

# **SPECIAL NUMBER**

English Edition.

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint.

# **- INTERNATIONAL - PRESS CORRESPONDENCE**

Vol. 7. No. 59

20<sup>th</sup> October 1927

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## **Plan of a Campaign for the**

# **X. Anniversary of the October Revolution**

**(Draft of the Communist International.)**

### **I. THE HISTORIC IMPORTANCE OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND GENERAL TEACHINGS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT.**

1. The victory of the proletarian October revolution 1917 signifies in the history of mankind the dawn of a new era, the era of the decline of the capitalist system and its supplanting by a superior system of production: socialism.

Imperialism, the last phase of capitalism, developed to the utmost the inner dissensions of the regime, the conflicts of interests among the imperialist powers, their competition and their struggle for the conquest of raw materials and markets. Inevitably it leads up to an imperialist world war. The efforts for the reconstruction and stabilisation of their regime, which the capitalist Powers made after every war, solved none of the fundamental contradictions, which prepare its decline and fall. On the contrary: the relative stabilisation of capitalism during the last years increased the elements for new conflicts: the rising antagonism between England and the United States, their struggle for supremacy on the seas and in the world. The antagonism between France and England on the Continent (Balkans, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Mediterranean) and in the colonies (the near East, Africa). The claim of young or recovering imperialist systems, like Italy and Germany for a new division of the world. Protectionism and tariff wars, which are driven to the extreme. Far from solving these conflicts, the League of Nations only shows better their dimensions and the incapacity to overcome them. The results are new armaments and military reorganisation of the most important States in preparation for a new war.

2. The transition from capitalism to a socialist regime will not take place automatically, simply through the natural, peaceful evolution of the economic and social forces, but through a sharp, revolutionary crisis, in a gigantic struggle without mercy and quarter between the forces of the exploiting class on the one hand and the proletariat with its allies, the exploited peasants and the suppressed colonial peoples, on the other. The condition for the transformation of the system and the seizure of political power by the proletariat for the destruction of the bourgeois State and its oppressive machinery, is the creation of a proletarian

State as a fighting organ of the working class, against the opposition of its class enemies.

3. Ten years of existence of the October revolution prove the correctness of these fundamental Marxian principles, which now have been tested and confirmed through historic experience during the three phases of the proletarian revolution.

a) **The seizing of power.** In 1917 the Russian proletariat showed how the working class can seize the power. It was not done by a general strike and not by folding arms, which, like a miracle, paralysed the bourgeois regime, as the syndicalists used to preach before the war, it was not done through terrorist acts of a minority or of isolated individuals, as the anarchists taught us, nor was it done through Parliament and by means of democratic conquest of the majority, as the social democrats want it. **The capture of the political power of the State by the proletariat was achieved by means of the armed revolt of the working masses.** The syndicalist theory of abstention from work, of the folded arms, was opposed by the offensive, armed action of the proletariat, the theory of the individual terror, or the terror of small groups was opposed by the mobilisation and action of the masses.

In 1917 the Russian proletariat proved furthermore, that the seizing of the power by the working class inevitably leads to the destruction of the old machinery of the capitalist State — be it a democratic or a monarchist one — and its replacing by the organs of the new State, which are an expression of the class rule of the proletariat, of the dictatorship of the proletariat: the soviets, which before the seizing of power mobilise the masses for the revolt, and the day after the seizing of power become organs of the proletarian power, the proletarian dictatorship.

b) **The defence of the power.** The experience of 1917 proves, that the seizing of power is followed by a period of acute civil war, a period during which the capitalist class attempts to destroy the proletarian power. The soviet State immediately had to defend itself against the ferocious attack of the capitalist States (intervention of the Germans in Ukraine, of the British in Archangelsk, of the French in the Black Sea, the Czechoslovakians in Siberia, Poland etc., the policy of the barbed wire and of the

blockade, the policy of support for the white armies and the counter-revolution at home); it had to defend itself against the attack of the counter-revolution in the country (revolt and counter-revolutionary war of Kornilov, Kaledin, Judenitsch, Koltchak, Wrangel, terrorist assassinations and sabotage etc.); it had to defend itself against the attempts to disorganise, weaken and destroy the proletarian power which were made by social-democrats and anarchists (mensheviks, S. R. rising, Machno). For the defence of the power it is inevitable to exercise without mercy the proletarian dictatorship against every enemy of the proletariat, to organise the forces of the revolutionary armies (Red Army) and of the proletarian police. (Tscheke).

The experience of the Russian proletariat absolutely refutes the anarchist theory of the possibility to abolish the State immediately after the victory of the proletariat, and also the pessimistic prophecies about the necessary fall of a regime which came into power through revolutionary force, and which is being defended by the proletarian dictatorship, the replacement of which by a reactionary regime was predicted. The social-democratic governments of 1918 were in every case put out of office by governments of reaction and white terror. The 10th anniversary of the proletarian State proves, that only the dictatorship of the proletariat, the determined fight against all home and foreign enemies, the socialdemocrats included, can insure the defense and final victory of the socialist regime. The dictatorship of the proletariat saved the revolution in spite of the betrayal of the socialdemocrats, who deserted the Russian proletariat in its struggle against all the unchained forces of international capitalism, and who even added to its difficulties through the "theoretical" and practical support of the counter-revolution. War communism was the only means which during the years of civil war could maintain and defend the State of the workers.

c) **The utilization of the power for the building up of socialism.** The energetic defence of the proletarian power against all its enemies finally led to the liquidation of the civil war, and the Russian proletariat was able to devote all its energies to the economic reconstruction, to the development of its heavy industry, transport, trade etc. on the basis of socialism. During this period the Russian proletariat gave a practical example, how, after the victory over the counter-revolution, though still surrounded by capitalist countries and constantly threatened by Imperialism, the worker's State builds up socialism.

The N. E. P., which replaced war communism, signified a certain economic retreat and a round-about-way to socialism. Under the N. E. P., private capital received a relative liberty in production and trade. The building up of socialism is proved by the fact that there is a constant progress of socialised industry and socialised trade and that every year there is to be observed a systematic decline of private capital in all fields of economic activity. (See Appendix I.)

The results of a few years of socialist construction prove the superiority of the socialist over the capitalist production. From the social point of view this period of the building up of socialism is characterised by a constant improvement of the material position and the standard of the working class, increase in wages, the functioning of the social insurance, improvement of the intellectual level (clubs, reading rooms, cinemas, conferences, radio, public gardens, courses) improvement of the public health service (sanatoriums, free medical advice, convalescent homes, paid holidays, excursions, sport, campaigns against epidemics etc.) (See Appendix II.)

The socialist form of production secures the active participation of the working class in the administration of production: red workers-directors, factory councils, communist nuclei, periodic production-conferences. The rationalisation is carried out with other methods in the socialist than in the capitalist industry. It consists for the major part in technical improvements, simplification of the methods of production, many suggestions coming from the workers themselves, whereas under the capitalist system the rationalisation is accomplished at the expense of the workers with increased exploitation and a rapid growth of unemployment.

Unemployment in the U. S. S. R. has quite a different character from that of the industrial countries of the West. In the West, the unemployed are workers thrown out of production as a result of stoppage or slowing down of production in certain branches of industry. In the U. S. S. R. unemployment is caused mostly by the influx of workers from the open country into the towns. Production is not at a standstill, on the contrary,

new plants are established, and every year, hundreds of thousands of new workers enter production. (See Appendix III.)

The political life is characterised by the practice of worker's democracy on a large scale. The soviet organs for the uprising and the dictatorship of the proletariat are also the organs of the proletarian democracy. Constantly new and broader masses are participating in the administration of public affairs. (An example are the last elections for the Moscow Soviet, where 75—80% of the delegates were elected for the first time.)

Thus the participation of the population in the elections was in percentage:

	1922	1923	1924	1925/26
To the town Soviets . . .	36.5	38.5	40.5	48.7
To the village soviets: . .	22.3	37.2	41.1	47.3

#### Soviet elections 1927.

##### Composition of electorate at the town elections.

At the elections for 112 town soviets of the R. S. F. S. R. there participated:

	1926	1927
of the trade union membership . . .	54.5%	63.3%
of the unorganised . . .	39.9%	44.1%
of the red armists . . .	69.4%	76.7%

For the Moscow soviet there were elected:

1850 delegates (64% of them are workers).

Among them 67% communists.

In every field of social and political activity the woman enjoys equal rights with the man and participates eagerly in the public life (conferences of delegates).

The working class enjoys a broad political freedom. The workers practise a healthy criticism at the factory meetings, where the responsible comrades of the Party and the State report periodically on the policy of the Party and of the government. Public education has made much progress, the circulation of the papers is 10 million the numbers of the worker correspondents 250,000, universities and higher education are at the disposal of the workers and peasants. Uniform working school, the movement of the pioneers. The Red Army is a school for international solidarity where every worker and peasant learns that he has to serve all the oppressed and exploited of the world. Development of socialism in the country. Protection of the poor peasants against the kulaks.

#### Protection of agricultural labourers.

1. Attempts to interest the village soviets and especially the cooperatives for the village poor.

2. Facilities for poor villagers to join the agricultural and credit cooperatives (Reduction of fees, State support for admission.)

3. Support for the development of agricultural collective enterprises (incl. of coop. farms of the poor villagers). Facilities for the buying of machines. Promotion of cooperatives.

4. Exemption from taxes.

5. Existence of trade unions, labour legislation, credits.

6. Law regarding the employment of agricultural labourers. Expenditure 1924/25

105 million rubels for the support of the poor villagers,

60 million rubels for exemption from taxes and insurance payments.

#### Protection against the "kulak" danger.

1. High taxes.

2. Policy of isolation of the kulaks through the alliance between the village poor and the middle peasant.

3. Rôle of cooperatives; — they have to organise the middle peasant economically against the kulaks, to supply the country and to realise socialism in the open country.

The development of socialism in the country by means of the co-operatives; advance of the co-operatives in the country. (See Appendix IV.)

The taxation policy of the government attempts to hamper the influence and the development of the kulaks. Considerable improvements of the standard of life of all groups of the peasant population characterise the effects of the new regime in the country. Measures for the prevention of the revival of capitalist elements in the economic life — (f. i. the law for the taxation of super profits of March 18th 1917). Detailed materials see Appendix (I)... Monopoly of foreign trade, ousting of the N. E. P. men from their economic positions, etc.

4. The experience of the 10 years of proletarian revolution proves to the working class the necessity of a disciplined class party, of a Communist Party, which fights without mercy the socialdemocratic ideology and all opportunist or ultraleft deviations from Marxism.

The Communist Party was the energetic force and the reliable leader of the proletarian revolution. Solely owing to its activity and leadership, the capture of power, its defence and utilisation for the building up of socialism were possible.

## II. TEN YEARS OF THE PROLETARIAN VICTORY AND TEN YEARS OF ATTEMPTS TO STABILISE CAPITALISM.

1. During the last 10 years capitalism consolidated its power. The revolutionary efforts of 1918—20 failed, owing to the resistance of the bourgeoisie and the betrayal of the social-democrats, who, thanks to their open and armed fight against the proletarian revolution (Noske) saved the bourgeois system, and later on by their parliamentary and government coalitions helped to consolidate it, while suppressing and splitting the labour movement. The capitalists accomplished a certain, not solid, but evident stabilisation. The Soviet Union during the same period had likewise consolidated its positions and accomplished a stabilisation, which is infinitely more solid and lasting than the capitalist stabilisation.

The economic and political situation of the world is to-day determined by the fact of this double stabilisation, and the fundamental antagonism between the two systems that have thus been consolidated. The Soviet Union is the most important factor for the destruction of the capitalist stabilisation; an enormous reservoir of raw-materials and a tremendous market; for the capitalist world, which is searching for new markets, it represents a gigantic territory, which is closed to its exploitation. Moreover, the existence of the Soviet Union and its stabilisation is a living example for the world proletariat and the colonial peoples. Its policy is directed towards the support of the struggles of the working class and the colonial slaves all over the world. Thus, the Soviet Union is not only a substantial market, closed to capitalist exploitation, but it also prevents the unlimited exploitation of the colonies, semi-colonies and of the world proletariat, because it promotes and actively supports the struggles of the workers and the colonial peoples. This is the reason why the capitalist States are trying to destroy the Soviet Union and why on the one hand they are trying by means of trade relations, economic concessions etc. to cause the proletarian State to abandon its revolutionary aims and to further its approach to the forms of bourgeois democracy, and on the other hand, in view of the failure of their efforts in this direction, they are now preparing the open, armed fight against the Soviet Union and by its economic, financial and political encirclement, they intend to slow down the development of the socialist economic system, and to create new difficulties for the proletarian State.

Now the tendencies of the two systems, whose antagonism determines the international situation, are fundamentally opposed. Capitalism, in spite of its relative stabilisation, is on the decline, whereas the socialist system of the Soviet Union in spite of all the existing difficulties and dangers is passing through a period of rapid advance. Even the economists of the bourgeoisie are compelled to acknowledge the rapidity, with which — without credits — the economic life of the Soviet Union has been reconstructed after the years of civil war and famine.

2. In the economic field the relative stabilisation of capitalism was accomplished at the expense of the working class. The standard of life of the proletariat has been considerably reduced during the last 10 years either through a direct offensive against wages (Great Britain) or through a rapid increase in the costs of living caused by an inflation without corresponding increase in wages (Belgium) or through both phenomena simultaneously (France, Italy etc.) (See Appendix V.)

The result of this situation is a growing protectionism, tariff war, the struggle for the world market. The creation of international trusts has only sharpened the conflict between the various capitalist groups. In the social field the reduction of the standard of life of the workers caused many class conflicts, which in spite of the repeated betrayal of the socialdemocrats assume a more and more serious character (General strike and miner's struggle in Great Britain etc.) In the Soviet Union socialist stabilisation resulted in constant improvement of the standard of life of the working class, increasing wages, lower costs of living, improvement of the social legislation etc., the almost complete disappearance of strikes and social conflicts and the absorption of the additional labour forces by industry

3. On the political field: The period of relative stabilisation of capitalism is characterised in all countries by the bankruptcy of Liberal democracy. The political reaction which accompanies the offensive of capitalism against the working class and the colonial peoples assumes different forms, according to the historic conditions and the relation of forces of the classes in the different countries. In Italy it is Fascism, in Spain, Portugal, Poland — Fascism in the form of a military dictatorship. In the Balkans, in the Baltic countries, in Hungary — white government terror. In Great Britain, France, Germany, United States it is the rule of reactionary governments, which attempt to shatter the labour movement and its organisations by numerous (legal) repressive measures.

The political system of the bourgeois democracy, which is still advocated by the petty bourgeois parties and the social-democrats does not provide all the means of oppression which the big bourgeoisie needs against the proletariat. That is the reason, why everywhere reactionary governments came into power, which promoted the development of bourgeois organisations of the fascist type, that are prepared to interfere — in cases of social conflicts — as scabs, and to fight the labour organisations at all costs. (Stahlhelm in Germany, Young Patriots and Camelots du Roi in France, Somaten in Spain etc.)

While the crisis of parliamentarism, which no longer satisfies the requirements of the class dictatorship exercised by the big bourgeoisie against the broad masses of the workers, peasants and the petty bourgeoisie, is getting more acute, the Soviets in the Soviet Union have more and more developed into a new type of broad democracy, which allows the masses of the workers to participate in public affairs and to work for the public welfare against the capitalist minority. While the social basis of the governments in capitalist countries is continually becoming narrower and the political system develops into the dictatorship of a capitalist minority, the social basis of the proletarian government is broadening with the disappearance of the remnants of the capitalist system.

4. Capitalist stabilisation could not do away with violent conflicts and wars. Since 1918 the capitalist States conducted the following wars: against Soviet Russia 1919/21, Poland against the Soviet Union — 1920, Greek-Turkish war, military intervention in Fiume, military occupation of Wilna through General Scheligowski, Spanish war in the Rif, war of French imperialism in Morocco and Syria, war of the imperialists under British leadership in China, occupation of Corfu by Italy.

Conflicts between the capitalist powers arise at every occasion. The conflict of interests between Great Britain and Italy on the one side and France on the other on the Balkans and in the Mediterranean, the competitive naval armaments between Great Britain, the U. S. A. and Japan prove, that the stabilisation of capitalism is insecure and constantly threatened by new wars. All States are now reorganising their military apparatus as a standing army of professional soldiers, which is reduced in numbers but able to serve as skeleton organisation for the whole population in case of mobilisation (law Paul Boncour in France,

of Vandervelde in Belgium, which were framed according to the experiences with the professional armies of Great Britain and the U.S.) In this way, capitalism is trying to secure a safe army and to disarm at the same time the broad masses of the workers and peasants. The tremendous military budgets have still grown since the end of the war. Everywhere the mechanical and chemical war is being prepared.

5. These warlike preparations are in the main directed against the Soviet Union. The imperialists are trying to destroy this bulwark of the international proletariat, which stands out as a new powerful system against the decaying capitalist regime. This war is pronouncedly counter revolutionary in character but the bourgeoisie attempts to mask its plans with empty phrases of "disarmament". It prepares the war under the cover of the League of Nations and of pacifism, in order to brand the Soviet Union as the enemy of peace and the safety of the Western peoples. The campaign against the "pacifism of Geneva" is made an urgent task for the Communist Parties.

6. During this period the socialdemocrats have everywhere actively participated in the capitalist consolidation and stabilisation: 1) by the slaughtering of the working class and the murder of their revolutionary leaders (Noske); 2) by their betrayal of the worker's interests, and leaving them unprotected at the mercy of the capitalist offensive. They refused to fight against the wage cuts and recommended the workers to shoulder "their part" (?) of stabilisation; 3) by their participation in governments, when they themselves did the business for the bourgeoisie (Lithuania, Poland, Austria, Germany, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Great Britain, Finland, Latvia); 4) by their active participation in the military reorganisation and the preparation of new wars under the cover of pacifism (Law Paul Boncour, law Vandervelde); 5) by their active participation in the capitalist campaign against the Soviet Union (Parallel between Bolshevism and Fascism. Their contention, that the soviets should be overthrown by a revolt — their systematic calumnies against the proletarian power (red militarism), their participation in the military blockade of the Soviet Union and the espionage service in the Soviet Union, Socialdemocratic government in Finland.); 6) their persecution of the communists, their assistance of the reactionary governments in the activities of their police force; the expulsion of communists from the trade unions; the tactics of Amsterdam to split the unions; Socialdemocrats as chief of the police in Berlin, in Prussia, in Poland etc.; the expulsion of communists from the Labour Party etc., their systematic refusal to form a united front of the working class.

### III. TWO METHODS TO CAPTURE POWER EXAMINED IN THE LIGHT OF THE HISTORY OF THE LAST TEN YEARS.

1. Against the method of Marx and Lenin to capture power by the class struggle, by mass actions and the armed revolt of the proletariat, the social democrats advocate the method of the peaceful conquest of a parliamentary majority, instead of class solidarity they advocate co-operation between the classes. Ten years of experience in the proletarian struggle permit us to judge the merits of these two methods from their results.

2. Towards the end of the world war, capitalism was shaken to its foundation. The working class, the peasants and soldiers, driven to despair through the terrible war rose against the capitalist regime. In 1917 the Russian proletariat seized the power; in 1918 a tremendous revolutionary wave in Central Europe brought the social democrats into office, in Hungary, in Bavaria Soviets sprang up and in 1919/20 the revolutionary wave in Italy led up to the occupation of the factories. In France big strikes broke out in May 1920. Everywhere the workers were armed. The bourgeoisie trembled in fear of the consequences of the war; its power was slipping.

3. The socialdemocratic-bolshevist party, which came into power in Russia, was supported by the armed masses of the workers. Applying the Marxist-Leninist method it utilized its power for the expropriation of the expropriators and the socialisation of production and means of exchange. It defeated the bourgeoisie and created the basis for a new socialist regime by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Meanwhile the

reformist socialdemocrats in Germany and Austria, who had been forced into power by the revolutionary action of the masses had invited the collaboration of the bankrupt bourgeoisie. They made every effort, to tame the revolt of the masses (trial at Magdeburg, declaration of Ebert, the memoirs of Scheidemann) and to drown the revolutionary movement in blood. (Noske.) Instead of relying on the revolutionary masses, they caused them to be massacred by the reactionary officers of the old regime. They caused the communist leaders to be murdered (Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg) they smashed the revolution and saved the bourgeois regime. When the workers occupied the factories in Italy, the same situation developed. Instead of relying on the revolting armed masses of the workers, and to lead them on to the seizing of political power, the socialdemocratic leaders (d'Aragona & Co. — who now have joined the fascisti) negotiated with the bourgeois government, and trusting in the parliamentary situation, they liquidated the movement and prepared the way for Fascism.

4. In Central Europe the socialdemocrats have saved the bourgeoisie by their "pacifist" (à la Noske) and parliamentary methods. In those countries where no revolutionary movement of the masses occurred, they did their best to support the bourgeoisie in its effort to stabilise its regime. By means of parliamentarism and a democratic game the socialdemocrats exercised the power in quite a number of countries: Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden, Mexico. (In France it practically exercised power under the Herriot-Painlevé government.)

5. What is the outcome of these years of control of the socialdemocrats in the most important countries of Europe?

In Germany the government of the "Volksbeauftragten" under the leadership of Haase, which arose out of the revolution, has been replaced by the reactionary government of the bourgeois-bloc, under control of the German Nationalists and under the presidency of the monarchist Field-Marshal Hindenburg; in Austria, we find instead of the soviets of the workers and soldiers the government of Mgr. Seipel, which massacred the workers in the streets of Vienna, which acquits fascist murderers and conducts a systematic campaign of oppression against the working class. In Great Britain MacDonald has been replaced by the reactionary Baldwin with his Anti-Union Law, his counter revolutionary policy in China and his provocations against the Soviet Union; in Poland the government of Pilsudski, who scorns Parliament; in Italy Mussolini; in Lithuania Woldemaras. The socialdemocrats wished to avoid civil war and they unchained a one-sided civil war, the war of the bourgeoisie against the working class, the white Terror — and thousands of workers fell as victims of these "pacifist" and "democratic" methods of the socialdemocrats. In certain countries the socialdemocrats assisted in the work of oppression and the terror of the bourgeoisie. (Germany-Noske, Bulgaria, Poland, Finland etc.) The privileges which the working class had wrested from the bourgeoisie in the great struggles of 1918/20 were annulled during the following years through the offensive of the bourgeoisie and the pacifist stabilisation. The 8 hour-day and many trade union privileges were abolished. In certain countries every possibility of getting into power by means of a parliamentary majority is abolished, since parliamentarism itself is abolished and the bourgeoisie rages with emergency laws and white terror against the working class and its — even its socialdemocratic — organisations. (Italy, Spain, Balkans, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary etc.)

In the Soviet Union the proletariat, after a period of civil war during which it had to defend its power and definitely to defeat the bourgeoisie and its reformist lackeys, has constantly increased the achievements of the October revolution and consolidated its position.

6. Ten years of experience of the proletarian power in the Soviet Union and the power of the socialdemocrats in other countries are a proof of the victory and the historic justification of the Marxist-Leninist method of capturing power and its utilisation by the proletariat, and the proof of the miserable bankruptcy and the crushing defeat of the social democratic methods.

#### IV. THE SOVIET UNION — THE COUNTRY OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM.

1. Industrialisation as the basis of socialism in the Soviet Union. The progress of industrialisation during the current year has proved, a) that the production of the socialised industries during the first 8 months of 1927 has increased by 20—21% compared with the same period of the previous year. At the same time the production of machines and the construction of plants has increased by 29% and the production of goods for consumption by 17.8%. This shows the general tendency towards industrialisation in the Soviet Union.

b) The investment of capital for the construction of new factories and the electrification has reached the amount of 1 milliard rubels. Gigantic constructions like Dnieprostroj and the railway of Semiretschensk have been undertaken.

c) During the first 9 months of the current year the wages increased by 11.5% against the same period last year.

d) The lowering of the prices and the diminution of the scissors between the prices of agricultural and industrial products.

2. The workers of the Soviet Union are enthusiastically in favour of the industrialisation to which they give their daily cooperation, the country is in a fever of reconstruction and the creation of new riches for the commonwealth. New social impulses have replaced the old stimulus of profit. The Soviet State undertakes the exploitation of its natural resources. Difficulties: Lack of capital. The evidence of the various workers delegations about the progress achieved.

3. Pre-war Russia was economically a backward country. The technical basis of Russian economic life was therefore unfavourable for a reorganisation on a socialist basis. This was one of the first difficulties of the proletarian revolution in Russia on its way to socialism. The socialdemocratic conception, that socialism is only possible in a country of high capitalist development is wrong, since it considers the question of the proletarian revolution only from the standpoint of the individual country and not of the totality of the international situation. The socialdemocrats have not understood, that the weakest link of a chain is more easily broken than the strong ones. The seizing of power was comparatively easy in Russia, because the capitalist system there had less resistance and because was itself still fighting against the remnants of feudalism. But the problem of the building up of socialism becomes more difficult as a result of this backwardness of production. But the experience of these ten years proves, that, in spite of these fundamental difficulties, it is possible for the proletariat to progress with the building up of socialism; and the proletariat of the West may conclude from the Russian experience, that, though the seizing of power in countries where capitalism is highly developed will comparatively be more difficult, especially because of the organisation of the forces of capitalism in every field, the problem of the building up of socialism will be comparatively easy there because the machinery of production and distribution there is better suited for collective management.

4. The second difficulty, on the road of socialist construction lies in the existence in Russia of an agricultural production on the basis of numerous agricultural undertakings. It was the task of the revolution to find out, in which way the interests of the socialised big industry may be reconciled with the interests of the masses of peasants, who are still working with primitive means of production. The experience of the Soviet Union destroyed the socialdemocratic prejudice, as if the peasantry can play a reactionary part in the proletarian revolution. It showed, that the difficulties of a backward agricultural system may be overcome.

5. The third great difficulty of the October revolution lies in its international isolation. For ten years the Soviet Union had devoted itself to its task, without the social revolution occurring in any other country. The bolsheviki showed, that the proletariat must not retreat in the face of such a difficulty. The result of these ten years proves that in spite of the tremendous difficulties, which were still further increased through the wearing out of machinery, the destruction of the machinery of production through the counter revolution, the boycott of credits, the famine etc., it is possible for the proletariat to lay the foundations of the socialist economic system, to begin with the

building up of socialism in a single country and to obtain already important results, which are a guarantee for the future.

6. The pessimism of the so-called ultra-left opposition concerning the building up of socialism in the Soviet Union is in reality purely socialdemocratic. It is related to the socialdemocratic conception, that the revolution can be victorious only in countries with a high developed capitalist system, that the proletariat cannot win the peasantry for socialism, that the revolution cannot maintain and develop its achievements, if it is not immediately supported by the revolution in other countries. (The socialdemocrats adopted the same attitude during the war: they refused to fight their own imperialism, because their neighbours did not begin simultaneously.)

#### V. THE SOVIET UNION AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR THE DEFENCE AND THE EMANCIPATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT.

1. The Soviet Union is no State in the sense of the capitalist States. By the very fact, that it is a proletarian State it lost its "national" character, — and adopted an international character.

Its interests are no national interests. They are the interests of the international working class, the interests of all the oppressed, who are fighting against exploitation. Its aim is the liberation of the workers of all countries and of all the oppressed peoples from the yoke of capitalist exploitation. It is the State, the fatherland of all workers, of all the oppressed of the world. Therefore its "national" flag is the Red Flag, its national anthem — the "International". The power and the infinite resources of a great State are placed in the service of the world revolution of the proletariat. Therefore it is nonsense, to speak of "red imperialism" of the Soviet Union as the social democrats do, and to consider the conflict of the Soviet Union with Great Britain as a continuation of the conflicts between Tsarist and British imperialism in Asia. The conflict with Great Britain is the class war of British imperialism against the British working class, against the colonial peoples and against the bulwark, which encourages and supports all struggles of the oppressed against the oppressors. This is the reason why the imperialist States sever their diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

2. The socialdemocratic comparison with Fascism is therefore idiotic.

Their comparison between the red and the white terror, the Red Army and the imperialist armies, the use of revolutionary force and of reactionary force, the bourgeois political police and the G. P. U. is therefore nonsense. They are speaking of democracy, dictatorship, force, terror etc. as of abstract conceptions, which are independent of time and space. They do not realize, that these are merely instruments of the class struggle, and that the only thing by which one may judge them, is their class contents.

In whose favour and against whom function the police, the army, the terror, the dictatorship, the democracy? That depends whether these instruments are in the hands of the bourgeoisie and their servants, the social democrats, who employ them against the working class, or in the hands of the working class, which employs them against the international bourgeoisie and its lackeys, the socialdemocrats. The Red Army is the army of the international proletariat, the G. P. U. the police of the proletariat etc. Nothing is Russian in the Soviet Union in the "national" meaning of the word, everything is proletarian, that means: international.

3. Therefore the Soviet Union is the bulwark, the greatest achievement of the international proletariat in its struggle against the bourgeoisie.

a) Relying on the Soviet Union the proletariat of each country can defend and even extend its achievements even during the present reactionary period.

b) The Soviet Union will support with all its forces the proletarians, who attempt to seize power in their own country. The fate of every revolution is closely connected with the fate of the Soviet Union.

The intervention of the armed forces of the Soviet Union in case of a revolt of the workers and peasants of another country, cannot be regarded as a "foreign" intervention, but as the active class solidarity of a proletarian State in the service of the world proletariat.

c) In the international field the Soviet Union is a factor in the relations of forces between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The achievements of the proletariat in any country result from this relation of forces not only in this country alone, but internationally. The Soviet Union therefore plays the role of a protector of the workers' achievements, by its mere existence it supports the struggle of the workers in all countries.

4. It is therefore stupid and criminal to pretend, as the social-democrats do, that the Soviet Union is a factor in favour of international reaction because it incites the bourgeoisie to undertake repression. If the international bourgeoisie would succeed, with the aid of the socialdemocrats, to destroy the Soviet Union, then a wave of reaction and horrible terror would befall not only the proletariat of the Soviet Union but of the whole world.

5. But not only by its existence is the Soviet Union a support for the oppressed in their struggle against the oppressors — the proletarians of the Soviet Union directly support the revolutionary struggle of the workers of other countries.

a) An example is the financial support which the Russian proletariat afforded the British miners, and which bears witness to the idea of international solidarity of the workers of the Soviet Union in contrast to the aid afforded by Amsterdam. Instead of helping the British miners, the socialdemocrats have helped their bourgeoisie to profit from the exclusion of British competition on the world market by increasing the intensity of production of blackleg coal. The social democrats are killing the idea of international solidarity, by their denunciations of the "gold from Moscow". The assistance of the Russian proletariat given to the revolutionary proletarians of other countries, is the expression of the actual international solidarity of the Soviet Union. The arrogance with which the reformist leaders of the General Council of the British T. U. C. tried to forbid the Russian workers to interfere in the "inner" affairs of the British workers, is the expression of a narrow, national point of view, an echo of the nationalism of their bourgeoisie which attempts in this way to prevent the active political and practical solidarity of the international proletariat.

b) Examples of the assistance which the Soviet Union accords are the efforts to exchange prisoners sentenced to death or compulsory labour, against prisoners of the bourgeoisie, who have been sentenced in the Soviet Union.

c) Military support which was given to the workers of Georgia in their uprising against the socialdemocratic government, which was in the service of British imperialism.

d) The Revolution in China would long ago have been crushed had it not been for the Soviet Union which stood as a protection against the imperialist forces from outside and the inner reactionary powers.

e) In 1918 the Russian proletariat proposed to send corn to the German revolution, though a famine existed in Russia. This proposal was rejected by the socialdemocrats. In 1923 the Russian proletariat was prepared to assist with all its forces the German revolution.

6. Because the Soviet State defended and supported the international proletariat and the colonial peoples it roused the hatred of British imperialism against itself. If one day the capitalist world should declare war on the Soviet Union it will be done in order to destroy the stronghold of international revolution: but the workers of all countries will defend the Soviet Union as its bulwark and pledge of their future liberty.

## VI. THE SOVIET UNION AS A POWER, WHICH PREVENTS IMPERIALIST WARS.

1. In October 1917 the proletarian revolution was born with the slogans: "Down with the imperialist war!" "Long live the war against the bourgeoisie!". In spite of the aggressive attitude of German imperialism, which in 1918 had occupied territories of the Soviet Union, Russia was the first country to end the bloodshed between the German and Russian proletarians.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly proposed disarmament to its neighbours and it gave an example by the reorganisation of the Red Army on a territorial basis. The Soviet Union is not responsible if the capitalist States (the Baltic States and Poland) systematically rejected the proposals of the Soviet Union. The Soviet government has continued this peaceful policy in spite

of all war provocations. (Raid on the Arcos, persecutions in China, the campaign against Rakovsky etc.) This policy was dictated by the interests of the revolution itself, because from day to day the Soviet State grows stronger, while the capitalist systems declines.

2. Though the capitalist world has up to the present limited itself to "small wars", not daring to plunge into new war among the big capitalist States, which would quickly develop into a world-war, this is due to the fact that it is confronted by a revolutionary State, which at the moment of general exhaustion could turn with full vigour against all the belligerent countries in the interests of the world proletariat. The fear of international Bolshevism and the revolutionary upheavals as a consequence of such a war refrains capitalism from its war-enterprises.

3. The socialdemocracy, which represents bolshevism as being an element destructive to peace, deceives the masses and hides from them the part which the U. S. S. R. plays as a powerful bulwark against imperialist wars and against the provocations directed against the Soviet Union itself. The socialdemocracy, in order to wash their own hands from past and future betrayals, accuses the U. S. S. R. of conducting a policy destructive of international peace.

## VII. THE U. S. S. R. AND THE PEASANTS.

1. The close alliance between the workers and the poor and middle peasants against the kulaki is the basis of the proletarian dictatorship in the U. S. S. R. This alliance exists under the hegemony of the working class. It is one of the main tasks of the communists in capitalist countries to wrest the poor and middle peasants from the hegemony of the bourgeoisie, the big agrarians and the rich peasants.

2. If the October revolution proved the possibility for a proletarian party to lead the peasants against capitalism, other experiences have shown that the peasants cannot have the hegemony in the political struggle against the bourgeoisie. The tragic example of the Stambulinsky government in Bulgaria, the betrayal of Raditsch in Croatia, the part of the peasants as the betrayed in the Putsch of Pilsudski in May 1926 prove the necessity for the hegemony of the working class.

3. The destructions of the large estates in the U. S. S. R. the annulment of the peasants mortgages. The problem of the tenants, the problem of the agricultural labourer. Why the Soviet State admitted the system of tenants and the employment of paid labour. Protective laws for these categories of peasants and agricultural labourers.

Extract from the law for the protection of the agricultural labourers. (Autumn 1925.)

a) Agricultural labourers may be employed only in exceptional cases, i. e. when all members of the family are already at work, and even then only for a year.

b) The control of the agricultural labourers lies in the hands of the Peoples Commissariat for Labour and the People's Commissariat for Agriculture, together with the Allrussian trade unions.

c) The employer concludes a written agreement with the agricultural labourers, which establishes: a) the labour, b) the length of employment, c) the hours of labour, d) the amount of wages.

d) Child labour under 14 years is prohibited.

e) One day a week must be free of work, all holidays must also be observed.

f) Wages may not be lower than the minimum guaranteed by the state.

g) Good lodgings must be provided; the food must be the same as for the family.

h) The agricultural labourer cannot be forced to accept his wages in kind.

4. The soviet state farms are schools of agriculture where the peasants are made acquainted with new methods of production. The communities of agricultural-labourers. Their development during the 10 years.

5. The mechanisation of agriculture. Propaganda of the Soviet State. Use of tractors. Organisation of co-operatives for the purchase of agricultural machines. Electrification of the village.

**VIII. THE U. S. S. R., THE OPPRESSED AND COLONIAL PEOPLES.**

1. The U.S.S.R. is the prototype of the united states of the socialist republics of the future. Tsarist Russia was, from the national point of view, a prison for the nationalities. Its vile policy towards the nationalities: Poland, Ukrainia, Turkey, Tartars, White Russians etc. The October revolution liberated all nationalities that had been suppressed by Tsarist Russia.

2. The creation of national republics: The Ukraine, White Russia, Trans-Caucasia, Georgia, Daghestan, Azerbeidschan, Armenia. The autonomous Tartar republic, Turkestan. The struggle against Russification, the problem of the national language in the free schools: instruction is given in the national language; the measures to save the national literature, theatre etc. The work of the academy of the nationalities, for the improvement of the languages and their development from their primitive condition. The press in national languages has considerably developed.

3. The difficulties of this policy of protection of nationality: In the towns the majority of the population is Russian, in the village national. The efforts of the soviet government to establish a close alliance between the Russian proletariat, which immigrated years ago into the industrial centres, and the peasantry.

4. Economic measures to raise the economic level of the nationalities. The Tsarist policy attempted to make these territories a hinterland for the developed industry of the Russian industrial centres.

The efforts of the Soviet Government to create a special industry in these territories. Examples: Electrification (electric power station of Oufschalsk near Tiflis) Textile factory in Buchara, electrification of the railway of the seven rivers (Semiretschenskaja) great ice-factory ("Ogni") in Daghestan. (See Appendix VI.)

5. The role of the Russian Communists, who have more experience than the national communists: assistance, but no orders. The method of Lenin.

6. The autonomy of the nationalities is realised in the U.S.S.R., because the U.S.S.R. accords the nationalities the widest liberty; they are closely connected with it and against separation.

7. The bourgeoisie of the nationalities and the rich expropriated classes in their struggle against the U.S.S.R. Under the mask of "independance" they cloak their struggle against the soviet system, which they seek to achieve by the restoration of the capitalist regime and the dependence of their nationalities upon one of the big capitalist Powers, as it is in Finland and Esthonia, and as it was in menshevist Georgia etc.

8. The fundamental principles of the alliance between the peoples of the U.S.S.R., its Constitution, the role of the Council of Nationalities, organisatory bases of the Union, the common finances, economics, transport, post and telegraph, foreign office, army. But the national republics have also established national military corps in the national army, which are instructed in their language. The other branches of administration are autonomous in every country. The autonomous republics have another system, the system of autonomy without enjoying the full independance of national republics. They have an autonomy which respects their customs and their national language.

9. The U.S.S.R. ist the centre point of the efforts of all oppressed and colonial peoples. Example of our policy in China: Handing over to China of a railway which the Russian built on China's territory. Annulment of the Russian concessions by the U.S.S.R.

10. If the international bourgeoisie accuses the Soviet Government of being a ferment of revolt in the colonies (Indonesia, India, China etc.), then this is not, because the Soviet State materially conducts these movements, but because the very fact of the existence of the U.S.S.R. and the manner, in which it solved the national questions is a factor of agitation among the oppressed peoples of all countries of the world.

**Appendix I.**

**The ousting of private capital in industry.**

	Number of factories			Number of workers and employees			Production in million tshervonetz		
	1923/24	1924/25	1925/26	1923/24	1924/25	1925/26	1923/24	1924/25	1925/26
State	6,321	7,193	7,979	1,413,552	1,731,572	2,179,049	4,127.5	6,105.8	8,896.7
Co-operative	1,292	1,993	2,290	43,736	705,682	101,255	215.04	382.3	669.1
Private	1,930	1,796	1,915	40,168	33,387	41,082	198.63	249.1	359.3
Concessions	—	14	37	—	4,531	14,066	—	11.5	33.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>9,543</b>	<b>10,996</b>	<b>12,221</b>	<b>1,497,456</b>	<b>1,840,172</b>	<b>2,335,452</b>	<b>4,541.17</b>	<b>6,748.7</b>	<b>9,928.2</b>

Growth of the State industry during the 8 months of 1927 20—21%. (Figures taken from the resolution of the C. C. 25. August 1927 "Inprecorr", 50.)

**Comparative number of workers occupied in socialised and private industry.**

**The percentage of production for the socialised industries and the private capital.**

**Socialised industry**

	1923/24	Estimate 1926/27
State industry	69.4%	75.4%
Co-operatives	5.5%	6.5%
Private	24.9%	18.1%

(state and co-operatives)	state alone	Private industry
1923/24	87.8%	12.2%
1924/25	89.5%	10.5%
1925/26	90.8%	9.2%
1926/27	90.8%	9.2%

**Comparative participation of socialised and private trade in the total trade turnover.**

**Comparative participation of private individuals in trade.**

	Socialised trade (state and co-operatives)	state alone	Private trade
1923/24	59.2%	31.0%	40.8%
1924/25	73.0%	35.5%	27.0%
1925/26	76.3%	34.0%	27.7%
1926/27	78.5%	34.0%	21.5%

1921/22	75%
1925/26	28%
1927	16%

## Appendix II.

Average monthly income of the industrial worker in Tschervonetz roubles						Yearly consumption of foodstuffs by an urban employee in kg.				
	1913	1923/24	1924/25	1925/26	1st Quarter 1926/27		Cereals	Meat	vegetable fat	sugar
Total Industry	25.00	35.80	44.68	55.05	59.52	1918/19	146	18.2	3.4	3.4
Various groups:						1925/26	170	65.4	2.6	14.2
Iron and steel		31.60	42.23	56.06	61.15	<b>Schools, Libraries, Clubs.</b>				
Naphta		33.93	46.39	62.31	67.07	Party schools, political courses				
Coal		36.48	39.70	52.15	56.60	schools for illiterates				
Engineering		40.89	54.17	67.39	74.00	number pupils				
Chemical ind.		37.26	50.88	63.29	71.24	(in 1000)				
<b>Yearly income of the worker.</b>						1921	40,967	1,157	64	6
In Tschervonetz rubel						1922	17,987	456	180	14
in % of the previous year						1923	3,535	111	391	30
1923/24	355					1924	17,364	534	764	53
1924/25	468		131.8			1925	44,375	1,399	1,538	81
1925/26	571		122.0			1926	50,925	1,635	5,857	206
1926/27	610		106.8			<b>Libraries</b>				
<b>Yearly consumption of foodstuffs by an urban worker in kg.</b>						number of lib.				
	Cereals	Meat	vegetable fat	sugar		numb of readers in 100				
1918/19	146	5.1	3.4	2.7	1921	20,030	5,448	8,506	<b>Worker's and Peasant's Clubs</b>	
1919/20	182	11.9	1.9	2.8	1922	17,058	5,515	7,394		
1920/21	157	13.5	1.8	2.9	1923	10,538	3,544	6,991		
1921/22	153	19.6	2.3	2.0	1924	10,718	3,544	6,991		
1922/23	210	27.5	5.0	4.0	1925	8,016	6,856	10,838		
1923/24	208	33.3	5.6	6.4	1926	21,067	—	11,250		
1924/25	185	48.9	4.3	8.6	<b>Number of those Socially insured in the Soviet Union.</b>					
1925/26	193	56.3	4.0	11.3	September 1925	7,630,900				
					December 1925	7,776,300				
					September 1926	8,794,900				

## Appendix III.

### Unemployment in the Soviet Union

(figures of the labour exchange).

	1925	1926	1927
January	—	987,990	—
February	—	1,005,613	1,407,262
March	—	1,056,462	—
April	—	1,070,924	—
May	—	1,114,260	1,428,000
June	—	1,065,520	—
July	—	1,030,046	—
August	—	1,023,700	—
September	920,409	1,070,759	—
October	952,280	1,163,410	—
November	953,603	1,254,319	—
December	951,173	1,310,488	—

Of the 1,310,488 unemployed in December 1926 586,102 were unskilled labourers without a definite profession. Second place take the group of state and trade employees (144,788).

In May 1927 the number of unemployed was 1,428,000.

Among them 359,924 (25%) had never been employed before. (A great number of women)

147,111 (10.3%) were seasonal workers,

232,000 (16.2%) were industrial workers.

Percentage of industrial workers among the unemployed.

January 1925	29.1%
October 1925	21.9%
May 1927	16.2%

The rest were unskilled labourers, mostly peasants.

### Measures against unemployment.

#### A. Measures remaining in force for a long time.

1. Promotion of Industrialisation according to a 5 years'-plan. Number of the industrially employed workers on the basis of

the 5 years'-plan (in 1000).

1927/28	1928/29	1929/30	1930/31	1931/32
10,850	11,318	11,764	12,171	12,618

2. Fight against unemployment by intensification and industrialisation of agriculture. (Development of rural industries, like flax and canning industry, squeezing of sunflower seeds.)

B. Measures for the alleviation of unemployment at the present moment.

#### 1. Expenditure for social insurance.

1924/25	30 million roubles
1926/27	80.8 million roubles

#### 2. Expenditure for public work.

10,000,000 roubles for the employment of 100,000 unemployed workers with construction of houses, railways, docks, roads, bridges etc. 90,000 building trade workers are to be employed.

3. Formation of "artels" among the unemployed, which contract for certain work.

April 1927 98,500 out-of-works employed by "artels"; expenses for this purpose = 6 million roubles.



## Appendix IV.

### Connection between co-operatives and peasants.

Supply of seeds by the co-operatives.

1923	1924	1925
in pood 65	in pood 134	in pood 80

### Lending out of agricultural machines to the peasants for days:

1923	1924
41.5	96.6

### Social composition of agricultural co-operatives (1925).

Village poor . . . . .	38.9%
middle peasants . . . . .	57.4%
well-to-do peasants . . . . .	3.7%

### The administration of the co-operatives is composed:

Village poor . . . . .	39%
middle peasants . . . . .	55%
intellectuals . . . . .	6%

Party composition: 24% Communists, 76% non-party.

### Social composition of membership in agricultural cooperatives (1925).

Peasants without a horse . . . . .	26.3%
with 1—2 horses . . . . .	66.8%
with 3 or more horses . . . . .	6.9%
Peasants without a cow . . . . .	10.3%
with 1—2 cows . . . . .	81.0%
with 3 or more cows . . . . .	8.7%
Peasants with 2 desjatines of land . . . . .	23.0%

2—8 desjatines . . . . .	61.1%
more than 8 desjatines . . . . .	8.7%

According to statistics of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture.

### Co-operatives.

#### Membership of agricultural co-operatives (without Ukraine).

1924	1925	1926	1927
2,056,500	4,500,000	5,948,460	7,678,944

#### Number of agricultural co-operatives (without Ukraine).

1924	1925	1926	1927
25,840	31,500	33,500	40,500

Together with Ukraine 1927: 66,389.

7 millions peasants, —  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the peasant population — are organised in co-operatives.

#### Consumer's Co-operatives. Penetration of co-operatives in rural districts.

	Rural consumer's co-operatives	number of stores
1923 . . . . .	18,105	21,420
1924 . . . . .	20,086	27,078
1925 . . . . .	22,244	32,558

According to statistics of Centrosojus the co-operatives are supplying:

25% of the rural population.
31% of the urban population.

## Appendix V.

### Comparative index figures of actual wages<sup>1)</sup>.

(Calculated on the basis of prices for foodstuffs.)

London, 1st July 1924 = 100.

	1924 1st July	1927 1st April
Amsterdam . . . . .	89	92
Berlin . . . . .	55	70
Bruxelles . . . . .	59	46
London . . . . .	100	105
Madrid . . . . .	57	57
Rome . . . . .	46	46
Paris . . . . .	73	59
Philadelphia . . . . .	213	192
Prague . . . . .	56	50
Vienna . . . . .	47	43
Warsaw . . . . .	43 <sup>2)</sup>	40
Lodz . . . . .	48 <sup>2)</sup>	41

According to these tables the actual wages decreased during the last years in France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Poland.

The loss in wages is accompanied by an extension of the working day, and the loss of many rights which the workers gained during their revolutionary struggles from 1918—1920.

### Hours of labour.

At the end of the world war the maximal Eight hour working day was established in quite a number of countries under the impression of the October revolution in Russia and under the pressure of the working class. But recent laws and decrees scrapped these regulations in all the capitalist countries.

The Washington Conference of the International Labour Office decided in October 1919 "the establishment of the 8 hour

day or 48 hour week in industrial enterprises.' Since then, 8 years have gone by and there is no talk as to the putting this resolution into practice. On the contrary: the hours of labour have been extended even in very recent times in Great Britain, Italy, Belgium and Switzerland.

There is no exact statistic material about the actual length of the working day in Germany. Two enquetes of the General Council of the Trade Unions (A. D. G. B.) in May 1924 and in November 1924, which comprised 2,453,523 and 2,362,800 persons respectively, gave the following picture:

Of each 100 persons employed the hours of work were

	part time	up to 48 hours	more than 48 hours	more than 54 hours
May 1924 . . . . .	—	45.3	54.7	13.0
November 1924 . . . . .	9.3	45.3	45.4	10.7

An enquete of the Ministry for Labour in October 1926 showed, that among 745,621 employed persons 394,996 persons i. e. 53% worked longer than 48 hours.

In Great Britain according to an enquete of March 1925 the hours of labour were:

Hours:	44	44 $\frac{1}{2}$ —46 $\frac{3}{4}$	47	47 $\frac{1}{2}$ —7 $\frac{3}{4}$	48	more than 48 hours
Percent:	13.7	5.8	33.7	1.3	38.2	7.3

The average working time at the beginning of 1925 was 47.1 hours.

Since then the situation has changed to the disadvantage of the workers. 1926 the working hours for 932,600 workers were extended by 4.5 hours weekly. 1927 (first 8 months) the working hours for 18,000 workers were extended by 3.7 hours weekly. The offensive of the British bourgeoisie against the working hours is proceeding.

<sup>1)</sup> Revue internationale du travail.

<sup>2)</sup> January 1st 1925.

In Italy the hours of labour per week developed in the following way:

	less than 48 hours %	48 hours %	more than 48 hours %	unknown %
Furnishing trades	8.7	50.1	40.0	1.2
Mill industry	12.9	56.7	29.5	0.9
Shoe industry	16.1	69.5	13.0	1.4
Engineering	8.5	60.1	29.1	2.3
Shipbuilding	6.1	47.4	46.4	0.1
Brickmaking	11.1	41.5	44.8	2.6
Building trades	13.0	40.3	43.1	3.6
Silk industry	8.2	64.1	27.2	0.5
Cotton industry	16.9	67.7	14.5	0.9
Wool industry	12.5	65.9	20.2	1.4
Railways	5.1	36.5	57.5	0.9
All industries together	10.9	59.4	27.6	2.1

In the United States where the 12 hour day still exists in some factories, there may be observed a tendency for the shortening of the hours of labour but only in few cases the 8 hour day has been obtained.

In spite of the reduction of the standard of life of the working class, capitalist economic system could not yet completely recover. It is characterised by chronic unemployment in most of the industrial countries f. i. Great Britain, Italy, Germany, by the corruption of its business and the lack of markets (France, Italy, Great Britain).

Number of unemployed (in thousands).

	Great Britain	Germany	Italy	Poland	Belgium	Austria	Czechoslovakia	Netherlands	Switzerland
4th quarter 1920	526	368	104	—	49	16	20	33	15
July 1921	1804	314	414	65	147	—	33	30	56
Dec. 1921	1934	149	542	173	86	—	33	66	89
July 1922	1458	20	372	87	36	38 <sup>1)</sup>	232 <sup>1)</sup>	33	52
Dec. 1922	1432	43	382	75	26	117	437	50	53
July 1923	1325	139 <sup>2)</sup>	183	65	14	87	215	31	23
Dec. 1923	1227	1528 <sup>2)</sup>	259	68	24	98	192	45	27
July 1924	1135	526	118	152	21	66	83	19	8
Dec. 1924	1260	536	150	159	33	154	81	35	11
July 1925	1327	197	80	175	31	112	42	23	10
Dec. 1925	1343	1498	112	314	44	179	48	45	17
June 1926	1751	1741	90	243	18	151	40	17	10
Dec. 1926	1432	1749	192	190	33	205	29	36	18
July 1927	1114	573	388	148	28	137	—	19	8

<sup>1)</sup> September.

<sup>2)</sup> Unoccupied territory.

## Appendix VI.

### Industrialisation of the small national Republics.

#### Georgia.

##### Production of hard coal.

	million pood
1913	4.2
1922/23	1.8
1923/24	3.8
1924/25	4.6

According to the estimate of Gosplan 12 millions may be reached.

#### Tobacco-industry.

	million gold roubles
1921/22	3.7
1922/23	4.4
1924/25	4.5

#### Leather-industry.

	roubel
1921/22	204,000
1922/23	267,000
1923/24	300,000
1924/25	425,000

### Industrialisation of Turmenistan.

#### Naphta.

	pood
1924/25	377,000
estimate 1925/26	1,900,000

#### Osokerit.

	pood
1913	32,000
1924/25	30,000
estimate 1925/26	60,000

### Karelia.

#### Timber.

(Concentration in trust "Karellas")

##### Production:

	million cubic feet
1921	1.7
1924	11.5
estimate 1925/26	20.0

#### Engineering industry

1921	2789 workers
1925	6384 workers
in the Onlya-engineering factory 1000 workers are occupied.	

### Industrialisation of the Mongolian Republic.

(Furs, fishes.)

#### Value of production of working up industry.

	million roubles
1923/24	1.2
1924/25	1.8
estimate 1925/26	3.7

### Industrialisation of the Tartar Republic.

Value of the industrial production.

	million roubles
1923/24	36
1924/25	42

(soap- leather, ore, timber)

### Kirgisian Republic.

Value of the mining industry (coal, copper, lead, zinc).

	Rouble
1922/23	1,100,000
1923/24	1,700,000
1924/25	2,300,000

Value of the working up industry.

	Rouble
1922/23	2,800,000
1923/24	4,200,000
1924/25	5,600,000