, and that the flag under which our proletariat fought in the days of October was the flag of international revolution. The first question that arises on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Revolution is therefore whether the Bolshevik Party acted rightly when placing its cards on the international revolution, whether the vanguard of our proletariat acted rightly in continuing after the February revolution to defend the banner of international revolution most emphatically, with the greatest possible energy, force, and heroism. Has the adherence to the cause of world revolution stood the test of history?

Comrades, we know very well that our opponents who are active within the labour movement will reply to this query with a decided negative. If we observe international Social Democracy, we can see that its most prominent representatives have voiced a standpoint according to which the post-war revolution in general and the October revolution in Russia in particular were the peculiar product of a process of decay in capitalist society as a result of the war, therefore themselves a specific result of the war, and in a great degree of a nature to be characterised as more or less of a Russian-Asiatic origin.

By these ideologists of the Second International, our revolution is looked upon not as a proletarian revolution, but as a revolution of deserting soldiers, a revolution of soldiers and peasants. According to this estimate, the proletariat only

entered the revolution by reason of its interest in the liquidation of the war and by no means as a class engaged in and capable of realising the Socialist revolution, a revolution which is not the outcome of decay, disintegration, and dissolution produced by the war, but the evolutionary "completion" of a powerfully developed capitalism, which produced its own grave-diggers by reason of its very full-bloodedness.

But the war is over and capitalism has developed incredibly, so the social reformists maintain. It has not only not perished but advances with giant strides, creating new forms of organisation. International organisations arise after the manner of the League of Nations, and we see the inception of a new and gigantic cycle of capitalist prosperity. The Bolshevik speculation on the world revolution has proved a childish Utopia. Such are the essential reflections of the international social reformists and their purely bourgeois adherents of the nature of the Russian Smenovyechovzy*) of the Ustryalov type. In one of his latest articles, Ustryalov, who is well-known among the Smenovyechovzy, writes as follows:

"The Russian whirlwind has gone to sleep at the Russian frontier and, since the hopes of the world revolution have proved fruitless, our country will doubtless experience the incipient process of the re-erection of a wholesome bourgeois State, or what ever it may be called by the Communists, who will not fail as a matter of conscience to adorn it with their old hackneyed ideological terms."

I must admit that even in our midst it frequently happens that in discussing the world revolution comrades raise the question: "When will it be? When will it come? When will that day arrive?" It seems to me that such a manner of putting the question, though containing nothing offensive, is yet not right. It seems to me that it would be right to affirm that the reliance of our Bolshevik Party on the world revolution has been fully vindicated, since the world revolution is not an event which is to come but rather a thing that is happening at present, not a matter for conjecture and expectation but a matter of reality, not something to materialise after a certain lapse of time but something actually proceeding. Comrades, I beg in the first place to call to mind certain facts which are characteristic of the last decade. Permit me the following enumeration of a few facts.

February 1917 — the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Russia; October 1917 — the proletarian revolution in Russia; January to March 1918 — the workers revolution in Finland; November 1918 — the revolution in Germany and the revolution in Austria; March 1919 — the revolution in Hungary; April 1919 — the Soviet rule in Bavaria; January 1920 — the revolution in Turkey; September 1920 — the revolution in Italy with the occupation of the factories and workshops by the workers; March 1921 — the so-called March coup in Germany; September 1923 — the insurrection in Bulgaria; autumn of 1923 — the revolutionary revolt of the German proletariat; September 1924 — the insurrection in Esthonia; April 1925 — the rebellion in Morocco; August 1925 — the rebellion in Syria; May 1926 — the general strike in Great Britain; July 1927 — the revolt in Vienna; and finally, for many years, the Chinese revolution, which is now entering upon a particularly critical phase.

This simple enumeration, starting with 1917 and ending with the events in Vienna last July and the Chinese revolution, shows that the world revolution is actually in progress. There is no victory of the world revolution, in that there is no simultaneous victory of the working class with a maintenance of its dictatorship in a whole series of States.

That is true enough, but who ever told you, or rather who ever told us that it was in that way that the world revolution of the working class would proceed? It is quite true that at present the actual revolts are more frequent in the colonial countries; but the colonial revolutions, without being strictly proletarian revolutions, form part of the international revolutionary process. How can it be said that there is no world revolution, when there is a victorious Socialist revolution in the Soviet Union and a Chinese revolution, which are surely

*) Bourgeois emigrants or former emigrants, who, for nationalist reasons, acknowledged the Soviet power and declared themselves ready to co-operate with it. Ed.

part of the world revolution? It is not right to argue that there is no world revolution and that such a revolution can only materialise when its component parts have been combined.

The incorrectness of this way of arguing lies in the fact that the comrades who entertain reflections of this kind misconstrue the world revolution. There are very many people (including several members of our Party) who picture the world revolutions as a more or less simultaneous action to be suddenly effected in a whole number of capitalist countries.

It should be pointed out that this is practically impossible and that it is wrong to imagine the process of the world revolution like that. Even during the war, before we arrived at an active revolutionary process in the February of 1917, Lenin maintained that we must all understand that the world revolution destined to overthrow capitalism is a lengthy historical process and that we are now on the eve of an epoch of the world revolution, which will comprise a whole series of revolutions of the proletariat, colonial risings, and national wars, with a combination of all factors undermining capitalism. The world revolution is an epoch of revolutions, a long-extended process.

And now that ten years have passed since the working class of our country seized power, we have the leisure and the possibility to look back upon our own historical development and to compare it with what was experienced by the world during the epochs of the bourgeois revolutions, in so far as these two historical epochs can be compared and afford a certain analogy. We have occasion to compare it with what happened at other historical turning-points when, following on the bourgeois revolutions, mankind passed from feudalism to capitalism.

If we consider the bourgeois revolutions, we shall see that there was such a revolution in England in the 17th, and another in France in the 18th century, while in the middle of the 19th century there were similar revolutions on the European Continent and finally in the 20th century we have a bourgeois revolution in Russia. As we may see, the great process of the revolutionary transition of human society from the rule of feudalism to the rule of capitalism in the various Continents and parts of the world occupied a number of centuries.

It is obvious that circumstances will be quite, or at least considerably, different in regard to the Socialist revolution, since at present the connection between the various countries is closer, more extensive, and more intimate, than was the case a few hundred years ago. Thus the working class will be able to complete their revolution throughout the world in an incomparably shorter space of time than the bourgeoisie. From this historical comparison, however, we cannot but conclude that even the process of the Socialist revolution is a very lengthy one.

The world revolution is not only a lengthy, but also a very manifold process, containing various components, viz. the revolt of the working class against the bourgeoisie in the more advanced countries, the revolt of the working class with the adherence of tremendous numbers of the peasantry in the less developed countries, such as our own, then national wars of liberation, the efforts at emancipation of numerous colonial and semi-colonial peoples, including such as do not even possess important proletarian strata, and so forth. In an article "On a Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism", Lenin wrote as follows:

"The social revolution cannot ensue save in the form of an epoch, combining civil warfare on the part of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the more civilised countries, and a whole series of democratic and revolutionary, but also national emancipatory movements among the less developed, backward and oppressed nationalities. And why thus? Because of the unequal development of capitalism."

In close connection with these two characteristics there is a third, i. e. the fact that the world revolution is a process the parts of which are accomplished at different times. Thus the proletarian revolution in this country was in 1917, that in Germany in 1918, the rising in Indonesia in 1926, and the rising in Esthonia in 1924. These are all parts of a process, mainly occurring at different times although they all converge under particular conditions and might very well progress simultaneously; all these are parts, separate pieces of the world revolution, which is not a single action and the separate component parts of which proceed slowly, unequally, and at different times.

Turning once more to the analogy, we feel bound to emphasise the circumstance that the most revolutionary country in the period of bourgeois revolutions was exposed to the attacks of all other great powers which united against it, just as was the case of our own country at the inception of the Socialist revolution. In this connection the difference lies only in the fact that the lead among the feudal States opposing bourgeois-revolutionary France was taken by another bourgeois country, England, which saw a rival in France, the very same England that is now at the head of the coalition against us. The fight of these feudal States, then led by England, against the revolutionary bourgeois State of France, lasted, apart from some small interruptions, for 22 years.

We must bear in mind that the war waged by England against the French Republic, commencing in 1793, lasted until 1816, in the course of which time England succeeded practically four times in forming a "united front" of the nations against revolutionary France. The second occasion was in 1798 (Austria, Turkey, Russia, Kingdom of Naples) and the third in 1803 (England, Russia, Austria, Sweden). Finally, in 1813, a Coalition was formed between England, Prussia, Russia, and Austria, which led after some time to the defeat of the Napoleonic armies and subsequently brought about corresponding alterations in the structure of the French State.

I have drawn attention to these historical examples so as to facilitate the understanding of those extraordinarily difficult conditions under which the new social order was born and to give some idea of the tremendous historical perspectives of the world revolution. Doubtless there will sooner or later be a great war of the imperialist powers against ourselves or against a coalition of proletarian States, and there will not be peace in the world until the working class has come into power the world over.

To the elements of the struggle for the world revolution, which I enumerated in the words of Lenn cited above, we must thus also count the war of the Socialist countries, which are exposed to the attack of the imperialist States. This is likewise a constituent part of the great process of a redistribution of the world. In spite of all temporal division and variety in the processes of the Socialist world revolution, it remains a uniform process, representing as it does the crisis of capitalist society, its downfall, and the revolutionary distribution of the world. And it is from this standpoint that we speak of a Socialist world revolution.

I have dwelt so long on this subject, because a proper attitude in relation to the question of the world revolution is of immense practical importance, and the lack of it exercises an adverse influence on the self-consciousness, the will, and the mentality of individual sections of the working class and also of a certain fraction of our Party. An opinion is prevalent that we spoke unduly much of the world revolution in 1917 and counted on it with the greatest confidence, whereas it has now disappeared, is never mentioned, and may not make its re-appearance for goodness knows how long. We are said to have asserted that capitalism had entered upon an epoch of tremendous difficulties, whereas the expected Communist "transformation" of society has suddenly been removed to such a far distance that it is no longer to be discerned whither it has gone and how it is to be replaced.

If we now give another answer to this question, in saying that the revolutionary transformation of the capitalist world is not a future event but a process which is even now in progress, that the world revolution has certainly not yet gained a decisive victory but is nevertheless present and in a state of development, it is natural that the result must be a different attitude, a renewed effort, another fighting spirit, and a restored self-confidence of the working class and of those ranged under the Communist flag.

If we raise the question as to what we are experiencing at present, as to what are the general characteristics of the present situation of the world revolution, and as to what is the present position of capitalism, the answer is that the crisis of world imperialism is now developing differently to what was the case a few years ago. Formerly the forces working for its destruction were concentrated in Western Europe; now there is in Western Europe a certain stabilisation of capitalism, characterised in the first place by a certain consolidation of its technical basis. Thus Germany, e. g., records exceptional returns in regard to technics, which it would be stupid to deny

— however revolutionary it may appear on the part of those comrades who do so — since these are actual facts. In the electro-technical industry, in the chemical industry, in the metal industry, and in mining, Germany has achieved returns comparing brilliantly with the results of German industry in the past; the same may be said in regard to the employment of new motors and in respect of rationalisation. These are all incontestable facts.

If on the one hand capitalism has advanced by several steps in these directions in the capitalist countries of Europe, the capitalist crisis resulting from the world war is mainly apparent in other ways.

The Chinese revolution with its enormous sweep, with the colossal masses it set in movement, and with its tremendous specific momentum, is nothing but the expression of the crisis of the capitalist system from another direction. The deepening of the revolution in China is a proof of the capitalist crisis. The successful development of Socialist construction in this country, of which I shall still have occasion to speak, is likewise an expression of the same crisis, for capitalism will never again experience its lost prosperity, if only for the fact of the existence of the Soviet Union, which is driven like a wedge into the body of the bourgeois world economy.

The crisis of capitalism is therefore more apparent along its colonial fringes, especially in Eastern Asia; on the other hand, the successful development of Socialism in the Soviet Union is a revolutionary fact of the profoundest significance. Finally, this crisis of capitalist society may be seen in the particularly acute differences within stabilising capitalism, seeing that the stabilisation of capitalism in the West of Europe is proceeding in connection with an aggravation of such difficulties as have arisen through the war; the stabilisation ensues under the pressure of the bourgeoisie on the working class, with a permanent growth of unemployment and an accentuation of class differences.

Comrades, you know very well that the working class of Western Europe are undergoing a quite undoubted process of radicalisation, which is in a certain sense a reply to the attacks of capitalism. A particularly characteristic example may be found in the reaction called forth by the inhuman execution of Sacco and Vanzetti, which found utterance in great public demonstrations and in street-fighting in the course of the demonstration on the occasion of the reception of the American Legion in Paris. A similarly pronounced radicalisation is observable in the German working class, expressed particularly on the occasion of the last municipal elections. Another case in point was the revolt of the workers in Vienna, which broke out against the will of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party, to which the majority of the workers taking part in the revolt belonged. All this speaks of an increase in the revolutionary sentiments of the working class, caused by the growing social contradictions of capitalist stabilisation.

And if there are now some comrades in our midst who designate the most important processes of the world revolution as processes characterising a restriction of the revolutionary movement and as a development of the forces of the bourgeoisie, this is a pronouncedly pessimistic attitude which in no way corresponds to actual facts, seeing that there is at present quite obviously a process of development in the labour movement, a process of increased resistance to capitalist attacks, as a result of the internal contradictions of capitalist stabilisation.

Finally, the critical condition of the entire capitalist regime is aggravated by the increasing confusion in the relations of the imperialist States with one another and by the tremendous antagonism and the accentuation of the differences between the imperialist States and the Soviet Union.

And if to-day, ten years after the working class seized power, we ask ourselves what we have attained in the direction of the international revolutionary movement, if we draw a balance in this regard, we can surely not maintain that the balance has deteriorated from the standpoint of the revolution and improved from that of the reaction. By no means. Let us reflect what Lenin said in his "Letter to the Comrades", written prior to the October upheaval. He pointed to the approach of the world revolution and to the necessity of supporting it, at a time when all he had with which to back his arguments was the revolt of the German sailors and the existence of a man like Karl Liebknecht. At present, however, the Chinese

revolution alone is a factor of prime importance. And we ourselves have a firm footing; we possess a Communist International with a control of the masses and have our adherents everywhere.

Can this be compared with what we possessed in 1917? There is really no cause for grumbling! Our forces have been multiplied, as regards both material resources and the number of our adherents, as regards the tremendous experience we have gained and the organisation of those forces, which would be set in motion in the event of a collision between the Soviet Union and the imperialist powers.

This then is the reason why we can say with the greatest conviction that it is wrong to speak of a shrinking of the labour movement of late years. We can express the firmest conviction that, in the event of a war against the Soviet Union, there would be, if not exactly an immediate outbreak of revolts of the working classes in all countries (which it would be a mistake to expect), at least so rapid a growth of the revolutionary spirit and so speedy a mobilisation of the forces of the working class against the bourgeoisie, that a number of bourgeois States would after a while be completely dismembered; for a war against the Soviet Union would bring all questions so forcefully to the fore, would entail such a cruelly unscrupulous differentiation among the population, and would call so imperatively upon all men, and the workers in particular, to exercise their right of self-determination, that it would inevitably lead to the consolidation and development of all the revolutionary elements at present slumbering in the "powder-barrels" of European capitalism.

It can, therefore, be assumed with all certainty that the consequences and perspectives entailed by the advent of a future war would be more far-reaching than those accompanying the war of 1914 to 1918.

II. THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY AND THE CAPITALIST WORLD.

Comrades, I shall now pass to another theme which is in connection with my first. Our revolution now possesses many allies among the workers of the international proletariat, but it does not yet possess a single victorious ally. Thus the question arises in all its acuteness as to our relations with the capitalist world, the relation between the development of Socialism in this country and the evolution of capitalism in other countries. Some comrades incline to the opinion that the world revolution is practically a single action, wherefore they are even ready to reproach history with "national narrowness" (laughter), as having led to the victory of Socialism in one country and not in several simultaneously. It cannot be denied, however, that the dictatorship of the proletariat exists in one country, that this dictatorship is faced with the definite necessity of entering into relations of some sort or other with the capitalist world.

If a simultaneous victory of the working classes were actually to ensue in the countries adjoining us, such as Germany, Austria, and Poland, we should be no longer in a capitalist but in a Socialist environment and should pursue a course aiming not at independence from our neighbours but rather at the most intimate connection with them; we should then not be obliged to attach importance to a strong independence in all branches of economy at the same time, i. e. to the production, as far as possible, of all that is necessary for our country, but should pursue an economic policy calculated to exploit the peculiarities of our natural and social-economic conditions. We should then not need to produce a whole number of products, which we could obtain from our Socialist neighbours, but could on the other hand turn out a great redundancy of such things as most readily prosper in our country, with which we could then supply the other Socialist countries.

We could then also introduce an international division of labour and no longer regard ourselves as a force hostile to its surroundings but rather as a fragment of a great Socialistic economic entity.

In reality, however, no such Socialist surroundings exist. Therefore our political task is the fight against the capitalistic environment; nor can our programme from an economic standpoint be that of "as intimate as possible a connection with the world market", as many suppose it should, but must be directed towards the most advantageous combinations from the stand-

point of the increasing independence and economic power of our Soviet Union.

Were we to adopt "as intimate as possible a connection with the world market", what should we in the first place have to do? We should have to suspend the foreign trade monopoly, which is a barrier between us and our capitalist surroundings and prevents the entrance of the cheaper foreign goods which compete with our own. And this is a barrier we have purposely erected, since we do not wish to be pressed into a corner by our capitalistic enemies. For this purpose we require the barrier of the foreign trade monopoly, which we may by no means eschew; therefore we may by no means set up the programme of being "so international as to have as great as possible a connection with foreign countries".

This is a short-sighted policy, though preached by the authors of the "policy of a wide vision", for it is obviously a question of the confusion of two different things. And because we do not occupy the standpoint of an unconditional maximum of economic relations with international capitalism, we are accused of "national narrowness". In the present case, we are "suffering" from an international revolutionism, which makes it our duty to take care that the international bourgeoisie should not get too near to our "cake", lest it bite a big piece off or even swallow it wholesale. This is, indeed, our international duty.

On the other hand, people who write on their banner "an unconditional maximum of economic relations with the capitalist world", must — if they desire to be halfway logical — first abolish the barrier of a foreign trade monopoly, which is just what they dare to accuse us of wishing to do.

That is the present state of affairs. I repeat, therefore, that the policy which has stood the test of experience, which results from our adherence to a foreign trade monopoly, and which is controlled by the development of our commercial turnovers with the capitalist world, is already directed towards as great as possible a degree of economic relationship, not an actual maximum of economic relations in the general sense, but a maximum of such relations as appear advantageous from the standpoint of an increasing independence and power of our economic whole.

Comrades, I am bound to say that we have much to learn of the bourgeoisie in this respect. Remember that the programme of a maximum of economic relations, the programme of free trade among the nations without the least hindrance, without any barrier, without a foreign trade monopoly, a condition permitting every country to deal quite freely with every other country, just like one merchant with another, in the absence of all customs — remember that this principle was originally set up by England. For a long period of time Great Britain preached the principle of free trade among the nations. At present it no longer advocates this principle, but in the 19th century it did so. And why? Merely because it was stronger than all other countries. No other country was able to compete with England, which had the best machinery, the cheapest goods, nobody and nothing to fear. Like a great bulldog in a crowd of small terriers, England came among the nations and announced "I proclaim free competition between myself and you".

It is characteristic, however, that the development of international trade should have caused two nations, the United States and Germany, both later destined to occupy highly prominent places on the world market, to enter the lists with the programme of customs barriers, these two countries also producing the best theoretic champions of a customs policy. In the United States we have the well-known economist Carey, and in Germany List, renowned as the author of numerous classical "works" on protectionism. Subsequently both the United States and Germany greatly developed their customs tariffs, and finally England, having gradually lost its domineering significance on the world market, also introduced so-called "protective tariffs".

The young rising capitalist States thus protected themselves against England by customs barriers, although all these rival States were States of one and the same category, merely appertaining to different nations, whereas we have a proletarian State which prospers and flourishes on the frail basis inherited from the Tsarist regime and the bourgeoisie. Can we therefore do aught else than defend ourselves still more seriously, and must we not prove yet more sensitive in the question of our economic independence?

It would be another matter if a Socialist revolution were to take place, say in the United States. In such a case we could get along completely without any foreign trade monopoly, since then no capitalists of any other nation could absorb us; in such a case there would be an altogether different system of international combinations. If the Socialist revolution were to spread to countries with a first-class technical equipment and low costs of production, the competition of the remaining capitalist countries would no longer be so formidable. If in this country the costs of production are much higher than in the capitalist countries, we must reason as follows: "True, the capitalist countries manufacture cheaper, but we must give a foundation to our own economy and so build it up as to be increasingly independent of our capitalist opponents and to exploit them as far as possible within the given limits."

In the last decade we have experienced a whole series of various eras in our relations with foreign countries. First we had the era of intervention, then that of recognition; at present it seems as though we were faced with an era of diplomatic rupture with the prospect of a war. It is interesting to remember how Lenin considered the question of our capitalist environment. In Volume XV, in the treatise "On the Next Tasks of the Soviet Power", which dates from the year 1918, Lenin wrote:

"The entire possibility of a Socialist development depends on the question whether in the course of a certain period of transition we can succeed in protecting our internal economic independence by means of paying a certain tribute to foreign capital."

We can see how forcefully he attacked this question. I may remind you that at the time of the Genoa Conference the Soviet Government was willing to make extraordinary concessions for the sake of gaining time and of liberating itself by the payment of a certain sort of "tribute". At the same time I am bound to say that the problem is no longer the same as it was when Lenin wrote his treatise "On the Next Tasks of the Soviet Power" or when the Genoa Conference met. We must most emphatically point out to all the world that they could by no means expect such concessions of us now as we were ready to make at the time of the Genoa Conference, for the simple reason that we are to-day by no means so weak as we then were; indeed, because we are quite considerably stronger than we were at the time of the Genoa Conference.

Not only the questions of debts and concessions, but also the questions concerning the various economic agreements and trade treaties require most careful diplomatic treatment. We can, must, and shall profit by all antagonisms among our capitalist opponents. We must and shall attempt to postpone the attack preparing against us and must endeavour, albeit for a short time, to profit by the noticeable friction between the capitalist States. Should more definite tactics on our part prove necessary, however, they will be on quite a different level to what they were at the time of the Genoa Conference. The tactics we employ will be such as correspond to our growing power and increased authority.

I must here pause to make an observation which appears necessary in the light of various arguments directed against our policy, in connection with the objections raised to the policy pursued by the Central Committee of our Party and the Soviet Government and in connection with the malicious gossip spread abroad on the same matter. In answer to the argument which maintains that no payments may be made at all, I should like to point out that this is rank nonsense. We have never adhered to this point of view, and we assert that we can pay when we think it advantageous for us to do so. The question is rather, to what extent, to whom, and for what purpose the payments are to be made.

The second argument is: Why did you not inform the working class, the real master of the situation, at the mass meetings, as to how much you intend to pay? To this question we can answer that such an argument can only be raised by two categories of individuals, viz., either by consummate fools or else by charlatans, for the very reason that we should be acting most irresponsibly if we were to announce in advance that we intended to pay so much to one party, so much to another and so much to a third.

If in a military matter, only so as to have no secrets from the proletariat, we were to declare at public meetings and the

like, "Comrades, we possess so-and-so many guns, so-and-so many mines, and in the event of a war our plan of campaign would be such, in the event of another war such-and-such; be so good as to control us, as we are proletarian democrats", the workers would certainly tell us, "You are certainly great democrats, but also greater blockheads than the police allows any one to be." (Applause.) And they will be altogether right, for all these tactics require the most complicated machinations, seeing that the combinations among the various States may sometimes change more than once in the course of a single week, during which time a certain conspiratorial secrecy must be observed.

That is the most important thing I had to say on the subject of our foreign policy and our relations with the capitalist States.

III. THE BUILDING UP OF SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY AND THE POSSIBILITIES OF ITS VICTORY.

Ten years ago, prior to the October insurrection, which was organised and conducted by our Party, certain vacillations were noticeable within the ranks of our Party as to the question whether the insurrection was to be carried out or not, and as to whether the world revolution was sufficiently ripe for us to raise its standard alone and for the first time. A number of comrades thought it was too early to initiate a revolt, seeing that the world revolution had not advanced sufficiently far, because our country was not progressive but petty-bourgeois, because our Party was not sufficiently prepared, and because the workers would not enter into the struggle with sufficient energy and courage.

A whole number of responsible leaders of our Party wavered at that critical moment, and their wavering was certainly justified from their own point of view. They raised their objections to the programme of revolt, and in full detail, step for step, Lenin analysed each of these objections and, if I may be allowed the expression, he gave those comrades a thoroughly hot time of it. In his "Letters to the Comrades", he analysed a whole series of arguments that had been raised by vacillating comrades, among them one which ran literally as follows: (I shall cite this objection, since it is being raised in our own time again, though in another form.)

"There is actually nothing in the international situation that obliges us to act at once. We shall rather be harming the cause of the Socialist revolution in the West if we get shot at the present juncture." (Lenin, Vol. XIV/II, P. 278.)

In other words, translated into simple speech, this means that the world revolution is **not yet ripe** and that in our **backward** country we should stand very much **alone**. In reply, Lenin, in his "Letters to the Comrades", characterises the standpoint of the objectors in the following way:

"Let us show our wisdom. Pass a resolution of sympathy with the **German insurgents** and decline the insurrection in Russia. That will be a true and reasonable form of **internationalism**. And how rapidly internationalism will develop all the world over if such a wise policy gains the upper hand **everywhere**." (Lenin, Vol. XIV/II, P. 272.)

In other words, the vacillating comrades who declared "Why should we, with our national limitations, enter upon the fight for the proletarian revolution in a country containing a host of backward peasant undertakings?" were answered by Lenin as follows: "Yes, you are good internationalists; you are willing to put your names to any resolution in favour of the international proletariat, if only, under the pretext of national limitations, you at home need not undertake any revolutionary rising against the bourgeoisie."

This quarrel, in which the hesitators played the part of "great internationalists" and voted against a rising, while the Central Committee of our Party, with Lenin at its head, was supposed to be less internationalist, since he was in favour of initiating the struggle **alone**, is a very instructive example in the history of our labour movement and our Communist Party.

Besides the argument, that the world revolution was not yet sufficiently ripe for action, the hesitators had naturally a number of other arguments at their disposal. Inter alia, they maintained that the circumstances were unfavourable for us, that there was not sufficient enthusiasm in the working class,

that the peasantry in the country was too numerous, that the country was too backward. When an entire group of comrades quitted the Council of People's Commissaries of the first legislative period, they said in announcing their retirement: "If you do not act according to our suggestions and if the Communist Party takes the power completely into its own hands, the result will inevitably be a quite insupportable terrorist regime, which will eventually mean the downfall of our revolution."

If we go to the bottom of things and ask ourselves what was here at issue and what it was that imbued our comrades with such a number of pessimistic ideas as to the progress of the revolution and its further destiny, we shall see that this state of mind was based on the extremely strong doubt as to whether it were possible to establish Socialism successfully, maintain power, and definitely consolidate the victory in so primitive and small peasant country as ours, where the revolution had, moreover, to stand isolated and alone. It must be admitted that the opinion, that in so backward a country as ours there were no objective presumptions for the development of Socialism, was not without a traditional background in our Socialist movement. Socialism means in the first place systematic economy. And how can that be carried out in the face of 20 million peasant undertakings? Socialism presupposes the rule of the proletariat, but what is to be done if in proportion to the peasantry the proletariat represents only a diminutive minority in the population? How is Socialism to be established if the peasantry, once the ground is distributed, possibly turns against the working class, merely because the main point, the distribution of the ground, has been attained? Will the working class be able to carry the peasantry with it when once the latter has divided up the ground of the landowners? Probably not.

This is the trend of reflections that had taken deep root in the Menshevik wing of the Socialist movement of our country and which was shared by the entire Russian Menshevik Party and, as it appears, even by certain Communists, both between the February and October revolutions and even later on.

What aroused the most doubt in a number of comrades in the month of October and what had to be taken into consideration in view of the seriousness of many of their arguments and reasons, was the objection that our country was far too backward. If, they contended, we could initiate the proletarian upheaval along with other countries, i. e. if the revolution were to break out in three or four great countries at the same time, the proletarian revolution could be started with united forces. But to induce a country to take to Socialism all alone would surely not be a matter of any duration and might turn out very badly for the cause of revolution. It might be possible to seize power in the first place, but it would be very hard to maintain it, and even if it were maintained, one position after another would have to be sacrificed. To-day one might be the representative of the working class, but a glance in the mirror one week hence might reveal one as a thorough bourgeois, merely because the force was lacking and because one concession after another would have to be made, so that in the end one would shift one's class basis altogether.

Such were the doubts of the hesitating comrades in October 1917. Lenin saw the situation quite clearly. As an international revolutionary to the backbone, he was altogether sure of his attitude in the matter. From the differences of opinion and the discussions we have had of late, and which have also been published, so that they are at present in no sense a secret, it is quite obvious that a number of comrades of the Opposition have opined against the possibility of a victory of Socialism, in trying to prove that this was no theory of Lenin. Certain comrades have even written entire pamphlets on the subject, maintaining that it might be possible to build Socialism in our country but not to build it completely, that we might gain a victory but not an ultimate victory. (Laughter.)

The comrades have evinced a very great agility of reasoning in arguing that we might build unceasingly but never perfect our building. There is a quotation from Lenin that has never been cited anywhere before but which I should like to apply to-day. In 1918, at a most acutely difficult time in view of the breakdown of our economy, Lenin had to overcome a whole series of prejudices in our Party, prejudices some of which I was at that time mistaken enough to share. As usual, Lenin summed up the essential points at issue clearly and tersely. He expressed himself in extremely short and simple words which

were comprehensible to every worker and peasant. In that year he wrote as follows in his treatise "On the Next Tasks of the Soviets":

"Husband your money properly and conscientiously, spend thriftily, do not waste, do not steal, observe the strictest discipline in your work. For the ultimate victory of Socialism the practical observance of these maxims of Soviet rule, with the aid of its methods and on the basis of its laws, is just as necessary as it is sufficient." (Lenin, Vol. XV, P. 183. Emphasised by me N. B.)

He did not speak of the victory of Socialism generally, but of the ultimate victory and recognised that the presumptions for such an ultimate victory lay in the fact that our socialist economy, our industry, and our co-operatives be well conducted and that the internal organisation of the country be improved. Lenin said that all of us, as members of a united working class, and the working peasantry we carry with us, must observe those elementary and simple rules at which we may once have laughed as serving the interests of capitalism, but which now serve our own interests. "Husband your money properly and conscientiously, do not waste, do not steal, observe the strictest discipline in your work". And Lenin, the great revolutionary and internationalist, maintained that, if we obeyed these directives, we could attain the ultimate victory of Socialism in our country.

If now some of the comrades — probably the same that hesitated to seize power in October 1917 — tell us under our new circumstances that the victory of Socialism in a single country only is national limitation, treason against the spirit of Lenin, and that Lenin never said this, their assertions correspond in no way to what Lenin actually did say. Uncertainty, doubt, scepticism, and hesitation in this question are allied to the uncertainty, the doubt, the scepticism, and the hesitation which were characteristic of a number of our leading Party functionaries in the great days of October 1917.

During the entire history of our revolution, from the time of October down to the present time, we have not ceased to hear prophecies as to the Soviet Government from our most pronounced opponents. Before the October upheaval they maintained that we should not dare to take the power into our own hands. If I am not mistaken it was Victor Tchernov, the representative of the Social Revolutionaries, who at that time set up the thesis that the Bolsheviks would not venture to take over power, whereupon Lenin answered him with the open declaration that our Party was ready to assume authority alone and against all.

When we had taken over power, there came the second stage, a thesis openly defended by Milyoukov, the representative of the pronounced counter-revolutionary, bourgeois-cadet party, who proclaimed "Two weeks of Bolshevik rule, and all will be over". This slogan was adopted by all our opponents, the Mensheviks, the Social-Revolutionaries, the Cadets, and the Monarchists. History, however, has shown that the Bolshevik Party and the working class were capable of maintaining this power. History has proved that the working class has not only maintained its proletarian power but has even consolidated it after warding off the attacks of its enemies.

After the victory over the foreign and Russian counter-revolution, after the liquidation of the fronts and the end of the civil war, we were faced with new tasks, the great tasks of economic reconstruction. And now we had to experience the third wave of arguments, prophecies, fury, rage, and scorn, while our enemies rejoiced at another circumstance. At first we were told we should not be able to make up our minds to assume power, then we were told we should not maintain that power, then again we were assured we should certainly get the worst of the military struggle, by which we should be annihilated. Now the argument was raised that we should never be able to cope with economy, that our economy would collapse and fail utterly.

It must be admitted that the reality which followed on the unspeakably heavy civil war and in the wake of the imperialist wars, was dreadful enough, if judged by every-day standards. The period of starvation, cold, typhus, the tremendous number of deaths, the terrible sufferings are fresh in our memories. We know what a heroic effort of the forces of the working class was necessary in order to emerge from that terrible time. Each of us, every one of the collaborators of our Party remembers the

time when at the meetings in the factories it was necessary passionately to emphasise all arguments with the greatest revolutionary devotion, so that the workers might be convinced of the necessity of holding out. How terribly difficult it was for us to speak to them, if there was, for instance, a woman among the hearers, who, wellnigh fainting from exhaustion, showed us a pot of vegetable soup, such as was then practically the only food of the working classes.

We very well remember that extremely difficult time. After 1921, however, we began to emerge from the condition of economic disorganisation having then got over a series of very difficult stages. We had sunk very low in an economic sense. Not a single country in the world has during the last ten years experienced such far-reaching economic derangement as did our Republic in consequence of the imperialist and civil wars.

In the year 1920, our economic situation was such that in its gross output industry had receded to about one-fifth of the production of the year 1917, which in itself was no brilliant year from an economic standpoint. From 31 million tons in 1917, the coal output had sunk to 8 million tons, the output of naphtha had receded from 8718 to 3833 tons, the production of cast iron and rolled metals in 1920 was practically nil, though the production of these commodities is the backbone of industry. In the year 1920, we produced such small quantities of cast iron, that they were not even included in our general statistical calculations. We had old stocks, but practically no new cast iron was produced. In the output of cotton yarns we receded from 8.2 to 0.8 million poods. In the production of fabrics there was a recession to little more than one thirtieth of the output of 1913, i. e. from 2900 to 110 million metres, the latter level being also no more than one tenth of that of 1917.

The productivity of labour, too, had receded very greatly. The number of workers had sunk to less than one half, i. e. from nearly three millions to 1,340,000. In spite of Socialist dictatorship, wages had as a result of starvation and many other factors sunk from an average of 25 roubles (goods-roubles), reckoned by the household indices, to 6.6 roubles. From 25 roubles to 6.6 roubles! Our currency was altogether depreciated. Our State industry had lost its foundations. The big works were occupied with turning out cigar-lighters.

That was the state of affairs. All our opponents were maliciously glad and asserted that all this had been inevitable. "You have, unfortunately, proved good leaders, but you are altogether impossible as economic organisers. You have gained a military and a political victory by misleading the working masses with your demagogic slogans, but economically you have broken down and were bound to break down, because Socialism is nonsensical in a backward country like Russia." Thus spoke the Social Democrats, the Mensheviks, the Social Revolutionaries, the Cadets, and so on. "You have not the rule of the proletariat, but merely mob rule."

After some time, however, our economy commenced to rise again. Even the deaf and the blind, nay, even the wholly unreasonable began to notice that an improvement of the Soviet economy was in progress all along the line.

Thereupon the attack ensued from another side. "Yes, economy is developing in Russia," they said, "but it is not thanks to your aid, but rather in spite of your aid. It is not the wasted State industry that is developing, but private capital. It is not your collective economy in the villages that is developing, but that of the wealthier classes. Beneath your Socialist veneer, which means slavery for economy, the young shoots of capitalism are breaking forth, which are destined to bear rich fruit and enrich the new bourgeoisie. But you, dear friends, will either be ousted by the pressure of these new masters or else you will have to abandon your red caps and cloths and other emblems and perform work which is at bottom bourgeois."

That is what we were told by those on the other side of the barricade. Our open enemies declared: "This was inevitable, because Socialism is Utopian, a doctrine for theorists, while capitalism is reality and represents the best form of economy and will remain so for many centuries, impervious to any sort of slogans or curses."

The Social Democrats say, "Certainly, Socialism is in itself a good thing, but in a backward country it is Utopian. If you wish to violate reality and put on socialist caps in a country in which there are no presumptions for Socialism, you are in reality only an obstacle, a reactionary factor. If capitalism develops in Russia now, it is a sign of progress. The bourge-

oisie is right in saying that it is not the nationalised industry but the private capital which is developing, and that the former has no prospects whatever. The prospects, rather, are favourable to capital, in fulfilment of what is written, viz. that in a country where the peasantry is so predominant, where there is so little proletariat, and where technics are in so backward a state, there is no possibility of setting up Socialism. He who sets up the standard of the development of Socialism in such a country must ultimately direct it against Socialism itself."

Thus spoke the bourgeoisie and the Social Democrats, and thus speak the ideologists of the Smenovechov-bourgeoisie, thus speak the Mensheviks, and it is almost thus that some of our oppositional friends speak to-day. (Laughter, Applause.) Hence those peculiar phrases which are now so often to be heard, those references to the "Thermidor".

In the first place let us recall some historical facts in regard to the Thermidor. The first, I believe, to make use of this word was Martov, the leader of the Mensheviks, in an article in the "Socialist Messenger". He mentioned the word "Thermidor" immediately after our Party Conference, under the guidance of Lenin, had accepted the fundamental principles of the so-called "economic policy (N. E. P.)" Martov then declared:

"Look, you Bolshevists. You desired to realise Socialism. You have destroyed free trade, you have seized every shopwoman by the skirts. But you could not succeed, and now you yourselves admit that you will make concessions to the peasants. You have capitulated economically. You will say that you are continuing the proletarian directives of Communism, but in reality you are backed by the smallholder, the peasant farmer, who dictates to you at his sweet will. If it was formerly possible to believe that you were expressing the will of the proletariat, every one can see to-day that you are obeying the behests of the smallholder, anxious to do a bit of business."

It was in this connection that Martov wrote to Lenin, "You are experiencing your capitalistic 9th of Thermidor, you have capitulated. You might at least approach your Socialist '18th of Brumaire' with a little more courage. Translated from the French, this meant "Assume the rôle of Napoleon Bonaparte with more boldness".

As in the French Revolution, after the downfall of the dictatorship of the revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie and the beheading of its leader Robespierre, Napoleon Bonaparte became the practical dictator after a series of minor events, and the place of the petty-bourgeois dictatorship was openly taken by the victorious dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, just so Martov estimated our initiation of the new economic policy. In the year 1925, he alleged, there had been a certain abandonment of the proletarian line which until then had been maintained in a certain degree by the Bolshevists — a retreat to a different class basis. The Bolshevists had passed from the standpoint of a dictatorship of the working class to that of the small peasant proprietors, who were inevitably hostile to the proletariat. Another step or two, and the Bolshevists would be reflecting the will of the big bourgeoisie. All this would be realised with the establishment of the power of the dictator Napoleon, whose real name was Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin.

That is how they argued. All was cut and dry. The demoralisation, they said, was a result of the fact that in such a backward country as this Socialism could not possibly be set up. Hence the necessity of concessions to the peasantry, and hence demoralisation. That is what Martov proclaimed. Thereupon our own Smenovechovzy, the pronounced ideologists of the bourgeoisie of the type of Professor Ustryalov, began to echo what the Mensheviks had to say about Thermidor.

"Lenin is a great politician and at the same time a great revolutionary. It is perfectly clear to him in what direction the country is developing, and it is only for the sake of appearances that he speaks of Socialism and internationalism. Lenin is not inferior to Dmitri Donskoy; he is just as eminent as Peter the Great. He understands very well that there is no longer any question of real Communism, that the world revolution has been postponed and that now it is a question of building up a strong Russia. To-day concessions have been made to the peasants and free trade has been re-introduced; to-morrow industry will be denationalised, and so on."

After proclaiming the freedom of trade, they argued, we should give back the workshops and factories to the capitalists and then allow the land to be bought and sold. We had eliminated the landowners, destroyed the old effete autocracy, and driven out our nobility, but in their place we had a new bourgeoisie, who were pastmasters in the art of lying and cheating; besides his cunning, this new bourgeois showed increased energy; at present he was still a dirty lout, but in two or three years he would be washed, his hair would be combed, his beard trimmed, probably he would even be in evening dress; he it was that would direct our policy. Lenin was introducing a new bourgeoisie. The proletariat had done its duty and earned honour and glory; it had achieved much and made a name in history by saving the country from chaos, consolidating the Russian realm, and reuniting the "great land" torn asunder by Koltchak, Denikin, and Wrangel.

This is how the Smenovechovzy describe it. Their reflections are based on the idea that no form of Socialism is possible in Russia, that that is all nonsense, and that we Communists and the Soviet Government, the outcome of the working class, will eventually go the way pointed out to us by the adherents of Ustryalov.

In reality, however, that bourgeois seducer, Ustryalov, has by no means caused us to deviate from the proletarian way, though it is a fact that he has turned the heads of some comrades. The comrades of the Opposition play the part of Eve, tasting of the apple of the serpent Ustryalov (Laughter).

The fact remains that a number of comrades, beset by doubts, have come to speak in the words of Ustryalov. This is readily to be understood when we think of some of the mistakes they made in October. If the world revolution is not yet triumphant, if a victory of the proletariat is not yet noticeable in the neighbouring countries, if we are destined for the present to draw the chariot of the world revolution alone and to establish Socialism only in our own country, which is poor and backward; if at the very outset of the revolution we were beset by doubts as to whether a revolution were possible in this country, if in the course of ten years no victory of the proletariat is to be observed in any of the great neighbouring lands, they believe that the working class of our country will not have the strength to complete the cause of Socialism.

If it were really the case, that we had wasted the nationalised industry and delivered it to the individual capitalists, the matter would be different. The nationalised industry, however, has not passed out of our hands; it advances; the Socialist section of our economy, that is to say the great industries and the co-operative system, are ousting private trade, and this process is a fairly rapid one, too. When we point this out, then the infidels begin to ponder how they can manage to make existing facts appear to be non-existent. That is a very hard task, and here they have to have recourse to all sorts of improbable theories. If they admit the existence and even the recent growth of the nationalised industry, they direct their criticism against something else, they criticise the fact that industry is growing faster than agriculture, in which connection they are ready to develop a very interesting line of argument.

Such a line of argument was started by Comrade Kolesnikov, who reasons as follows: Our industry is growing faster than our agriculture, but how can that fail to be the case? Even before the war it grew faster than agriculture. At the end of the civil war it certainly lost in a greater degree than agriculture, but prior to the war it gained more rapidly, so that now its quicker growth means a return to pre-war conditions.

But we might ask why this must absolutely be the case. Could it not happen that a country regresses, that an industrial country goes back to agriculture? What God, be he Menshevik, Ustryalovist, or anything else, has decreed that if there was a certain proportion before the war, it must apply again at present? Why can there be no decline, no regress, why should a country not go back by some degrees and stay there? The argument cited above is Sophism No. 1.

There follows Sophism No. 2. It is true, we are told, that you have a State industry; it grows and develops; so much may be admitted. What is incomprehensible is that you should call such an industry Socialist. True, Lenin spoke of our enterprises as of enterprises of a "consistently Socialist type", but that was only to be understood conditionally, for it must not

be forgotten that this industry produces for the market, which is not only governed by the proletariat but also by other classes of the population, among whom the products are distributed.

Then there is another sort of argument. The lot of the workers, we are told, gets harder and harder, we have many unemployed, and so on. One of the comrades, the above-mentioned Kolesnikov, says: Marx, not wholly unknown in the history of the Socialist movement, wrote in Volume 1 of his book on "Capital" of the so-called general law of capitalistic accumulation, saying that, if the development of capitalism advances and the process of capitalist accumulation, the squeezing of surplus value out of the worker, and its transformation into new machines and instruments of production is effected, the result will be unemployment in certain periods, an industrial reserve army. The whole development of capitalism consists in the fact that at one pole there was the increase of wealth while at the other there were poverty, barbarity, and a reserve army; it was thus that the law of capitalist accumulation was expressed.

This thesis of Marx' is well-known. But let us see how Kolesnikov interprets it. He says: Have we unemployment? We have. Has it increased? It has. But what did Marx say about unemployment? He said that unemployment was the expression of the general law of capitalist accumulation. Well then, if you wish to know whether you are approaching Socialism or not, here is a criterion by which to measure your progress. If you have many unemployed, which can hardly be denied, it is a sign of the prevalence of the general law of capitalist accumulation, and if that is so, your course is wholly capitalistic, however much you may have to say about your Socialist industry.

This is also one of their sophisms, but, to put it mildly, I must say I have never seen a stupider one. How can such consummate nonsense be put forward? Let us consider from what causes our unemployment arises. Marx said that the capitalists were creating a reserve army of unemployed so as to exercise a pressure on the wages of the workers and thus to increase their profits. That is the essential point. And how is it with us? Let us imagine we have a hundred-per cent. Socialist State, exposed to the attacks of the capitalist countries, the consequence for the Socialist State being a terrible disorganisation, poverty, a great number of wounded, maimed, and the like. Subsequently there would be people who asserted "Poverty is said by Marx to be an outcome of capitalism, so it is evident that you have a capitalistic State".

Such lines of argument are naturally impossible. Our unemployment is one of our greatest evils, but it is not the outcome of lack of socialisation in our industry but of the fact that we have laid our foundations on a very thin basis, since we could not immediately rise up and heal all the wounds originating in the old order of things, and since our country, as I have already illustrated with the aid of statistics, experienced a great economic decline as a result of the imperialist and civil wars, of disorganisation and starvation. This must be taken into consideration. Unemployment is on the increase in this country, because our peasantry in particular was unscrupulously plundered and exploited under former regimes, so that the peasant farms are on an incredibly low technical level, added to which they were subjected to the effects of the imperialist and civil wars.

May we disregard all this? Can all these reasons simply be replaced by an idiotic reference to the "general law of capitalist accumulation" such as is advanced by Comrade Kolesnikov?

I cite these examples to show how those who have submitted a thesis to the effect that our cause is doomed to failure, will insist on perverting actual facts in one way or another.

Naturally we must look where we are going. There is no sense in groping in the dark. We cannot refuse to look truth in the face, not for the sake of some future reward from Heaven, but because we must know the truth if we are to act aright.

(To be concluded.)

TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

The Workers' Party of America on the Tenth Anniversary of the Russian October.

The "Inprecorr" has received the following telegram from Comrade Jay Lovestone, on behalf of the Workers Party of America.

New-York, 1st November 1927.

"After Years of devastating war and counter-revolution and surrounded by an iron ring of imperialist foes the Soviet Union is so mighty in victory to proceed to the establishment of the seven hour day. In prosperous America, with much vaunted efficiency, with an imperialist clique, which was fabulously enriched by the world war, millions of workers are condemned to slums, victimised by injunctions, denied the right to organise and fighting for the eight hour day. America's capitalist press organised a conspiracy of silence to hide deliberately from the workers the establishment of the seven hour day in the Soviet Union. But not even the vilest labour lieutenants of American imperialism and haughty industrial and finance capitalists who are their masters will succeed in preventing this historical world significant event from having dynamic inspiring effect on our proletariat.

"While the strike breaking government of capitalist America murdered in cold blood Sacco and Vanzetti, is robbing our farmers of their land and the fruits of their toil, is now mobilising its injunction judges, detectives, gunmen, troops and aeroplanes to crush the striking miners of Ohio and Pennsylvania and repeat the Ludlov massacre in Colorado, the proletarian government of the Soviet Union is improving the workers' housing, cancelling debts of the peasantry and establishing the seven hour day. Such contrast in the policy between the workers government of the Soviet Union and the imperialist government of the United States is bound in the long run to be an eye-opener even for the still politically backward American workers.

Lovestone."

The R. I. L. U. to the Workers of all Countries.

Comrades!

Exactly ten years ago, in the very heat of the imperialist war, when millions of men, dazed and stupefied with the fumes of war, fought like wild beasts, when blood poured in rivers on all fronts, the working class of Russia revolted against the war and its instigators and proclaimed peace, took the land, the factories and the banks from the landowners and the capitalists and substituted for the power of capital the power of labour on one-sixth of the world's area.

These ten years have been years of high tension and severe struggle for the working class of Soviet Russia. The whole capitalist world was mobilised against the October Revolution; the bourgeoisie endeavoured, by armed intervention, economic and financial blockade to strangle the first Workers' Republic. Ever since its first days Soviet Russia and the October Revolution have been and are to this day a target for the world press. Not only the bourgeoisie, but international social-democracy — this agent of the bourgeoisie among the workers — is also poisoning the minds of the masses by its propaganda and agitation.

Why was Soviet Russia greeted with this furious chorus of attack? Why has this flood of curses and slanders swelled still more with the approach of the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution? There is only one explanation of this: Soviet Russia, by the very fact of its existence, struck at capitalist interests, piercing capitalist society to the quick. In other words, the capitalists felt a pain in their pockets. The sacredness of

property was threatened. The French Revolution adopted the motto "Property is Sacred and Inviolable". But the Great October Revolution, expropriating the land, the works, the factories, transport, the banks, and all the machinery of production, and making them the property of the toiling masses showed in their deeds that property is neither sacred nor inviolable. Hence the hostility of the capitalist world against the U.S.S.R. and the fury roused among international reactionaries by the very thought of the Labour Republic.

If however, the fundamental characteristic of the October Revolution is the denial of the principle of private property and the reorganisation in accordance with new forms of State property and social relations, why should international reformism, as represented by the Second and Amsterdam Internationals and their Sections, be so hostile to the Soviet Republic? Reformism explains its hostility to the October Revolution by the fact that the latter has infringed the principle of democracy, but as a matter of fact the true reasons are quite different, and the chief of them is this: the October Revolution ran counter to the whole theory and practice of international reformism.

For what did the October Revolution prove? It proved: 1. that socialism was not a problem for the indefinite future but for the present; 2. that nothing but mass force and merciless war on the ruling class could overthrow the power of capital; 3. that nothing but the establishment of a Proletarian Dictatorship could guarantee victory to the insurgent working class; 4. that there can be no real revolution without civil war; 5. that bourgeois democracy is a mere cover for bourgeois dictatorship; 6. that there is no such thing as neutrality and independence for trade unions: the trade unions are faced with the choice between revolution and counter-revolution, the Dictatorship of the working class or the Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie; 7. that without the confiscation of the land, the factories, transport and the banks, the parliamentary power of Labour is nothing but a shield for the power of the bourgeoisie; 8. that the working class is capable of administering national economy without and despite the bourgeoisie; 9. that the working class can construct socialist economy despite capitalist encirclement.

The October Revolution has furnished practical proof of all this from 1917 to 1927. And yet each of the above points runs counter to the theory and practice of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals and their national sections. This is why international reformism detests the October Revolution and why the Socialist parties and reformist and reactionary trade unions persecute those of their members desiring to find out what is going on in the territory of the former tsarist empire and to see for themselves what the U.S.S.R. really is.

The October revolution marked a new epoch in the history of humanity. World capitalism, torn and weakened by war, was dealt its first serious blow on the territory of the former Russian Empire. The year 1917 marked the beginning of a period of social storms and upheavals — in other words, the epoch of social revolution.

The October revolution fertilised the whole international labour movement. There is not a country in the world in which the October Revolution, that occurred ten years ago in Russia, has not aroused interest and sympathy among the masses. Only after the October Revolution did the revolutionary labour movements begin to be formed in all countries. Only the October Revolution could create suitable conditions for the Communist International and the Red International of Labour Unions, these internationals of action and struggle, to arise. The October Revolution also aroused the oppressed peoples in the colonial and semi-colonial countries to the struggle against imperialism, as well as awakening the toiling masses the world over. The October Revolution shook to its foundations that old world of capitalist violence, oppression and exploitation the legacy of centuries of tradition, and herein lies the historical greatness and significance of the victory of the working class of Russia in 1917. This is why the hopes and fears of the exploited masses and the oppressed peoples the world over instinctively rally round the October Revolution; this is why the U.S.S.R. is a lighthouse for oppressed humanity, this is why the toilers of all countries regard it as their true native land.

Workers of the world! Learn from the living example of the October Revolution how to struggle and how to conquer your class foes! Surround the U.S.S.R. with a wall of sym-

pathy and support, and remember that international imperialism is preparing to attack the U.S.S.R. so as to destroy the First Workers' Republic and to make the workers in capitalist countries cease their attacks on the bourgeois dictatorship and stop their attempts to establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Remember that the attack of international capital can only be beaten off by maximum solidarity and the revival of fighting trade union unity on a national and international scale.

The international bourgeoisie may cook up its plots against the U.S.S.R., international reformism may slander the first workers' Republic, but all honest workers will be on the side of the U.S.S.R. working class in the historical days of its Tenth Anniversary, on the side of that Government, which, at this very moment, while in capitalist countries the bourgeoisie is savagely attacking the most elementary rights of labour, is embarking upon the establishment of the seven-hour day and a further raising of the living standards of the toiling masses.

Hail to the Tenth Anniversary of the Great October Revolution!

Hail to the Working Class of the Soviet Union — the Builders of Socialism!

Executive Bureau
Red International of Labour Unions.

Moscow, October 28th, 1927.

The Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution and the Working Youth.

To the Working and Peasant Youth of the Whole World!

Comrades and Brothers!

On the 7th of November 1917 a tremendous event in world history occurred. Throughout a great country, which stretches from the White to the Black Sea, from the Gulf of Finland to the Pacific Ocean, and is inhabited by 150 million people, the Red Banner of the Proletarian Dictatorship was hoisted. In Eastern Europe where the tsarist hangmen sent their slaves for hundreds of years to suppress the revolutionary movement of the advanced peoples, the dawn of a new world arose. The regime of the tsars and of capitalism was smothered in the blood and tears of the most criminal of all wars, and was wiped out. Not with sweet words of civil peace, not with ballots, but by an armed uprising did the workers and soldiers of Petrograd and Moscow seize power.

The October Revolution awakened great joy and hope in the hearts of the workers and the oppressed of all lands and peoples. It aroused in all rulers and servants of the golden calf, an animal fear and raging hatred. The old world of private property and exploitation, doomed to extinction, but unwilling to die, did everything it could to destroy the young Soviet Republic. But neither the streams of blood nor the hunger, cold, cannons of imperialism, the traitorous speeches of the "Socialist" petty-bourgeoisie could shatter the workers of the Soviet country. The Red Army held its ground against the whole flood of enemies.

In the fire of the civil war the working class not only learned to defend itself and to rule the State, while it showed that neither "noble" blood nor the "power of Empire" were necessary for this, but also created a series of important prerequisites for changing productive relations. It had to give up the attempt to introduce immediately a centralised and planned leadership of millions of small establishments in the cities and particularly upon the land. But the ownership by the State of the land and its treasures, of heavy industry, of the Banks, the railroad and foreign trade was made absolutely safe, and as soon as the last shot of the civil war was fired, the hammers of peaceful construction were set in motion and the heavy and great task of creating a Socialist economy began.

"The development of productive forces is not possible upon any other basis than that of individual profit and of personal interest of the owner" — so the theoreticians and the practical men of capitalism claimed for centuries. "In backward Russia

Socialism cannot be built, its only way is rather the path of bourgeois development" — so the great ones of Menshevik "science" prophesied in numerous speeches and articles. Socialism has not yet been built up in the Soviet Union, the land of the workers is still in the transition period from capitalism to Socialism, in which the remnants of the past still exist side by side with the embryos of the future. Small production still exists on the land, the remnants of private capitalism are still present, misery and poverty have not yet been overcome, since the Soviet Union inherited them from tsarism and capitalism. But the bourgeois-Menshevik legends are already completely destroyed, for the music of the future is heard ever-louder, the music of Socialism in the Workers' State. In factory and mine, in the State stores, in the villages co-operatives, on building sites, stone is being laid upon stone in the building of a new and happy life. Socialised large industry is overtaking agriculture, is exceeding the pre-war level, and is developing in ever-quicker tempo, just as American industry developed. State and co-operative trade have conquered a great part of the turnover of business in the cities and on the land and continue to press private capital ever harder. The material conditions of the working class continue to improve uninteruptedly from year to year, and its cultural level is rising. In the country the co-operatives, led by the proletarian State continue to embrace ever-broader masses of working peasants, are acquiring the greater and greater part of the total turnover of goods, and are gradually being transformed into associations which control agricultural production. The Socialist sector of general people's economy is pushing forward with greater and greater sureness and success against the capitalist sector, and on the 10th anniversary of the October Revolution we already have evidence of the fact that Socialism will conquer in the country of the Soviets.

Every proletarian can now prove who is right: the Communist International or the Social Democratic International. The Social Democrat Noske begot Hindenburg, Renner begot Seipel, and MacDona'd — Baldwin. The workers who believed the betrayers of the proletariat were thrown far back and were exposed to the raging blows of the capitalist offensive. The workers of the Soviet Union, who entrusted themselves to the leadership of the Communist Party, which followed the path of Marx and Lenin, are now celebrating the tenth anniversary of their power and of their construction of a Socialist society.

From a decade of proletarian dictatorship the workers of the whole world have learned more than from centuries of "peaceful" development. This decade showed the proletariat of the capitalist countries and the oppressed peoples the road of revolt against world imperialism. The Soviet Union is a sure source of support of the revolutionary movements of the whole world, it has become the fatherland of the workers and peasants of all parts of the world, of all peoples.

It is just for that reason that international imperialism with its world police — the Conservative party of England at their head — is preparing a new offensive against the proletarian dictatorship. **Defence of the Soviet Union against all its enemies!** — That is the class duty of all workers. The destruction of the Workers' State would mean an unbelievable strengthening of world reaction and oppression. Its victory would give the international struggle for the freedom of the proletariat and the oppressed peoples a mighty impetus.

The fate of the working class youth cannot be separated from the fate of the older workers. The young proletariat of Russia were subject to exploitation in the capitalist factories together with their grown-up brothers. They suffered tsarist imprisonment and tortures. They put at the service of the revolution their whole enthusiasm, their whole will to fight, a complete readiness to sacrifice themselves. Not for nothing did the leader and master, Vladimir Ilyitch Lenin, recommend that the youth be put at the most responsible outposts of the Revolution at decisive moments. Young workers fought upon the barricades of the October Revolution and in the ranks of the Red Guards with an unbounded readiness to sacrifice. They never listened to the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries and achieved victory under the Bolshevik banner. When the armies of foreign and native counter-revolutionaries attacked the Soviet Republic, hundreds of thousands of young workers entered the Red Army as ordinary soldiers, commissars and commanders, and wrote many glorious pages of their history.

They sacrificed their young lives, not for the gold of the slaveholders, but for the cause of their own class. And now the working youth of the emancipated country are untiringly working to build up a Socialist society, they are taking part in the Socialist rationalisation of industry, they are helping to establish new industries and electric stations, to improve the State apparatus, to organise co-operatives, to create a new culture, and to reconstitute their whole working and living conditions according to new Socialist foundations.

The proletarian Revolution demanded many sacrifices of the working youth, for it is impossible to smash a system of oppression that has lasted for centuries without sacrifice, to replace it by a new system of equality and brotherhood. But the October Revolution has shown the whole world that only the victory of the proletarian uprising can free the youth from their unbearable conditions. In bourgeois society the working youth are without political rights. In the Soviet State they not only have the right to vote from the age of 18, but they have also received their own representation in all Soviet institutions and in factory councils. No question which concerns the youth in any way can be decided in the Soviet Union without their organised participation. But not only in the field of work and education, but also in the whole Socialist construction are the working youth collaborating with their grown up brothers. The proletarian girl in the Soviet Union is a citizen of the Workers' State with all rights, and takes active part in its political and cultural work. The bourgeois and Social Democratic governments persecute in every way the revolutionary organisations of young proletarians. In the Soviet Union there exists and is developing a strong **Young Communist League** of two million members, which represents the interests of the young workers, educates them in the Communist spirit and realises the leadership of the proletarian youth over the many millions of peasant youth. The intense hatred which all the enemies of the working class feel towards the Leninist Young Communist League is the best evidence of its revolutionary steadfastness, the best praise for its energetic activity.

The proletarian dictatorship is changing the position of the youth in production from the ground up. It is making the working youth a matter of special consideration for the Workers' State, and is gradually realising the ideal of Marx in the field of their work and education. The Soviet Power has carried through an actual prohibition of employment of children under the age of 14 in industry. It has realised the old slogan of the Stuttgart Youth Congress with regard to 6-hour working day for young proletarians, and has gone further in that it has instituted for half-grown young people of 14 to 16 years the 4 to 6-hour working day, although they receive 8 hours pay. In the Soviet Republic night work and overtime work as well as employment in branches of industry injurious to health have been forbidden. Every young worker who needs it most receives a month's paid vacation during the summer every year and is sent to a rest home or sanatoria. In the trade unions young workers are accepted beginning at the age of 14, and more than 100,000 young workers are occupied at posts of elected functionaries in the Unions. In the large factories there are more than 1000 schools for young workers. The work of the apprentices is organised from the scientific point of view in these schools and is linked up with a general technical and political education. From the factory schools there go forth qualified and culturally developed workers who know how to consciously manage the production and the land they govern. In these schools more than half of all young workers are educated. Since they are developing from year to year, they will gradually include all young proletarians. The Proletarian Revolution is changing the labour power of the young workers from the cheapest and most exploited, which it was before, into a mighty means for their Socialist education.

The revolution has awakened in the ranks of the working youth of the Soviet Union a tremendous desire for culture. The monopoly of education which formerly belonged to the exploiters has been abolished. The young workers are educated not only in the factory schools. Half the high schools are filled with workers' and peasants, for whose preparation special workers' faculties have been created. The youth sections of the countless workers' clubs, and special youth clubs which are housed in the best buildings and supported by the State and the trade unions, take care of the evening and Sunday schooling of the working youth, and the study courses and universities

provide for their cultural development. The youth of the Soviet Union has acquired access to the best efforts of art, and to the treasures of science. Religion and chauvinism have been driven out of education, which is permeated by the spirit of scientific Socialism.

The peasant youth and the youth of the peoples who were previously oppressed by tsarism are beginning to forget the horrors of this damnable past. The owners of the big estates and their administrators who attempted to bring to slavish submission the peasant youth by means of whips and nagaikas, have been rooted out completely. Tens of thousands of young peasants now stand in the ranks of the village Soviets, and themselves possess power. The number of illiterates is decreasing every year and the number of schools for the peasant youth is increasing uninterruptedly. Young agricultural workers have the 8-hour day and protection in their work. The national yoke has been thrown off and the non-Russian peoples have built up free Republics. Their youth receive instruction in their mother tongue and are building up the Soviet State in agreement with the needs of the working masses of their own people. The influence of reactionary religion is being thrown off and the hitherto enslaved girls of the East are becoming free.

These are the basic achievements of the creative youth of the Soviet Union on the tenth anniversary of the Soviet Union. In no land where the capitalists and Mensheviks rule do they exist. They cannot exist there, for only the victory of the proletarian revolt can free the youth from the fetters of capitalist exploitation. There are still many shortcomings in the life of the young proletarians of the Soviet Union, which are known to the young workers of all countries, and for which the century-long economy of the tsars and capitalists are responsible. Unemployment and homelessness of orphan children must still be overcome. Wages are just beginning to surpass the pre-war level. Not all young workers are embraced in the factory schools. The housing crisis in the country, which was brought about by the tremendous disturbances of two wars, has not yet been overcome. Many difficulties and obstructions must still be overcome before Socialism rules unrestrictedly the lives of the youth. But what they have already achieved is a sure basis upon which they firmly continue to build a Socialist economy. The Soviet Union has already shown how the wonderful future of the working youth will look. It shines for the young proletariat of the whole world like a bright light-house.

Young workers and peasants of the Soviet Union! It is your fortune and honour to live in the land of the proletarian dictatorship. Every success that you achieve is a success for the world army of young proletarians. Every step which you make on the road to Socialism calls your oppressed brothers to the fight like a tocsin. Every one of your achievements is a dagger thrust in the back of world capitalism. Insofar as you build Socialism, to that extent are you fulfilling your duties as soldiers of the international Revolution. Forward to new achievements and success, to the liquidation of all the remnants of the past, to the complete victory of Socialism!

Young workers of the whole world!

On the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution the Young Communist International exhorts the young workers and peasants of the whole world to turn their eyes towards Red Moscow. Turn your faces towards the proletarian revolution, and turn away from your enemies and betrayers. Follow the example of your brothers in the Soviet Union, which has been crowned with victory, and unite under the Red Banner of Communism. Make firm connections with the revolutionary youth of the Soviet State. Close your ranks like an iron wall around the First Workers' State and defend it against all its enemies! Bear in mind that only a ruthless fight can free you from wage slavery. Remember, that only the path of Lenin is the sure path to the victory of the working class and the oppressed peoples.

Soldiers and Sailors of bourgeois countries!

On the Anniversary of the October Revolution the Young Communist International reminds you that the Red Army is your Army, whereas the troops in which you serve because of compulsion, hunger and betrayal are only weapons of your

class enemies. Learn to shoot in order to make an end of the rule of those who want to turn your weapons against your brothers in the Soviet Union.

Long live the October Revolution!

Long live the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics!

Long live the October Revolution of the whole world!

Long live the proletarian dictatorship, the path to Communism!

**Executive Committee of the Young Communist International.
Moscow, October 1927.**

To All Proletarian Children of the World, to all Young Comrades!

Dear Brothers!

Ten years elapsed since the great October Revolution. On this occasion we, the **Young Pioneers of the U. S. S. R.**, send you as before our fraternal greetings — our greetings to you scattered all over the globe and living in the capitalist countries of the world.

The U. S. S. R. is the only country in the world where the care for the welfare of the workers' children is put in the forefront of all questions.

No one ever thought of the children's welfare before the October Revolution. The children spent their time in backyards. They never dared to come near the parks, which were the property of the rich.

On the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution we have rest-homes, camps and playgrounds for children in the summer homes, parks and palaces of the former bourgeoisie. We have hundreds of children's sanitation camps and a great number of children's doctors, who attend to the children free of charge.

Before the October Revolution in our schools the children were taught to be submissive to the Tsar and the capitalists, and their minds were doped with religion. The teachers had the right to beat the children. But now we are, together with the teachers, the founders of a new school which teaches us the teachings of the great Lenin. Now there is no corporal punishment in our schools. Now we have organised our own children's management of schools for the improvement of school-life. The teacher is now our best friend and older comrade.

On the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution, the children of the U. S. S. R. have thousands of clubs and numerous circles and workshops. We had none of these things before.

The October Revolution gave the children of the U. S. S. R. the opportunity to set up their own children's organisations. There are two million children in the ranks of the **Young Pioneers** working under the guidance of the **Young Communist League** and the **Communist Party**. We are actively participating in the social life of our country and doing all we can in promoting it.

Workers' children and children of the oppressed of all countries, on the occasion of the celebration of the October Revolution we, the children of the Soviet Union, your brothers in the struggle for a better life, appeal to you:

Do you want to attain a better life for yourselves, your parents and brothers? If so, study the history of our October, and brothers to follow the example of our October. October the history of its achievements. Urge your parents, your sisters 1917 has opened the road for the October of other countries.

Exert all your efforts in exposing the falsehood and slander of your bourgeoisie about the U. S. S. R. and urge your fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters to fight against the menace of a new imperialist war.

On with the struggle in the cause of labour, in the cause of the World October! Be Ready!

**On behalf of two million Young Pioneers
of the U. S. S. R.**

**Central Bureau of Communist Children's Organisations
of Leninist Young Pioneers under the
Auspices of the C. C. L. Y. C. L. S. U.**

POLITICS

The Lessons of Hamburg.

The Fight for a Government of the Labour Majority.

By P. R. Dietrich (Berlin).

On Wednesday the 26th October there took place in Hamburg, under the presidency of the local committee of the A. D. G. B. (German General Federation of Trade Union), the negotiations between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party of Germany, which were to deal with the question of making use of the communist-social democratic majority yielded by the recent elections, in the interests of the workers of Hamburg. The course of these negotiations, which took place as a result of the initiative of the Communist Party and the mass pressure of the working class of Hamburg, is important and instructive not only to the workers of Hamburg, but to the whole of the international working class. The main question, forming the centre point of the discussions between the C. P. G. and the S. P. G. both before and during the negotiations was the question: **continuation of the coalition policy — or fight for the interests of the workers.** The negotiations have ended just as was predicted by the C. P. G.: in spite of the communist-social democratic election victory, everything remains as it was. There is no utilisation of the communist-social democratic majority on the Hamburg Town Council, but a **continuation of the anti-Labour coalition policy.** The only thing is that the social democratic leaders, even with the support of the leaders of the A. D. G. B., have not achieved that which for them was the sole aim and object of the negotiations — to cast upon the C. P. G. the responsibility for the continuation of their coalition policy. When, according to the "Vorwärts", the leader of the negotiations for the S. P. G. declared: The attitude of the Communists forces the Social democracy to form a coalition with other parties", then this conclusion of the leader of the negotiations for the S. P. G. not only completely distorts the course of the negotiations, but the fact that, **already before the negotiations with the C. P. G. social democratic representatives negotiated with representatives of the parties with whom they had formed a coalition up to now,** shows this statement to be a miserable manoeuvre to deceive the Hamburg workers.

The social democratic leaders, when they could no longer avoid negotiations with the Communists, worked systematically to bring about a breaking off of the negotiations. The conduct of the negotiations by the chairman of the local committee of the A. D. G. B. was not directed towards setting up a practical programme for the realisation of the workers' demands, but to achieve as quickly as possible the breaking off of negotiations and to cast the blame for this upon the Communists. For this reason the representative of the S. P. G. Ehrenteit, against the protest of the Communist representatives, demanded in the form of an ultimatum that the six questions contained in the well-known letter of the local committee of the A. D. G. B. be gone into once again. The reply of the C. P. G. to the question of the A. D. G. B. has already been made public. The social democratic participants at the negotiations, on the other hand, refused to make any concrete statement regarding the 14 demands of the Communists which, as was again expressly stated, are capable of being carried out within the frame of the capitalist State, but **on their part demanded of the C. P. G. that the latter give up its principle of opposition to the capitalist State and entry into the government, and also abandon its fight against the reformist trade union leadership.** From this there was to be seen quite clearly which side did not want any positive utilisation of the Communist-social democratic majority.

That the social democratic representatives, in spite of the most active support by the representatives of the local committee of the A. D. G. B., did not achieve their aim, was due to the behaviour of the Communist representatives, who adopted a practical attitude to all questions, a fact which is confirmed by the complaining tone and contents of the report of the negotiations published by the "Vorwärts". The "Vorwärts" does not venture to follow the example of the "Hamburger Echo" which already some days ago pilloried the "gigantic betrayal of the workers by the Communists". The "Vorwärts" only states that

negotiations were abortive and therefore concludes that the coalition policy must be continued.

In spite of the provocative breaking off of negotiations the Communists will not so readily enable the social democratic coalition politicians to carry out their plans. The declaration of the C. P. G. on the breaking off of negotiations states:

"After the negotiations, which have been conducted by the C. P. G. in every phase since their declaration in the election campaign with an earnest endeavour to arrive at an agreement on the basis of carrying out the most necessary proletarian demands, have been frustrated by the resistance of the leaders of the S. P. G. and the A. D. G. B., we declare:

But even now we are still prepared and will endeavour to give our votes on the town council for a purely social democratic senate, and we are also prepared and willing to facilitate the work of a social democratic senate, provided that it carries out the simple proletarian demands and does not resort to any measures directed against labour.

If in spite of this clear attitude of the C. P. G., which is dictated by the interests of the working masses, the leaders of the S. P. G. prefer to cling to the great coalition, then this unheard-of treachery will be made obvious to the whole of the Hamburg working class."

We have not the least doubt that the social democratic leaders will keep to the policy of coalition with the Democrats and the People's Party, because by reason of the national policy of the social democratic Executive Committee, they cannot do otherwise. The fight of the social democratic leaders against the bourgeois bloc, so far as there can be any talk of a fight, is conducted only in Parliament. The social democratic leaders see in the bourgeois bloc government a change parliamentary phenomenon which they wish to remove by another composition of the Reichstag following on the next elections. **The policy of the social democracy and the A. D. G. B. aims exclusively at a policy of coalition and class co-operation.**

The behaviour of the social democratic leaders in Hamburg must be regarded and judged from this angle. If that is done, if the Communist workers make use of the experience in Hamburg, then we shall accelerate the process of the breaking away of the workers from the social democratic party as a bourgeois labour party the leadership of which deliberately sticks to the policy of alliance with the bourgeoisie, and, as is rightly stated at the conclusion of the Communist declaration,

"it will facilitate the gathering of the workers into a united fighting front against the bourgeois bloc, against reaction in all fields and thus create the pre-conditions for the working class to overthrow capitalist society in a victorious struggle and realise the dictatorship of the proletariat as our brothers in Russia have already done."

The Situation in Italy.

On the Occasion of the 5th Anniversary of the March on Rome.

By Angelo Tasca.

What is Italy's position now, five years after the conquest of power by the Fascists? Her economics are passing through a severe crisis. Seen from without, this crisis gives the impression of being due to the policy of re-establishment of the currency observed by the Fascists. In reality however, it is a case of a general crisis of the whole capitalist economics in Italy. The re-establishment of the lira raised all the problems of Italian economics and even the problem of the social character of the prevailing regime.

The Fascists and the Social Democrats regard the re-establishment of the currency as a specific accompanying symptom of Fascist national economy. The first (the Fascists) glorify the "miracle" of the re-establishment of the lira, the others (the Reformists) cherish the hope that the deflation crisis will result in the "penitent" bourgeoisie separating from Fascism and seeking shelter under the wings of "concentration". In order to refute this view, it is necessary to state that **whatever bourgeois government would have had the power in its hands in Italy, it would have been faced by the problem of the re-esta-**

blishment of the currency, and that, for this reason, there is no contradiction between the "Fascist" policy of deflation and the policy dictated by the fundamental interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole. Almost in all countries the bourgeoisie was forced to take measures for normalising the currency without this normalisation causing deep-reaching dissensions between the ruling classes. Fascism did not follow a "pre-capitalist" policy by its endeavours to check inflation; on the contrary, it has at the same time — although only temporarily — saved both itself and the bourgeois order in an extremely difficult situation. If the process of inflation which reached its culminating point at the beginning of 1925, had proceeded without being checked, a crisis would have arisen which the bourgeois regime, already shaken by the political effect of the crime against Matteotti, would have been unable to resist.

What influence has the crisis of deflation on industry, on agriculture, on the solution of the problem of cutting down expenditure, on capital and on the policy of prices and wages in Italy?

The crisis in industry, which many persons have only just "discovered", dates back to the past year. In export industry deflation caused a severe depression. The position of the motor-car industry is very critical. The "Fiat" works were obliged to dismiss several thousand workers in the last few months. The textile industry, especially the cotton industry, is faced by serious difficulties. In accordance with a resolution passed by a special industrial commission, restrictions of labour have been introduced in the whole cotton industry from the beginning of the current year onwards. The depression is also making itself felt in the production in the docks. In the Italian docks ship-building decreased by 13 per cent in the first three months of 1927, whereas the docks of the other countries in the world record an increase of production amounting to 33 per cent in the same period.

Those industries catering for foreign markets are also suffering from the crisis. In the chemical industry, a considerable restriction of labour had to be resorted to owing, on the one hand, to the shrinkage of consumption within the country, on the other hand to the intensification of foreign competition which was promoted by the re-establishment of the lira. In the building industry, the usual boom in the Spring and summer has failed to occur which, on its part, led to a depression in the industries producing building materials. In the typographic industry also a decline is recorded in consequence of the Fascist policy towards the Press. Even the Meeting of the Fascist Printers' Trade Union which was held in Rome in the month of August, was obliged to state that the measures of the Government directed towards suppressing a considerable section of the periodical Press, are the chief cause of the constantly growing unemployment in the typographic industry.

In the period from May 1926 to May 1927 total unemployment in Italy has increased by 119,75 per cent.

In agriculture, deflation has led to a lowering of wholesale prices which far exceeds the decrease of wholesale prices of industrial products. The "scissors" is one of the most characteristic symptoms of the crisis in Italy. The agricultural market must to a certain extent pay the excessive prices in industry and trade which, on their part, are trying in every way to get the products they want at as low prices as possible. With this, the germ of a conflict between the interests of industry and those of agriculture are given. This conflict however is only an episode in the struggle between the various economic groups with the object of shifting on to the other part the burden of the crisis. It is not a question of a fight on the part of "backward" landed property against the so-called "progressive" industrialism, which only exists in the imagination of the Social Democrats.

In all countries in which the system of preserving economic life by means of the oxygen of inflation has been abandoned, the bourgeoisie has set about solving the problem of the rationalisation of industry. It is, however, a well-known fact that every process of standardisation requires large quantities of available capital. Wherefrom is the money to be had which is required in Italy for rationalisation, so as to make it possible to make up the inevitable disadvantages of deflation and finally to establish an active balance? This capital exists only to a very limited extent in Italy. The only natural source from which to supply the capital necessary for rationalisation, would be private savings. In the present situation, this question is of

fundamental significance. The financial programme of Fascism promoting the formation and accumulation of private capital within the country, has suffered complete bankruptcy, as Fascism did not create permanent conditions for the formation and reproduction of savings. Until the end of 1924 there was still a certain flow of deposits into the various loanbanks which approximately corresponded with the depreciation of the lira, but in 1925 stagnation began. There has been a decrease in the investment of capital; public funds are showing a rapid decline. In comparison to the corresponding period in 1926, the investment in shares has decreased by 63 per cent in the first quarter of 1927. The stock index fell by 40.14 per cent in the period from December 1924 to June 1927, whereas the lira gained by only 20.26 per cent as compared with the pound sterling during the same period. Whereas the lira increased in value by 30 per cent by the middle of 1926, consolidated State funds fell by 15 per cent. The shortage of deposits is extremely acute, so that a credit policy on broad lines seems impossible.

As with every deflation, in Italy also the reserve formation of prices as with inflation resulted. The income derived from exports fell suddenly in correspondence with the fluctuating value of the lira. Wholesale prices in the country followed rapidly, whereas the decrease of prices in retail trade proceeded much more slowly. Whereas the lira rose by 60 per cent between August 1926 and August 1927, wholesale prices fell by 25 per cent, retail prices by 16 per cent and the cost of living by 8 per cent. The Italian bourgeoisie is not in a position which would enable it to conduct a price policy which, in connection with the process of deflation, could procure for it broad possibilities of sale at home and abroad.

Is it likely that the process of deflation will lead to a breach with the ruling class? For the time being there is no indication of that. Dissension may be noticed between agrarians and industrialists, chiefly with regard to the question of how to procure credits. The consequence of the crisis will be different for the different strata of the rural population. The landowners will have at their disposal a fund from the profits of the past year and the capital of the banks. The small landowners and a section of the medium landowners will suffer most. The greatest pressure will weigh on the shoulders of the agricultural and industrial workers.

It is therefore easy to foresee that the actual agrarians will again join the united front of the bourgeoisie or remain in its ranks as the case may be. The categories of the petty and medium peasants and of the agricultural labourers form the strata among which discontent is gaining firm roots, the strata whose interests are being constantly injured by Fascism, i. e. by the block of exploiters formed by the industrial and agrarian large bourgeoisie and by the military and bureaucratic strata. The Communist Party of Italy is focussing its activity in this direction, in the direction in which lies the possibility of mobilising the masses in order to aim the first blows at Fascism and at the bourgeois dictatorship.

There are no signs to indicate that the bourgeois ideology of Fascism of the "first hour" would have seriously separated from the ideology of Fascism of the "last phase", the imperialist phase. It may however be maintained that many "motives" of petty bourgeois ideology have served and are still serving as an excellent cover for the interests of large bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeoisie has not lost its characteristics, but its relationship to the actual bourgeoisie only finds expression in the fact that the latter is making use of this petty bourgeois ideology for carrying out its own class policy without making any concessions to the petty bourgeoisie. In the five years of Fascist rule not a single economic measure can be cited which might be traced back to independent action on the part of the Fascist petty bourgeoisie.

Only the broad strata of the working population, those who suffer under the burden of this regime and of the crisis of deflation can carry on a serious fight against Fascism. The Italian working class must in every way increase its pressure on the front of the enemy and intensify the class war. It must turn to account the confusion of the bourgeoisie. It must carry on an obstinate defensive, change over to a determined offensive at the right moment, shatter the plans of stabilisation of capitalism, even in its liberal and social democratic form and take the power into own hands, into the hands of the workers and peasants.

FOR LENINISM — AGAINST TROTZKYISM

The Moscow and Leningrad Party Members Unanimously behind the C. C. of the C. P. S. U.

Moscow, 27th October 1927.

Yesterday evening there took place in Moscow and in Leningrad tremendous meetings of the active members of the Party organisations. These meetings unanimously approved the decisions of the plenary session of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission against the Opposition and rejected decisively the standpoint of the Opposition.

After the speech of Comrade Molotov in the Moscow meeting, the oppositional leaders Smirnov, Kamenev and Rakovsky spoke. Their remarks, particularly those of Comrades Kamenev and Rakovsky, caused great opposition amongst the audience. The attacks of Comrade Kamenev upon the Central Committee caused such indignation that he was unable to continue his speech. When he tried to continue, such a storm broke loose that he was compelled to leave the platform. The same experience was reserved for Comrade Rakovsky, who declared in his speech that without the leadership of Trotsky the revolution could not develop.

The meeting adopted with 2,500 votes against 1 vote a resolution approving of the decisions of the C. C. and the C. C. C. and the theses of the C. C. for the coming Party Congress. The resolution points out that the great successes which the Party had achieved upon the field of the building up of socialism, had been carried out under the Leninist leadership of the C. C. after the XIV. Party congress. As the best example of this there was quoted the decision regarding the introduction of the seven hour day. The attitude of the Opposition at the plenary session and its illegal activity and writings proved that the Opposition had lost all touch with Leninism. By opposing the seven hour day the Opposition was already in the wake of reformism. The Party was not only faced with the question of the struggle of Leninism against Trotskyism inside the Party, but also with the danger of the formation of a new, anti-bolshevik, Party, and a new, anti-bolshevik International. The organisation of an illegal Trotsky fraction, the bloc of this fraction with non-Party bourgeois intellectuals, the supporting of the ultra-left and ultra-right wing renegades abroad — all this proves that the Opposition has adopted such methods which the Party cannot tolerate. This is all the more so, because the disruptive activity of the Opposition brings grist to the mill of the bourgeois counter-revolution. At all its meetings the Party will categorically declare that the Opposition must observe the decisions of the Party, or it will be flung out of the Party onto that scrap heap where Maslov, Souvarine and their consorts are.

The resolution expressed approval of the expulsion of Comrades Trotsky and Zinoviev from the Central Committee.

The meeting in Leningrad was attended by 6,000 active Party members and had to be held in two halls of the Uritzky Palace. After the speech of Comrade Bukharin, the leaders of the Opposition Yevdokimov and Bakayev spoke. The result was the same as in Moscow.

The meeting adopted a resolution approving all the decisions of the C. C. and the C. C. C. Referring to the slanderous rumours spread by Trotsky and Zinoviev that the proletariat of Leningrad would solidarise itself with them on the occasion of the anniversary session of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union, the resolution declares that the meeting, in full agreement with the Leningrad proletariat, ignores with contempt this manoeuvre of the bankrupt leaders of the Opposition.

THE TRIAL OF ZOLTAN SZANTO AND COMRADES

The Trial of Zoltan Szanto and Comrades.

Sixth Day of Proceedings.

Budapest, 24th October 1927.

The examination of the accused in the trial of Zoltan Szanto and his comrades was concluded to-day. The landworker Gosztola declared himself to be a communist. The police could torture him as much as they liked and he would still proclaim the Soviet Union as the Fatherland of the toilers. He had considered it his duty to enlighten the Hungarian workers and peasants about the situation in the Soviet Union and about what the Soviet power had given to the peasants.

After the chief accused had been examined, the examination followed of the nine members of the Socialist Workers Party who had been arrested in connection with the demonstration on the 1st May and whose trial had been tacked on to that of Szanto.

Michael Szabo, the General Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party commenced his statement with a short resumé of the programme of the S. W. P. The latter stood upon the basis of pure Marxism, defended the class interests of the proletariat and wished to give land to the peasants. He then described the terrible persecutions to which the S. W. P. was subjected. Internment and expulsion by administrative measures were common. Members of the Party were held months, and in some cases even years in prison without any accusation being raised against them. The representatives of the bourgeoisie declared that Hungary was a State in which ordered justice was dominant. But what sort of a State was that where from time to time the police descended upon the premises of the Party to plunder them, to take typewriters and other property of the Party away without ever having any legal right to do so or without ever returning any of the property thus stolen? The chairman interrupted the accused by calling him to order a number of times.

Michael Szabo continued, the imprisonments, the torture and the robbery, were, however, only one side of the persecution. The police systematically carried out provocations. An example from the recent past: Acting at the behest of the police a worker named Dohany entered the ranks of the Party, gave himself out to be very radical and tried to provoke an attempt upon the life of the Prime Minister Count Bethlen. That, declared the accused, was no isolated instance. These "attempts" fabricated by the police were utilised to suppress the class-conscious movement of the working class. Here the chairman again called the accused to order. Following upon the conclusion of the hearing of the accused the proceedings were adjourned. On Wednesday a decision will be announced with regard to the demand for an extension of evidence.

Seventh Day of Proceedings.

Budapest, 25th October 1927.

To-day the police attempted to "discover a plot" in the court room itself. To this end they smuggled 25 detectives, some of them dressed like workers, into the court room and distributed them amongst the spectators. The police however, failed again.

No sooner were the accused led into the court room than the landworker Tisza spotted the detective Sohor amongst the spectators. He then addressed himself indignantly to the chairman of the court, pointing out Sohor: "There is the man who beat me!"

The chairman was then forced to have the man's papers examined and he was ejected from the court room. One after the other the accused Loevy, Roth and others rose in their seats and pointed out various detectives who were distributed in the court room. "That man struck me! That one slapped my face! That man thrashed me! That man kicked me!". At the instructions of the chairman all the spies were compelled to leave the court. The trial was then continued and the Chief of the Detectives Schweinitzer was examined as a witness.

The examination was interrupted continually by shouts from the defendants and from the spectators and by questions by the counsel for the defence and by the chairman himself. Schweinitzer did his utmost to appear as a defender of the bourgeoisie. He declared that he was well informed concerning every movement of the communists. An underground communist agitation was being carried on in all parts of the country by the communists. He also declared that he had 90 documents proving that the communists were working in accordance with foreign instructions, and further that the Socialist Workers Party (Vagi) was nothing but a cloak for the Communist Party.

Chairman: "The 90 documents are not under discussion. What we want to know is where do these photographs come from which have been submitted to the court?"

Schweinitzer: "From a foreign Soviet embassy".

Chairman: "From what Soviet embassy and how have you received them?"

Schweinitzer: "That I cannot say. That is a State secret."

Counsel for the Defence: "The famous forgers factory produced them!"

A number of the accused: "The famous 'Zinoviev letter'! Fabricated for the campaign against the Soviet Union!"

The Chairman called the accused to order.

In the further course of his evidence Schweinitzer referred to the tortures. As far as he knew there had been no at al. "Both Hetényi and myself were present at the examination of the prisoners, and everyone knows that Hetényi is a most humane man."

The latter statement produced a storm of laughter from the accused and from the body of the court.

Interruptions of the accused: "That bloodhound!" "Hang-man!" etc. etc.

Counsel for the defence to Schweinitzer: "Referring to one of those 90 documents you said that Loevy had written it. Was Loevy then employed at the Russian Soviet Embassy to which you refer?"

Schweinitzer, obviously embarrassed: "I did not say that he had actually written it, I only said that he had drafted it."

Defending Counsel: "That's not true, but no matter. Tell us why you have not produced the original documents here?"

Schweinitzer: "I can't answer this question."

Defending Counsel: "Very well then, answer another question. Did Eduard Rubin escape or was he permitted to escape?"

Schweinitzer: "It all happened exactly as is stated in the protocol. As the detectives were escorting him to the station, he escaped." (General laughter.)

Defending counsel: "How did you discover that the Socialist Workers Party was nothing but a cloak for the Communist Party?"

Schweinitzer: "From our experience. The decisive fact is that the Socialist Workers Party only has 10,000 members, but that it has issued many leaflets and paid for them."

The question of the tortures was then again discussed. In answer to the questions of the defending counsel concerning the modus operandi at the examination of the prisoners, Schweinitzer declared again that no tortures had taken place. The accused Szanto, Vagi, Helene Bartos, and others sprang from their seats and flung excited questions at Schweinitzer's head, questions referring to tortures at which Schweinitzer was personally present. Schweinitzer replied cynically.

Helene Bartos: "You are a liar!"

Schweinitzer, embarrassed and stuttering: "The tortures... the tortures have been invented by the communist 'Uj Marcius' which appears in Vienna".

Counsel for the Defence: "Tell me, how did the accused get hold of the 'Uj Marcius'?"

Schweinitzer: "Yes, that's just it, the communists are everywhere."

The chairman prevented the accused from asking Schweinitzer further questions and threatened them with punishments. His protests of the counsel for the defence were in vain and the proceedings were adjourned until Wednesday.

AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR

The War Mobilisation Plans of the Bourgeoisie for the Inclusion of Women.

"To-day the imperialistic bourgeoisie is not only mobilising the whole of the nation, but also the youth of the nation; tomorrow it will also take in hand the militarising of the women."

Thus wrote Lenin in the year 1916. (Volume XII, P. 452.)

The great teacher and leader of the proletariat drew his conclusions with astonishing insight in studying and observing the tactics of the bourgeoisie, and in this case he clearly foresaw the period in which we are now living and in which the ruling classes are preparing a tremendous militarisation which will encompass both women and children.

In France the law for the "Arming of the Nation" is now being carried out. On the basis of this law the whole of the population, irrespective of age and sex, in the mother country as also in the colonies, will be mobilised in the event of war. As early as the year 1925 the American Ministry of War elaborated a plan for the mobilisation of women for war service — not only in the factories and in the administration, but also to form divisions in the army. At the same time all the nationalist and fascist organisations in the various capitalist countries are carrying on systematic work among the women. On the one hand, this work finds expression in the ideological preparation of the masses of women for war, whereby the nationalists find reliable confederates among the reformist social patriots; on the other hand, in the employment of women in a systematic militarisation of the population.

Militarisation moves in two directions — in the direction of shooting as a sport and in that of athletics in general. Sports are calculated to provide for the physical development of the population in the numerous clubs and associations, as also in school, where athletics are compulsory. And in post-war times the recruiting of women for all these clubs and associations is proceeding apace. Among such clubs and associations the most important is undoubtedly the Boy Scout organisation.

These organisations are graded strictly according to class and embrace both women and girls. A most striking organisation is that of the army reserves of the Baltic Border States, in which women work and form a large majority. For example, the "League of Defence" in Finland, which is the most powerful organisation, has among its rules a special regulation concerning women's division; the "Defence Organisation" in Latvia has special women's divisions and arranges a number of courses for the training of women for auxiliary service in the army: **Lotos Swjard** in Finland has 45,000 women in its ranks in training for auxiliary service in the army; under the supervision of the commander of the Defence League in Poland there is a "Committee for the Training of Women Reservists and Auxiliary Services in the Army"; there are similar committees in the provinces and a number of economy courses for the training of women for auxiliary service in the army are being organised.

Furthermore, women are also recruited in illegal groups and organisations, most of which have a Fascist strain, as, for instance, the "Anti-Bolshevist League" in Poland, which, in addition to a League of Work, has an Intellectual Club, a circle for advanced members and a popular organisation for women.

All these facts disclose the war mobilisation plan of the imperialist bourgeoisie for the encompassing of women and children. They are an indication that the ruling classes have learnt from their experience during the last imperialist war and that this experience has proved the importance of the role of the masses of women in war-time in the economic apparatus (munition factories and chemical factories, on the land and in the transport service) in administration, etc. In the fast-approaching war, whose thunders can already be heard, and which will perfect the mechanisation of the handicraft of war and turn every country into a huge factory of means of destruction, they are preparing to put to use this experience of the un-

limited mass exploitation of female and child labour. And in this regard the militarised trade unions and all other associations are to be converted into levers whereby the whole machinery of war may be set in motion.

These facts further prove that the ruling classes have drawn lessons from the experience of the Russian revolution and the participation of women in the fight against Fascism as also from the Chinese revolution. The participation of the Russian women workers in the mass actions of the February and October days, the heroic work of the Red Sisters in the ranks of the Red Army, of the female workers and peasant women at the base and at the economic front of the Russian revolution, the steadfastness of the female revolutionaries, unbroken by the inhuman tortures they suffered in the prisons of the secret police and of the Fascist hangmen (Italy, Poland, Bulgaria, Finland, Latvia and Lithuania), as also the fighting spirit of the Chinese women — these are for the imperialistic bourgeoisie menacing facts, which have compelled them to occupy themselves with the practical training of female picked troops for use in the immediate reinforcement of the capitalistic service corps and in the army.

The proletariat of all countries must draw from this the proper conclusions. In full consciousness of the fact that war is a phenomenon of the immediate present — the war in China and the preparation for war against the only proletarian homeland in the world, the Soviet Union — the Communist parties, as the vanguard of the proletariat, must immediately begin, in view of this work among the women and of this war mobilisation plan of the ruling classes for the calling up of the masses of working women, a systematic activity among the women workers and the broad masses of working women in order to bring about their organised enlistment in the united front of all workers for the fight against the imperialist war, for the stopping of the war in China and for the stopping of the war against the Soviet Union.

The proletariat must counter the war mobilisation plan of the ruling classes to encompass the women by setting up revolutionary cadres of militant women.

At the present moment, which is of supreme importance to the destiny of the working class and of all the working strata of society, the words which Lenin once wrote are proving true.

"The upholding of the revolution depends upon the part the women take in it."

DOCUMENTS

Slogans of the Agitprop of the E. C. C. I. for the October Celebrations.

1. Long live the October Revolution, the beginning of the socialist world revolution. Long live the world October!

2. In October 1917 the Russian workers overthrew the power of the bourgeoisie and of the landowners; today they are building up socialism. On the ruins of the old Tsarist Russia, the proletariat, followed by the revolutionary peasantry, created the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. In the Soviet Union there is no dictatorship of the exploiters, there there prevails the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the rest of the world there still rules the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of a handful of exploiters. Hence our central slogan for the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution:

Down with the bourgeois dictatorship! Long live with the dictatorship of the proletariat!

3. Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the organiser of the great October, the leader of the Soviet Union, the advance-guard of the international Communist movement.

Long live the Comintern, the organiser of the approaching world October. Long live the steed Leninist unity of the Comintern!

4. For ten years our class brothers in the Soviet Union have been ruling this vast country, for ten years the proletarians of the Soviet Union have been working at the establishment of socialism. Their cause is our cause.

We swear on the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution to complete the great work of emancipation of all workers begun by them, to overthrow world capitalism!

5. The imperialists are preparing for war against the Soviet Union, against the first workers State.

Proletarians, prepare to defend the Soviet Union. Let us reply to the war of the slave owners against the citadel of all the oppressed and enslaved with civil war.

6. The proletarians of all countries, the suppressed of the whole world have no other fatherland than the fatherland of the proletarian dictatorship, the Union of socialist Soviet Republics.

Down with the defence of the bourgeois fatherland! War to the knife against all who venture to raise their hand against the fatherland of the world proletariat, the Soviet Union!

7. The leaders of the Second and Amsterdam Internationals give active support to the imperialists in their preparations for war against the U. S. S. R. and try to conceal the bellicose intentions of the international bourgeoisie. Social Democratic leaders and reformist trade union bureaucrats are organising and leading all the campaigns of lies and calumny against the U. S. S. R.

Social Democratic workers, class brothers, resist your counter-revolutionary leaders! Join the front of the defenders of the First Workers' State! Send your delegations to the U. S. S. R. to learn the truth about the achievements of the first Socialist State, utilise these achievements as a lesson how to build up Socialism, strengthen the fraternal union with the proletariat of the U. S. S. R.!

8. The proletariat of the October Revolution achieved a glorious victory in the struggle with international imperialism. The Chinese Revolution, the progeny of October, is dealing severe blows to the domination of the Deterdings, Morgans, Rockefeller, Loucheurs and other uncrowned kings of international capitalism, it is undermining the foundations of the political supremacy of the international bourgeoisie.

Workers and oppressed, do your utmost to defend the Chinese revolution!

Relentless struggle against those who want to throttle it.

Shame on Thomas and other defenders of imperialist banditism in China! Curses on the betrayers and executioners of the Chinese Revolution — Chang Kai-shek and Vang Tin-vei.

Fraternal help for the heroic workers and peasants of China and their steadfast vanguard, the Communist Party! Down with imperialist intervention! Hands off China!

9. The October Revolution paved the way for the working youth of Russia to Socialist construction and cultural creativeness. It abolished youth exploitation and education monopoly for the exploiting classes. Young workers and peasants have become participants in Soviets — organs of proletarian dictatorship. The 6-hour day, franchise at the age of 18, conquest of universities, factory and workers' schools, such are the achievements of October for the working and peasant youth.

Young workers and peasants! Think of the achievements of the U. S. S. R. youth, bear in mind that such achievements mean overthrow of the bourgeoisie by force of arms and establishment of proletarian dictatorship.

Join the Young Communist League! Do not discard rifles! Turn them against the enemies of the workers, against those who raise their hand against the U. S. S. R.

10. The trade union leaders have broken up the Anglo-Soviet Committee just at the moment when Chamberlain is preparing war against the U. S. S. R. They expel from the trade unions all those who stand up for proletarian unity with the trade unions of the U. S. S. R.

Down with Chamberlain's lackeys! Down with the disrupters of the Labour movement! Long live union between the world proletariat and the workers of the U. S. S. R.! Long live international trade union unity!

11. The October Revolution did away with national oppression in Russia. The October Revolution created the Soviet

Republics of the Ukrainian, Georgian, White Russian, Armenian, Tartar and other peoples oppressed by tsarism, it unified these Republics into the U. S. S. R. The Soviet Union alone, helps backward peoples in their struggle against age-long ignorance.

Down with bourgeois rule which oppresses national minorities and suppresses the movements for national independence!

Long live proletarian revolution, the emancipator of workers of all nationalities!

12. Ill intentioned counter-revolutionaries who worked for the overthrow of working class power are in the prisons of the U. S. S. R. Only agents of the bourgeoisie and the big landowners, hired by international capitalism for terrorist and espionage activity against the first Workers' Republics are shot in the U. S. S. R.

In bourgeois countries, thousands of workers and peasants who dare take up the fight against the accursed imperialist order are shot, hung and tortured in prisons.

Long live ruthless struggle against the enemies of the workers'.

Down with terrorism against workers and peasants!

13. During the heroic civil war, the Red Army of the Soviet Union smashed counter-revolution at home and repulsed the attacks of the international counter-revolution. The Red Army consolidated the October conquests. It keeps guard over the construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union, the stronghold of world revolution and is prepared to repulse the attack planned by international imperialism.

On the X. Anniversary of October hearty greetings to the

Red Army of the U. S. S. R. — shield of the oppressed, sword of the rebels!

14. On the X. Anniversary of the great proletarian October, let us remember the victims and martyrs of proletarian and colonial revolutions. Tens and hundreds of thousands of the best elements of the working class perished defending the cause of socialist revolution on the battlefields of the civil war, in street fighting, in bourgeois dungeons and by the hand of the executioner. Tens and hundreds of thousands of the best champions of the oppressed masses fell in the struggle with the blood-thirsty monster — imperialism.

Honour to the champions who fell for the great cause of Socialist Revolution! Vengeance on bourgeois executioners! Curses on all traitors!

15. The October Revolution roused colonial and semi-colonial peoples to struggle against the world parasites.

On the X Anniversary of October, our proletarian greetings to the oppressed peoples who have risen against the domination of international imperialism!

16. The October Revolution has emancipated women as workers and as human beings, the Soviet Power has awakened working and peasant women. The Soviet Power has drawn hundreds of thousands of working women into the government and administration of the country.

Working women, bear in mind that the X Anniversary of October is approaching! Join the ranks of the champions of a world October, the only way to complete emancipation of working women from centuries old slavery!

THE EFFECT OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION ABROAD

The Russian Revolution and the Proletariat of Austria.

By Franz Koritschner (Vienna).

1905 — the bloody Sunday. The Austrian workers have their eyes fixed on the Russian example. "To talk Russian" becomes a slogan in all the workers' meetings. The Austrian proletarians begin to struggle with the greatest energy for the general franchise. Leaders take the matter in hand. Karl Renner writes his article on "Caesarism". He calls upon the Habsburgs to grant the general franchise "in order to overcome the crisis of the Austrian State of various nationalities." The Reichenberg "Freigeist" writes the following bitter words:

"The struggle for the general franchise has become so acute, that we are no longer fighting but begging for it!"

The movement which had begun with a revolutionary rising, ended in a miserable bargain with the Habsburg dynasty.

The outbreak of war in 1914! August the 5th, the "Day of the German Nation!" The heroic fight of the Bolsheviki against the imperialist war is passed over in silence in Vienna. Class war is being felt as a silent reproach. Every chauvinistic speech of Plechanov is registered. Only the deportation of the Bolshevist faction of the Duma forces a definite attitude to be adopted. Austria's social patriots, it is true, rail against Tsarism, but they take good care not to follow the Russian example: they follow — the Habsburg banner. To hold out remains the slogan in vogue. Renner is enthusiastic about "Central Europe", Leuthner about a "Greater Germany", the leaders of the trade unions about — the annexation of Serbia!

There commences a return to reason. Zimmerwald! The Conference of Women and Young People at Berne. An opposition, an organised opposition, is formed. But the union "Karl Marx", founded by Friedrich Adler is not on the platform of the Left Zimmerwald group and its leaders, the Bolsheviki. The majority canvasses for Kautsky's ideas of: "The — it is far more important that all of us should wish for the same thing than what the thing itself is." Or Friedrich Adler's improved Kautskyism:

"As a soldier, the worker should hold out to the end at the front, and as an internationalist, at the front of class war."

Within the scope of the union, the Russian example begins to take effect; a motion of the Left Radicals is passed with the majority of one vote; the split between the internationalists and the social imperialists is on the order of the day — there comes the shot fired by Friedrich Adler. The Legal Centre is dissolved, its Press Correspondence prohibited, the separation between the Left Radicals and the Centrists on the basis of organisation becomes a fact.

Stockholm. The February revolution is successful. Tsarism is overthrown. The 3rd Zimmerwald Conference takes place, but also an attempt on the part of the social patriots to galvanise the Second International into new life! The Menshevist Workers' Soviet in Russia has a foot in each camp. Axelrod and Rosanov have the decisive word. The Petrograd Soviet founded a "Friedrich Adler Fund" for supporting the Austrian revolution. But no money is handed out. The Austrian group remains under the spell of Kautsky and of the legal methods, the Left Radicals follow the way of the Bolsheviki.

The events of July in Russia. The 3rd Zimmerwald Conference is threatened with break-up. Even in the Congress, the Menshevist internationalists launch an agitation against the Bolsheviki. Rosanov returns home without signing the manifesto of the general strike. Radek succeeds in breaking through the isolation of the Bolsheviki and establishing up fresh connections. In Austria, the 1st National Conference of the Left Radicals takes place near Wiener-Neustadt. Lenin's Kiental declaration is accepted as the programme.

In Stockholm the attempt at conciliation made by the social imperialists are wrecked. Victor Adler leaves. "Conclude peace" says he to the Russian delegates, and, in Vienna, he makes a speech in favour of Wilson's peace. The first meetings against

imperialist war are held. The social imperialists have turned into pacifists, the Austrian Government is playing with the idea of loosening the alliance with Germany. The conference held in favour of Wilson's peace turns into a revolutionary demonstration in favour of Friedrich Adler and of the Bolsheviks who had been defeated. The social patriotic Labour Press is compelled, in its struggle against the war policy of the Kerensky socialism, to write in friendly terms about the Bolsheviks. The Bolshevik example is exercising a constantly growing influence on the masses.

November 7th. The Bolsheviks have seized the State power. Careful manoeuvring on the part of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung", tremendous enthusiasm among the proletariat. **Russia is calling!** In all branches Committees of Action are being formed in order to proceed to act over the heads of the trade unions. The Left Radicals are making every effort to establish contact with the partial movements and to organise them in Vienna and in the provinces. The 7th of November has given rise to a short but lively debate, one section of the Left Radical Committee for Action defend the resignation of those who are against the seizure of power. New problems are being brought up: the question of the right of self-determination. Action against war ought to be a strike movement! The workers of Czechoslovakia can be won over, but they only fight for the disintegration of Austria. The Committee of Action decides in favour of the right of self-determination of the peoples and gets into touch with Yugoslavian students and Czechoslovakian railwaymen. Contact with other revolutionary groups is established. At the end of December, the illegal "Workers' and Soldiers' Council" is formed embracing Left Radicals, Bakunists, Syndicalists and

other groups. The platform, the slogan of action are Bolshevik.

Brest Litovsk. The open letter "To All", breaking off negotiations. The illegals are preparing for an attack with feverish excitement. The shortage of food in the industrial districts (munition factories etc.) of Wiener-Neustadt leads to a premature outbreak of the fight. The Wiener-Neustadt Basin is on strike. Vienna must follow. The movement is flaring up over the heads of the old leaders. The "Radicalinski's" are urging the movement forwards; the strike begins on January 14th. Workers' Councils are elected. The general strike is spreading.

But the old leaders are already at work again. On January 18th parliamentary negotiations are begun. Count Torggenburg and the Emperor give pacifying assurances. Count Czernin "guarantees" — and thus a brake is put on the strike. On January 20th the workers are called upon to return to the factories. Whilst the Constituent Assembly in Russia is being forcibly dispersed, the Czech separatist workers rise for solidarity, the Hungarian proletarians refuse to resume work. Whilst the soldiers of Bosnia refuse to advance against workers, whilst even the Slovenian Clerical party joins the class-conscious workers — for national reasons, under the slogan of the right of self-determination — the fight itself is throttled. On January 25th work is resumed in the industrial districts of Wiener-Neustadt. The fight has come to an end. Three days later, Count Czernin breaks his promise and takes the side of the dictatorial German will.

The memory of the October revolution in Russia lives in the hearts of the Austrian workers far beyond the ranks of the Communist Party.

TEN YEARS AGO

Down with the Imperialist War.

The Troops of the Petrograd Garrison are "not suitable for the Front.

Petrograd, 30th October. The Chief Commander of the Northern front, General Cheremissov, has sent a confidential telegram in reply to General Duchonin, Minister for War and Chief of the Staff: "The initiative for sending the troops of the Petrograd garrison to the front has emanated from you, and not from me. I replied to your proposal (telegram No. 4/34) that I agree and asked you to send the best troops to the front. When, however, it became clear that the troops of the Petrograd garrison will not go to the front, which means, therefore that they are not suitable for service at the front, I declared in a discussion with your representative that in view of the unwillingness of the troops to go to the front, they are unfit from the point of view of operations, that we shall have a lot of trouble with them, and we have plenty of such troops already at the front. But as you adhered to your desire to send the troops to the front, I did not reject it and do not now reject it, if you consider the removal of the Petrograd troops to be necessary. I hope that these troops will recover at the front and will, under the influence of our committees "become capable of fighting". (From the newspaper "Armija and Flot Svobodnoy Rossiji", No. 18.)

Measures of Force of the Government Commissar of Tashkent.

Petrograd, 1st November. At the order of the extraordinary government commissar, General Korovitchenko, the barracks at Tashkent were occupied in the night of 31st October to 1st November by junkers and Cossacks who proceeded with two tanks and machine guns. The garrison of the fortress was disarmed, many soldiers arrested. ("Nasha Gaseta", No. 122.)

The Soldiers in favour of Peace.

Novocherkask, 4th November. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) The Congress of local military representatives has finished its work and adopted a resolution declaring that the continuation of war cannot solve the inner crisis nor improve the disastrous situation of the country. It is at the same time hindering the convocation of the Constituent Assembly. The government must therefore consider it as a most urgent task to terminate the war.

TOWARDS THE SOVIET CONGRESS.

The Central Executive Committee is Compelled to Convene the 2nd Soviet Congress.

Petrograd, 30th October. The Bureau of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets of workers' and soldiers' deputies discussed the question of the convocation of the second All-Russian Soviet Congress which is demanded on all sides. The attempts to prevent the Congress have failed. The majority of the Soviets pronounced themselves in favour of the immediate convocation of the Congress and for the taking over of power by the Soviets. As a result of this pressure, the Bureau of the Central Executive Committee decided to telegraph to all front committees and local organisations summoning them to participate in the Congress which is to take place on the 7th November. The agenda contains the following items: The political situation; preparation of the Constituent Assembly; election of the Central Executive Committee.

The Central of the Seamen against the Revolt.

Petrograd, 30th October. The Central of the Seamen's union adopted the following resolution: "The Central of the seamen's union, having discussed the question of the planned armed revolt in the streets, categorically declares that at the present moment such a revolt would be a crime against the

people, because it would lead to the collapse of the two camps of revolutionary democracy, which would benefit only the counter-revolution. ("Krasnoje Snamja").

THE SOLVING OF THE CRISIS...

"All Power to the Soviets!"

Petrograd, 30th October. The town Conference of the factory councils took place in Moscow from 25th to 30th October. The Conference demanded in the resolutions which were adopted on the political situation, on the elections to the Constituent Assembly, on the Red Guard, on the lock-outs and on the organisation of the exchange of goods between town and country, the transference of power into the hands of the Soviets. ("Izvestiya", No. 191.)

* * *

Petrograd, 1st November. The Conference of the district Soviets of Jekaterinenburg (Ural) demands that the day of the meeting of the All-Russian Soviet Congress be the date for the seizure of power by the Soviets.

The "Izvestiya" publishes five analogous resolutions which were adopted by the Soviet of soldiers' deputies of Alexandrov (gouvernement Vladimir); by the gouvernement conference of the Soviets of Workers' Soldiers' and Peasants' deputies of the gouvernement Novgorod; of the second Finnish District Conference of the peasants' deputies; of the garrison of the Finnish reserve regiment and of the Petrograd Soviet of the peasants' deputies.

National Conference of the Factory Councils.

Petrograd, 31st October. At the National Conference of the Factory Councils Comrade Trotzky spoke and pointed to the inevitability of civil war, the pre-conditions for which lie in the economic and social structure of our society.

* * *

Petrograd, 1st November. At the National Conference of the Factory Councils, Kankov (Left S. R.) spoke on the political situation and declared that there could be only one solution of the question of power; i. e., the transference of power to the organs of revolutionary democracy, to the toiling peasants in alliance with the proletariat. As a whole Kankov spoke in the sense of the Bolsheviks; he was only afraid of a possible "premature" revolt. After the discussion the resolution of the Bolshevik fraction was adopted by 54 votes against 5 with 9 abstentions.

Resolution on the Political Situation.

(Moved by the fraction of the Bolsheviks and adopted by the National Conference of the Factory Councils on 1st November, 1917).

The All-Russian Conference of factory councils, assembled at the moment of deadly danger for the revolution, declares:

"The government of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie is ruining the country. It reveals and recognises its complete incapacity to continue the war but it drags on the war in order to choke the revolution. It does nothing to stop the economic decay; to the contrary, its whole economic policy is directed towards increasing this decay in order to kill the revolution by starvation and to bury it under the ruins of general economic collapse.

"The salvation of the revolution and the achievement of the aims which the working masses have attached to this revolution, are: transference of power into the hands of the Soviets of the workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies. The Soviet Power must propose to all peoples at once an armistice — until the conclusion of peace —, it must undertake the defence of the revolutionary country against world imperialism. The Soviet Power must give the land and soil into the hands of the land committees of the peasants and carry through the control of the workers over production and the distribution of goods on a national scale. The Soviet Power has to take all the necessary measures for the most speedy convocation of the Constituent Assembly.

Down with the power of the counter-revolution!

Long live the power of the revolution!

Long live the fight for peace, land and freedom!

("Rabotchi Putj" No. 43.)

LENIN: "WE MUST ACT ON THE 7TH!"

Petrograd, 3rd November. In Petrograd there was held a secret meeting of the Bolsheviks, at which Comrade Lenin took part. The question of the armed revolt was discussed. J. Reed reports on this meeting as follows: "Lenin spoke: 'November 6th (24th October) will be too early. We must have an all Russian basis for the rising; and on the 6th all the delegates to the Congress will not have arrived... On the other hand, November 8th will be too late. By that time the Congress will be organised and it is difficult for a large organised body of people to take swift, decisive action. We must act on the 7th, the day the Congress meets, so that we may say to it, 'Here is the power! What are you going to do with it?'"

(John Reed: Ten Days that Shook the World.)

The Fight of the General Staff against the Revolutionary Military Committee.

Petrograd, 7th November. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) Yesterday evening the conflict between the General Staff of the military district of Petrograd and the military revolutionary committee of the workers and soldiers' council became very acute.

The negotiations entered on by both sides to settle the conflict were broken off in the afternoon, as the committee received the report that the military governor of Petrograd had, in the course of the night, ordered the troops to be stationed in the neighbourhood of Petrograd, especially in Peterhof, Pavlovsk, Zarskoye Selo. In view of this fact the committee ordered its troops not to obey the commands of the government.

The situation has become more acute as a result of Kerenky prohibiting three newspapers of the Maximalists and two newspapers of the Right.

Towards 5 o'clock the authorities issued the command to destroy the bridges between the workers' quarters and the centre of the town and thus brought the street traffic of the whole town to a standstill. The town is militarily guarded by the troops which are loyal to the government.

* * *

Petrograd, 5th November. The members of the Military Revolutionary Committee appeared before the General Staff and demanded the right to control all its commands and to take part in its military discussions. The Chief Commander of the Petrograd Troops, Colonel Polkovnikov rejected this demand. The workers' and soldiers' council thereupon convened a meeting of the deputies of the garrison, which sent a telegram by telephone to all regiments informing the soldiers, that the workers' and soldiers' council is breaking with the General Staff as a result of the latter's refusal to recognise the Military Revolutionary Committee, and that from now on the General Staff must be regarded as an organisation hostile to democracy. The telegram declares that the troops have to obey only such commands as are signed by the Military Revolutionary Committee.

The Military Revolutionary Committee at the same time issued an appeal to the soldiers, workers and the population of the capital stating that the Committee has nominated, for the military leadership of the most important points of Petrograd and its neighbourhood, special accredited persons whom the Committee declares to be inviolable.

After the Provisional Government had learned of the decisions of the Committee, it demanded that the latter, declare the contents of the telegram to be null and void. The Committee refused to comply with this demand and decided to offer resistance. For this purpose the workers' and soldiers' council had troops with machine guns come to guard its meeting hall. The Provisional government decided not to take up arms as it hoped to settle the conflict peacefully.

A Plenary sitting of the Provisional Government which took place this evening decided to regard the Committee as an unlawful institution and called upon the Minister for Justice

to prosecute its members and suggested to the military authorities that they adopt all necessary measures should a revolt against the government break out.

The Committees of the Regiments Join the Military Revolutionary Committee.

Petrograd, 3rd November. At the Extraordinary Meeting of the soldiers' committees of the Petrograd garrison, Trotzky spoke in the name of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet. He described the situation and called upon the workers and soldiers to support the new revolutionary organ, the Military Revolutionary Committee and to assist the Soviets in the fight for power. Trotzky called upon the garrison and the Petrograd proletariat to maintain complete peace on the "day of the Petrograd Soviet" (4th November) in order to avoid a collision with the religious demonstration of the Cossacks fixed for that day.

Representatives of various divisions of troops spoke after Trotzky and demanded the immediate seizure of power by the Soviets. The representative of the 4th Don Cossack regiment declared that the regiment will not take part in the religious demonstration. The representative of the 14th Cossack regiment assured the meeting of the determination of his regiment to fight against counter-revolution, but warned against a premature revolt.

The representatives of the front demanded the conclusion of peace.

Butnevitch, member of the Central Executive Committee, attempted to prove that it is untimely and impossible to seize power by an armed revolt, but he had to break off his speech amid the loud protests of the audience.

Lashevitch (Bolshevik) declared that it is precisely the government which is provoking civil war; the Soviet government will propose an honest democratic peace to all peoples, but if this proposal is rejected and the nations conducting war against us will attempt to subjugate revolutionary Russia, then a revolutionary war will commence and the Bolsheviks will then fight in the first ranks.

The Military Revolutionary Committee on the Prohibition of Revolutionary Newspapers.

The conspirators of the general staff have suppressed two revolutionary newspapers, "Rabotchi Putj" and "Soldat". The Soviet of the workers and soldiers' deputies cannot tolerate the suppression of freedom of expression. The honest press must be defended in the interest of the people which is repelling the attacks of the pogromists.

The Military Revolutionary Committee decides:

1. To open the printing works of the revolutionary newspapers.
2. To call upon the editors and printers to continue the publication of the newspapers.
3. To entrust the protection of the revolutionary printing works against counter-revolutionary attacks to the heroic soldiers of the Lithuanian regiment and the 6th sapper reserve battalion.

The Military Revolutionary Committee to the Petrograd Soviet.

Soldiers, workers citizens!

The enemies of the people passed last night to the offensive. The Kornilovists of the staff are trying to draw in from the suburbs the junker and volunteer battalions. The Orienbaum junkers and the Tsarskoe Selo volunteers refused to come out. A treacherous attack is being contemplated against the Petrograd Soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies. The newspapers "Rabotchi Putj" and "Soldat" have been prohibited, their printing works sealed. The offensive of the counter-revolutionary conspirators is being directed against the All-Russian Congress of Soviets on the eve of its opening, against the Constituent Assembly, against the people. The Petrograd Soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies is guarding the revolution. The Military Revolutionary Committee is leading the repulse of the

conspirators' attack. The entire garrison and proletariat of Petrograd are ready to deal the enemy of the people a crushing blow.

The Military Revolutionary Committee decrees:

1. All regimental, division and battalions committees, together with the Soviet Commissars, and all revolutionary organisations, shall meet in continuous session, concentrating in their hands all information about the plans of the conspirators.

2. Not one soldier shall leave his division without permission of the Committee.

3. To send to Smolny at once two delegates from each military unit and five from each Ward Soviet.

4. All members of the Petrograd Soviet and all delegates to the All-Russian Congress are invited immediately to Smolny for an extraordinary meeting.

Counter-revolution has raised its criminal head.

A great danger threatens all the conquests and hopes of the soldiers and workers.

But the forces of the revolution exceed by far those of its enemies.

The cause of the people is in strong hands. The conspirators will be crushed.

No hesitation or doubts! Firmness, steadfastness, discipline, determination!

Long live the Revolution!

Petrograd, 6th November, 1917.

Kerensky Applies to the Preliminary Parliament for Support.

Petrograd, 6th November. (Petrograd Telegraph Agency.) In reply to the interpellation, what the government is contemplating in order to prevent the attempt of the Maximalists to capture State power, Prime Minister Kerensky delivered the following speech in the Preliminary Parliament:

It would appear that the nearer the day of the meeting of the Constituent Assembly approaches, the more frequent become the attempts to prevent its meeting, which aim it is intended to achieve by paralysing the defence of and by treason against the country. These attempts are emanating from two sides, from the extreme Left and the extreme Right, and find expression in the articles of the State criminal Lenin who scorns justice. These attempts no matter whether consciously or unconsciously, do not benefit the German proletariat, but those sections which rule Germany, for they contribute to open our front to the troops of the Kaiser and his allies.

Referring to the conflict between the Staff of the Military governor of Petrograd and the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Workers' and Soldiers' Council, Kerensky continued:

The military power could never recognise as legal the demands of the Committee and demands of it the withdrawal of its commands. The Committee had opened sham negotiations and even showed inclination to come to an understanding, but at the same time it began secretly to distribute arms and cartridges to the workers. This is the reason why I consider part of the Petrograd population to be insurgent. I at once ordered the commencement of an investigation and the carrying out of the necessary arrests.

The Left interrupted Kerensky by ironical interjections, but the latter turned towards the Left and said:

The government will rather suffer death than renounce the defence of the honour, security and independence of the State. Thereupon he dealt with the attitude of the front towards the action of the Maximalists and read telegrams in which the army demands severe measures against the excesses in Petrograd and promises the government energetic support.

Kerensky requested the Preliminary Parliament to give an immediate reply whether the government, in fulfilling its duty, can count on the support of the Provisional Council of the Republic.

The Trade Unions Prior to the October Revolution.

By A. Aluf.

The class struggle which was on the increase throughout the year 1917, required a tremendous effort on the part of the Trade Unions, which were rapidly developing into powerful mass organisations. In their fight against the working classes, the capitalists had the support of State power in its entirety, since the latter was in the hands of the bourgeoisie, and whenever their own strength did not suffice to break the resistance of the workers, they resorted to a closing down of enterprises, to a sabotage of production, and to the destruction of industry. By help of starvation, they hoped to be able to force the workers to their knees. In circumstances such as these, the working class and all its organisations were faced with the task of preparing actively for the final and decisive fight against the bourgeoisie, a fight for the overthrow of the political power and economic domination of the bourgeois class.

By far not all of the Trade Unions were prepared to execute this task. Within the Trade Unions this entire period was characterised by a violent struggle against the more compromising elements, who still had a considerable influence in certain of the Unions at that time, particularly in such as comprised employees and the workers of smaller enterprises. In those Unions which united the industrial proletariat, the influence of the compromisers was inconsiderable, and these Unions, in particular those of the metal workers, textile workers, leather workers, and the yet incomplete organisations of the miners, assumed a truly revolutionary attitude and pursued an altogether Bolshevist line of policy.

The influence of the Mensheviks in the Trade Unions rapidly declined and the swing to the Left in all strata of the working class proceeded at a very rapid rate. This is illustrated by the fact that the Trade Union delegation to the "Democratic Conference" in August 1917 greatly differed in its composition from the Third Trade Union Conference at the end of the preceding June. The majority, albeit a small one, of the Third Trade Union Conference was well known to be Menshevist, whereas the Trade Union delegation to the "Democratic Conference" was overwhelmingly Bolshevist and adopted a thoroughly revolutionary attitude.

Within a period of two months, therefore, there had been a decided change in the proportion of forces in the Trade Unions. This fact shows, on the one hand, that the working masses were gravitating rapidly to the Left and, on the other hand, that the specific weight and influence of the industrial unions on the entire Trade Union movement had considerably increased.

The unions of the industrial proletariat and the inter-Trade Union formations of the great industrial centres played an important rôle in the immediate preparations for the October revolution.

The Moscow District Conference of the metal workers, which met at the beginning of October 1917, recognised that it was incumbent upon the working class to wage an energetic fight for the radical alteration of the foundations of the economic policy of the State and for the transfer of power into the hands of the real democracy, i. e. the Soviets of workers', peasants', and soldiers' deputies. On October 15th, 1917, the meeting of delegates of the textile workers declared that

"the revolutionary proletariat must begin the offensive on all fronts, and that through the medium of the Central Trade Union Bureau and the revolutionary workers' organisations an appeal must be addressed to the entire proletariat, to raise the immediate demand of "All power to the revolutionary democracy in the shape of the Soviets of workers', peasants', and soldiers' deputies".

The leather workers of the Moscow district, who on August 16th, 1917, started a strike which lasted for two months and a half, raised the demand for the confiscation of the enterprises (transference to the State). On October 16th, the meeting of delegates of the striking leather workers passed a resolution, according to which, in default of compliance with their demands on the part of the employers within two days, the working committees were immediately to adopt practical measures (such as taking stock of the machinery, goods, and so forth), in preparation for confiscation.

The conference of the miners of the Donez basin, which met from October 2nd to 5th, declared

"that the Trade Union organisations would not be able to fulfill the responsible tasks which awaited them, unless the authority in the country were to pass into the hands of the workers', peasants', and soldiers' deputies."

This standpoint of a transfer of power to the Soviets was likewise shared by the inter-Trade Union formations of the great industrial centres (the Soviets of the Trade Unions). As early as August 1917, when the Provisional Government issued a summons for the State conference at Moscow, the Trades Council of that city organised a protest strike, which united more than half a million workers under the parole of "The power to the Soviets". This strike was declared, although the majority of the Moscow Soviets of workers' deputies, then composed of Mensheviks and other representatives of compromising parties, resolved (by 360 votes against 304) to refrain from striking. The resolution to strike was adopted at a meeting of the leaders of 41 Trade Unions, convoked by the Moscow Trades Council.

The Petrograd Soviet of Trade Unions passed a resolution in connection with the breakdown of the Riga front, declaring that the situation in the country was a result of the policy of the Coalition Government, which sacrificed the interests of peace and of the broad masses of the population to those of the Allies and the Russian imperialists. At that time the parole of "All power to the Soviets" attracted great masses of new adherents, and the realisation of this parole was prepared by the work of the Trade Unions of the industrial proletariat.

A great revolutionary task was at that time also performed by the factory committees, which at that time had a separate existence from the Trade Unions and were mainly occupied with the carrying out of workers' control. The working class was fighting against the destructive work of the bourgeoisie, which undermined production, and at the same time preparing to take possession of the enterprises. The factory committees, which had been formed in all large industrial enterprises immediately after the overthrow of Tsarism, now all followed the consistent revolutionary path of the Bolsheviks. The Mensheviks had no influence at all with the factory committees. The very first conference of the factory committees, which met in April 1917, had in general accepted the tactics of the Bolsheviks and turned down the proposals of the compromisers, which aimed at strengthening the authority of the bourgeoisie.

In preparing the overthrow of bourgeois power, the factory committees played a prominent part. The separate and independent existence of these committees outside the Trade Unions was caused by the fact that the Trade Union had not yet sufficient forces at their disposal to be able to take over the conduct of workers control, so that this came to be effected by the factory committees. An amalgamation did not occur until early in 1918, after the overthrow of bourgeois power, when the Trade Unions and the factory committees united their forces for a better organisation of the economy of the Soviet Republic.

The Trade Unions and the works committees were thus both factors in actively preparing for the victory of the working class in October 1917.

Chronicle of Events.

October 28.

The functionaries of the Petrograd organisation of the Bolsheviks declare in favour of the revolt (by all votes against two abstentions).

In Moscow, the young workers demonstrate against the war.

October 29.

The first Conference of the proletarian cultural organisations is opened in Petrograd.

October 30.

The Bureau of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets decides to convene the Second All-Russian Soviet Congress for the 7th November.

The Provisional Government places at the disposal of the Minister for the Interior two millions roubles for the upkeep of the police.

The Provisional Government discusses the bill of the Minister for Agriculture, Maslov (S.R.) on the land question.

October 31.

The Executive Committee of the All-Russian Soviet of the peasants deputies (S.R. majority) demands of the government the immediate carrying through of the land reforms in the sense of the bill introduced by S. Maslov.

November 1.

The All-Russian Conference of the Factory Councils adopts the political resolution of the Bolsheviks.

The Petrograd military organisation of the Party of the S.R.'s declares itself neutral on the question of revolt.

November 2.

A Committee for the organisation of national troops is formed in Tiflis.

At the first meeting of the "Military Revolutionary Committee" the tasks of the Committee are laid down.

November 3.

A meeting of the Bolsheviks held behind closed doors with the participation of Lenin decides to fix the 7th November for revolt.

At the meeting of the regimental committees of the Petrograd garrisons Trotzky, speaking in the name of the Petrograd Soviet, calls upon the soldiers to support the new organ, the "Military Revolutionary Committee", in the fight for power.

November 4.

The "day of the Petrograd Soviet" passes without disturbance.

The Central Executive Committee of the Soviets calls upon the population to refrain from any action.

November 5.

The Provisional Government decides to draw in from the suburbs troops loyal to the government. It instructs the staff of the Petrograd military district to adopt the necessary measures, orders the arrest of revolutionaries, suppresses the revolutionary newspapers etc.

TEN YEARS OF SOVIET POWER

Science and the Soviet Union.

By N. Bukharin.

(Conclusion.)

As a State organisation, the Soviet Union selects the sharpest and most effective weapon from the scientific arsenal of mankind and wages war on every form of scientific and philosophical superstition. If we consider what a colossal amount of energy is wasted by bourgeois science for the purpose of a "philosophical" and quasi scientific vindication of bourgeois society, for that is what the defence of idealistic positions ultimately amounts to, we cannot fail to see what tremendous costs, what innumerable "faux frais" are incurred by the intellectual work of the bourgeois world. The social and practical roots of the scientific theories, which must become altogether obvious in the case of a more or less systematic organisation of scientific work, kill the remnants of idealism, which may ultimately be classed with theological treatises, books on witchcraft, and the expatiations of the theosophists.

True, not all materialism is dialectic. And it is a matter of course that the "public opinion" of learned circles will not at one stroke adopt a method which has borne such surprising fruit in its application to the social sciences. And yet we may observe that "instinctive materialism" passes into dialectic materialism, while the latter conquers one realm of science after another, finding ever growing recognition and coming to represent the one and only scientific method. The unity of the materialistic method very greatly enhances the cognitive vigour of science, both because it is materialistic and because it is a unity.

In a certain sense the method of dialectic materialism carries on the best traditions of the bourgeoisie, in so far as the latter once fought against the cult of idols and fearlessly revealed the real connection of things. In enriching materialism by dialectics, the Marxian form of materialism casts its glance over all barriers on which the bourgeois methodology of to-day has inscribed its famous "ignorabimus". In consistently dispersing all the spirits of idealism, from the chimera of vitalism in biology and the illusions of the "pure logicians" in mathematics to the abashed scepticism of the numerous agnostics, dialectic materialism combines the boldest empiric research, which it deems unlimited, with the precise generalising work of theoretic thought.

Finally, mention must be made of the immense extent and immense and growing importance attained by the influence of science.

Socialism is the powerful tendency towards a rationalisation of social life in general and of its economic basis in particular. This tendency must necessarily be founded on the most precise scientific analysis of the respective factors. Science here develops the tendency to become a universally penetrating force.

This rationalisation of social relations, and especially of social conditions of production, has nothing in common with the rationalism of the eighteenth century. The rational principle (i. e. the systematic principles) of the economic policy of the proletariat is founded on an exact scientific analysis. For Marxism, liberty is a recognised necessity, and not merely an arbitrary reflection of human understanding. The economic scheme is no mere combination of figures, accepted as a matter of course as ideal, but the result of a strict calculation of real proportions, the outcome of a scientific treatment of these relations in circumstances representing a material basis for the execution of a plan (i. e. that of a State concentration of means of production). It obviously follows that, the speedier the increase of the Socialist section of economy, the greater will be the cope of this plan, of rationalisation, and of precise scientific prevision. Polemics against Socialism, setting up the thesis of the eternal dualism of the economic process — in which the contrast between the rational principle (or system) and the irrational (economic anarchy) appears in the form of a principle, immanent in every society as such — are, when all is said and done, based on the thoroughly childish dogma of Adam Smith, according to which the exchange of commodities forms an endless chain and the desire to exchange is one of the fundamental qualities of the human "soul". For the capitalistic snails, grown fast to the shell of capitalistic conditions of production, this dogma represented an "axiom". The revolution of the working class, however, has broken the shell and with it the axiom.

The systematic economy of Socialism, therefore, calls for a gigantic expansion of scientific activity. The result is the "system", a result which is at the same time an immediate directive. From this point of view, again, the economic policy is inevitably permeated with science, which has become a powerful lever of social transformation. The very dimensions of the "economic entirety" forming the object of systematic influence, show how manifold must be the realms of science which bring

the process of Socialist construction into operation and subsequently fructify this construction. If the gigantic American laboratories could be created on the basis of an engineering industry, which, though concentrated, is yet severed by private property interests, there cannot be the least manner of doubt, but that the gigantic effort of the united and socially organised Socialist work of construction will create (and has, indeed, already begun to do so) a yet more magnificent system of scientific institutions which will embrace all sciences, from geology and mechanics to medicine, psychology, and ethnography. Owing to private property and capitalistic profit interests, the "flight of thought" of the bourgeois world is curbed; the efforts of scientific ingenuity in the Soviet Union will be restricted by nothing but the natural limitations of the country. Even at present, economists must reckon with figures of gigantic importance when making their calculations. And this is no more than the nucleus of future economic plans. Even to-day, Soviet engineers must construct gigantic power-works, the erection of which is hindered by no private interests or ground rents. And this is only the germ of the future economic plans. These relatively small beginnings are of the greatest value to us, since they bear eloquent testimony to the truly magnificent possibilities in store for the Socialist system of science.

The scientists of the Soviet Union were quite right in placing the study of the productive forces of our Union in the very centre of their programme of work. Work is in full progress in all directions. But here, again, the sphere of problems will be far greater than is the case in the capitalist countries.

And this not only for the reasons mentioned above. In capitalist society there is no regard for the saving of the human organism. The more Socialism advances in our country, on the other hand, the greater will be the degree of attention paid to the living working force, the working individual, and the mass of physiologic organisms. The capitalistic study of mankind (including so-called psychotechnics) starts from the principle of capitalist "lucrativity", whereas Socialist economy is most vitally interested in sparing the organism of the worker. This means, in future, an advance of those sciences which are occupied with the study of mankind, both from the standpoint of the physiology of work and from that of physiology altogether. Then there is another aspect of the case. Capitalist society systematically oppresses the so-called "alien peoples", while Socialist society emancipates all nationalities, having, indeed, already given a powerful stimulus to the advance of national cultures. This means, in future, a great development not only of ethnography, but also of history, philology, and other subjects referring to the study of national peculiarities. In such branches of learning as comparative linguistic studies, e. g., or in the theory of language, attempts are noticeable which are in direct opposition to the philological theories influenced by "Great Power" considerations. Without going in detail into these attempts, we can observe that the changed relations among the peoples on the territory of the Soviet Union afford a solid basis for the development of new scientific approach to questions in a series of theoretic directions.

There is still a very important side of this question, which we must not fail to mention even in a short analysis of the peculiar position of science in the Soviet Union. It is the problem of the cadres of scientists. During the civil war and the epoch of starvation, the ranks of the scientists were greatly diminished. A considerable proportion of those that remained, however, very heroically surmounted all difficulties and continued their work. It must be admitted that there is an insufficient number of really qualified scientists. The whole progress of development, however, points to a quicker, rather than a slower, advance in this direction, too, in the Soviet Union as compared with the capitalist countries.

It may very well be said that that system of social relations is on a higher historic level, which is better able to develop its reserve of qualified, or what is generally termed "talented", mental workers. And just in this respect the proletarian democracy is unsurpassed as a State. Here for the very first time gigantic masses of the population are being raised to a higher level of culture; for the first time obstacles are being removed from their path; for the first time education has come to lose the character of a caste or class monopoly for a numerically insignificant part of the population. In other words, it is the first time in the history of mankind that the area of selection for leaders and qualified cultural workers has been widened to such an extent.

Almost every process has its own phraseology, and the process of the proletarian revolution is no exception to this rule. At present we have an enormous extension of elementary education. Hitherto we have seen no results in the sense of an intensification of culture, but we shall soon begin to see them. We are already starting to approach this phase of development, and then the problem of a reserve of scientists will be solved just as at present that of the reconstruction of our economy is being solved; we shall experience a "turbulent growth" in the number of qualified mental workers.

The Soviet Union is a country of the greatest possibilities; it is not in vain that even bourgeois "geopoliticians" promise it a brilliant future. Its rapid development, however, will not only ensue as a result of quantitative factors, the quantity of territory and the quantity of population; not only as a result of the country's unique position across the gigantic European-Asiatic Continent, nor of its inexhaustible natural resources, many of which are still lying undisturbed, nay, undreamt of, in all quarters of the gigantic proletarian realm. This progress, which will increase in velocity as it advances, will result from the fact that the October Revolution of the proletariat has wrenched round the rudder of all social development, opening up to the people of the former Tsarist Empire possibilities which are wholly unknown and inaccessible to capitalist countries.

The October revolution, however, is no isolated fact. Nor does the Soviet Union stand apart from the great international revolutionary movement. On the contrary. The October revolution itself was the outcome of the gigantic crisis of the capitalist system of the world. The Soviet Union is the first great revolutionary crystal, round which other crystals will inevitably form. And the further the revolutionary process develops, the more the great work of transforming the world advances, the more magnificent will be the prospects opened up to science.

The terrible crisis which humanity is experiencing can only be solved by movements like the October revolution and formations like the Soviet Union. Imperialism attempts to solve the problem by the preparation of new wars of extermination, and the science of the capitalist world places itself on all hands in the service of this task. Pacifism merely weakens the will of the workers but cannot withstand any scientific criticism, seeing that it is based on illusions which have no root in real facts. The idealistic and mystic tendencies of the present-day bourgeois world are a process of decadence and pronouncedly hostile to precise scientific enlightenment and rational thought. Among all the forces of present-day society, it is only the working class that can lay claim to the rôle of a mass force, which will preserve humanity from a terribly destructive catastrophe.

That is why science in the Soviet Union is called upon to fulfil a very noble task, that of fostering the cause of the liberation of mankind from the shame of our time, the barbarity of imperialism. It assists in creating a new system of relations, in which there will be no more room for wars; for violence, and for a mercenary spirit. It assists in setting up a rational form of economy, guided by a union of reasonable minds. It assists in the establishment of Socialism.

In doing all this, science raises its own importance to an unusual height. From the handmaid of theology it once became the handmaid of the golden calf. Under our own eyes it is turning into the friend and helpmate of toiling mankind. It helps to build up Socialism, the construction of which is in itself science applied to action. Socialism and science are inseparable. The highest degree of a systematic State is the highest degree of scientific management. The prosperity of Socialism therefore means not only the prosperity of material productivity and the elimination of coercion of one man by another, but also the very greatest triumph of human knowledge. If the creator of the electric chair on which Sacco and Vanzetti breathed their last, and the instigators of the "monkey trials" against the most eminent natural scientific theory of the nineteenth century talk of the "barbarity of the Soviets", and when the inspirers of new imperialist wars let loose their "Augurs" with the cry of "the Soviets versus civilisation", the working class of our country can join with its scientists in quietly maintaining that the red flag of the "great rebellion" of October has for all times become the flag not only of emancipated physical labour but also of liberated science.