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THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GERMANY IS GOING AHEAD

By E. THÄLMANN

I.

THE Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany was held in Berlin from January 15th—17th. Since the last Plenary session, the developments in Germany have brought about a series of changes in the class situation which enabled the Party at its present session to formulate its tasks at a higher level and draw conclusions of a greater political gravity than at any earlier sessions of the Central Committee. What changes, for example, had taken place since the previous Plenary session at the end of July, 1930?

In broad outline the following facts were to be noted. The world economic crisis on the basis of the general crisis of the capitalist system has increased in intensity. The hopes of the bourgeoisie for the recovery of American economy and therewith a return to favourable economic conditions on a world scale, or at least the calling of a halt to the crisis, have by no means been realised. Germany at the present time is experiencing a crisis which the official economic institute correctly says is "of a severity almost unprecedented." Even according to bourgeois admissions there are to be found "no factors making for a swing over to favourable economic conditions."

The factors making for the transformation of the economic crisis in Germany into a shattering of the political super-structure, as already pointed out at the time by the July Plenum of the Central Committee in 1930, have developed to an extraordinary extent. This fact already stood out with especial clearness at the Reichstag elections held two months after the last Plenum of the Central Committee.

Thus, we see to-day a series of factors denoting also a crisis of the capitalist system in a political respect. On the one hand, we have the facts reflected in the extraordinary revolutionary upsurge as shown by the Reichstag elections, the Berlin metal-workers' strike, the Ruhr struggle and the miners' strike in Upper Silesia, by the political mass strike in Danzig against the Government, which is supported by the National Socialists (Nazis), and the wave of anti-Fascist mass struggles. On the other hand, in antithesis to this revolutionary upsurge, we have the desperate efforts of the bourgeoisie to enforce a capitalist solution of the crisis. In this regard, fascistisation has already reached a level of develop-

ment leading to a new enormous sharpening of the class struggle.

A further world-shaking fact, which exercises a decisive effect on the revolutionary struggle in all capitalist countries, results from the development of the Soviet Union, which in the process of carrying through the Five Year Plan has entered the period of Socialism. A gigantic struggle is taking place on a world scale between the rise of Socialism and the bankrupt system of capitalist profit-making industry. This struggle, also, it will readily be understood, has an extraordinary influence on the class struggle in Germany.

Taking all these questions together, some idea is obtained, even from this cursory survey, of the significance of the recent session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany. From the point of view of revolutionary development, the crucial political character of our last session even exceeds that of either of the sessions of the German Party leadership held in the preceding year. These preceding two sessions of the Party leadership in 1930 were, of course, of very great significance for the general development of the Party and of the revolutionary class struggle in Germany.

In March, 1930, following on the extended Presidium of the E.C.C.I., the Party leadership used the session of the Central Committee in order to undertake serious and comprehensive Bolshevik self-criticism, dealing with a whole series of weaknesses and defects which had appeared in the practical work of the Party in contradiction to the line of the Wedding Party Congress. The overcoming of these weaknesses was a necessary pre-condition for the Party to keep pace with the sharpening of the crisis in Germany and with the commencing revolutionary upsurge and to make up for a certain loss of tempo which had occurred in many spheres of revolutionary work.

The following July Plenum of the Central Committee took place the day before the dissolution of the old Reichstag by the Brüning Government. The revolutionary mass mobilisation for the fight for the social and national emancipation of the German people, for the struggle against the fetters of the predatory Young Plan, received a powerful impetus at this Plenary session and led then to the electoral fight of the Party, which from the first moment was carried on in an offensive revolutionary spirit as a clearly de-

terminated extra-Parliamentary mass campaign for the overthrow of capitalist Germany and the establishment of a Soviet Germany.

The great changes in the situation, both in regard to the sharpening of the crisis as well as the sharpened antagonism between the revolutionary upsurge and the growth of fascism, which was taking place right up to the January session of 1931, naturally made much greater claims both for the decisions and for the problems to be dealt with at the session. We will discuss these facts quite shortly, first of all, in the light of the totality of the decisions of the Central Committee, before we deal separately and more exhaustively with the important problems which played a predominant rôle at the session.

II.

In the resolution which was put to the Plenum from the Political Bureau, and which found unanimous acceptance, the following is said on the present class situation in Germany:—

“With the further sharpening of the economic and political crisis in Germany there are arising already *tendencies towards a revolutionary crisis* in the country. How far these tendencies will grow and unfold themselves depends in the first place on the course of the class struggle and on the development of the power and mass activity of the revolutionary proletariat under the leadership of the Communist Party.”

It is obvious that such an analysis of the situation which correctly notes “tendencies towards a revolutionary crisis” in Germany, must be followed also by the corresponding consequences in the *formulation of the political tasks*. Hence, the second part of the resolution, which deals with the main tasks of the Party, begins:—

“In view of the growing accentuation of the class situation and of the threatening starvation catastrophe for the widest masses, there arises the task for the Party to propagate the revolutionary solution of the crisis along the lines of our programme of emancipation. In this, the slogan of the People’s Revolution is only a synonym for the proletarian Socialist Revolution. The application of this slogan cannot be taken in the sense of a short period slogan of action, but rather as a uniting together of all the existing movements, as the strategic aim to which all the daily struggles, partial actions and partial demands are subordinated. With the sharpening of the situation and the origin of tendencies towards a revolutionary crisis, the political mass strike becomes the most important means of struggle. The Party must explain and instil among the widest masses the character of the proletarian Socialist revolution as a true People’s Revolution under the hegemony of the proletariat in the sense of Marx and Engels.”

This formulation of the question, in which the slogan of the Peoples’ Revolution in the sense of

Marx and Lenin becomes the main strategic slogan of the Party, corresponds to the sharpening of the situation. At the Plenary Session of the Central Committee, the Party dealt thoroughly and basically with the problem of the conditions in which the present tendencies towards a revolutionary crisis will fully develop themselves and be able to effect the complete transformation of the economic and political crisis of the capitalist system into the *revolutionary crisis*, as the pre-requisite for the victorious proletarian revolution in Germany. The answer which the Party leadership gave to this question is: *we must organise* the revolutionary situation. The “subjective factor,” the revolutionary Party, its policy, and the mass actions and struggles of the proletariat and toilers proceeding under its leadership, are of decisive significance also for giving rise to all the objective conditions for the proletarian revolution. How far is this general lesson of the revolutionary class struggles just now, under the conditions of development in Germany, winning *especially strengthened significance*? The answer is given in a striking manner by the higher sharper forms in which already the class struggle in Germany is being conducted.

Already at the Wedding Party Congress we come across the declaration which was afterwards further and much more strongly worked out and emphasised by the 10th Plenum of the Communist International, viz.: that, since the barricade fighting in Berlin in May, 1929, the class struggle in Germany has reached so much higher a stage that every action, every strike and every demonstration of the working class receives a new significance far exceeding any that it previously possessed. In this sense we can term May, 1929, with its barricades, an *historical turning point*.

If this characterisation in regard to the higher rôle of all forms of the class struggle in Germany holds for the whole period since this turning point of May 1st, 1929, then it is clear that, with the sharpening of the economic-political crisis, and with the origin of tendencies towards a revolutionary crisis in Germany, all events must possess an ever stronger effect. It is in this sense that the resolution of the General Committee last January speaks of the “new and higher forms” of the revolutionary upsurge:—

“In particular, three main directions of the rising *revolutionary mass initiative* are to be noted: the mass struggle of the factory workers and unemployed against the employers’ offensive, the mass struggle of all toilers against the carrying through of Fascist dictatorship by the Brüning Government and the stormy wave of anti-Fascist mass struggle

against the murders and threats of the National Socialists. In these three main directions of the mass struggle, the Party takes note of the series of very big advances and its struggles with increasing success for the leadership of all these growing movements. Under the existing conditions, the most important link for the proletarian revolution is undoubtedly the real organisation and successful leadership of the proletarian economic struggles, above all the mass strikes against wage reductions and dismissals carried out through the revolutionary trade union opposition. . . . *All such movements, most especially the strike struggles, are of the greatest political significance.* In the present situation, every economic struggle is a markedly political struggle, the extent of the effects of which grows with the number of the militants, the firmness of the fighting leadership through the revolutionary trade union opposition and the degree of maturity of the political consciousness of the struggling masses."

These conclusions on the powerful political significance of all proletarian mass actions, and in particular of the strike struggles in the present situation, provide also the key to the phrase which stood in the centre of the discussions at the Plenary session, viz. : that *we must organise* the revolutionary situation. Under the existing conditions of the class struggle in Germany every strike (which the Party and the revolutionary trade union opposition is able to initiate, to lead and to bring to a wider development, represents at the same time a potent factor for the intensification of the crisis and promotes thereby those tendencies towards a revolutionary crisis in the country spoken of in the resolution of the Central Committee.

The determining rôle which in the present stage of revolutionary development attaches to the strengthening and extension of the revolutionary trade union opposition, finds its reflection also in the camp of the bourgeoisie. While, only a year ago, the bourgeois press attempted to deny altogether or to keep silent about the trade union opposition as an important factor, recently more and more frequently in the leading organs of the bourgeoisie are to be found serious estimates of the growing rôle and significance of *the revolutionary trade union opposition as a source of danger for the capitalist plans.* We must undoubtedly, however, not be misled thereby to overlook the still considerable *weaknesses* in the working, and above all in the organisational structure, of the revolutionary trade union opposition.

Therefore, when the session of the Central Committee in its resolution put down the *strengthening and extending of the revolutionary trade union opposition as the most important central task of the day*, that represents for the

concrete daily policy of the Party the necessary completion and consequence of the formulation of the slogan of the Peoples' Revolution as the main strategical slogan, the strategic aim to which all partial struggles are subordinated. The Party points out not only the *goal* of the present struggles, viz. : to produce the pre-requisites for the proletarian revolution, but it also points out *the path to this goal* and lays down in concrete form the particular link of the chain which under the present conditions must be seized by the Party and the proletariat in order to command the whole chain and in order to be able to force the development in the direction of the goal of the proletarian revolution.

The struggle of the Party to win over the previous adherents of opposing Parties takes place especially along two main directions. The chief enemy in the class struggle against the bourgeoisie, against whom the Party has to lead the proletariat in Germany to-day, is *Fascism*. Against the Fascist mass Party, the National Socialists, the Plenum of the Central Committee laid down the following slogan :—

"The Party is confronted with the task of preventing the penetration of National Socialism among the working class and further with the splitting off and winning over of the National Socialist workers, employees and toilers who are disposed against capitalism."

In this connection, naturally, the extraordinary strengthening of our *mass struggle in defence against the Fascist murder terror* represents a decisive pre-condition for successfully carrying through our ideological struggle against the National Socialists and for overcoming Fascism in general. Furthermore, our work among the office workers stands in need of considerable improvement, for one reason because here are to be found the most important reserves of the National Socialists.

On the other side, now as before, *Social Democracy* and particularly the "Left" Socialists represent the *main obstacle* to the revolutionary emancipation struggle of the German proletariat. Without overcoming this main obstacle, without destroying (this most dangerous enemy in the camp of the working class, it is impossible for the Party and the working class to be victorious in the struggle against Fascism and against the capitalist system as a whole. The resolution of the January Plenum, therefore, goes a considerable step further in the question of the struggle against Social Fascism than was previously possible for the Party. The resolution declares :

"In view of this ferment among the adherents of Social Democracy, in view of the crisis of reformist theory, there arises for us in all its magnitude the

decisive task of the liquidation of the mass influence of the Socialist Party of Germany and of the Social Democratic Youth organisation as a mass organisation, the task of bringing about a united front with the Social Democratic workers and the proletarian members of the Reichsbanner."

In connection with this slogan, the Central Committee put forward also the slogan of the *doubling of the Party membership, along with, at the same time, the overcoming of fluctuations*. The great successes in recent weeks, both immediately before the Plenum of the Central Committee and especially after its session, which can be claimed by the Party in all these spheres already provide the proof that the bold formulation of tasks adopted by the Central Committee corresponds to the conditions of the revolutionary upsurge in Germany. Undoubtedly, there exist a great number of hindrances and difficulties for the Party which will only be overcome in the general struggle of the Party using true Bolshevik self-criticism. This, however, only expresses the sharpening of the class situation which, along with the higher tasks of the revolutionary movement, at the same time brings an intensified drive against the latter in all spheres and on all fronts of the class struggle. In regard to the chief defects of Party work, of especial importance is, on the one hand, the *insufficient number and weak political life of the factory cells* and, on the other hand, the already-mentioned *fluctuation of the membership as well as, finally, the insufficient circulation figures of the Party press*

III.

An improvement of the political leadership of the Party and the revolutionary trade union opposition, and the creation of new cadres for the growing tasks of the revolutionary class struggle, also stand on the order of the day. Work among women and youth has improved, but stands in need of still greater improvement. Even more strongly is that true of our work in the countryside, where we must concern ourselves with a thoroughly specialised activity among the peasants and agricultural workers. In all these spheres the Central Committee session will be the starting point for a thorough overhauling of Party activities, and the removal of weaknesses.

Summing up, what has been said above on the most important features of the crucial decisions of the recent Plenary session of the German Central Committee, confirms what was said at the outset on the high political significance of this session to the German Party and to the German proletariat.

The Party, strengthened in forces, ripened in political and organisational experience, recognises

the seriousness of the situation and the *enormous significance of the struggles towards which the German proletariat is advancing*. It is conscious of the historic responsibility which rests upon it, and it is putting into force with cool determination the necessary measures to accelerate and deepen the revolutionary development in Germany and thereby to bring about the hour for the victory of the German proletarian revolution.

In the framework of the general political labours of the German Central Committee session, in regard to the analysis of the situation and perspectives of development, as well as in regard to the clear working out of the political line of the Party and the most important tasks, there were some especially crucial problems which must be more exhaustively discussed. The most important of these problems are summarily dealt with below.

The Central Committee dealt thoroughly with the *character of the present crisis*. In this connection it was important to expose once and for all the lying and baseless theories of the economic crisis which have been championed by Social Democracy and the bourgeoisie. The reformist "theoretician" Fritz Naphtali, a former bourgeois stock exchange editor, who now to an ever-increasing degree is replacing Hilferding as the "scientific" star of German Social Democracy, has written, for example, in a pamphlet entitled "Economic Crisis and Unemployment" literally as follows:—

"Neither a Young Plan crisis nor a rationalisation crisis, nor complete collapse of the capitalist system as the harbinger of the world revolution, but a *typical crisis of the capitalist system with historical peculiarities such as every crisis has to show.*"

Against this threadbare assertion, according to which it is a question in the present world economic crisis of a quite "normal" cyclical crisis of capitalism as in the pre-war period, we must put our Marxist investigation of the peculiarities of the present crisis. What are the chief phenomena of the special character of the crisis?

(1) The general world-embracing character of the crisis, which is a completely new fact. No part of the capitalist world has been spared by the crisis since even France, the Netherlands, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries have been drawn in.

(2) The situation of the Soviet Union and its Socialist advance. The fact that the proletarian dictatorship on the basis of its command of the chief positions is able to carry through the planned construction of Socialist economy independently of the capitalist world economic crisis.

(3) The close interweaving of the industrial crisis with the simultaneously deep and lasting

agrarian crisis, whereby both are mutually accentuated. Millions of small cultivators in the capitalist world are being ruined.

(4) The fact that under monopoly capitalism the crisis does not lead to a general fall in the prices of industrial products such as in the pre-war period always, as a regulating factor, brought about the transformation of the crisis into a depression. The present price fall on the world market, above all for commodities of mass consumption, is partially only fictitious since the imperialist tariff and trust policy with its monopoly prices as well as the taxation burdens, etc., in the markets of the separate countries, above all in Germany, make the effects of the fall in world market prices more or less illusory.

(5) Even in periods of highly favourable economic situation, productive capacity was not fully used and there existed permanent unemployment. The price of the commodity labour power was already forced down permanently below its value. Absolute impoverishment therefore extends beyond the unemployed and short time workers to those fully occupied.

(6) On the basis of the above-mentioned facts there arises a permanent depression of the consuming power of the masses and consequently a permanent contraction of markets. With the general impoverishment there disappears in the majority of cases also the savings which would otherwise have been consumed during the crisis.

(7) With the rapid technical development, the absorption of constant capital in production is accelerated and the period for renewal of constant capital shortened. Thereby the technical transformation under monopoly capitalism was in part converted into a lever which diminished the period of the industrial cycle and contracted the period of upward growth. In contrast to these diminished periods of favourable economic situations we have the lengthened duration of the crisis as well as the longer duration of the former periods of depression.

All these facts, which naturally do not represent an exhaustive exposition of the peculiarities of the present crisis, demonstrate unambiguously how ludicrous is the picture of the reformists according to which the present crisis is only a normal cyclical crisis.

Further, it is necessary to refute also the theory which has been sponsored by some Red Professors that we are faced to-day solely with the general structural crisis of the capitalist system in the post war period. It is incontestable that the crisis possesses a character in which the economic situation is immediately affected. This holds for America which, after a long period

of prosperity, at length in 1929-30 entered a general economic crisis and at the same time contributed in decisive fashion to the sharpening of the world economic crisis. It holds for France which until quite recently was on the upgrade and only now is passing from a favourable economic situation into crisis. It holds for Great Britain, where in the year 1929 there was a certain revival in the course of the general decline of British capitalism. It holds for Germany where short periods of revival and lasting periods of crisis have alternated throughout the post war years: after 1920 revival, then the inflation crisis of 1922-1923, again revival in 1924, then again the depression of 1925-26 followed by the quick revival of 1927-28, then in 1929 depression and crisis phenomena, and in 1930 the deepest and most serious crisis.

Thus, there are present definite cyclic phenomena. On the one hand we have a series of factors which differ in principle from the phenomena of the periodic pre-war crisis of capitalism. What follows from this?

The rôle of the present crisis is that of a *cyclic crisis in the framework of the general crisis of the capitalist system* during the epoch of monopoly capitalism. Here it is necessary to understand the dialectical mutual interaction between the general crisis and the periodic crisis. On the one hand the periodic crisis takes on new, much more powerful and hitherto unexperienced forms, just because it is dominated by the conditions of monopoly capitalism and takes place on the basis of the general crisis of capitalism. On the other hand, again, the cyclic crisis has an intensifying effect on the general crisis of capitalism and evokes phenomena which undoubtedly cannot be compensated for even by any sort of transformation into depression. From this it is clear that at the present time, even according to all the bourgeois affirmations, there is no indication present of such a transformation.

On the contrary, the special characteristics of the present crisis mentioned above already provide a perspective of development of such a kind as to indicate that the deepest point of the crisis has by no means yet been reached, but that *a further intensification must occur*. In Germany, for example, we have to take note of the phenomenon that, in spite of all restriction of production, the reserves in the warehouses are still increasing and therefore dismissals and short time will mount yet higher.

A further factor on the basis of which the perspective of still greater accentuation of the crisis, especially in Germany, can be expected to develop, is the export difficulties. Until now the

decline of German exports taken relative to other countries was smaller, because some facts existed making for a relatively more favourable position for Germany in the question of exports. These facts are now disappearing to an ever greater degree. In the first place, the German wage cutting offensive is giving the signal for an international offensive against wages so that in this way a definite advantage for the German bourgeoisie which still exists is disappearing.

In the second place, the German bourgeoisie up to now has had a certain start over most of the industrial countries in regard to technical rationalisation. This advantage, however, will in the future be eliminated by the industries of the capitalist competitors of Germany, and in this the last to rationalise has the advantage of being able to profit from the best experiences of the others.

In the third place, in the future there will be absent the fact that German exports, in so far as to a considerable measure they went to France, went to a land so far spared by the crisis, for the present entry of France into the crisis will naturally affect Germany and its exports to a special degree.

In the fourth place, the struggle of Germany for foreign markets will be hindered by the difficulties of capital export (on the basis of the diminution of accumulation owing to the effects of the reparation tribunal, etc., etc.). In regard to this, it is clear that capital exports are at the same time a motive force for export of commodities. In the fifth place, the German bourgeoisie, having lost the world war, do not possess such imperialist instruments of power as fleets, etc., which in capitalist economy represent a real economic factor in the struggle for foreign markets.

These increasing export difficulties bring with them a further sharpening of unemployment and at the same time also a worsening of the German trade balance which must inevitably lead to an intensified Young Plan crisis and credit crisis. The financial difficulties of the country nationally and locally will also thereby be increased anew.

Consequently, the prognosis which is indicated for the crisis in Germany and also in general for the development of the world economic crisis, must be as follows: the developments of the coming months will not alleviate the crisis, will not prepare the way for a rapid alteration, but, on the contrary, will bring about a *further deepening and intensification of all the crisis phenomena*. How far in Germany, where, as already stated, we can speak of tendencies towards a revolutionary crisis, this development can be pushed forward to a revolutionary situation, naturally de-

pends on the struggle of the working class, on the effects of the "subjective factor" of the revolutionary development, concerning the decisive rôle and significance of which certain propositions have already been advanced in the first part of this article.

IV.

A further main question with which the Plenary session occupied itself was the *problem of the Fascist development of Germany*. The Central Committee was able to link this up with those problems which had come up for treatment partly at the Plenary session of the Central Committee in March of last year and partly a few weeks later at the Political Bureau of the Central Committee. *The question of the kicks delivered by the bourgeoisie against Social Democracy*, when the former dismissed the coalition government of Herman Müller-Severing and inaugurated the Brüning era, had, as is well known, the effect of causing some vacillations on the part of a few comrades (Merker, etc.). To-day, no more doubt can exist that the Party correctly estimated the development at that time, that there was no question in the fall of the Herman Müller Government of a Social-Democratic manoeuvre but that it was actually a kick delivered by the bourgeoisie which put an end to the period of coalition policy on a national scale, and which had therefore to be regarded as a definite turning point in the Fascist development of Germany.

In the meantime, the growing crisis, the increasing revolutionary upsurge and the shattering of the political superstructure of class rule had made such progress that a *higher stage of development* was arrived at also in the dialectical antithesis of the revolutionary development, in the process of the fascisation of the bourgeois methods of rule. At the beginning of December of last year, there occurred in the political life of Germany a series of phenomena which faced the Party with the task of further developing its previous analysis of the situation. This period could once again be looked upon as a definite turning point in the political development. It is true that there was no change in the composition of the government as far as personnel is concerned; the old Brüning government remained at the helm but a *definite transformation* and extraordinary sharpening was introduced in its methods and forms of rule.

A series of facts bore witness to the increasing transition of the bourgeoisie to Fascist methods of rule. The *bankruptcy of Parliamentarism* was visibly evident. The bourgeoisie could only continue its rule by means of emergency decrees. The dictatorial measures based on the emergency paragraph 48 of the Constitution were no longer

an exception but the rule. The Reichstag was only allowed to assemble in order to sign its death warrant, in that it had to give its assent to the dictatorially decreed enactments after the event. The Reichs Council became, without even any formal change of the Constitution, in the practice of the bourgeoisie a first Chamber along the lines of the Fascist reconstruction of the State apparatus.

The plans of the German bourgeoisie lay along the same line in regard to the reform of the State as well as in regard to the development of the State Economic Council as a "Parliament of the Professions." "Municipal democracy" has been almost completely abolished. In almost all the important towns there are State Commissars appointed from above who proceed by dictatorial methods without regard to the Municipal majorities and their Parliamentary decisions. The systematic police terror against the revolutionary workers' movement has assumed unprecedented dimensions and makes its appearance in close association with the murder terror of the Fascist gangs. The dismissal of all Communist officials in insolent mockery of the so-called Weimar Constitution, and finally the industrial labour conscription, already partly introduced in practice and partly still being planned, completes the list of these facts of fascisation.

A special chapter in this connection is formed by the *imperial foreign policy of Germany*. The open announcement of the necessity of a revision of the Young Plan, the determined armament propaganda, the chauvinist campaign against Poland, Brüning's eastern tour, the formation of National Socialist black troops in Silesia and East Prussia,—all this bears witness to the warlike course of German foreign policy.

What is the direction which this development of the war policy of German imperialism is taking? The accentuation of German-Polish antagonism, and especially the campaign for "revenge" of the National Socialists and a large part of the whole bourgeois camp, demonstrates definitely the general imperialist war danger and further signifies not a weakening but rather an essential heightening of the danger of an imperialist war of intervention against the Soviet Union.

Some weeks back, General Ludendorff published a book entitled "World War is Threatening." This book contains, besides sheer crazy phantasies about freemasons, forces of Zion and suchlike "secret powers," also very serious military accounts in regard to the coming war. In these, it is shown that from the imperialist standpoint of Germany a war on the side of Italy against France and Poland is unthinkable. Be-

fore the arming of Germany even in the most modest degree could be carried out, the country would long before have been occupied. Ludendorff demonstrates this with detailed military-scientific arguments which are very enlightening. What, however, is the result of such a formulation of the question? Simply, the fact that every accentuation of the imperialist war atmosphere through conflicts of Germany with Poland or France must in the final analysis lead in the only direction of explosion in which there appears conceivable for capitalist Germany the slightest possibilities for development of its aggressive tendencies and endeavours at expansion, viz. : *against the Soviet Union*.

Precisely the sharpening of the antagonisms between the imperialist powers strengthens the danger of a war of intervention. Such imperialist conflicts can easily be transformed. "Unity" is found in a common robber expedition against the class enemy of all the imperialist powers, viz. : the Soviet State. In this sense, the Fascist development of Germany completes the ring of the imperialist intervention front against the Soviet Union.

The Central Committee of the German Communist Party, on the basis of the above sketched facts, dealt with the present position of the development of Fascism in Germany. In order to arrive at a correct policy for the Party, it was necessary to determine very precisely and concretely which stages in the Fascisation process in Germany have already been reached and what further tendencies now allow of analysis. The programme of the Communist International lays down as characteristic marks of Fascism that it is "a method of the immediate dictatorship of the bourgeoisie" which "is independent of relations and combinations between the Parties." *These are characteristic phenomena also for the present-day system of rule of the German bourgeoisie*. The difficulty for the German Party in the concrete analysis of the present position lay in certain *special* features of the Fascist development in Germany which distinguishes it in essential respects from the previous examples shown by history.

Above all, we have the problem of the relation between the Brüning Government, which proceeds ever more strongly with the application of Fascist methods of rule, and the Fascist mass Party of Germany, the National Socialists. The programme of the Communist International already characterised in very detailed fashion the rôle and significance of such a Fascist mass movement, and its description also holds good for the Hitler Party in Germany. A state of things,

however, in which the bourgeoisie already makes use of Fascist methods of rule, while the Fascist mass Party not only stands *outside the Government*, but at the moment remains directly in a certain *pseudo-opposition*, is entirely novel and corresponds to the totality of the specific conditions in which Fascism in Germany is coming forward.

In this respect, the rôle of Social Fascism, and especially also of the "Left" Social-Democrats, is above all an important factor from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie. If one remembers that, for example, in the two months from February 1st to March 31st alone, over 5,000,000 German workers on the basis of the ending of their wage agreements have been immediately thrown into a much sharpened situation of struggle in opposition to the employers and their wage offensive, then it is clear that the rôle of Social-Fascism with the help of its reformist trade unions as an extra-Parliamentary buttress for the Brüning dictatorship is a very decisive one in this sphere. On the other hand, the National Socialists represent the determining extra-Parliamentary mass force, both in the sphere of foreign policy as also as that of armed counter-revolution for the bourgeoisie, mass force which continually attempts to provoke the revolutionary class front and thereby to divert it from its most important class tasks.

Thus, there arises a state of affairs marked by a certain instability in regard to the drawing in of the National Socialists and Social Democracy into the service of the ruling bourgeoisie. Naturally, the tendencies are thereby strengthened which exist in increasingly large strata of finance capital to assume immediate influence over the National Socialist Party, as Hugenberg has done for the German National Party in regard to the National Socialists, in order to "canalise" this Fascist mass Party, that is to make it capable of "governing," in the sense meant by finance capital. This process does not by any means exclude that, for the moment, the leading strata of finance capital, represented above all by the Centre, which has replaced the Peoples' Party as the leading force of the bourgeoisie, rejects out of hand a Government pact with the National Socialists. In regard to this, naturally, questions of foreign policy also play a subordinate rôle.

Putting all these facts together, we get, as a result of the analysis of the present position, the conclusion that it is *necessary to speak of a maturing Fascist dictatorship* in Germany at the present time, *if not of one already matured. The Brüning Government has become a Government for carrying through the Fascist dictatorship.* It is clear that such a change of function does not represent a change in the class content of bour-

geois rule, for the class content of Fascist dictatorship is naturally as much a dictatorship of finance capital as is bourgeois democracy which itself is, of course, only a veil for the dictatorship of finance capital. The dictatorship of capital remains, for the *Fascist rule* signifies not an alteration of the class character but *only a change in the forms and methods of rule* on the basis of a special new stage in the inter-play of class forces.

It is of decisive significance that this Fascist development in Germany — in contrast to the Italian history—took place, not on the basis of a defeat of the proletariat, but solely out of the endeavour by the bourgeoisie arising from the crisis to oppose a last protective wall against the revolutionary upsurge. This determines the tasks for the Party. The revolutionary mass struggle in all spheres is the decisive factor on which depends how far the Fascist dictatorship in Germany will be able to develop and mature, and how far the bourgeoisie can go in defence of their class domination. The consciousness of this deciding rôle of our mass struggles in relation also to the development of Fascism in Germany represents one of the most important results of the session of the Central Committee.

V.

A third main question was the problem of the special conditions and methods under which the German Communist Party has at the present time to carry on its *struggle for the conquest of the majority of the working class*. As already emphasised in considering the total results of the session, the chief question here was that of the liquidation of the mass influence of the German Social Democratic Party. What are the specially favourable preconditions existing for such a bold task? Besides the general radicalisation of the Social Democratic workers within the framework of the whole revolutionary upsurge in Germany and the danger of the "Left" Social Democratic Party as a barrier against this revolutionisation, on which we need not dwell further, it is above all the complete bankruptcy of the reformist theories which provides the best conditions for the sharpening of the struggle of the German Communist Party against Social Fascism.

It is necessary to bear in mind the *new "theories"* which the Second International and above all, German Social Democracy have "discovered" in the course of the last few years and what the facts of the historical development of class relations have actually left of these theories.

At the Kiel Congress of the German Social Democratic Party, in May, 1927, Hilferding, as is well known, built up his theoretical edifice concerning the present "transformation period" in

which "organised Capitalism," i.e., monopoly capitalism, is gradually overcoming the anarchy of capitalism in free economy. The proof was supposed to be provided by the U.S.A. and its lasting prosperity. This transformation period was supposed to represent a time of "a peaceful growing over into Socialism."

This economic theory was accompanied by a corresponding social theory which equally represented a whole theoretical construction in the sharpest contradiction to Marxist teaching. The position of the working class in the transformation period was supposed to improve step by step with the concentration of capital and rationalisation. The "general law of capitalist accumulation," as put forward by Marx, according to which the accumulation of capital corresponds to the accumulation of misery was declared superseded by the Social Democratic theoreticians. Consequently, capitalist rationalisation was to be supported by the working class with all its force, in fact, this support was declared to be the central task of the trade unions since rationalisation would be of advantage to the workers. In place of the Marxist theory of wages, there appeared the so-called "Tarnov wage theory" of the alleged advantage of high wages for the capitalists. The crown of the edifice was formed by the famous "economic democracy" theory as the way to Socialism.

On the side of *political theory*, this theoretical system found its completion in the liquidation of the Marxist theory of the State. It was openly asserted that the formulation by Marx and Engels concerning the capitalist state apparatus as "the executive organ of the exploiting class for the suppression of the exploited" was to be rejected. As late as the Magdeburg Party Congress of the German Social Democratic Party in 1929, Hilferding demanded for the maintenance of Parliamentarism "sacrifices, however great they may be." For Parliamentarism was said to be "the only path to the realisation of Socialism." Coalition governments were therefore a necessary transition to Socialism and the policy of coalition in general was pronounced a holy Socialist principle.

If it is asked, what is now left of this whole theoretical structure of reformism, the answer can only be that it has been literally converted into a heap of ruins. "Organised capitalism," which was to do away with crises, has been put out of existence by the world economic crisis. The American "paradise" with its lasting prosperity no longer exists. The position of the working class has been enormously worsened as a result of rationalisation. The Tarnov wage theory and

economic democracy have been shattered to atoms under the brutal blows of the employers' offensive. The coalition Governments have proved to be pathmakers for Fascism.

In other words, the whole theoretical system of reformism is bankrupt to such an extent that the reformists themselves seek by complete silence to let the majority of their famous theories fall into oblivion. It is clear that the struggle in principle of the Communist Party can be pursued here more strongly and successfully than ever before. The more determinedly the Party unfolds the banner of Marxism, the more boldly it opposes to the bankruptcy of reformist theory the *triumph of Marxist-Leninist science and policy*, the easier will it conquer Social Fascism and thereby lay low the chief obstacle to the proletarian revolution in the camp of the working class and the easier will it win the Social Democratic workers to the banner of Marxism. In this sphere, the session of the Central Committee undoubtedly represented a first move which will be followed by a great heightening of the political activity and the living initiative of the Party.

VI.

In the above we have selected a few of the chief questions out of the various political problems with which the Central Committee of the German Communist Party had to occupy itself. It goes without saying that a very considerable space in the work of the Central Committee was taken up with the special lessons and experiences of the recent great strike struggles, above all the miners' strikes in the Ruhr and in Upper Silesia. In particular, it was from the Ruhr struggle that that offensive tactic could be demonstrated which must be employed by the Party in the period of struggle immediately facing us in order that the manner of handling should not be prescribed by our opponents but rather that we should be able to dictate decisions even to a certain extent to our opponents. In the revolutionary mass struggle in all spheres for the defence of the political, economic and cultural rights of the working class and toilers lies the key to the revolutionary situation. This thesis, which stood in the very centre of the political work of the Central Committee session, must and will dominate the whole practice of the revolutionary movement in Germany during the coming months.

The character of our Plenary session had its impress also in the active participation of neighbouring sections of the Communist International. In the name of the latter there spoke a comrade from the French Party. The international solidarity of our struggle and the determination in all

the class conflicts confronting us to bind still closer the ties of international solidarity thus found a demonstrative expression at this session.

Naturally, this spirit of proletarian internationalism was shown at its strongest in the relation of the German Party to the Soviet Union and its problems of Socialist advance, and in relation to the leading Party of the Communist International, the C.P.S.U. Here, it was not only a question of complete solidarity of the German Party with the decisions of the last session of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U., in all political questions and also in the inner-Party sphere of struggle against the chief danger of the Rights and against the treacherous bloc of Syrtsov-Lominadze, but above all it was a question a correct political estimation of the enormous world revolutionary struggle for emancipation of the proletarians in all capitalist countries. The counter-revolutionary attacks of such as Trotsky in the general line of the C.P.S.U. are to-day so thoroughly exposed and beaten by events themselves that they hardly require further mention. On the other hand, the enormous successes of the Socialist advance have also thrown a sufficiently strong light on Bukharin's "arguments," who wanted to allow the kulaks "to grow into Socialism."

The building stones of Socialism in the Soviet Union are at the same time dynamite against the rotting structure of world capitalism. Every hammer blow of the Socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. is at the same time a mighty attack against capitalist class rule in all other countries. The sacrifices and heroism manifested by the proletariat of the Soviet Union in its struggle for Socialist construction is at the same time a demonstration of the best proletarian solidarity for the workers of Germany and all capitalist countries.

The German proletariat and its revolutionary Party is well aware of what great historical duties fall to its lot at the present time. Our victory, the achievement of a Soviet Germany, will not only liberate the toiling population of Germany from the yoke of the capitalist profit-making system and the robbery of the Young Plan, but will at the same time assure peace for the Soviet Union and its Socialist construction. The consciousness of this relationship dominated the Plenary session of the Central Committee and provides a powerful stimulus to the German Party to exert all its forces to convert into reality the revolutionary decisions of the Central Committee session and thereby to create the decisive prerequisites for the victory of the German working class.

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PROSPECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE U.S.A.

By NOSONOV

IS THE "OPTIMISM" OF THE BOURGEOISIE
JUSTIFIED?

AT the present time it is quite impossible to find in the bourgeois and so-called Labour press of the U.S.A. correct information on the dimensions of the crisis, the extent of unemployment and the losses sustained by the working class as a result of unemployment. The prospects of the crisis and of unemployment are deliberately distorted. If one takes up any newspapers or statements of responsible political, financial and industrial leaders of the capitalist U.S.A., one can readily see how these declarations breathe a spirit of "optimism." On the eve of the crisis, the bourgeoisie consciously concealed the approach of the crisis, although a number of economists and such organisations as, for example, the Taylor Society, predicted the crisis. For the benefit of the masses, in millions of copies, the idea of "perpetual prosperity" continued to be propagated.

The crisis set in with the enormous growth of unemployment. Already more than a year has passed since then, but the American bourgeoisie and Social Fascists are, as before, pervaded by "healthy optimism." Mr. Wood, the Chairman of the special Presidential Commission for Aid of the Unemployed, does nothing but issue declarations about the favourable position and the good prospects ahead and, in general, he regards his task as struggle against pessimism and the propaganda of "optimism." Only ten days of the New Year, 1931, had passed and a financial reviewer in the "New York Times" writes:—

"WIDESPREAD GAINS APPEAR IN BUSINESS."

"The first ten days of the new year have brought a widespread quickening of business activity. How far this improvement represents the normal stepping up that invariably follows the extreme dullness of the year-end and to what extent it means the beginning of a prolonged recovery are as yet uncertain. In the view of competent observers, expressed in the last few days, a fairly consistent but not spectacular rise in business is to be expected." (*New York Times*, January 11, 1931.)

What kind of improvement has occurred in the U.S.A. which could give rise to such "optimism"? The Ford Automobile Works have extended their production in connection with preparations for the seasonal spring revival and the steel factories have received a small order for rails, and these facts are immediately used as a sign of the turning point. W. Green, President of the American Federation of Labour, declared:

"The fall in prices has already gone so far that it denotes that the bottom of the crisis has been reached. The general conviction prevails that the spring will see a change which will bring with it a revival."

Mr. Green arrives at this favourable conclusion on the basis of his own data; local information on unemployment among trade union members shows that the increase in unemployment during December was much less than in November, and even less than the normal growth of seasonal unemployment during the month. How far it is possible to judge the situation on the basis of the experience of normal times and normal seasons, is evident now when almost a half of all trade union members are unemployed. Nevertheless, Mr. Green finds sufficient basis for his propaganda of "optimism."

The "New York Times," the most influential newspaper of the American financial world, writes eloquently as follows:—

"When the whole nation begins to feel that the worst is already behind it, and that the revival—perhaps slow, but certain—is not far off, such a mood in society in which new hopes have appeared demonstrates that an improvement in commerce and industry is not a long way on the horizon. This is one of those 'proofs of the heart' which cannot be evidenced by cold statistics or logical arguments but which represents a reality in the present situation and cannot be ignored by thoughtful persons . . . Hence it is entirely legitimate to agree in principle with President Hoover that there is no basis for exaggerated fears, that intelligent persons will know and recognise the path towards improvement, and that, while the clouds that have so much frightened the American people are thickening on the horizon, prosperity will soon arrive."

Thus, the "New York Times" does not desire to know even official American statistics or even the official logic of Washington. The most intelligent American newspaper does not attempt now to seek for conclusions even in the forged figures for the propaganda of "optimism." The basis of the "optimism" of the "New York Times" is to be found in the "optimism" of a score of other bourgeois newspapers.

The desperate petty-bourgeoisie also wishes to maintain some kind of faith in a bright future.

The American bourgeoisie, in conducting an attack on the workers and toilers and lowering their standards of life, is well aware that the working class will resist a solution of the crisis at their expense. "The working class will look for a way out of the crisis through revolution," thus comrade Stalin summed up the matter.

The propaganda of "optimism" is a constituent part of the struggle against the working class, being one means towards disarming it. It is for this reason that the bourgeoisie conceals the truth about the crisis and the way out from it. Consequently, the Communists have to assert this truth.

WHAT HAS THE WORKING CLASS OF THE U.S.A.
ALREADY LOST?

Already at the present time in the U.S.A., the number of unemployed reaches nine to ten million persons. In addition to these there can be estimated approximately an equal number of partially unemployed who are occupied only a few days every week. Among these must be included five to six million agricultural workers, the position of whom is terrible in the extreme, since their wages in the summer of the past year were extremely low and in the winter the seasonal agricultural workers can hardly find work with the exception of some of the timber regions. According to official statistics, only 60 per cent. of the wages of agricultural workers are normally paid in money, the remainder being paid in kind. Thus, the agricultural workers now find themselves at the mercy of rich farmers. Moreover, the agricultural workers do not possess such savings as some other categories of American workers.

The working class during the last year lost at least \$15,000,000,000 as a result of unemployment and decreased wages. Even the bourgeois professors recognise that the workers as a result of the crisis have lost more than \$10,000,000,000. Thus, for example, Dr. William Lazerson of the Antioch College asserts: —

"At the present time it can be confidently stated that the general sum of wages paid to persons for hire of their labour was less in 1930 in comparison with 1929 by over \$10,000,000,000."

The share of the working class in the national income has fallen to a colossal degree. Yet there are to be found in the U.S.A. such experts as, for example, Senator Kutzen, who say that unemployment and the crisis has for the first time created a distribution of the national income favourable to the workers and that the additional expenses in connection with the crisis have fallen chiefly on the capitalists. It is seriously maintained that the production expenses of the capitalists have now been increased since, it is said, the output of production has contracted by a large percentage and trade turnover has decreased. But nothing is said about the fact that the total amount of wages, even according to the evidence of the bourgeois expert Lazerson, had decreased by more than \$10,000,000,000. In addition to

this, the growth of unemployment has led to an attack on the living standards of the workers occupied in industry.

At the present time there is taking place in the U.S.A. a wave of wage reductions to an extent of from ten per cent. up to even thirty and forty per cent. It is true, that for the moment there is no universal lowering of wages in a direct form but, practically, in a concealed form, such a lowering is taking place to an ever-increasing degree. In many enterprises, dismissals of workers are taking place, amounting in fact to lock-outs, in order afterwards that the locked-out workers can be taken on again under considerably worsened conditions. The lowering of wages is also growing in a concealed form by the intensification of labour. The bourgeoisie is afraid, or more correctly, has been afraid to carry through an open lowering of wages in order not to facilitate thereby the creation of a united front of employed and unemployed workers. For the time being, the chief methods of lowering wages are by intensification of labour, the extension of the bonus system and the cutting of peace rates.

The capitalists are attempting to decrease wages but *they are doing this, according to them, only temporarily and with the object of helping the unemployed.* We refer to the so-called "stagger system" and to the shortening of working time. The American Federation of Labour is becoming more and more inclined to the introduction of the six hour working day. Four Railway Unions and, in fact, the Machinists' Union also, have expressed themselves in favour of the six hour working day. What, however, is the meaning of the shortening of the working day to six hours? It means a decrease of wages because in all these industries and trades, payment by the hour or piece work is the prevailing system. Hence a reduction of working time denotes a reduction of wages; only this is carried out under the pretext of aid for the unemployed. Even the Trade Union bureaucrats have to recognise that the living standards of the workers have been considerably decreased. Green himself, for example, calculates that about fifty per cent. of the members of Trade Unions have had to lower their living standards owing to decreased income, and the income of the workers, according to Green, has been decreased by \$6,000,000,000. The lowering of the standards of life of the workers decreases the consuming power of the wide masses and further contracts the internal market for American capitalism and thereby makes the crisis still more intense and prolonged. However, in spite of the decrease in wages, the workers all the same are compelled to consume.

Their consumption is lowering but all the same it still exists. The working class eats up its savings and the wage of the employed workers. *The horrors of unemployment are in this way distributed over the whole of the American proletariat.* Thereby are created the prerequisites and conditions for the united front of the employed and unemployed workers. From the experience of the American workers it can be said that the contraction of working time according to the method of the A.F. of L. represents assistance, not to the unemployed but to the American capitalists, since it leads to a reduction of wages. The workers are becoming convinced of the necessity of struggle for organised assistance to the unemployed, for State Unemployment Insurance.

PROSPECTS FOR THE UNEMPLOYED.

The prospects for the unemployed are closely bound up with the prospects of the American crisis.

We shall not attempt to estimate the period required for outliving this crisis. It is important at this time to note the methods by which the American bourgeoisie is preparing to live through the crisis period.

Previously it was usual for capitalism to seek a way out from crisis by further renewal of the means of production, by further technical progress and by the introduction of ever more perfected methods of production. To this end, the capitalists had to guarantee the possessors of capital and to develop new productive forces of labour at the expense of the existing productive forces. Practically this signified the reconstruction of the factories and enterprises on a new technical basis, at the same time guaranteeing the old factories and enterprises. Thus, capitalism was wont to create the conditions for a new spiral of extended reproduction. Thus, capitalism lowered the costs of production and market prices.

At the present moment, the American bourgeoisie attempts to find a way out of the crisis by solving the problem of prices, though by other methods.

On January 11th, 1931, Mr. Wiggen, Chairman of the Chase Bank, the biggest bank in the world, addressed himself to public opinion in America with his own recipe for the solution of the American crisis.

Mr. Wiggen is reduced to exasperation by the present policy of United States capitalism, which is represented to be a policy of high wages. According to him, *at the present time also it is essential to decrease wages.* He considers it necessary to declare openly :—

"It is not true that high wages make prosperity. Instead, prosperity makes high wages. When wages are kept higher than the market situation justifies, employment and the buying power of labour fall off. American business has proved its goodwill in dealing with labour on this point in the last year, and in many industries may reasonably ask labour to accept a moderate reduction of wages designed to reduce costs and to increase both employment and the buying power of labour. Our restricted immigration, coupled with our relative abundance of capital and natural resources, is sufficient safeguard for American wages."

This financial magnate indicates his way out of the crisis and solves the problem of prices by lowering wages. Wiggen arrived at this conclusion after a discussion of the policy of the bourgeoisie in the present crisis. The following is the account that Wiggen gives of the policy of the bourgeoisie during the recent period.

"We attempted, as a matter of collective policy, to hold the lines firm following the crash of 1929. Wages were not to be reduced, buying by railroad and construction by public utilities were to be increased, prices were to be maintained and cheap money was to be the foundation. The policy has had a thirteen-month test. It has failed. Each industry and each enterprise must study its own problems and adjust itself to the markets.

"It is bad policy for a Government, or for an industry by concerted action, to try to keep prices permanently above the level which the supply and demand situation justifies. We have recently seen this in copper, wheat, coffee and other commodities. We must keep the markets open and prices free."

Prices must fall, *but at the cost of a contraction in wages*,—this is the slogan of the new bourgeois prophet. This is the only interpretation that can be put on Wiggen's declaration; through his mouth is uttered the capitalist "truth" on the way out of the crisis.

Comrade Stalin, in opposition to the chatter of the Right wing and Kautskian economists, gave at the sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. a correct characterisation of the peculiarities of the present crisis :—

"Present-day capitalism, in distinction to older capitalism, is *monopoly* capitalism, and this dictates the inevitability of the struggle of capitalist combines for the preservation of high monopoly prices for goods, in spite of over-production. It is understandable that this circumstance, which makes the crisis especially torturing and ruinous for the mass of the people, who are the chief consumers of goods, cannot but lead to the protraction of the crisis, cannot but hinder the overcoming of it."

These words of Stalin find confirmation in the tactics of monopoly capitalism during the crisis.

In spite of the sharp fall of certain wholesale prices, monopoly capitalism for more than a year has maintained retail prices at the previous level.

In any case, all the products of wide mass consumption are being sold at the same prices as a year ago.

Now, the most responsible leader of American capitalism is speaking of the necessity of lowering prices, but this does not mean abandoning monopoly prices, it means only lowering prices at the cost of the still greater lowering of wages.

American capitalism is entering a phase of such difficulties that they promise not the liquidation of unemployment but its preservation as a chronic phenomenon.

In the future, for a long way ahead there is the prospect of an army of unemployed of many millions. The cause of this chronic permanent unemployment lies in capitalism itself. This assertion is confirmed by the bourgeois economists themselves on those occasions when they are compelled to speak the truth.

The well-known professor, Paul Douglas, well known precisely for his investigations into the position of the working class in the U.S.A., was compelled to declare at a Conference of the Governors of seven industrial States (convened by the Governor of New York at the end of January, 1931, for questions connected with unemployment), that:—

“he was convinced that unemployment would continue to exist throughout the succeeding decade. The industrial cycles and seasonal variations would produce enormous unemployment and long periods of depression would give way to a short period of prosperity.” (Quoted from the *New York Times*.)

The standards of the agricultural workers, who are handed over to the mercy of the rich farmers in capitalist enterprises, will be reduced to the level of the London paupers. United States capitalism will reduce costs of production also at the expense of lowered prices for agricultural raw materials. This will signify the lowering of the standards of the agricultural workers and toiling farmers in the interests of agrarian-banking capital both within the U.S.A. and in the Colonies.

Such is the path indicated by Wiggen for the solution of the contradictions, a path which will inevitably be adopted by American capitalism.

It is indubitable that such a path for the solution of the crisis will assist further revolutionisation creating innumerable revolutionary difficulties for United States capitalism.

In these circumstances, an enormous rôle will be played by the army of millions of starving unemployed who suffer most of all from the crisis and who are most of all open to revolutionary agitation and propaganda.

For the United States capitalists, therefore, the problem of unemployment has not only an economic but also a profound political significance. In

this light it is necessary to approach the unemployed movement in the U.S.A.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND THE SLOGANS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY.

American capitalism conducts a furious fight around unemployment, attempting to keep the unemployed away from revolutionary demonstrations and actions. Besides the ideological campaign, the preaching of “optimism” and promises of an immediate solution of the crisis, the U.S.A. bourgeoisie conducts also practical activity among the unemployed.

We must not underestimate the ideological campaign of the American bourgeoisie. If a year ago the American unemployed workers had been told that during this year unemployment would increase, and if they had not been fed with daily promises of the finding of work and a way out from the crisis, then the unemployed movement in the U.S.A. would have taken on a somewhat different character. Accordingly, our Party, besides daily work among the unemployed, must tell the unemployed the truth about the crisis and the method for its solution adopted by the American bourgeoisie. We must say to tens of millions of people, as both the unemployed and employed workers in general expect us to do, what are the actual prospects based on facts, including the responsible declarations of the American bourgeoisie.

United States capitalism at the present time has in its armoury two weapons for decreasing unemployment:—(I) Public Works; (II) Reduction of the working time of the employed workers, the introduction of the “stagger system.” Let us examine these two methods.

PUBLIC WORKS.

The bourgeoisie has already expended hundreds of millions on public works, but practically the advantage from these public works accrues only to the capitalists and not to the workers. Incidentally, it may be remarked that enormous sums have been allocated for the construction of prisons as well as for the strengthening of the police. Thus, the unemployed under the pretext of receiving assistance against unemployment are being forced to create the means for their own enslavement. It is now easily possible to convince oneself, not only on the basis of the theoretical propositions of Marx, but also practically, that public works do not represent a means for escaping from the crisis or for its solution.

Millions of persons have been convinced that all these public works represent only a method for enriching the capitalists, for transferring public money into the pockets of bankers and industrial

magnates. It is necessary to demand the transference of all sums allocated for public works to the immediate and direct aid of the unemployed and the distribution of these sums through the unemployed committees.

THE "STAGGER SYSTEM" AND THE CONTRACTION OF WORKING TIME.

It has previously been pointed out that the so-called "stagger system" represents a capitalist plan for shortening working time. We have shown that this leads not to assistance to the unemployed but to the lowering of the level of existence of the workers. American capitalism here, under the guise of assistance to the unemployed and speculating on the sentiment of proletarian solidarity, demands from the workers that they decrease the number of hours worked, on the plea that it gives the possibility of refraining from dismissing employed workers or even the taking on of additional workers from the ranks of the unemployed. It is necessary to expose this lie and to reveal the real character of all such arguments, fighting instead *for the seven hour day and for full payment of wages for the shortened working day*. The employed workers must know that the shortening of the working day as put into application by the capitalists, does not represent assistance to the unemployed but is an immediate help for their enemies, the American capitalists. It is true, also, that even now in those enterprises where there is work, American capitalism has no hesitation in introducing a ten-hour day or even longer.

The slogan of the Communist Party is for the actual introduction of the seven hour working day by legislative enactment, in connection with the struggle for the preservation of wages at their full level under the shortened day. The American Communist Party issues a call "Organise and Strike against Reductions of Wages!" The American workers in struggling for the seven hour day and against wage reductions are at the same time undertaking a struggle in aid of the unemployed. The Communist Party is bound to expose the demagoguery of the American Federation of Labour, of the Musty group and the Socialist Party. *The key at this moment lies in the organisation for mass struggle of the employed workers*. The basic task is the creation of the united front of employed and unemployed workers. This united front is created not by promises but in the process of struggle.

THE STRUGGLE FOR UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

A whole number of American political leaders have now expressed themselves in favour of insurance against unemployment. In the Ameri-

can senate there was introduced the so-called Wagner bill, envisaging the creation of a special fund for assistance to the unemployed. There is no special need to dilate on the fact that this fund is intended to be created at the cost of the workers. According to the opinion of Mr. Wagner, the American worker will not permit "from a feeling of modesty" that this fund should be established at the cost of the capitalists. In essence, preparations are at this moment being conducted for the introduction of some kind of insurance from unemployment at the cost of the workers themselves. It is a great mistake to suppose that insurance against unemployment or social insurance in general is only to be realised in the United States as a result of the proletarian revolution. That is nonsense. Naturally, complete, real social insurance in the form in which it exists only in the Soviet Union, cannot be achieved without revolution, but partial social insurance can be realised even within the limits of capitalism.

If at the present time insurance against unemployment has not already been introduced in the U.S.A., this is due to a variety of causes. In the first place, any insurance, even of a bastard variety, will only be introduced as a result of a struggle of the American workers themselves. This struggle will decide also at whose cost the insurance is to be established. In the second place, the American bourgeoisie opposes the introduction of unemployment insurance because it is endeavouring above everything to secure the lowering of the wages of the workers. *The strategic plan of the American bourgeoisie consists first of all in lowering wages*. The introduction of unemployment insurance, even of a bastard character, represents a measure which strengthens the power of the working class and makes more difficult the open reduction of wages. Accordingly, United States capitalism will first reduce wages and only afterwards may give concessions on the question of unemployment insurance.

Such are some of the factors which are antagonistic to the introduction of unemployment insurance.

The Communist Party must untiringly continue its struggle under the slogan of the demands for unemployment insurance at the expense of the capitalists. The employed workers are immediately interested in the introduction of unemployment insurance at the present time, for it will increase their capacity to struggle against reductions in wages. The employed workers must keep in mind the plan of the American capitalists; to decrease wages and only after that to throw a

few crumbs in the form of aid to the unemployed at the cost of the workers.

THE UNITY OF THE WORKERS.

The American bourgeoisie is now applying all measures in order to introduce differences in the ranks of the American workers. The theory is being propagated that all work carried out by negroes ought to be handed over to white unemployed workers. The negroes are being incited against Spanish and other foreign-born immigrant workers. Against this policy of incitement, the Communist Party must conduct a struggle for the unity of all workers, exposing "hundred per cent. Americanism" and all forms of both American and white chauvinism, remembering that the first and most fundamental principle in the proletarian movement is the unity of the class organisations of the proletariat for the workers of all nationalities, races and creeds. The American capitalists are trying to set up one section in a single factory against another section in the same factory. The American capitalists are trying to set the unemployed against the employed workers and vice versa. Now more than at any previous time the *slogan of the united proletarian front* plays a fighting organising rôle.

IMMEDIATE ASSISTANCE FOR THE UNEMPLOYED.

Extremely dangerous is any separation between the struggle for the introduction of unemployment insurance and for immediate assistance for the unemployed. There are still to be found even in the ranks of the Communist Party agitators who consider that radical assistance to the unemployed can only come after the proletarian revolution. This separation is an explanation for the inadequate organised influence of the American Communist Party among the unemployed. Some agitators in exposing the true meaning of philanthropic assistance have called for a struggle against philanthropy and in general for its rejection. The American Communist Party has already corrected and is correcting all mistakes in this direction. The American Communist Party has worked out a programme of demands for immediate assistance for the unemployed, and a number of unemployed committees have already begun to struggle practically for the organisation of all forms of assistance through the committees of the unemployed. *The slogan of the Communist Party is the demand for the handing over of the distribution of all assistance to the unemployed into the hands of the unemployed themselves and for the organisation of immediate assistance to the unemployed at the present time.* It is necessary to mention the special importance of the organisation of immediate assistance for

agricultural workers, to whom the Communist Party up to now has devoted little attention.

FORMS OF STRUGGLE.

The unemployed and employed workers must have a clear conception, not only of the tasks and slogans of struggle but also of the forms of this struggle. It is necessary to state that in connection with this question a number of disputable proposals have been put forward which find their reflection in practical activity. *The basic form of struggle, uniting the employed and unemployed workers, must be the creation of unemployed committees, strikes and demonstrations of unemployed and employed workers.* The Communist Party has already applied and is applying these forms. The basic task consists in extending these forms and drawing under them hundreds of thousands and even millions of workers. It is necessary to fight both Parliamentary tendencies which seek to limit the struggle to petitions, and the tendency to put the question immediately of seizing food stores, etc. Recently, in some States, the unemployed have attacked warehouses and even railway trains. Not for nothing did one of the Government bosses in the State of Arkansas declare to traders:—

"If you wish to trade, then it is necessary to place machine guns around your shops, otherwise send out the goods from this region and stop carrying on trade."

Such activities on the part of the unemployed testify to the depth and sharpness of unemployment and starvation. In so far as such activities take place, the Party is bound to defend them and to show their justification, but the Party must also explain our basic forms and methods of struggle for immediate assistance, fighting against anarchist tendencies. Only by uniting the struggle of the employed and unemployed workers, raising this struggle to a higher plane, will the Party be able to draw into the organised stream of the movement all those dissatisfied under the capitalist structure.

UNEMPLOYED COMMITTEES AND REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNIONS.

The unemployed committees must become fighting organisations not only of the unemployed but also of the employed workers. The unemployed committees must be actually elected by masses of unemployed and employed workers. The basic cause of the collapse of a number of unemployed committees in the summer consisted in the fact that the committees did not constitute organising centres for the struggle of the unemployed for immediate assistance. The Red Trade Unions must adopt measures for the sett-

ing up of unemployed committees, for, at the present time, the development of the Trade Union movement in America is impossible without connection with the unemployed. Round the questions connected with unemployment and the reduction of wages, active forces of thousands of workers are arising, new cadres are coming forward, new leaders for the working class. These cadres will be the actual leaders of the American workers. To discover the path to these strata means the creation of a mass Communist Party in the U.S.A., means the creation of a mass Red Trade Union movement. The fundamental organ-

isational task of the Communist Party in the U.S.A. consists in finding a path to these growing new strata of active workers, to consolidate them into the ranks of the proletarian organisations and together with them to carry on a struggle for widespread assistance to the unemployed, for the organisation of the whole American proletariat. February 25th must be a day of the mobilisation of all American proletarians in the struggle for aid for the unemployed. The American workers during this year also will provide an example of solidarity in action together with the whole world proletariat.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE BOLSHEVISATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

By V. KUCHYMOV

"Our European Philistines do not dream that the future revolutions in the incomparably denser populated countries of the East, with their incomparably greater variety of social conditions will undoubtedly present them with more peculiarities than the Russian Revolution. There is no disputing that the school book written after Kautsky was a very useful article at its time. But it is now time to give up the idea that this school book foresaw all the forms of further development of world history. It is high time to simply declare as fools all who think so." (Lenin "On Our Revolution," *Collected Works*," Vol. XXVII.)

I.

CHARACTER OF THE BOURGEOIS DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IN CHINA.

THE Chinese Revolution has many individual features which distinguish it not only from Western European Revolutions but from the Russian Revolution. In the 1905 epoch, the Russian proletariat was struggling under the conditions of a bourgeois democratic revolution, getting itself the task of bringing about the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.

This democratic dictatorship was established in 1917, after the February Revolution but, owing to a number of circumstances, the chief of which was the attitude of classes and of the Party to the imperialist war, it was established only for a short time, and in a particular limited and "opportunist" form, viz.: the form of double government, in the form of collaboration of the Soviets of Workers' and Peasants' Deputies (who voluntarily surrendered power to the bourgeoisie) with the bourgeois Provisional Government.

The tasks of the bourgeois democratic revolution were finally carried out by the Russian pro-

letariat, as it were in passing, in the course of a Socialist revolution.

The revolution in China at the present time is taking a different course.

The democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in the form of Soviets *exists*, grows and develops, gathering millions of workers under its banner and striking mortal terror into the hearts of the bloody dictatorship of the landlords and bourgeoisie which still exists in fairly great strength in non-Soviet China, chiefly owing to the energetic support of imperialism.

The *decisive* problem for this developing dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry is the *correct solution of the agrarian question*, which requires first of all that the *proletariat should seize the leadership* of the peasant movement.

The Communist Party of China headed the peasant movement for the confiscation of landed estates and for the equal division of all land. If it can extend the struggle, raise not millions but tens and hundreds of millions of Chinese peasants, and not only raise but organise them in the struggle for land, against the Kuomintang, against the imperialists, the bourgeoisie and the landowners, — then the success, the tremendous success, of the Chinese revolution will be finally secured.

However, although the proper decision of the land question and the proletarian leadership of the peasant war is the key to everything in this relatively *prolonged* stage of the Chinese Revolution (its bourgeois democratic stage), nevertheless, the *current moment of the Chinese Revolution and the difficulties* under which the new revolutionary tide is taking place confront the

Chinese Communist Party and the proletariat with *organisational and political tasks of tremendous importance*, which make concrete at the present moment the central problem of the leadership of the anti-imperialist agrarian revolution.

The new revolutionary upsurge headed by the Communist Party of China has already obtained considerable successes:—Soviet districts with a population of 40,000,000, a Red Army a hundred thousand strong and the most numerous strike movement in the world. These successes of the mass movement, these successes of the Communist Party can be neglected only by enemies or absolutely incurable opportunists.

However, the Soviet Government does not yet exist as a mighty force victoriously leading on an all-China scale in the armed struggle against the Kuomintang and the imperialists, and at the same time putting into life revolutionary measures on the territory where it rules. Moreover the Red Army, while growing and gathering strength, still bears a deep impression of its origin from peasant guerilla detachments and the hired armies of the militarists. It cannot yet enter a *decisive* struggle against the Kuomintang, still less against the imperialists.

Besides this, the revolutionary tide is growing unevenly. Although the Southern provinces are seething with peasant wars, nevertheless the peasants of the North have not risen. And what is still more important, the workers' movement in the industrial centres is greatly lagging behind the sweep attained by the peasant movement. The special features of the present moment are that only in some districts has the mass movement reached the point of an insurrection, but that in these districts, under the correct leadership of the Communist Party, it has conquered and commenced to form a revolutionary army and Government, without being in a condition, however, to inflict a decisive defeat on the Kuomintang and the imperialists, as a result of which we are now in a more or less lengthy interval "*between big battles in the Civil War*" (Lenin).

The words of Lenin, foreshadowing the possibility of the development of the 1905 revolution, are applicable to a great extent to the situation which has arisen at the present time in China.

"It is natural and inevitable that the uprising takes on the *higher and more complex form of a long drawn out civil war embracing the whole country, i.e., of an armed struggle between two parts of the nation.*

"Such a war cannot be conceived otherwise than a series of big battles occurring at comparatively lengthy intervals and a mass of small skirmishes during these intervals. If this is so—and there can

be no doubt of it—the social democracy" (the article was written in 1906—V.K.) "*must unquestionably set itself the task of forming such organisations as will best be adapted to lead the masses in these big battles, and as far as possible, in these small skirmishes.*" (Lenin, "Guerilla War." *Collected Works*, Vol. X. p. 87.)

The answer to the question as to what are these organisations which can best lead the masses both in big battles and in small skirmishes was given earlier by Lenin, when the Russian Revolution of 1905 first reached the "last stage of development of the peoples' uprising" — *the formation of detachments of the Revolutionary army.*

"The duty of these detachments (*i.e., the revolutionary army*) is to proclaim the uprising to give to the masses the *military leadership* which is necessary in civil war, as in every other war, to form points of support for the open struggle of the people, to extend the uprising to neighbouring districts, to secure complete political freedom, *if only on a small territory of the country at first*, to commence the revolutionary reorganisation of the rotten autocratic system, to develop to the full the revolutionary creative powers of the rank and file masses who take little part in this creative work in peace times. It is only after having become conscious of these new tasks, only after having faced them boldly and extensively, that the detachments of the revolutionary army, can be completely victorious and serve as the support of the *revolutionary Government.*

"*But a revolutionary Government is just as urgently necessary at this stage of the national revolt as a revolutionary army.*" Lenin, "The Revolutionary Army and the Revolutionary Government." *Collected Works*, Vol. VII., p. 383.)

In the 1905 revolution, *this perspective* (the formation of a revolutionary army and a revolutionary government "even on a small part of the territory of the country") was not actually realised.

In modern China, Communists, when deciding on current tasks, must proceed from the fact of the *presence of a revolutionary army and Soviet centres* which are in the process of birth and growth.

The peculiar features of China, such as the separation of China into spheres of influence by the imperialists, its feudal disintegration, the absence of a united central Government of the Chinese counter-revolution, the uneven character of the maturing of the revolutionary situation in various parts of the country, the very great size of the territory on which the movement is developing and the enormous population, all these determine the particular special ways of the development of the revolution, the forms and methods of the revolutionary struggle, which differ, for instance, from Western European ways and methods.

In accordance with the peculiarities of the Chinese Revolution, the difficulties which lie before it and the successes which have already been achieved in the mass movement, the Chinese Communist Party set itself at the current stage of the revolution the following fundamental tasks:

(1) The formation of a regular disciplined *Red Army*, composed of workers and peasants and led by Communists, and having a *firm base in revolutionary Soviet territory*.

(2) *The formation of an authoritative Soviet Government*, which continuously carries into effect in the region of its domination the basic slogans of the anti-imperialist and agrarian revolution, uniting and mobilising the working masses of China by its activity for the struggle with the Kuomintang and the imperialists.

(3) *The further unleashing of partial economic struggles of the proletariat in all the big industrial centres, their further revolutionising*, linking up these proletarian struggles with the struggle for the defence of the Soviet districts and for the victory of the Soviet Government as the form of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry.

The realisation of this *triple task* will assure such a progressive development of the Chinese Revolution and such a gigantic sweep of the mass movement, reinforced by the *hegemony of the proletariat assuming shape as a Government* (the Red Army, the Soviet Government—the leadership of which is in the hands of the Communist Party) as will assure in advance the victory of the workers and peasants in the great battles of the civil war against the forces of the bourgeois-landowning Kuomintang and international imperialism.

II.

THE TROTSKYISM OF CHEN-DU-SIU.

Both the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists and the Chen-du-siuists expelled from the Communist Party attack in a united front the general line of the latter, sometimes hiding behind hypocritical “left” phrases, sometimes rejecting them as unnecessary and unsuitable, according to the tastes and the moods of each of the participants of these attempts to defeat the developing attack of the Chinese workers and toiling mass of the peasants.

The false and hypocritical “socialist” phrase of the “permanent revolution” merely conceals the *single* counter-revolutionary slogan of the Trotskyists and the right liquidators—the slogan of the convocation of a general Chinese Constituent Assembly, a “full powered national assembly” (Trotsky). This slogan was already put forward by the reactionaries (the Kuomintang at its last

Plenum) as the alternative to the *only revolutionary slogan* under the present conditions — a revolutionary workers’ and peasants’ Red Army and a Soviet Government.

It is clear to every revolutionary proletarian that, if anyone at the present time of fierce civil war, when Chang Kai Shek is attacking the Red Army and the Soviet Districts, brings forward a platform which tries to turn the revolutionary masses away from the task of defending *their own government and their own army* into the channels of “peaceful” and “legal” struggle within the framework of the yet non-existent but already highly counter-revolutionary, militarist, murderous and half-breed “parliament,” he is an open enemy, an irreconcilable enemy of the workers and peasants.

The advanced Chinese workers and peasants, who are carrying on a revolutionary war against the Kuomintang government and Chang Kai Shek’s armies will describe not otherwise than as counter-revolutionary and specially intended to *deceive* the people the following ideas of Trotsky:

“The slogan of Soviets, as a practical slogan, is at present nothing but adventurism and empty talk. The struggle against the military dictatorship must inevitably take on the form of provisional revolutionary-democratic demands, amounting to the demand for a Chinese Constituent Assembly, elected on the basis of general, equal, secret and direct suffrage, for the solution of the most important problems which face the country: the introduction of the eight-hour day, the confiscation of land and the guarantee of national independence.”

The revolutionary masses, led by the Communist Party, are fighting for the Soviet power, they are forming their own workers’ and peasants’ revolutionary army, they are dividing up the land, creating revolutionary courts and dealing with the agents of reaction. The creative initiative of the masses in the Soviet districts is bursting forth, giving rise to examples of mass heroism and mass revolutionary enthusiasm at every step. The history of the struggle of the Red Army of Chu-de and Mao-Dzedun, the history of the struggle of the millions in the “Young Guard” and the “workers and peasants’ self-defence” show pages of exceptional heroism and boundless loyalty to the revolution.

At such a time, the counter-revolutionary extinguisher of revolutionary enthusiasm, hiding behind lying “socialistic” phrases about his “permanent revolution,” calls on the workers and peasants to *betray* this titanic struggle and, what is more important, this successful struggle, and enter the Kuomintang full-powered Constituent Assembly, expecting from it the introduction of the 8-hour day, the solution of the question of

land and even the "guarantee of national independence."

It is no accident that the leader of the Chinese right wing, Chen-du siu, now expelled from the Communist Party, agreed with Trotsky on a common platform of struggle against the Soviet power and the Red Army, easily accepting the slogan of the "permanent revolution" which bound him to nothing revolutionary.

Therefore, an absolutely necessary condition for the growth of the Communist Party, for the achievement of further successes in the leadership of the mass movement, is an irreconcilable struggle both against Trotskyism and Chen-du siuism.

III.

THE "LEFT" ERRORS OF LI-LI-SHAN.

The peculiar features of the revolutionary upsurge in China, and the whole of the internal and international conditions of its development, demand that the Communists shall be exceptionally disciplined, shall possess exceptional proletarian stamina and organisation, and shall, in a Bolshevik manner, combine revolutionary boldness with a sober estimate of their own forces and the forces of the enemy.

It is now more than ever necessary to solve the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic anti-militarist and agrarian revolution by *proletarian methods*, making use of all the *organisational* abilities of the proletariat.

Further decisive successes in the revolutionary upsurge are only possible on the basis of a solution of such great *organisational and political* tasks as the formation of a regular workers' and peasants' Red Army out of the semi-guerilla detachments (accompanied by a further development of the peasant guerilla movement), and along with this, the formation of revolutionary Soviet *points d'appui* on which to gather and weld together the forces of revolution in the future, and the further development of the strike struggle of the workers, which can impart to the movement an all-Chinese sweep and strengthen the hegemony of the proletariat over the movement.

These tasks cannot be solved at one blow, simply by revolutionary feeling, by a short revolutionary effort. Proletarian discipline, stamina, stubbornness, organisation—these qualities are absolutely needed at the present time to transfer the movement to a new stage. It was exactly under these conditions of passing to the solution of new tasks of the Chinese Revolution, that waverings were discovered among some of the leaders of the C.P. of China (headed by Li-Li-Shan), which led these comrades to formulate a

special line which was really semi-Trotskyist and at the same time adventurist, hostile to the principles of the C.P. of China and of the Communist International.

This part of the leadership, headed by Li-Li-Shan, split away from the revolutionary mass of workers and peasants, without having even once been in the districts where the heroic struggle with the Kuomintang was developing most sharply, still less in the Soviet districts. They spent their time on paper creations, the composition of "most revolutionary" circulars, articles, "most revolutionary" fantastical plans, and got into a state of sharp conflict both with the Communist International and with their own party, which they unsuccessfully tried to drag into a struggle against the Communist International. The estimate given by Lenin regarding the "lefts" in 1918 in Soviet Russia (a time absolutely different from the present period in China) is very applicable to the ideas of this group of comrades headed by comrades Li-Li-Shan.

"Our 'left' wingers have no understanding of *iron proletarian discipline and its preparation*. They are saturated with the psychology of the de-classed petty-bourgeois intelligentsia." (Lenin, "On Left Childishness and the Petty-Bourgeoisie." *Collected Works*, Vol. XXII).

It is very interesting too, that at the time when the right-"left" bloc of Lominadze and Syrtsov in the C.P.S.U. were making their double-faced attack on the general party line, the follower of Lominadze in China, comrade Tsu-Tsu bo at the third Plenum of the Chinese Communist Party was formally recognising "individual practical organisational mistakes," and in the most unprincipled manner glossed over the essence of the differences, without disclosing and exposing the semi-Trotskyist line of Li-Li-Shan and the grossest examples of right opportunism, both in the work of the Party organisation and in the platform of Li-Li-Shan. Under such conditions, the words of comrade Stalin, uttered in other circumstances with regard to other tasks, are of vital significance for the Chinese Communist Party at the present moment:

"The characteristic feature of the period in which we are living is that *the struggle against the mistakes of the 'Lefts' is the prerequisite and the special form of a successful struggle against Right opportunism*." (Stalin, Answer to the Comrades from Collective Farms.)

What is the essence of this anti-Leninist semi-Trotskyist line of Comrade Li-Li-Shan, *which he has now himself condemned and repudiated*.

The strategic plan of the Chinese Revolution which is given above was opposed by Comrade Li-Li-Shan with another semi-Trotskyist plan.

According to this latter, the anti-imperialist agrarian Chinese Revolution could not be victorious without a simultaneous world proletarian revolution, the conditions for which he considered to be everywhere fully mature. From this it followed that the Communist International must undertake an "aggressive policy" all over the world. To correspond with this, Comrade Li-Li-Shan thought it possible to carry out in China itself absolutely unprepared actions, which, had they taken place, would have broken up the revolutionary organisations of the working class.

The "putschist" elements of this theory were easily liquidated by the C.P., and the C.C. did not carry them out in the practice of the revolutionary work. What remained from this theory was the Trotskyist denial of Lenin's teaching concerning the uneven development of capitalism, the uneven maturing of the revolution, and the disbelief in the very possibility of the victory of a bourgeois-democratic Chinese revolution otherwise than in circumstances of a world revolution following immediately after it or conquering simultaneously with it. But this theory, which dooms the Party to opportunist passivity, had already been rejected by the Communist Parties and is condemned as having nothing in common with Leninism.

On the basis of the Trotskyist idea that it is impossible to set up a Soviet Government except in some big industrial centre, Comrade Li-Li-Shan in reality *repudiated* the task of forming a Soviet Government, of building up a regular Red Army on a revolutionary territorial basis, and so doomed the army to permanent guerilla "attacks" on the provincial centres, and in a Trotskyist manner accuses the line of the Party and the Comintern of deviating in the direction of "territorial prejudices."

A part of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, headed by Comrade Li-Li-Shan, could not resist the Trotskyist point of view that a Soviet Government can only be successfully formed after gaining power in big industrial centres, and that without this the peasantry can build up neither a Soviet system nor a Red Army. Comrade Li-Li-Shan could not resist this theory because he had not understood the huge political organising effect exercised already now (when the movement in the towns still lags behind) by the Chinese proletariat and the peasant movement.

Through its Communist Party, the proletariat has given political effect to the demands of the peasantry (the confiscation of the estates of the landlords and the redistribution of the whole of the land in favour of the poor and middle peasants). Its advance guard, the Communist Party

of China, is guiding the battles of the Red Army and will undoubtedly gain a majority in the Soviet Government of China.

In the face of the strengthening in terms of State power of the hegemony of the proletariat in the organs of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry—in the Soviets and in the Red Army—how miserable and capitulatory are the conceptions of Trotskyism that the Soviet power must first originate and gain strength in the large industrial centres and that only after this can it spread to the periphery formed by the villages! What is true for, say, industrially advanced Germany, is found in practice to be wrong for a country where, as Lenin foresaw, the revolution will "produce peculiarities" more than in Russia. Thus, in the course of the Chinese revolution too, Trotskyism has displayed itself not only as a menshevik denial of the revolutionary role of the peasantry, but also as deeply distrustful of the strength, the organising role and the political leadership of the proletariat.

In view of his semi-Trotskyist attitude, Comrade Li-Li-Shan ignored all the tasks connected with the strengthening of the power of the Soviets on the territory under the control of the agrarian revolution.

It is obvious that this semi-Trotskyist position made it impossible for Comrade Li-Li-Shan to raise in a Bolshevik manner, to put as the most important task of the present stage, the task of the formation of a regular workers' and peasants' army based on revolutionary localities and to solve the tasks of "giving the masses *military leadership*," of "securing complete political freedom, . . . *even if only on a small part of the country at first*," of developing to the full the revolutionary creative powers of the rank and file masses (Lenin).

This is the exact reason why Comrade Li-Li-Shan and later Comrade Su-Su-bo (at the III. Plenum of the C.P. of China) did not take account of the important lessons of the attack of the Red Army on Changsha, but limited themselves to a formal and bureaucratic recognition that the Chinese Revolution was "officially (!) at war with the Kuomintang" (quoted from the concluding remarks of Su-Su-bo) why they did not raise in its entire complex the question of the relation of class forces, which at the present moment and at the present stage of organisation of the forces of workers and peasants prevents frontal attack on the citadels of imperialism and the Kuomintang.

Further, Comrades Li-Li-Shan and Su-Su-bo did not raise the question of the scandalous right-wing actions manifested by the leaders of the Party organisation in Changsha, the bureau-

cratic ignoring of the independent initiative and creative powers of the masses, the ignoring of the task of organising the working class and setting up a mass genuinely elected Soviet of workers, soldiers and poor farmers.

Not being able to solve the task of the *proletarian leadership of the peasant war* by a regular and disciplined Red Army, by a Soviet Government, Comrade Li-Li-Shan could not offer any direct solution to the problems of the *agrarian revolution*, the struggle of the peasants for land.

The "line" of Comrade Li-Li-Shan on the agrarian question consisted of vacillating between open Right opportunism (the slogan of "alliance with the kulaks," refusal to give land to the farm labourers and soldiers, etc.) and attempts to proclaim at once, at the present stage of the bourgeois democratic revolution, the "growing over of the revolution into a socialist revolution" and in honour of Trotsky's permanent revolution, to set up collective farms and State farms in the Soviet districts.

It is quite clear that Comrades Li-Li-Shan and Su-Su-bo have no understanding of the problems of the confiscation of the property of all landowners, both "benevolent" and "malevolent," the task of dividing the land in the interests of the poor and middle peasants, of organising groups of poor peasants and the strengthening of the alliance with the middle farmers. They could not grasp what was already grasped by the advanced peasants, they could not deal with the landowners in a plebian way and divide the land on the principle of the number of persons to be "fed" instead of the principle of the ownership of the means of production.

Precisely in the central question of the Chinese Revolution, the *question of land*, was it clearly manifested that the "Left" phrases were a mask for *right* deeds, a mask for an opportunist hindering of the agrarian revolution in the interests of the "benevolent" landowners and the equally "benevolent" kulaks.

The mistakes of Comrade Li-Li-Shan in the sphere of the movement of the workers were just as important and just as dangerous for the revolutionary movement. Here he contrived to formulate a theory which excused the backwardness of the movement and converted this backwardness into a revolutionary virtue.

Everyone knows the great ideological and political influence of the Communist Party among the working masses of China.

Everyone knows also how weak is the organisational consolidation of this influence, how weak

and how few are the illegal Red trade unions, how comparatively insignificant are the proletarian strata in the Party itself.

Under these conditions, instead of using every effort to raise the level of the organisation of the working class, or adding the least contribution to making the organisational influence of the Party correspond with its political influence, Comrade Li-Li-Shan in his articles in the Chinese "Bolshevik" and the "Red Flag" put forward the idea of the unimportance of "subjective forces" in an objective revolutionary situation, and thus bowed down to the force of events. In addition, at the time when his adventurist plans were most widespread, he brought about a practical liquidation of the trade unions and the Y.C.L., and replaced them by a bureaucratic central "Committee of Action" composed of leaders separated from the masses.

The complete lack of attention to the trade union organisation of the working class was also accompanied by a complete neglect of the development of the partial economic struggles of the proletariat, an impermissible gambling with unprepared "general" political strikes, which undoubtedly reduced the initiative of the working class and weakened the position of the Party in the movement. It is natural that on the basis of such an anti-Leninist line, the Party could not liquidate this backwardness of the workers' movement as compared with the peasant war which exists at present, a backwardness which has to be liquidated at all costs, so as to assure a really victorious advance of the revolution.

It is evident that if we do not overcome the Li-Li-Shan relapse into semi-Trotskyism and the "putschism" in our ranks, if we do not simultaneously carry on an irreconcilable struggle with Right opportunism, which remains the chief danger in practice, and which was concealed by the "Left" line of Li-Li-Shan, the Communist Party cannot bring about the correct Bolshevik leadership of the Chinese Revolution. This line the Party is carrying out. It is carrying out the direction of Lenin :

"To throw out loud sounding phrases is a quality of the declassed bourgeois intelligentsia. The organised proletariat will punish such 'mannerisms' by scorn as well as by driving those guilty from every responsible position."

In this way, the Communist Party of China rises one stage higher in its bolshevisation, in the process of welding together its ranks under the Leninist leadership of the Communist International.

AFTER THE LIQUIDATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN THE U.S.S.R.

By V. ZENKOVITCH

THERE is no unemployment in the U.S.S.R. "Our country, where the Socialist sector absolutely predominates in the national economy, has entered upon the period of a *sweeping Socialist offensive, upon the period of Socialism.*"* During 1931, the third year of the Five Year Plan, the U.S.S.R. will be completing "*the construction of the foundations of Socialist economy.*" The fact that the Socialist sector already "*holds in its hands all the levers of the whole national economy*" (Stalin), and that from "control figures" we have passed to an all-national plan, signifies the strengthening of the planned principle in the economy of our country.

There is no unemployment in the U.S.S.R. The eyes of the world proletariat and of all humanity, oppressed and exploited by capitalism, are rivetted on the building of Socialism in the U.S.S.R., in the *Socialist fatherland*. The Socialist organisation of economy so clearly manifests its superiority over capitalist organisation that in spite of the clamour of capitalist and social-fascist slander, lies and savage hate and badgering, one hears more and more often the voices of isolated, more serious and far seeing, agents of capitalism who are forced to acknowledge the superiority of planned economy and the success of the Socialist Five Year Plan.

As the outcries about so-called "forced labour" in the U.S.S.R. grow more furious and more hypocritical, the working class in capitalist countries, held in the grip of increasing unemployment and exploitation realises the real significance of boasted "free labour." "Free labour actually amounts to the right of the capitalist to the "free" purchase and sale of labour and human power, as of any other commodity" (Lenin), and for the worker—the right of "dying freely of hunger" (Lenin).

There is no unemployment in the U.S.S.R. Liquidation of unemployment under the conditions of the tempestuous economic rise of the U.S.S.R. has been achieved as a result of the persistent carrying out of the general line of the Party and the tremendous growth of the activity and working, creative enthusiasm of millions of masses of the working class and collective farmers (Socialist competition, shock brigades, in-

dustrial and financial plans . . .), under the sign of which the first two years of the Five Year Plan have passed.

The turning point which began in the second half of the economic year 1928-1929, in the direction of a decrease in unemployment has been sharply accentuated throughout the economic year 1929-30. In a number of resolutions and directions of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., the task is set to secure the *planned provision of national economy for the Labour power.*

"The great success of the Socialist industrialisation of the country and the rapid rate of the construction of collective and Soviet farms resulted in the complete liquidation of unemployment in the Soviet Union and demanded additional hundreds of thousands of workers. The shortage of labour power in industry and in other sectors of the national economy has this year already become the 'tight place' hindering the realisation of the rapid rate of Socialist construction. The solution of this question is the *most important economic-political task*, confronting, in the first place, in all its acuteness, the People's Commissariat of Labour."*

THE FIGHT AGAINST OPPORTUNIST DEVIATIONS.

In the question of unemployment, as in the question of labour generally, we are up against a number of bourgeois, kulak and kindred right-opportunist theories which reflect the alarm and reactionary spirit of the petty bourgeois, i.e., as well as the opposition of obviously kulak elements

The fight for the Socialist planning and training of Labour power is therefore one of the forms of the class struggle in which we can win only subject to a decisive attack on petty-proprietary elements, only by ruthlessly combatting money-grabbers and "deserters"† and their allies—the right opportunists and bureaucrats.

The right-cum-left bloc, slanderously accusing the Party of forgetting the interests of the working class, of worsening the material position of the workers, deliberately hushed up the fact of the elimination and liquidation of unemployment. Not so long ago we were called upon to acknowledge "with Bolshevik straightforwardness" the presence of "stagnant unemployment"; we were

* Ibid.

* From the Resolution of the Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and Central Control Commission of the C.P.S.U. in December, 1930.

† "Deserters"—a term applied in the U.S.S.R. to workers who for some selfish reason or another desert their place in the factory, migrating from one factory to another.—Ed.

called upon "to acknowledge openly" that in the course of five years we could not bring the number of unemployed down to the "normal" reserve of labour essential for the national economy." The Trotskyists predicted three million unemployed for 1931 . . . The theory of the "shortage of workers" and of the urgency of bringing in Chinese workers falls in the same class. . . . We were called upon to acknowledge that the "fluctuation" of labour "under present conditions was inevitable in a whole series of industries . . ."

The panicky conclusions on the "dilution" of the working class, on its basic cadres becoming exhausted, proved equally unfounded. The recent census of metal workers, miners and textile workers shows that 50 per cent. began to work in industry in 1917 and that the old cadres have been very largely retained, in large districts and in basic branches of industry to the extent of 50-70 per cent. To this must be added the unusually rapid cultural and political development of the workers newly drawn into production.

THE TRIUMPH OF SOVIET LABOUR.

Reality laughs at the reactionary attempts to hold back the victorious course of the Socialist offensive or at least to decry the building of Socialism and the realisation of the Five Year Plan. The *victory of Socialist labour* is indisputable; unemployment has been completely liquidated; the shortest working day and the shortest working week in the world* have been introduced; all this being accompanied by a steady annual increase in the number of workers employed, by a growth of the political and cultural level of life† and the consolidation of the working class, by a steady rise in wages, and the improvement of the material conditions and well-being of the toiling masses.

* In 1931 almost all industries will be transferred to a seven-hour working day and the non-stop five-day working week.

† Wages increased by 12 per cent. in two years, and in 1931 there will be a further increase of 6 per cent. in the leading branches of basic industry (coal, 16.8 per cent.; metallurgy, 11.6 per cent.; ore, 15.0 per cent.; railways, 8 per cent.). For the past five years wages have increased by more than 79 per cent., reaching 140 per cent. of the pre-war level of real wages, while when social insurance and contributions from profits to the "fund for improving the conditions of life of the workers" are added, the increase amounts to 167 per cent. In 1931, one-and-a-half million roubles more are to be added to the expenses of social insurance and training of cadres.

The size of the working class has decisively increased during the first two years of the Five Year Plan under the conditions of Socialist industrialisation. In 1930, 700,000 workers were drawn into industry, while the figure for all branches of national economy was over a million. The year 1931 will show a further increase in the number of workers. The general number of workers and office workers in comparison with 1930 will increase by two million reaching sixteen million. (The large number of seasonal workers is not included in this figure). Women (mostly housewives and members of workers' families) will join to the extent of one million new workers.

The sharp reduction in unemployment cannot be explained by any kind of organisational or administrative measures (restricted registration, "combing out" and so on). For 1929-30 only 2.7 per cent. of those subjected to scrutiny were taken off the Labour Exchange register. Indeed, not only have facilities for registration increased during recent years, but special steps have been taken to ascertain the labour power through the former Labour Exchanges (now organised into Bureaux for the Supply of Cadres), in order to provide work or industrial training for new groups of those who had not worked before.

THE INFLUX OF NEW CADRES.

The Moscow Bureaux for the Supply of Cadres records that the influx of unemployed registered comes mainly from those who have no trade and particularly from women.

This is borne out by the data of the Bureau for the Supply of Cadres of the R.S.F.S.R. which had on its registers in December, 1930, 190,284 persons as against 916,822 in the same month of 1929. But of the total number of those registered in December, 1930, 81,173 had never worked as wage labourers before, the remainder being made up chiefly of those seeking work in consequence of the reduction of building work during winter and the end of field work in agricultural localities. That means that as far as those who were already wage earners are concerned, the Bureau for the Supply of Cadres is drawing on a "transitory reserve" of labour power in the process of transferring from one job to another.

At the same time, the peculiar composition of the unemployed and the complete lack of reserves of *skilled* labour have called into being a whole system of training and retraining those registered with the Bureaux, and also a system of training set up by the administration of the factories for their own staffs, and a whole network of schools

(for apprentices, various trade schools, technical schools, courses and so forth) for training juveniles and women; one must add to this the system of promoting by additional training the skilled workers within the factory to more highly skilled occupations.

Thus the composition of the unemployed represents not only a "transitory reserve," but unemployment itself represents a phenomenon which is liquidated by *technical means*.

The spread of collectivisation over enormous regions and the general improvement of the level of the material well-being of the peasantry has changed the picture of the former peasant exodus to the towns. Those who come now, do it as a rule in search of earnings additional to the higher level of income obtaining at present and not to save themselves, as was the case in pre-Soviet Russia, from inevitable starvation and death. Under these conditions, the automatic influx of peasants in search of a livelihood becomes more a thing of the past.

In spite of the spread of crops requiring more intensive cultivation and the increase of productivity of peasants' husbandry as the result of the introduction of machinery and improved methods of agriculture, the labour power in the peasant's household is not fully engaged. Thus, the collective farms utilise only 30-35 per cent. of their labour power and there remains a considerable reserve, which it is necessary to draw out of the collective farm system in an organised way and distribute according to the general demands of national economy. Even in the simplest collective farms based on the use of horse power and on the pooling of simple peasant implements, the expenditure of labour is decreased twofold in comparison with individual peasant households. An able-bodied member of a collective farm is not engaged more than 100 days a year and a considerable surplus of labour power is thus formed within the collective farm system. The collective farms themselves are interested in a maximum discharge of surplus labour power into other branches of national economy since this would mean "more work" for those who remain and consequently greater earnings for them.

It has been proved in practice that an organised exodus is now quite feasible. The enlisting of 30,000 collective farm members for mining was successfully carried out, though with some delay. The task is obviously, while by no means preventing *individual* collective farm members from going to work in industry, to aim at organising the supply of labour power from the collective farms by means of agreements between the collective farms and organs of the People's Commissariat of Labour as well as between collect-

ive farms and Soviet trade and industrial enterprises (under the control of the former). At the same time, the families of those who go away must be provided for by way of assuring their full quota of "labour days," of reducing the deductions due from the member of the collective farm, providing for him during the period between leaving the farm and starting his new work, etc., etc. Similarly, members of collective farms should be sent to various training schools in preference to individual peasants. The spontaneity of the labour market thus passes into oblivion and is replaced by the task of setting up a *planned supply* of labour.

THE TASKS OF THE NEW LABOUR BUREAUX.

The liquidation of unemployment on the basis of the further tempestuous growth of cadres of the working class demands a basic reorganisation of the whole system of enlisting labour power, its use, its redistribution and the training of new cadres. *From a passive registration of those seeking work, the labour exchanges are reorganising their work, concentrating on an active search for labour and enlistment into productive work of proletarian strata of the town, and poor peasants, agricultural labourers and collective farm members from the village.*

At the same time, the task of the class selection of labour power becomes acute, particularly so far as the new large industries are concerned where a definitely high skill and political level of the workers must be assured. Thus the *Labour Bureaux* become an active factor in the work of the growth and consolidation of the working class in the U.S.S.R.

To become the real organisers of labour for industry and other branches of national economy—this is the task of the Labour Bureaux.

The Peoples' Commissariat of Labour becomes in the reconstruction period, a commissariat for the *organisation of labour*. It must become the regulating, directing, planning and organising centre for the supply of labour power.

The task penetrates deeper than a first glance will show. The basic "traditional" regions of the exodus for trade and industry were the so-called "consuming" regions (Moscow, Ivanovo, Leningrad and other regions). The grain-growing regions (Northern Caucasus, the Ukraine, Lower Volga, Siberia) had but little place in the supply of labour power for industry.

Wholesale collectivisation takes place mainly in the grain regions (in 1931 it must embrace 80 per cent. in the basic grain-growing regions, and 50 per cent. in the other grain regions). The huge industrial construction in the third year of the Five Year Plan takes place also in these

grain regions (Dneiprostoi, Ural-Kuznetstoi, Magnetostoi, Turksib). This raises the question of the *creation* of new centres of mass exodus and the organisation of this exodus. The task is to shift the centre of gravity in the supply of industrial labour power from the districts of the consuming regions into the grain growing regions (the Ukraine, Northern Caucasus, Lower Volga, Siberia and others), particularly so since the consuming regions must become centres for market gardening, the raising of industrial crops, livestock breeding, dairy farming, poultry breeding, etc.

Talk about "unemployment" or the exhaustion of the labour reserves in the U.S.S.R. is, certainly, ridiculous, not to mention the tempestuous growth in population unheard of and impossible in any capitalist country, at the rate of three millions annually, with a tendency to a further increase under the growing improvement of the welfare of the population and a sharp decline in the death rate and epidemics. The introduction of the planned, rational organisation of production and use of labour power, the technical reconstruction of industry and the technical revolution in agriculture as a result of the growth of the system of Soviet and collective farms,—all these successes create both a demand for, and open up ever newer inexhaustible sources of labour power, and not only of labour power as such but of highly class-consciousness millions of workers deeply devoted to the cause of Socialist construction. Former farmhands, former poor and middle peasants have displayed and are displaying marvellous labour heroism; they have assured the successes already attained in the Socialist Five Year Plan and assisted in training new generations of toilers and fighters.

Of decisive significance in the reduction of unemployment was the tempestuous growth of the demands of our national economy for labour power called forth by the acceleration of the rate of development of Socialist construction, unceasing work of rationalisation, the introduction of the seven-hour working day, the reduction of the working week, and the continuous production week. In the registered industries of the R.S.F.S.R. alone, we have an uninterrupted growth of employment, particularly since the first half of 1929-1930.

1926-1927	growth of workers employed—	1.2%
1927-1928	" " " "	2.6%
1928-1929	" " " "	2.3%
1929-1930	" " " "	9.5%

On September 1st, 1930, the registered industries of the U.S.S.R. increased their working staffs in comparison with 1929-30 by 17 per cent.,

while in the heavy industries group the increase was over 25 per cent. The general additional demands of the national economy of the U.S.S.R. for permanent cadres is calculated for 1931 at 3,631,000 (including 268,000 students). The general demand for workers at the Labour Exchanges of the U.S.S.R. increased by almost 80 per cent. for the first half of 1930 as against the first half of 1929. According to the Moscow Bureau for the Supply of Cadres, the relation between the demand and supply of labour showed 281.6 open places in November, 1930, and 283.5 in December for each 100 seeking work.

TRAINING THE YOUTH.

The U.S.S.R. is the only country which has completely liquidated unemployment both among adults and the *youth*, and which is enlisting into industry the entire youth of working age in a planned way. In 1930, from the total number of 1,748,000 juveniles in the towns from 15 to 17 years old (or 1,805,000 including the influx from the villages)—549,000 (30 per cent.) were drawn into production. In 1931, out of 1,895,000 juveniles, industry will absorb 1,008,000 (53 per cent.) of which 306,000 will be taken from the villages while in the towns all those seeking work will be fully absorbed. The number of young people studying in technical schools and Workers' Faculties (preparatory courses for the Universities) will increase from 64,000 in 1930 to 97,000 in 1931. The number of girls drawn into production also grows quickly. In 1930, out of the total number of 853,000 adolescent girls, 186,000 were drawn into industry, while in 1931, the number will be 398,000 out of 773,000. The young people drawn into industry are at the same time given political education; they receive industrial and social-political training, three hours of the working day being given over to study.

In the schools for apprentices (three year courses), the number of pupils will reach 120,000 in 1931, of whom not less than 100,000 will be children of agricultural labourers and 50 per cent. girls. The remainder will be made up of children of workers, collective farm members, poor and middle peasants, handicraftsmen and employees. Not less than 500,000 persons will go through a brief training in 1931. Adolescents who are taking the three year course of training at the schools for apprentices will, after the fifth half-year, receive pay according to the scale.

The young people bring into industry the greatest enthusiasm for work and are the inspirers and active participants in Socialist competitions and shock brigades, as well as fighters

for the counter-plan.* Hundreds of thousands of young people are embraced by this movement.

SOCIALIST FORM OF LABOUR.

Together with the organised preparation of new workers, a stubborn fight against *waste of labour power in production* has been initiated and is growing. The task of the Labour Bureaux is to lead a resolute fight for a regime of economy in the use of labour power in industry and national economy generally, to take part in the struggle for the mechanisation and rationalisation of the processes of production, for the setting free of additional labour power. In practice, this means a fight against fluctuation of labour, for permanency at work in one industry, for "binding" oneself to remain, a struggle against waste and incorrect use of skilled labour power.

The movement of millions of workers which is developing under the flag of Socialist competition and the shock brigades, for the counter-plan for labour power, with a guarantee of increased productivity of labour as provided by the Plan (28-33 per cent.) and raising the quality of the products—has already given its positive results.

The tremendous enthusiasm for Socialist construction takes the form of a wide movement of "binding oneself" to stay on at the respective factory in order to create a stable, permanent staff of workers in important branches of industry. Simultaneously, the number of workers leaving voluntarily is being reduced. The following figures show the rate of "self-binding" up to the end of the Five Year Plan in factories of the Leningrad region: metal and electrical industries—56.8 per cent. chemical—71.2 per cent., wood-working—37.5 per cent., paper 52.7 per cent., typographic—87.7 per cent. leather—34.3 per cent., clothing—45.0 per cent., textile—38.1 per cent.

These new Socialist forms of labour (as we call them, according to Lenin), have spread not only to the industrial workers, but to the Soviet farm members and even to individual peasants. In the so-called seasonal industries—timber-cutting, building, peat, dock labouring, fisheries, etc.—there are also being created cadres of permanent workers and the seasonal character of the work is becoming a thing of the past as a conscious effort is made to continue work for 10½ months and even the whole year.

* The Counter-plan is an enlarged financial and industrial plan, formed on the initiative of the rank and file workers themselves, emanating from below on the basis of their own experience and enthusiasm, and offered as a corrective to the plans evolved by the Planning Commission.

By several examples from many such thousands I wish to show how powerful a source of creative and organising energy is represented by Socialist competitions and shock brigades in the U.S.S.R.

THE EXAMPLE OF THE "RED TRIANGLE" FACTORY.

The "Red Triangle" factory, in its struggle for a *Labour Reserve* attained extraordinarily good results, showing also an example of the friendly co-operation between public opinion in the factory and the administration.

"To improve the interaction between shops and secure the correct delivery of material according to sort and time, the realisation of uninterrupted work, in order to fight against defects in production due to various discrepancies in the plan, and secure the uninterrupted calculation and control of the productive process—special worker-planners from all sections must be brought forward." (From a factory order.)

The worker-planner seeks out, forestalls and eliminates defects. The worker-planner, according to the testimony of the workers, is their best, truest representative in the struggle against all kinds of petty and large industrial discrepancies. Conferences of planners from inter-related shops turned into conferences on the improvement of planning. In order to help the worker-planners, a group of economists and engineers have been provided by the administration. In the work of revealing surplus workers and an excess of administrative-technical personnel, the worker-planners in three weeks managed to accomplish what the departments of labour had not been able to do throughout their entire existence. The struggle against waste turned into a struggle for the organisation of production. The campaign for a labour reserve was transformed into a campaign for the resources latent in the industry on the basis of rationalisation, planning, and control of industry from top to bottom.

The example of the "Red Triangle" was followed by a number of large factories in Leningrad and in other industrial centres. In the same manner the workers of "Amo," "Electro-Factory" and other works produced models in the sphere of organising the feeding and provisioning of the workers. The factory papers are full of the unceasing care which the workers show for the improvement of the work of their industry. The flow of workers' suggestions follows the same direction, and workers' inventions are increasing. The minds and hearts of millions of workers work and beat for the Five Year Plan, for Socialist construction, for every step taken in the struggle for success. This work unites into a single group the farm hands, the poor peasants, the collective farm members, the middle peasants

—into a closely bound mass, knowing the goal they are aiming for and firmly beating out their path to victory.

COLLECTIVE FARMS AND ORGANISATION OF LABOUR.

What is the significance of the fact that in 1931, 50 per cent. of all the peasant households will have formed collective farms? It means that there will be 30,000,000 efficient members, a vast expanse of acres of land under cultivation, 11,000,000 head of socialised draft animals, 4,000,000 cows, 3,000,000 pigs, etc. In their capacity as the main instrument for the correct organisation of labour, the collective farms are confronted with the task of so organising their own work that the available labour power should be employed to the full and that all the means and implements of production should be most profitably utilised.

In this wide sweep of work with the single thought of the success of the whole collective, of the whole society, of the whole U.S.S.R., of the whole working class—in such work one recognises all the strength of the teachings of Lenin who knew how to speak to the masses and with the masses :

“Socialism does not only not destroy competition, but, on the contrary, for the first time creates the possibility of adapting it on a really *wide*, really *mass* scale, of really bringing the majority of the toilers into the arena of such work where they can reveal themselves, develop their abilities, discover the talents, of which the people possess an untouched source, and which capitalism trampled, oppressed, stifled by the thousands and millions . . . The hangers-on and parasites of the bourgeoisie — the lackeys of the money-bag ‘frightened’ with Socialism the people who under capitalism were sentenced to hard labour and barracks, excessively tedious work, a half-starved life, great poverty . . . Every factory from which the capitalist has been driven out, or at least bridled by the actual control of the workers, every village where the land-owner and exploiter has been smoked out, and his land taken away—is now, and only now, a field on which the man who works can reveal himself, can unbend his back slightly, can straighten up and feel himself a human being. For the first time in hundreds of years of work for others, of forced labour for exploiters, there is the possibility of *working for oneself*, and, further, of doing work based on the conquest of the new technique and culture.” (Lenin.)

Thus Lenin taught. The “Demyan Biedny” article reports :

“The productive activity of the collective farm for the year produced a net profit of 866,000 roubles. Of this, 347,000, *i.e.*, 40 per cent. were allotted as payment for work done and 43,321 roubles for the disabled. Our profits are the best propaganda for the collective farm. For one year only, the earn-

ings of the collective farm members have increased 300 per cent. in comparison with those of the individual peasant. Every family in the collective farm earned on an average 461 roubles, while in former years these households earned from 70 to 90 roubles a year. The former middle-peasant households in the collective farms earned on an average 595 roubles. The year before, their earnings were 242 roubles each.

“Summing up the results of the first economic year of the collective farm struggling for the title of best collective farm in the land of the Soviets, we, before the whole of the Soviet Union, take upon ourselves the following obligations for the third, decisive year of the Five-Year Plan :

(1) We declare ourselves a shock collective farm in the name of the Third Year of the Five-Year Plan for the fulfilment of the production plan for 1931 ; we give a counter-plan for the spring sowing ; we will sow 12,700 acres of summer crops instead of 11,700 ;

(2) we bind ourselves to share the great experience we have in the organisation of labour and the distribution of profits with all the collective farms of the Lower-Ananov district and the collective farms of the region, to organise brigades of the best collective farm members to transmit this experience ;

(3) we challenge the largest grain collective farm of our district, ‘Budenovetz,’ to a Socialist competition in the preparation and carrying out of a Bolshevik spring sowing ;

(4) we bind ourselves to increase the socialised herd of milch cows up to 400 head, calves to 6,000 head, sheep to 1,000, pigs to 1,000, fowls to 10,000 ;

(5) to build a group of new clubs, new cow-sheds, stables and medical-veterinary centres and to acquire a stock of agricultural implements to the value of 217,000 roubles.”

In these reports there is the voice of the teaching of Lenin, the voice of the power of the Soviet Union, the power of Socialist construction.

THE PROBLEM OF CADRES.

Thus, *the problem of unemployment has been replaced by the problem of cadres*. Instead of a heartless distribution of doles, the printing of bureaucratic statistics of hundreds of thousands of unemployed and the payment of tens of millions of roubles in relief for “unemployment,” instead of the absence of all struggle against deserters and work-shys who refuse to work, etc., we have the active work of selection and formation of cadres on a class basis, the growth and consolidation of the working class, active work in the preparation of an industrial staff — *organised planning* of their distribution and re-distribution, the organisation of a rational use of labour power in production and its *adaptation to Socialist forms of labour*.

To become real organisers of labour in indus-

try and throughout national economy—that is the task of the Labour Bureaux.

The aim of the work of the Labour Bureaux in this connection is the *most energetic co-operation* in the solution of the “basic task of creating a higher *social order* than capitalism, that is *increasing the productivity of labour*, and in conjunction with this (and for this), its higher *organisation*.” (Lenin).

Thus, from the liquidation of unemployment under conditions of the reconstruction period and

the Socialist attack, has grown up the *task of the Socialist organisation of labour*. “Communism as opposed to capitalism, means higher productivity of labour, willing, conscious, united workers using the most advanced technique . . .” (Lenin).

Thus the *Socialist organisation of labour becomes the decisive link in the fulfilment of the national-economic plan*, bringing nearer the construction of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the victory of the world proletariat.

LENIN AS THE THEORETICIAN AND TACTICIAN OF THE ARMED UPRISING

By B.V.

IN February, 1905, directly after Bloody Sunday, January 22, in a communication published by the “Bureau of the Committees of the Majority” in preparation for the Third Congress of the Party, Lenin wrote :

“The Congress will have to solve the following pressing questions of revolutionary tactics: (1) The question of the methods of direct revolutionary struggle. Here, according to our point of view, first place is held by questions concerning the planned organisation of general political strikes, the means of arming the masses, the means of organising the armed uprising, the means of affecting the army, the limits of revolutionary action in so far as it touches not only our direct enemies, but other classes of society as well (as for example, to what extent it is permissible in large cities to destroy the water supply, to close general provision shops, etc.)”

Regardless of the furious opposition of the Mensheviks who thought it impossible to prepare for an armed rebellion since that could only arise spontaneously, all these questions raised by Lenin in this communication were carefully considered by the Third Congress which took place, as is known, six months before the October general strikes of 1905. The resolution of the Third Congress on armed uprising, edited by Lenin, states that

“the task of organising the proletariat for an immediate struggle against autocracy by means of an armed uprising is one of the most important and urgent tasks of the Party in the present revolutionary situation.”

The Party at that moment was not yet ready for an armed uprising, it was very weak both in numbers and organisation, and had to work illegally in conditions of severe police persecution in a country where the proletariat was only taking the first steps on the path of revolutionary class

struggle. None the less, the Third Congress, following the directions of Lenin, called upon all Party organisations

“(a) to explain to the proletariat by means of propaganda and agitation not only the political importance, but also the practical organisational side of the coming armed uprising;

“(b) to explain in that propaganda and agitation the rôle of mass political strikes which may be of great importance in the beginning and in the actual course of the uprising;

“(c) to adopt the most energetic measures to arm the proletariat, and also to work out a plan of an armed uprising and its direct leadership, creating to the extent this will become necessary special groups from among Party workers.”

With regard to the Moscow uprising, the Mensheviks headed by Plekhanov shouted at all the crossroads that one should not have taken up arms. Lenin attacked this position of the then right opportunists, most resolutely, and “while the scent was fresh” carefully studied the lessons of the Moscow uprising for a speedy preparation of a new armed struggle, showing that “to hide from the masses the necessity of a desperate, bloody, destructive war” as the immediate task of the approaching action, is to fool oneself and the people.

In the article on the lessons of the Moscow uprising Lenin gives directions, unsurpassed in clarity and exactness, as to how one must prepare for the armed uprising and how one must lead it. First of all he attacked the Right wing of the Party and asserted that it was impossible to fight against modern armies, that it was necessary that the army should become revolutionary. Lenin places before the Party the task of a *struggle for the army*, not simply waiting for the time “when the army comes over.”

Concluding the article on the lessons of the Moscow uprising, Lenin wrote:

"We shall remember that the great mass struggle is approaching. This will be an armed uprising. It must, as far as possible, be simultaneous. The masses must know that they go into an armed, bloody, desperate struggle. Contempt of death must be developed among the masses, and will guarantee victory. The attack on the enemy must be most energetic: attack, and not defence, must become the slogan of the masses; pitiless extermination of the enemy becomes their task; the organisation of the struggle must be mobile and flexible; the wavering elements in the army will be drawn into active struggle. The Party of the conscious proletariat must fulfil its duty in this great struggle."

Lenin developed the practical lessons of the Moscow uprising in the pamphlet "On the Dissolution of the Duma and the Tasks of the Proletariat."

Lenin first of all makes clear that in the October days of 1905, the Soviets of workers' deputies were created as organs of direct mass struggle.

He states that the Soviets of workers' deputies "arose as organs of strike struggle. They very quickly became, under the pressure of necessity, organs of the *general revolutionary struggle against the Government*. Irresistibly, in the course of developing events and the merging of strikes into an uprising, they were transformed *into organs of the insurrection.*"

"Since this is so," Lenin continues, "the conclusion is clear that for the organisation of an uprising 'Soviets' and similar mass institutions are still *insufficient*. They are essential for the rallying of the masses, for their fighting consolidation, for the transmission of the Party slogans of political leadership (or those brought forward in agreement with the Party), for arousing, awakening and attracting the masses. But they are not sufficient for the organisation of *direct military forces, for the organisation of the uprising* in the narrowest sense of the word . . . Soviets of workers' deputies were frequently termed parliaments of the working class. But not one worker will agree to convene *his* parliament in order to deliver it into the hands of the police. Everyone acknowledges the necessity of a *direct organisation of forces, of a military organisation for the defence of his 'parliament,' an organisation in the form of detachments of armed workers*. Now that the government has been clearly convinced through experience what 'Soviets' lead to when armed from head to foot . . . we must particularly explain in our agitation, the necessity of a sober view of things, the necessity of a military organisation alongside of the organisation of Soviets, for the defence of the latter, in order to bring about that uprising without which all Soviets and all deputies of the masses are impotent."

In the same pamphlet Lenin gives detailed directions as to what those, to use his own words,

"if one may thus express oneself, 'military organisations' " must be like. They must attempt to embrace the masses not through deputies but through mass, direct participation in street struggles and civil war. These organisations must have their nuclei in very small, voluntary unions of tens, fives, and even perhaps of threes. It is necessary to declare in the strongest manner, that the fight is approaching when *every* honest citizen must sacrifice himself and fight against the oppressors of the people. Less formality, less procrastination, more simplicity in organisation which must possess the maximum of mobility and flexibility. All and everyone who desire to be on the side of freedom must immediately join the fighting "fives," — the voluntary unions of people of one trade, of one factory, or people bound together by comradely Party bonds, or at least simply living in the same localities (in one village, in one house in the city, or in one apartment). These unions must be both Party, and non-Party, bound together with the single immediate revolutionary task: an uprising against the government. *These unions must be based on most general lines and must certainly, up to the receiving of arms, be independent of the question of arms.*

"No Party organisation will 'arm' the masses. On the contrary, the organisation of the masses in easily moving, small fighting units will do great service in the moment of action in so far as the task of getting hold of arms is concerned.

"Voluntary fighting units, the units of squad-members, if we use the name which won so much honour in the great December days of Moscow, will be very useful at the time of the clash. A squad which knows how to shoot, will disarm a policeman, will attack a patrol suddenly, will obtain arms for themselves. A squad which has not learned to shoot or obtain arms can help build barricades, reconnoitre, organise communications, lay an ambush for the enemy, burn buildings where the enemy has entrenched himself, take over quarters which can be used as a base for the insurgents—in a word, perform thousands of functions through these voluntary unions of people having decided to struggle not for life, but for death, who are well acquainted with the locality and bound closely with the population.

"Let there be a call for the organisations of such voluntary fighting squads in every factory, in every trade union, in every village. People knowing each other well will establish them first. People who do not know each other will proceed to organise in fives or tens in the days of the struggle, or on the eve of the struggle, at the place of the struggle, if the idea of organising such units is widespread and actually accepted by the masses.

"Thus, the organisation everywhere of Soviets of workers' deputies, peasant committees and analogous institutions, together with widespread

propaganda and agitation for the necessity of a simultaneous uprising, for an immediate preparation of forces for it and the organisation of mass voluntary squads."

It was as the theoretician and tactician of the armed uprising that Lenin particularly developed himself in the course of the preparation for the 1917 October revolution. All his articles and speeches relating to this period invariably touch upon the question of armed uprising in one form or another whether they destroy the theoretical arguments of opponents or give practical directions to the Party and revolutionary workers as to how they must act in order to arm themselves, to organise a fighting force and develop the attack on the class enemy.

In noting Lenin's documents of this period, one must dwell first of all on a letter to the Central Committee of the R.S.D.R.P.(b)* of September, 1917, published under the title "Marxism and Insurrection."

In this document, Lenin analyses with extraordinary clarity the meaning of an armed uprising as understood by a revolutionary Marxist in contrast to that of a Blanquist or a putschist.

Lenin states that an uprising, in order to be successful, must be based not on a plot, not on a Party, but on a vanguard class. This is the first thing. The uprising must be based on the growth of the revolutionary movement of the people. This is the second thing. The uprising must be based on that *turning point* in the history of the growing revolution when the activity of the vanguard of the people is greatest, when the *wavering* in the ranks of the enemy and in the *ranks of the weak, hesitating friends of the revolution* is strongest. This is the third thing!

Lenin brings forward five basic Marxist rules of the art of an armed uprising.

1. "Never *play* with an uprising, but once having begun it, know firmly that one must *go on to the end*."
2. "It is essential to bring together the great predominance of forces to the decisive place, at the decisive moment, because otherwise the enemy, possessing better preparation and organisation, will destroy the insurgents."
3. "Once the uprising has begun it is necessary to act with greatest *decisiveness* and absolutely, unconditionally, go over to the *offensive*. Defence is the death of an armed uprising."
4. "It is necessary to try to seize the enemy unawares, grasp at the moment when his army is scattered."
5. "It is necessary to win *daily* victories, however

* R.S.D.R.P. (b) Russian Social-Democratic Revolutionary Party (Bolsheviks).

small (one may say, hourly, if one speaks of one city), maintaining at all costs the 'moral superiority.'"

Marx summed up the lessons of all revolutions in so far as armed uprising is concerned in the words of "the greatest master of revolutionary tactics in history," — Danton: "Audacity, audacity and again audacity."

Later, Lenin made this rule concrete in relation to Russia. "A simultaneous and, as far as possible, a sudden and quick attack on St. Petersburg, absolutely from within and without, from the workers' quarters and from Finland, Revel, Krondstaat, an attack by the *whole* fleet, the accumulation of a *gigantic preponderance* of forces by some 15-20 thousand (or perhaps even more) over our 'bourgeois guards' (Junkers), our Vendée army (part of the Cossack), etc. To combine our three main forces; the fleet, the workers, and the army so that the following are taken and held, without fail, *no matter at what cost*: (a) telephones, (b) telegraphs, (c) railway stations, (d) and bridges. To allot the most decisive elements (our 'shock troops' and *worker youth*, and similarly the best sailors) in small detachments for the capture of all important points and for their participation everywhere, in all important operations . . . To make up detachments of the best workers with arms and bombs for the attack and surrounding of the 'centres' of the enemy (Junker schools, telegraph, telephone stations, etc.), with the slogan: *we may perish but the enemy shall not pass.*"

In conclusion it is necessary to refer to the question of the significance which Lenin attached to the direct preparation for the insurrection by the Party itself. When the question of an uprising is raised, there come to light in the Party even amongst the leadership and even among those most tested in the past, wavering, and opportunist tendencies, which, as the decisive struggle approaches, increase the resistance to the general line of the uprising. In the C.P.S.U. on the eve of the October struggles, a number of the most responsible Party workers such as Zinoviev, Kamenev, and several others, were infected in such a way. Such moods and hesitations at a moment of the immediate nearness of the uprising are particularly dangerous and that is why Lenin attacked them with particular sharpness, proposing the expulsion of Zinoviev and Kamenev from the Party as Party strikebreakers.

It is thus that Lenin understood the "organisation of the revolution" and it is thus that he organised it in October.