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The War on the North-West Frontier of India.

By V. Chattopadhyaya.

The only news we have of the military operations on the North-West frontier and of the movements of the independent frontier tribes against the British comes through the usual imperialist channels. The frontier war was begun in the middle of April and has now continued for exactly four months, and imperialist reports have attempted to produce the impression that the thousands of tons of explosives with which the R.A.F. bombing planes have been blowing the tribes and their villages out of existence have had a "salutary effect" upon those "turbulent" tribes. It was reported that the anti-British movement was dying down and that most tribes refused to be misled by the "young bloods". But now we are told that the situation is again serious, because a lashkar (force) of nearly 10,000 Afridis are moving on Peshawar, and this in spite of the fact that the tribes know the havoc committed by the R. A. F. and that they have been repeatedly "warned" by the British Government. The Afridi advance is described by the imperialist press correspondents as "a temporary triumph over the grave warnings of British Political Officers and over the steadfast advice of the tribal elders". It is admitted, too,

that "there is no indication so far that the operations of the defending forces are producing a general retirement of the Afridis". In passing, we must draw attention to the description of the British imperialist army and air-force as "defending forces", a phrase deliberately employed to conceal the real nature of the war on the N. W. Frontier, the objective of which is the occupation of the frontier of the Soviet Union. For this purpose, "there is a large concentration of troops at Peshawar to meet all eventualities" and "air-bombing of Trans-Border districts" is being continued, according to the latest dispatch of the "Times" correspondent at Peshawar.

As for the North-West Frontier Province which is directly administered by the British, it has been in an indescribable condition of suffering during the last four months, for ever since the historic uprising of the masses in Peshawar on April 23rd and 24th, the heroic refusal of the Garhwali regiments to shoot and the action of solidarity taken by the Frontier tribes led by the Haji of Turangzai, the people of the N. W. F. Province have been living under the most terrible conditions about which the very rigid censorship has allowed no infor-

mation to leak out. But the "Muslim Outlook", a pro-Government daily published in Lahore, publishes some facts in its issue of July 13th. The Province is in a permanent state of siege, since the military occupation which began early in May. During the whole of May and June whole villages in the Province were continually under the fire of machine-guns. The wounded were allowed to lie in the streets and rot, and by order of the military authorities private citizens were forbidden to render any aid to the wounded. A number of villages, including Utmanudi, Tangi, Dargai, Swabi, Marghaz, Takkar, Gujargarhi, Swai Dher, Mardan, Tashi Mairi, Kot Yar Hussain, as well as the towns of Kohat and Bannu were placed under military blockade. The captured members of the "Red Shirts" are being forced to labour "at the point of the bayonet like galley slaves subject to indignities of various kinds".

This imperialist terror and oppression is evidence of the revolutionary unrest among the population, consisting mostly of poor peasants living on the verge of starvation, and is contributing not to the suppression but to the enhancement of the general discontent, which is receiving further stimulus from the anti-imperialist movement of the tribes on the other side of the Frontier.

This well-organised, courageous and uninterrupted movement of the tribes, determined to overthrow imperialist rule altogether, is indeed highly remarkable, and it is no reflection on their heroism to suggest that the war is being deliberately provoked by British imperialism for the furtherance of its sinister designs. The propaganda that is being carried on against the tribes shows what the real object of the British Government is. With regard to the new Afridi advance, the "Times" correspondent cabling from Simla, the summer headquarters of the Government of India, says that "the new hostile movement represents the result of prolonged propaganda by revolutionary agents from India". On the other hand, semi-official Anglo-Indian journals in India are carrying on a systematic campaign to insinuate that Soviet Russia is financing and arming the frontier tribes! For instance, the "Civil and Military Gazette" of Lahore asserts that the activities of the tribes are to be traced to the "supply of money by a Power in the rear". And an officer of the Royal Air Force contributes an article to the same semi-official journal, in which he states that the position is being made difficult by the fact that the rebel forces are able to draw fresh supplies of "young bloods" won over by money that is being supplied by "some mysterious force in the rear". "The nature of the money", says the journal, "gives food for serious thought". This anti-Soviet propaganda is so obviously a manoeuvre to create a war atmosphere that it is discredited even by openly pro-government and anti-communist journals like the "Muslim Outlook" of Lahore.

Very interesting in this connection is an interview with Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the imprisoned leader of the "Red Shirts", which has just been published by Sardar Kehar Singh, editor of "Kripan Bahadur", to whom it was said to have been given. Abdul Ghaffar Khan declared that the "Khudâi Khidmatgars" or "Servants of God", who were now known as "Red Shirts", were originally volunteers for social service, adhering to the Congress creed of non-violence, that their uniform was originally white but was later dyed purple and not red, that they had nothing to do with Communism, because in fact the leaders were landowners, and that the Government had associated them with the Bolsheviks in order to find a pretext for advancing into their country and for crushing their movement. The quotations from the Anglo-Indian press show how essential it is for the British workers in particular to realise what is going on on the North-Western Frontier of India. Attempts are deliberately made to provoke the independent tribes to take up arms in defence of their liberty, while at the same time imperialist propaganda insinuates that it is the Soviet Union that is behind the revolt. This is the way in which the war is being prepared against the Workers' Republic.

The military preparations are being forced on in order to concentrate all the forces possible on the frontier before the winter snows in November block the passes and make operations difficult.

A Turning Point in the General Strike in North France.

By C. Henri (Paris).

The fight conducted by the French workers against the reactionary "Social Insurance Law", which has now been going on for four weeks, has arrived at a turning point. The reformist strike saboteurs, who had hitherto prepared their treachery behind the scenes, on August 11 issued the order that work should be resumed in those undertakings in which the employers had shown a certain "compliance".

In the front ranks of the fight there stand the textile workers and metal workers of the largest industrial area of France, the Northern district hitherto regarded as the unshakable stronghold of the social democracy and of the reformist trade unions. The strike movement against the "Social Insurance Law" and for wage increases did not set in with full force immediately after the introduction of the new act. The number of strikers in the Northern area, which has meanwhile increased to 150,000, could be achieved only in the fight of the revolutionary trade unions — with their relatively exceedingly weak organisational basis — against the reformist trade unions and the Socialist Party.

The socialists right from the beginning, warmly supported the Social Insurance Law, which not only brought with it a wage reduction of 4 to 6 per cent, but led to a general increase of retail prices, in many places amounting to 30 to 40 per cent. But the activity of the revolutionary trade unions and of the C. P. of France, which set in some considerable time before the act came into force, sufficed to convince the workers of the correctness of the strike slogan against this scandalous Act. The excitement among the workers, who also in the Southern and Eastern departements took up the struggle, was particularly great in the Northern district. The growth of the strike struggle in the Northern district however, took place in the hardest struggle between the revolutionary leaders and the reformist trade union leaders, who, in face of the militant spirit of the masses, were compelled on their part to take up the strike slogan. But the reformist trade union leaders, in thus taking up the strike slogan under the pressure of the masses, did not do so in order to conduct a real fight against this Act for higher wages, but in order to place themselves at the head of the fight so as to be better able to throttle it. Under the leadership of the reformists, the textile and metal workers of the North had never gone on strike since 1921; the close connection of the reformist leaders with the heads of the "all-powerful" Textile Consortium caused all conflicts to be settled by "friendly negotiations".

Contrary to the demands of the revolutionary strike committees who called for a wage increase of 50 centimes per hour (25 to make up for the wage deduction in respect of the Social Insurance Law and 25 centimes as wage increase) and as a political slogan demanded "down with the scandalous law", the reformists announced as their demand an increase of 25 centimes an hour, which would only have made up for the deduction from wages for social insurance. The revolutionary strike leaders led the striking workers onto the street; in many towns, as in Roubaix, the workers for the first time since 1921 demonstrated for their demands on the street. In the 50 most important strike localities the C. P. and the revolutionary trade unions called demonstrations which were attended by thousands. When on the same day, the reformists in Halluin and the revolutionary leaders in Lille called demonstrations, in Lille 5000 workers marched under red flags, whilst in Halluin there was only a small gathering of about 800, which soon met a counter-demonstration of the revolutionary workers.

Whilst the Tardieu government sent wagon loads of gendarmerie, military and mobile guards into the Northern district in order to terrify the strikers, the reformists were not idle. The reformist burgomasters in Tourcoing and Roubaix proclaimed a state of siege and prohibited demonstrations. M. Labas, the social democratic burgomaster of Roubaix, gave the police orders to attack the strikers with fixed bayonets. Everywhere the revolutionary strike committees were at their

posts. The revolutionary workers occupied a stretch of the Franco-Belgian frontier 20 kilometres long in order to bar the way to Belgian strike breakers. A number of motor cars in which the employers attempted to convey Belgian strike-breakers over the frontier, were held up by pickets and the occupants were sent home with a few parting kicks. Here, as also at the demonstrations, it came to fierce collisions with the police and the gendarmerie, resulting in numerous workers, but also many gendarmes, being injured.

Meanwhile, the number of strikers increased from 40 to 60,000, and then jumped to 70 and 80,000 — and this in spite of the efforts of the reformists, to whom the cessation of work in every fresh factory meant a thwarting of their strike-breaking tactics. On Wednesday the 30th of July, the Central revolutionary strike committee called a general strike. The reformists were again compelled to give way to the mass pressure, and on Sunday 3rd of August likewise called a general strike. The workers however, following the revolutionary leadership, had already carried out the slogan of the General strike when the reformists, hobbling in the rear of events, made this demand their own.

The further sharpening of the struggle was bound to lead to a turning point in the fight between the reformist and the revolutionary strike leaders. At endless negotiations, which were again and again broken off, the reformists implored the Textile Consortium, one of the strongest employers' organisations of the French capitalists, to grant the reformists' "demand" in order to avert the greatest calamity. In Roubaix, with 30,000 workers on strike, 83 employers declared themselves ready to grant the demand of a wage increase of 25 centimes an hour put forward by the reformists "in the name of the workers". Not content with this, the reformists made use of this "crumbling of the employers' front", this "victory of the workers" in order to increase their incitement against the revolutionary strike committee. They were not content with calling upon the workers in the factories concerned to resume work. They announced the formation of "workers' defence guards" to protect against the Communists workers who were willing to work. They thereby not only organised strike breaking, but wanted on their own account to reinforce the military and police.

What is now the result?

The bourgeois press, both in France and abroad, announced that the decisive fight between the reformists and Communists is beginning. The "Matin" wrote: "The socialist Party is mobilising against Communist oppression". On Monday, August 11th, work was to be resumed in the 83 factories in Roubaix and in numerous other enterprises in other towns which had granted the reformist "demands". The question stood thus: Will the workers on Monday return to work and thereby follow the reformists, or continue the fight and thereby show that they follow the lead of the revolutionary unions and the C. P. of France?

The facts speak a very plain language. On Monday evening the bourgeois press were compelled to admit that in the whole strike area about 100 Belgian workers and some hundred French workers had returned to the factories. Even the most optimistic bourgeois reports spoke only of 1200 striker who had gone back to work, i. e. not one per cent. of the total number of strikers. The workers have given a clear and unmistakable answer to the question which leadership enjoys their confidence. In the revolutionary fight in the Northern district, this erstwhile reformist stronghold, a further important step to victory under revolutionary leadership, under the leadership of the revolutionary trade unions and the C. P. of France is to be recorded. This fight, which is assuming a more and more outspoken political character, is at the same time a fight on the part of the workers against the reactionary Tardieu Government which is observing with fear, under whose leadership the French workers are fighting.

HANDS OFF THE CHINESE SOVIETS

Preparation for Intervention in China by the Capitalist Powers.

Moscow, 7th August 1930.

In a leading article, yesterday's "Pravda" wrote:

International imperialism is preparing an intervention against the revolution in China which is developing under the banner of the Soviets. Since the victorious rise of the workers and peasants the shadow of imperialist intervention has dogged the course of the Red Armies. Practically all the imperialist powers are taking part in this intervention. French imperialism took the first step towards armed intervention when it despatched French troops over the border into Chinese territory in order to crush the revolutionary movement of the peasant masses in the south of the Province of Kwangsi who had set up a soviet government in Lungchow. Thanks to French assistance and to the bombing planes of French imperialism the counter-revolutionary troops succeeded in taking the town. Frightened by the insurrections in Indo-China, French imperialism crushed the newly formed Soviets on Chinese territory along the Indo-Chinese frontier. Lungchow is again in the hands of the soviets, but French imperialism is concentrating considerable masses of troops near the frontier and a new intervention is to be expected. When the revolutionary troops captured Tayeh, an important industrial centre where a section of the foundry works are concentrated, Japanese imperialism immediately landed a well-armed and equipped force of marines and forced the revolutionaries to evacuate the town. Japanese imperialism is doing everything possible to prevent the Red Armies from linking up with the fermenting masses of the industrial workers in the great urban centres, because it fears to lose control over these rich centres of exploitation. British imperialism has also begun a struggle against the Chinese revolution, its agent is MacDonald and the British Labour Party. British warships have repeatedly bombarded the Chinese revolutionaries. The Chinese working masses were given a demonstration of the fact that the British "labour" government is prepared to drown the revolutionary movement in blood wherever it shows itself, in India, Egypt, Arabia, Africa and in China. The correspondent of the "Frankfurter Zeitung" describes in a message how the combined British, American and Japanese gunboats opened up a bombardment of the red troops immediately they appeared in the Yangtze valley. American imperialism is also not idle. It joined in the bombardment in the Yangtze valley, it provoked a collision with the red troops in Changsha after the retreat of the Nanking forces and it has shifted its main naval forces from Shanghai to Hankow in readiness for all eventualities.

Italian imperialism is also represented in Shanghai and Hankow with its warships. German imperialism is for the moment unable to take a direct hand in the game, but 40 German officers are operating in Chiang Kai-shek's armies. Two great factories are hard at work, despite the crisis, in the United States to provide Chiang Kai-shek with munitions and other war material. Numerous vessels are also leaving German harbours laden with munitions and war material for the Far East. American, French and Italian aeroplane factories are providing the counter-revolutionaries with fighting and bombing planes and the governments concerned pretend to notice nothing. Japanese imperialism provides both the northern and the southern Generals with war materials.

Imperialist diplomacy is working at high pressure in order to smooth over the contradictions in the camp of the Chinese Generals and to unite all bourgeois forces in China against the menace of communism. The Chinese workers and peasants are turning the Generals war in China into a civil war against the Generals, whilst the foreign imperialists are striving to unite the Generals to crush communism and attack the Soviet Union. The foreign banks are financing the counter-revolution and the foreign missionaries are spying for the counter-revolution against the soviets and organising troops of landowners and Kulaks against them. The recent Note of

the imperialists to the Nanking government in connection with the events in Changsha, containing the demand "to prevent the repetition of such events", was a stern sign to the Nanking government that the anti-soviet war must be conducted more energetically and more ruthlessly. The imperialists realise that the Nanking troops are unreliable in the agrarian revolution and that many mutinies have taken place, the mutineers having refused to fight against the Soviets, in many cases even going over to their side, because they confiscate the land of the rich landowners and distribute it amongst the poor peasants. The imperialists know that whilst the Nanking government may be able, thanks to its modern war material and finances, to defend this or that town against the comparatively poorly armed red troops, it will not be able to crush decisively the revolutionary movement which embraces millions and millions of the working and peasant masses. The imperialists therefore intend to take the conduct of the anti-soviet war into their own hands. The imperialists are not only aiming at maintaining the colonial status quo in China, their aims are still wider.

The whole colonial system of imperialism is at stake not only in China, but in Egypt, in India, in Arabia, in Indo-China, in Corea, in the Philippines, etc. The Chinese soviets are a flaming sign to the masse of the oppressed and exploited workers and peasants in all the colonial and semi-colonial countries to rise against their imperialist oppressors in the same fashion. It is the duty of the working masses in the capitalist countries to rally to the defence of the Revolution in China. All working class organisations, and particularly the Communist Parties, must do their duty in this struggle. **Hands off China committees** must be founded in all factories and workshops, in the mines, in the harbours and docks, everywhere in all countries. **The workers must fight against the despatch of troops and war materials to China.** In particular energetic enlightenment work and propaganda must be conducted amongst the troops told off for operations against the Chinese revolution. **Broad masses of the workers and peasants all over the world must be mobilised to prevent the imperialists throttling the Chinese revolution and to secure the withdrawal of the imperialist troops from China.** **The Chinese revolutionaries are fighting for the cause of the world revolution. The world proletariat must put the slogan of the Paris Commune for the peasantry into action: Your cause is our cause!** **The solidarity of the world proletariat with the colonial revolution must be demonstrated by revolutionary action!**

POLITICS

The Political Significance of the Elections in Canada.

By Stewart Smith (Toronto).

The return of a **Conservative government** to power in Canada as a result of the elections on July 28th, means that the imperialist policy of the Canadian bourgeoisie will be carried out in the sharpest and most open form. The election in 1926 centred around the issue of "Canadian autonomy", in which the liberal party was victorious, standing for the so-called national status of Canada, and the conservative party was defeated, having based their election propaganda on the subordination of Canada to the Empire. In the present election the main slogan of the defeated liberals was inter-empire trade and preferential tariffs for British goods, while the main slogan of the conservatives was "Canada first and high tariffs against all other countries including Britain".

The conservative government will carry through a policy openly aimed at creating monopoly control of the Canadian market by Canadian industry, and will establish unprecedented tariffs against United States imports in particular, but also against British goods. Basically there is, no doubt, not the slightest difference between the aim of the economic policy of the Liberals and the Conservatives, both aiming at the consolidation of Canada's position on the world market, but the Liberals based their policy upon the necessity of retaining the British grain market for Canada, being ready to give preferential tariffs to England as a means of attaining this

end, and establishing only moderate tariffs against imports from the United States.

The sharpening of the **imperialist foreign policy** of the Canadian bourgeoisie as a result of the return of the conservative government will have great importance for the United States and Britain. Canada in foreign trade is the fifth country in the world and is by far the largest market of the United States. The establishment of high tariffs against the United States and also against Great Britain will be a great drop in the exports of the United States, especially of the heavy industrial products, and a relatively large drop in the exports of Great Britain, and this fact is already causing great consternation in the United States and England. It means a still further sharpening of the economic crisis in the United States, and is a complete defeat of the policy of the labour imperialist government of England of greater inter-empire trade as the panacea for the crisis of British imperialism. The inevitable result of this will be a severe sharpening of the diplomatic relations not only between Canada and the United States and Canada and England, but also between the United States and Great Britain. The Canadian bourgeoisie will enter upon a more decisive policy than ever before of expansion of foreign trade, and will undoubtedly succeed in making further inroads on the trade of England within and also outside of the British Empire. This means a further factor in the sharpening of the danger of an imperialist war, and will inspire more feverish preparations for war against the Soviet Union, in which the imperialist conservative government of Canada will step more and more into world prominence in the League of Nations.

For the first time in Canada, the **Communist Party** entered the election campaign. In the elections of 1926, the Communist Party sought to build a working class united front through the Canadian Labour Party. The last two years have made necessary the liquidation of the Canadian Labour Party. The trade union bureaucrats have completely sold out, and gone over to a policy of social-Fascism aimed at the rapid destruction of the Communist Party.

The only form of a true working class united front in the present elections was the united front conferences of the Communist Party, which were organised throughout the country. Ten Communist candidates entered the elections in the ten most important working class areas in Canada. (The vote polled is not yet known). A powerful campaign — the most successful of any in the history of the Canadian working class movement — was conducted, hundreds of thousands of leaflets and booklets were distributed, and great mass demonstrations and meetings were held. The main slogans of the Party in the elections were "Smash the capitalist attacks on the standard of living of the workers" and "Defend the Soviet Union!"

The Communist Party was met with the most bitter Fascist attack from the capitalist parties. The police suppressed all Communist meetings in halls in Toronto. Dozens of workers were arrested. Fascist bands were organised by the Police, attacking active Party workers alone in the streets and making organised attacks on the mass demonstrations against unemployment and in defence of the Indian revolution which were organised as part of the election campaign. The Party commenced work among the French masses and placed a French worker in the field as a candidate. This caused great consternation among the bourgeois parties, and Communist meetings were brutally suppressed and the Communist organiser arrested and held in jail during the campaign for deportation. One worker arrested in Toronto will also be deported.

The growth of Communist influence, expressed during the elections, will bring forth the most ruthless suppression from the new conservative government. The most aggressive imperialist policy of the conservatives will sharpen the already sharp economic and agrarian crisis in Canada, and will bring forward large economic struggles. During the last nine years, the liberal government, which includes one former leading "labour" faker, followed a clever policy of passing bills to abolish anti-labour laws, which bills were invariably defeated in the Senate. The conservative government will strengthen the anti-labour laws, and enact new laws which will make more and more possible the sharpening of the attack on the wages and conditions of the workers, the suppression of strikes and the driving of the Communist Party into illegality.

The policy of the conservatives and their special social-demagogy will result in the rapid growth of Fascism in Canada, which is already taking root among the petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia.

The Fight of the Vienna "Rote Fahne".

By R. Schüller (Vienna).

13,000 workers in the printing trade in Austria were engaged in an economic struggle in which they had every prospect of success. The workers, equipped with the weapon, so dreaded by the bourgeoisie, of calling out the newspaper workers, were ready to oppose the employers with the greatest determination. When, therefore, the collective agreement expired, the **demands of the revolutionary opposition** met with considerable response among the printing workers. The opposition, in view of the increased prices of all articles of necessity and the circumstance that the agreement had been concluded a long time ago, demanded a **20 per cent wage increase**, as well as the **seven-hour day** and a number of further **improvements in working conditions**. In view of the spirit of the rank and file, the trade union bureaucracy found itself compelled to meet them half way and put forward the demand of a ten per cent wage increase and a 44-hour week. It is with these demands that the trade unions entered the fight. And how has this fight ended? **With the abandonment of all the demands. The old collective agreement remains in force for another year, which in view of the tremendous increase in prices means a considerable reduction of real wages.** This is the result achieved by the trade union bureaucracy, who at the decisive moment throttled the strike and at the last moment **prevented** a general strike of the printing workers, and before all of the newspaper workers, as demanded by the revolutionary opposition.

In their collaboration with the employers for the purpose of throttling the fight of the printing workers, the bureaucracy of the printers and newspaper workers' union, as is known, had recourse to the basest and dirtiest social fascist means of fighting against the revolutionary opposition and the **"Rote Fahne"**. Taking advantage of the circumstance that the **"Rote Fahne"** has to be printed in a capitalist printing works, the staff of which for the greater part consists of social democrats, they used every means of pressure, including **trade union discipline** and **threats of victimisation**, in order to get them to refuse either to set or print any criticism of the trade union leadership in the printers' struggle. **The social fascist trade union bureaucracy thus imposed a censorship on the paper of the revolutionary working class.**

Needless to say, behind this shameful social fascist act there stood not only the trade union leaders, but the **social democracy**. It was, in fact, a deliberate blow by the social fascists against the newspaper of the revolutionary working class. For the **"Rote Fahne"** is becoming more and more inconvenient and dangerous to the social fascists. The **"Rote Fahne"** has succeeded in considerably increasing its circulation. **Since the commencement of the present year it has won over 2000 new subscribers, and its circulation is increasing daily.** Today, when the fascist dictatorship of President Schober is being intensified along the whole line and a tremendous economic offensive against the working masses has been opened, which is supported by the social fascist trade union bureaucracy and the social democracy, the latter made ready to deliver its decisive blow, which was intended to cripple the organ of the revolutionary working class.

The censorship was reintroduced in Austria. For the first time since the days of the Hapsburg monarchy, **blank spaces** appeared in the proletarian press. But this censorship was not exercised by the officials of the Hapsburg monarchy, nor even by the Public Prosecutor of the fascist Schober government. **It was imposed by the social democratic trade union bureaucracy**, these praters about **"democracy"** and **"liberty of the press"**!

The "Rote Fahne" defied this censorship. It appeared with **blank spaces** in order to hold up to shame the scandalous

action of the trade union bureaucracy. **But one of the articles which had been censored nevertheless appeared in the "Rote Fahne"**. When the trade union bureaucracy censored the first article, which contained a sharp exposure of their conduct of the struggle, the **"Rote Fahne"** had it printed elsewhere. The same thing occurred a second time. The third time the censorship interfered, the Vienna workers found to their joy, and the trade union bureaucrats to their rage and annoyance, the censored article enclosed as a full page leaflet in the **"Rote Fahne"** — **the German printers in the printing works of the Berlin "Rote Fahne" had printed the offending article. International solidarity brought to naught the censorship of the social fascist trade union bureaucracy.** The same thing was done again!

At the same time the **"Rote Fahne"** made use of other means in order to appeal to the proletarian public. A number of **mass meetings** were held, which were filled to overflowing and at which the workers protested furiously against the social democratic censorship. In addition, protests from the workers have been coming in from all sides.

Thus the attack of the social fascist trade union bureaucracy was repelled. The **"Rote Fahne"** has shown that it is not to be silenced, either by Schober or by the social fascist trade union bureaucrats. The Communist Party of Austria will make all the greater efforts in order, in spite of all the fascists and social fascists, to bring the **"Rote Fahne"**, the paper of the revolutionary working class, to ever broader masses.

The Situation in Mexico and the Role of the Social Fascists.

By Pick (Mexico).

The world economic crisis finds sharp expression in Mexico. The fall in the price of silver and other metals (copper, lead, zinc etc.) on the world market, the decline in the output of the oil industry, and the bad harvest, which is due to various causes, have had catastrophic effects for the toilers of Mexico and have led to a constant increase in unemployment.

The impoverishment of the masses is becoming more and more apparent; their purchasing power is declining. The trade balance with the United States, which constitutes about 75 per cent of Mexican exports, shows a drop of 20 per cent during the first four months of the year compared with the same period of last year. In spite of the optimism which the bourgeoisie and the government display, the prospects are anything but rosy. The closing down of the silver mines — silver is one of the main articles of export — means a fall in export of 100 million Pesos, an increase of unemployment by 50 000 and the loss of about one Million Pesos in wages weekly.

The industrial and the agrarian bourgeoisie are making use of these conditions and talk of **"a correction of the mistakes committed by the revolution"**, thereby openly admitting that economic **"reconstruction"** must be accomplished at the cost of the working class.

In view of the economic bankruptcy, the government, true to its traditional demagogy, is again making **"philanthropic"** gestures. It is looking for a possibility to obtain a new loan from Yankee capital under the pretext of opening new railway lines, carrying out **"public constructional work"**, increasing tourists' traffic etc. But neither the lachrymose phrases of the bourgeoisie, which wishes **"to rescue national industry"** and for this purpose is delivering over the working class to starvation, nor the **"humanitarian"** attitude of the government can mislead the workers who are expressing increasing discontent.

It would be a mistake however to overlook the inner contradictions resulting from this situation, not only between the bourgeoisie and the government, but also between the different groups which are quarrelling over the leadership in the present government (cf. the groups of Calles and Portes Gil). These contradictions were revealed, for instance, at the last parliamentary election campaign, between the **"Labour**

Party" and the adherents of the „National revolutionary party“ of President Portes Gil, to which party belong all members of the government and almost the whole of the civil servants. Both of these groups, however, have the common aim: to serve the ends of Yankee imperialism.

It is however necessary to expose the true fascist character of the national revolutionary party. This party not only claims to be the political leader of the Mexican masses, but also its social leader. Its programme, recently expounded by Portes Gil, expresses this idea very frankly: „We state quite openly that we are a government party; the national revolutionary party is proud of being the organ of agitation for the government and for its defence. We are not a class party and do not pretend to be one“. This assertion, however, is refuted by actual facts. The setting up of „social centres“ for the town workers, the dispatch of „cultural missions“ into the agricultural districts, the creation of a „workers' and peasants' university“ are facts; they require a thorough analysis as to the significance of these measures for the future of the proletarian struggle in Mexico.

The revolutionary workers and peasants have commenced to struggle against these misleading fascist proposals. The persecution of the revolutionary masses and of their trade union organisations and of the Communist Party are just as little chance occurrences as the course of the revolutionary demonstrations on 29th of June, where more than 20 workers were killed and a greater number seriously wounded. This is a proof of the fact that the masses are not prepared to play the role of mere pawns, as intended by the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie.

The radicalisation of the masses in the economic struggles, which are being transformed into political ones, the aggressiveness of the masses at the street demonstrations of May 10th and June 29th are unmistakably signs of increased activity of the masses. This fact renders it incumbent on the leading revolutionary elements to see to it that they are not taken by surprise by a new advance of the masses. They must guide these energies into such channels as the concrete situation and the clear perspectives of the enhanced revolutionary development of the proletariat as a result of capitalist rationalisation and the white terror of the government demand.

The Communist Party of Mexico must be capable of coping with the great tasks imposed upon it by the historical situation. In close connection with the Parties of the imperialist countries, and under the leadership of the C. I., it must exert all its forces in order to overthrow the bourgeois rule and to set up in its place the government of the worker and peasant masses under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The Reichstag Election Campaign in Germany.

The election campaign of the Communist Party of Germany is marked by a wonderful fighting enthusiasm and élan and is meeting with a tremendous response among the broad masses of the workers. The Party is using the campaign for the purpose of rallying the workers to the fight against the Young Plan and all its disastrous consequences for the toiling masses of Germany, against the danger of imperialist war, for the defence of the Soviet Union, in support of the Indian and Chinese revolutions and for a Soviet Germany.

On Friday August 8th, Comrade **Thälmann** opened the campaign of the Party in an overfilled and gigantic demonstration in **Hamburg**. A considerable number of people among the audience joined the Communist Party, and over one hundred marks were collected for the Party's election fund.

Comrade Thälmann spoke amid the enthusiastic applause of the many thousands, who greeted his appearance by a thundering "Red Front!". Comrade Thälmann pointed out the international importance of the election. Speaking of the emergency enactments, he stated, amidst the loud expression of agreement of the audience:

"The working masses will not recognise the taxation burdens dictated by the emergency enactments. The masses

will fight against the Young burdens by means of taxation sabotage, under the guidance of the C. P. G."

Comrade Thälmann pointed out most effectively the way of escape from the Young Plan misery." The conditions in the Soviet Union he stated" show the workers of the whole world the path to be trodden by the exploited and oppressed; the votes cast on 14th September for the C. P. G. are a revolutionary mass demonstration against capitalism. Forward to the overthrow of decaying capitalism! Forward to the establishment of Soviet Germany!

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On Saturday August 8th, the C. P. G. held a meeting in the largest hall in **Munich**, Circus Krone. The hall was filled to overflowing by over 5,000 working men and women. The speaker was Comrade **Remmele**. **Hitler** had been challenged to come, and to defend his policy to the workers, but preferred to send the Diet member **Wagner**. Comrade Remmele spoke for over two hours. The storm division of the National Socialists marched in closed formation, and tried at first to disturb the meeting, but were quieted at once by the proletarian self-defence corps. This meeting signifies a defeat of the National Socialists in their stronghold, Munich. Never before has the C. P. made such a magnificent demonstration in Munich.

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Berlin August 13th.

At a meeting held in the Saalbau Friedrichshain in **Red East Berlin** and addressed by Comrade **Heinz Neumann**, during a lively discussion, 123 workers joined the C.P. of Germany. In the **Berlin South** Sub-district over 4,000 workers marched in demonstration through the streets to the meeting place at **Königsheide**.

In **Augsburg** Comrade **Remmele** addressed an overfilled mass meeting at which tremendous enthusiasm prevailed. The leaders of the National Socialists, who had been openly challenged to come to the meeting, did not put in an appearance.

At **Essen** an election meeting of the Party held at the Saalbau, which is capable of holding over 4,000 people was so overcrowded that an overflow meeting had to be held in the Nordparksaal. The meeting in the Saalbau was addressed by Comrade **Florin**, who effectively dealt with the National Socialists. About 400 to 500 National Socialists, gathered together from the whole neighbourhood, were present with the intention of creating a disturbance, but soon became silent.

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Berlin, August 12th.

The Fight of the C. P. G. against the Versailles Treaty and Treviranus.

Commenting upon the bellicose speech delivered by **Herr Treviranus**, a member of the Brüning Government, in which he sought to stir up nationalist feeling by raising the question of the Polish Corridor and a revision of the peace treaties, the „**Rote Fahne**“, the organ of the Communist Party writes:

"**Herr Treviranus**, a conservative minister in the bourgeois-block government and a close friend of **Hindenburg**, in his speech on Sunday tried to imitate his great exemplar. Whilst in the last few weeks he openly and cynically advocated that the newly elected Reichstag be dissolved and the fascist dictatorship of finance capital be set up, on Sunday he delivered a foreign political speech — a speech in support of the new German imperialism, in which he openly called for a revision of the eastern frontiers and the abolition of the Polish corridor. This speech has created considerable excitement among the French imperialist papers. This is not surprising, as the imperialists of all countries play into each others hands in trying to stir up chauvinist feeling among the people.

We Communists have nothing in common with those "Pacifists" who consider the "sacredness" of the Versailles frontiers to be endangered by **Treviranus'** speech. We have never acknowledged the robber-imperialist peace of Versailles, any more than we recognised the Dawes Plan or the Young Plan of the imperialists. We are fighting for the revolutionary destruction of the robber-treaties, just as the Bolsheviki broke

the fetters of the Brest-Litovsk Peace. After the victory of the proletarian revolution a free socialist Germany will restore the arbitrarily destroyed unity in the form of a German Soviet Republic.

In this aim we have nothing in common with the imperialist Young-politician Herr Treviranus, who demands the revision of the eastern frontiers as payment for the dirty lackey service of German imperialism to the western imperialists against the Soviet Union. Treviranus is one of the Wilhelm type, who through General Hoffmann smote on the table with their fists at Brest-Litovsk, and furnished the example for the Versailles Treaty. Treviranus is our class enemy. Only in the fiercest fight against Treviranus and his consorts, against their home and foreign policy, will the Germany of the toilers free itself from its capitalist slave-fetters of the Young Plan."

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Berlin, August 13th.

Treviranus Sticks to his Standpoint.

Yesterday evening Reichs Minister Treviranus was interviewed regarding the comments the statements he made on the occasion of the memorial celebrations, had called forth at home and abroad.

To-day's „Berlin am Morgen“ characterises Treviranus' fresh statements as follows: "This Minister delivered a fascist speech and did not withdraw any of the war-threats contained in his earlier speech."

FASCISM

The Fascist Dictatorship in Finland.

What is Happening In Finland?

By O. W. Kuusinen.

In the last few weeks it has by no means been sufficient, in order to explain the situation in Finland, to speak generally of preparations for a "fascist coup". For such a general characterisation could contain a false as well as the correct view.

What was the false opinion regarding a fascist coup in Finland? It was expressed in the characterisation of the situation given by the Finnish social-democratic press (as well as by some other bourgeois papers, as for example, "Swenska Presen"). According to this characterisation, fascism in Finland is represented only by the "Lapua Movement"; only the Lapua people, who made ready for a campaign against Parliament and against "the democratic parties" in order, it is said, to replace the parliamentary regime by their own illegal dictatorship with a despotic dictatorship at the head, are fascists.

This version might appear somewhat plausible at first sight to anyone not fairly well acquainted with political conditions in Finland and who did not take sufficient care to avoid a (in this case) misleading, superficial view of some of the purely outer analogies with happenings as they occurred in the well-known fascist upheavals in Italy, Bulgaria and Poland.

Things are different in the case of Finland. It is true, here there took place a change of government, which constitutes not an unimportant event, but a change of regime in the sense of an extreme fascisation. The new Swinhuvud Government will function as the head of Finnish fascism. It takes the place of the former government of the "Land Union", which is the numerically greatest party in Finland. This party has the main part of its adherents in the rural districts, in the ranks of the middle and big peasants, of the village bourgeoisie and partly also among the small peasants. It likes to pose as the party of the peasantry. Thus, one could easily gather the impression that the situation of the government of the Finnish "Land Union" with regard to the fascist advance was similar to the position of the Stambulsky Government at the time of the fascist putsch led by Zankoff on 9th June, 1923. This view is, however, absolutely false. In Finland there could be no talk

of a fight between the Land Union and the fascist movement.

Than with the party of Stambulsky, one could somewhat better compare the Finnish Land Union with the "Chiens Piast", which was one of the government parties in Poland on the eve of the fascist putsch led by Pilsudski. Pilsudski's coup was directed immediately against the government of the Chiens Piast and of the National Democrats; and even if it did not come to a serious fight between the two camps, as was the case in Bulgaria, there was nevertheless an open and bitter conflict between them at the time. But in Finland there was absolutely no conflict between the Government of the Land Union, which resigned, and Swinhuvud, the head of the fascists. On the contrary, the Land Union Government had a few months previously hastily summoned Swinhuvud home from abroad and sent him to Lapua for the purpose of getting into personal touch with the Lapua fascists. It was agreed beforehand with the party executive of the Land Union that he should form the new government.

Relander, the President of Finland, who is at the same time one of the party leaders of the Land Union, at the reception of the delegations of Lapua fascists at the beginning of June, demonstrated his warm solidarity with all their demands, and in the middle of June made a propaganda tour in south and central Osterbotten, not against but for fascism. These districts of the country are for the most part Kulak districts and have always been the chief strongholds of the Land Union. The majority of the "Defence Corps" people in these districts are members of the Land Union, and the participators in the present Lapua movement are no other than the most active and savage elements in the ranks of the local Defence Corps. It is therefore quite a matter of course that very many of the Lapua fascists are members of the Land Union. Even the local leader of these fascists in Lapua, Wichtori Kosola, is a member of the Land Union.

It is true, it would not be correct to assert that the Land Union is the leader of the Lapua Movement. It would like to be, but it is not. Who is the leader, then? Swinhuvud has of course a popular and authoritative name in all fascist circles in Finland, and as a ruthless reactionary is prepared to take part in any plans for throttling the working sections of the population. He is, however, more a tool in the hands of the active political leaders of the Finnish bourgeoisie. He can no doubt be regarded as one of the leaders of Finnish fascism, but not as the leader. Still less can any other person be regarded as the chief leader of the Finnish Fascists.

There is, however, a collective leadership, but it will not show itself openly at once. That is one of the characteristic features of the Finnish variety of the fascist movement. In other countries the leaders of the fascist camp, as a rule, advertise themselves as much as possible. In Finland they make a great advertisement of insignificant provincial figures in order to retain the real leadership themselves behind the scenes.

The Mobilisation of the Lapua Movement.

The real general staff of the Finnish fascist movement is not in Osterbotten, but in Helsingfors. This general staff is the party leadership of the so-called **Coalition Party**, the party of the Finnish big bourgeoisie and of the landowners. It has organised the affair, but at the same time has remained invisible as far as possible.

The leaders of the Coalition Party attempted already in the autumn of last year to mobilise a broad anti-communist movement. It was arranged to send a number of delegations of citizens from various parts of the country to Helsingfors, but things did not turn out as intended. Since then, however, as has now become known, various local agitators of the Coalition Party, particularly some parsons, have during the whole winter worked with passionate zeal personally upon all suitable subjects among the village bourgeoisie. This did not happen without instructions from Helsingfors. The headquarters of the coalitionists, both before and after the night raids by the Lapua gangs on the printing works of the workers' paper in Vasa on March 28, sent special emissaries to Lapua in order to instruct the bandits. The Governor of Varsa, Sarlin, an agent of the coalitionists, did everything he possibly could in order to aid the fascist bands in their attack on the printing works. During the farcical court proceedings on June 4 in Varsa, one of the most active leaders of the Coalition Party, the bank director Rantakari, appeared personally on the spot in order, during the public mishandling of the business manager,

of the worker's newspaper Niemenen, to initiate the Lapua people in the methods of fascist terror. The communist lawyer, Salo, was dragged from the court room and placed in a motor car, in which he was conveyed from place to place for several days, all the time being continually subjected to mishandling and terrorist threats by fascist bandits. These methods introduced by Mr. Rantakari have since then been employed practically every day in Finland. Many bestial mishandlings have been committed by fascists, usually drunk during such kidnappings. A number of the abducted representatives of the legal labour movement in Finland have been driven over the frontier; many others have disappeared, that is to say, murdered in all probability. The assertion of the Finnish bourgeois press that these acts are attributable to an elementary "patriotic" indignation of the peasantry, is proved to be a palpable lie by the fact that the fascist bands everywhere have motor cars at their disposal. They are the heads of the village bourgeoisie, landowners, big peasants, officials, parsons, merchants etc., who have been mobilised by the leaders of the Coalition Party.

The fascist "Peasant" delegations which in June came to Helsingfors from Lapua and other places, consisted likewise of heads of the bourgeoisie and a whole number of well-known big capitalists, belonging partly to the Coalition Party and partly to the Land Union; and the whole of their demands, which relate to the removal of the communists from the whole public life of the country, were identical with the demands which the Coalition Party had already submitted to Parliament five months previously. In various localities the formation of sections of a country-wide fascist organisation bearing the name, "The Lock of Finland", has been commenced by emissaries of the Coalition Party.

The task of setting going the so-called "elementary ferment of the peasantry" was, it is true, at first no easy one for the coalitionist leaders. Not that there existed no susceptibility in the ranks of the village bourgeoisie, no inclination to acts of banditry. No, susceptibility was there as well as sufficient candidates for blackguardism; there was only lacking the necessary courage and ruthlessness. The instigators had considerable difficulty in overcoming the qualms felt by the bandits in regard to open acts of lawlessness. The first bands from Lapua, headed by the band director Nicula, made their preparations and carried out their work (wrecking the workers' printing works in Vasa) with the greatest secrecy and then disappeared under cover of the night without leaving any traces. It was impossible to induce these heroes to come forward openly and acknowledge their work and receive their laurels. The most that their instigators were at last able to achieve was that a fascist meeting in Lapua decided to send a telegram to the government stating: "The act was organised by our detachment." The chairman of the meeting, Viktor Kosolo, put his signature to the venturesome telegram, and thus the country obtained a hero.

In addition the bandits were inspired with fascist courage and bestiality by means of alcohol. It should be remarked, by the way, that the coalition party is conducting energetic propaganda for the withdrawal of the prohibition of alcohol.

It was also not so easy to bring the Lapua bandits, who are not schooled in high politics, to the idea of a "march on Helsingfors". To beat up a few Communists and to destroy the printing works of the labour newspaper,—that was quite right and patriotic. The idea of a demonstration against Parliament, however, was bound to appear to them not only as very risky but also absolutely senseless.

They were, however, taught better. The gentlemen in Helsingfors who dominated the majority of Parliament, wanted to see a fascist mass demonstration in front of Parliament. They themselves invited the bandits of Osterbotten to Helsingfors. Swinhufud came to Lapua and assured his hearers that a journey of the fascist bands to Helsingfors was an equally "Patriotic" idea as the ill-treatment of the Communists in Vasa. The President of the Republic came and said the same thing. And even the President of Parliament, Paavo Wirkkunen, Doctor of Divinity, came and said: "Please, you must come without fail. Your demonstration against our Parliament is on the agenda for 7th of July. Please don't be late."

One had to believe that Helsingfors required a march of the fascists from the country. One could very easily believe that.

(To be continued.)

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

The Revolt in Egypt and the Treachery of the Wafd.

By J. B. (Jerusalem).

Law and order has again "triumphed" in Egypt. A powerful wave of popular revolt has been beaten back by the intervention of military forces. Many hundreds of killed and wounded form the bloody balance of the July fights which took place in Bilbeis, Klausurah, Alexandria, Cairo, Port Said and Suez. The revolt of the Egyptian people has not, for the time being, achieved any of its aims; British imperialism, with its creatures Fuad and Sidky Pasha, has maintained its positions for the present. Nevertheless, the July revolt of Egypt represents an important episode in the fight for emancipation of the Egyptian masses, an important link in the chain of colonial revolutions which characterise the years 1929/30, an unmistakable prelude to new fights for emancipation.

The Egyptian revolt has shown that British rule on the Nile and on the Suez Canal is anything but firm; it has resulted in a further shaking of the British Empire, already undermined by the Indian revolution, the disturbances in the colonies and mandatory territories and the economic crisis at home. The fact that during the fights in Alexandria and Cairo only Egyptian troops were employed against the excited masses, that the British soldiers and the hastily dispatched warships of MacDonald were too late to intervene, does not alter the fact that in reality it was only the British occupation which decided the issue for Sidky and Fuad and against the masses. The first retreat of the Egyptian troops would have led, as Henderson — who talked so much about British "neutrality" and non-intervention in the inner affairs of Egypt — was obliged to confess, to the immediate intervention of the British army. Its presence and readiness, quite apart from the fact that the Egyptian army is under British control, decided the fate of the revolt. This was understood before all by the Egyptian masses; for the cry: "Faljahze istiklal mass" (Long live Egyptian independence!), which was the ever recurring central slogan, showed that they instinctively knew and recognised the real enemy behind the figure heads of Fuad and Sidky, and that their anger was directed before all against British imperialism.

What, now, was the role of the Wafd? It made use of the indignation of the masses by placing itself at the head of the movement which broke out spontaneously everywhere. After the resignation of Nahas Pasha and his conflict with the king had become in fact, but against the will of the Wafd leaders, the signal for a rising of the people, it endeavoured to get the latter as quickly as possible into its hands. As long as it could it preached discipline, law and order. When, however, the mass demonstrations assumed a threatening character, when the peasants began to stream into the towns, when the first collisions had taken place and the police stations stormed, when the crowd received the troops sent against them with showers of stones and improvised "bombs" — bottles filled with sand —, the popular revolt was already in full swing — then the Wafd hastened to accept the new situation and to divert the mass movement, which was directed on the much farther aim of complete emancipation, into the channel of constitutional demands. This was done with the clear and definite intention, which was to be plainly seen at every political turn, of putting the brake on the movement as much as possible, of preparing the way for negotiations, and of not losing contact with MacDonald, who on his part was fully aware of the non-revolutionary character of the Wafd leaders, and not letting the revolutionary outbreaks spread to a sphere where, in view of the increased self-confidence of the masses, they would get out of the control of the Wafd leaders, raise social questions and give rise to revolutionary slogans.

The Wafd leadership is no less responsible for the crushing of the popular revolt of July 1930 than the ruthless

terrorism of Ismail Sidky and the imperialism of MacDonald. The masses were in the fight; they were determined to carry it on to the last consequences. The slaughter in Mansurah and Alexandria had led to a general strike, and in spite of the fact that the Egyptian masses are badly armed, and in spite of the sending of warships against them, there was to be expected a fresh storm of tens and hundreds of thousands. Trembling, the imperialist Powers (Italy etc.) who claim to have interests in Egypt, and the "European" papers published in Cairo, issued panicky news on the approaching new outbreak, and even the "dictator" himself considered his troops and their equipment insufficient in the event of serious outbreaks.

Then the Wafd came to the rescue: the Wafd leaders fixed the day for the revolution! The Wafd determined that on 21st of July Parliament should meet "under any circumstances"; the mass storm should be held back until that day. The restoration of the rights of Parliament was the Wafd's slogan to the masses, and the day of the fight therefor was openly fixed. Instead of sporadic demonstrations — concentric attack, instead of spontaneous revolt — purposeful revolution. The bourgeois leadership of the Wafd understood perfectly how it could deceive the masses at the decisive moment.

In the night of 21st of July — Sidky Pasha had already done everything that lay in his power; had concentrated all the military forces at his disposal, fortified all government positions and was ready for the decisive battle — the Wafd held a consultation; its result was abominable betrayal. Against the opposition of the radical petty-bourgeois wing it was decided, "in order to avoid bloodshed", to drop the Parliamentary meeting on 21st of July and instead, to submit a humble petition to his majesty King Fuad, begging him to convene an extraordinary session on the 26th of July. That meant, in the situation then existing in Egypt, complete retreat. It meant that the masses who were to be led into the fight on July 21st, were delivered over without a fight to Sidky's hirelings. The capitulation of the Wafd was all the more shameful as it was perfectly clear **beforehand** that the king would reject the petition; the whole manoeuvre obviously served as a **pretext** for avoiding a collision with the dictatorship.

That the Wafd then, after the rejection of their demand by the king (whose prestige was restored precisely by the treachery of the Wafd) even on the 26th of July did not summon the masses to revolt, but convened its deputies to a meeting held during the night in a private building, in order to make the gesture of protesting against Sidky — that Nahas Pasha, in his reply to MacDonald's "warning", anxiously assured him that law and order and the "property of foreigners" would be protected at all costs — is only the logical continuation of the treachery of 21st of July.

The treachery of the Wafd, however, has in no way succeeded in allaying the revolutionary excitement of the Egyptian masses. On the contrary, the revolutionary pressure of the toilers in the towns and villages still continues. After cases of spontaneous refusal to pay taxes are to be recorded in various villages in lower Egypt, the Wafd is now itself compelled to place on the agenda the question of proclaiming general "civil disobedience". There arises from this, however, a number of fresh conflicts which are bound to lead to further collisions. The discontent with the Wafd leaders must in the course of the revolutionary struggles lead to the formation of a new leadership of the masses capable of coping with the revolutionary tasks and pursuing a correct path to the victory of the Egyptian workers and peasants.

This way is shown by the appeal of the Communist Party of Egypt, which appeared in the middle of July and was distributed among the Egyptian workers. It is directed against the dictatorship of Sidky Pasha, but at the same time stigmatises the treachery of the nationalist leaders and shows that the real emancipation of the Egyptian masses can only be achieved when the national emancipation of Egypt is linked up with the social emancipation of the workers and toiling peasants. The new activity of the C. P. of Egypt affords good prospects for the approaching period of the revolutionary upsurge in a country whose anti-imperialist fight forms a serious danger to the British Empire, which is based on oppression and exploitation.

For the Independence of Egypt!

We publish below an extract from a Manifesto of the League Against Imperialism.

The anti-imperialist front has now been extended to Egypt which has been under the iron heel of British imperialism for 48 years and where the masses have now risen in revolt against the terrible conditions to which they have been reduced by imperialist and native capitalist exploitation and feudal tyranny. From being a rich and self-supporting country producing its own food, Egypt has now been reduced to a cotton-growing area and the entire population, mostly peasant producers, have now become largely dependent upon their foreign and native exploiters for the sale of their cotton production. The poverty-stricken and underfed fellaheen and the young Egyptian proletariat, living in miserable hovels and working from morning to night, produce the wealth that goes into the pockets of the landlords and moneylenders, of the native and foreign bondholders, capitalists and merchants and for the maintenance of the imperialist-feudal State apparatus and the foreign army of occupation. From the surplus value created by their labour is maintained also the Reserve Fund which the puppet governments, appointed by British imperialism, devote for the most part to placing orders with British heavy industry. Under this system of increasingly intensified exploitation the petty bourgeoisie of the towns has also become steadily impoverished. The country is drained of no less than 30 million Pounds a year for interest alone on the investments of British capital.

But British capitalism maintains its stranglehold on Egypt not merely because of the financial profits squeezed out of the toiling masses, but because it has to safeguard the route to its whole gigantic system of exploitation. For these reasons it has established its sole control over the Suez Canal and over the Sudan and resists by force of arms any attempt to diminish or jeopardise that control.

The history of the British occupation of Egypt is one of the most disgraceful even in the annals of British imperialism. After the defeat of Arabi Pasha who had successfully organised a rebellion against the foreign intruder, British troops occupied Cairo on September 15th, 1882, on the pretext of protecting foreign lives and property. One British government after another gave the most solemn assurances that Egypt would not be annexed or permanently occupied and that the troops would be withdrawn as soon as order had been restored. Those hypocritical pledges were made in order to deceive the Egyptian masses, until Egypt was openly declared a British Protectorate in December 1914. The revolt of the Egyptian masses in 1919 was crushed by British troops and British warships. In 1922 the British Government attempted to conciliate the propertied classes by recognising Egypt as an "independent sovereign State", but with certain important reservations which reduced the so-called independence to a mere farce. And they proposed that these conditions should be embodied in a Treaty accepted by the Egyptian Parliament which was then specially called into being in 1923.

But the Egyptian Parliament, representing mainly the propertied classes, refused to accept the Treaty which seriously curtailed their power to exploit the Egyptian masses. One government after another was set up in order to give the sanction to the Treaty in the name of the people, until in April 1930 Nahas Pasha and his colleagues in the Wafd Cabinet, returned by an overwhelming majority secured under the existing electoral law, went to London to conduct negotiations so as to obtain from the Labour Government the maximum concessions of British imperialism.

The nationalist leaders of the bourgeois Wafd Party, mostly capitalists, landowners and lawyers, have placed themselves at the head of the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses in order to exploit it in their own interests and to prevent it from taking a really revolutionary course. They have attempted to give the movement the form of a constitutional struggle against the absolutism of the feudal monarchy and for the protection of the rights of the Egyptian Parliament, in order to prevent it from becoming a direct and open struggle between the masses and British imperialism, because this would mean also a fight against the native bourgeoisie and landowners. The Wafd Cabinet of Nahas Pasha, which had nearly signed the Treaty, demanded by Great Britain and legalising the British imperialist exploitation of Egypt, declined

to do so at the eleventh hour under the pressure of the rank and file of the Party and in view of the growing revolutionary discontent of the broad masses of the peasants and workers, stimulated and encouraged by the revolt of the Indian masses. The Wafd leaders pretend to have taken up the struggle in the name of the people, while at the same time their agents are negotiating in London and they themselves are diverting the attention of the masses from the real issue, namely, the overthrow of British imperialism, by concentrating on the defence of the Constitution, i. e., on the attainment by the propertied classes of full control over the machinery of the State and of Parliament in order to share more fully with British imperialism the profits of the exploitation of the toiling masses.

In spite of the pacifist manoeuvres of the Wafd leaders, the masses have given expression to their militancy in the mass demonstrations, barricade fighting and bloody conflicts with the armed police and military force of imperialism that have taken place during the last few weeks in the streets of Mansurah and Bilbeis, of Alexandria and Cairo, of Suez and Port Said. During these conflicts, hundreds have been killed or maimed for life, thousands injured, thousands arrested. The country has been placed under a regime of military terror. Every printed expression of anti-imperialist revolt has been suppressed. The freedom of speech, of the press and of assembly have been abolished. The country is under a Fascist dictatorship which receives the praise and the support of the Imperialists and Social Fascists of Great Britain.

In the suppression of the anti-imperialist revolt of the Egyptian people, the Labour Government is playing the same dastardly role as it has been playing in India and in Palestine. It has sent warships to Alexandria while making a hypocritical declaration of neutrality and has given military and moral support to its feudal vassals in Egypt to prevent the further development of the revolutionary movement and to protect the interests of British imperialism. At the same time the Labour Government has been continuing its negotiations with the Wafd Leaders in whom it rightly sees the men that will finally and inevitably make the desired compromise with British imperialism.

The League Against Imperialism, while giving its wholehearted support to the Egyptian masses in their struggle for national independence and social freedom, deems it necessary to warn them against the treacherous tactics of the Wafd leaders, which are similar to those of the Indian National Congress and which must be clearly exposed to the masses of workers and peasants, as well as to the students and urban poor that constitute the rank and file of the Wafd Party and among whom there are sincere anti-imperialist elements. The League wishes to make it clear to them that their condition can only be improved by carrying on an uncompromising struggle for the complete overthrow of imperialism and its feudal and capitalist agents among the Egyptians, and for the establishment of full national independence. This struggle cannot be carried on under the domination of leaders whose interests demand a compromise with imperialism, but only with a clear programme that corresponds to the real economic and political interests of the broad masses.

The League Against Imperialism calls upon all truly anti-imperialist elements in Egypt to unite their forces and bring into being a strong anti-imperialist mass organisation that shall coordinate the struggle for Egyptian independence in Egypt itself with all the anti-imperialist forces of the world and thereby ensure the complete victory of the Egyptian masses.

IN THE CAMP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

The I. L. P. Hypocrites and India.

By V. Ch.

In the colonial countries it is still generally believed that the Independent Labour Party of Great Britain is a genuinely anti-imperialist organisation, that its principal leaders, Maxton, Ferner Brockway etc., are "rebels" who are in revolt against the imperialism of the Labour Government, and that these "rebels" may be relied upon to take up the fight on behalf of

the independence of the colonial peoples. These illusions have been systematically created in the colonies by the radical phraseology adopted by the I.L.P., which has now assumed the role that the Labour Party used to play in the old days when Ramsey MacDonald denounced British imperialist exploitation in India in a book the entry of which into India he himself as Prime Minister forbade in 1924. There are some left wing Indian nationalists who are members of the I.L.P., all the Indian National Congress leaders trust the I.L.P., there is an important Iraqi statesman (now leading the resistance against the imperialist treaty imposed by MacDonald on Iraq), who is a member of the British I.L.P., and the Wafd leaders of Egypt find in their I.L.P. friends trustworthy go-betweens between themselves and the imperialist Government.

It is hardly worth while to try and expose to these "left wing" colonial nationalists the real role of the I.L.P. in the maintenance of the British Empire. For imperialism and bourgeois nationalism have to come to a compromise after a few preliminary skirmishes, and it is these "left wing" parties on both sides that are working to bring about the agreement for the joint control and exploitation of the masses and the suppression of the revolutionary movement.

But to the workers both of Great Britain and of the colonial countries under British imperialist exploitation the treacherous tactics of the I.L.P. must be mercilessly exposed. There is not a single colonial question—whether China or India or Egypt or Palestine or Iraq—in which the I.L.P. has not given its support to the imperialism of the Labour Government, as can be proved by the speeches and writings of leading I.L.P. politicians.

To begin with, let us consider their attitude towards that lying imperialist document, the **Simon Commission's Report**. On June 13th, **Ferner Brockway** wrote in the "New Leader" re Vol. I. of the Simon Report: "Even those of us who from the first have opposed the Simon Commission must admit that it has done its work courageously and thoroughly. . . . I doubt whether the most extreme Nationalist will be able to point to serious inaccuracies on major facts, though they will dispute, of course, the significance of the facts." In other words, the deliberately false statistics of the Government of India as reproduced in the Simon Report are accepted as "facts", which is exactly the object of the imperialist Government.

This imperialist propaganda is repeated with still greater vehemence by **H. W. Nevinson** in a review of Vol. II of the Simon Report. He quotes the Government figures intended to show the enormous diversity of races, religions, castes, languages etc., and adds: "Everyone who thinks of India ought to know those bare facts to start with. If he does not, he should read Vol. I of the Report. If he neither knows nor reads, let him hold his peace!" So the ultimate authority with regard to India is the Simon Report! So far, the I.L.P. leaders are in perfect agreement with the imperialist parties.

Where they apparently, but only apparently, differ is with regard to the immediate tactics to be followed. In concluding the article already quoted, Brockway writes: "I propose to conclude with a series of concrete proposals which I am confident would prevent the threatening disaster in India", and among the seven proposals he makes the principal one is that the Round Table Conference "should be asked to prepare a Constitution automatically advancing to complete self-government, to define the transitional period from the present to the new regime" etc. He wishes to give India the right of secession after that period, but in making this generous offer his object is clearly to prevent India from going out of the Empire. This is shown by the address he delivered on India at the I.L.P. Summer School on August 5th (reported in the "New Leader" of August 8th) in which he said that, if the above-mentioned proposals were accepted, "not only would Gandhi join the Conference, but India would most likely remain within the Empire".

These words indicate clearly how anxious Brockway & Co. are to maintain the Empire, and that they are speaking of the right of secession in order to prevent India from seceding! This is the typical hypocrisy of the I.L.P.

Another interesting piece of hypocrisy is revealed in the way in which the phrases "independence", full self government and "Dominion Status" are used by the I.L.P. At the 6th Annual Conference of the I.L.P. Guild of Youth held at

Bradford during the Whit week-end, a resolution was passed calling for "the total independence of India and the immediate release of all political prisoners", while Brockway proposes in the "New Leader" that "an amnesty should be granted to all political offenders, except those actually guilty of acts of violence". The National Administrative Council of the I.L.P. at its meeting on July 13th passed a resolution "recognising the right of the Indian people to self government and independence" and calling upon the Labour Government "to negotiate a settlement with Indian representatives on the basis of full responsible Government". (In other words, to negotiate to keep India in the Empire and to prevent a movement for independence.)

And Brailsford goes so far as to declare that mere "recognition of status", i.e. "having an Indian Government at Delhi", would suffice. "No one", he writes ("New Leader", July 18th), "is quite sure what Indians mean by Dominion Status. I think they mean the sense of equality, the startling self-respect which would come to them with the restoration of an Indian Government. The English Viceroy, might remain, many officials, more soldiers!" "If we grant that", says Brailsford, "we have a loyal and tranquil India tomorrow." Brailsford, Brockway & Co. are clearly aiming at an India "loyal" to British imperialism. The possibilities of exploiting that loyalty for specific purposes are subtly insinuated by Brailsford in the following passage:—"Why not station the main part of the British force in the North West under its British command and subject only to the Viceroy? But in India proper, let us have an Indian army under the Indian Government." The main British force in the North West—against whom?

The word independence, though used sometimes in resolutions, is suppressed in actual work. The I.L.P., for instance, has decided to organise an India week-end on August 23rd and 24th, in order to create a "strong public opinion" that "would force the Government to an agreement with India" (by India the I.L.P. means mainly Gandhi and the two Nehrus). The propagandists of the I.L.P. are "asked to make support of Indian self government the theme of their speeches" during the India Week end. The word independence is here carefully avoided, notwithstanding the resolutions of the Youth Conference and the National Administrative Council. At the same time, Brockway, Maxton and a number of other I.L.P. leaders have sent a letter to Gandhi and the other Indian National Congress leaders assuring them that the I.L.P. stood for Indian independence. For the mass meetings in Britain the word "self government" is used, for cables to India, "independence".

But while the I.L.P. outwardly condemns the repressive measures of the MacDonald Government and criticises its Indian policy in Parliament and the press, the real role of the I.L.P. is now clearly exposed by the agreement arrived at with the Labour Party at the joint conference between the Executives of the two Parties, held on July 27th. The "Forward" of Glasgow, an unofficial I.L.P. organ, states in its issue of August 2nd that two things were made clear at the Conference: "1) That the I.L.P. accepts the Labour Party Annual Conference as the supreme authority of the organised political movement of the workers, and 2) that the I.L.P. wishes to remain in affiliation with the Labour Party." At the Conference, the I.L.P. National Council, headed by James Maxton, was present in full strength, and Maxton declared that "apart from the question of disarmament, there was no fundamental disagreement on basic policy and principles"

This statement by Maxton is sufficient to show that the I.L.P. accepts in fact the Indian policy of the Labour Government, and it is therefore clear that all the talk about "full self government" and "independence" is merely a bait with which to draw the Indian leaders into the imperialist net. The I.L.P. method of work is a method that has the full sanction and approval of the Labour Government. In that Government the Secretary of State for India is **Wegwood Benn**, who orders the bombing and shooting of the Indian masses but nevertheless retains his membership of the pacifist I.L.P., while his Party comrades Brockway and Co. keep declaring that they stand for Indian self-government even to the point of "secession". The I.L.P. is in fact the left wing of British imperialism.

A. J. Cook's Transformation Tricks.

By H. Valetzky (Moscow).

The virtuoso A. J. Cook has command of a many-toned instrument. According to the mood of the masses, of which his sensitive ear instantly informs him, he presses his fingers now upon this string now upon that, causing his music to remind one now of a lullaby, and now a battle-march.

The working masses are beginning to become restless. The crisis is growing and becoming more acute. The army of the unemployed is swelling; the patience of the most peaceable sections of the working class is, at an end; a wave of indignation is rising; fresh revolutionary events are approaching. Arthur Cook, who, after the defeat of the heroic English miners in 1926, flung himself into the open arms of victorious capitalism and joined the company of the most odious leaders of the Amsterdam International, now considers it opportune and expedient to make a "change of front". On the occasion of the recent Congress in Stockholm of the International Federation of Trade Unions he sent per wire a declaration, in which he stated that, according to his very latest "conviction", the Amsterdam International was a yellow and treacherous organisation, that the same designation also applied to the Labour Government and that he was even prepared, if necessary, to place himself at the head of the growing fight of the workers against the capitalists.

The exceedingly cunning Cook obviously reckons that the workers have a very bad memory. He reckons that the workers are badly informed regarding his latest achievements in the international arena. It is therefore necessary to call to mind his utterances in connection with the last International Miners' Congress in the middle of May last.

The Congress took place at Cracow in Poland. In Poland, which represents the outpost of imperialism against the Soviet Union. In Poland, which is governed by Pilsudski's fascist "colonels". In Poland, where the most severe economic crisis prevails, which has already condemned fully a third of the working class to unemployment. In Poland, in whose dungeons there are no less than 6000 revolutionary workers and peasants. In Poland, where the reformist leaders, the most contemptible specimens of their kind, function as direct collaborators in the Polish Ochra and where the social fascists, the leaders of the P.P.S., are the fiercest inciters of war against the Soviet Union.

The first Polish newspaper to which A. J. Cook granted an interview was the official organ of the fascists, "The Illustrated Daily Courier". In this interview Cook declared: "I am touched by the reception, particularly by that given by the city corporation. . . . I have never in my life seen such pits as those in Wieliczka. It is simply the Eighth Wonder of the World. . . . The only way out of the severe economic period which we are now experiencing, is, in my opinion, industrial peace". . . .

Cook elaborated the same "thoughts" at a public meeting in Cracow, where he said:

"Our Comrade MacDonald, who has been placed at the helm of Great Britain by the will of the people, is conducting a policy of peace. But there can be no real peace without industrial peace." (Quoted from the report in the PPS. organ "Robotnik", 16th May, 1930.)

A few days afterwards Cook gave an interview to the "Robotnik" itself. The editor of the central organ of the PPS. recommended Cook to his readers as a "sincere, courageous, simple man" and added: "He is accused of having Communist sympathies, but that is not true. Comrade Cook is a socialist, a member of the Labour Party."

Cook himself declared:

"The Polish workers must be congratulated that they have holidays with pay. We too are demanding the same thing, and also old age pension at the age of 60."

After the Congress Cook visited the Dombrova coal basin. At the Richters pit Cook, according to the report of "Robotnik" of 27th of May, was very cordially received by the general manager of the Laura smelting works, Mr. Schnappka, to whom Cook declared "that abroad it was very rarely that one came across a pit which was on such a high technical

level". At a speech which he then delivered at a meeting of the reformist leaders, Cook said:

"The importance of the Congress also lies in the fact that the foreign delegates have become convinced that Poland is not a savage country . . . That is to a great extent due to the Polish miners' union, and above all to its General Secretary, Comrade **Stanczyk**, who by his popularity (!) among the workers has done much more for the **Polish propaganda abroad** than many official bodies and persons."

It is true that Cook, besides his enthusiasm over the conditions prevailing in Poland, ventured in his "Farewell letter to the Polish workers" to express a certain mild criticism of the Pilsudski dictatorship ("as well as every dictatorship whatever, for democracy is our religion"), and added: "I know that all sections of public opinion in England will give support to democracy in Poland, but there can be no talk of confidence, of faith, of credit or of any permanent financial or economic harmony without democracy."

Thus in Poland, Cook fraternised with the captains of Polish industry and with the vilest Polish social fascists, who are preparing for war against the Soviet Union. He praised the Polish "eighth wonder of the world", "the high technical level", the "social achievements" of the Polish miners, and preached industrial peace. Regarding India, which is overflowing with the blood caused to be shed by the government of "our Comrade MacDonald", he only stated that, like the whole of Great Britain, it is in the grip of an economic crisis. To Poland, the half of whose budget represents war expenditure, he promised British credits.

And the same Cook has now the unbounded impudence to come forward with radical, almost "revolutionary" phrases and gestures. He obviously reckons that the world will not learn anything of his antics and speeches in obscure Poland. The hypocrite Cook is trying to gain the confidence of honest revolutionary-minded workers. Everything must be done in order to prevent his succeeding in doing this.

ECONOMICS

A Sharper Turn in the Crisis in the U.S.

By Harry Gaines (New York).

Each time that the crisis in the United States assumes a severer form, when production takes a downward sweep, the capitalist press automatically comes out with optimistic statements. The burden of these vapourings is, production is down so low it can only go in one direction, that is, upward. While at times there is a slight, seasonal upward swing, marking the uneven development of the crisis, still the downward trend becomes sharper every day.

This is shown in the three most important industries in the United States: **steel, automobile and building construction**. The steel industry is at a very low ebb. Production is 56 per cent of capacity, as compared with 90 per cent last year. The United States Steel Corporation plants in Gary and South Chicago are operating around 55 to 60 per cent. Last July they were producing at 100 per cent of capacity. The lowest point reached in the present crisis, last December, was 38 per cent. Still lower levels are certain when the sharply curtailed building construction work slows up still further, and when the automobile industry practically closes down late in the fall.

A chart of automobile production since January, 1929, published in the New York Times (July 29) shows the drastic sweep of the crisis in this industry.

The Times adjusted index gave automobile production in July, 1929, at 140, by January, 1930, output had dropped to 60, and during the last week in July, when production should be at its height, it went down to 37.9. The decrease in output, explains the Times, was due to the closing down of such plants as Fords, throwing 80,000 out of work; Graham-Paige, Oakland-Pontiac and Packard, as well as sharp curtailments of Buick, Chrysler and Durant-Rugby.

Ford at first announced a suspension of two weeks, ending

July 28th. But Ford had underestimated the huge overproduction and the rapidly shrinking markets. He advanced the workers' "vacation" to August 4th, with no assurance that he would resume production then.

A report from Chicago, published in the "Wall Street Journal" (July 29) indicated how severely automobile sales had dropped. In the Seventh Federal Reserve District, one of the most important industrial, commercial and agricultural centres of the U. S., automobile sales had fallen off 29.7 per cent in June from May, and 50.9 per cent from June, 1929. Export trade has been out in half.

It was in building construction that Hoover and the imperialists put their greatest efforts as a step to "liquidating" the crisis. For weeks the capitalist papers early this year were flooded with telegrams from the 48 governors of the 48 states promising miracles in the way of public and private construction. Six months have past — the best six months for building construction — and we can measure the results. July building contracts, reported by the F. W. Dodge Corporation, the leading building statisticians in the U. S. showed a decline of 43 per cent, as compared with July 1929.

"In the metropolitan area of Greater New York (the most important centre of building operations in the United States) the daily average for July to the 18th," points out the *Annalist* (July 25), "was 62 per cent lower than in July a year ago. These figures do not speak of business stimulation, and they seem to let considerable inflation out of the balloon of building as a remedy for unemployment."

So much for Hoover's building programme which was to wipe out the crisis "in the twinkling of an eye" (Speech of Gov. Brewster in 1928, outlining the wonders Hoover would work if a crisis dared to show its head within the borders of the U. S.).

Sales in Department Stores, most of which are really chain stores, or are run by the large mail order houses, despite large price reductions show ever shrinking sales. The Federal Reserve System gives data of reports from 683 of such stores in 266 cities. Sales for June were 10 per cent lower than in the corresponding month a year ago, and total sales from Jan. 1 to June 30 were 5 per cent less than last year. In New York chain stores and department stores showed a decline of 21 per cent in June as compared with a year ago.

Worse still is the agrarian crisis. The *Commercial & Financial Chronicle* (July 26) speaks of "the distress under which the agricultural sections of the country are labouring, and early relief from which it appears impossible to provide by any speedy means."

Speaking of the general crisis, this Wall Street organ goes on: "One unfavourable feature is the lessened buying capacity of the farming community of this country. Wheat is fully half a dollar a bushel lower than a year ago. Corn nearly 20 cents lower, cats 14, rye 64 cents, hogs 2½ cents and cotton over 6 cents."

Nor are the banks immune. The *Wall Street Journal of Commerce* (July 26) speaks of the "critical condition" of the banks, and the "great increase in the number of bank failures". They point out that there is "A progressively more 'frozen' condition with practical suspension of accommodation to the public at any price in some sections."

The capitalist press does not even speak of alleviating unemployment any more. Months ago they had announced the end of mass unemployment. Hoover had published figures which were later admitted to be lies by the Department of Labour and the Federal Reserve System. Some of the financial journals talk about a seasonal upturn in the autumn, but none are bold enough to set a period for the end of the crisis. The prices of commodities continue their sharp downward drop, which looks very ominous, as one capitalist writer puts it, since the alleviation of the crisis of 1921—22 was preceded by a substantial rise in commodity prices. The future promises heavier declines in commodity prices, both agricultural and industrial.

"It would be a welcome discovery", writes Benjamin Baker, editor of the *Annalist*, (July 25) "to find in the current records of business the evidence that the traditional 'darkest hour just before the dawn' had arrived, and was even now passing into new brightness. That evidence is not visible, however; the records suggest, on the contrary, that some further general decline in business must be endured."

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The Bus Strike in Ireland.

By T. B.

In Ireland, as in every other country, bus traffic has broken in on rail travelling within the past few years. The bosses of the G.S.R. (Great Southern Railways) concern were faced with this fact, and bought up the I.O.C. (Irish Omnibus Company), thus combining the largest railroad and omnibus companies in Southern Ireland. About the connection between the two concerns there is no doubt, they are interlinked in every way from a dual directorate down to the interchangeability of bus and rail travelling tickets.

On taking over the bus concern the G.S.R. bosses brought into operation a new scale of wages which they tried to foist on the bus workers as making for an all-round betterment of their conditions. The workers stood up to the attack and from an aggregate meeting issued a statement showing clearly that the new arrangement meant, amongst other things, that drivers worked for over 60 hours per week for less than £ 3; conductors worked the same number of hours for 33/11; drivers in some cases had done overall periods of 17 hours covering over 250 miles behind the wheel without respite.

The workers refused the slavish conditions which the bosses sought to impose on them and demanded the right of negotiation through the N.U.R. This right the bosses refused, making the audaciously lying statement that there was no connection between the G.S.R. and the I.O.C. and hence they would not allow N.U.R. interference with the buses.

The busmen gave their answer by way of a lightning strike on May 9th which paralysed the whole I.O.C. system. Four hundred workers were involved. The strike was unofficial in so far as it was called without N.U.R. sanction. Now, the immediate cause of the strike was the refusal of the bosses to treat with the workers through a trade union — the N.U.R., but the main cause was the worsened wages and conditions.

Immediately on the declaration of the bus strike, the rank and file of the N.U.R. declared their solidarity with the busmen. On the strength of this urge the N.U.R. officialdom reluctantly "recognised" the strike as official. There and then they took over the leadership and sent over some half dozen of their Headquarters bureaucrats to assist their Irish representative, a Mr. Watters, in sabotaging the busmen. Their programme was to "give the I.O.C. a chance to come to an amicable agreement" and they went about doing this by deluging the I.O.C. bosses with cringing letters.

The **Irish Workers' Revolutionary Party**, alone amongst all Irish labour organisations, endeavoured to counteract the defeatism of the N.U.R. leaders by urging the calling of a Rank and File Mass Conference through the medium of the "Workers' Voice". This Conference would set up a Council of Action to undertake a mass sympathetic struggle for the strikers. At the same time the paper pointed out what happened later, that the N.U.R. officials would betray the strike. The Rank and File of the bus and rail workers took up the suggestion and arranged such a Conference in June. The N.U.R. bureaucracy met this real strike action by threatening to cut off the strike pay and ultimately to call off the strike. Just then the miserable Irish "Labour" Party butted in to help them in their fell work by promising them "moral and financial assistance". In keeping with the Rank and File idea the Bus Strike Committee issued a Daily Bulletin as an antidote to the poisonous capitalist press and to keep the workers informed on strike progress. Watters seized and confiscated the Bulletin. These actions of Watters had, to an extent, the desired effect of damping the ardour of the strikers who were young, and inexperienced to the wiles of the labour fakirs. Meantime, the posts of the strikers were being filled by scabs and most of the I.O.C. services were running. The strikers, in desperation, were driven to isolated actions in the way of ambushing buses and beating scabs.

Matters dragged on through June into July when, during the absence of Watters in London, the railmen struck out on their own. Some of their comrades were victimised for refusing to handle scab I.O.C. goods in transit. In every

station where a worker was dismissed the railmen struck work. Realising that events were marching rapidly, Watters hurried back from London accompanied by Thomas' henchman, Cramp. Having no alternative they "threatened" a general strike of 12000 railmen on the G.S.R. system to commence midnight on July 23rd. McGilligan, the Free State Minister for Industry and Commerce, interfered and called a Conference for that day between the N.U.R., officials and the bosses. (In the course of the strike McGilligan had referred to the bus workers as "hooligans"). The outcome of the Conference was heralded by Cramp as a victory. He stated that the "... settlement includes the recognition of the N.U.R. by the I.O.C. Our purpose has thus been achieved..." Against this McGilligan declared that "... the settlement has reference only to the railwaymen, and nothing is to be deduced from it as to the position of the I.O.C., or whether the I.O.C. men are to be reinstated or not."

The railmen were reinstated immediately and went back to work, but the busmen were not dealt with until the following Saturday, July 26th, when a separate Conference was held between the N.U.R. officials and the I.O.C. bosses. An agreement was arrived at whereby "The wages and conditions of employment in operation at the date of the agreement shall remain in operation for a period of not less than 9 months. On the expiration of the period of nine months three month's notice shall be given of any proposed change... In the event of a dispute... such dispute, if not disposed of by agreement, shall be referred for settlement to an arbitrator or arbitrators appointed by the Minister for Industry & Commerce. Of the members of the Union formerly employed by the Company and now seeking reinstatement, 50 shall be reinstated within 14 days and the remainder as soon as possible thereafter."

So that the strike resulted in a sell-out on the part of the N.U.R. traitors. The wages and conditions were left standing for a period after which they would be ultimately left to arbitrators appointed by a prejudiced Minister for Industry & Commerce. The part of the agreement covering the reinstatement of the strikers was left purposely vague, making no mention of the scabs who, by the way, were guaranteed constant employment by the I.O.C. bosses and will doubtlessly become members of the N.U.R. to the exclusion of the strikers. The workers, when on the threshold of a great victory that would have had far-reaching effects, were about-turned by Cramp and his generalissimo on the plea that "recognition" was gained. He misled the main force, the railmen, from the objective: wages and conditions. It was a shameful retreat, accomplished in cunning fashion, in which the heroic vanguard of the struggle, the busmen, were left behind and sacrificed.

THE NEGRO MOVEMENT

A New Wave of Terror against the American Negroes.

By I. A m t e r.

An incident which "shocked" the Negro petty-bourgeoisie has occurred in New York. The U.S. imperialist government, in the realisation that war is approaching, and wishing to create proper sentiment for the war, decided that American "Gold Star" mothers should be given an opportunity to visit the graves of their sons killed and buried in France.

A large contingent exclusively of white women made the trip, were feted, photographed and what not, and the capitalist papers could not pay enough tribute to these "brave mothers" for the sacrifices they had made. It was decided, however, that Negro "Gold Star" mothers should be sent **separately**. Not only were they to be **jimcrowed** and **segregated**, but they were to be sent on a ship with accommodations inferior to those accorded white mothers. More than 450 "Gold Star" Negro mothers decided to make the trip — but in May 55 of them, representing twenty-one states, petitioned Hoover to change the arrangements, insisting on no segregation, declaring it an "insult" to Negro mothers and stating that if discrimination

were persisted in, the petitioners would refuse to go to France, as much as they desired to visit the graves of their fallen sons.

What did Hoover do? It must not be expected that fascist Hoover was even sentimentally moved. On the contrary — this fascist who nominated for the U.S. Supreme Court Judge Parker, who is a bitter enemy of the Negroes, and who persisted in his nomination despite the protests of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, a petty-bourgeois organisation, headed by the intellectual W.E.B. Du Bois, did not change the plans. Of the 450 Negro mothers only ninety-two have made the voyage. This is a healthy — though not yet a basic racial or class response — to these fascist manoeuvres.

A reception was held for the ninety-two Negro mothers at City Hall on July 11. F. Q. Morton, a Negro municipal civil service commissioner, told the audience **"not to allow your hearts to be embittered by the insult offered you by the government at Washington."** Aldermann Moore, a Negro alderman of N.Y. declared that "when our boys went to France they felt they were fighting for democracy. But that democracy lasted only a few days after the return of a "famous" regiment.

Secretary of War, Hurley, declared that his department was anxious **"not to disturb the normal contacts of individual pilgrims."** Thus the government:

This incident is merely symptomatic of the whole present situation. Lynching is increasing in the south. Only a few days ago a dispute between a Negro and a white storekeeper at Ernelle, Alabama, resulted in a shooting. Mob-spirit broke out, led by the sheriff of the county, an attack was made on the home of the Negro family. The escape of two of the family led to the governor of Alabama offering a reward of \$ 300 for the "niggers, dead or alive".

What is the cause of this growth of lynching, which for a few years has been on the decline? The immediate cause is the attempt of the capitalists to crush the growing radicalisation of the Negroes due to 1) the economic crisis; 2) the further pauperisation of the Negro masses; 3) the advent of the Communist Party and Trade Union Unity League in the south; 4) the growing consciousness of the Negro masses of the treachery of their various organisations under petty-bourgeois faker leadership; and 5) the growing support given to the Communist Party and Trade Union Unity League by the Negro workers.

After the last war when the industries of the north grew immensely, there was a scarcity of cheap labour. Immigration was practically cut off and the capitalists of the north drew in the tremendous reserves of Negro workers, tenant farmers and share croppers of the south. A mass exodus of hundreds of thousands of Negroes from the south began. The Negro population of whole counties of the southern states disappeared and in certain localities in the south a scarcity of cheap labour power arose. For a time sheriffs, on orders of the manufacturers, prevented the moving of the Negroes to the north, but it was obvious that lynching, discrimination and jimcrowing were impelling the Negroes to leave, especially since jobs were assured in the north. Lynching, as a result, was consciously reduced, the white bourgeoisie recognising the need of easing conditions if the Negro workers were to be retained.

Now the economic crisis is on, affecting every part of the country, including the south, which has been greatly industrialised since the world war. The unemployment situation has become worse all over. Many Negroes who migrated to the north have returned south.

The oversupply of labour power has enabled, for instance, the Murray Body Co. of Memphis, Tennessee, which makes bodies for Ford cars, to discharge white workers who received \$ 4 to \$ 5 a day, and employ Negro workers at \$ 1.40 to \$ 1.55 a day.

This situation has pauperised the Negro masses, who have been affected more by the crisis. In order to maintain, or attempt to maintain peace during the crisis, the employers, as a rule, are discharging Negro workers and using white workers. In the same way, they are discharging non-citizens and keeping native or naturalised workers.

Into this situation in the south, the Communist Party and Trade Union Unity League have come, **organising and mobilising Negro and white workers on an equal plane.** This had been unknown in the south, for the A.F. of L. either refused

to organise Negro workers or if they admitted them placed them under white leadership, segregated them at union meetings in a manner quite in keeping with the aims and practices of the white bourgeoisie. White and coloured workers now began to fight shoulder to shoulder against their common enemy. White workers defended Negro organisers of the Party and Trade Union Unity League; Negro workers protected white organisers against the fascists and their hirelings.

This has aroused the government and fascist capitalists of the south and has led to the revival of the "insurrection law" by which six Communists and revolutionary workers face the electric chair in Atlanta, Georgia, for organising Negro workers; another was arrested for "sedition" in Baltimore for addressing a Negro meeting.

The petty-bourgeois Negro organisations — (National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, Urban League, and the United Negro Improvement Association, Garvey movement) have shown their face in this crisis. The N.A.A.C.P. recently held its annual convention in Springfield, Mass., to which, contrary to custom, Hoover sent no message of greeting, which quite aggrieved these fakers. Using the same treacherous language — of Negroes not tolerating this or that, but proposing no effective measures for combating the present evils — the convention heard from the mouth of Walter White, acting secretary, the essence of their position:

"We ask nothing more than that the rights of petition and protest be secure to the Negro, not as a Negro but as a citizen of our common country . . . Bludgeons do more harm to those who wield them than to those against whom they are wielded." (Emphasis ours, I.A.)

This at a time when Negroes are being more and more discriminated against, when lynching is spreading with furious speed!

And what is the attitude of the social-fascists? Their position was exemplified in the presidential election campaign when Norman Thomas, candidate of the socialist party, toured the south and spoke **not to a single Negro group**, but only to the "lily" whites of the south. A. Philip Randolph, general organiser of the Pullmann Porter union, and a leading member of the socialist party, together with Green, sold out the porters in their fight for decent wages and hours — and then consented to putting the porters into the A.F. of L. **not as a national organisation**, but as a "federal" union, with only local rights!

The "World Tomorrow", Norman Thomas' monthly, proposes against lynching and discrimination the following: **"Enlightened religion and education must continue an unremitting warfare against such prejudice."**

No wonder that the treachery of the petty-bourgeois Negro leadership, the treachery and swindling schemes of Marcus Garvey ("back to Africa" movement, agreement with the Ku Klux Klan to make no claims on the United States, fraudulent business enterprises, etc.), the continued jimcrowing of the A. F. of L., the attitude of the social-fascists against the Negro masses, have shown the Negro workers and poor farmers that their only friends are the Communists and Trade Union Unity League, which not only talk social, political and economic equality and self-determination for the Negroes, but fight for them.

As a result, we witness a large growth of the Negro membership of the Party (more than 1000 in the recent recruiting campaign), where they are developing into real leaders. We find Negro delegates from Alabama at the National Unemployment Convention in Chicago, coming with 50 cents in their packets and leaving with \$ 2 for a trip of 1000 miles! As a result we find thousands of Negro and white workers attending the funeral of Alfred Levy, a Negro member of the Communist Party, who was killed by the police and Garveyites in New York only recently, at a meeting to protest against lynching in the south.

All these facts reaching governmental expression in the ignoring of the petition of the Negro "Gold Star" mothers by Hoover, are helping to open the eyes of the Negro masses to the alignment against them as Negroes and as workers: „their own" government, the capitalists, the treacherous Negro petty-bourgeois, intellectual leaders, the fascist leaders of the A. F. of L., the social-fascist socialist party.

The Communist Party calls on the Negro and white workers to form Workers Defence Corps to protect the workers from the "bludgeons" of their enemies; it stands for full social, economic and political equality for the Negroes and their right of self-determination.

The struggle becomes sharper every day, accentuated by the crisis. This struggle can but strengthen the Communist Party and Trade Union Unity League and produce real Negro proletarian leadership not only for the Negroes but for the whole working class.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Plenum of the Central Committee of the C. P. of Sweden.

Stockholm, Beginning of August.

The Plenum of the C. C. of the C. P. of Sweden was held recently in Stockholm. The activity of the Party since the VIII. Party Congress and the next tasks confronting the Party were dealt with in a spirit of unanimity and with Bolshevik self-criticism. This self-criticism undoubtedly means a turn in the practice of the C. P. of Sweden. The Rights, under the leadership of Kilboom, who have been expelled from the Party, of course are trying to make use of the self-criticism exercised at the Plenum, in their struggle against the Party. These renegades who were always satisfied with their own leadership and never subjected it to a critical examination, cannot understand that the discussions at our C. C. Plenum are the expression of greater maturity and self-confidence of our Party.

The Central Committee of our Party met at a time when the economic and political situation both at home and abroad is characterised by a **growing crisis**. The effects of the international crisis are **being felt more and more also in Sweden**. The economic situation of our country is growing worse, and **numerous factories are being closed down**. Even the bourgeois economists are compelled to admit the effects of the crisis in Sweden, and their utterances regarding the future prospects are very pessimistic. The development of the crisis also finds expression in an **intensified offensive against the workers**, in a permanent worsening of the position of the small peasants. The agricultural crisis has attracted considerable attention in political circles of late, and this crisis also caused the change of government which recently took place.

The economic crisis in Sweden has already called forth a number of economic struggles, which in many cases assumed the character of "unofficial strikes" against the existing collective agreements and against the trade union bureaucracy. These events are symptomatic of the radicalisation of the working masses in Sweden, which is proceeding at a rapid rate. The development of the crisis in Sweden fully confirms the estimation given of the situation in Sweden by the VIII. Party Congress of the C. P. of Sweden which was held in November last year. The crisis likewise exposes the bankruptcy of the renegades who, like Lovestone in America, talked of the exceptional position of Sweden and maintained that "it is deliberate deception to tell the Swedish workers that their country is faced by an economic crisis." These stabilisation-prophets accepted in every respect the political line of the international renegade clique, both in regard to the economic crisis and the imperialist war danger and the situation in the Soviet Union. Since their expulsion from the Party the Swedish renegades have exposed themselves more and more as the agents of social democracy, and their reunion with the social fascists is only a question of time.

Proceeding from the decisions of the VIII. Party Congress the Plenum had to examine the work of the Party Central in the past period. In the debate it was stated that the Party has not yet succeeded in making the turn to Bolshevik mass work in practice, which was laid down by the VIII. Party Congress as the next task. In every sphere of activity great shortcomings and mistakes were revealed in the leadership of the Party in the carrying out of the Party Congress decisions in the lower organisations. These shortcomings often led to a loss of tempo, so that the Party not infrequently lagged behind

the radicalised masses. Both the decisions of the Party Congress as well as the Open Letter of the E. C. C. I. to the Party shortly before the split were only inadequately dealt with by the Party organisations, and the leadership of the Party has not succeeded in popularising the political content of the turn among the masses or explaining our trade union strategy and tactic to the masses. All these shortcomings and weaknesses were ruthlessly exposed in the discussion at the Plenum, in particular in the discussion on trade work and the approaching municipal elections. The decisions adopted by the VIII. Party Congress on these questions are still valid and the leadership of the Party must exert all its efforts in order to carry them out in the immediate future.

The Plenum emphasised that the struggle against Right opportunism has not been concluded by the expulsion of the Kilboom group, but that it still represents the main danger in the Party. While ruthlessly combating the Right opportunists, it must not be forgotten that the tendencies to a Left deviation can be observed, in particular in the trade union question and in sectarianism. This presupposes the struggle of the Party on two fronts. One of the most important means in this struggle against the deviations from the Party line is increased training of the members in order to raise them to a higher ideological level and enhanced theoretical education of the active Party cadres. This presupposes more systematic work of the Agit-prop apparatus in all Party organisations, an improvement of the propaganda methods, and accelerated regular publication of factory papers, greater schooling of worker correspondents and an increased circulation of the Party press.

In certain spheres of Party activity work was completely neglected, thus for instance, among the agricultural population, a sphere where Communist propaganda is of the utmost importance precisely at the present moment. In this respect a radical turn must immediately be carried out, in particular in view of the fascist propaganda and the campaign against the Soviet Union, which is carried on with great intensity particularly among the agricultural population.

The Plenum devoted great attention to the municipal elections which will take place in September. It was quite rightly pointed out that it is precisely in the sphere of municipal policy that the greatest Right opportunist deviations have been committed by Party members. Therefore, it is necessary, already in the preparation of election work, to proceed to the extermination of opportunist practice and the importance of revolutionary municipal policy must be explained to the workers. Especially in this sphere an end must be made to all Parliamentary illusions, and both the members and the followers of the Party must be enlightened regarding the role and importance of the communal institutions in capitalist society. The Plenum further decided to hold Conferences in all districts in July and August, at which the decisions of the Plenum are to be discussed and dealt with in order to carry out the turn of the Party. The question of election work is to be discussed at all these Conferences.

The decisions of the Plenum of the C. C. emphasise without reservation the political line laid down by the Enlarged Presidium of the E. C. C. I. The period since the VIII. Party Congress has shown that the Party is undoubtedly **advancing**, in spite of all the weaknesses, shortcomings and mistakes which were revealed in the carrying out of the line of the Comintern. The Party has as a whole overcome the consequences of the Party split which took place last Autumn and is well on the way to winning back the lost positions. The renegade group of Kilboom is in a state of complete disintegration. An oppositional tendency has arisen in their camp against the "Left" social democratic line of their leaders and great despondency prevails among their followers. Our Party has every reason to view the future with great confidence. The decisions of the C. C. Plenum will undoubtedly accelerate the forward march of the Party. The workers will to an ever greater extent be won for the policy of the Party, provided these decisions are correctly carried out and at the same time the existence of the renegade group as an independent party will thereby be greatly shortened. The activity within our Party is growing and the preparations for 1st of August, as well as the anti-fascist campaign against Finnish fascism, have shown that the Party is capable of gathering the workers round its slogans.

XVI. Party Congress of the C.S.S.U.

The Carrying out of the Five-Year Plan of Industry

Comrade K u y b y c h e v's Report.

(Conclusion.)

Industry and our Whole Economy.

It is not only agriculture which places fresh and increased demands on industry. The growth of the total production of industry and agriculture, the springing up of new industrial districts, the distribution of industrial undertakings from geographical standpoints — all this sets industry the task of supplying the needs of the growing traffic in goods and commodities all over the country. The surpassing of the increase in the circulation of goods as originally laid down in the Five-Year Plan has at the same time increased the demands placed on industry by the transport service, both with regard to the manufacture of locomotives and railway carriages, and to the manufacture of rails. The Five-Year Plan presupposed an increased goods traffic within the country up to 210 million tons. This figure has, however, already been passed this year, and by next year, 1930/31, the goods traffic will have increased to 335 million tons, or one and a half times more than the transport figures estimated by the Plan for the end of the Five Years. This means that our manufacture of railway engines and trucks must be adapted to the considerably increased demands of the transport service. Here again not only a quantitative increase of production is required, but a qualitative. The wagons which we have hitherto manufactured are no longer suitable, but wagons of a greater loading capacity. We must re-equip our transport service technically. We must learn the construction of automatic couplings, the application of new brake devices. We must build wagons of new types, wagons with automatic loading equipment, which we have not yet manufactured. In a word, our railways are placing greatly enhanced demands on our industry, both as to quantity and quality. A certain reorganisation of our industrial mechanism is rendered necessary.

The changes taking place in the character and conditions of the relations between town and country, the growing Soviet and collective farms, again place great demands on industry. The problem of motor transport has become extremely acute, and calls for immediate solution. I shall not be far wrong if I state that every department of our economy, whether agriculture, commerce, building, industrial production, or scientific research, there is an immense demand for motor cars and motor lorries. Our national economy, in the midst of the process of reconstruction, needs the motor lorry as human beings need air. Hence the problem of motor transport is extremely urgent, and hence the Central Committee has drawn up a programme of auto-transport which places the highest demands upon us. In Nishni-Novgorod we are building a motor car factory which will have a yearly output capacity of 140,000 cars, chiefly motor lorries. The erection of this factory has already been begun. It is to be completed by the autumn of 1931. The terms set for the completion of the undertakings are short. The technical difficulties are great. And yet this task must be accomplished at all costs. Besides the building of the factory in Nishni-Novgorod, we are undertaking the reconstruction of the Moscow motor car factory "AMO". Here the reorganisation of the factory will utterly change the production capacity of the undertaking, which will now manufacture 25,000 motor cars. New buildings will be erected and furnished with new equipment. The "AMO" factory is to be opened in the autumn.

Our water transport demands special attention. Both our high seas and inland shipping place ever growing demands on our industry. You are probably aware that our inland shipping still lags far behind, and carries at the present time only 60% of the goods transported by this means before the war. It is clear that the task of restoring our inland shipping traffic again falls chiefly to industry. We need new ships, ships technically up-to-date, ships ensuring for our inland

waterways not only the possibility of rapidly regaining the pre-war level, but of adapting themselves to the requirements of our national economy.

Our needs in the sphere of ocean shipping, too, are very great. Comrade Ordschonokidse has already referred here to the enormous drain on our securities incurred by our being obliged to charter foreign ships. On this sector of our economic front we must make progress at any price, and accomplish the necessary reorganisation.

The growing goods circulation, again, demands from industry the organisation of a number of new branches of production. Our country needs many refrigerating plant, elevators, large scale bakeries, preserving and canning factories, slaughter houses, harbour equipment, etc. It would be madness to depend on imports here. No accumulation of savings of securities would suffice to re-equip the whole great apparatus serving the circulation of goods in our country. It is obvious that this great task must also be undertaken by our industry. We must learn to produce all this for ourselves, and in such quantities that the needs of the growing circulation of commodities are fully satisfied.

The general advance of our national economy, the ever spreading and deepening process of industrialisation, the comprehensive organisation of Soviet and collective farms, the undertaking of the transition to general compulsory education — all this places upon industry the responsibility of providing for the social and cultural needs of town and country. The branches of industry concerned are, however, at an extremely low level. It is already self-evident that the Plan will have to be revised in the direction of a greater development of the paper and polygraphic industry, the film industry, the wireless industry, the production of articles for the telephone and telegraph services, and the other industries catering for the cultural and social requirements of our country. The growth of our national economy, the rising cultural level of the broad strata of the workers, impose upon us great and urgent tasks. Here again it is industry which must take over these tasks. At all costs we must ensure a more rapid development of the paper industry, the typographical industry, and all industries serving cultural purposes.

Social institutions—baths, laundries, dining rooms, and central kitchens—must spring up as if by magic. The working class and the peasantry gathered together in the collective farms will put forward ever increasing demands, for the cultural level of these great masses will rise within the next few years beyond anything imagined. The satisfaction of these demands must be secured at all costs by our industry.

We see that the Leninist Bolshevik formula that industry is the beginning of everything, that it is industry which has to reconstruct all national economy, is finding concrete application as never before in the present stage of our development. Everything is concentrated on the development of our engineering industry. It is only by means of our engineering industry, providing the necessities required by every branch of national economy, that every section of our socialist edifice will be reconstructed.

Scientific Research.

A few words on scientific research work, inasmuch as the rôle which this plays in industry has become of great importance in connection with the tempo of our development. The old methods of work, of leisurely work, are not suitable to-day. New methods of work and new technological processes must be created; all our sources of raw materials must be explored as rapidly as possible; new kinds of raw materials must be found for our industries; the properties and possibilities of these raw materials must be studied, etc. This great

field of work must be covered by our scientific-technical institutions, by our research institutions.

The budget of our research institutions has increased from year to year. In 1927/28 it amounted to 32.5 million roubles, in 1928/29 to 58 million, and in 1929/30 to 108.6 million roubles. At the same time the network of institutions has been extended, and has increased from 34 units in 1927/28 to 50 at the present time. It need not be said that this is by no means sufficient. How inadequate it is will be realised when it is remembered, that the electric bulb department of the "General Electric Co" in the United States possesses a laboratory whose upkeep costs 12 million dollars yearly. This is an amount approximately equal to one half of our expenditure last year for the whole of the scientific research institutions of the Soviet Union. The capitalists owning this undertaking are obviously of the opinion that this expenditure is worth while, that it pays. We know that, thanks to this laboratory, the manufacture of incandescent lamps has developed at a rapid rate, and the processes of production accelerated.

What have our institutions accomplished? We can already book something to their credit. The Thermotechnical Institute for instance has discovered a method of combustion for Moscow coal which increases its heating effect in the boiler by 27%, signifying an annual saving of approximately 1 million roubles. Moscow coal is now used for fuel in the form of coal dust. This method will be employed in the projected combined chemical and power works in Moscow.

A method has been discovered of employing paraffin-containing mazout in boiler technics, and this, the Institute calculates, will enable a saving of 5 million roubles yearly to be made. For peat cutting a new method is being used which is 50 to 60% cheaper than that hitherto employed. A rationalisation bureau is attached to this Institute, commissioned by the various economic organisations with the rationalisation of combustion. According to the calculations of the Thermotechnical Institute, this bureau will enable savings to the amount of approximately 4 million roubles to be made. New designs for heating plant must also be counted to the achievements of this Institute.

The institute for peat production has discovered new methods of cutting and drying peat, and for the mechanising of transport, thus reducing the costs of production by half and at the same time lessening the amount of capital invested to one third or one quarter of the sum hitherto expended. An important improvement is, that the new methods enable the peat cutting season to be prolonged by 80 to 120 days. After the peat deposits have been removed, the fields can be utilised at once for agricultural purposes.

The institute recently organised for the building trade has published new calculation formulas for concrete building, which achieve a saving of ferro-concrete in foundation laying up to as much as 50%.

The institute for mechanical ore-dressing has discovered a method of enriching the quartz from Krivoi Rog, and has worked out a corresponding formula. As a result of this work, the plans for a metal enriching undertaking on a large scale for the ores of Krivoi Rog have been completed.

With regard to the iron ores produced on the peninsula Kertsch, a method of enrichment has been worked out yielding agglomerations containing 52% of iron. The scheme for the erection of smelting works in Kertsch is based on the results of these researches.

The institute for applied mineralogy has worked out a method for winning sulphur and sulphuric acid out of sulphur-containing gas. This method enables sulphur to be produced in Ural at the cost of 60 to 70 roubles per ton, that is, at approximately half the price of natural sulphur; this permits of a considerable limitation of imports. Besides this, this institute has discovered a method of manufacturing a number of preparations for combating insect and other pests in agriculture.

The institute for fertilisers has discovered a number of phosphorite deposits of high percentage and economic value; these are already being worked.

Our institutes have played a great rôle in the solution of the aluminium problem, for it can indeed now be regarded as solved. It has been the object of research in a number of institutions. The State Institute for Applied Chemistry has devoted much attention to the question of the factory production of the initial product for winning oxide of aluminium. As

result of the work done by this institution, and by other institutions, an experimental undertaking has already been built in Leningrad, and will produce 1.2 tons of metallic aluminium. The trials made of this aluminium show it to be not inferior to foreign aluminium. The erection of a large undertaking in the Leningrad district is planned, and of another with an even greater capacity near Dnieprstroi. The Leningrad enterprise will work on the methods elaborated by the Institute for Applied Chemistry, the enterprise near Dnieprstroi on the methods of the Kusnetzov-Schukovsky Institute for Metals.

The Central Radio Laboratorium has worked out a number of designs of strong cathode lamps, which are employed for all large senders („Comintern", „Noviy Comintern").

In the film world, the engineers Schorin and Rager have invented a new apparatus for the "talkies", which has already been tested and is being manufactured on a factory scale.

The scientific research work being done by the academician Joffe in the Institute for Physics and Technics is also of great interest. This work relates to the insulator problem. The trials are not yet concluded, but Joffe expects to finish his work within a year. The results of his experiments will probably lead to great changes in the sphere of insulation and of electrotechnics.

I cannot deal here with all the scientific work being accomplished. One other important research work must, however, be mentioned: that dealing with the problem of artificial fibre. This is the subject of investigation in the Bach Institute, where important results have already been attained.

But the work of the scientific research institutions is not exhausted with the experiments undertaken in their laboratories. They are working in close contact with our industries, to which they give technical advice—for instance, whenever a new and complicated building is to be erected, any great project to be worked out, or the reconstruction, reorganisation, or organisation of new technical processes undertaken etc.

It is true it cannot be maintained that everything is in the best order on the front of industrial scientific research work. Frequently the work done by the institutes lacks clearness of aim, lacks earnest desire to equip our industry with the new technics at any price. The tempo of the work, too, leaves much to be desired. And finally, there is a lack, as the sabotage affairs have shown us, of class-conscious proletarian leadership. All this makes it necessary to draw public attention to this sphere of work, that serious effort be devoted to it.

Special mention must be made of the geological research work, which is of such paramount importance for the further development of industry and for its reconstruction. In this field, too, we can record progress. We must not, however, content ourselves with what has been done. What has been accomplished? During the last few years, thanks to the work of the chief management for geological research, we have been able to increase our reserves of iron ores by more than 1,000 million tons—this includes the newly discovered deposits in Kasakstan, Nertschinsk, etc. Entirely new copper deposits have been found, especially in Kounradsk. New deposits of lead, zinc, etc., have also been discovered. Our coal reserves have increased by some thousand millions of tons. And so forth.

It is important to state that we can record some success, if not very considerable, in prospecting for new metals of great importance for industry. Here more rapid work would be desirable. Nevertheless, some progress has been made. Amongst others, deposits of tungsten have been found in Transbaikalia, of magnesium, nickel, aluminium, in Ural, etc.

Since we have now tungsten of our own, we can organise the production of case-hardened castings in the Union. The Electric Works at Moscow have already taken up the manufacture of a special steel, known as "pobedit" (pobedit "will win"), which competes successfully with Krupp steel.

The importance of this geological work is enhanced by the rayon divisioning and altered geographical location of our national economic undertakings in connection with the execution of the Five-Year Plan. In the first two years there have already been considerable changes made in the geographical distribution of industry in the various regions of the Union. Within the next few years other important changes will be made.

The Geographical Distribution of Industry.

The geographical distribution of industry is already being essentially changed from that which we inherited from capitalism. This is to be chiefly explained by the direction taken by our reconstructive work.

If we take the Ukraine for instance, the Leningrad district, the Moscow and Ivanov districts, that is, the oldest industrial districts, and then, on the other hand, Ural, Siberia, Kasakstan, Central Asia, and the Far East, and compare the amounts of capital invested in the different years in these two groups of districts, we find the following figures: Whilst in 1927/28 59.05% of the total capital invested fell to the old districts, in 1928/29 this had sunk to 53.08 and in 1929/30 to only 47.2%.

The districts headed by Ural and Siberia are, on the other hand, receiving increasing amounts of capital investment year by year: 1927/28 12.55%, 1928/29 17.36%, and 1929/30 27.13%. In other words, the share falling to these districts, measured by the whole reconstructive work, has more than doubled in the three years. It must at the same time be remembered that the increasing share falling to the new districts is accompanied by a very high rate of development of the old. The old districts are not by any means standing still. In the Ukraine standing capital investments increased from 327.6 millions in 1927/28 to 720.2 millions in the economic year 1928/29. In the Moscow district investments have doubled.

The investments in standing capital are growing steadily. In the new districts and regions the growth is even more rapid. Ural, for instance, has doubled its share of these investments, Siberia has tripled its portion. As compared with 1927/28, in Ural the investments in standing capital have increased by five times, in Siberia by seven times. In all the new districts of the Union we observe that these increase their share at the expense of the old original industrial districts.

One of the reasons of this is that we have broken with the policy of capitalism, in which colonial policy has always played a special part in the geographical distribution of industry. When deciding the location of our industrial undertakings, we must follow the principle of opening up new districts possessing extensive resources of raw materials, in order that the productive forces of these regions may be fully utilised. Viewed from this standpoint, the old centres of industry have not always been given a location most advantageous for the development of industrial undertakings.

In some districts we find the following incongruity between the existing raw material resources and their exploitation. Let us take the Kusnetzk coal fields for instance. The data for 1927/28 show the reserves to be 396,000 million tons or 74.5% of our total coal reserves. In the Don district, on the other hand, the coal deposit is estimated at 64,500 million tons, or 12.2% of the total coal resources of the Union. In 1927/28, however, we find the coal output of the Kusnetzk district amounting to only 7% of the whole output of the Union, that of the Don district to 77%.

An especially urgent task is the organisation of a second coal and smelting centre in Ural and Siberia.

At the present time the share of the total smelting industry of the Soviet Union falling to the smelting industry of the South amounts to 73%, that of Ural to 21%—equivalent to a monopolist position for the former district; but by the close of the Five-Year Plan Ural and Siberia together will supply nearly 6 million tons of the total 17 million tons of crude iron produced, that is, more than the whole output of the Soviet Union in 1929/30. At the same time we must not forget that the smelting industry of the South is not standing still, but is developing rapidly. A large number of undertakings are undergoing a thorough reconstruction. The Dnieprov smelting combine is in course of construction, and will have a great metallurgic works attached. Smelting works are also being built at Mariupol and Kertschensk. Despite this, the share taken by Ural and Siberia of the total smelting industry of the Union will increase and reach one third. The perspectives of the further development of the smelting industry will lead inevitably to an increase of the share falling to Ural in the years following. I need only point to the smelting works in Nisni-Tagilsk, which will only be partially equipped during the Five Years, and the Baikalsk smelting works, which will again increase the share of Ural and Siberia when it starts work.

This restratification, arising of necessity from general economic and military-political considerations, represents an event of extreme importance. In other branches of industry, too, wide prospects are opening out before Ural and Siberia. It is estimated, for instance, that by the end of the Five-Year Plan the Ural will have increased its production in the industrial group "A" (heavy industry) more than tenfold, and will be enabled by its own smelting industry to become a centre of large-scale machine building and of the especially important chemical industry.

Siberia with its enormous expanse of country and great natural wealth is a region which will develop at a tremendous rate in the future. The calculations made show that the share of our total industry falling to Siberia will increase by 14 times, and in group "A" 20 times as compared with 1927/28.

An extremely rich industrial region, of great importance for the future, is Kasakstan, with its wealth of soft metals, coal, rubber-containing plants, technical plants, etc. According to the control figures, the production of Kasakstan must increase by 15 times, as compared with 1927/28, by the end of the Five-Year Plan. Kasakstan will probably develop into an industrial district of the greatest importance for our national economy, freeing it from the necessity of importing soft metals, raw materials for the rubber industry, textile industry, etc.

It need not be said that the growing share claimed by Ural and Siberia in the economy of the country does not involve a falling off in the tempo of development of industry in such districts as those of Leningrad, Moscow, Ivanovo-Vosnessensk, etc. These will continue to develop at the same rate as before, and will even increase this pace in a number of industrial branches, for instance in machine building, the economic exploitation of sources of energy, etc.

Finally, such districts as those of Central Asia, the Lower Volga, the Central Black Earth District, Nisni-Novgorod, and the North, with their inexhaustible wealth of forests, will develop rapidly. We must, however, in choosing our policy of the geographical location of our industries, hold fast to a Bolshevik course set towards the leading question of the utmost historical importance—the creation of a new coal and metallurgic centre, a second coal and metallurgic basis in Ural and Siberia. We must solve these tasks, and we shall solve them.

The Quality of Production.

Very special attention will have to be accorded in the coming period to the qualitative improvement of our production, for the present quality must be designated as extremely unsatisfactory. In some cases we must even admit an increasing tendency to a worsening of quality.

The inadequate qualitative level of the production of a considerable number of our industrial undertakings is detrimental to our national economy and to the material welfare of the broad masses of the workers. The low quality of products diminishes the quantitative achievements of industry, adds to the expense of industrial building, fails to secure the useful effect of investments as laid down by the Five-Year Plan, increases the goods famine in consequence of the rapid wearing out of the goods, and finally increases the costs of production, since the great majority of branches of industry manufacture products representing raw materials for the other connecting links of industry. In a number of the most important industries—and here lies the great danger—there are signs of deterioration in the quality of production.

Work for the decided improvement of quality must be based chiefly on the aid of the broadest masses of the workers, use being made of the new forms of production and labour organisations, of socialist competition, and of the shock brigades.

Up to the present the groups of workers and shock brigades participating in the competitions have not been improving quality to the same extent as for instance, increasing the quantity. The slogan of the shock brigade is generally: "produce a certain amount of metal, a certain number of machines, a certain amount of coal, etc." Such slogans must now imperatively be supplemented by the demand: "this or that quantity of coal, but containing a minimum amount of ash". The quality of the product must be made an obligatory factor of the work of the socialist competitions and shock brigades. Without this we shall attain nothing. The work of

every undertaking must not be judged by the quantities it produces alone, but by their quality. Of what use is it when this or that group exceeds the coal output programme, but supplies coal containing 16% of ash? Of what use is it when this or that factory supplies the number of tools required of it, but these are worn out after a short time? Such a "fulfilment" is rather a frustration of the programme: it is a self-deception, and is not evidence of the success of the section of industry involved. When judging the work of an undertaking, we must observe both its quantitative and its qualitative progress. It is only those undertakings whose quantitative advance is accompanied by an improvement in the quality of their products which can be regarded as really model undertakings, and as victors in the socialist competition.

The economic organs must be made even more responsible for the worsened quality of products than for the failure to fulfil the quantitative programme. No plan may be regarded as carried out if it has involved an increase of waste goods. The struggle for the improved quality of production is the most important task of industry and all engaged in it. The achievements of industry are not on a solid foundation, nor is the necessary tempo secured, until our national economy is supplied with products of a high degree of excellence.

The Party Congress must make it incumbent on all the organs of industry to bring about a decisive change in this direction within the shortest possible time; it must call upon all proletarian organisations, and upon the whole working class, to display on this section of the front that same enthusiasm which they have shown for the increase of quantitative production.

The Productivity of Labour.

A further question closely bound up with the qualitative features of industrial production is the productivity of labour. It has become a platitude that the productivity of labour represents the decisive factor of our socialist reconstruction. Lenin stressed this on several occasions. During the period 1926/27, that is, since the year preceding the 15th Party Congress, up to the first half of the current year, labour productivity has increased by 41%, and represents at the present time a quantity exceeding the labour output before the war by more than 50%, and this in spite of the fact that the average working day for the whole of industry has been reduced to 7.2 hours, in spite of the introduction of the seven-hour day in a considerable numbers of our undertakings, and in spite of a six-hour day for workers working below bank or engaged in dangerous occupations.

In regard to productivity of our labour, however, we still lag behind the modern capitalist countries. In the coal mines of the Soviet Union, for instance, the annual output per head of the workers is 164 tons, but in the United States 715 tons; in the crude iron production of the Soviet Union the yearly output per man is 218 tons, but in the United States 1270 or six times as much; in the cotton industry our output (working up cotton) is 4.4 tons per head, in the United States 15.4 tons; in the sugar industry the output per worker is 16.4 tons, whilst in the United States the figure is 110 tons or seven times the amount. (Interjection: Their technics are more advanced.) True, I am just coming to that point.

The necessity of realising the slogan of "over-taking and out-distancing", imposes on us the duty of a systematic and determined struggle for the increased productivity of labour, above all by means of the improved technical equipment of the workers. It is clear that the increased productivity of labour is greatly dependent on the improvement of the technical equipment of the workers, and therefore on the increased investment of capital in our industry. The gain in labour efficiency by 41% since 1927/28 is to be attributed to the increased investments. During this time the average sum invested per head of the workers in industry has increased from 4200 to 5850 roubles, or 39%. The dependence of these two series of figures upon one another is obvious.

The increased productivity of labour in the Soviet Union is thus to a great extent due to the technical reorganisation of industry, to our investments in industry, to the equipping of our workers with the latest means of production. In the current year alone the projected increase in the productivity of labour by 25% involves an increase of capital investment

of 22%. During the first seven months labour productivity has actually increased by 17%. It is obvious that failure to attain the productivity of labour which has been planned, given extensive capital investments exceeding the investment plan, is due to a great extent to reasons of a subjective character.

The most radical means of further forcing the productivity of labour are those processes now going on in the working class in connection with its growing activity and initiative. The further development of the socialist competitions and of the shock brigades, the improvement of working discipline, the introduction of further measures of rationalisation with the active support of the worker themselves, the better exploitation of the mechanical and other plant, accompanied by the simultaneous increase of capital investment and technical equipment per head of the workers—all this will guarantee such an increase in the productivity of our labour during the coming period, that within a very short time we shall have overtaken and passed even the most advanced capitalist countries.

The tasks set by the Plan in respect to quality have not yet been fulfilled. Does this mean that they are too difficult, that they are impossible of accomplishment, that they must be reduced? Not at all.

We have at our disposal enormous reserves for the further increase of production, for the reduction of the costs of production, for the increase of labour productivity and the improvement of quality. The most important means enabling us to attain this qualitative progress is that of rationalisation, of socialist rationalisation, to be accomplished mainly by the most efficient utilisation of the existing plant and by the introduction of the latest achievements of modern technics. Rationalisation must be our first task, the most powerful lever reducing the costs of production and improving the quality of the products.

During the period immediately before us we must set ourselves the task of realising the practical slogan of the maximum increase of the co-efficient of the change of shifts. By this means we shall be able to arouse the reserves still slumbering, and to exploit our plant in a much more rational manner.

The co-efficient of the change of shifts is rising only very slowly at present. Since the last Party Congress it has increased by only 10%, and now amounts to 1.6. When we take into account that the average duration of a shift is 7.2 hours, we see that the time during which our machine plants are being used daily is 12 hours daily. The increase of the co-efficient of the change of shift, if only to two, would make it possible to utilise our plant during 15 hours, and would represent a great advance. Change of shifts, and the further forcing of the transition to uninterrupted production, are the most important levers for the mobilisation of the untapped reserves and for the opening up of fresh springs enabling our tempo of development to be accelerated.

The question of standardisation should be gone into thoroughly, for there are still many who under-estimate the importance of this measure, although the system of standardisation is one of the most powerful factors towards the improvement of production, and toward the rationalisation of the whole technological process. Standardisation makes mass production possible, enables the conveyor belt to be used. And finally, standardisation greatly contributes towards an intensified struggle for better quality, inasmuch as it facilitates the task, specially by the fact that every product not up to standard is rejected. Standardisation is a powerful weapon, not only for the increase of production, but for the resolute struggle against the poor quality of products, this greatest of evils. I shall not enter into this in detail. It need only be observed that a certain amount of success is to be recorded. The number of standards in use all over the Union, in almost every branch of industry, amounts to over 400. These are, however, very meagre achievements. Up to the present standardisation has not been extended to industrial equipment or to building materials. The introduction of standards in these branches of industry is a task of the greatest importance.

Though we may record a certain progress in the specialisation of our undertakings in the present year, the same cannot be said of another and very important factor of production, the co-operation of the undertakings. Further specialisation and co-operation can contribute greatly to the improvement of the quality of the products and to the reduction of the costs

of production, but presupposes a great advancement in planning work.

The most important factor in the rationalisation of production is and remains the struggle for a correctly planned process of production; for the accomplishment of this task we must obtain the participation of the departments, the working gangs, and the individual workers. The planned figures for the reduction of the costs of production must be the result of the concrete plan of rationalisation. The extension of systematic planning work, and the work for the better organisation of production, are the urgent tasks of industry and of all organs working for rationalisation.

Experience has taught us that in all cases in which the conveyor system has been introduced, the amount of work done and the productive capacity of the undertaking have considerably increased, and there has been a simultaneous reduction of the duration of the production cycle (by one third to one tenth), an increase of the co-efficient of area-exploitation (three to fivefold), a cheapening of manufacture and a reduction of the cost price. We must continue to force the measures for the division of labour, the introduction of the conveyor system, etc.

It is worth while to cite a few examples showing the results of rationalisation in the undertakings. When we read the reports enumerating such examples, it becomes incomprehensible why these rationalisation measures have not been taken up before, and these striking successes in production achieved. At times positive miracles are wrought. Thus, for instance, the use of the electric welding process in boiler manufacture in a Moscow undertaking has resulted in a reduction of the costs of production from 2300 to 1612 roubles, or 30 per cent. In the "Krasni Sormovetz" works, where a small rational innovation was introduced in the equipment of the work benches, 14 hours were saved in the making of cylinders and compressors, that is, only 5.5 hours were required instead of 19.5. The foundry of the "Krasni Profintern" factory has been enabled by rationalised methods to increase its production by 23 per cent, whilst diminishing its costs of production by 21.6 per cent.

These few examples suffice to show the enormous possibilities of development latent in our industry, awaiting the progress of rationalisation and the struggle against waste in industry.

It is true that rationalisation does not invariably lead to such amazing success. But it must be clear to everyone that every per cent gained in the improvement of the results of labour, when applied to our whole industry, which is growing more and more, secures for us a vast increase of production. 1 per cent, applied to the total production of the industries controlled by the Supreme National Economic Council, representing a value of 18,000 million roubles, yields 180 millions, and 10 per cent yield 1800 millions. Therefore, we must devote all our powers to this task. If we can gain one, two, or ten per cent in the various undertakings, our tempo of development can be immensely increased. Much of our productive-apparatus still runs without load in consequence of lack of rational organisation. Calculations made by comrades engaged on the fuel question show that in our whole industry we are burning fuel to the value of at least 300 million more than is technically necessary.

All we need to do is to apply in all our undertakings the tried and tested methods of rationalisation, and we shall save fuel, which is so valuable to our national economy, to the value of 300 million roubles. The calculations which have been made show that in building work we use 200,000 tons of metal more than are necessary. In my opinion this figure is too low an estimate. Still, it represents the yearly output of a medium undertaking. In consequence of the uneconomical and non-rational methods used in building, this metal is lost. The needless consumption of bricks is estimated at 1,500 million yearly. All this shows that we must place on our agenda, as an urgent task, the struggle against idle running and superfluous consumption of material in our industry. It shows that for this purpose we must promote rationalisation to the utmost, and that we must develop both the rationalisation organs working in production itself and the rationalisation bureaus attached to the trusts, etc.

The Question of the Cadres.

Comrades, I pass on to a brief survey of an extremely important factor in industrial advancement. I refer to the cadres. The development of state industry at the tempo which we assumed under the Five-Year Plan, the transference of industry to a higher technical basis, the introduction of new forms and methods of production — all this demands the creation of fresh industrial cadres and the re-training of the old ones.

The level of the technical and general cultural education of the whole working class must be raised. This problem is one of the most important and urgent, one of the questions of decisive and far-reaching range. The status of our cadres to-day causes them to set the limit to a great extent to the tempo of the development of our whole national economy, including of course industry. In many cases, in many branches of industry, and in many districts, it is neither money nor shortage of buildings which constitute the obstacles in the path of development but the cadres, the status of skilled and qualified labour.

We could, for instance, make much greater progress in developing the artificial fibre industry; but besides other hindrances we are here hampered by our ignorance of the processes of production, by the incapacity to keep the technological processes going and to plan the necessary plant. We are only able to do this with the aid of technical help from abroad. Hence it would in numerous cases be possible for us to make rapid progress, had we well trained cadres.

First let me take the question of labour.

The tempo at which our labour is being trained at the present time is inadequate. Lack of time prevents me from dealing at length with this question; therefore I only emphasise once more what has been said in the theses on my report confirmed by the C. C. The programme there laid down is binding, and must be carried out at any price.

We must now train skilled labour at a forced tempo. In the course of this year 250,000 workers were newly engaged for our industry, and next year we shall take on a further 350,000. But there are only 170,000 learners in the apprentices' schools. It is evident that the whole of the necessary labour outside of this number is bound to consist of workers hastily trained in short courses of instruction, such as those of the departments of the "Central Institute of Labour", etc.

The apprentices' vocational schools, which represent the chief form in which labour is qualified, must be more greatly developed. Next term 135,000 learners will be admitted. This is, however, insufficient, and does not by any means satisfy our needs to-day. Every form of brief courses of instruction preparing workers for the production process or for the building trade must be developed to the utmost with all possible speed.

Prodigious tasks face us in the training of cadres of engineers and technicians. For industry alone 176,000 engineers are required; we need a technical staff of 259,000. Within the Five Years, 435,000 engineers and technicians must be trained. At the present time we have actually about 24,000 engineers with college education, 27,500 who have attended the technical schools, and 48,500 assistant technicians. Hence we have still 435,000 workers to be trained.

It is perfectly clear that all this demands an extraordinary exertion of the forces of the whole country and of the whole economic apparatus, a mobilisation of the whole of the proletariat. The colleges are growing fairly rapidly. In the course of last year eleven new technical colleges took up work, as also a number of new faculties. The erection of 20 new technical colleges has been commenced. But all this is not enough. This tempo must be far exceeded in the future.

It is obvious that our task does not consist solely of training new specialists, but at the same time of retraining and better utilising the specialists already working. An especially weak point is the work of scientific research, in which less than 2 per cent of the whole of our scientific specialists are engaged. Among these the proportion of communists is only 8 per cent. This situation demands a radical change at any price.

Our need of engineers and technically skilled workers of medium and high qualifications is rendered all the greater by

that sabotage which has been carried on in our industries, and of which Comrade Ordschonikidse has spoken in detail. It is perfectly obvious that we must create our own cadres of proletarian specialists, cost what it may. Without cadres of proletarian specialists of our own we run the risk of fresh relapses into sabotage. And yet among these engineers who deliberately injure us there are many, who know much and could give our industry much if they would.

What guarantee have we that many of those specialists who still maintain contact with the old social order and dream of its return do not continue that sabotage to-day, or, even if they do no actual damage, still do not make the fullest use of their technical knowledge, and thereby retard the technical re-equipment of industry. We have no such guarantee. There are thousands and thousands of engineers collaborating with the proletarian State and with the working class, giving their utmost efforts to the work of socialist reconstruction; there are thousands and thousands of engineers who already feel themselves part of this mighty scheme of socialist reconstruction. But it is none the less clear that the proletarian State is only in a position permanently to subordinate the process of the technical re-equipment of industry to the interests of the working class after it has trained its own technical cadres, and after it has passed forward from the "general" guidance of the economists to detailed technical guidance based on the technical knowledge with which it must equip itself.

It need not be said that all honestly working specialists must be utilised to a maximum degree; a maximum of comradelike and favourable conditions must be created for their work. But unless we create lower cadres, unless we stride resolutely forward in the direction of cadres of Red engineers formed out of the working class itself, we have no final guarantee that the reconstruction of industry will continue on the path leading to the final building up of Socialism in the next few years.

The Activity of the Working Masses.

The furlous pace of the development of our industry has been accompanied by an increase in the number of the workers employed in industry, by the simultaneous improvement of their material position and of their cultural level. In the period since 1926/27 the number of workers has increased by 394,000, the first half of the current year alone registering an increase of 250,000 workers. The level of real wages and of social insurance exceeds the pre-war level by 67 per cent. When it is remembered that we have accomplished these achievements at the same time as we have been introducing the seven-hour day (in the current year the number of workers working seven hours will reach 47 per cent), organising the five-day week and expending enormous sums on the building of new dwelling houses and the extension of labour protection, a vivid idea may be gained of the systematic effort for improving the material position of the worker.

The sums expended in dwelling house construction in the industrial centres alone have almost tripled during the last three years, reaching 341 million roubles in the present year.

The growth of industry, the surpassing of the Five-Year Plan, the improvement of the material position of the workers and of their cultural and other advantages, the development of self-criticism — all this combined has aroused an activity among the working class hitherto unknown.

We see the wide spreading wave of socialist competition, and see that as a rule, almost without exception, these socialist competitions and shock brigades bring about a considerable increase of production, a reduction of the costs of production, and a huge increase in the production technical activity of the workers. More and more suggestions are made by the workers for the improvement of technics and the organisation of production. There are many interesting proofs of the fact that these suggestions on the part of the workers bring about a maximum acceleration of the process of production.

The work of the production conferences is being stimulated by the socialist competitions and the shock brigade movement. Here we have not yet done all that can be done, and this has been particularly observable in a number of cases of late in connection with the efforts being made to combat industrial losses. The production conferences have not yet succeeded in mobilising the activity of the working masses to

a sufficient degree. In the "Electrosila" works, for instance, only 930 suggestions were received during the whole of 1928/29, but after a fortnight's campaign had been organised for combating industrial losses, no fewer than 4000 new suggestions were received. A ten days' campaign against losses, organised in the Moscow Electric Works, brought in 2500 suggestions.

I must here make mention of the untenable situation still existing to-day with regard to the adoption of economically advantageous and profitable suggestions made by the workers. Steps have, however, been taken towards an essential improvement. I refer to the experience we are gaining in the appointment of chairmen of production conferences to the positions of auxiliary directors, part of whose duties consist of the carrying out of the suggestions of the production conferences. This measure has had the effect of greatly increasing the carrying out of suggestions. Obviously we must introduce these organisational forms in a much greater number of undertakings.

In the matter of inventions, too, the activity of the workers has greatly increased. Unfortunately these inventions have as yet been insufficiently exploited. A great many patents are applied for. In 1929/30 the number of patents applied for by workers increased to 12 times the number in 1928/29. And these inventions are no longer merely slight alterations of this or that machine. The inventive talent now being shown is of vast national economic importance.

We must devote considerably more attention and a greater investment of capital to the utilisation of the inventive activities of the workers.

Summary.

What has been the chief cause of the mighty growth of industry, what has been the main spring setting the development of industry in motion? We may state without hesitation that the socialist competitions and the shock brigade movement have been the leading factors in this movement forwards. It is solely thanks to this increased political activity on the part of the working class, solely thanks to the fact that the working class has fully grasped that its interests are at one with the interests of socialist reconstruction, solely because the working class is exerting itself to the utmost to urge forward the development of industry, and to reach and pass the highest speed yet attained by the capitalist countries — it is solely thanks to all this that we have been able to achieve these successes.

This political activity of the workers, this enthusiasm shown by the working class, has been essentially the result of the correct policy pursued by the Party in the work of building up Socialism. If we sum up the results of the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan, we may state with conviction that the Five-Year Plan of industry will be accomplished in four years. This slogan is on the lips of every worker, and this is the best earnest of victory. Another guarantee of victory is the fact that the Leninist Party is guiding the process of socialist reconstruction. During the period under review the C. C. of the Party has carefully and thoroughly investigated the development of every branch of industry. There is no branch of industry of any importance to which the C. C. has not devoted attention. And there has been no case in which the C. C. has not been able, with the aid of the Control Commission and of the economic organs, to open up further resources for the further acceleration of the tempo, and therewith for the quickening of the process of socialist reconstruction.

I append here the questions dealt with by the Politbureau of the C. C., selecting only the most important:

The Five-Year Plan of the development of national economy.

With regard to the situation and perspectives of the textile industry, the C. C. passed extremely important decisions on the question of economising our raw material reserves, and on the experiments being made in the use of the new fibre plants kender and rami.

A decision passed by the C. C. with respect to the chief Cotton Committee lays down substantially more extensive plans of cotton production than envisaged by the Five-Year Plan.

There is the decision on the extended building programme of the ship-building trust.

The C. C. has also dealt with the following questions: the work of the Leningrad machine trust, the perspectives of development of the non-ferrous metals industry, the work of the Southern steel trust, the manufacture of tractors and of agricultural machinery (when the magnificent programme on which I have reported was accepted), the export of wood, the armaments industry, the fulfilment of the industrial control figures in the first quarter of 1929/30 (an exceedingly important decision was passed, giving us the possibility of success in fulfilling the quantitative results of the programme of 1929/30).

The C. C. of the Party has also dealt with the work of the electro-technical industry, with the increased expenditure on the smelting industry, the activities of the Southern Ore Trust, the management of the industrial undertakings in the light of the report on the situation in the metal industry (the extremely important and historically significant decision laying down the correct mutual relations among all works organisations), the organisation of the works group in the Dniepr power station, the work of the Ural metal trust, the reconstruction of the undertaking of the iron smelting industry, etc.

I repeat that I am only enumerating the most important questions of economic reconstruction. The C. C., with Bolshevik

Leninist determination, has guided the processes of the building up of Socialism, the processes of the socialist reconstruction of industry.

At the present juncture the struggle is going on for the industrial and financial plan, for the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan in four years. We are already gaining victories, and will obviously be completely victorious with regard to our quantitative tasks. But we have even greater struggles before us. And these struggles will be fought out chiefly on the front of our building activity. Here we must advance with Bolshevik energy at any price.

We have struggles before us on the front of improving the quality of our products, and on the front of the reduction of the costs of production. The industrial plan and the "Five-Year Plan in four years" can be carried out only as the result of tremendous struggles and gigantic battles.

The Leninist Party and its C. C. are leading these magnificent struggles.

We are sure of the victory precisely for this reason, that the Leninist Party is leading the struggle, and for the reason that the army which has thrown itself into the fray is our glorious working class. (Enthusiastic and prolonged applause.)

The Collective Farming Movement and the Progress of Agriculture

Comrade J. A. Yakovlev's Report

Comrades, My task has been greatly facilitated inasmuch as the fundamental questions have already been answered in Comrade Stalin's report, in the resolution passed by the Party Congress on his report, and in the theses of the Central Committee on my report. I shall therefore concentrate my attention for the most part upon the definite methods of developing the agriculture of the Soviet Union on the basis of the Soviet and collective farms. It need not be emphasised that here I cannot confine myself only to the experience gained in agricultural development in our own country. In order to avoid errors in the estimation of results and of the future, we must first compare, if briefly, the course taken by the organisation of large-scale farms by means of up-date technics, both in our country and in the capitalist countries, especially the United States. A comparison of the types of development of large-scale agrarian undertakings in the United States and in the Soviet Union will make it possible for us to grasp clearly the peculiarities of our development, and will facilitate the analysis of the weak and strong aspects of our work.

My report therefore is divided up in the following parts:

1. The American method of organising a large-scale agrarian undertaking.
2. The Soviet method of organising a large-scale agrarian undertaking.
3. What new tasks can the Soviet Union set itself in agriculture by means of the development of Soviet and collective farms?
4. The necessary organisational measures for the consolidation and further development of the collective farms.

I. The American Methods of Organising a Large-Scale Agrarian Undertaking.

What is the characteristic feature of the process of development of agriculture in the United States?

You are acquainted with widespread use of the tractor in the United States during the last decade. In the decade since the war the number of tractors in the United States has increased by more than ten times, from 80,000 in 1919 to a million in round figures at the present time. The number of combines increased eight times from 1920 to 1928; in 1928 the number was 28,000, and is probably approximately 45,000 at the present time. The result of the use of the combine is the great increase in the number of motor lorries required. According to the data of the Hoover Commission, the number in use in 1928 was 600,000. To-day the number is probably about 800,000. At the same time the horse power of the tractor and the radius of action of the combine grow from year to year.

What do these three fundamental figures signify: almost one million tractors, approximately 45,000 combines, and about 800,000 motor lorries?

They signify a stupendous revolution in the methods and forms of agricultural production. The importance of this revolution for the future of agricultural production can only be compared with the change wrought in the methods and forms of industrial production by the use of steam and the invention of the mechanical loom.

It is certain that the present revolution taking place in the methods of agricultural production is of incomparably greater importance than that brought about by the development of capitalism in the XIX. century. Whilst the technical progress in agriculture in the XIX. century consisted of replacing hand sowing by the sowing machine, the flail by the horse driven threshing machine, the scythe and sickle by the mowing machine and sheaf binder, whereby the horse remained the motive power, the technical revolution which we are witnessing at the present time consists mainly of the substitution of an infinitely more perfect motive force, the tractor, for the motive power of the horse. This new force, the tractor, which fundamentally changes the duration of the processes of labour involved in agricultural production and the range of the accessory implements, changes at the same time every system of accessory machines, and creates a machine of a much higher degree of perfection, both from the standpoint of speed and from that of the quality of the work. The tractor and its accompaniments alter from top to bottom the methods and forms of agricultural production, and therewith simultaneously the corresponding social-economic conditions.

In order to form an estimate of the results of this revolution in the methods of the cultivation of the soil, it does not, however, suffice merely to place on record the extent to which the new machinery has been introduced, although there are not a few Soviet scientists who act as if this were the case, and travel yearly to America, returning like new Columbuses, discoverers of America.

In order to form a judgment of the actual course being taken by the changed methods of soil cultivation in the United States, we must gain a clear idea of the essential factor of this change, and of the effect of this factor from the standpoint of the growth of agricultural production, of the welfare of the broad masses of the people, and the consumption among the masses in town and country.

The introduction of 20 million HP in the form of almost one million tractors into the agriculture of the United States naturally justifies the expectation of agricultural prosperity, of the transition of the overwhelming majority of the farmers

to cultivation by means of tractors, and of an enormous increase of consumption in town and country. We are justified in expecting this agricultural prosperity by the fact alone that 20 million HP would suffice to cultivate an area almost double that being tilled in America at the present time.

But what do we see in reality? We shall analyse this reality with the help of only a few of its leading features, ensuring for ourselves immunity from the accusation of prejudice by referring exclusively to official sources (the annual issued by the Ministry of agriculture and the reports of a number of officials of this Ministry).

The introduction of almost one million tractors into the agriculture of the United States has had practically no effect on the extent of the area cultivated, for an increase of the sown area by 4 million hectares in the course of a decade can scarcely be regarded as an increase at all, the more that these 20 million HP would enable the area to be doubled. One million tractors and an increase of only 4 million hectares in ten years! Instead of the doubled sown area rendered possible by the technical conditions, a temperature chart of slight falls and meaningless rises, characteristic of the decaying economic regime.

Even were we to accept the obviously incorrect declaration made by the well known official national American economist Bekker in an endeavour to place the situation in a favourable light, to the effect that the agricultural production of the United States increased in value to the extent of 13.5 per cent, in the five years after the war, owing to the replacing of plants of inferior value by more valuable ones, and to the replacing of less valuable kinds and strains of livestock by superior breeds, even then a comparison of a growth of 13.5 per cent with the scale on which new technical appliances have been introduced affords no satisfactory answer to the decisive question why the results of the application of these new technics have been so insignificant¹⁾.

That our estimate of the results of the technical revolution in the agriculture of the United States is correct, from the standpoint of the influence of this revolution on the extent of agricultural production, is proved by the changes which have taken place in the nature of the consumption of agricultural products. The official data state: In the first quarter of the present century the consumption of meat has fallen off by 1 per cent²⁾, the consumption of wheat simultaneously by 20 per cent, whilst the consumption of potatoes and fruit has remained the same, and an increased consumption is only observable in vegetables and sugar³⁾.

But perhaps this "stabilisation" of agricultural production in the United States has enabled the situation of the simple farmer to be improved, perhaps the purchasing powers of the farming population have increased, the taxes imposed on the farmers diminished, their debts lessened? These same official data furnish the answers to these questions.

The purchasing power of the farming population diminished in the decade after the war. The "scissors", the disparity between the prices of agricultural and industrial products which arose during the post-war crisis, had increased to such an extent by 1929 that the index figure of agricultural products reached 138 as compared with the 162⁴⁾ representing the industrial goods which the farmers buy for their families. The purchasing power of the farmers money, which had declined to a catastrophic level by the end of the war, had not yet recovered by 1929.

It cannot be asserted that the American statesmen and bourgeois economists are unaware of the incredibly difficult situation hereby ensuing for the farmers. But their reason, in the grip of the capitalist order of society, cannot find any other solution than to advise the farmers to limit production. The Ministry of Agriculture in the United States is obliged to take a very different line in this respect to the People's Commissariat for Agriculture in the Soviet Union, and to deal with restricted production as a factor of great importance.

¹⁾ Agricultural Ministry of the United States. Bekker: Do we need an extension of the land owned by the farmers?

²⁾ "The latest changes in the Economy of the United States". Vol. 1. p. 76.

³⁾ See ¹⁾

⁴⁾ "Yearbook" of the Ministry of Agriculture of the United States, 1930. pp. 995 to 997.

An example may be given of how this is done. In the report for 1929 we read:

"The leading and most important factor of the yearly fluctuation in the potato prices during the last nine years has been the varying size of the crops. The ratio between production and price as been such that a bad crop of 320 million bushels has been sold at an average price of 1.80 dollars per bushel, whilst a good crop of 440 million bushels has attained an average price of 80 cents per bushel. Therefore the receipts of a bad crop (576 million dollars) have been considerably higher than those of a good crop (350 million dollars)⁵⁾."

If we inquire into the development of every agricultural product during the last decade, we see that the sums received by the farmers for the sales of their goods have scarcely altered from year to year: the increased production automatically causes such a drop in prices that the additional production, whether proceeding from a larger cultivated acreage or from better crops, yields no increase of the sum of money falling to the farmers. (We are here referring to the decisive masses of the simple farmers. It does not apply of course to the rich farmers who have secured the concentration of the whole mass of new machines in their own hands, and whose monopoly of the improved methods of production enables them to appropriate the whole of the increased profits.)

These decreasing buying powers, and the uniform receipts of the farmers, are accompanied by a frightful increase of the burden of taxation resting on the farmers. The data issued by the Ministry for Agriculture show the taxation imposed on the farmers' property to have increased 2.5 times between 1914 and 1928⁶⁾.

The taxes rise steadily. The "Yearbook" reports that during the last few years the taxes have swallowed up one third to two thirds of the income of the farmers, in some cases even up to 90 per cent (some districts in the state of Michigan⁷⁾).

The result is an enormous increase of the indebtedness of the farmers. By 1929 the total debts of the farmers amounted to almost 10,000 million of dollars⁸⁾. This means that the farmers pay in round figures 800 million dollars yearly in interest alone. Calculated in Soviet currency, this amounts to one and a half milliards of roubles! This is a sum many times greater than the whole agricultural taxation of the Soviet Union.

The statements of the Hoover Commission show that 17.5 per cent of the total sum of the realised agricultural revenues fell to loan capital in 1927⁹⁾. It is not to be wondered at that under such circumstances the number of tenant farmers grows from year to year, reaching 40 per cent of all farms in 1929. Two fifths of all farms are tenant farms!

And finally, it is not to be wondered at that the resultant degree of the stability of these farms is characterised by the fact that during the last four years 108 out of 1000 farms have been "voluntarily" sold, that is, sold because it was impossible to keep them going, and 123 on account of complete bankruptcy, the owners being unable to avoid distraint¹⁰⁾.

These are the "achievements" won by American agriculture as result of technical progress: stability of the cultivated area, insignificant increase of agricultural production, stability of consumption and diminishing buying powers of the farming population, lack of stimulus to increase production, growing taxation and indebtedness of the farmers, growing proportion of tenants among the farmers, mass bankruptcies of the farmers, selling up farms, etc. The simple farmer, unable to press out of his 15 hectares the revenue required for the thorough re-equipment of his farm, leaves his land and flies to the town. Within the last two decades alone the farming population has diminished by 4 millions. But it was only

⁵⁾ "Yearbook" of the Ministry of Agriculture of the United States, 1930. p. 589.

⁶⁾ "Yearbook" of the Agricultural Ministry of the United States, 1930. p. 997.

⁷⁾ Ibid. 1926. p. 698.

⁸⁾ Ibid. 1930. p. 1010.

⁹⁾ "The latest changes in the economy of the United States". Vol. 2. p. 448. State publishing office.

¹⁰⁾ "Yearbook" of the Agricultural Ministry of the United States", 1930. pp. 1004 to 1007.

during the period of "prosperity" that the farmer was free to take refuge in the towns. Whither can he flee now, now that an army of 7 million unemployed wait at the doors of the labour exchanges, and this army grows from day to day?

Why has the extensive penetration of modern technics into the agriculture of the United States failed to bring progress, the increased welfare of the masses of the people, but has led instead to the decline of agriculture, to the acutest of agrarian crises? Every agricultural worker, every member of a collective farm, every peasant, is entitled to ask: is the tractor not guilty here? Do we not commit an error in introducing the tractor into our fields?

There can be only one answer to this question: The reason why the progress of technics in America has had this effect lies in the system of capitalist relations, in the private ownership of land; under capitalism tractors and combines cannot be afforded by the overwhelming majority of the farmers, and the insignificant minority of the rich farmers, able to reorganise their farms technically, do this by means of an even greater oppression, enslavement, and ruin of the great masses of the farming population. There are one million tractors, but three fifths of the farms have no tractor! To this must be added that those farms possessing tractors can for the most part not fully utilise the production possibilities of the tractor. It is an incontestable fact that the confines of those large farms which were, during the last century, so to speak the pioneers of technical progress, are now too narrow for the tractor.

The Americans themselves are, as a rule, of the opinion that a tractor with combines can only be properly used on a farm of more than 200 hectares. We know that the full utilisation of the tractor and accessory implements is only possible on a farm of over 1000 hectares. But let us assume for a moment that the Americans are right. Let us assume that a tractor with combines can be suitably used on a farm of about 200 hectares. But how many such farms are there in America? An inquiry will show that in America farms of this size form only 3.5 per cent of the total number.

This is the clear explanation of the course of events in America. Even if we accept the perfectly incorrect premise that a tractor with combines can be fully exploited on a farm of approximately 200 hectares, we find that there are only 3.5 per cent of such farms.

Let us make a further concession to our opponents. Let us say that we are prepared to count to the farms which can allegedly make successful use of tractors all those farms over 70 hectares (this referring to the whole farm, and not only to the sown area). Even then there are only 18 per cent such farms in America. This means that four fifths of all farms, owning less than 70 hectares, cannot afford tractors, and that the individual farms able to buy them cannot utilise them to their full capacity.

We often seek to demonstrate the waste inherent in the capitalist system. And surely we need seek no further for proofs of the frightful waste committed by capitalism in its present stage of decay than the above? One million tractors are condemned by the capitalist system of private property to a useful effect only little better than that of the horse, for only 25 per cent of their producing capacity is utilised.

The United States form no exception in this respect. I may cite Germany as a further example.

In Germany the farms of 20 hectares, that is, farms which cannot under any circumstances make use of the tractor, form 95.7 per cent of all farms, whilst only 0.01 per cent use tractors and steam ploughs. The farms of an area over 100 hectares form only 0.04 per cent. And of these 10 per cent use the tractor and the steam plough. Is it therefore to be wondered that in Germany, amongst the bourgeois agriculturalists and agronomists, the theory prevails that the tractor is in itself unprofitable, and that the horse possesses actual advantages over the tractor? Here the German agriculturalists are in the position of the fox who found the grapes too sour because they hung too high for him. It may be added: The effect is comical when we read that in the scientific agrarian institutions of Germany the question is being discussed of gathering the small peasants together in production co-operatives, in order that the tractor may be made accessible to

them. In Germany the essential condition for the accomplishment of this is lacking: the Soviet power. And the actual conditions bear witness to the inevitableness of the decline of agriculture, and to a situation in which the tractor is the monopoly of a small upper stratum, in which the path of the tractor in agriculture leads across the corpses of the small farmers.

What are the conclusions to be drawn? That the greatest technical revolution in the methods of agricultural production ever known to history does not lead to the prosperity of agriculture under capitalist conditions, but to its decay.

Tractors and combines, concentrated in the hands of the capitalist stratum of the peasantry, and utilised by them only to a very slight proportion of their producing capacity, are entirely beyond the means of the great majority of the farmers. The triumphal progress of the tractor ceases abruptly at the boundaries of four fifths of all farms. The large-scale farm cuts its path through the ruin and throttling of the great mass of the farmers, and this ruin is sweeping upon them more rapidly than even the small handicrafts suffered in the first stage of the rise of industrial large-scale production.

The attempts being made by the bourgeoisie to help matters by such useless devices as purchases by the State of wheat in the United States and Canada, or the raising of a tariff barrier against the import of agricultural products into Germany, Italy, and other countries, can only raise a smile on the part of the objective observer, for they differ in nothing from attempts to bale out the Mississippi with buckets, and lead in the end no further than the limitation of the market for agricultural products, and therewith to an even greater aggravation of the crisis.

The agrarian crisis plays no small rôle in the whole process of the decay of capitalism, and incontestably intensifies it. Stalin's words: "The industrial crisis will aggravate the agrarian crisis, and the agrarian crisis will prolong the industrial crisis, which is bound to lead to the aggravation of the economic crisis in its totality¹⁾" are being completely confirmed.

And finally: No-one will dispute the fact that the crushed small farmer can serve as symbol of the technical revolution being effected in the capitalist countries by the caterpillar tractor. (Interjection: Hear, Hear! Applause.)

II. The Soviet Method of Organising Large-Scale Agriculture.

These are the fundamental facts. They must be compared with what is going in our country. We all know that technically we are incomparably weaker than the United States, and in just the respects dealt with above. In America one million tractors — as compared with our 70,000; in America 100,000 motor lorries and in our agriculture only one here and there. When we had to help the grain trust in the matter of the combines, we were literally obliged to mobilise the motor lorries all over the country. In America there are ten thousand combines to our 1500. These are the comparative proportions of the technical reorganisation of the two countries, and at a first glance it would seem as if corresponding conclusions would be drawn. In order to draw these conclusions, we shall make use of the following data: Conjointly with the Statistic Department of the State Planning Commission and the head management of the collective farms, we have instituted an inquiry among the great masses of the collective farms on the most important questions. We have received replies from almost all the collective farms. The Statistic Department of the State Planning Commission has elaborated the statements. We are thus given the possibility of ascertaining the leading features of the growth of large-scale agriculture with the aid of practically the same data enabling us to examine above the situation in the United States.

1. The Rate of Growth of Large-Scale Agricultural Undertakings in the Soviet Union.

The decisive fact in the Soviet Union — a large-scale agricultural production which is not built up on the ruin and absorption of the small peasants, but on their combined forces;

¹⁾ Report on the Activities of the Central Committee.

not by means of state subsidies for the capitalist stratum of the peasantry, but by the organisation of great State farms — this large-scale agricultural production is growing at a speed unexampled in the whole history of mankind, a speed utterly unattainable by capitalism. This fact is of sufficiently serious importance. In 1929 the number of peasant farms ceased to increase for the first time since the revolution, thereby refuting the assumptions of an expert commission of the State Planning Commission for drawing up the general plan, which considered that the number of our peasant farms would grow from year to year and attain the figure of 30,984,000 by the year 1941. (Laughter.) In actual fact we have in 1930 a diminution of the total number of peasant farms by at least 4 million by their combination into 82,000 collective farms with several millions of peasants.

The extent to which this process is being carried on may also be measured by the average size of the collective farms in the most important districts. The following figures refer to the groups in the districts into which the Soviet Union has been divided by the Central Committee of the Party with regard to certain periods set up for purposes of orientation, in so far as these come in question for an essentially complete collectivisation. In the first group of these districts (North Caucasia without the national districts, Middle Volga, Lower Volga without the Kalmuck district and the Astrakhan district, Ukrainian steppes) the average area of the collective farms is 1200 hectares; in the second group (to which the remaining grain districts belong) 360 hectares, and in the grain importing district 117 hectares.

These figures do not refer to any unimportant group of farming enterprises but to 82,000 farms controlling this year, apart from the Soviet farms, 27 per cent (summer and winter crops) of the whole cultivated area, and 36 per cent of the area sown with summer grain (again without the Soviet farms). Combined with the Soviet farms, they cultivate 40 per cent of the total summer grain area. This should be compared with the fact that in 1925 in the United States only 3.5 per cent of the total area fell to the farms with an acreage of more than 200 hectares, and in Germany 0.4 per cent to the farms with more than 100 hectares.

These are the possibilities of capitalism on the one hand and the possibilities of socialism on the other, in the creation of large-scale agrarian undertakings.

Whilst a year ago the statistics grouping the farms in accordance with the sown area ended with the topmost limit of "over 44 hectares", the present analysis of the collective farms will obviously have to register this category as the lowest limit. The criterion has changed; whilst a kulak farm of 15 to 20 hectares has been regarded by us as a large undertaking, a collective farm of this size would be a dwarf undertaking. (Applause.)

In order to make the progress in the agriculture of the Soviet Union still more comprehensible, we must compare the role played by the various class groups with respect to the extent of the area cultivated and the volume of market production, at three dates: before the war, 1927, and 1930. This comparison shows that before the war the large landowners and kulaks tilled in round figures 35 million hectares, in 1927 the kulak cultivated about 10 million hectares, and in this spring, the first spring of the mass sowing operations carried out by the collective farms, by means of the collective combination of the peasant farms, we achieved a grain growing area of approximately 35 million hectares in the hands of the socialised sector of agriculture. This means that as result of this first spring our collective and Soviet farms have succeeded in attaining a cultivated area replacing, as far as the cultivation of corn is concerned, that cultivated by the kulaks and landlords before the revolution, and greatly exceeding the area sown by the kulak three years ago. (Applause.)

Although the Soviet and collective farms have not yet outdistanced the kulak and the former landlords in the matter of market production, in this field, too, the proportions of the class groupings are exceedingly characteristic. In 1913 approximately two thirds of the market (outside of the village) grain was produced by the landlords and kulaks; in 1927 the kulak was growing one fifth of the market grain. At the present time the socialised sector of agriculture, the collective and Soviet farms, supply more than one half of all market grain. This signifies that the results of the first spring of collective

mass sowings have enabled socialist large-scale farming to replace not only the kulak, but the pre-war landowner, with respect to area cultivated. The socialised sector has become the chief supplier of grain, and the bearers of this largescale production replacing the semi-feudal and ruthless exploitation of the peasants by the large landowners, and replacing the parasite kulak farming system, are now — under the Soviet — the Soviet farms, and the combined dwarf farms of the peasants, merged in collectives.

In order to close this examination of the features characterising the rapid spread of the collective farms, I must deal with the development of the collective farming movement during the last few years not only in relation to the total average for the whole Union, but with reference to the three groups of districts into which the Soviet Union was divided by the well known decision passed by the C. C. on 5th January. This is of importance for us, for we are thereby given the possibility of ascertaining the extent to which the collective farming movement spreads evenly over the different zones.

The first zone (North Caucasia, without the national districts, Middle Volga, Lower Volga without the Kalmuck and Astrakhan country, Ukrainian steppes). Here the peasant farms have been organised in to collective farms (as compared with a status of 7.5 per cent in 1929) to an extent seven times this, or approximately one half of the peasant farms.

The second zone — the remaining grain territory — showed a collectivisation of scarcely 4 per cent in 1929, in 1930 the organisation of the peasant farms by the collective farming movement reached six times this figure. The result is the collectivising of 25 per cent of the farms.

The third zone — the grain importing area. Here collectivisation started at 1.5 per cent. Here, too, the collectivising movement increased sixfold its organisation of the peasant farms within a year. In 1930 we have a nine per cent collectivisation in the third zone.

The fact is at the same time not unimportant that in the first zone the machine and tractor stations ploughed and sowed 11.5 per cent of the collectively cultivated summer grain area, in the second zone 5.7 per cent, and in the third 3.4 per cent.

These data will doubtlessly be a surprise to many, and the Right will probably find them entirely unexpected, since the latter incline to the "theory" that collectivisation can only be applied to a certain section of the grain districts. It has, however, been shown that the difference between the districts does not lie in the peasants being in favour of collectivisation in one district and against it in another, but in the fact that in some districts more preparatory work has been done, more technical resources, more Soviet farms, more machine and tractor stations have been available, and the pressure exercised upon the kulaks has been greater. No foolishness on the part of the "Left" clowns can hide the decisive fact that this spring, in spite of the different conditions of collectivisation in the various zones, progress has been made not only in the first group of the grain districts, but in the others as well.

Here it must not be forgotten for a moment that in the whole of the grain importing territory, after the results attained in the spring of 1930, there are only 52 districts left in which less than three per cent of all farms are collectivised. In other words, the collective farming example has been set in almost every district, and there is scarcely a district of the grain importing area in which the wedge of collectivisation has not been inserted. Here an organisation has already been created which serves the peasants as an example, which will show them that the collective farm is possible, that it is no invention of the Bolsheviki. From this organisation the cadres of the collective farms will spring up; this organisation will be the starting point for the further development of the collective farming movement in the next few years. It is one matter when the peasant in the grain importing area knows that somewhere in South Ukraine the peasants have become convinced of the advantages of the collective movement, and it is quite another matter when this peasant has the possibility of examining with his own eyes the results of a collective farm in his own village or his own district. The peculiarity of the grain importing area does not consist in our rejecting collectivisation here, or of collectivisation requiring 10 or 20

years to be completed, but in the fact that in these districts the matter must be approached in a special manner, special methods must be used, an especially protracted course of preparation (organisation of Soviet farms, machine and tractor stations), an intensified offensive against the kulaks, a careful attitude towards the collective farm — by these means we shall attain in these districts the same effect within the next few years, as we have already attained in the grain zone.

This should be carefully noted by those of the Right who are always ready to exploit the errors of the "Left" dolts as a pretext for abandoning all persevering and systematic work for the realisation of collectivisation in the grain importing area.

These are characteristic features of the rapid organisation of a progressive, large-scale agrarian undertaking, capable of fully utilising complicated machinery. The difference in the effect of technical progress in our country and in the United States is clear.

2. What are the Sources of the Funds Supporting the Collective Farms?

When describing the rapid organisation of an agrarian undertaking capable of fully utilising up-to-date machinery, the above characterisation might suffice. But we already hear the voices of the open and concealed Right, alleging that the "peasant enters the collective farm poor as a church mouse, having joined it after selling all his horses and slaughtering his cows and pigs, and freeing himself of all property; then he says: give me the means of production, I am willing to become a collective farmer at the expence of the State".

It is asserted that those joining the collective farms are anxious for a share of state alms, and of enjoyning the benefits of state tractors, money, etc.

This fairy tale is being spread widely. It is, however, completely refuted by facts. Facts show that here we have to deal not merely with an "innocent" legend, but with a definite calumny of the collective farm movement, a calumny called forth by the endeavour to discredit the collective farm movement.

Let us compare the number of peasant farms joining the collectives with the number of horses and cows which they brought with them. Were we to ascertain that the farmers joined the collective farms bringing with them no horses or cows, or at least only half of the horses and cows which they possessed before joining, then we should have to admit that the slanderers were right, and apologise for having accused them of slander.

But what are the actual facts? In reality we see that in the first zone 48.8 per cent of all farms joining the collectives brought with them 49.2 per cent of the horses owned by the given district. And yet the number of horseless farms joining the collectives was larger than the number remaining outside. What reply can be made to this by the adherents of the "theory" that the peasants have joined the collectives poor as church mice?

In the second zone, where 25.5 per cent of all farms joined the collectives, these brought with them 22.6 per cent of the whole of the horses owned by the district. In the grain importing zone 8.5 per cent of the peasant farms have joined the collectives, bringing with them 6.8 per cent of the horses of the district.

When we take into account that in the grain importing area the number of horseless farms joining the collectives is especially large, and that here the collective farm movement has not yet reached the masses of the middle peasantry, we must come to the following conclusion: The peasants joining the collectives bring their horses with them as a rule. This, of course, does not mean that it would not be possible to name ten thousand peasants who disposed of their horses beforehand. But it is not a question of these ten thousand, but of the fact that the decisive masses of the peasants enter the collectives in perfect earnestness, bringing with them their means of production.

Let us now turn to the question of the cows. That the peasants slaughter their cows before joining the collectives is

a favourite assertion. In the first zone 42.7 per cent of the whole of the cows of the district are, in the hands of the collectives and 48.8 per cent of the farms are collectivised. In the second 25.5 per cent of the farms are collectivised with 22.1 per cent of the cows; in the third 8.5 per cent of the farms with 7.5 per cent of the cows. This includes the cows at the disposal of the socialised undertaking and those left over to the personal use of the collective farmers.

What reply can be made to this by those who like to scoff at the farmers, poor as church mice, joining the collective farms for the sake of Soviet alms?

To be sure it cannot be maintained that the collective farms have developed on their own resources only. This would contradict Lenin's words that "every social order originates only with the financial support of a certain class" (Lenin: "The Co-operative". Vol. XVIII, Part II, page 141, Russian).

The rôle played by the proletarian State is no small one. An analysis of the chief funds of the collective farms shows that their indebtedness to the State forms about two fifths of these funds. If we take into consideration the fact that about one half of this is a long-term debt, the participation of the State in the organisation of the main funds of the collectivised farms will be found to be at least one fifth of the whole value. To this must be added the fact the means obtained from the liquidated kulak farm approximately 15 per cent of the main funds of the collectives; 14.8 per cent in the first zone, 16.1 per cent in the second, 22.3 per cent in the third.

Here we must be "just", if not to the kulak, to the policy of the liquidation of the kulak as a class. (Applause.)

This is the real origin of the funds with whose aid our collective farms have helped themselves through the spring: 1. The chief means, brought by the collective farms themselves resulting from the pooling of the property of the peasants joining the collectives; 2. The help given by the State in the form of machinery and credits; 3. The means of the kulak liquidated as a class. These are the resources of that large-scale farming which in its first year of mass cultivation has attained results equalling those of all the great landowners and kulaks, and which represents an example hitherto unknown to history of the rapid creation of large-scale agrarian undertaking.

Those German agronomists who get a headache over the question of desirable production co-operative associations among the German small farmers, who could then profitably employ the tractor, should study these sources of collectivisation! There can be no doubt that if the German government were prepared to aid the small peasant by liquidating the big peasant as a class (laughter, applause) . . . and beyond this to give production help to the extent given by our government, then in Germany, too, the small peasant would be able to afford the tractor. (Applause.)

3. Labour Productivity in the Collective Farms.

We have examined into the growth of large-scale farming, of collective and Soviet agriculture, and into the resources forming their main funds. We must further examine into the use made of these funds during the first spring of the Bolshevik cultivation of the soil, and ask if the collective farms were successful this spring in utilising the advantages of the large scale undertaking.

Needless to say that were it proved that the collective farmers have not shown themselves capable of applying their funds more effectually than the small peasant farm and the kulak, then all the conclusions for which my report prepares would be built upon sand.

We find the reply to this question in the data of the operative statistics issued by the People's Commissariat of the Agriculture of the Soviet Union, in the special statistics of the People's Commissariat for Agriculture, and in the data issued by the statistic department of the State Planned Economy Commission and of the head management of the collective undertakings. These figures show—and this should be noted not only by every member of the Party, not only by every collective farmer, but by every individual peasant—that by the organisation of the collective farms the sown area increased by 45 per cent as compared with last year's area. We take

the precaution of naming the minimum figure. In some districts the actual increase of sown area is as much as 100 per cent.

It may be regarded as an established fact that the 36 million hectares cultivated by the collective farms this year have developed directly out of the 24 million hectares cultivated by the peasants last year. We have ascertained the figures by a direct inquiry among the collective farmers as to the extent of their sowing last year.

This growth has been brought about in spite of the fact that almost one half of the collective farms are working without any standard of work. A collective farm without a working standard is, however, a mere embryo, an egg from which the real collective farms must emerge (laughter). At least it is not yet a farm which has shown its full possibilities.

And under such circumstances the collective farms of the first zone, comprising something below one half of all former peasant farms, have cultivated more than two thirds of the summer grain; in the second zone, where they comprise 25 per cent of all farms, more than one third; and in the third zone, where the collective farmers form one twelfth of all farmers, one eighth.

In the United States one million tractors, introduced into capitalist large scale farming, have resulted in an increase of four million hectares of cultivated area in the course of a decade. Only four million hectares! In our country, on the other hand, despite an incomparably smaller proportion of these steel horses, the collective farmers have been successful in increasing the area formerly cultivated by their individual farms by 12 million hectares, chiefly by simply combining their old means of production. This has enabled us not only to cover completely the loss of the cultivated area caused by the liquidation of the kulak, but to increase the total sown area this year by 7.4 million hectares, in round figures.

In order to check these statements, which refer to the whole mass of the collective farms of the Soviet Union, we have undertaken, in conjunction with the statistical department of the State Planning Commission and the chief management of the collective farms, the analysis in the same zones of the extent of cultivated area per head of the workers, per motor unit, per head of the population, and per farm. The results proved the same: Increase of the labour productivity and of the means of production in the collective farms, as compared with the individual peasant farms, by 40 to 50 per cent. And this in the first year of complete collectivisation! This furnishes us with a criterion for judging our reserves for the progress of agriculture. These reserves will be applied at once for the further extension of collectivisation and the further development of the Soviet farms. The essential factor of these reserves is the qualitative improvement, by 40 to 50 per cent, of the work of the peasantry immediately after the transition from individual to collective farming. This proves, that we are able to set ourselves tasks of which a capitalist country may not even venture to dream, and of which we, too, could not think yesterday, since our agriculture was based upon another system.

We as a Party appeal, with these facts, to the remainder of the small and middle peasant individual farms. We no longer regard them as individual farms, we now regard them as "non-collective farms" in the hands of small and middle farmers who do not yet want to join the collectives, but who will doubtlessly be convinced of the necessity of collectivisation within a relatively short time, by the mass experience of collective farming.

I add a few further characteristic facts for these temporarily still "non-collective farmers".

In the agricultural artel "The reply to the kulak", in the Rossoschansk District, 8.7 hectares of unploughed land fall to one horse, whilst on the adjacent individual farms the figure is only 3.58 hectares. The agricultural artel at Kamensk in the Pensa District has exceeded the sowing plan by 32 per cent. There was fallow land in the vicinity, and this, too, was cultivated. The result was that 6 hectares of land could be calculated per head of the families of the collective farmers, but among the individual peasants of the same district only 2 hectares. The collective farm of the village of Nikolayevka, Akmolinsk District, cultivate 17 hectares per farm, whilst last year the individual peasants only managed two to three hectares per family. In the village of Seyten, in this same Amolinsk District, the majority of the members of the collec-

tive farm are agricultural labourers who, in their own words "had to live only yesterday from the crumbs falling from the table of the kulak"; these have cultivated eleven hectares per farm. The Suvorov collective farm in the Nishni-Chirsk District has increased the area cultivated from 3.4 hectares to 8.4 hectares. The collective farm "Burevestnik" in the Dubrovsk District has increased the area from 11 hectares to 15.5. The collective farm "Mayak" in the same district has raised the 7.5 hectares hitherto tilled per farm to 14.5 this year. It may safely be "prophesied" that during the next few weeks the collective farmers will report tens of thousands of analogous examples, and that these will be published by the press. This will be the most effective agitation for the collective farms.

Many tracts of land, hitherto regarded as unsuitable for cultivation, have been shown this spring to be eminently adapted for the purpose.

In spite of all the errors committed, in spite of the shortage of cadres, of workers capable of organising agricultural production, in spite of there being as yet no standard of recompense for labour in almost one half of the collective undertakings, in spite of the extreme weakness of the mechanical basis — in spite of all this the enormous power of socialist large-scale production has been convincingly demonstrated in the collective and Soviet farms. And this is the main point.

4. Mechanisation of Agriculture in the Soviet Union and in the United States.

Although this year's increase of the area cultivated by the collectivised farms is essentially the result of the simple combination of the means of production possessed by the peasant farms, we must not underestimate the part played by mechanisation in the present stage of development. Only a few years ago a comparison between mechanisation in the United States and in the Soviet Union would have appeared simply ridiculous, so insignificant was the number of machines used in our agriculture at that time.

In 1913 the value of the agricultural machinery in use in our country amounted to 120 millions; by 1922 the figure had sunk to 12 million roubles. This was the lowest point. Since that time the amount of machines brought into use has increased steadily. Each year the figure has doubled in comparison with the previous year—in 1923/24, 1925/26, 1929/30, and finally 1930/31, in which year the machines supplied, in accordance with the plan (without tractors) confirmed by the Central Committee of the Party, are to reach the value of 800 million roubles, as compared with 400 in the present year.

In the United States the value of the machines supplied to agriculture, beginning with a very high figure, has risen during one and a half decades to the amount of 400 million roubles yearly (without tractors), and it was not until 1928 that this sum increased to 500 millions.

If we take the value of the machinery including tractors, we find that in the United States this amounted to 800 million roubles in 1928; in the Soviet Union the corresponding figure was 500 million roubles, and will next year (in accordance with the Plan) reach the value of over 1,000 million roubles. In other words, with respect to our supplies of agricultural machines, we shall next year not only overtake America, but pass it by. (Applause.) Unfortunately at the moment, only in number and not yet in quality and combination. (Hear, hear.)

The mechanical equipment of agricultural production increases in value per hectare in accordance with these growing supplies of machinery. In 1913 the value was 7 roubles per hectare, a sum which has already increased by this year to approximately 15 roubles (including tractors), and will rise in 1930/31, if the Supreme National Economic Council is to be believed, to 20 roubles (including tractors) per hectare. This is the first characteristic feature. It shows how the collective farming movement, growing up from below, combines with the active rôle played by the state; it shows how this rôle finds expression, and how the movement growing from below establishes itself with increasing firmness.

And finally, the last but not least item in this category: the utilisation of the tractors. We have seen that tractorisation in our country and in the capitalist countries, in the United States for instance, are two very different things. In the West we are laughed at at times. It is asserted that we fall down

and worship the tractor whilst in the capitalist countries the tractor has already become, so to speak, an economic constituent. In this really the case? They would do better to laugh at themselves, for the degree to which we utilise the capacity of our tractors far exceeds that of the most advanced capitalist country.

A few figures on this point. The decisive fact: In the autumn of 1929 and in the spring of this year our tractors tilled 12 million (in round figures) hectares, employing 450,000 horse power in the autumn and 900,000 in the spring. In the United States, where there are a million tractors with a total capacity of at least 20 million horse power, with which 300 million hectares could be cultivated, we find four-fifths of the farms without tractors, whilst the utilisation of the tractors does not exceed 400 to 600 hours on an average yearly in a considerable number of undertakings. It is only on seven of the best and largest capitalist "model" farms that the utilisation of the tractors rises to 1,500 hours yearly. In our country, on the other hand, the situation was already as follows in 1928 (data compiled by the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection): On the Soviet farms 1,400 hours in the communes 1,300 hours, in the artels 1,200 hours, and in the co-operatives for joint land cultivations 1,100 hours. At the present time, in 1930, the utilisation of the tractors in the tractor station "Tractorcentre" (head management of the tractor stations) had already reached 750 to 1,000 working hours this spring. This signifies an annual utilisation of 2,500 hours per tractor as compared with 400 to 600 hours in the United States. (Sensation. Applause.) The progress made in the spring ensures the same number of hours for the tractors of the grain trust and of the other organisations.

I do not adduce this in order that anyone shall get swelled head. It is not the result of any special merit or personal qualities of the leaders of the institutions. It is the immediate result, the by-product, of the socialist economic structure, a structure very different from that of the United States. Nor do I adduce it in order to awaken the belief that we may content ourselves with the present status of tractor utilisation. I could give a special report here on the way in which our tractors are damaged and spoilt, how much they run without load, etc. (Hear, hear!) And yet we have 2,500 hours as compared with 400 to 600 hours in America!

We can now draw the conclusion of the two first parts of this report:

In the United States the tractor is the monopoly of the rich farmer; in our country it is the monopoly of the Soviet and collective farms representing the united small farmers.

The rich farmer cultivates an area of 100 to 200 hectares; our collective farm an area of 1000 hectares, and the Soviet farm an area of ten thousand hectares.

In the United States the tractor cannot find its way to the overwhelming majority of the farms, and is entirely beyond the means of four-fifths of all farmers; in our country it is within the means of the majority of the peasants combined in the collective farms, and it is only the kulaks who cannot afford it.

There the tractors are scattered here and there: One tractor per head of the rich farmer; in our country the tractors are concentrated, dozens of tractors being collected in one machine and tractor station, or on one Soviet farm.

In a word—there the capitalists are in power; here—the working class. (Prolonged applause.)

This is the reason why the agricultural labourer, half illiterate, placed by us in charge of the tractor—a worker who only yesterday had to toil for 16 to 18 hours daily under the kulak, get four times as much productive effect out of the tractor than the civilised American farmer. This is the reason why our tempo in the creation of a large-scale agriculture is unprecedented in the history of humanity, is unique in the history of the world. It is owing to the same reason that large-scale agriculture develops at different speeds in the different regions of the Soviet Union, in accordance with the varying degrees of preparation. This is the law of the development of agriculture in the Soviet Union, and therefore we are working feverishly to supply our agriculture with machines.

Our industry has turned its face to the agriculture in process of reorganisation; in the course of the next few years

we will and shall completely change the technical basis of the whole agriculture of the Soviet Union.

We are now entitled to compare the future predicted for us a few months ago by our opponents of various camps with the actual facts at present.

Prophecy No. 1. Only four months ago Boris Bruzкус, professor of the Russian scientific institute in Berlin, formerly professor at the agricultural college in Petrograd, wrote in "Der deutsche Volkswirt" (7th March 1930): The immediate consequence of the collectivisation is thus the danger facing the Soviet Union that 10 to 20 million hectares will not be able to be cultivated at all this year for lack of draught animals and seed.

Ordshonikidse: That prophecy has proved false.

Yakovlev: That is prophecy No. 1. 10 to 20 million hectares will not be able to be cultivated . . . and to this assertion we can oppose the fact that the collective farms have multiplied their seed by 2½ times, and have increased the whole cultivated area by more than 7 million hectares. (Applause.)

Prophecy No. 2 — made by Mr. Dalin in the "Socialistischer Boten":

"The productive effect, that is, the quantities of grain, meat, milk, hides, etc., produced by the same number of persons, will probably prove less after the collectivisation than before." (Laughter.)

("Socialistischer Bote" No. 6/7, 12th April 1930, p. 7.

D. Dalin: "The perspectives of collectivisation".)

We see precisely the same opinion. This is the second fact. Prophecy No. 3—from a friend of Dalin and Bruzкус—

Mr. Trotzky:

"A large-scale agrarian undertaking cannot be created by gathering together all the wooden ploughs and worn-out jades of the peasants, any more than a steamer can be made by collecting a number of fishing boats." (General Laughter.)

" . . . we imagine that the socialist reorganisation of agricultural economy will be a matter of decades." (Laughter.)

(Trotzky. Leading article. "Bulletin of the Opposition",

February-March 1930.)

Prophecy No. 4:

"The Soviet and collective farms will not be able to supply the necessary amount of grain for five years, but we must find our way out now." (Laughter.)

The author of this prophecy is probably known to all of you.

Ordshonikidse: We know him.

Kaganovitsch: Name this fourth prophet. (Noise, Laughter, sensation.)

Yakovlev: Bukharin, stenogram of the joint session of the Polbureau and the Presidium of the C. C., 30th January 1929, p. 20.

Kaganovitsch: Aha; now we understand. (Noise, Laughter.)

Yakovlev: Comrades, that is the fourth prophecy.

These four prophecies, placed one upon the other, cover each other exactly.

Are we then not justified in saying to Trotzky, and to Dalin, Bruzкус, and Bukharin (which last has unconsciously — to use the terminology of Tomsky and Rykow — joined the others.) Laughter: Now, if you please, what have you to say about collectivisation, not only to the C. P. S. U. and to the working class, but to the new, true, actual, and firm support of the Soviet power, which has arisen in the form of the collective farms during the last few years. (Applause.)

Comrade Bukharin, please explain to us this remarkable coincidence of your standpoint with that of these gentlemen, not only to the Party, but to the millions of collective farmers who have developed into a real and powerful support of the Soviet power. Comrade Bukharin has only himself to blame when at a meeting of such collective farmers the only applause which he gains (if he receives any at all) is from some kulak who has accidentally slipped in. (Numerous cries of: Hear, hear.)

(To be concluded.)

Discussion on the Report of Comrade Molotov.

(Full Report.)

Comrade Heinz Neumann (Germany):

Comrades, permit me to bring the flaming greetings of the German Communist Party and of the irrepressible Red Front Fighters League to the XVI. Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (protracted applause).

The present situation of the German proletariat is determined by the beginning of the carrying out of the Young Plan. During the course of the last two and a half years the situation in Germany has changed fundamentally. We can recall that at the XV. Party Congress Comrade Bukharin judged the situation in Germany to the effect that Germany was a model example for the "success" of the capitalist stabilisation, a model example of the brilliant achievements of capitalist technique and capitalist rationalisation. To-day no one would put the question like that. Now we can see that Germany, which of all European States has reached the highest pitch of monopolism, is at the same time the country which is in the throes of the sharpest crisis, and the crisis is not mitigated by the monopolisation, on the contrary it is aggravated by it. The Young plan squeezes 3,600 million Marks a year out of Germany for reparations and interest. The Young plan is now becoming the central point for Germany, the main factor in the class regroupments, it is becoming a factor which will undoubtedly intensify the economic and political crisis in Germany. This does not fail to have its effect on the class struggle.

We see thus that there is "a German problem" in Europe, but this problem has nothing to do with that problem which has been put before the Communist International by our right-wing opportunists and in particular by Comrade Bukharin. The essence of the German problem is not that Germany is particularly strong or that the stabilisation there is particularly firm. On the contrary, the essence of the German problem is that Germany is one of the weakest links in the capitalist system and that it is subject to the double effect of the world crisis in the shape of the Young Plan. In consequence of this situation the preliminary conditions for the proletarian revolution are particularly favourable in Germany.

The right-wing opportunists who are extreme pessimists and defeatists of the proletarian dictatorship in the questions of the socialist constructive work in the Soviet Union, became extreme optimists with regard to the capitalist stabilisation, singing hymns of praise of "organised capitalism". Bukharin declares that one cannot build houses when the bricks are in the future, but for West European capitalism he builds stabilisation houses out of future bricks, or rather, out of bricks which did not exist in the past and will not exist in the future. All the prophecies which we heard from the mouths of the right-wing opportunists concerning the solidity of the stabilisation and its strength, they have all burst like soap bubbles.

The present role of fascism in Germany and the accelerated progress of the country towards fascism are undoubtedly connected with the Young Plan and the economic crisis (industrial stagnation a Reich's deficit of over 1.5 milliard Marks). All these factors lead to a political crisis. The situation in Germany at the present moment is that the economic crisis is developing into a political crisis. We can observe this on the basis of such facts as the decay of the old bourgeois party system, the decay of bourgeois democracy, the decay of parliamentarism and on this basis the growth of fascism. Fascism is growing thanks to the petty-bourgeoisie which is scared at the consequences of the Young Plan, which is afraid of going under economically and which seeks for a way out, a way out not on the lines of the proletarian class struggle, but along patriotic lines under the banner of national fascist slogans.

Such successes of the fascist party or National Socialist Party as it calls itself, in the Saxon elections are not a sign that the petty-bourgeois masses are satisfied with capitalism, on the contrary, they are a sign of their dissatisfaction. The fascists are striving to exploit the rebellion of the petty-bourgeois masses in order to consolidate the capitalist order of society and the present regime. We must realise that there is a difference between the petty-bourgeois masses who are

now turning away from the old bourgeois parties and seeking for a new line and who can be won for us, for the proletarian class struggle, and those bourgeois leaders of fascism who are the tools of finance capital. There is of course a difference and it demands that our Party should adopt a correct and dexterous policy towards the problem of fascism.

The Red Front Fighters League plays a prominent role on this field. Despite the prohibition the Red Front Fighters League continues to exist (a storm of applause). On the 6th May on the first anniversary of its prohibition, uniformed Red Front Fighters marched at the head of a procession of 40,000 Berlin workers (applause). This demonstration served to mobilise the forces of the Berlin workers against the fascist danger (applause).

We must not regard the chief danger of fascism exclusively as the fascist fighting formations of the National Socialist type. Fascism in Germany, as Comrade Molotov very correctly pointed out in his report, is also being furthered from above by the bourgeoisie State power. In Germany the question is not always so simple as in backward countries like Italy, Poland or Finland where a march on Rome, on Warsaw or Helsingfors is enough in order to place power in the hands of a fascist government. In Germany fascism may choose other ways. For instance that the old bourgeois parties, the present bourgeois government and also its successors, become more and more fascist, and that the fascist fighting organisations, the terrorist fascist bands play the role of a supplementary apparatus for the creation of the fascist dictatorship. At the same time the active role of the social democracy in the creation of this fascist dictatorship must not be forgotten for one minute.

We must always remember that without the prohibition of the Red Front Fighters League by the social democracy, without the shooting down of the Mayday demonstrators by the social democrat Zoergiebel, without the „Law for the Protection of the Republic“ of the social democrat Severing which threatens the revolutionary movement with hard labour sentences, that without all these measures on the part of the social democracy fascism would not have been able to develop so quickly as it has done.

The economic struggles which the German working class is carrying on to-day are the result of the Young plan and the offensive of the employers. To-day we are witnesses of an offensive of the capitalists against the proletariat such as has not been experienced since the world war. This offensive is developing in three main directions: first of all new taxes on all foodstuffs and important articles of consumption, and customs increases such as are unparalleled in the history of capitalist economy. This is the first line of attack against real wages.

Secondly: the reduction, limitation and partial abolition of the social insurance provisions. Unemployment in Germany to-day is tremendous. Even now, in the middle of the seasonal boom we have 3.5 million unemployed workers. That is the result of capitalist rationalisation, of monopolist capitalism and the Young plan.

The third line of attack taken by the capitalist offensive is the latest, the reduction of wages by 15, 20, 30 and even 40 % in the various branches of industry.

During the course of the last few months we have seen a series of important economic struggles, a series of strikes against the offensive of the employers. The most important are the Mansfeld strike in which 13,000 workers are taking part, and above all the Ruhr strike with over 50,000 strikers. Both strikes are directed against wage cuts. In both strikes our revolutionary trade union opposition is playing a leading role, despite its weaknesses and despite certain deficiencies in its work. This can be seen with particular clarity in the Ruhr strike. In the Mansfeld strike the reformists are still conducting their struggle against the revolutionary workers, but there also we have succeeded in organising and consolidating the front of the strikers so far that the attempts of the employers to send strike-breakers into the factories under police protection

have been defeated several times by the workers. In Mansfeld we see a tremendous rise of revolutionary activity amongst the striking miners and metal workers. The employers in Mansfeld have made the most energetic attempts to induce the unemployed to act as strike-breakers, but the unemployed flung in their lot with us, from the first day of the strike they volunteered to stand as strike pickets, they surrounded the factories wearing red buttonholes and protected the striking workers against strikebreaking and against all reactionary provocations (applause). At the same time we have succeeded in achieving considerable success amongst broad sections of the toilers who are not engaged in the factories, for instance, amongst the working women. The women actively supported the striking workers. They took part in the relief work and were active in the strike kitchens of the W.I.R. Strike committees have been formed in Mansfeld and in the Ruhr district. The various strike committees and also the central strike leadership elected by the workers, are completely under the influence and the leadership of our trade union opposition. Representatives of the unemployed workers committees are also in these strike committees so that the united front of the workers in the factories and the unemployed workers is expressed in this also.

I would like to say a few words more concerning questions which interest both our Party and our foreign comrades, and in particular our comrades in the C. P. of the Soviet Union. The question has been raised why the revolutionary rise is taking place so slowly, why there are still great deficiencies in our Party, why, despite the revolutionary rise and growth and the generally admitted radicalisation of the working class and the correct political line of our Party, the numerical growth of the Party is unsatisfactory, our gains at the Saxon elections insufficient and the trade union opposition was unsuccessful or, let us speak frankly, suffered defeats, in the shop council elections in individual large-scale factories, particularly in Berlin.

Above all the revolutionary rise is not a uniform process. One must not believe that the whole millions of the workers will jump with one accord from the period of decline which lasted until 1928 to a stormy rise. In the working class there we have various strata: there are unemployed masses, there are the workers of the backward industries, we have districts like Saxony and we have progressive workers like those of the Ruhr district, etc. The transition to a revolutionary rise is undoubtedly to be seen amongst certain sections of the workers, but the adaptation to the new situation, to the new fighting methods is proceeding unequally and is subject to vacillations.

The second reason is the following: we are at present in a period of struggle against the offensive of the employers. As Comrade Molotov very correctly observed, our struggle is not only a defensive one. We are developing a counter-offensive. We are attacking the attacking capitalist class, and naturally the result is a bitter counter-action of the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary advance. The bourgeoisie is now mobilising the whole force of its State apparatus, of the social-fascist organisation and of the fascist bands against the proletarian counter-offensive. Therefore the revolutionary advance takes an irregular course, makes its way forward to the winning of the majority of the working class through tremendous difficulties.

The third and undoubtedly the main reason is our own mistakes, the heritage of the right-wing fraction of the still existing right-wing opportunism. The facts which comrade Piatnitzki has dealt with so aptly in the columns of the "Pravda" are known to you all. There are instances where our red factory councils declared themselves in agreement with dismissals or with various other opportunist tricks such as part dismissals or the shortening of working time without wage compensation. Such expressions of opportunism which are "justified" on the ground that of two evils one must choose the lesser, can of course not win us the confidence of the broad masses of the workers. That is the biggest danger, the real main danger.

Apart from these open opportunist errors, we must also take into consideration the great negative effect of various "left-wing" deviations which spring both from the ultra-left Merker "theories" and from a Merker spirit in practice. In the present situation, on the eve, or still better, at the beginning of a strike wave, our communists in some factories where the great majority of the workers still follow the social demo-

crats, declare that these workers should be driven out of the factories as "social-fascists". This of course leads to our isolation from the working masses and has unfavourable effect on our work in the masses.

These, comrades, are the main reasons which exercise an unfavourable effect on our growth.

Our German Communist Party has received the honourable name of the second Party of the Comintern after the C.P. of the Soviet Union. This places a still greater responsibility on our shoulders. This by no means entitles us to remain silent concerning our weak points, on the contrary, it makes it our duty to apply sterner self-criticism and sterner self-control than perhaps the other sections of the C. I. Our Central Committee, our Party, is resolutely pursuing this path of self-criticism which assists us to overcome all deviations, as the long struggle against the Trotzkyists and against the right-wing deviation assisted us. Comrade Tomsky declared here that the situation was not so simple as that one could believe that Comrade Bukharin had come together with various other comrades and declared: "Now let us organise a right-wing deviation, etc." We contend however that in the Comintern it was somewhat similar, that Bukharin and Slepov and others came together and said: "Now let us organise a right-wing fraction in the Comintern against the Comintern policy." They did in fact organise Brandler, Evert, Jilek and Kilbom, and they furthered our right-wing opposition in every possible fashion. Nevertheless, we succeeded in defeating the right-wing opportunists and the little group of renegades (applause).

Comrades, in this struggle we already have a certain experience. We can say that since 1923 and particularly after the severe shaking our Party suffered in 1928, that a bolshevist Central Committee has developed under the leadership of Comrade Thaelmann in the German Communist Party, a Central Committee which can already give a guarantee that it will carry out the policy of the Comintern with its whole weight. In this our chief assistance came from the C.P. of the Soviet Union and its tremendous bolshevist experience. And just at this moment when all the right-wing opportunists and all the other counter-revolutionary tendencies in Germany are directing their whole campaign of lies, hatred, slander and incitement against the C.P. of the Soviet Union, and in particular against comrade Stalin, we declare openly that we succeeded with the assistance of the C.P. of the Soviet Union in overcoming the right-wingers and the conciliators in our Party. When in 1928 the right-wingers and the conciliators in our Party, who had a great majority in the Central Committee, gained the upper hand for a few days, when the Party was faced with the question of its existence as a bolshevist Party, in these difficult days the Central Committee of the C.P. of the Soviet Union, and in particular Comrade Stalin, lent our Party the most energetic support and the greatest assistance (applause).

Comrades, despite our errors, despite our weaknesses, despite the irregularity of the revolutionary advance, we have before us a revolutionary perspective which will strengthen in the struggles against the Young Plan, we see a crisis which has the very best preliminary conditions for the development of the revolutionary advance into a revolutionary situation. We rely in this struggle on the C.P. of the Soviet Union. The whole German proletariat is supported in its struggle by the tremendous successes of the building up of socialism in the Soviet Union (applause).

Comrades, in comparison with all other parties in the Comintern the Communist Party of the Soviet Union plays the historical role of a gigantic million-headed storm brigade of bolshevism. Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the storm brigade of the proletarian world revolution! (storms of protracted applause).

Comrade Losovsky (R. I. L. U.):

The two and a half years following the XV Party Congress were undoubtedly years of change for the Red International of Labour Unions and its sections. The change was mapped out at the IV congress of the R. I. L. U. when the congress directed the whole revolutionary trade union movement all over the world to the independent leadership of economic struggles. The period under report was also a period of change as a result of the fact that the question of the mutual

relations between the R.I.L.U. and the Central Council of Soviet Labour Unions was radically solved, a question which excited the whole revolutionary trade union movement all over the world, because it was no longer a secret for anyone that the old opportunist leadership of the Central Council of Soviet Labour Unions had sabotaged the R.I.L.U. and its work in recent years.

Have the R.I.L.U. and its organisations carried out the decisions of the 9th plenary session of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and of the IV congress of the R.I.L.U. Concerning the independent leadership of economic struggles? We must declare openly and frankly that we have only partly carried out the decisions in question, that great organisational and political weaknesses have shown themselves in all the economic and political struggles of the last two and a half years. It will be the task of the V congress of the R.I.L.U. to overcome these weaknesses.

The right-wing opportunists of all countries and with them also the Trotzkyists declare that it is impossible to carry on economic struggles during the crisis, and that therefore the policy of the Comintern and of the R.I.L.U. which aims at organising the masses for a counter-offensive is an "adventurist" policy. In this connection we have endless observations of French and German right-wingers and Trotzkyists who are unitedly of the opinion that in the period of economic crisis no struggle is possible and that in general the working class must adopt a defensive tactic. The facts, however, speak against this point of view. The strike in the woollen industry in Great Britain, the strike in the Mansfeld district, the metal workers strike in the Ruhr and a series of strikes in the United States, in Czechoslovakia, in Italy, India and China overthrow this defeatist philosophy. Certainly, the economic crisis creates a whole series of further difficulties in the conduct of economic struggles: the attack of the employers, of the social-fascists, of the bourgeois State, the mass unemployment, all weigh heavily on the backward workers who fear dismissals etc. The same crisis, however, creates the preliminary conditions for the connecting up of the economic and political struggles, for the extension of the strike area, for the drawing in of new sections of the workers into the encounters between labour and capitalism, because during the crisis and the mass unemployment there are hundreds of thousands and millions of workers who are so oppressed by privations and the capitalist, police and social-fascist terror that they can support actions against the capitalist system as a whole and do so in practice, as was shown in particular on the international fighting day against unemployment on the 6th March 1930. Further, during an economic crisis every worker grasps more rapidly the general character of the problem; strikes can be more easily politicalised because the workers see more clearly the class antagonism between their own situation and work on the one hand and the whole capitalist system on the other. Although we have solved the political question in the R.I.L.U., we have not solved the question organisationally by a long way, and the reason for this is that there are two extremely dangerous deviations amongst the communists in our sections. The one is obviously a right-wing opportunist deviation, and contends that only the trade unions can conduct the economic struggles, the same reformist social-fascist trade unions which sabotage the struggle of the workers. The other, allegedly a left-wing standpoint, is that economic struggles under the conditions existing at present are a hopeless affair; the political struggle must be conducted and it is therefore not worth while to trouble about the economic struggles. Both these standpoints are profoundly opportunist, and there is nothing to choose between the "left-wing" deviation and its right-wing companion.

An examination of the strike movement of the last two years in France, Germany, the United States, Great Britain, China, India, Latin-America, etc., reveals how much the supporters of the R.I.L.U. still fail to understand how to lead mass movements correctly and bolshevistically. It is not merely a question of incapacity to find fresh forces for each struggle, but a question of the social democratic heritage, the inability to react swiftly to successive events. One finds in such countries as Germany, Austria and Great Britain communists who show a slavish devotion to the tariff agreements. They believe that all questions in connection with the economic struggles are the prerogative of the reformist trade unions. They bow to the statutes of the trade unions and to the decisions of their leaders; they are prepared to do anything, even to abandon

their communist principles so long as they can only remain members of the trade unions. This worship of trade union legalism leads to the abandonment of all attempts to lead economic struggles independently, to the subordination to trade union discipline to the detriment of Party discipline, to the rejection of the leading role of the Party, to the abandonment of all attempts to politicalise the strike struggles, and in short to the carrying out of the policy of our enemies in the ranks of our own organisations. For this reason Hais and a whole group of trade unions in Czechoslovakia have left the R.I.L.U. and are now conducting negotiations with a view to entering the Amsterdam trade unions. These gentlemen do not want any control on the part of the Party, they protest against the politicalisation of the strike struggles, they regard the whole standpoint of our IV congress as false and they are therefore now in the ante-room of the Amsterdam International. The "left-wing" Trotzky Neurath found nothing better to do but write a letter to Hais (this letter has fallen into our hands) in which he advises him not to hurry with his entry into the Amsterdam International, but to prepare it thoroughly in order not to repel the workers who still supported him.

We now have in the R.I.L.U. and particularly in France, a number of unions which have a so-called unitarian opposition with its own platform and with its own estimation of the present situation and of the immediate perspective.

They are in agreement with the R.I.L.U. "in general" but only not in the questions of the radicalisation of the masses, the leading role of the Party and the immediate inevitability of war, in other words they do not agree with us in the most decisive questions. Noteworthy in this "unitarian opposition" is the fact that it represents a block of the right-wingers and the Trotzkyists, and that its platform is also the platform of the Trotzkyists, the "Verité" under the control of the loyal supporter of Trotzky, Rosmer.

An organised opposition of this sort only exists in France. In other countries the opposition is split up and has no uniform ideology and policy. All the right-wing groups in the R.I.L.U. live on the ideas formulated by the block of the right-wingers and Trotzkyists in France. It is characteristic that wherever they have the least influence the Trotzkyists ally themselves with the Amsterdammers against the communists. We have examples of this in Belgium with the Teachers Union and the miners. We can observe the same phenomenon in France.

Comrades Molotov and Manuilsky both spoke of the disproportion between political influence and its organisational consolidation. This is the weakest side not only of the Parties but also of the revolutionary trade unions. At the last elections the French Party polled a million votes, but the revolutionary trade unions have only 409,000 members. At the last elections the Czechoslovakian party received 732,000 votes, but the revolutionary unions have only 65,000 members. There are many such examples which might be quoted. How can one explain these phenomena? Certainly, the factory espionage and the furious attack conducted by the forces of the bourgeoisie and the social-fascists on the workers in the factories plays an important role in this connection. But that is only one cause. The second cause is that we have not yet learned how to combine in a bolshevist fashion a correct policy with good organisational work.

During the last two and a half years a great wave of economic and political struggles has swept over all countries. If we begin to make a reckoning of how much the Parties and the revolutionary trade unions have won in increased membership as the result of these struggles, then the numerical results, with few exceptions, are very poor. A bolshevist policy and a bolshevist organisation represent a lever of forged steel which gives us the possibility of raising, winning and leading the masses. The Comintern and the R.I.L.U. are now working to combine a correct policy with good organisational work. This will be one of the central questions at the coming V. Congress of the R.I.L.U.

In the period under review the R.I.L.U. has overcome an internal and very dangerous sickness. I refer to the right-wing opportunist leadership of the Central Council of Soviet Labour Unions and its sabotage of the R.I.L.U. Tomsky put forward his own line in the question of the independent leadership of economic struggles even at the IV congress of the R.I.L.U. After that congress all the right-wingers hung on to Tomsky's coattails in their struggle against the Comintern and the R.I.L.U. At the congress itself Tomsky's friends, Yaglom and the others,

together with the right-wingers in the German delegation tried to put forward their own line against the policy of the Comintern and our Party.

Much has been said here of the trade unionist tendencies of the old leadership of the Central Council of Soviet Labour Unions. The trade unionist tendencies are Amsterdam tendencies. And in fact these tendencies were very strong in the old leadership of the Central Council. For the opportunists in the Central Council everything in the Amsterdam International was good and solid, whilst everything in the R.I.L.U. was not to be taken seriously, was unstable. They interpreted the united front as a fraternisation with the reformist leaders and not as a revolutionary tactic for the exposure of the leaders. All the enemies of the Comintern and of the R.I.L.U. utilised this standpoint of the Central Council in their struggle against the revolutionary trade union movement; Hais, Brandler and Lovestone all placed their hopes on the leadership of the Central Council. They still compare in their journals the "wise" policy of Tomskey with the "adventurist" policy of the R.I.L.U.

Whilst however Hais in Czechoslovakia is followed by from 10,000 to 15,000, Tomskey had nothing apart from the few dozen votes in the fraction of the 8th labour union congress. And of these few dozen supporters, many abandoned him immediately after the congress. Had he received the majority in the fraction of the congress he would not have taken up such a mild attitude at the Party Congress. Tomskey received a severe repulse at the hands of the Party and the communist members of the unions. It was stressed once again that we do not permit any jokes to be made with the leading role of the Party in the labour union movement. Comrades, you must realise that the abolition of the Tomskey anomaly represents a tremendous advantage for the revolutionary trade union movement. If there are no political differences between the R.I.L.U. and the leadership of the Central Council of Soviet Labour Unions, if complete unanimity exists in all questions of external and internal policy, this means a tremendous growth of the authority of the R.I.L.U. in the international working class movement.

And now a few words concerning the colonial question which plays a great role in the R.I.L.U. For many countries with young trade union movements the R.I.L.U. was the ideological leader and practical organiser. The workers of the colonial countries have lost nothing with Amsterdam. Amsterdam can offer them nothing but the League of Nations. Therefore the labour unions of China, the recently established labour unions in Indo-China, the left-wing unions in India, the class trade unions in the Philippines, in the Near East and in Latin-America are tending towards the R.I.L.U. The working class organisations in China and India are of paramount importance for the R.I.L.U. At the V. Congress we shall have to deal with a series of complicated questions in connection with the situation of the labour unions in the Soviet districts in China.

The events in Indo-China and in China together with those in India have placed a new stamp on the world. The revolutionary advance, which was, it is true, irregular, has already developed into a tremendous tension on individual sectors and is releasing itself into the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and against the national bourgeoisie. The main fact at present is the emancipation of the working class movement in the colonial and semi-colonial countries from every trace of bourgeois influence, the sharp differentiation between the classes and the increase of proletarian mistrust of politicians of the type of Gandhi, Nehru, Patel, Wang Ting-wei etc.

At the V congress of the R.I.L.U. we shall examine the present situation. We shall subject our weaknesses and deficiencies to a severe self-criticism; we shall examine all organisations individually and we shall expose the causes of the disproportion which still exists between our political influence and its organisational consolidation. We shall repulse the right-wing deviation and left-wing sectarianism in an annihilating fashion, and we shall do everything in our power to extend the correct carrying out of the bolshevist trade union policy and practice beyond the frontiers of the Soviet Union. The Second and the Amsterdam internationals are still strong because, as comrade Molotov very correctly pointed out, world imperialism is backing them. The Comintern and the R.I.L.U., however, also have a serious terri-

torial basis, a great power is also behind them—the Soviet Union. And therefore we may have confidence in our ultimate success in overcoming the organisational and political difficulties on our path, and that under the leadership of the Comintern we shall lead the masses in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and for communism (applause).

Comrade Thorez (France):

In the name of the Communist Party of France and of its Central Committee I bring fraternal fighting greetings to the XVI Congress of the glorious Party of Lenin.

The workers of all countries, and in particular the communist workers, are paying close attention to your XVI Party Congress because they know that at a time when the economic crisis is deepening and extending in all capitalist countries, the Soviet Union under the wise leadership of the Leninist Central Committee of the Communist Party is continuing to develop its successes in the building up of socialism.

Your successes have aroused the anger of the whole bourgeois world and of the social-fascists. The social-fascists are conducting a furious campaign of slander against the Soviet Union and its socialist constructive work. At the same time your successes strengthen the will and the enthusiasm of the working masses. The masses are turning away more and more from the social-fascists and no longer believe their slanders. Therefore the social democrats are performing various manoeuvres in order to deceive the workers and destroy their confidence in your successes.

The right-wing capitulants are panic-stricken at the tremendous extent of the socialist constructive work. They see ghosts of the capitalist stabilisation and underestimate the deep and growing contradictions within the capitalist camp.

Our Party and our Central Committee are completely in agreement with the bolshevist Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and with the policy of the XVI Party Congress in its struggle against the right-wing deviation (applause).

We draw notice in particular to the slanderous attacks on the Leninist leadership of the Soviet Union and the ridiculous suggestion that it destroys the ranks of the sections of the Communist International. That is pure fabrication! We know and understand the necessity of the struggle for the cleansing of the Communist Parties, we know that this struggle is necessary in order to prepare us to carry out a really bolshevist leninist policy in the coming class struggle.

The renegades expelled from the Communist Parties cling desperately to the arguments of the right-wing opportunists. We communists and all other revolutionary workers of France declare here at your Party Congress with all possible emphasis that we clearly understand the historical role of the iron leader of the C.P. of the Soviet Union and of the Communist International. We greet comrade Stalin, the pioneer of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (applause), and assure him of our deepest sympathies which are based on a recognition of his services as the leader of all bolsheviks (applause).

In France the first signs of the economic crisis are now making themselves felt. There is no very considerable unemployment. There is only partial unemployment. Despite this, however, the mass movement is developing with ever greater power, because the conditions of living of the French workers are actually worse than in a number of other capitalist countries. Strikes are conducted with very great bitterness and are directed against the trinity of the employers, the capitalist State and the social-fascists.

Recently we have had fresh examples of such strikes in Alsace where the workers of the Potash mines are on strike, and the strike of the metal workers in Bouceau. The leadership of these strikes is in the hands of the communist organisations.

It must be noted that during the course of these struggles the new policy is developing. Where formerly the communist members of the municipal councils very often adopted an opportunist policy, the mayor of Bouceau, who is a comrade, placed himself at the head of the strike struggle. It went so far that the government intervened and removed him from his post.

The complications in the Asiatic colonies of France are probably known to you all.

Indo-China is situated between the fork of the soviet

territories of China and revolutionary India. A strong movement under communist slogans is now developing at this dangerous point for the bourgeoisie. The French bourgeoisie is, of course, very much roused by this movement. As usual it complains of "the intrigues of the bolsheviks", of "Moscow's hand" etc. The former Governor of Indo-China, the social-fascist Varennes even preserved the chamber with copies of the communist leaflets in the Annamite language which are being distributed there. To the horror of the whole bourgeoisie he even produced small red flags with the hammer and sickle from his pocket, flags which had been found in the hands of dead insurrectionaries in Indo-China.

It is unnecessary to say that the bourgeoisie both in Indo-China and in France proceeds with the most brutal terrorist methods against every revolutionary movement against the Annamites and on French territory against the Communist Party. The social-fascists support the bourgeoisie in its campaign of incitement and hatred against our Party and the revolutionary trade unions. However, they are exposing themselves more and more to the working masses.

Our weakness consists in the fact that we have not succeeded in organising our ranks sufficiently and overcoming a certain disproportion between the ideological-political influence of the Party and its organisational influence. We must follow the advice of Comrades Stalin and Molotov and strengthen our organisational work in order to consolidate organisationally our ideological and political influence on the working class. Our political influence is growing. Our central organ has 145,000 readers. At the elections in 1928 we polled 1.1 million votes as against 1.6 million given for the socialists. We have led a number of great strikes. The way in which we carried out the August campaign and the 6th March campaign was termed a success by the Communist International. And one must take into consideration that this was done at a time when half the members of our Political Bureau were in prison and the other half illegal. In our ten years of struggle against the opportunists like Frossard, Souvarine, Sellier, etc., we have had a certain amount of experience. In this matter we may be said to have had our baptism of fire. We must, however, also fight against "left-wing" sectarians. Just as in your Party, we are also faced with the question of the struggle on two fronts. For us this clear line and the organisational consolidation are necessary.

With regard to the preparations for war and the preparations for an attack on the Soviet Union, the French bourgeoisie is now the leader. You are probably all aware of what is taking place in France in order to force a diplomatic breach with the Soviet Union which is the first step to war. Under such circumstances the organisational consolidation of our ranks and the closing of our ranks is necessary in order to defend the Soviet Union, the only Fatherland of the revolutionary proletariat. For this we must carry out the policy of the Communist International with still greater determination and fight against every deviation.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its XVI. Congress!

Long live the Central Committee of the C.P. of the Soviet Union and its revered leader Comrade Stalin!

Long live the world revolution! (Applause.)

Comrade Ugarov:

In his report comrade Molotov gave us an exhaustive picture of the great alterations and the change which have occurred in the period from the XV. to the XVI. Party Congress in connection with the development of world capitalism and the struggle of the working class for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in connection with the struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples against imperialism. The decisive factor of all these alterations is the increasing uncertainty of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, the extraordinary intensification of the capitalist contradictions along the whole line, and the growth of the elements of a new great revolutionary advance.

I would like to draw the attention of the congress to the necessity of a war of annihilation against the international social democracy, to the necessity of subjecting its ideological positions to the sharpest ruthless fire and exposing its practical activity. Without this preliminary condition it will be impossible to win the majority of the working class for com-

munist. The theoretical basis of the whole social democratic practice, the theoretical basis of the whole practical activity of the renegades from communism and all right-wing opportunist elements in the Communist International is the theory of "organised capitalism". What is the essence of this theory? There exist two variants of the theory of "organised" capitalism: the social democratic version and the Bukharin version. There is a difference between these two variants, it is true, but the difference is so unimportant that one can ignore it without fear of error.

At the congress of the Social Democratic Party in Kiel, Hilferding formulated this theory as follows: the epoch of free competition in which the capitalist is in the power of blind forces, lies behind us; we have now an **organised** capitalist economic system, in other words, the economic system based on the free play of forces has developed into an organised economic system. Organised capitalism means the substitution of the socialist principle of planned production for the capitalist principle of free competition.

As early as 1917 comrade Bukharin wrote in the journal "Spartak" the following:

"In our epoch the competition between the capitalists has taken on an essentially different appearance. For the highly-industrialised capitalist countries it has completely shifted to the field of external competition, in other words to the field of competition on the world market with foreign capitalists."

Bukharin continues:

"Does this new type of capitalist relation remove the contradictions of capitalist society, does it above all abolish the anarchy of modern production?"

His answer is as follows:

"If we limit ourselves to the framework of the State organisation, that is to say to the limits of the capitalist Fatherland, then one can answer this question in the affirmative."

In his article, "The theory of organised economic anarchy" written in 1929, Bukharin formulates the same idea as follows:

"The anarchic nature of the modern capitalist economic system extends to the decisive facts of international economic relations. The problems of the market, of prices, of competition and of crises are becoming more and more problems of world economic relations and are being replaced inside the particular country involved by the problem of organisation."

There is only one point missing in Bukharin's theory to bring it into complete agreement with the social democrats. The social democratic theory assumes and proceeds from a capitalist economic system organised on a world scale. Bukharin's theory remains within the limits of "national" economy. As I will demonstrate later, this by no means alters the social democratic character of Bukharin's theory.

From the standpoint of the international social democracy, "organised" capitalism is monopolist capitalism freed above all from economic contradictions, freed from crises, freed from anarchy, and freed from all the contradictions of the capitalist order of society. In the last resort it is a capitalist system in which any struggle on the part of the working class for power is senseless. Hilferding does not deny the existence of antagonistic elements in "organised capitalism". He declares again and again that "organised capitalism" is a form of capitalism in which the elements of antagonism remain, but on so small a scale that they do not offer the least occasion to raise the question of a struggle for power on the part of the working class.

We know that when Bernstein developed his theory of opportunism he also spoke of certain contradictions between capitalism and labour. Opportunism has never come out so openly as to deny flatly the contradiction between labour and capitalism. The fundamental difference between social democratic opportunism and communism is the fact that we communists insist on the development of the struggle of the working class for power, that we regard the dictatorship of the proletariat as historically inevitable and necessary as the preliminary condition for the creation of a new socialist order of society and for the revolutionary transformation of capitalism into socialism. Here is the dividing line which runs like an unbridgeable abyss between the social democrats and the com-

munists. Although Hilferding recognises the existence of elements of antagonism in "organised capitalism", he nevertheless comes to a conclusion in favour of class co-operation. Here is Hilferding's conclusion in his report to the Socio-Political Association in 1926: We are faced with the problem of how we can develop this organised economic system from its hierarchical form into a democratic form. The decision adopted by the congress of the Social Democratic Party in Kiel in 1927 is in the same spirit: the struggle for the gradual transformation of the organised capitalist economic system into a democratic and socialist system is the immediate task of the working class movement.

As we have seen from the previous analysis, the theory of "organised capitalism" is the theory of the organic and planned development of capitalism in its monopolist stage into socialism. That is, so to speak, pre-war social democratic opportunism projected into the conditions of the imperialist epoch. That is social democratic opportunism in the epoch of imperialism. And in this point comrade Bukharin unreservedly approaches the international social democracy. Bukharin however fights shy of taking the inevitable political conclusion that the international social democracy logically draws from its standpoint. Based on its theory of "organised capitalism", the social democracy puts forward the newest discovery of the British Labour Party, the slogan of "industrial peace". In Germany the social democrats put forward the slogan of "economic democracy" as a means to develop "organised capitalism" into socialism etc. In short, the social democracy comes to a sufficiently logical conclusion in favour of the co-operation of the classes and the abandonment by the working class of the struggle for power. Comrade Bukharin, however, strives in every possible fashion to avoid this absolutely inevitable and inexorable political consequence of the theory of "organised capitalism."

Other conclusions immediately follow this opportunist conclusion. The theory of "organised capitalism" which completely excludes the proletarian revolution, contains all the elements necessary for a fall into the ideology of social-fascism in case of the outbreak of a new imperialist war. Comrade Molotov showed this with extreme clarity on the basis of numerous social democratic utterances. There is not the faintest doubt that in case of a new imperialist war the social democracy will side with the various imperialist bourgeois States. A "guarantee" of this can be had in the social democratic practice during the war of 1914/18 and the present attitude of the international social democracy.

These conclusions, however, also result inevitably from the Bukharin variant of the theory of "organised capitalism." Comrade Bukharin writes in the article already mentioned, "The theory of organised economic anarchy" the following:

"The wounds, the raw places of capitalism, its crying contradictions show themselves just here on the international battlefield. Even that problem of all problems, 'the social question', the relation of the classes and the class struggle, is most closely connected with the situation of this or that capitalist country on the world market." (in the "Pravda" on the 30th June 1929.)

The last sentence in Bukharin's article will meet with the approval of every social democrat and every opportunist. The opportunists always declared that the situation of the working class and all the questions of the class struggle are closely connected with the situation of the given country on the world market, with the situation of "national" capitalism. This is the starting point in the whole system of opportunist ideas. If the situation of the worker and all the possible alterations in this situation are closely connected with the situation of "his" capitalist Fatherland on the world market, then naturally he must do everything possible to consolidate the position of "his" Fatherland on the world market. If the worker is interested in the progress of "his" bourgeois Fatherland, in the development of all its productive possibilities, and in its expansion on the world market, as the social democracy assumes, then from the standpoint of such a theory it is the natural task of the worker to take up arms in defence of his imperialist Fatherland. The theory of "organised" capitalism sanctifies imperialist war. That is the second and extremely dangerous political side of this theory, a side to which we do not always pay sufficient attention. The opinion has even cropped up that

the Bukharin variant of the theory of "organised" capitalism connects the proletarian revolution with imperialist war.

In the hands of the social democracy this theory is a weapon justifying the imperialist exploitation of the colonial and semi-colonial countries and the suppression and destruction of the revolutionary working class and peasant movement there. This is the third and a very acutely important political side of the theory of "organised" capitalism. The "Bukharin variant" needs examination from another standpoint. Bukharin's "organised capitalism" and his system of ideas with regard to the building up of socialism in the Soviet Union, his whole theory of the transformation period, are closely connected with each other. The basis of the theory of "organised capitalism" is the same as that of the whole Bukharin theory of the transformation period. The one like the other is based upon a negation of the Marxist-Leninist lesson of the class struggle and upon a recognition of the possibility that capitalism can develop into socialism. The opportunist theory of class co-operation is substituted for the Marxist-Leninist theory of the class struggle. This was the reason why the alliance of the right-wing opportunist elements in the Comintern with the right-wing opportunist opposition in the C. P. of the Soviet Union was able to be concluded so easily and so rapidly. This was the basis on which the right-wingers found and recognised each other so quickly. Just this circumstance shows how correctly the Comintern acted when it proclaimed a ruthless struggle against right-wing opportunism and declared the opinions of the right-wing opportunists as irreconcilable with continued membership of the C. I. Had the theory of "organised capitalism" been taken over, even for the shortest space of time, into the practice of the world communist movement, this would have represented a terrible danger for the whole struggle of the working class for power. Just as a victory for right-wing opportunism in the C.P. of the Soviet Union would have led sooner or later to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, so a victory for right-wing opportunism on an international scale would have meant the complete destruction of the forces of world communism and the perpetuation of bourgeois society.

The "third period" in the development of post-war capitalism means for the right-wing opportunists exactly as for the social democrats, the phase of a new rise of the productive forces of world capitalism. They fail to see the increasing precariousness of the partial stabilisation of capitalism, the intensification of its contradictions along the whole line, and the growth of the elements of a new revolutionary advance. In the face of such processes as the development of the social democracy and the reformist trade union movement to fascism, the right-wing opportunists betray complete confusion. All these phenomena are absolutely not understandable and not to be explained from the point of view of the theory of "organised capitalism", which is irreconcilably hostile to our Leninist theory.

With regard to the further struggles of the Comintern and the further struggle of the international working class for power, we must keep right-wing opportunism which maintains the social democratic theory of "organised capitalism" which is hostile to the proletarian revolution and which is penetrating certain sections of the Comintern, under a permanent bombardment. The significance of the right-wing danger is underlined by the fact that Trotzky who always took up a very stressed "left-wing" attitude, has recently gone over to the right-wing opportunists in all fundamental questions and has taken over their capitulatory ideology.

The political line of the Comintern and its slogans have found unreserved confirmation in the whole course of the struggle of the working class, in the whole course of the struggle in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

At the present moment it is our task, whilst continuing to carry out the absolutely correct policy of the Comintern unswervingly, to abolish as quickly as possible the tension which exists in individual Communist Parties between the political slogans, the political line and the organisational practice of the work. We must make our slogans the property of the broadest possible masses of the toilers, we must take over the leadership of the daily economic struggle of the working class and guide it into the channel of the political struggle. Then we shall be armed for the growing revolutionary advance and our Communist Parties will be capable of carrying out their historical tasks in the decisive struggle. (applause.)

Comrade J. R. Campbell (Great Britain):

Comrades, it gives me great pleasure to greet, on behalf of the Communist Party of Great Britain, the XVI. Congress of the CPSU. and the Bolshevik Communist Party which, in spite of all the difficulties, is going on with the Socialist construction of the Soviet Union.

Comrades, your Congress is of historical importance. Now, when the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in the midst of struggle against all the deviations from the Leninist line, has laid a sound foundation for the construction of Socialism in your country, it is perfectly clear that only out and out sceptics can doubt that you are really on the road to full Socialism. Even the capitalist world, engaged at present with the preparation of an attack on the Soviet Union, with the preparation of new wars, more oppression of the colonies and another division of the world, is compelled to admit your successes in all the domains of economic construction. What is going on in your country strikes particularly those who come from abroad, and me especially, having come from England, the country of the MacDonald Government, the classical social-fascist government.

The **MacDonald Government** which is lavish in phrases about people's peace, peace in industry, peace in the colonies, etc., is in fact, the most brutal government with regard to capitalist rationalisation and oppression of colonies. It is a government which carries on a counter-revolutionary war in **India** and is preparing another world slaughter.

Comrades, the workers of the whole world have now an opportunity of seeing and comparing on a world scale two lines of governmental policy. On the one hand, the Leninist Government under the leadership of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union which is successfully building up Socialism on a sixth part of the globe, and on the other hand, the social-fascist MacDonald Government which, on behalf of the British imperialism, is ruling on one fifth of the globe, and is a typical government of capitalist rationalisation, colonial oppression, brutal exploitation and persecution of the working class in its own country.

It is clear now to every worker in the capitalist countries what difference there is between capitalist rationalisation which creates and increases unemployment from day to day, reduces social insurance, oppresses the workers in every possible way, and the Communist government which increases the numerical strength and the political power of the working class, raises its cultural level, reduces unemployment to a minimum, develops the Socialist industry, promotes the collectivisation of agriculture, etc., etc.

This enormous difference is noticeable also in the domain of national policy. The MacDonald Government, even to a greater extent than its predecessor, applies the policy of pressure on the colonial peoples, whereas in the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Communist Party, a truly Communist national policy is applied, which means real Socialist freedom and liberty for the nationalities which were formerly oppressed by the tsarist regime, and real self-determination of peoples.

Comrades, since the XV Congress of your Party, we too had to fight the Right danger in the Communist Party of Great Britain. One must admit, as this is perfectly clear now, that Comintern's appreciation of this question with regard to the British Communist Party has proved perfectly correct. Indeed, how could, for instance, our Indian comrades have found the right way of struggle for leadership in a movement of millions, if the Comintern had not sufficiently exposed at the time the decolonisation theory brought forward by the renegade, Roy, and defended at the VI Congress of the Comintern by a section of the British Delegation. In the struggle against unemployment in Britain, how could our comrades have found the right way to mobilise the unemployed, if the Comintern had not exposed at the right time the whole appraisal of the Rights re the prospects of capitalist stabilisation in Britain. The timely exposure of the erroneous Right opportunist appraisal of the situation in Britain, in the colonies and in the whole capitalist world by the Comintern is to the credit of the latter, and above all, to the credit of its leading section—the CPSU. How could, for instance, the counter-offensive of the working class in Britain have been organised correctly, if the Comintern had not at the right moment exposed and smashed the trade union legalism which was

fairly strong in the ranks of our British Communist Party. We see now, comrades, that in every respect the Communist International was right, the Right opportunist theories which built their nest also in the British Communist Party, have been given the lie.

Of course, comrades, we cannot say that we are fully satisfied with the development of our Party, our organisational successes are not yet up to the mark. But one must say that, for instance, the recent big textile workers strike in Bradford, though not entirely under the leadership of our C.C. and of the Minority Movement, was considerably influenced by us. The first organisational result of this work during the strike was that we recruited 400 new members for our Party, and 1,200 new members for the Minority Movement.

One must admit that we have not yet fully mastered the "class against class" tactic, we are still applying it with a certain hesitation. We are confronted with the task of finding the right way of getting at the masses, of not becoming dissociated from them. Here again we can see how right was the Comintern, and we are doing our utmost to educate the Party in the spirit of the directions and instructions of the Comintern.

One must say that with regard to getting at the masses, the difficulty is that we use in our press and in our literature too many learned technical terms, not always understandable to the masses. Of course, as Marxists one must use certain technical terms and expressions, but it is essential at the same time to popularise these conceptions in a manner adapted to the mass of workers, in order to get in touch with the masses. In this respect, we experience certain difficulties, we do not seem to be able to get at the masses.

There is another defect which must be mentioned. We are frequently unable to give a clear analysis of the situation, it frequently happens that we are unable to make full use of all the existing opportunities for the application of a pure and clear "class against class" policy.

But we are working in this direction at present, and are also fighting any manifestations of "Left" sectarianism. We refute in the most decisive manner all the assertions of the Right renegade, Brandler, and people of his type that the present campaign of the Comintern against "Left" deviations is a turn to the Right on the part of the Comintern, is a symptom that the Comintern is steering the course of Brandlerism and the Right wing. This is absolutely false. We can see it clearly and will have nothing to do with such slanderous assertions. The policy of struggle against "Left" deviations which nourish the Right danger, the principal danger, is the best means of approaching the masses, of applying the "class against class" policy, of capturing the majority of the working class.

Events in the last two years fully confirm the correctness of the Comintern line and the complete bankruptcy of all the Right theories brought forward against the Comintern line. The Rights predicted the consolidation of the capitalist stabilisation, whereas we witness the growing acuteness of the world economic crisis which is undermining the foundations of capitalism. The Rights brought forward the theory of the decolonisation of India and of other colonies. But we have, in fact, the famous Simon Report which gives documentary proof of the enslavement of the Indian people and of the ruthless exploitation of India by British imperialism. Instead of the fulfilment of Right opportunist prophesies about the degradation of agriculture in the Soviet Union, we have a mighty wave of socialist collectivisation and development of agriculture. Instead of the theory of the disintegration of the ranks of the Communist International, we have, in fact, the firm ideological unification, on a Leninist basis, of all the Sections of the Comintern, to be followed, I hope by organisational consolidation.

Of course, we would not be Bolsheviks, if we did not see at the same time all the difficulties which are still confronting the Sections of the Comintern, and especially our British Communist Party.

Comrades, we are convinced that by correctly applying the tactic and following the line of the Communist International, inspired by your victories, the victories of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the proletariat marching on under its leadership under the Leninist banner, we will be able to achieve the conquest of the majority of the working class and the victory of Communism. (Prolonged Applause.)

Comrade Lenski (Polish C. P.):

In the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Poland I bring your Congress the warm fraternal greetings of the whole of our Party. The Party organisations in Warsaw, Lodz and the Dombrova Basin which fought together with you against Czarism also send you their greetings. (applause.)

The proletariat and the million masses of the exploited peasantry of Poland, West White-Russia and Western Ukraina observe with great enthusiasm your tremendous successes in the building up of socialism in connection with the carrying out of the Five-Year Plan on the field of the industrialisation of the country and the collectivisation of agriculture. Your successes strengthen the Polish proletariat in its struggle against the fascist dictatorship, a struggle which is conducted under tremendously difficult circumstances. On the one hand we see the enthusiasm of the toiling masses, and on the other hand the anxiety and hatred of the bourgeoisie and the fascist regime in Poland in face of your successes.

It has already been observed here that Poland is probably the country with the greatest intensification of the economic crisis. Poland is one of the weakest links in the shaking stabilisation of international capitalism. At the moment in Poland we are experiencing an extreme strain on the class contradictions. At the end of 1928 Poland entered the phase of the economic crisis. The capitalist stabilisation in Poland was always marked by a specially decayed and tottering character. These circumstances which determine the special intensification of the economic crisis in Poland were left out of consideration by our right-wingers. The Polish right-wingers who overestimated a certain extension of the internal market and underestimated the limitation of mass consumption, worked out a theory of the solidity of the capitalist stabilisation in Poland.

The agrarian crisis is intensifying as a result of the increasing impoverishment of the peasantry and the shortage of land, plus the increasing indebtedness of the peasantry. The prices for agricultural commodities are even lower in Poland than they are on the world market. Therefore the Polish landowners fear nothing more than a good harvest. You in the Soviet Union are waiting and hoping for a good harvest, in Poland the bourgeois press writes: "A good harvest—that would be a catastrophe. The use of artificial fertilisers has decreased by 60% as compared with last year."

One of the most characteristic features of the rising revolutionary wave in Poland is the determined struggle for the right to demonstrate on the streets. This struggle took on a particularly great extent on the 1st May. Alone the fact that the Communist Party of Poland has succeeded, despite the oppressive fascist terror, in leading 100,000 workers and peasants onto the streets is a proof of the increased revolutionary activity of the masses. The May Day demonstrations this year were superior to those of last year by their mass character and as a result of the fighting spirit of the demonstrators. The biggest demonstrations took place in Warsaw and in the Dombrova Basin. In the Dombrova Basin the masses fought against the police. The peasant masses took an active part in the demonstrations. Near Pinsk, for instance, a bloody collision took place between about 1,000 peasants who wanted to break through to the town and a cordon of police. The result was one killed and ten wounded, whereby about 100 peasants succeeded in breaking through the cordon and joining the demonstrations of the workers under our flags in the town.

An important sign for the revolutionisation of the masses is represented by the result of the Sejm elections in Upper Silesia the anti-fascist camp defeated the Polish and German White-Russia. In two of the heavy industrial districts in Upper Silesia the anti-fascist camp defeated the Polish and German social-fascists. The increase of our poll can be seen from the following figures: in 1922 as the Party was practically legal as the result of the special conditions prevailing in Upper Silesia, the revolutionary workers and peasants block polled 5,000 votes. By 1928 the total poll of this block had increased to 19,000 and in 1930 it had grown to 27,000. In the Sejm the anti-fascist bloc is represented by 20 deputies.

The revolutionary spirit is penetrating more and more into the army. Breaches of discipline and refusals to fire on

the workers are no longer rare. The "street" is beginning to have its effect on the masses of the soldiers. For the support of the police special shock troops consisting of officers are used. In Saverce a mass of 6,000 unemployed workers with the active support of the factory workers overran a police cordon, demolished the rooms of the municipal council, captured a railway train and erected barricades. In Saverce individual soldiers fought on the side of the workers.

The crisis is cutting down the basis of the Pilsudski clique and shaking the basis of the fascist dictatorship. The Pilsudski dictatorship, which is supported by monopolist capital, is rapidly losing its support points amongst the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie and even the middle class. The development of the revolutionary advance is, however, still very irregular. The individual sections of the working class are not drawn uniformly into the struggle. The factory workers are lagging behind the unemployed workers; the economic strikes, and the actions of the unemployed are still too split up in character; the demonstrations have not yet a sufficiently mass character and they are not connected with political mass strikes.

Recently Poland has become a meeting point for the most various military missions and for the representatives of the various General Staffs. The intensified preparations for war are shown with particular crassness in the policy of Polish fascism towards the Ukraine, for instance in the formation of a "Committee for the Celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the March on Kiev" and in the campaign under the slogan of "Greater Ukraina" etc.

The accelerated development of a general political crisis in Poland and the threat of an armed attack upon the Soviet Union determine the role of the Communist Party as a decisive factor in the further course of events. The starting point in the activity of the Party is: to show the masses the revolutionary solution of the crisis, to lead every revolutionary action of the masses, to draw their struggles into the organised channel of a struggle against the fascist dictatorship and to shatter the fascist dictatorship in its basis by the daily struggle of the working class and the exploited peasants.

In the villages the efforts of the Party are directed towards organising the struggle against taxation and against the enforcement of the payment of taxes, against the contributions for road-building and against distraining on the property of the peasants. Widespread preparations for a strike of the landworkers are being made. Recently a series of landworkers' strikes have taken place in West White-Russia.

The fascist terror is not only directed against the advance guard of the working class, but against the broad masses of the workers also. In my opinion not even our struggle against Czarism met with such a furious reign of terror. Formerly the bourgeoisie did not use poison-gas against the masses. Whole Party groups are being flung out of the factories and therefore the process of reorganising the Party on a broader basis is tremendously difficult. Our Party has 6,000 members at liberty and then there are 6,000 communists in prison.

Following on a long and tedious period of bitter fractional struggle, the Party has made a determined attempt at internal consolidation as demanded by the raising of its capacity to work. We can say with complete conviction that the whole Polish Party, with the exception of a few incorrigible representatives of fractionalism, is now following the new leadership unreservedly and without hesitation. Not only the Party organisations, but hundreds of factory groups and dozens of collectives in prison have declared themselves in favour of the policy of the Central Committee. Individual workers, supporters of the Kostrzeva group, who had left the Party, have recognised their error and returned to the Party. This, however, does not mean that the consolidation of the Party is already completed. The Central Committee has set itself the task of definitely winning those who have left the right-wing fraction and drawing them into Party work, and of exterminating the remnants of the group and fractional system.

The 16th Party Congress of the C. P. of the Soviet Union offers us an example of this unity and consolidation. We shall do our best to take to heart all the lessons of your Party Congress. Long live the glorious iron unity of the C. P. of the Soviet Union! (applause.)