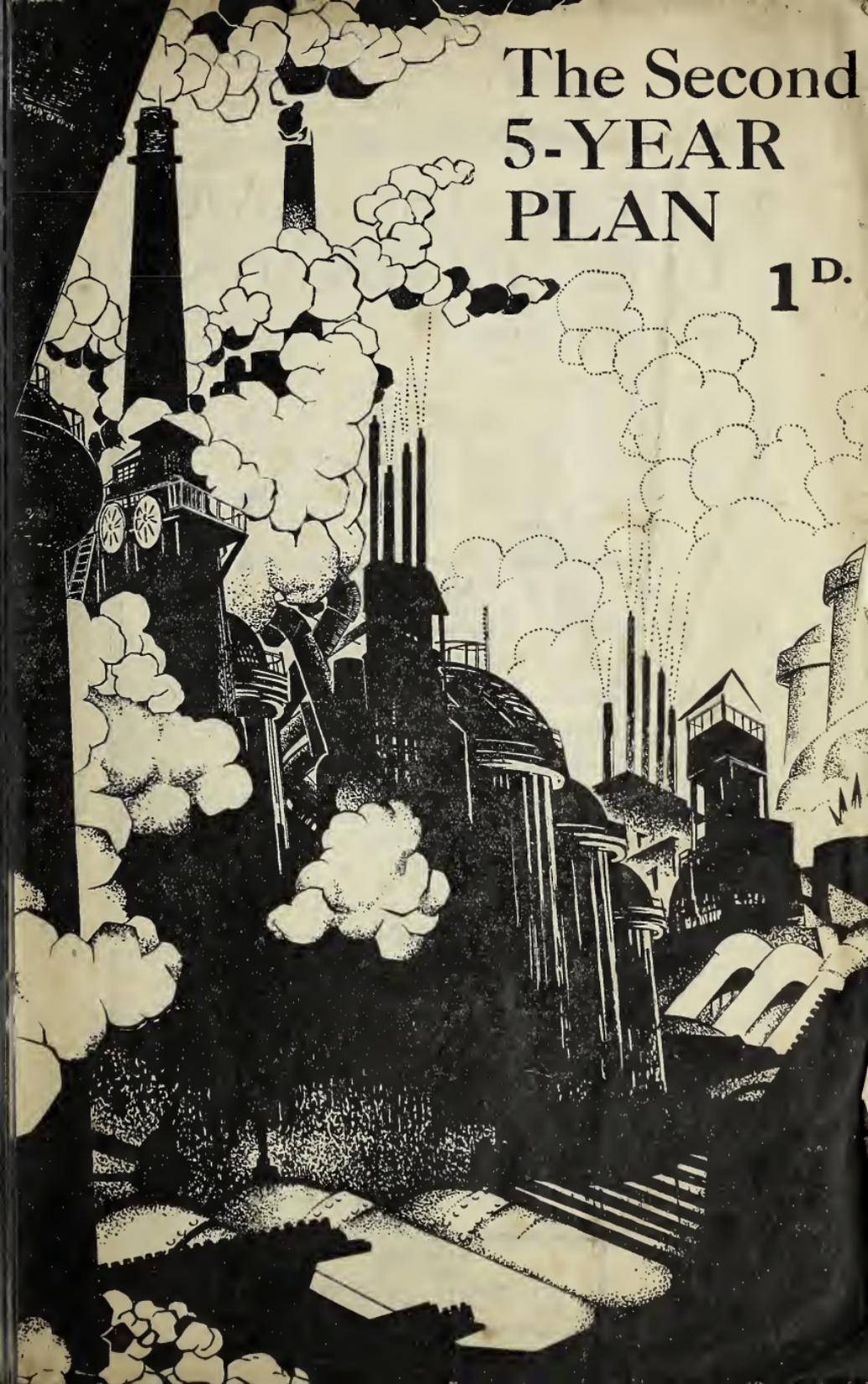


The Second 5-YEAR PLAN

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FOREWORD

THE Communist Party of Great Britain publishes this resolution of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union so that British workers should have the opportunity of knowing the objects of the second Five-Year Plan. Every British worker concerned for his class will realise that fourteen years after a Socialist revolution in one of the poorest and most backward countries in the world, the workers of that country are seriously and resolutely undertaking to wipe out classes and class distinctions by 1937.

They have vast achievements to record as the result of the first Five-Year Plan. Their industrial output has been rising by 20 per cent. per annum for several years. They produce more pig-iron than before the war, twice as much coal, three times as much oil, five times as much electric power. At the same time, wages are 70 per cent. above pre-war, unemployment has been completely wiped out. Twice as much corn is consumed in the country as in 1910-14. Fifteen millions are in the trade unions, over 50 millions in the Co-operative Societies. Two-thirds of the peasant farms have been reorganised into co-operative or collective farms.

The first Five-Year Plan is truly described as having laid the foundations of Socialism by these achievements. No wonder the Soviet workers and peasants look forward to the second Five-Year Plan as meaning the building of the full structure of Socialist society.

Socialist society can only be complete when all forms of rent, interest and profit have been abolished: that is why the second Five-Year Plan aims at the final abolition of such relics of private industry and trade as still exist in the Soviet Union, and the absorption of all the remaining peasant farms in collective farms worked with modern methods.

Socialist society also means the raising of the whole standard of life and culture throughout the country: that is why the second Five-Year Plan aims at an enormous development of production, through which the supplies of necessaries to the whole people will be more than doubled. The output of coal will be raised to 250 million tons per annum, of pig-iron to 22 million tons, 20,000 miles of new railways will be built, the supplies of grain, meat, butter, sugar, clothing and other requirements will be enormously increased. Side by side with the improvement in material well-being which will follow from this increased production, great steps forward will be made in the education and health services and in every form of cultural development, in which there will be no class distinctions because there will be no division into classes.

Why is it particularly important for British workers to realise this? Because Great Britain is one of the richest and industrially most advanced countries in the world—and yet class distinctions are sharper here than ever. Capitalism has brought the country to ruin—and its only method of seeking a remedy is to take it out of the workers. Tariffs will raise the cost of living, “economies” drive down wages, rationalisation squeezes more profits out of their labour: and still the

bankers, landlords and manufacturers are unsatisfied. Their mouth-piece, the Prince of Wales, calls for still more "self-denial."

For years the Labour Party has preached to the workers that co-operation with the capitalists will bring Socialism in this country, gradually but inevitably. They prophesied ruin and misery if the British workers followed the "Moscow road," by organising for the violent overthrow of the British capitalist class. When the workers carried out the magnificent General Strike in support of the fighting miners, the I.L.P. even launched a special campaign, promising the workers "Socialism in our Time."

Under the late Labour Government, these promises turned to dust and ashes in the workers' hands. The Labour Government cut wages, attacked the unemployed, batoned the workers, shot down Indians, just as the Conservatives and Liberals did. And, as a result of all the promises, Great Britain is in the grip of economic crisis—mass unemployment and increasing misery—just like all the other capitalist countries. Co-operation with the capitalists had only meant strengthening their hands for worsening the workers' conditions and preparing for war against the Soviet Union. "*Socialism in our time, without the violent overthrow of the capitalists, has been proved to be a swindle.*"

In the following pages, the workers of Great Britain can read of the great results, and still greater prospects, which have come because their brothers—the workers and peasants of the former Tsarist Empire, now the Soviet Union—have followed a different road. The road of revolution and the dictatorship of the working class have made "Socialism in our time" a reality in the U.S.S.R.

Everything the Russian workers have done, the British workers can do. The British workers, once they make themselves by a revolution the ruling class, will start with infinitely better advantages than the Russian workers did.

A British Socialist Revolution will mean that the factories, mines, railways, shipyards, docks, ships, banks, etc., will be nationalised without compensation. So will the land, the poor farms being relieved of debts, rents and mortgages, and the agricultural worker guaranteed a living wage and human conditions for the first time. The confiscation of all these resources, the wiping out of the National Debt now involving the payment of £355 millions annually to the bondholders, the reduction of expenditure on militarism made possible by the emancipation of the colonies, will mean not less than £1,000 millions a year available for reconstruction on Socialist lines (as against £200 millions with which the Russian workers began). At the same time, the liberation and free independent development of the present colonies, side by side with the development of British production, will ensure a tremendous growth of trade on a new basis—exchange between equals. A free Soviet Britain will abolish poverty and build a new Socialist order.

But there is only one way to enter upon the splendid road to Socialism upon which the workers of the Soviet Union are already to far advanced—the way pointed out by Marx and Lenin, the way of revolution, the way of the Communist Party.

THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Resolution Adopted by the XVIIth Party Conference
of the Communist Party of the Soviet
Union, January, 1932

1. The successful struggle for the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan in four years has found expression in the victorious building of socialism in the U.S.S.R. The basis for the successes of socialism has been the policy of industrialisation, of extensive development of heavy industry, of the production of means of production. During the past period, Soviet heavy industry has gained a sound footing and thereby a basis for the culmination of the reconstruction of the whole of national economy; the basis of a socialist large scale machine industry has been created.

The construction of new factories has greatly developed in the past years and factories have already sprung up in some industries which leave the level of European technique in the shade. At the same time, light industry has considerably developed and the rate of development of the food industry has far exceeded the rate fixed in the Five-Year Plan.

2. A fundamental change, expressed in a complete change of mind of the masses of small and middle peasants in favour of socialism, has taken place in agriculture. The dominant position in agriculture is now assumed by the socialist type of farming (collective and state farms). The Soviet Union has been transformed from a country of small and dwarfish agriculture into a land with the largest scale agriculture in the world, based on collectivisation, extensive State farms and wide-spread application of modern machinery. This victory of socialism which solves the most essential and most difficult problem of the proletarian revolution is of a world historical significance.

UNDERMINING OF CAPITALISM IN COUNTRYSIDE.

3. The most outstanding result of socialist construction in the first Five-Year Plan is the complete undermining of the roots of capitalism in the countryside which must precede the full elimination of capitalist elements and abolition of classes. The completion of the socialist foundation in the U.S.S.R. means that the question raised by Lenin, as to who will be the final victor, has been settled fully and inexorably in favour of socialism and against capitalism both in town and country.

4. As a result of the maintenance of the Bolshevik rate of socialist construction and the virtual elimination of the parasite classes, the basis and source of exploitation of man by man are being liquidated in the period of the first Five-Year Plan; national revenue increased at a rate unattainable for capitalist countries; unemployment and pauperism have been abolished; the "price scissors" and the contradiction between town and country are being obliterated; the welfare and cultural level of the workers and toiling peasants is rising from year to year; the mortality rate is falling and the population in the U.S.S.R. is rapidly growing.

5. These achievements are all the outcome of the colossal growth of revolutionary activity of the broad masses of the working class and the toiling peasantry, a result of extensive socialist competition and organisation of shock brigades, and, finally, a consequence of the Leninist policy of our Party, which is following a consistent course of attack on the capitalist elements all along the front.

6. The Party has scored these successes in a struggle against the Trotskyist bourgeois theory that socialism cannot be built in one country and that the restoration of capitalism is inevitable; in a struggle against Trotskyism, which has now become the vanguard of the bourgeois counter-revolution.

The Party has scored these successes in a struggle against the right opportunists, whose line was not only opposed to the policy of socialist onslaught, but signified a direct capitulation to the kulaks and the elements of the bourgeoisie.

The Communist Party was able to create the conditions necessary for the fulfilment of the first Five-Year Plan in four years, to smash the class enemy and to assure the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. only by a relentless struggle both against "left" and right opportunism as well as against the conciliatory attitude towards it, in a struggle for the general line of the Party.

II.—THE PRINCIPAL TASKS OF THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN.

The successes of the first Five-Year Plan have prepared the ground for the continued and even more powerful growth of socialism in the U.S.S.R.

The XVIIth Conference of the Party holds that the vast natural wealth of the country, the Bolshevik rate of socialist construction, the growing activity of the masses of workers and collective farmers, and the correct line of the Party fully guarantee such development of the

productive forces of socialist economy in the second Five-Year Plan, on the basis of which the capitalist elements in the U.S.S.R. will be completely wiped out.

The conference holds that the chief political task of the second Five-Year Plan is completely to do away with the capitalist elements and with classes in general; fully to destroy the causes giving rise to class distinction and exploitation; to abolish the survivals of capitalism in economy and in the minds of the people; to transform the whole working population of the country into conscious and active builders of a classless socialist society.

The welfare of the masses of workers and peasants must improve at a much greater rate than hitherto as a result of the elimination of parasitic class elements in the general growth of national economy which is all for the benefit of the workers. There must also be a definite improvement in housing and municipal development. The conference holds that by the end of the period of the second Five-Year Plan, the population must be provided with the main articles of consumption, including food products, at least to the extent of two to three times as much as at the end of the period of the first Five-Year Plan.

TECHNICAL RECONSTRUCTION.

1. These tasks can be achieved only on the basis of a thorough technical reconstruction of the whole national economy—industry, transport and agriculture.

The U.S.S.R., when entering the period of the first Five-Year Plan, emerged from the period of restoration. In the concluding years of that period, it entered on the path of reconstruction of several basic branches of national economy, particularly the metal industry, machine building, coal mining, not to mention the reconstruction of the oil industry which had been accomplished prior to that. Particularly outstanding is the extensive reconstruction of agriculture which is being rapidly readjusted on a new technical base.

The successes achieved in this sphere during the period of the first Five-Year Plan mark, however, only the beginning of the technical reconstruction of national economy. Yet the Bolshevik rate of socialist construction essential to the accomplishment of the main tasks of the second Five-Year Plan cannot be assured by the existing equipment of industry and transport, let alone agriculture, which is inadequate, antiquated and worn out, unless a technical reconstruction is effected in all branches of national economy, unless these branches are provided with modern machinery.

The XVIIth conference of the Party holds, therefore, that the chief and decisive economic task of the second Five-Year Plan is to complete the reconstruction of the whole of national economy, to provide a new technical base for all branches of economy.

Of leading importance in the technical reconstruction of national economy, will be the part to be played by the Soviet machine industry. The conference deems it necessary to enlarge the production of machinery

by the end of the second Five-Year Plan at least three to three and a half times as compared with 1932, so that all the requirements of reconstruction in industry, transport, communication, agriculture, trade, etc., would be met by the production of most modern machinery at home.

NEW POWER.

A most important item in the technical reconstruction of national economy is the creation of a new basis of energy, founded on extensive electrification of industry and transport, and the gradual application of electricity in agriculture, using for this purpose the vast resources of water power, the anthracite deposits of the national and local coal fields, the local types of fuel (peat and slate). The conference deems it absolutely necessary to generate in 1937 at least 100 billion kilowatt hours of electricity as compared with 17 billion in 1932, to mine at least 250 million tons of coal, as compared with 90 million in 1932, and to increase the output of oil from two and a half to three times.

CONCRETE AIMS OF THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN.

The XVIIth Conference of the Party holds that the following tasks must be put before the most important branches of national economy in the second Five-Year Plan :—

A. The objective of the iron and steel industry is to be at least 22 million tons of pig iron in 1937 and to provide the necessary grades of steel for the machine industry. To accomplish this, the metal industry must be completely reconstructed, new plants must be built and equipped with modern powerful machinery and provided with thoroughly prepared raw material, employing electricity in production and utilising all by-products.

B. The aim of the non-ferrous metal industry is to be the production of copper, lead, zinc, aluminium, and precious metals sufficient to meet the needs of the country in a second Five-Year Plan period. For this purpose, the method of selective flotation, of smelting pulverised ore, new types of raw material, etc., must be used.

C. The slow rate of development of the chemical industry, as compared with the rate in the whole of national economy, must be put right. Special attention is to be paid to the development of the basic chemical industry and particularly the production of fertilisers, for which purpose the re-equipment of plants and extensive new construction is to be assured.

D. On the railroads, a complete reconstruction is to be effected, accompanied by the building of about 25,000 to 30,000 kilometres of new lines; the construction of many new bridges across the main rivers, the introduction of powerful engines and big freight cars, electrification of several roads, extensive application of automatic couplers, automatic block signal and thermic engines. The railroads must be so developed as to assure the rapid economic development of districts and national republics, the requirements of which in the past have been far from met.

As to navigation, there must be a reconstruction of the river and sea fleet; the existing water routes must be improved and new ones opened, accompanied by the building of properly equipped river and sea ports.

In regard to the building of roads and highways and the production of automobiles, development must proceed at a faster rate than in the other types of transport.

Communication by air is to be developed along all main lines, as one of the most important means of communication with distant areas and important industrial centres.

There must be extensive development of all forms of communication, especially radio.

E. As to the light and food industries, production in the most important branches must greatly develop on the basis of large-scale machinery and considerable extension of the agricultural basis of raw material, guaranteeing a trebled per capita consumption, having also in view the need of intensive augmentation of the light and food industries in new areas, namely, in the districts where the raw material is produced.

The light industries which are of extraordinary importance in construction in general should be assured a corresponding rate of development and mechanisation.

F. The small handicraft industry must considerably increase production of articles of mass consumption and material necessary to socialist industry and agriculture on the basis of organising all artisans into producers' co-operatives.

G. In agriculture, socialist reconstruction must be completed so that all collective farms will be cultivated by machine tractor stations and farming in the main mechanised. The task of organisational and economic consolidation of the collective farms and socialist training of the masses of collective farmers will soon be the centre of attention in the second Five-Year Plan.

The state farms must extend production all along the line, including the cultivation of commercial crops and live stock. They must play a greater part as models of socialist organisation of farming and application of modern machinery and all achievements of contemporary agronomy and zoology.

The development of live stock and its products in the second Five-Year Plan must in the main solve the live stock problem of the U.S.S.R., just as the grain problem has been solved by the Party in the first Five-Year Plan.

The cultivation of cotton and flax must at least double and that of sugar beets treble.

All these measures in agriculture necessitate a still further and more rapid development of grain cultivation so that by the end of the period of the second Five-Year Plan, at least 130 million tons of grain will be produced. The main task of the second Five-Year Plan therefore is to greatly increase the yield of collective and state farms and to cope with drought in Bolshevik fashion.

MASTERY OF TECHNIQUE.

1. The complete technical reconstruction of national economy is inseparably linked up with the task of mastering technique by four industrial cadres, the development of large numbers of new technicians coming from the workers and peasants, and the raising of the cultural level of the entire mass of workers. The fact that the technical forces in the Soviet Union will numerically increase should by no means obscure the importance of their education, the importance of their knowledge of all the achievements of world science and technology. The solution of the problem of technical forces is a most essential element of cultural revolution in this country and the Bolshevik realisation of the tasks of the successful building of socialism. Some of the immediate tasks, comprising an organic part of the general task of building up socialism in this country, are to speed up the education of the population and stamping out of illiteracy, the hastening of technical education and the allocation of resources by the State for the development of science in the U.S.S.R.

COMMODITIES FOR THE MASSES.

3. In order to assure a Bolshevik tempo of development of the whole of national economy and better satisfaction of the needs of the broad masses of town and country in articles of mass consumption, the development of the goods turnover is of prime importance. The development of the distribution of goods, particularly on the retail side, and the use of business methods in all economic activity will best stimulate the mobilisation of the vast internal resources available in Soviet economy which are yet far from being exhausted. This will accelerate socialist accumulation and thereby strengthen the material basis of socialist construction. At the same time, the supply of manufactured goods and food products for the workers and rural toilers can rapidly improve only on the basis of extensive development of the circulation of goods. For this purpose, the number of stores and stands as well as other forms of trade must increase to the utmost and be provided with the necessary technical equipment. Only by so doing, will the ground be prepared for abolishing the rationing system and for doing away with centralised distribution—which is to be replaced by a wide development of Soviet trade.

The conference also stresses the anti-Bolshevik character of the "left" phrases about introducing direct "exchange of products" and about the "withering away of money" in the present stage of socialist construction. The conference emphasises, on the other hand, that the bourgeois distortion of the principles of business methods expressed in the squandering away of state resources, resulting in the disruption of economic plans, is absolutely incompatible with the policy of the Party and the interests of the working class.

The new successes of socialism will be secured by the working class only in a struggle against the relics of capitalism; by pitilessly crushing

the resistance of the doomed capitalist elements; by overcoming the bourgeois and petty bourgeois prejudices to be found among the toilers; and by persistent work in the field of socialist education.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

This means that the class struggle will inevitably still be accentuated from time to time, and especially in some districts and points of socialist construction, which emphasises the inevitability of the preservation, and in some instances, even intensification of bourgeois influences on some sections and groups of workers, the inevitability of alien influences still permeating for some time to come some of the workers, and even some sections of the Party. In view of that, the Party is faced with the task of strengthening the proletarian dictatorship and carrying on still further the struggle against opportunism and especially against the right deviation, which is most dangerous in the present period.

The full collectivisation of agriculture, the growing number of large state farms, and the equipment of the collective and state farms with modern machinery which transforms farm labour into a type of industrial labour, and the considerable improvement of the transport system and circulation of commodities between industry and agriculture, create conditions for the complete obliteration of the difference between town and country.

The rapid growth of socialist economy during the period of the second Five-Year Plan in the national republics and regions will provide a basis for the elimination of economic and cultural backwardness of the various nationalities inherited from the tsarist capitalist-colonial regime.

SOVIET AND CAPITALIST ECONOMY.

The position of the Soviet Union will in the period of the second Five-Year Plan be raised to first place in Europe in its technical development. The work done in the first Five-Year Plan towards the transformation of the U.S.S.R. from a country which imports machines and equipment into a country independently producing machines and equipment, will be completed and "the economic independence of the U.S.S.R., protecting the latter against its conversion into an appendage of capitalist world economy, will be secured" (XIVth Congress of the C.P.S.U.).

All this creates the possibility for the U.S.S.R. to catch up with the level of technical and economic development of the advanced capitalist countries in several branches of economy.

The profound crisis in the capitalist countries is the best evidence of the coming downfall of the capitalist world. The successes of socialism in the U.S.S.R. are the best evidence of the advantages which the Soviet system has over the capitalist system.

In the capitalist countries we witness a catastrophic fall in production, the wholesale closing down of mills and factories, an unprecedented

destruction of forces of production. In the U.S.S.R. we witness a tremendous and steady growth of production, ever-increasing construction of factories, giant plants, mines, and power stations, a rate of development of productive forces inconceivable under capitalism.

In the capitalist countries we witness frightful unemployment of millions of workers and extreme impoverishment of millions of farmers. In the Soviet Union unemployment has been done away with completely and poverty has been wiped out. In this country, the seven-hour day has been introduced in the factories and mills and the welfare of the masses of town and country is constantly rising.

U.S.S.R. AND WORLD'S WORKERS.

All this makes the U.S.S.R. a centre of attraction for the workers of all countries and the oppressed of the world. The significance of the Soviet Union as a revolutionary factor is growing. The U.S.S.R. is being strengthened as a base of international socialism.

The XVIIth conference of the Party expresses the firm conviction that the main tasks of the second Five-Year Plan will be not only accomplished, but exceeded; that the raising of the productivity of labour necessary for this will be guaranteed by the workers of the U.S.S.R.; and that the number engaged in socialist competition and organised in shock brigades will increase from day to day.

The conference is firmly convinced that the working class and the mass of collective farmers will find in the organisation of the Communist Party, the Young Communist League, the trade unions, and the Soviet Government, Bolshevik organisers and leaders in the victorious struggle for the carrying out of the second Five-Year Plan.