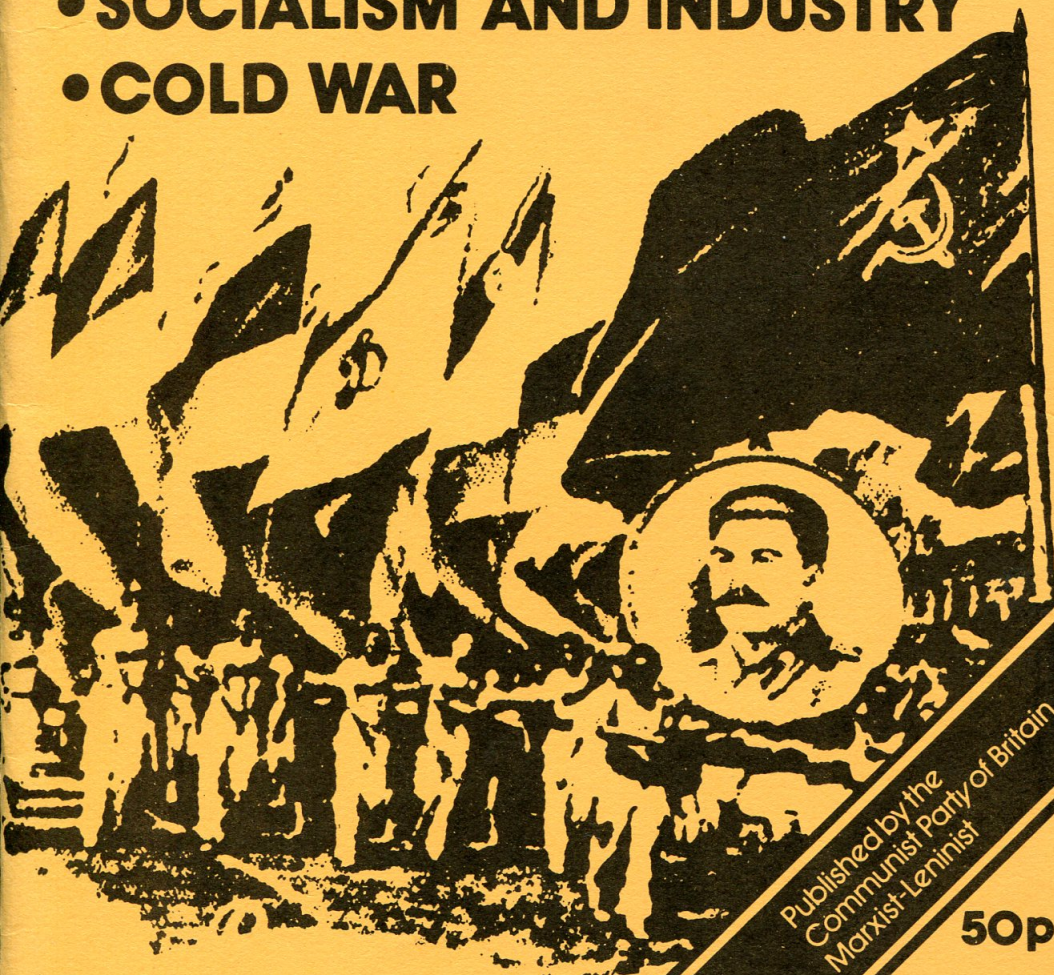


STALIN



on

- THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION
- SOCIALISM AND INDUSTRY
- COLD WAR



Published by the
Communist Party of Britain
Marxist-Leninist

50p

Errata

Page 16, after: these possibilities. (bottom line).
add: Did the objective possibilities for the complete fulfilment of the

Page 19, after: exists here. (bottom line).
add: Have we the second condition, the ability to utilise these

THE INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION

(On the Occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the October Revolution)

THE October Revolution is not merely a revolution "within national bounds." It is, above all, a revolution of an international, "world-embracing" order, for it denotes a radical turn in the universal history of mankind, away from the old, capitalist world to the new, socialist world.

Revolutions in the past usually ended in changing one group of exploiters at the helm of the ship of state for another such group. The exploiters would change, while exploitation remained. Such was the case during the emancipatory movements of the slaves. Such was the case during the period of the rebellions of the serfs. Such was the case during the period of the well-known "great" revolutions in England, France and Germany. I do not refer to the Paris Commune which was the first glorious, heroic and yet unsuccessful attempt on the part of the proletariat to turn history against capitalism.

The October Revolution differs from these revolutions *in point of principle*. It sets as its aim not the replacement of one form of exploitation by another form of exploitation, of one group of exploiters by another group of exploiters, but the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, the abolition of any and every exploiting group, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the establishment of the power of the most revolutionary class of all oppressed classes hitherto existing, the organization of a new, classless, socialist society.

It is precisely for this reason that the *victory* of the October Revolution means a radical change in the history of mankind, a radical change in the historical destinies of world capitalism, a

radical change in the movement for the emancipation of the world proletariat, a radical change in the methods of struggle and the forms of organization, in the everyday life and traditions, in the culture and ideology of exploited masses throughout the world.

Upon this is based the fact that the October Revolution is a revolution of an international, universal order.

This constitutes also the root cause of that profound sympathy which the oppressed classes of all countries cherish for the October Revolution, since they regard it as a pledge of their own deliverance.

It would be possible to note a number of fundamental questions indicating the line along which the October Revolution exercises its influence over the development of the revolutionary movement throughout the world.

1. The October Revolution is remarkable, first of all, for having broken through the front of world imperialism, deposed the imperialist bourgeoisie in one of the biggest capitalist countries and put the socialist proletariat in power.

The class of the wage workers, the class of the driven, the oppressed and exploited, has risen *for the first time* in the history of mankind to the position of a *ruling* class, setting a contagious example to the proletarians of all countries.

This means that the October Revolution *has opened up* a new epoch, an epoch of *proletarian* revolutions in the countries of *imperialism*.

It took the tools and means of production away from the landlords and capitalists and turned them into collective property, thus opposing socialist property to bourgeois property. It thereby exposed the lie of the capitalists that bourgeois property is inviolable, sacred, eternal.

It has wrested the power from the bourgeoisie, deprived the bourgeoisie of political rights, destroyed the bourgeois state machinery and transferred the power to the soviets, thus opposing the socialist rule of the soviets, as a *proletarian* democracy, to bourgeois parliamentarism, as *capitalist* democracy. Lafargue was right when he stated, as far back as 1887, that the very next

day after the revolution "all former capitalists would be deprived of the elective franchise." By that very means the October Revolution has exposed the lie of the Social-Democrats about the possibility of a peaceful transition now to socialism through bourgeois parliamentarism.

However, the October Revolution did not, and could not, stop there. Having destroyed the old, the bourgeois world, it began to build a new, a socialist world. The ten years of October Revolution are years of construction of the Party, the trade unions, the soviets, the co-operatives, cultural organizations, transport, industry, the Red Army. The undoubted successes of socialism in the U.S.S.R. on the construction front have visibly shown that the proletariat *can* successfully govern the country *without* the bourgeoisie and *against* the bourgeoisie, that it *can* successfully build industry *without* the bourgeoisie and *against* the bourgeoisie, that it *can* successfully guide the whole of the national economy *without* the bourgeoisie and *against* the bourgeoisie, that it *can* successfully build socialism in spite of the capitalist encirclement. The old "theory" to the effect that the exploited cannot do without the exploiters, just as the head or other parts of the body cannot get along without a stomach, is not only the idea of Menenius Agrippa, the famous Roman senator of ancient history. This "theory" is now the cornerstone of the political "philosophy" of social-democracy in general, of the social-democratic policy of *coalition* with the imperialist bourgeoisie—in particular. This "theory" which has acquired the character of a prejudice, now presents one of the greatest obstacles on the path of the revolutionization of the proletariat in the capitalist countries. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is the fact that it dealt that false "theory" a mortal blow.

Is there still any need to prove that such and similar results of the October Revolution could not, and cannot, remain without serious effect on the revolutionary movement of the working class in capitalist countries?

Such generally known facts as the progressive growth of communism in the capitalist countries, the growth of the sympathy of the proletarians of all countries with the working class of the

U.S.S.R.; finally, the influx of the workers' delegations into the Land of the Soviets, prove beyond a doubt that the seeds sown by the October Revolution already begin to bear fruit.

2. The October Revolution has shaken imperialism not only in the centres of its domination, not only in the "mother countries." It also dealt blows at the rears of imperialism, its periphery, by having undermined the domination of imperialism in the colonial and dependent countries.

Having overthrown the landlords and the capitalists, the October Revolution has broken the chains of national-colonial oppression and freed from it without exception all the oppressed nations of a vast state. The proletariat cannot free itself without liberating the oppressed nations. It is a characteristic trait of the October Revolution that it carried out these national-colonial revolutions in the U.S.S.R. not under the flag of national animosities and international conflicts, but under the flag of mutual trust and fraternal *rapprochement* between the workers and peasants of the various nationalities in the U.S.S.R.; not in the name of *nationalism*, but in the name of *internationalism*.

It is precisely because the national-colonial revolution took place in our country under the leadership of the proletariat and under the banner of internationalism, that the pariah nations, the slave nations, for the *first time* in the history of mankind have risen to the position of nations which are *really free and really equal*, thereby setting a contagious example to the nations of the whole world.

This means that the October Revolution has *ushered in* a new epoch, an epoch of *colonial* revolutions, which are carried out in the *oppressed countries* of the world in *alliance* with the proletariat and *under the leadership of the proletariat*.

Formerly it was the "accepted idea" that from time immemorial the world has been divided into inferior and superior races, into blacks and whites, that the former are incapable of assimilating civilization and are doomed to be objects of exploitation, and that the latter are the only exponents of civilization, whose mission it is to exploit the former. Now this legend must be regarded as shattered to pieces and rejected. One of the most

important results of the October Revolution is that it dealt that legend a mortal blow, having shown in practice that the liberated non-European nations, drawn into the channel of Soviet progress, are capable of promoting a *really* progressive culture and a *really* progressive civilization no less than the European nations.

Formerly it was the "accepted idea" that the only method of liberating the oppressed nations was the method of *bourgeois nationalism*, a method of nations seceding one from the other, a method of disuniting them, a method of intensifying national animosities between the toiling masses of various nations. Now this legend must be regarded as disproved. One of the most important results of the October Revolution is the fact that it dealt that legend a mortal blow, having shown in practice the possibility and expediency of the *proletarian, international* method of liberating the oppressed nations as the only correct method, having shown in practice the possibility and expediency of a *fraternal alliance* between the workers and peasants of the most diverse nations on the principles of *voluntariness* and *internationalism*. The existence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which is the prototype of the future amalgamation of the toilers of all countries in a single world economy, cannot but serve as direct proof of this.

Beyond question these and similar results of the October Revolution could not and cannot remain without serious effect on the revolutionary movement in the colonial and dependent countries. Facts like the growth of the revolutionary movement of the oppressed nations, in China, in Indonesia, in India, etc., and the growth of sympathy with the U.S.S.R. among these nations undoubtedly bear this out.

The era of undisturbed exploitation and oppression of the colonies and dependent countries *is gone*.

The era of emancipatory revolutions in the colonies and dependent countries, the era of the awakening of the *proletariat* in these countries, the era of its *hegemony* in the revolution, *has begun*.

3. By sowing the seeds of revolution, both in the centres of imperialism and in its rear, by weakening the power of imperial-

ism in the "mother countries" and undermining its domination in the colonies, the October Revolution has jeopardized the very existence of world capitalism *as a whole*.

While the spontaneous development of capitalism in the conditions of imperialism has grown over—owing to its unevenness, owing to the inevitability of conflicts and armed clashes, owing, finally, to the unprecedented imperialist slaughter—into the process of the "decay" and the "withering away" of capitalism, the October Revolution and the resultant secession of an enormous country from the world system of capitalism could not but accelerate this process, washing away, bit by bit, the very foundations of world imperialism.

More than that. In undermining imperialism, the October Revolution concomitantly established a powerful and open *base* for the world revolutionary movement, represented by the first proletarian dictatorship, a base which it *never had before* and on which it can now rely. It created that powerful and open *centre* of the world revolutionary movement which it *never possessed before* and around which it now can rally and organize a *united revolutionary front of the proletarians and of the oppressed nations of all countries against imperialism*.

This means, first of all, that the October Revolution inflicted a mortal wound on world capitalism, a wound from which it will never recover. It is precisely for this reason that capitalism will never recover the "equilibrium," the "stability" that it possessed prior to October. Capitalism may become partly stabilized, it may rationalize its production, turn over the administration of the country to fascism, hold the working class down for a while, but it will never recover the "tranquillity," the "assurance," the "equilibrium" and the "stability" that it flaunted before, for the crisis of world capitalism has reached the stage of development where the flames of revolution are bound to break through, now in the centres of imperialism, now in the periphery, reducing to naught the capitalist patchwork and daily bringing the fall of capitalism nearer. Exactly as we find it in the famous fable: "Pull the donkey's tale out of the mire and his nose will be stuck in it, pull out the nose and his tail will be in it."

This means, in the second place, that the October Revolution raised the force, the relative importance, the courage and the preparedness to fight of the oppressed classes of the whole world to a certain level, forcing the ruling classes to reckon with them as a *new*, an important factor. Now it is no longer possible to look upon the toiling masses of the world as a "blind mob," groping in the dark, devoid of all prospects, for the October Revolution raised a beacon for them which illumines their path and gives them prospects. Whereas formerly there was no *world-embracing*, open forum where the aspirations and ambitions of the oppressed classes could be expounded and formulated, now such a forum exists in the form of the first proletarian dictatorship.

There is hardly room for doubt that the destruction of this forum would cast the gloom of unbridled dark reaction for a long time to come over the social and political life of the "progressive countries." It is impossible to deny that the mere fact of the existence of a "bolshhevik state" exercises a restraining influence on the dark forces of reaction, thus facilitating the struggle of the oppressed classes for their liberation. This, properly speaking, explains the brutal hatred which the exploiters of all countries feel for the Bolsheviks. History repeats itself, though on a new basis. Just as formerly, during the period of the fall of *feudalism* the word "Jacobin" evoked horror and loathing among the aristocrats of all countries, so now in the period of the fall of *capitalism*, the word "Bolshevik" evokes horror and loathing in bourgeois countries. And *vice versa*, just as formerly Paris was a place of refuge and school for the revolutionary representatives of the rising *bourgeoisie*, so now Moscow is the place of refuge and school for the revolutionary representatives of the rising *proletariat*. Hatred for the Jacobins did not save feudalism from foundering. Can there be any doubt that hatred for the Bolsheviks will not save capitalism from inevitable perdition?

The era of the "stabilization" of capitalism *has gone*, taking along with it the legend of the unshakable character of the bourgeois order.

The era of the downfall of capitalism *has begun*.

The October Revolution is not only a revolution in the domain of economic and social-political relations. It is at the same time a revolution in the minds, a revolution in the ideology, of the working class. The October Revolution was born and strengthened under the flag of Marxism, under the banner of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the flag of Leninism which is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and of proletarian revolutions. It marks, therefore, the victory of Marxism over reformism, the victory of Leninism over social-democracy, the victory of the Third International over the Second International.

The October Revolution erected an impassable barrier between Marxism and social-democracy; between the policy of Leninism and the policy of social-democracy. Formerly, *prior to the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat*, social-democracy could disport the flag of Marxism without openly repudiating the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but at the same time without doing anything whatsoever to bring the realization of this idea nearer, for such behaviour on the part of social-democracy did not jeopardize capitalism in the least. Then, in that period, social-democracy was formally merged, or almost merged, with Marxism. Now, *after the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat*, when it became patent to all *whither* Marxism leads, *what* its victory could mean, social-democracy was no longer able to disport the flag of Marxism, could no longer flirt with the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat without putting capitalism in jeopardy to a certain extent. Having long ago broken with the spirit of Marxism, it found itself forced to break also with the flag of Marxism, it openly and unambiguously took the stand against the October Revolution, the offspring of Marxism, against the first dictatorship of the proletariat in the world. Now it had to, and really did, dissociate itself from Marxism, for under present conditions it is impossible to call oneself a Marxist without openly and self-sacrificingly supporting the first proletarian dictatorship in the world, without conducting a revolutionary struggle against one's own bourgeoisie, without creating the conditions for the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one's own country. A chasm opened up between social-democracy and Marx-

ism. Henceforth, the *only* exponent and bulwark of Marxism will be Leninism, communism.

However, matters did not rest there. After dissociating social-democracy from Marxism, the October Revolution went further, by throwing off social-democracy into the camp of the outright defenders of capitalism, *against* the first proletarian dictatorship in the world. When the Adlers and Bauers, the Welses and Levys, the Longuets and Blums abuse the "Soviet regime" and extol parliamentary "democracy," these gentlemen mean by this that they fight and will fight *for* the re-establishment of the capitalist order in the U.S.S.R., *for* the preservation of capitalist slavery in the "civilized" states. The present social-democracy is the *ideological prop* of capitalism. Lenin was absolutely right when he said that the present social-democratic politicians are "real agents of the bourgeoisie in the labour movement, the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class," that in the "civil war between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie" they will inevitably range themselves "on the side of the Versailles people against the Communards." *It is impossible to put an end to capitalism without putting an end to social-democracy in the labour movement.* Therefore, the era of the dying off of capitalism is at the same time the era of the dying off of social-democracy in the labour movement. The great importance of the October Revolution lies, incidentally, in the fact that it marks the inevitable victory of Leninism over social-democracy in the world labour movement.

The era of the domination of the Second International and of social-democracy in the labour movement *has come to an end.*

The era of the domination of Leninism and of the Third International *has begun.*

Pravda, No. 255, November 6-7, 1927.

Del

INTERVIEW TO "PRAVDA" CORRESPONDENT

Concerning Mr. Churchill's Speech at Fulton
March, 1946

TOWARDS the middle of March, 1946, a "Pravda" correspondent requested J. V. Stalin to clarify a number of questions connected with Mr. Churchill's speech at Fulton, U.S.A. Below are J. V. Stalin's replies to the correspondent's questions.

Question: How do you appraise Mr. Churchill's latest speech in the United States of America?

Answer: I appraise it as a dangerous act, calculated to sow the seeds of dissension among the Allied States and impede their collaboration.

Question: Can it be considered that Mr. Churchill's speech is prejudicial to the cause of peace and security?

Answer: Yes, unquestionably. As a matter of fact, Mr. Churchill now takes the stand of the warmongers, and in this Mr. Churchill is not alone. He has friends not only in Britain but in the United States of America as well.

A point to be noted is that in this respect Mr. Churchill and his friends bear a striking resemblance to Hitler and his friends. Hitler began his work of unleashing war by proclaiming a race theory, declaring that only German-speaking people constituted a superior nation. Mr. Churchill sets out to unleash war with a race theory, asserting that only English-speaking nations are superior nations, who are called upon to decide the destinies of the entire world. The German race theory led Hitler and his friends to the conclusion that the Germans, as the only superior nation, should rule over other nations. The English race theory leads Mr. Churchill and his friends to the conclusion that the English-speaking nations, as the only superior nations, should rule over the the rest of the nations of the world.

Actually, Mr. Churchill, and his friends in Britain and the United States, present to the non-English speaking

nations something in the nature of an ultimatum : " Accept our rule voluntarily, and then all will be well ; otherwise war is inevitable."

But the nations shed their blood in the course of five years' fierce war for the sake of the liberty and independence of their countries, and not in order to exchange the domination of the Hitlers for the domination of the Churchills. It is quite probable, accordingly, that the non-English-speaking nations, which constitute the vast majority of the population of the world, will not agree to submit to a new slavery.

It is Mr. Churchill's tragedy that, inveterate Tory that he is, he does not understand this simple and obvious truth.

There can be no doubt that Mr. Churchill's position is a war position, a call for war on the U.S.S.R. It is also clear that this position of Mr. Churchill's is incompatible with the Treaty of Alliance existing between Britain and the U.S.S.R. True, Mr. Churchill does say, in passing, in order to confuse his readers, that the term of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty of Mutual Assistance and Collaboration might quite well be extended to 50 years. But how is such a statement on Mr. Churchill's part to be reconciled with his position of war on the U.S.S.R., with his preaching of War against the U.S.S.R.? Obviously, these things cannot be reconciled by any means whatever. And if Mr. Churchill, who calls for war on the Soviet Union, at the same time considers it possible to extend the term of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty to 50 years, that means that he regards this Treaty as a mere scrap of paper, which he only needs in order to disguise and camouflage his anti-Soviet position. For this reason, the false statements of Mr. Churchill's friends in Britain, regarding the extension of the term of the Anglo-Soviet Treaty to 50 years or more, cannot be taken seriously. Extension of the Treaty term has no point if one of the parties violates the Treaty and converts it into a mere scrap of paper.

Question: How do you appraise the part of Mr. Churchill's speech in which he attacks the democratic systems in the European States bordering upon us, and criticises the good-neighbourly relations established between these States and the Soviet Union.

Answer : This part of Mr. Churchill's speech is compounded of elements of slander and elements of discourtesy and tactlessness. Mr. Churchill asserts that "Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest, Sofia—all these famous cities and the populations around them lie within the Soviet sphere and are all subject in one form or another not only to Soviet influence, but to a very high and increasing measure of control from Moscow." Mr. Churchill describes all this as "unlimited expansionist tendencies" on the part of the Soviet Union.

It needs no particular effort to show that in this Mr. Churchill grossly and unceremoniously slanders both Moscow and the above-named States bordering on the U.S.S.R.

In the first place it is quite absurd to speak of exclusive control by the U.S.S.R. in Vienna and Berlin, where there are Allied Control Councils made up of the representatives of four States and where the U.S.S.R. has only one-quarter of the votes. It does happen that some people cannot help in engaging in slander. But still, there is a limit to everything.

Secondly, the following circumstance should not be forgotten. The Germans made their invasion of the U.S.S.R. through Finland, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary. The Germans were able to make their invasion through these countries because, at the time, governments hostile to the Soviet Union existed in these countries. As a result of the German invasion the Soviet Union has lost irretrievably in the fighting against the Germans, and also through the German occupation and the deportation of Soviet citizens to German servitude, a total of about seven million people. In other words, the Soviet Union's loss of life has been several times greater than that of Britain and the United States of America put together. Possibly in some quarters an inclination is felt to forget about these colossal sacrifices of the Soviet people which secured the liberation of Europe from the Hitlerite yoke. But the Soviet Union cannot forget about them. And so what can there be surprising about the fact that the Soviet Union, anxious for its future safety, is trying to see to it that governments loyal in their attitude to the Soviet Union should exist in these countries? How can anyone, who has not taken leave of his wits, describe these peaceful aspirations of the Soviet Union as expansionist tendencies on the part of our State?

Mr. Churchill claims further that the "Russian-dominated Polish Government has been encouraged to make enormous, wrongful inroads on Germany."

Every word of this is a gross and insulting calumny. Outstanding men are at the helm in present democratic Poland. They have proved by their deeds that they are capable of upholding the interests and dignity of their country as their predecessors were not. What grounds has Mr. Churchill to assert that the leaders of present-day Poland can countenance in their country the domination of representatives of any foreign State whatever? Is it not because Mr. Churchill means to sow the seeds of dissension in the relations between Poland and the Soviet Union that he slanders "the Russians" here?

Mr. Churchill is displeased that Poland has faced about in her policy in the direction of friendship and alliance with the U.S.S.R. There was a time when elements of conflict and antagonism predominated in the relations between Poland and the U.S.S.R. This circumstance enabled statesmen like Mr. Churchill to play on these antagonisms, to get control over Poland on the pretext of protecting her from the Russians, to try to scare Russia with the spectre of war between her and Poland, and retain the position of arbiter for themselves. But that time is past and gone, for the enmity between Poland and Russia has given place to friendship between them, and Poland—present-day democratic Poland—does not choose to be a play-ball in foreign hands any longer. It seems to me that it is this fact that irritates Mr. Churchill and makes him indulge in discourteous, tactless sallies against Poland. Just imagine—he is not being allowed to play his game at the expense of others!

As to Mr. Churchill's attack upon the Soviet Union in connection with the extension of Poland's Western frontier to include Polish territories which the Germans had seized in the past—here it seems to me he is plainly cheating. As is known, the decision on the Western frontier of Poland was adopted at the Berlin Three-Power Conference on the basis of Poland's demands. The Soviet Union has repeatedly stated that it considers Poland's demands to be proper and just. It is quite probable that Mr. Churchill is displeased with this decision. But why does Mr. Churchill, while sparing no shots against the Russian position in this matter, conceal from his

readers the fact that this decision was passed at the Berlin Conference by unanimous vote—that it was not only the Russians, but the British and Americans as well, that voted for the decision? Why did Mr. Churchill think it necessary to mislead the public?

Further, Mr. Churchill asserts that the "Communist Parties, which were previously very small in all these Eastern States of Europe, have been raised to prominence and power far beyond their numbers and seek everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. Police governments prevail in nearly every case, and "thus far, except in Czechoslovakia, there is no true democracy."

As is known, the Government of the State in Britain at the present time is in the hands of one party, the Labour Party, and the opposition parties are deprived of the right to participate in the Government of Britain. That Mr. Churchill calls true democracy. Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Hungary are administered by blocs of several parties—from four to six parties—and the opposition, if it is more or less loyal, is secured the right of participation in the Government. That Mr. Churchill describes as totalitarianism, tyranny and police rule. Why? On what grounds? Don't expect a reply from Mr. Churchill. Mr. Churchill does not understand in what a ridiculous position he puts himself by his outcry about "totalitarianism, tyranny and police rule."

Mr. Churchill would like Poland to be administered by Sosnkowski and Anders, Yugoslavia by Mikhailovich and Pavelich, Rumania by Prince Stirbey and Radescu, Hungary and Austria by some King of the House of Hapsburg, and so on. Mr. Churchill wants to assure us that these gentlemen from the Fascist backyard can ensure true democracy."

Such is the "democracy" of Mr. Churchill.

Mr. Churchill comes somewhere near the truth when he speaks of the increasing influence of the Communist Parties in Eastern Europe. It must be remarked, however, that he is not quite accurate. The influence of the Communist Parties has grown not only in Eastern Europe, but in nearly all the countries of Europe which were previously under Fascist rule—Italy, Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Finland—or which experienced

German, Italian or Hungarian occupation--France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Denmark, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece, the Soviet Union and so on.

The increased influence of the Communists cannot be considered fortuitous. It is a perfectly logical thing. The influence of the Communists has grown because, in the years of the rule of Fascism in Europe, the Communists showed themselves trusty, fearless, self-sacrificing fighters against the Fascist regime for the liberty of the peoples. Mr. Churchill in his speeches sometimes recalls the plain people from little homes, slapping them patronisingly on the back and parading as their friend. But these people are not so simple as may at first sight appear. These plain people have views of their own, a policy of their own, and they know how to stand up for themselves. It was they, the millions of these plain people, that defeated Mr. Churchill and his party in Britain by casting their votes for the Labourites. It was they, the millions of these "plain people," who isolated the reactionaries and advocates of collaboration with Fascism in Europe, and gave their preference to the Left democratic parties. It was they, the millions of these "plain people," who after testing the Communists in the fires of struggle and resistance to Fascism, came to the conclusion that the Communists were fully deserving of the people's confidence. That was how the influence of the Communists grew in Europe.

Of course Mr. Churchill does not like this course of development and he sounds the alarm and appeals to force. But neither did he like the birth of the Soviet regime in Russia after the First World War. At that time, too, he sounded the alarm and organised an armed campaign of 14 States against Russia setting himself the goal of turning back the wheel of history. But history proved stronger than the Churchill intervention, and Mr. Churchill's quixotry led to his unmitigated defeat at that time. I don't know whether Mr. Churchill and his friends will succeed in organising a new armed campaign against Eastern Europe after the Second World War; but if they do succeed—which is not very probable because millions of plain people stand guard over the cause of peace—it may confidently be said that they will be thrashed, just as they were thrashed once before, 26 years ago.

THE TASKS OF BUSINESS MANAGERS

(Speech delivered at the First All-Union Conference of Managers of Soviet Industry, February 4, 1931)

COMRADES:

The deliberations of your Conference are drawing to a close. You are now about to adopt resolutions. I have no doubt that they will be adopted unanimously. In these resolutions—I know something about them—you approve the Control Figures of industry for 1931 and undertake to fulfil them.

A Bolshevik's word is his bond. The Bolsheviks are accustomed to fulfil their promises. But what does the pledge to fulfil the Control Figures for 1931 mean? It means to ensure a general growth of industrial output by 45 per cent. And this is a very big task. Moreover, such a pledge means that you not only promise to carry out our Five-Year Plan in four years—this goes without saying, and no more resolutions are required for this—*it means that you undertake to fulfil it in three years in all the basic, leading industries.*

It is a good thing that the Conference undertakes to fulfil the programme for 1931, to fulfil the Five-Year Plan in three years. But we have been taught by "bitter experience" that not all pledges are fulfilled. In the beginning of 1930 a similar pledge to fulfil the yearly plan was undertaken. At that time it was necessary to increase the output of our industries by 31–32 per cent. However, that promise was not carried out completely. In reality, the industrial output in 1930 advanced only 25 per cent. We must ask ourselves, Will not the same thing occur again this year? The leaders of our industries now promise to increase the industrial production in 1931 by 45 per cent. But what guarantee have we that the promise will be fulfilled?

What is required in order to fulfil the Control Figures, in order to yield an increase in production of 45 per cent, in order to secure the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan not in four, but, as regards the key industries, in three years?

Two fundamental conditions are necessary. First, real, or as we usually term it, objective, possibilities must exist.

Secondly, there must be a willingness and ability to conduct our enterprises in such a way as to take advantage of these possibilities.

plan exist last year? Yes, they did. Undeniable facts testify to this. The facts are that in March and April of last year our industry increased output by 31 per cent as compared with the previous year. Why, then, did we fail to fulfil the plan for the whole year? What interfered? What was lacking? We lacked the ability to utilise the existing possibilities, the ability to manage the factories, mills, and mines properly.

We had the first condition: the objective possibilities for the fulfilment of the plan. But we did not have in sufficient degree the second condition: the ability to manage production. And precisely for this reason our plan was not carried out in full. Instead of 31-32 per cent increase we had only 25 per cent. Of course, a 25 per cent increase is a big achievement in 1930, nor are there any that are increasing production now. All capitalist countries without exception show a sharp decline in production. Under such conditions a 25 per cent increase is a big step forward. But we could have produced more, for we had all the necessary "objective" conditions for it.

What guarantee is there that the experience of last year will not be repeated this year, that the plan will be carried out in full, that the existing possibilities will be utilised by us properly, that your promise will not to a certain extent remain a paper promise?

In the history of States and countries, in the history of armies, there have been cases when every possibility for success and for victory was at hand, but these possibilities were neglected because the leaders did not see them, did not know how to utilise them, and the armies suffered defeat.

Have we all the possibilities required for the fulfilment of the Control Figures in 1931?

Yes, these possibilities are all at hand.

What are these possibilities? What is needed in order to realise them?

First of all adequate natural resources are required: iron ore, coal, oil, grain, cotton. Have we got these? Yes, we have. We have them in larger quantities than any other country. Take the Urals, for example, which represents a combination of wealth that cannot be found in any other country. Ore, coal, copper, oil, grain—what is there not in the Urals? We have everything, except perhaps rubber. But within a year or two we will have

our own rubber as well. As far as natural resources are concerned we are fully secured. We even have more than enough.

What else is required?

The *existence of a Government* capable and willing to utilise these immense natural resources in the interests of the nation. Have we such a Government? We have. True, our work in utilising natural resources is sometimes accompanied by friction between our own workers. For instance, last year the Soviet Government had to wage a controversy on the question of the formation of a second coal and metal base without which we cannot develop further. We have already overcome these difficulties and shall soon have this base.

What else is required?

It is necessary that the Government should enjoy the *support* of the vast masses of workers and peasants. Does our Government enjoy such support? It does. No other Government in the world enjoys such support among its workers and peasants as does the Soviet Government. There is no need for me to deal in detail with the growth of Socialist competition, the spread of shock brigades, the campaign in the struggle for counter-plans. All these facts, which clearly reflect the support of the Soviet Government by millions, are well known.

What else is required in order to fulfil and surpass the Control Figure for 1931?

We must have a system free of the incurable diseases of capitalism and having serious advantages over capitalism. Crisis, unemployment, waste, general poverty, are the incurable diseases of capitalism. Our system does not suffer from these diseases because the Government is in our hands, in the hands of the working class, because we are conducting planned economy, are accumulating resources in a planned way, and properly distributing them among the different branches of national economy. We are free of the incurable diseases of capitalism. That is what distinguishes us from capitalism, that is what marks our decisive superiority over capitalism. See how the capitalists are trying to extricate themselves from the crisis. They are reducing the workers' wages to a minimum. They are reducing the prices of raw materials and food products as much as possible. But they do not want to reduce the prices of manufactured goods to any appreciable degree. This means that they want to overcome the crisis at the expense

of the basic consumers, at the expense of the workers, at the expense of the peasants, at the expense of the toilers in countries producing raw materials and food. The capitalists are cutting the ground from under their own feet. And instead of ending the crisis they aggravate it, stimulate new conditions leading to a new and even more serious crisis. The advantage of our system is that we know no crisis of over-production, we had not and will not have millions of unemployed, we have no anarchy in production, for we are conducting planned economy. Nor is this all. In our country industry is concentrated as nowhere else in the world. That means that we can build our industry on the basis of the best technique and thereby secure an unprecedented productivity of labour, an unprecedented rate of accumulation.

Our weakness in the past has been that this industry was based upon a scattered peasant economy. That *was* the case, it is not the case now. Soon, perhaps within a year, we will become the country of the largest scale agriculture in the world. The State and collective farms—and they are forms of large-scale agriculture—already this year yielded half our marketable grain. Thus our system, the Soviet system, affords possibilities of rapid progress which no single bourgeois country can even dream of.

What else is required in order to advance by leaps and bounds?

We need a *Party* sufficiently solidified and united in order to direct the efforts of the best members of the working class to *one purpose*, and sufficiently experienced not to be dismayed by difficulties, a Party systematically pursuing a correct, revolutionary, Bolshevik policy. Have we such a Party? We have. Is its policy correct? It is. Its successes have been considerable. This is now recognised not only by the friends but also by the enemies of the working class. See how all the well-known “honourable” gentlemen, Fish in America, Churchill in England, Poincaré in France, howl and rage against us! Why are they so disturbed? Because the policy of our Party is correct, because it is achieving success after success.

Such, comrades, are the possibilities which facilitate the fulfilment of the Control Figures for 1931, which make it possible to fulfil the Five-Year Plan in four years, and in the key industries even in three years.

Thus the first condition for the fulfilment of the plan—the “objective” possibilities—exists here.

possibilities?

In other words, are our factories, mills, and mines efficiently managed? Is everything in order in these fields?

Unfortunately, not everything is perfect here. As Bolsheviks we must state this frankly and openly.

What does it mean to manage production? We do not always observe a Bolshevik attitude toward this question of industrial management. Many among us think that management means signing papers. This is sad, but true. At times, one cannot help recalling Shchedrin's Pompadours. Do you remember how the lady Pompadour taught the young Pompadour: "Don't break your head over science, don't go into details, let others do this, this is not your business—your business is to direct, to sign papers." It must be admitted to our shame that among us Bolsheviks there are also a good many people who direct by signing papers. And as for getting a real insight into the business, learning technique, becoming master of the business, not a sign.

How has it happened that we, Bolsheviks, who have made three revolutions, who emerged victoriously from the bitter civil war, we who have solved the vast problem of creating an industry, who have directed the peasantry to the path of Socialism, how is it that in the matter of industrial management we bow to a slip of paper?

The reason is that it is easier to sign a paper than to manage production. Many managers therefore chose the line of least resistance. We, too, the centre, bear a share of the blame.

About ten years ago a slogan was issued: "Since Communists do not yet properly understand the technique of production, since they have yet to learn the art of management, let the technicians and engineers—the specialists—carry on production, while you, Communists, should not interfere with the technique of the business, but, while not interfering, study technique tirelessly, study the science of management in order later to become, together with our loyal specialists, true leaders of industry, true masters of business." Such was the slogan, and what has resulted therefrom? The second part of this formula has been cast aside, for signing papers is easier than learning, while the first part of the formula has been vulgarised and non-interference has been interpreted as a refusal to study the technique of pro-

duction. The result has been nonsense, harmful and dangerous nonsense, which the sooner we discard the better.

Life itself has more than once signalled to us that there was trouble in this field. The Shakhti case was the first signal. The Shakhti case showed that the Party organisations and the trade unions lacked revolutionary vigilance. It showed that our business managers were disgracefully backward in regard to technique, that some of the old engineers and technicians, who work without being controlled, slid more easily toward the path of wrecking activities, especially as they were constantly besieged by "offers" from our enemies abroad. The second signal was the "Industrial Party" trial.¹

Of course, the underlying cause of wrecking is the class struggle. Naturally the class enemy frantically resists the Socialist offensive. This alone, however, is not adequate explanation of such a rich outcrop of sabotage.

How did it happen that sabotage assumed such wide dimensions? Who is to blame for it? We are to blame; for had we handled the business of industrial management differently, had we taken up earlier the work of studying its technique, the mastering of technology, had we more frequently and efficiently intervened in the management of business, the wreckers could not have done so much damage.

We must ourselves become specialists, masters of industry; we must turn to technical science—such has been the lesson of life itself. But neither the first signal nor even the second signal brought about the necessary change. It is time, it has long been, to turn towards technique. It is time to cast aside the old slogan, the obsolete slogan of non-interference in technique, and become specialists, experts, complete masters of the business.

It is frequently asked why we do not have individual management. We have not got it and will not have it unless we have mastered technique. We will not have real individual management until there are among us Bolsheviks who are thoroughly familiar with technical questions, economics, and finance. You can write any number of resolutions, you can make any number of vows, but unless you grasp the technique, economics, and finance of the factory, mill,

¹ The trial—in 1930—of a group of wreckers who had formed a political Party of this name, the aim of which was to overthrow the Soviet Government.—Ed.

and mine—nothing will come of it, there will be no individual management.

Thus, the task now is to study the technique of becoming masters of the business ourselves. This alone provides a guarantee that our plans will be carried out in full, and that single management will be established.

This, of course, is no easy matter, but it can certainly be accomplished. Science, technical experience, knowledge are all things that can be acquired. We may not have them to-day, but to-morrow we will. The main point is to have the passionate Bolshevik desire to master technique, to master the science of production. If a thing is passionately desired everything can be achieved, everything can be overcome.

It is sometimes asked whether it is not possible to slow down a bit in *tempo*, to retard the movement. No, comrades, this is impossible! It is impossible to reduce the *tempo*! On the contrary, it is necessary as far as possible to accelerate it. This necessity is dictated by our obligations to the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. This is dictated to us by our obligations to the working class of the whole world. To slacken the *tempo* means to fall behind. And the backward are always beaten. But we do not want to be beaten. No, we do not want this!

Incidentally, the history of old Russia is the history of defeats due to backwardness. She was beaten by the Mongol khans. She was beaten by the Turkish beys. She was beaten by the Swedish feudal barons. She was beaten by the Polish-Lithuanian "squires." She was beaten by the Anglo-French capitalists. She was beaten by the Japanese barons. All beat her for her backwardness, for military backwardness, for cultural backwardness, for Governmental backwardness, for industrial backwardness, for agricultural backwardness. She was beaten because to beat her was profitable and could be done with impunity. Do you remember the words of the pre-revolutionary poet: "You are both poor and abundant, you are both powerful and helpless, Mother Russia." These words of the old poet were well known to those gentlemen. They beat her, saying: "You are abundant"—so we can enrich ourselves at your expense. They beat her, saying: "You are poor and helpless"—so you can be beaten and plundered with impunity. Such is the law of capitalism—to beat the backward and the weak. The jungle law of capitalism. You are backward, you are weak,

so you are wrong, hence you can be beaten and enslaved. You are mighty, so you are right, hence we must be wary of you.

That is why we must no longer be backward.

In the past we did not and could not have any fatherland. But now that we have a working-class Government, we have a fatherland, and we will defend its independence. Do you want our Socialist fatherland to be beaten and to lose its independence? If you do not want this you must put an end to this backwardness as speedily as possible and develop genuine Bolshevik speed in building up the Socialist system of economy. There is no other way. That is why Lenin said during the October Revolution: "Either death, or we must overtake and surpass the advanced capitalist countries."

We are 50-100 years behind the advanced countries. We must cover this distance in 10 years. Either we do this or they will crush us.

This is what our obligation to the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. dictate to us.

We have, however, still more serious and more important obligations. These are our obligations to the world proletariat. They coincide with our first obligations. But we regard them as being still higher. The working class of the U.S.S.R. is part of the world working class. We have triumphed not only as a result of the efforts of the working class of the U.S.S.R., but also as a result of the support of the working class of the world. Without this support we would long ago have been torn to pieces. It is said that our country is the shock brigade of the proletariat of all countries. This is well said. And this imposes very serious obligations upon us. Why does the international proletariat support us; how did we deserve this support? We merited it by the fact that we were the first to fling ourselves into the battle against capitalism, we were the first to establish a working-class State, we were the first to begin building Socialism. We merited it by the fact that we are working for a cause which, if successful, will change the whole world and free the entire working class. And what is wanted for success? The elimination of our backwardness, the development of a high Bolshevik *tempo* of construction. We must move forward so that the working class of the whole world, looking at us, might say: "Here is my vanguard, here is my shock brigade, here is my working-class State, here is my fatherland; they are promoting their cause which is our cause;

well, let us support them against the capitalists and spread the cause of the world revolution." Must we justify the hopes of the world's working class, must we fulfil our obligations to them? Yes, we must if we are not hopelessly to disgrace ourselves. Such are our obligations internal and international.

You see, they dictate to us a Bolshevik *tempo* of development.

I cannot say that we have not accomplished anything in these years with regard to industrial management. In fact, we have accomplished a good deal. We have doubled our industrial production compared with the pre-war level. We have created the biggest agricultural production in the world. But we could have accomplished even more had we tried hard during this time to really master the art of management, technique, economics, and finance of industry.

In ten years at most we must cover the distance which separates us from the advanced countries of capitalism. We have all the "objective" possibilities for this. What is lacking only is the ability to properly utilise these possibilities. And this depends upon us. *Upon us alone!* It is time we learned to utilise these possibilities. It is time to put an end to the rotten policy of non-interference in production. It is time to adopt a new policy more in harmony with the present period, a policy of intervening in everything. If you are a factory manager, take a hand in all the affairs of the factory, look into everything, let nothing escape you, learn and learn more. The Bolsheviks must master technology. It is time for the Bolsheviks themselves to become specialists. During the period of reconstruction technique decides everything. And a business manager who does not want to study technology, who does not want to master technology, is a joke rather than a manager.

It is said that it is hard to master technology. This is untrue. There are no strongholds which the Bolsheviks were unable to capture. We have solved a number of most difficult problems. We have overthrown capitalism. We have seized power. We have built up a huge Socialist industry. We have turned the middle peasants in the direction of Socialism. We have already accomplished the most important thing from the point of view of reconstruction. Little remains to do. We must study technology, master science. And when we do this we will show a *tempo* of which we dare not even dream at present. And we will do this if we really desire to do so.

