

(World news review)

Comrade Molotov's Opening Speech at the XVII. Party Conference.

English Edition

Unpublished Manuscripts - Please reprint

INTERNATIONAL

PRESS

Vol. 12 No. 5

4th Febr. 1932



CORRESPONDENCE

Editorial Offices and Central Despatching Department: Berlin SW 68, Lindenstraße 71-72. Postal Address, to which all remittances should be sent by registered post: International Press Correspondence, Berlin SW 68, Lindenstraße 71-72. Telegraphic Address: Inprekorr, Berlin. Telephone: Dönhoff 2856 and 2867.

CONTENTS

Clemens Dutt: The War for the Partition of China	78	China	
The Communist World Party in the Fight against Imperialist War and Intervention	79	Open Letter of the C.C. of the C.P. of China to All Members of the Party on the Present Political Situation in China	86
Politics		The XVII. Party Conference of the C.P.S.U.	
F. Brand: The Formation of the Hindenburg Front in Germany	80	The Victory of Socialism. The Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union, the Policy of Peace. Opening Speech of Comrade Molotov	88
Oesterreicher: The New Government in Austria	80	In the International	
Nemo: The Soviet Union, the Only Haven of World Peace	81	Comrade Platnitzky Fifty Years Old	89
Th. Neubauer: The II. International and the Reparations Question	82	The Political and Economic Situation in Ireland and the Tasks of the Revolutionary Movement	90
The World "Disarmament" Conference		Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union	
Gabriel Péri: The Geneva "Disarmament" Conference	83	The Congress of Worker Inventors in the Soviet Union	91
Bert Williams: British Labourism and the "Disarmament" Conference	83	Obituary	
India		Comrade Peter Stutchka	92
C. Dutt: The Growing Mass Revolt in India	84		

The Guns Are Thundering in Shanghai and Harbin.

By Lin.

Japanese imperialism is preparing to deliver two blows at once. It is directing its blows simultaneously against the most important proletarian centre of China, against the advance-guard of the Chinese working class in **Shanghai** and against **Harbin**, where a **war-provocation against the Soviet Union** can be most easily carried out.

These simultaneous blows against proletarian Shanghai and against Harbin best illustrate the aim and purpose of Japanese imperialism. The attitude of the other imperialist Powers reveals even more clearly the meaning of the war operations in the Far East. The "Disarmament" Conference under the aegis of the League of Nations is being opened at the moment when the agent of Japanese imperialism, the Chinese General **Sisa**, is fighting for Harbin; at the moment when Japanese troops are entering Harbin; when Chapei, the Chinese quarter of Shanghai is in flames; when the Japanese soldiers are murdering thousands of unarmed workers in Shanghai, openly bombarding the town with artillery, dropping heavy bombs on it from the fair; when Japanese, American, English and French warships are proceeding with full steam to Shanghai in order to reinforce the fleets already stationed there.

The role of the League of Nations and of the Disarmament Conference consists in concealing the new war from the masses. **Great Britain** supports the partition of China; it is attempting, on the one hand, to set up a united front with **France** in Europe and, on the other hand, to restore the alliance with **Japan** in the Far East. **France** openly supports Japanese imperialism in the Far East in order to be the better able, in alliance with Japan, to strengthen its hegemony in Europe, in the fight against the German revolution and prepare for intervention against the Soviet Union. The **United States** is seeking to provoke a war between Japan and the Soviet Union in order to weaken both and to strengthen its own possessions in China and in the Pacific Ocean. Washington is trying to pose as the protector of China, whereas it is only defending its imperialist interests. The manoeuvres of American imperialism are directed towards prolonging and extending the war and, if possible, to provoking the Soviet Union to enter into war with Japan.

The **Kuomintang** capitulated to Japanese imperialism and accepted all Japan's demands. The Chinese soldiers are fighting together with the workers against the Japanese army and in defiance of the orders of the Nanking government.

Wang Chin Wei expresses "regret" over the events which cost the lives of thousands of workers, soldiers and students.

Shanghai is the key to the Yangtse valley, to the politically and economically most important district of China. In Shanghai and in the Yangtse valley, the interests of the big imperialist Powers, the United States, Japan and Great Britain, cross each other. The fights in Shanghai and for Shanghai mean that the imperialists are "creeping" into a new war. The fights in Harbin and for Harbin represent the attempt to dissolve the imperialist antagonisms by means of war-provocations against the Soviet Union. The war against China, the intervention against the Chinese revolution and the Chinese Soviets, is already in full swing. **The danger of a new world war, and in particular war provocation against the Soviet Union, is imminent.**

In Shanghai, the workers, under the leadership of the **C.P. of China**, are taking part, as an independent force, in the defence against the Japanese robber-attack, and at the same time are fighting against the treachery of the Kuomintang, exposing the Nanking government and organising the revolutionary war against Japanese imperialism for the

defence of the country and the revolution, against the partition of the country, and against all imperialists. They are leading the masses to the overthrow of the agents of Japanese imperialism, the Kuomintang. **The events in Shanghai and Harbin are a signal to the world proletariat, to increase a hundredfold the fight against war, against intervention, to demand the recall of all troops, warships and military advisers, to prevent the transport of troops and munitions, to expose and to combat the participation of their own governments in the oppression and dismemberment of China, in the preparation of war and intervention against the Chinese revolution and the Soviet Union.**

The guns are thundering in Shanghai and Harbin.

Only the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union, the revolutionary fight of the proletariat against war, only the fear of Bolshevism in the rear, only the fear of the national revolution in the colonial countries have hitherto restrained the bourgeoisie from seeking a counter-revolutionary way out of the world crisis in a new world-slaughter and in intervention. Shanghai and Harbin furnish clear proof that the danger of world war is approaching ever nearer. The object of the Geneva Conference is to conceal this fact.

The War for the Partition of China.

By Clemens Dutt (London).

The war situation in China has become open and inconceivable. Within the last few days the bloody reality of the imperialist war for the plunder and partition of China has demolished all the diplomatic pretences of the League of Nations and Japanese statesmen. These events, which have resulted in a new, extremely acute situation, bear witness to the systematic development of events along the line of imperialist expansion mapped out by Japan. This advance proceeds simultaneously in three main directions, viz., development and enlargement of the occupation of **Manchuria and Mongolia**, provocation of the **Soviet Union** and advance towards the occupation and seizure of territory in **Southern China**.

With the occupation of **Chinchow** and the demand that Chinese troops should withdraw beyond the Great Wall, the conquest of Manchuria was completed and, actually, other Chinese territory beyond its borders encroached upon. Since then, the Japanese forces have been steadily advancing northwards and the reported occupation of **Harbin** represents a tremendous step forward in the direction of fomenting a war against the Soviet Union. The occupation of Harbin has been denied but preparations for it have been going on for some time and the actual occupation is, at any rate, only a matter of a short time. The greatest unrest prevails in Harbin and there have been mass demonstrations against Japan. Harbin is the headquarters of the Chinese Eastern Railway and further attacks on the latter are to be expected.

The history of the period immediately preceding the bloody events in Shanghai is of especial interest because it reveals in the clearest possible way both the development of the situation from a seizure of territory in Manchuria to an attempt at a new division of China itself, with the consequent sharpening of the antagonisms between the imperialist Powers and at the same time the repercussion of these events in causing a new wave of anti-imperialist struggle, marked also by further victories for the Chinese Soviets. In this anti-imperialist struggle, the masses in Shanghai have played a leading part, and the course of its development from a petition movement, mainly of students, to the Kuomintang Government to a revolutionary movement of mass strikes and demonstrations leading to the overthrow of the Kuomintang Government, is especially noteworthy.

The Kuomintang Government brought out armed forces to suppress and massacre the demonstrators, but the actions only increased in volume and **Chiang Kai-shek** and the leading Ministers of the Nanking Government were compelled to resign before the end of the year. This resignation was the result not only of the anti-Kuomintang demonstrations throughout the country but also of the pressure exercised by

the advance of the workers and peasants. Big strikes took place in a number of cities and the Red Army and Soviet China began to register ever-increasing successes.

The change in the personnel of the Kuomintang Government produced no solution. Anti-Japanese and anti-imperialist demonstrations continued. In the middle of January, 1900 textile workers struck in Shanghai. Successful peasant risings took place even against attempts at suppression by Kuomintang troops. Japanese citizens were attacked in a number of cities. This gave the Japanese Government the excuse it was waiting for. Already it had begun to send warships to Shanghai. In the middle of the month it presented a demand for the dissolution of all anti-Japanese organisations and the lifting of the boycott against Japanese goods. The "left" Ministers of the Nanking Government, who were attempting to maintain the authority of the latter by assuming an attitude of resistance to the Japanese advance, found themselves between two fires. They were very well aware that any attempt really to resist Japanese imperialism would involve a revolutionary struggle and the unleashing of the mass revolutionary forces in China and their own destruction. Consequently, their pose of resistance could only be a pretence and when on January 23rd, Admiral Shiosawa, the Commander of the Japanese Fleet in Chinese waters, backed up the Japanese demands with an ultimatum for the immediate dissolution of all anti-Japanese associations and removal of the boycott within 48 hours, the Chinese Prime Minister **Sun Fo** and the Foreign Minister **Eugene Chen** decided to resign. Chiang Kai-shek came to the front again and it was primarily through his influence that the Chinese Cabinet decided on complete capitulation.

In spite of this, and in spite of the fact that the Japanese Government denied that it intended to occupy Shanghai, the bombardment took place and Japanese forces proceeded to occupy **Chapei**. Admiral Shiosawa is able to take the direction of policy in his own hands and play the same apparently independent role as General Honjo in Manchuria. In this way events are forced and the Japanese Government can proceed to utilise a situation for the creation of which it pretends not to be responsible.

Already, Japanese forces have gone far beyond the occupation of Shanghai. On February 1st, **Nanking**, the capital of the Kuomintang Government, was bombarded for four hours by the guns of the Japanese warships in the Yangtse river. Further South, in the province of Kwantung, the harbour city of **Swatow**, lying between Hongkong and Amoy, has been occupied by Japanese marines after a preliminary bombardment.

The occupation of territory in **Southern China** and the development of war events inevitably involves a tremendous sharpness of the antagonisms between the imperialist powers. Japan claims the acquiescence of the other Powers in its action

on the tacit argument that its advance in Manchuria helps the front against the U.S.S.R. and that its actions in Southern China is based on the absence of any responsible Government there and the necessity of combatting the revolutionary advance of Soviet China. In this respect it is fully backed up by French imperialism. The "Temps" (January 26th) writes "There is no more any true Government at Nanking. China is falling back into anarchy". On the other hand, U.S.A. imperialism while fully approving of the first line of Japanese advance, is seriously perturbed at the further prospects of a partition of Southern China where its own interests will be seriously affected. Hence its strong note to Japan and its approach to the other Powers for collaboration. France already at the end of December had begun to advance in Southern China on its own account, occupying part of the province of Yunnan on the border of Indo-China. British imperialism approved the seizure of Manchuria as a step towards the partition of China, but for the latter they want joint action. The "Times" correspondent

(January 23rd) declares "Drastic action in Manchuria is one thing and quite another thing in China at a point where international interests are centred and other Powers are as greatly concerned as Japan".

At the very time when this new Japanese war advance takes place, the Council of the **League of Nations** meets afresh at Geneva. The last efforts to maintain its power as an organ for deceiving the masses are now being made. Article XV is being involved. But the French "Temps" states clearly in its leading article that the League of Nations cannot take any fresh step until its Commission of Enquiry has reported, which will not be till May. Before the Spring, however, intervention against the U.S.S.R. can be a fact. The programme of Japanese imperialism can only be interfered with by the action of the working class throughout the world and by the further unfolding of the Soviet Revolution in China, the only force capable of leading the Chinese people in resistance to imperialist dismemberment.

The Communist World Party in the Fight against Imperialist War and Intervention.

For the Defence of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Soviets!

Appeal of the Communist Party of France.

The "Humanité" of 30th January, publishes an appeal of the Political Bureau of the C.P. of France, which states:

The guns of Japanese imperialism are bombarding **Shanghai** and **Harbin**.

The bombardment and occupation of Harbin enormously increase the immediate threat to the Soviet Union and are a step further towards armed attack against our socialist fatherland . . .

The imperialist countries are fighting for the partition of China. They want to check the successes of the young Chinese Soviet Republic and drown it in a sea of blood . . .

Workers of France! Under the leadership of the Communist Party, the only Party that is fighting against war, develop your actions, increase your demonstrations against French imperialism which stands at the head of these devilish machinations! Social democratic workers! You are honestly against imperialist war and for the defence of the Soviet Union! Your leaders and your party are deceiving you. By means of pacifist phrases they want to harness you to the chariot of your class enemy, capitalism, to drag you into war.

Do away with your tutelage! Join with the Communist Workers in the only effective fight against war. Demand jointly the withdrawal of French troops and warships from China! Organise common action to prevent the transport of troops and munitions! . . .

* * *

The Communist Party of Germany Calls.

The Berlin "**Rote Fahne**" of 30th January, in an article under the above heading, writes:

The Japanese military, the executive organ of the Japanese bourgeoisie, are attacking the Chinese people with savage imperialist greed. They are occupying Harbin, they are occupying Shanghai. They want to get the key positions into their hands in order to bring China under their influence. They are murdering the Chinese people. They are doing everything in order to provoke the Soviet Union to war, and it is thanks only to the unshakable will to peace of the Soviet government that the Japanese imperialists have up to now not realised their intentions . . .

Workers of Germany, do your duty! Convene mass meetings against the Japanese robber-campaign. Mobilise all class comrades in the factories and at the Labour Exchanges. The German proletariat must raise its hands. It must set all its forces in motion in order to stay the arm of those who wish to plunge the Chinese people into war and attack Soviet China and the Soviet Union.

In the midst of the signs of a new imperialist war we Communists raise the flag of international proletarian solidarity. And this flag will wave victoriously when the people put an end to the machinations of the imperialist war mongers.

Berlin, 30th January, 1932.

The **Communist Reichstag Fraction**, on behalf of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Germany, has demanded the immediate summoning of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Reichstag to discuss the following agenda:

The Japanese war measures against China and the attitude of the German Reichs-government and the League of Nations.

* * *

The Communist Party of Great Britain on the Imperialist War in the Far East.

The London "**Daily Worker**" of January 30th declares that behind Japan's action is the support of Britain and France. The latter country and Japan have long since arrived at a mutual "understanding" for the carving up of China. These imperialist brigands are supporting the present Japanese war-drive going on at Harbin, and openly calculating on intervention against the Soviet Union. Within China itself, the reactionary Nanking government is crashing to bankruptcy, and the Chinese Soviets, the only real force capable of smashing imperialist domination, are sweeping forward with growing power and strength.

The "National" Government cannot escape responsibility for the Chapei atrocity. British imperialism holds the strongest position in Shanghai. That position was used to encourage Japan.

The article calls upon the British workers to demand the withdrawal of all British troops and warships, to support the fight for a free Soviet China and to fight against the "national" government which in common with other Powers is murdering the unarmed masses in a bloody and desperate attempt to crush the onward march of Soviet China. It appeals for intensification of the efforts for the defence of the Soviet Union.

* * *

The Communist Party of the United States on the Imperialist War in the Far East.

New York, January 30, 1932.

The Communist Party of the U.S.A. denounces the seizure of Harbin and holds Wall Street and Japan responsible for the slaughter in Shanghai, but urges the masses not to be distracted from the main danger of war on the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution.

* * *

Speech of Comrade Stern in the Czechoslovakian Parliament.

Prague, January 29th, 1932.

In connection with the intensified war incitement of Czechoslovakia, Comrade Stern declared in the Czechoslovakian Parliament:

"We have recently heard a number of declarations which have sounded like an alarm to the workers in Czechoslovakia. "The Disarmament Conference is meeting at a time when a State which will take part in the debates on disarmament in Geneva has already commenced war. And we shall see that it is not only one State, but that behind this State there stands the whole capitalist imperialist world. Not Japan alone is marching into China, not Japan alone is marching into Manchuria and threatening the Soviet Union, but behind it there stands the whole League of Nations.

"We say to the workers; you must fight against the imperialist war, against the imperialist war in China, for the Chinese people's revolution, for the protection of the Soviet Union, against Japan, against the League of Nations, against all capitalist States, against the Czechoslovakian imperialist policy. You must defend socialist construction in the Soviet Union, for that is the guarantee of a better future for you. We call upon all workers, including those in the barracks, the workers, peasants and soldiers, to fight together for a bigger piece of bread, for more right and freedom, for the revolutionary victory of the workers, for a better future!"

Appeal of the European Secretariat of the Red International of Labour Unions to the Proletarians of Europe. To all Revolutionary Trade Union Organisations!

On December 15, 1931, at the opening session of the Central Council of the Red International of Labour Unions, on the proposal of the Japanese delegation, an appeal to the working people of all countries was adopted. In this appeal attention is called to the warlike plans of Japanese imperialism, which by its seizure of Manchuria has not only commenced a robber-campaign against China, but is thereby also preparing the attack of world imperialism on the Soviet Union.

The occupation of Shanghai and the mouth of the Yangtze means the creation of a strategic base for an offensive against Soviet China, just as the capture of Harbin means the creation of a jumping-off-ground for an attack on the Soviet Union.

It is now clear to every worker who has followed with open eyes the development of this criminal action of the imperialists, that the League of Nations, the II. International and the Amsterdam trade unions have not the slightest intention to stay the arm of the war criminals. Precisely at the moment when the monster of war is being let loose in the East, these same Powers, together with the II. International, are organising the "Disarmament" Conference at Geneva. The only country which in spite of these insolent provocations tenaciously and resolutely continues its peaceful policy, is the Soviet Union, the fatherland of the workers, the land of Socialism.

Proletarians of Europe! Do not believe that this matter does not concern you because it is proceeding thousands of miles from your dwelling places. A new imperialist war is threatening like that which followed the Sarajevo affair.

Proletarians! The object of this imperialist adventure is an attack upon the fatherland of the workers, the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union and Soviet China are to be subjugated in order that imperialism shall obtain a free hand to cast the whole of the working masses of the world into the chains of fearful slavery.

Reply to this crime and its instigators and promoters by sharpening the class struggle along the whole front. Close your ranks into a steel-hard phalanx. Rally your forces for the defence of the Soviet Union, for the protection of the working masses of China, in order to break the offensive of all your exploiters and oppressors!

Deal immediately with the situation in all factories, at all Labour Exchanges and mass meetings! Do not lose a day: the danger is enormous!

Begin everywhere to set up the united front of the proletariat against the class enemy, capitalism in your own countries.

Proletarians in all munition works! Proletarians in the transport industry! You have special obligations. Prevent by energetic action the Japanese militarists from being supplied by the war mongers of the whole world with the instruments for carrying out their crime.

Only the proletariat, by its determined action, can frustrate the capitalist crime of war!

The European Secretariat of the Red International of Labour Unions.

POLITICS

The Formation of the Hindenburg Front in Germany.

By F. Brand (Berlin).

Dr. Sahn, the Lord Mayor of Berlin, had a really hard job to set up a committee for Hindenburg's Presidential candidature. The circles which he endeavoured most to win for this Committee refused to join it. These are the "Stahlhelm" and the "Kyffhäuser Bund". The refusal of these two organisations to take part in the committee was given under the pressure of the Hitler-Hugenberg front, and is directed more against Reichs-Chancellor Brüning than against Reichs-President Hindenburg.

The Hindenburg Committee is to be a "non-party organ"; in reality, however, we again encounter here the parties of the German capitalist class, but under other masks. Here we find outspoken Hugenberg people, as the director of the Hamburg-America Steamship line, the former Reichs-Chancellor Cuno, in addition to people of the Centre, members of the Bavarian Peoples Party, the Economic Party and the State party.

Two special gems adorn this Hindenburg Committee: the social democrats Noske and Leipart. The social democratic party of Germany could not really send more worthy representatives into this Committee. Herr Noske, who only recently again commended himself to the reactionaries by his ultra-reactionary article against France, will meet all kinds of kindred spirits in the Hindenburg Committee. Forstrat Escherich, the former Minister for the Defence Gessler (the man of the black Reichswehr) and Herr Cuno, the Chancellor at the time of the Ruhr adventure.

One must admit, it is a wonderful united front of all reactionary, anti-working class elements which the social democracy has joined. But will it succeed in drawing into this front the six million social-democratic workers?

It is still uncertain what will be attitude of Hitler, Hugenberg and their followers, the Stahlhelm, Kyffhäuser Bund, etc., to the re-election of Hindenburg. At a national socialist meeting held in Berlin on January 30th, Hitler himself was proposed as candidate for the office of Reichs-President. Whether Hugenberg and his friends of the Stahlhelm and the other organisations of the "Harzburg" front will be charmed by this candidature is very questionable.

Now that the Hindenburg Committee has been set up, there seems to be a desire to accelerate the elections. It is therefore to be expected that the fronts in the elections will soon be drawn up.

For the German working class the attitude to be adopted in this election is relatively simple: neither for Hitler nor for Hindenburg, but for the workers' candidate Ernst Thälmann, the leader of the red front. At innumerable factory, and Labour Exchange meetings and meetings of proletarian mass organisations, the Presidential election is being discussed and everywhere the candidature of Comrade Thälmann is greeted with enthusiasm. The masses of the German proletariat realise that in this election it is a question of a powerful demonstration of the red class front, the gathering and organisation of the masses for struggle, a great rally of the red united front against national fascism and social fascism.

The New Government in Austria.

By Oesterreicher (Vienna).

The new Buresch government in Austria differs from the old in that, in compliance with the wish of France, it has dropped the Pan-Germans Dr. Schober and Schürff and replaced the latter at the Ministry of Justice by the open monarchist Schuschnigg from Tyrol, who is at the same time the leader of the christian socialist "Ostmärkische Sturmsharen", a fascist organisation on a clerical-monarchist basis. He was also the instigator of the recent demonstrations of sympathy in Tyrol for Otto, the son of the former Kaiser Karl.

The office of Foreign Ministry, hitherto held by Dr. Schober, has been taken by Dr. Buresch, who combines this office with that of the Chancellorship. The function of maintaining public security is withdrawn from the Ministry of the Interior and entrusted to a Minister without portfolio. The man who is to occupy this exceedingly important position

has not yet been found. The setting up of a separate Police Ministry means a programme of suppression of the working class. The Buresch government makes no attempt to hide this fact. The reconstitution of the Buresch government was preceded by the seizure of stores of weapon belonging to the workers in Ottakring (a working class district of Vienna).

The misery in Austria is indeed very great, nevertheless it cannot be maintained that the existing measures of suppression would be insufficient for the bourgeoisie. Herr **Winkler**, Minister for the Interior, repeatedly proved that he was determined to employ the police and gendarmerie ruthlessly against the working class.

What, therefore, is the reason for the cry for a policy of a strong hand? The next few weeks will furnish us the answer to this question. The financial situation of the State is disastrous. The state of the treasury is so low that it is quite possible before long that Austria, following the example of Rumania, will be unable to pay the salaries of the civil servants. The National Bank is proceeding to print uncovered banknotes; not to cover the outgoings of the State, but to meet the credit requirements of the banks. The government crisis followed on the resignation of Dr. **Reisch**, the President of the National Bank. The economic crisis is increasing every day. In such a situation the immediate thought of every bourgeoisie is an increased dictatorship.

The attitude of the social democracy to the second Buresch government will be in no way different from what it was to its predecessor. It is true, the Vienna "**Arbeiterzeitung**" announced that Buresch cannot reckon on the assistance of the social democracy. But in the parliamentary session, which will last until 15th February, Buresch will have to submit two laws changing the Constitution, for the passing of which he needs the votes of the social democrats. The two laws in question are, the "commercial-political emergency powers act" for the conclusion of commercial treaties, and the "emergency powers act for the issue of decrees for the protection of economy", both of which expire on March 31st.

Buresch has only 75 out of 165 votes in the National Assembly. Will the social democrats help him to attain the two-thirds majority necessary for these dictatorial laws? It can be safely assumed that they will. Then, however, the National Council will be prorogued for two months. This will allow time enough for the social democracy again to feign opposition towards the government which exists only owing to their support.

The first reply of the revolutionary proletariat to the formation of the Buresch government and the continued threats of "extraordinary measures" was the red unity Congresses in **Vienna, Linz, Klagenfurt** and **Leoben**. It is along this line of mass united front, under the leadership of the Communist Party, that the fight against the intensified capitalist policy must develop.

The Soviet Union, the Only Haven of World Peace.

The Conclusion of the Treaty of Non-Aggression with Poland.

By Nemo.

Twenty four hours before the departure of the Soviet delegation to Geneva to attend the "Disarmament" Conference, a non-aggression Pact was concluded between **Poland** and the **Soviet Union**. The Polish Government made the validity of this Pact dependent not only upon the usual ratification, but also upon the simultaneous conclusion of non-aggression Pacts with Rumania and the Border States.

With the signing of the above Pact Soviet diplomacy achieved a considerable success and brought to a conclusion years of efforts which had been repeatedly disturbed by the Polish imperialists. Already in the year 1922, the Soviet government submitted to the representatives of Poland and the Border States the completely worked out project of a non-aggression and arbitration convention. This convention and also the offer again made by the Soviet Government in the year 1926 to conclude a non-aggression Pact was thwarted by the obstinate resistance of the Polish government, which attempted to make use of these negotiations in order to force the Soviet government to capitulate to the League of Nations and to recognise the hegemony of Poland in Eastern Europe. In the year 1931, the Soviet government again took the initiative in regard to concluding non-aggression Pacts with **Poland, Finland,**

Esthonia, Latvia and even **Rumania**, with which state it had no normal relations. Now that Poland and also Finland have concluded non-aggression Pacts with the Soviet Union, it is probable that Esthonia and Latvia will shortly follow suit, whilst from the negotiations with Rumania one must expect disturbing surprises.

If the French and Polish press endeavour to attribute the recent efforts of the Soviet government to conclude non-aggression Pacts to a "desperate economic situation of the Soviet Union", this does not get rid of the fact that the Soviet government has been striving for ten years to conclude non-aggression Pacts with its Western neighbours. Whilst France and Poland have achieved a record in regard to the secret war alliances concluded by them, the Soviet Union can point to a record in regard to the number of peaceful neutrality and non-aggression treaties concluded by it. The Soviet Union, renouncing any secret diplomacy either of an economic or a military character, has concluded treaties of neutrality and non-aggression with **Germany, Poland, Italy, Turkey, China, Persia, Afghanistan, Lithuania and Finland**. Japan also could have concluded a non-aggression Pact with the Soviet Union if Japanese imperialism had not found this to be a factor disturbing its war plans in the Far East.

With the signing of the non-aggression Pact, Poland and the Soviet Union undertake to renounce war as a weapon of national policy in their mutual relations and to refrain from any hostile actions and attacks against each other. The Pact pledges the contracting parties, in the event of either of them being attacked by a third party, not to help the attacking State either directly or indirectly. The Pact loses its validity in the event of one of the parties undertaking a hostile action against a third State.

The Pact forbids participation in any agreement bearing a hostile character towards the other contracting party. All questions of dispute which may arise are to be settled by peaceful means, namely, by arbitration proceedings, to be laid down in a convention still to be drawn up.

The contents of the non-aggression Pact between Poland and the Soviet Union show to the working masses of the whole world the fundamental difference between the peace policy of the Soviet government and the war policy of all imperialist Powers. The negotiations between Poland and Russia were not conducted behind the closed doors of the General Staffs, but with the knowledge of all the European governments. The Pact is not directed against any third Power, or against any country or people. No alliance has been set up which intensifies the existing antagonisms, increases the danger of war and prevents disarmament, but an agreement was signed which condemns war, proclaims strictest neutrality and is intended to secure peace.

The eager endeavours of Franco-Polish imperialism to give the Pact the character of an Eastern Locarno sanctioning the frontiers drawn by the Versailles Treaty, have been frustrated by the energetic attitude of the Soviet government. The Soviet government still refuses to recognise the Versailles Treaty, to guarantee the frontiers and conditions which are the result of imperialist agreements, or take part in groupings aiming at the oppression of peoples. The Polish government, which had to renounce all the desired frontier guarantees, has suffered a setback, whilst the Soviet government has achieved an outstanding success.

For years the Polish government made the conclusion of a Pact dependent on simultaneous negotiations with the Border States under Polish leadership in order to enable an anti-Soviet bloc to be formed in Eastern Europe. The Polish government, by being compelled to conclude a separate Pact with the Soviet Union, capitulated completely to the demand of "Moscow".

Finally, the introduction of a Court of Arbitration, independent of the League of Nations and the Hague Court of International Justice, for the purpose of regulating any questions of dispute means a third victory of Soviet diplomacy over Polish imperialism.

The outstanding success of Soviet diplomacy in the signing of the non-aggression Pact with Poland is so obvious that even the Bourgeois press is forced to recognise it. The outspokenly anti-Soviet "**Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung**" declares that if Pacts could secure peace, then the Soviet government ought to receive the Nobel prize for peace. According to the "**Berliner Tageblatt**", the changed political attitude of Paris and Warsaw is "a sign of the increased strength of the Soviet Union", whilst it describes the signing of the Pact as a "great diplomatic success for Soviet Russia".

The organ of the social fascists of Germany, the "Vorwärts", likewise welcomes the conclusion of the non-aggression Pact with Poland, but not as a success of Soviet diplomacy but of the French war-mongers, to whom, according to the "Vorwärts", the conclusion of the Pact is due. The "Vorwärts" finally welcomes the conclusion of the Pact, because it secures world peace and destroys the Communist "legend" about the capitalist encirclement of Soviet Russia. This shameful attempt to hide the real significance of the Pact will not only encounter scornful laughter but also be sharply rejected by the class conscious workers.

In striking contradiction to the parties of the II. International, the Soviet government has never left the working masses in doubt regarding the actual value of paper agreements with the imperialists. The Geneva conferences in particular, have always been used by the representatives of the Soviet government in order to point out to the working masses the impossibility under the capitalist system of doing away with armed conflicts. The participation of the Soviet government in the Geneva disarmament negotiations, as well as the various treaties with the bourgeois governments, do nothing more than serve to render anti-Soviet war incitement more difficult and at the same time show the consistent desire of the Soviet government to secure the peace of the whole world. The Soviet government, by signing non-aggression Pacts with its Western neighbours and undertaking to settle peacefully all questions of dispute, deprives the imperialists as well as all their social democratic lackeys of the possibility of describing the Soviet government as being "responsible for the prevailing mistrust", as the "obstacle to disarmament", as the "threatener of peace" and the "aggressor of to-morrow".

The signing of the non-aggression Pact by Pilsudski only serves to veil his war-preparations and to divert public attention. Just as Japanese imperialism is to-day tearing up all treaties in order to occupy Manchuria, so to-morrow Pilsudski will tear up the non-aggression Pact if he thinks that the hour has come for the march on Kiev. Only the sharpest revolutionary fight of the working and peasant masses of Poland will give a real content to the non-aggression Pact as a guarantee of peace. The Communist Party of Poland will call upon the masses not to be taken in by Pilsudski's attempt to deceive, but to conduct the fight against the uninterrupted war preparations of Polish fascism.

The II. International and the Reparations Question.

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

The proposed reparations conference, it is true, has been indefinitely postponed for the time being, but the reparations question is more acute than ever, not only for Germany, where the uninterrupted accentuation of the crisis of capitalism and the tremendous misery of the masses connected therewith renders the reparations question a matter of immediate concern to the broadest masses of the working population, but also for France, where the reparations question serves the bourgeoisie as an instrument for stirring up nationalist feelings and thereby making use of the working masses for the purposes of French imperialism.

Ever since the end of the war the Communist International has always adopted a plain and unequivocal attitude to the Treaty of Versailles, the question of reparations, the Dawes Pact and the Young Plan: it has sharply combatted them. Neither the C.P. of Germany nor the C.P. of France nor any other section of the Communist International has ever shown any vacillation in this attitude.

The attitude of the II. International, however, is quite different. The shameful document of Versailles bears the signatures of three social-democratic ministers: **Vandervelde**, **Hermann Müller**, and **Karl Renner**. Even in the year 1923, at the Hamburg Congress of the II. International, Vandervelde declared regarding his signature to the Versailles Treaty: "If I had to I would do the same thing again today."

But not only individual leaders but the whole of the II. International recognised the Treaty of Versailles and voluntarily guaranteed to carry it out. In the decision adopted by the Executive Committee at its meeting in Amsterdam from 30th March to 1st of April 1921, it is expressly stated:

"It (the Executive of the Second International) takes note of the declaration by the German representatives

that, in agreement with the decisions of the International Congress at Geneva, they are prepared to take over the responsibility for all justified reparation demands."

In fact the German social democrats went even further; this decision states in another place:

"The Conference takes note that the German social democracy is prepared in principle to increase the German reparation payments proportionately with the increasing economic prosperity of Germany."

The resolution adopted at the Hamburg Conference of the II. International in the year 1923 states:

"There is no dispute that the burden of reconstruction must be borne by Germany, as reconstruction represents for Germany a moral duty which, for the rest, has been voluntarily proclaimed by the trade unions and socialist organisations."

That is plain language to which it is impossible to attach two meanings. This attitude corresponds also to the attitude of the social democracy to the Dawes Plan. The "Vorwärts" of August 30, 1924, wrote:

"The passing of the Dawes Act by this Reichstag is an enormous success for the social-democratic policy."

The social democracy likewise regarded the Young Plan, which was signed by the social-democratic Reichs Chancellor Hermann Müller, as a triumph of its policy and promised the German people that it would result in the alleviation of their misery.

Now, when the collapse of the reparations policy and the Young Plan is obvious to everybody, it is necessary to call to mind the social-democratic reparations policy of the past years, for the German social democracy is now suddenly attempting by brazen lying to cover up its shameful reparations policy. The "Vorwärts" of 17th January last published a "Survey" by Herr **Crispien** of the attitude of the social democracy to the reparations question which is nothing else but a string of incredible lies, and where, after repeatedly insisting on the patriotic spirit of the social democratic party of Germany, he declares:

"The social democrats have been just as unwearied and energetic in their efforts to secure a revision of the Versailles Treaty as they were in their fight against the reparations policy."

Like **Crispien**, **Leipart**, the chairman of the reformist trade unions, in an article in the "Vorwärts" of 31st December 1931, began to adopt an extremely nationalist tone in regard to the reparations question. The reason why is perfectly obvious. Social fascism is endeavouring in this connection to enter into competition with national fascism. The national socialist "foreign politician" **Rosenberg** gave a good answer to this, which we willingly quote because it excellently characterises both social fascism and national socialism:

"Patriotism is the last resort of the scoundrel."
(*"Völkische Beobachter"*, January 26, 1932.)

The II. International is best characterised by the fact that the parties belonging to it always champion the international policy of their bourgeoisies. Just as **Breitscheid**, **Crispien** and **Leipart** support the German bourgeoisie and Chancellor **Brüning** in their reparations policy, so the French socialists support their bourgeoisie; **Leon Blum** declared in the French Chamber on January 19th:

"We shall not abandon the principle of reparations. The reparations obligations are founded not on the right of war nor on the right of the victor, but they are obligations based on equity, on natural right, on right itself."

The heroes of the II. International advocate the sacred right to tribute, whilst the social-democratic party of Germany, acting in the interests of the German bourgeoisie, demand the end of reparations. A wonderful "International"!

This II. International has now, in a resolution adopted by its Executive Committee as a result of two days discussions on 24th and 25th January in Cologne, expressed its attitude to the reparations question. The resolution states:

"Even the governments of the countries directly concerned recognise that under present conditions Germany is incapable of fulfilling the obligation which she has assumed under the Young Plan.

On the other hand, the countries which have to pay war debts to the United States of America would be placed in an intolerable financial situation if they did not receive any

payments from Germany and yet were obliged to continue their payments to the United States.

"There can be no question, on the one hand, of a unilateral denunciation of international contracts, or, on the other hand, of recourse to constraint or force, the disastrous consequences of which to the world as a whole have been shown by the occupation of the Ruhr, and against which the L.S.I. would unanimously protest."

"The question of disarmament, reparations and war debts, the cancellation of which has always been demanded by the L.S.I., are too closely connected financially and politically for a final settlement to be possible without a general settlement."

With this decision the II. International has adopted the same standpoint as Laval in his speech in the French Chamber on January 19.

As the United States Congress decided on December 19, 1931, that there must be no reduction of war debts, to connect reparations with war debts means nothing else but to postpone the settlement of the reparations question to the Greek calendar.

The resolution of the II. International of January 25 is worth while being made known to the broadest working masses. It not only does not want any cancellation of reparations, but expressly declares that the tearing up of the Young Plan would be impermissible. Thus the II. International remains that which it has always been since 1914, the faithful lackey of imperialism

THE WORLD "DISARMAMENT" CONFERENCE

The Geneva "Disarmament" Conference.

(From our Special Correspondent, Gabriel Péri.)

Geneva, February 1, 1932.

To-morrow the general Conference on the Limitation of Armaments will be opened. The deliberations of the conference will be overshadowed by the war in Manchuria, which now threatens to envelop the whole of the East.

The chief concern of the imperialist Powers, and in the first place of France, is to divert the attention of the workers from the events in the Far East by means of the debates at Geneva. This is the reason for the great fuss which the II. International is making over this conference.

On January 29, there took place in Paris a big social democratic meeting at which **Toni Sender**, **Jouhaux**, **Tom Shaw** and **Vandervelde** were present. The purpose of this meeting was to some extent to give the blessing of the Labour and Socialist International to the Disarmament Conference. A similar meeting was to have been held in Geneva. But the Geneva workers, including the social democratic workers, have no particular love for Vandervelde and also display no great admiration for the League of Nations, so that **Fritz Adler** considered it advisable to cancel the invitations.

At the meeting in Paris, the social-democratic leader **Renaudel** declared: "We protest against the alarming rumours. We are not among those who declare: war is already here." Renaudel uttered these words on the very same day Chapei was bombarded, when the Chinese quarter of Shanghai was a mass of flames and Harbin was under the fire of the Japanese guns. But this declaration of Renaudel excellently characterises the aims of the apostles of pacifism who have arranged a meeting at Geneva.

On the other hand, it must be stated that not one of the differences of opinion on the armament question which have brought the capitalist Powers into conflict in the last few years has been even apparently solved. The discussion on naval disarmament, for example, has been at a deadlock since May 1930. It would suffice to mention this naval armaments problem in order to cause the old antagonism between the imperialist countries to flare up again. The treaty-project which several members of the Preparatory Commission, above all Germany and the Soviet Union refuse to sign, contains no figures. There is no doubt that this document would never have seen the light of day if exact figures had been included in it. This project refuses to limit the trained reserves and immediately to limit war material, and thereby allows France

to retain two of the most important instruments of its military power. It also provides that in the event of a war or a revolutionary rising of the colonial peoples, the signatories to the Convention may, with the approval of the League of Nations, go beyond the level of armaments laid down in the tables of the Conference. Finally, this Treaty project—and this gives it its true character—contains a clause which allows the States neighbouring the Soviet Union unrestricted armaments.

It is perfectly obvious that a fierce struggle will arise over the majority of these provisions. The opponents have long been preparing for these struggles. A few weeks ago, the French delegate, **Massigli**, made a tour of the capitals of Central and Eastern Europe. Here in Geneva itself, **Paul Boncour**, since the beginning of the present week, has been securing the support of Japan for the French thesis with the same eagerness with which he placed the League Council at the service of the Japanese robber-campaign in China.

It is quite certain, however, that in view of the main antagonism between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union, the imperialists will again attempt to bridge over their differences. In this connection it is necessary to mention the big manoeuvre directed against the Soviet Union which preceded the Geneva meeting by only a few days. The Soviet Union, true to its policy of peace, has proposed non-aggression Pacts to all its neighbours. Such treaties have already been concluded with Poland, Finland and other Border States. As these Pacts can only become valid provided all the Border States take part in them, the French government, at the moment Poland has concluded a non-aggression pact, has taken care that Rumania should raise difficulties and thus prevent the completion of the series of non-aggression pacts. Rumania rejects the clause proposed by the Soviet Union regarding Bessarabia, which states that any attempt to solve the territorial dispute between the two countries by an act of violence is to be regarded as a violation of the Treaty. Rumania broke off negotiations with the Soviet government. On the orders of the Minister of the Interior, no French paper published the declaration by Litvinov on the Rumanian-Soviet negotiations. The Treaty concluded between Poland and the Soviet Union will thereby again be jeopardized and the neighbouring States of the Soviet Union, all of them vassals of France, have thus found the miserable pretext which they sought in order to bring into operation the evasion clause contained in the Geneva Convention.

This is the way in which the imperialist States prepare for the Disarmament Conference. The Geneva Disarmament Conference means nothing else but the sanctioning of the power of French militarism, the main force in the drive for war against the Soviet Union. In face of these manoeuvres the delegates of the Soviet Union will, in the next few days, appeal to the workers of all countries and unfurl before them the proletarian banner of peace.

British Labourism and the "Disarmament" Conference.

By Bert Williams (London).

The "Disarmament" Conference is meeting under the chairmanship of **Arthur Henderson**, one of the foremost leaders of the 2nd International, and upon whose shoulders has fallen the mantle of leader of the British Labour Party. He was elected when he was yet Foreign Secretary of the British Labour Government. The fact that he no longer holds that position makes him no less valuable as chairman over this meeting of international bandits.

Apart from when the audience is the working class, no-one pretends that this Conference has anything to do with disarmaments.

Like the much lauded London Naval Conference which left the three powers which participated actually stronger from a Naval point of view, so will this conference result in a further strengthening of the military strength of the rival imperialist powers. The Conference meets in the midst of the deepening crisis of capitalism on the one hand and the tremendous success of socialist construction in the Soviet Union on the other. No amount of discussion at Geneva will solve the problem of markets, and amongst the representatives of the rival imperialist powers assembled there, none will have any illusions regarding the stern fact that the only settlement

of their differences can be in the resort to arms. They will meet to the accompaniment of the roar of cannon in **Shanghai** and other parts of China.

The **Anglo-American antagonism** remains the most acute of the imperialist antagonisms. Britain, handicapped though she is by a colossal burden of parasitism; relatively obsolete technique; with its colonial empire a blazing furnace of revolt; and its Dominions moving further and further away will not give up without a desperate struggle.

Britain still controls 87% of the world's rubber production, 88% of nickel, 69% of lead, 15% of silver, 77% of wool, 66% of rye, 27% of wheat etc. She still has resources with which to fight and she will not give in without a desperate struggle.

The failure of the Lausanne Conference, the MacDonald-Laval conversations, etc., over Reparations, the seething cauldron of revolt in India and the tense situation in China will be ever present in the minds of the British delegates to the conference.

Since the last meeting of the Disarmament Conference there has taken place a fundamental change in the fiscal policy of Great Britain. Her traditional policy of Free Trade has been replaced by one of Protection. By means of tariffs, Britain hopes to transfer the burden of the crisis on to the backs of the workers at home and in the Colonies, in order to make possible a drive for markets at the expense of rival imperialist groups. Already this has resulted in retaliatory measures by a number of countries and has brought nearer the day of settlement of the differences by a resort to arms. The adoption of a tariff policy is part also of the fight against American imperialism.

As the date for the Disarmament Conference draws near the Labour Party and I.L.P. have intensified their efforts to lay an effect smoke screen behind which the British Imperialists have been perfecting their war plans.

They entered with enthusiasm the campaign of the churches which included a day of prayer; they have actively participated in the organisation of a petition which is to be presented at the Conference; the Labour press has been full of articles calling for "Disarmament by example"; they have touted for support for the League of Nations.

The Labour Party and I.L.P. are endeavouring to deceive the workers into the belief that a numerically strong Labour Party and League of Nations will prevent War. By such methods they disarm the workers and make imperialist war possible. Much fuss is being made over the departure of Henderson, and an "international" demonstration on "disarmament" was staged on the day Henderson left for Geneva. A German and a French Social democrat were brought over for the occasion. The T.U.C. at its Council meeting conveyed to Henderson, that in his capacity as President of the Disarmament Conference, he would realise that he had the whole-hearted support of the Trade Union Movement. On the eve of this "Disarmament" Conference, which received the blessing of the Labour Party and I.L.P., and which is presided over by their leader, it is as well to briefly recount the war-making record of the Labour Party.

It is not necessary to detail its record during the World War. It is sufficient to quote the Chairman at the 1917 Conference of the Labour Party, **Mr. Wardle**:

"I am proud of the fact that the majority of the Labour Party threw itself into the struggle with all the ardour at its command."

During the 1924 Labour Government the Air Estimates increased by 2½ million pounds. The amount spent on Rison Gas and deadly chemicals was higher at this period than at any time previously. The attitude of the military machine to the last Labour Government is summed up as follows by the Army Quarterly.

"So many of the supporters of the Labour Government are supposed to be in favour of a radical reduction in the fighting services that some people were filled with dismay. The same anxiety was felt in 1924 when the first Labour Government came into office, but the record of the Government showed that it fully realised the responsibility in the matter of defence, and there is no reason to suppose that MacDonald's second administration will be less active in its duty."

This proved a correct estimate of the second Labour Government. Within a few weeks of its formation, an announcement was made of a decision to completely re-equip

the auxiliary air force involving the construction of 16 new air war craft of the latest pattern. ("Times" 25. 6. 29.)

The London Three Power Naval Conference, the results of which the Labour Government regards as its greatest achievement, produced a Three Power Agreement to increase the fighting strength of each Government.

Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty of the Labour Government in a speech in the House of Commons, said:

"While the Labour Government does not want to hide its real desire to go on progressively with disarmaments, we must also make it perfectly clear that we are not going to let the British fleet fall to the bottom."

The propaganda of the Labour Party and I.L.P. for "disarmament by example" admirably suits the British imperialists, who impudently claim that Britain has already set an example to the world.

MacDonald says:

"The reductions must be all round. We have gone pretty near the limit of example."

By cooking figures and ignoring the fall in the price level, they attempt to prove that there is a reduction in Armament Expenditure. Yet figures prepared for the Disarmament Committee show the following total Armament expenditure.

1914	385.5 million dollars
1923	520.0 million dollars
1930	537.0 million dollars

The increase is continuous, yet the wholesale price index figure has fallen below pre-war. These figures do not include Empire Armaments. There is an increase of 100% in Armaments expenditure in India. Britain is the most heavily armed Empire in the World.

The Imperialists talk endlessly about "limitations of Armaments", but in the forefront of their minds, and the subject of their secret negotiations, will be the **Soviet Union**. British Imperialism will play a leading role in plotting to crush the Soviet Union at the Geneva Conference, which will be brought up sharply against the Peace Proposals of the Soviet Union. The workers of the world will again see that only when the workers have captured power, can war be abolished.

The British Labourites will loyally play the game of the British imperialists. But the **British Communist Party** will re-double its efforts to expose the Disarmament swindle, and will reveal to the workers the imperialist war-mongering role of the Labour Party and I.L.P.

INDIA

The Growing Mass Revolt in India.

By Clemens Dutt (London).

British imperialism, faced with increasing difficulties in every respect, finds not the least of these in the acute situation in India. Never was it more difficult for it to maintain its system of enslavement and exploitation in this enormous colonial possession. The threat of a mass upheaval on an unprecedented scale stares British imperialism in the face. Against this threat every possible measure of terrorism is being applied. Virtual martial law prevails all over India. Troops and armed forces parade the most affected areas. The shooting down of workers and peasants and the beating up of demonstrations are of daily occurrence. Additional troops have been sent from England. Special ordinances follow one another in interminable succession. The number of arrests already exceeds 20,000. Tax and revenue collection in the countryside, the main function of British administration in the enormous rural areas, is carried out by the aid of troops and armed police. The "Times" (January 29, 1932) is compelled to record:

"Without taking an unduly pessimistic view, it has to be admitted that the situation to-day is definitely worse than at any time since the end of the old year."

During the past month the mass movement has gone forward in spite of all attempts at suppression and a series of actions have taken place which testify clearly to the growing revolutionary spirit of the workers and peasants. The desperate plight of the **peasants** cannot be gainsaid by anyone. In most parts of the country, the peasant has already pledged everything he possesses including the crop for a year or even

more ahead, at crisis prices, and is over the borderline of starvation. Rent and taxes can only be paid by selling himself body and soul to the usurer. It is not surprising therefore that during the past months, in spite of all attempts of the Congress leadership to postpone or at least to limit the character and extent of the movement, the peasant revolt has assumed ever graver proportions. Nowhere was this more noticeable than in the **United Provinces of Agra and Oudh**, the most feudal part of British India, the paradise of landowners and moneylenders. In Oudh, the whole land is owned by 226 families, but there are 30,000,000 rent-paying peasants in the United Provinces. The average holding of a peasant is less than two acres. The organised refusal to pay rent developed first and most strongly in this province and was a signal to the whole country. It has led to many bloody collisions with British troops. As recently as January 29 a fight took place with armed police in the village of Samaria in which three peasants were killed and many seriously wounded.

In **Bengal**, flood disaster has added to the ruin of the peasants. In village after village **peasant committees** have been formed, mostly without Congress authorisation or support, and revolts with refusal to pay rent have occurred in many districts. Troops have been sent to north of Madras where a no-rent campaign is being conducted. Particularly important is the **Red Shirt movement** on the North West Frontier, which is primarily a peasant movement and which has brought down upon it the special repression of the British, because it has led the peasants in refusal to pay rent and revenue. The biggest revolt of all has taken place in the so-called Native State of **Kashmir**, which has been occupied by British troops since the beginning of November 1931. Here the peasant action has been on such a scale as to amount almost to an insurrection comparable with that of the peasants in Burma. Masses of armed peasants have attacked the landlords and destroyed landlord property and engaged in fierce battles with the British and State troops. In spite of heavy censorship, reports of fighting between peasants and troops continue to filter through. It is reported that during the last three months there have been 5,000 killed and 7,000 wounded. British imperialism has determined to hold Kashmir itself and to put down the revolt there, not only because of the danger of infection through the Punjab to the rest of India, but for important strategic reasons. The British imperialist organ, "The Near East and India", reveals this clearly when it states (January 14th, 1932):

"Kashmir is a **buffer State**. On its borders are British outposts essential for keeping an eye on Central Asia. These outposts must not be lost. If ferment in Kashmir were added to by incursion from non-British frontiers, **the long border between Kashmir and India would be an open gap through which all Central Asia might pour.**"

Simultaneously with the growth of the peasant revolts, there has been a pronounced development of activity on the part of **the industrial workers**. The occurrence of sporadic strikes was already a feature of the last month of 1931 and these strikes have recently assumed greater dimensions. **Strikes** of textile workers have occurred in every centre in India. Some of the strikes of jute workers in Bengal and of cotton workers in Bombay have continued for over three months. In Cawnpore the striking textile workers engaged in a series of fights with strike-breakers and police and also conducted successful propaganda among other workers. In December a series of strikes took place in the Ahmedabad textile mills and at the end of January this became a general strike. This strike is noteworthy because the workers are members of a special yellow trade union established by Gandhi and his assistants and the strike is being conducted in spite of their resistance. The Gandhist trade union works in closest collaboration with the Ahmedabad mill-owners who are largely supporters of Gandhi.

There have been a number of isolated **railway strikes** and the pressure for a general strike on the railways is increasing. All these strikes have been conducted in the first place, against the wage offensive of the employers, but they are also directly or indirectly a part of the protest movement against the government terror regime. In most cases, the workers on strike have been deserted by the section of the Trade Union Congress led by the "left" Nationalist leader S. C. Bose. Nevertheless, these strikes have been marked by the stubbornness with which they have been fought on the part of the workers. In these fights, the independent leadership of the proletariat is finding expression.

The serious light in which British imperialism views the situation in India is clearly revealed by the extraordinary measures of terror to which it has had recourse. Particularly in view of the weakened position of British imperialism on a world scale, it has felt very deeply that no risks could be afforded of losing its grip over India, the central bulwark of the British Empire. Hence the regime of terror and government by ordinance which has been operated on a large scale and after careful preparation. The period of so-called "truce" during 1931 when the **Indian National Congress** was bending all its efforts to help tax collection and the dispersion and break-up of the mass movement of the year before, so as to produce a favourable atmosphere for the negotiations of the Round Table Conference, was utilised by the British authorities in India to work out a systematic plan for dealing with any revival of the mass movement. The propaganda of the Indian National Congress has, of course, tried to make it appear that the Government programme and action of drastic repression is directed primarily against the Congress movement. Actually, they have little to point to except the arrest of the Congress leaders, and this is only an incidental feature in the Government action. It is significant to notice that the three fundamental ordinances, the "Bengal Ordinance", the "United Provinces Ordinance", and the "North West Frontier Ordinance", were all enacted in December before the Congress had in any way renounced its attitude of docile cooperation with the Government.

It is seen that the special powers given to local British authorities are first of all intended to legalise action against the peasants and their leaders. The spate of additional ordinances of this year has pursued the same object. Thus, the "Times" (January 23rd) reports that as a result of the rounding-up of Red Shirts and forcible action on the North West Frontier

"revenue continues to come in satisfactorily. In **Takhtadai District, for instance, 37,000 rupees of arrears have been collected in one week.** There could be no question of releasing the present tight grip for some time to come."

Similar quotations from the Indian press make clear the important use of armed forces and police for the purpose of collecting revenue, and punitive and other taxes, in all parts of India.

Another point to be noted is that the vast majority of the arrests that have been made have been peasants and workers who have been resisting rent or tax collection or taking part in demonstrations but who are not Congress members and are not in jail because of activity on the Congress programme. At the same time, the Congress organisation, along with others, has been very drastically dealt with during the past months. Early in January, after the series of new Ordinances were issued, a Government order was issued in Bombay declaring all Congress organisations and others of a similar tendency, numbering 486 in all, to be unlawful associations. In Calcutta, on January 14th, the Government "Official Gazette" published a list of 272 organisations in Bengal which were declared to be illegal, including all the District Committees of the National Congress. It is clear that the Government attack on the Congress has not been carried out because of fear of the Congress leaders but as part of the general campaign of terror in order to crush any subversive activity which could, even against the intentions of its leaders, result in increasing the activity of the masses. Further, the definite suppression, or rather beheading, of the Congress movement represents also a special act of chastisement intended to reduce the leaders to a more amenable frame of mind. Under pressure from below, the Congress was beginning to be recalcitrant. It is being chastised now, not because it is being regarded as an enemy, but in order to make it more submissive when negotiations are renewed.

As far as the Congress is concerned, it can truly say that the ending of the "truce" was forced upon it against its will. Its leaders delayed as long as possible in starting any campaign against the Bengal or U.P. Ordinances. Only when it became quite clear to them that the danger of the whole movement going out of their hands and of their control was a very real one, did they commence agitation. In the United Provinces, the no-rent campaign from the outset caused a split in the Congress leadership because many of the latter were themselves landlords. The Provincial Conference held in Bengal in December 1931, which was presided over by a Bombay leader and had representatives from other provinces, refused to accept a resolution supporting civil disobedience and

the no-rent campaign and only decided to call for the boycott of British goods.

Even when the Congress was forced to act at the end of the year, after Gandhi's return and simultaneously with his rebuff by the Viceroy, it only went so far as to adopt an unreal programme which was a faint echo of that of the year before. The main points of its resolution call for the boycott of foreign cloth, whether British or other, the picketing of liquor shops and the unlawful manufacture of salt. In general terms, it adds that unjust orders issued under the Ordinances may be civilly disobeyed, but it also makes the proviso that no province, district or village may take up civil disobedience "unless the people thereof understand the non-violent nature of the struggle with all its implications", and it adds that social boycott of government offices, police or anti-nationalists should not be undertaken.

The class character of the Indian National Congress is becoming more and more clearly marked. The Working Committee, which on January 1st passed the resolution described above "in the absence of a satisfactory response from the Government", also passed resolutions to the following effect

"requesting support from commercial and political associations as much as possible;
assuring zemindars (landlords) that the no-rent campaign will not be directed against them, and stating that the campaign has no design against the legitimate interests acquired by them, and soliciting help from landed and monied classes;
 appealing to indigenous mills not to exploit by multiplying profits and weaving low counts." ("Liberty", Calcutta, January 2, 1932.)

The guarantee to the landowners and "monied classes" could hardly be more explicit in stating the class attitude of the Congress and recalls the provisions of the Bardoli surrender in 1922. These resolutions and the actual programme of the Congress activity, with its narrow limitation to unreal forms of struggle which have no meaning for the mass of the workers and peasants, has resulted in a very widespread exposure of the Congress as an organisation, and a consequent significant decline in its authority and influence. The Congress has attempted to revive and repeat the experience of 1930. It begins "civil disobedience" in order to come to terms with imperialism, in order to increase its bargaining power in the current negotiations. But the situation is no longer the same as in 1930. The development of the imperialist contradictions has gone very much further ahead. The internal developments in India have also been considerable. The workers and peasants are more and more becoming disillusioned with the Congress leadership. It is more widely recognised than ever before that the Congress programme means support for Indian capitalists and a betrayal of mass action.

In view of this changed situation, it is not altogether surprising that the arrest of Gandhi and the other Congress leaders has not been followed by very great mass protests throughout the country. The petty bourgeois hartals that were called for by the Congress have been comparatively unsuccessful. The militant mass demonstrations that have taken place have been carried through by workers and peasants but hardly in accordance with Gandhi's precepts. The leadership of the National Congress has not yet been overthrown, even in the Trade Unions, but the features of the growing resistance of the masses to the terror regime of British imperialism illustrate also the struggle for the hegemony of the working class in the development of the revolutionary solution of the problems of the world crisis in India. The struggle for the Communist leadership of the masses develops with increasing intensity. The question of the **Communist Party** and its programme is being more hotly debated and discussed in India than ever before. In Calcutta alone, it is reported, in spite of the Ordinances there are at least five different organisations which claim to be political Communist parties. This is an indication of the present situation. It is also an indication of the tremendous need for further work by the revolutionary class organisations in **Great Britain** especially for strengthening their bonds of solidarity with the Indian workers and peasants, promoting the development of class conscious ideology and undertaking definite action in their own country in support of the Indian mass struggle.

CHINA

Open Letter from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to all Members of the Party on the Present Political Situation in China.

Dear Comrades,

After our heroic Red Army, supported by millions of workers, peasants and the toiling masses of the whole country, has brought to nought the "extermination-campaign" of the Kuomintang and imperialists, the development and victory of the Soviet movement, and especially the setting up of the provisional government of the Soviet Republic of China, the storm of indignation of the broad masses of workers and peasants and of all toilers against the attack on Manchuria by Japanese imperialism, and against the partition of China by the imperialist Powers, are causing an ever greater shaking of the bourgeois-landowner Kuomintang regime and an accentuation of the revolutionary crisis.

In this situation, when the imperialist Powers are conducting a brutal attack on the masses of the Chinese people, the Kuomintang, in pursuance of its capitulatory policy of "toleration", makes a present of Manchuria to the Japanese imperialists, abandons the whole country to European and American imperialism, and thereby directly furthers the imperialist partition of China. In concert with the imperialist troops and police in China, it is exercising the most bloody terror, the most cruel policy of oppression against the growing anti-imperialist movement. Under the slogan: "unity against the enemy in the North, to repel Japan", new attacks are commencing against the centre of the Soviet movement, especially against the soviet territory in the three provinces of Honan, Hupeh and Anwhei. Thus the Kuomintang is endeavouring, with the most frightful white terror, to choke in blood the revolutionary fights which are increasing throughout the whole of China. But this policy of the Kuomintang is encountering the growing resistance of the working and peasant masses in the whole country. The working masses are losing all faith in the Kuomintang. The broadest strata of the workers, peasants, soldiers and students are voicing the slogans issued by our Party: "Workers' strike, school strike, soldiers' strike against Japanese imperialism! Arming of the population for the fight against imperialism! Smash the Kuomintang which capitulates to imperialism!" The national fight against imperialism is being linked up ever more closely with the fight against the Kuomintang.

The fight against imperialism and the Kuomintang is spreading like wild-fire. The courageous fights of the revolutionary scholars and students, expressed in demonstrations against the Kuomintang, in collisions with the military and police, in the wrecking of the Party and government institutions of the Kuomintang, the tearing up of pictures of Sun Yat Sen, are a sign that the broadest masses of workers, peasants and toilers of China are being roused to direct action in order to crush the Kuomintang and imperialism and will initiate a fresh upsurge of the revolutionary struggle.

Hunger Riots in Rome.

Paris, 30th January 1932.

According to reliable information from private sources hunger riots of desperate unemployed workers took place yesterday in Rome, particularly in the working class suburbs. Numerous foodstores were raided and cleared out. The police and the fascist militia were taken completely by surprise and it was some time before stern measures could be taken against the hungry masses. It is not known whether any serious casualties occurred.

The fascist censorship is doing its best to suppress all news of the rioting as a matter of prestige. There are over a million unemployed workers in fascist Italy, only about 20 per cent. of whom receive any assistance and even then it amounts to about threepence a day.

The Kuomintang and the imperialists are trembling in face of this revolutionary wave. They are already busily mobilising all the reactionary forces in order to crush the revolutionary movement. The imperialist press in Shanghai is teaching the Kuomintang government how, in accordance with the example of Tuan Chi Sui, to massacre the "rabble" among the students. A state of siege has already been proclaimed in all the concession districts of Shanghai, and the imperialist warships are being concentrated on the Huang-Pu river. There is not the least doubt but that the imperialists will resort to every measure in order to choke the revolutionary movement in blood.

The decaying and tottering Kuomintang regime is rallying all the available reactionary forces in order to proceed jointly with the imperialists against the masses of the people. The capitalists, big businessmen, bankers, militarists, Kuomintang politicians and professors etc. are already streaming to Nanking and Canton where, under the name of "Conference on the danger threatening the country" or something similar, they are discussing means of rescuing the endangered Kuomintang rule. Behind the facade of their empty fraudulent declarations and manifestoes on the "foreign political direction of the government", the Kuomintang is organising bloody measures for enslaving the masses.

Also all counter-revolutionary groupings which have not yet come into power, such as the "reorganisationists", the "nationalists" etc. are making tremendous endeavours to maintain the rule of the bourgeoisie and of the landowners by propagating "democracy", the "government of national defence", "unity against the outer enemy", in the hope that the masses who are rising against the Kuomintang, will have their faith restored in it and allow themselves to be slaughtered by the Kuomintang and the imperialists.

Dear Comrades, in this hour revolution and counter-revolution are mobilising all their forces and preparing for the decisive struggles. Our Party is at present confronted with the main task of mobilising the broadest masses of workers, peasants and toilers under our leadership. With this iron hammer we must shatter the decaying shaky rule of the counter-revolution and achieve decisive victories for the Chinese revolution in the important provinces (Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi, Anwei)! This aim is no longer a question of the future revolutionary development; it is our task, which is today on the agenda and awaiting its fulfilment! Our whole work is concentrated on solving this task!

In fulfilling this main task we call upon our Party comrades to penetrate into the masses with indefatigable zeal and in spite of all difficulties! It is necessary to strain every nerve in order to extend the strikes of the workers, soldiers and students, to develop the fights and partisan wars of the peasants and to promote the meetings and demonstrations of the broad masses. The slogan: Arming of the masses! must be immediately further developed into the fighting slogan: "Demand and seize weapons!" The masses who are taking part in the fights must be comprehensively organised: the delegate conference of the anti-imperialist and anti-Kuomintang mass organisations must be set up in order to centralise the leadership. The fights of the broad masses must be conducted and the tactics of the Party carried out with firm determination by these legal and semi-legal mass organisations.

At the present time, when the broad masses of workers, peasants, scholars and students are realising, as a result of the experiences of the last few months the correctness of our slogans and are seeking a way out, we must energetically proceed to make it clear to them that only the Conference of workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies (Soviets) can really crush imperialism, realise the national emancipation of the people and free the masses of the population from misery. The slogan of the arming of the mass of the people must be immediately connected with the propagation of the armed revolt for the overthrow of the Kuomintang rule and the setting up of workers', peasants', and soldiers' councils. We must without hesitation make the delegate conferences of the mass organisations, as for instance the "United Anti-Japanese Committee of the masses of the people of Shanghai for national defence", the embryonic forms of the political power of the masses.

In this fight we must intensify ten and a hundredfold our agitation and propaganda for the Provisional Government of the Soviet Republic of China, for its whole legislation and

all its decisions. We must popularise among the broadest masses of workers, peasants and soldiers the anti-imperialist principles and the whole fundamental attitude of the Soviet government. The broadest masses must be brought realise that the Red Army is the armed power of the workers and peasants, the fighting troops against imperialism. On the basis of this realisation the work for the defence of the Soviets and in support of the Red Army must be increased and the fight against new attacks by the Kuomintang and the imperialists on the Soviet districts, and especially on the Soviet districts in the frontier territory of the provinces of Honan, Hupeh and Anwei, must be increased. In the fight of the masses against the Kuomintang, the deceitful propaganda of all counter-revolutionary groupings is exceedingly dangerous for the revolution. Our comrades, by means of plain facts, must expose the fraudulent manoeuvres of all these groupings (mainly of the reorganisationists, nationalists, liquidators etc.) and the role which they play in maintaining the rule of the bourgeoisie and of the landowners. In order to wrest the masses from these political groupings and to bring them under our leadership it is necessary to conduct indefatigable and persistent enlightenment work among them.

In the red districts it is necessary for our Party to make use of the present favourable situation and advance further. In the determined carrying out of the line of the Comintern the fights of the broad masses against imperialism and the Kuomintang must be developed, the Soviets consolidated, the Red Army strengthened, the still scattered Soviet districts united, and the important central towns captured. In the present situation the Party must, in the Soviet districts, still more resolutely and fearlessly confront our enemy and, supported by the fights of the broad masses of the workers, peasants and soldiers in the whole of China, apply the tactics of the offensive and achieve the decisive victory of the Soviet revolution in the provinces of Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi and Anwei.

Dear Comrades, Our Party is facing events of historical importance. In order to solve the task set up by us to achieve the victory of the revolution in a number of provinces, our whole Party must with all determination, as one man, under the leadership of the C. C. and of the Comintern, destroy all opportunism, especially Right opportunism, which underestimates the political situation and leads to passivity, and thereby develop and consolidate our Bolshevik Party. All comrades of the Party must boldly and resolutely penetrate into the masses in order to realise the directives given you by the Comintern and the Central Committee.

Dear Comrades, We have achieved the victory of the Soviet Republic in a number of big districts. We shall achieve the victory of the Soviets also in a number of provinces!

Forward, the victory is ours!

December 11, 1931.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Execution threatens Lithuanian Communist.

Kovno, 30th January 1932.

The Lithuanian communist leader **Kasparaitis** has been sentenced to death and the sentence has been confirmed by the Supreme Court. It is now reported that in all probability **Kasparaitis**, who is a member of the Central Committee of the illegal Communist Party of Lithuania, will be executed during the next few days.

A protest demonstration of indignant workers took place in front of the Central Prison in **Kovno** against the proposed execution and all windows within range were broken. Fierce collisions took place between the demonstrators and a large force of police. A large number of workers were injured and 30 were arrested.

The International Red Aid is organising a protest action against the execution and appeals to the workers of the world and their organisations to join in the movement. Speedy action is necessary if the execution is to be prevented. Telegrams of protest should be sent to the Lithuanian government in Kovno and protest deputations should visit the Lithuanian Embassies and Consulates abroad.

The XVII. Party Conference of the C.P.S.U.

The Victory of Socialism.

The Foreign Policy of the Soviet Union — the Policy of Peace.

Opening Speech of Comrade Molotov.

Moscow, January 31, 1932.

The Seventeenth All-Union Conference of the Bolshevik Party opened to-day at five o'clock in the Andreyev Hall of the Kremlin Palace. Comrade **Molotov**, amid great applause, opened the Conference on behalf of the Central Committee.

Comrade Molotov declared in his speech: The present Conference is meeting at a historical moment; the year 1932 will mark the completion of the first Five-Year Plan and the preparation for the second Five-Year Plan. This primarily determines the tasks of the Conference. Already it is evident that the instructions of the Sixteenth Party Congress to complete the Five-Year Plan in four years are being victoriously fulfilled. Our industries are developing at a Bolshevik pace. The ranks of our factories, mills, mines, power-stations, are growing ever new and more powerful, the machine-building industry, which is the driving force of industrialisation, is entering into line.

Soviet industry, including heavy industry, has gained a firm footing. This year its tasks are especially great, demanding a corresponding reorganisation of our work and Bolshevik mobilisation of the working masses. The successes of the first Five-Year Plan are most strikingly expressed in the victorious growth of collectivisation. Together with the construction of Soviet farms there have developed in recent years the Socialist farms, which have captured a predominant position in the village. Thus, despite all difficulties the foundation of Socialist economy has been created in our country. The fundamental question of Lenin: "Who will beat whom?" has been decided against capitalism and in favour of Socialism.

Therein lies our greatest world historical victory. It is specially significant on the background of unprecedented world crisis, the growth of unemployment and destitution, testifying the approach of the end of capitalism.

The conference will have to pass a decision on the tasks of the Second Five-Year Plan. The fundamental conditions for the fulfilment of the Second Five-Year Plan for national economy consist in the complete fulfilment of the economic tasks for the present year. Let me express confidence in the fact that in the second Five-Year Plan, with its broad programme for the construction of Socialism and the raising of the material and cultural conditions of the widest masses, there will be the same unanimity and firmness during difficult moments and confidence of victory among our Party, the working class and the millions of toilers which assured the victorious progress of the first Five-Year Plan.

At the same time special vigilance is necessary regarding the facts and tendencies which make themselves felt more and more forcefully in the international situation, particularly in connection with the deepening world crisis and the sharpening contradictions in the imperialist camp.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is clear; it is a policy of peace. Everybody sees we are completely absorbed with peaceful construction in our country and we are doing everything in order to thwart new imperialist attacks upon the Socialist Republic. Nevertheless, provocations designed to disrupt peace do not cease.

The events in the Far East require from us a serious watchfulness and proper preparedness for surprises from bellicose foreign bourgeois circles.

Remnants of the White guards, under definite foreign protection, have become busy in Manchuria. White guards in Manchuria and Paris openly are building plans to break the Far East away from the U.S.S.R. and to create, with foreign aid, a 'buffer State' with the participation of international outcasts, such as General Gaida and his gang, whom we remember by the intervention in 1918-1919.

Not for nothing have such White guard leaders, as Milyukov and Kerensky, gone to Czechoslovakia. In Prague, as we well know, there are people with whom they will plot

for new provocative wars against the U.S.S.R. We would not be Bolsheviks if we passed by such dangers to the Soviet Union or remain passive onlookers. Events in China, particularly the latest developments in Shanghai, testify with sufficient eloquence how the imperialists, under present conditions, are unleashing new wars. The peculiarity of the present moment consists in that the dividing line between peace and war is being increasingly obliterated. They creep into war and conduct hostilities without open declaration of war.

Furthermore, they wage war, tramping under the generals' heels the sovereignty and national rights of a great people, while making speeches about disarmament and peace in the solemn atmosphere of international conferences. All this shows that we will only fulfil our duty if we do not allow ourselves to be lulled by any talk or general resolutions on the international situation. We must actually display not only a proletarian heroism in building a new society, but a real vigilance and proper readiness to protect the vital interests of the workers and peasants.

In the first years of our existence, the Soviet power was much weaker than now, yet we came out victorious. Since then we have marched from victory to victory, developing economic construction at a pace never witnessed in history and preparing the realisation of the fundamental task of Socialism, the complete liquidation of capitalist elements and classes generally. These victories have been gained on the basis of Leninism. The guarantee of our victories has been the Leninist Party and its Central Committee, with Comrade Stalin at the head. (Applause.)

We have the same guarantee now, and it is growing stronger daily. The mighty growth of our Party and the strengthening of the confidence in it among the toiling masses of the U.S.S.R., the growth of the cause of world Communism, and its support by ever-growing masses of the international proletariat, are a guarantee of our final victory. (Applause.)

The history of our Party shows that the cause of the working-class can be victorious only through uncompromising struggle for the Bolshevik general line against opportunism and rotten conciliation in all its forms.

We must continue to build our fighting ranks, under the banner of Leninism, in the struggle against opportunism, both in the field of theory and practical work. The victories of the first land of the proletarian dictatorship will be of greater world importance the more consistently, actively, consciously, and self-sacrificingly the Bolsheviks march forward, illuminating the path for the toilers by the beaconlight of the Communist teachings of Marx and Lenin.

Long live our Leninist Party!

Long live the victory of Communism!

(Prolonged applause.)

* * *

The Conference then elected a Presidium, Secretariat and editorial Committee.

Forty-one comrades were unanimously elected on the Presidium, including Comrades **Andreyev**, **Bluecher**, **Budienny**, **Voroshilov**, **Kaganovitch**, **Kalinin**, **Kirov**, **Kossior**, **Kuibyshev**, **Manuilsky**, **Menzhinsky**, **Mikoyan**, **Molotov**, **Ordjonikidze**, **Petrovsky**, **Postyshev**, **Rudzutak**, **Stalin**, **Chubar** and **Shvernik**.

Comrade Stalin's appearance at the Presidium table was the cause of a stormy ovation; the delegates and all present rose and warmly greeted the leader of the Bolshevik Party and the international proletariat.

The Conference adopted the following agenda:—

(1) The results of industrial development in 1931 and the tasks of 1932.

(2) Instructions for compilation of the second Five-Year Plan of the national economy of the U.S.S.R.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

Comrade Piatnitzky 50 Years Old.

Moscow, January 30th, 1932

Comrade Piatnitzky to-day celebrates his 50th birthday. The life of our 50-year old Comrade Piatnitzky represents a proletarian, revolutionary act, a Bolshevik life. At the end of the last century, when the revolutionary proletarian mass movement in Tsarist Russia was still in its first stage of development in the chief centres of the country, a young artisan joined a small, persecuted provincial illegal social democratic workers' circle. The first number of the Leninist "Iskra" came into his hands. Shortly afterwards he became the organiser of its distribution. He attended the first years of instruction in the Leninist school—already as a young worker he became a professional revolutionary. His schooling consisted not only in reading periodicals and studying. It consisted of persecutions and arrests; it consisted of prison life, in heroic attempts at escape, emigration and banishment. The school of the professional revolutionary consisted in a devoted, unwearied, persistent daily work; in introducing Bolshevik ideas in revolutionary organs and revolutionary organisations; in establishing and strengthening the illegal connections between the political centre of the Bolsheviks abroad, where the Leninist ideas were forged, and Russia, where the scattered, illegal Party Committees supplied the live material out of the experience of their mass work for the Leninist Centre and, in the fight against sectarianism, prepared for the revolutionary workers' party the victorious advance of Bolshevism. His life consisted in organising Party nuclei in the works and factories; in making use of the legal and semi-legal possibilities; in organising strikes and mass demonstrations; in exemplary preparation of the masses for armed revolt.

And all this in the fight against opportunism of the Right and the Left. There is no important variety of revolutionary work in which Comrade Piatnitzky, as a close and true follower of Lenin, would not have participated. Through hard, self-sacrificing years of organising a centralised Party, with an almost empty Party treasury, during the most difficult years of the fight of the "Iskra" against the economists, and after the Party Congress, in the year 1903, in the first years of the fight between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, Piatnitzky was one of the most efficient organisers of the transport of illegal Party literature and of illegal Party workers across the strictly guarded frontiers of Tsarist Russia. At the time of the revolution of 1905, the rehearsal of the great October Revolution, Comrade Piatnitzky was among the leading Party comrades who organised and conducted the revolutionary mass fights in Odessa. In the years of the ebb of the mass movement, in the years of profound reaction, Comrade Piatnitzky again became organiser of the illegal apparatus of the Bolshevik Centre abroad.

In the fight against the liquidators he was one of the organisers of the Conference at Prague in the year 1912, when the Bolsheviks finally constituted themselves an independent Party. Soon afterwards he again came to Russia as an agent of the Leninist Central Committee and was organiser of the illegal work on the Volga, immediately up to his arrest and banishment to Siberia. After the February Revolution, which freed him from banishment, he became organiser of the railway workers and one of the leaders of the armed revolt in Moscow, and then secretary of the Moscow Party organisation. In recent years he has been a member of the highest Party body of the C.P.S.U., the Central Control Commission, and later also of the Central Committee. He is the head of the organisation work, member of the E.C.C.I. and one of the secretaries of the Executive Committee of the Comintern. These are only the most important events in the career of Comrade Piatnitzky.

It is not easy to describe Comrade Piatnitzky's activity in the Comintern. Not a hundredth part of the leading work which he has performed and is still performing in the Communist World Party ever reaches the knowledge of the outside public. The training of the professional revolutionary under Lenin's leadership is shown in every detail of Comrade Piatnitzky's work—the work of a professional revolutionary

who always with the greatest modesty serves the comrades and organisations, which he, with the greatest circumspection and taking into account all the circumstances, leads and welds together with a firm and secure hand. Within the frame of the general leadership of the Comintern, Comrade Piatnitzky works passionately as a Bolshevik Party architect and mass organiser in securing the application of the historical experience of the Bolshevik Party, as well as in organising the work of the leading bodies of the Comintern itself.

In the arduous and long years of struggle against the remnants of social democratic traditions, both in the political and the organisational field, against the theory of spontaneity and the underestimation of the role of the Party as the leader and organiser of the masses arising therefrom, Comrade Piatnitzky has fought with firm consistency and unyielding tenacity for the carrying out of the Leninist principle of organisation and methods in every single section of the Comintern, and above all for the transformation of the Communist Parties on the basis of factory nuclei. This requires not only immediate experience derived from long years of Party work in the ranks of the Party of Lenin, but also an exact knowledge of the peculiarity of every Communist Party and its cadres, its membership, its conditions of work and struggle. It also requires a thorough knowledge of the policy, the methods of organisation and work of the enemies of the proletarian revolution, above all of the social democracy and of the reformist trade unions.

Revolutionary trade union work as an important constituent part of the mass work of the Communist Parties has in the last few years come directly and permanently within Comrade Piatnitzky's field of activity. Comrade Piatnitzky's sharp criticism of all those who do not fight hard and persistently enough for the transformation of the Communist Parties upon the basis of factory nuclei—who point to the existing difficulties and hindrances in order to justify their weaknesses—has always been based on an all-round knowledge, on an exact control of the facts and on a Bolshevik estimation of the connection between politics and organisation, and at the same time takes into account the peculiarity of the sector of the front.

To enable the Sections of the Comintern really to carry out a Bolshevik policy, to make them capable of crushing the social democracy, capturing the majority of the working class, organising and leading the decisive fights for power, to render them capable of achieving victory in the revolution—this has always been the leading idea in the whole activity of Comrade Piatnitzky. In order to be able to carry out the complicated task of Bolshevising the Communist world Party, it was necessary further to develop the leading bodies and the apparatus of the Comintern from a body which mainly conducted propaganda and agitation work, into organs of politically and organisationally differentiated leadership. Comrade Piatnitzky's revolutionary sense of reality is rooted in the long years of Leninist schooling in the correct estimation of facts, the political linking up of the same and the extreme concrete approach to questions, as well as in an extraordinary knowledge of the whole international labour movement. This sense of reality remains the most important prerequisite for the correct leadership of such a complicated sphere of work and struggle as the international revolutionary movement is.

This Bolshevik sense of reality, coupled with a passionate, persistent revolutionary urge to make all sections of the Comintern capable of mastering their historical task, is clearly expressed in the case of Comrade Piatnitzky in his hatred against every Right opportunist adaptation in words to all decisions; against all passivity masked by "Left" phrase-mongering. Therefore, our Comrade Piatnitzky is a passionate opponent of any incongruity between word and deed, a fighter for the revolutionary realisation of adopted decisions. Hence his speeches and literary works are always marked not only by the concrete putting of questions, but also by the effective manner in which he always lays bare and grasps the essence of things.

Our Comrade Piatnitzky is a granite-hard Bolshevik, an exemplary leader of the international Communist movement. Wilhelm Pieck (Germany), Manuilsky (C.P.S.U.), Wan Ming (China), Kuusinen (E.C.C.I.), Thorez (France), Svabova (C.P. of Czechoslovakia), Knorin, Losovsky, Browder (C.P. U.S.A.), Bela Kun, Gopner, Slavinski (C.P. Poland), Sen Katayama, Gussev, Hathaway (C.P. U.S.A.), Kolarov, Okano (Ja-

pan), Mitzkevitch, Manner (C.P. Finland), Chemadanov (E.C.Y.C.I.), Varga, Angaretis (C.P. Lithuania), Codovilla, Chakaya, Trilla (C.P. Spain), Isskrov (C.P. Bulgaria), Maggi (C.P. Italy), Hansen (C.P. Norway).

The Political and Economic Situation in Ireland and the Tasks of the Revolutionary Movement.

Resolution Adopted by the Conference of Revolutionary Workers' Groups (Ireland).

The Revolutionary Workers' Groups in Ireland (Imitatory Groups for the formation of the Communist Party in Ireland), in December last, after the passing of the terror legislation by the Irish Free State Government, which rendered their organisation an illegal association, held an illegal conference, which was highly successful and at which the following resolution was passed.

The Free State bourgeoisie has moved to a more open form of dictatorship in the struggle against the toiling masses. This is the capitalist reply to the increasing sharpness of the class struggle and the general ferment among the toiling masses, arising from the economic crisis.

The economic crisis in Ireland develops as part of the general world crisis of capitalism, whose effects are most forcibly illustrated in regard to the following: —

a) The heavy fall in external trade, which is changing for the worse the Free State's relation to foreign capitalist economy. For the first time since 1926, the adverse trade balance this year shows an increase of 25% over that of 1930.

b) The crisis in Britain is resulting in a heavy decline in the export of agricultural products from the Free State (in cattle alone a fall in exports of 2 million pounds for the first nine months of 1931).

c) The accentuation of the unemployment problem by the cessation of emigration to the United States; the cessation of remittances to relatives from Irish workers in the States and the return of large numbers to Ireland, consequent upon the crisis in the U.S.A.

d) The world crisis is felt severely in the linen and shipbuilding industries of Ulster, almost wholly dependent upon the world market.

The slump in the American market and the increase in competition from the continent has had disastrous results upon the linen industry, where unemployment reaches as high as 50%. The crisis in linen directly aggravates the agricultural crisis, through the collapse of the market for home grown flax.

Sixty per cent. of the workers in the shipbuilding industry are idle and one yard has been closed down altogether.

At the same time, the Governments are pursuing a drive for economy in social services, in the running of State services (teachers and civil servants), and the imposition of fresh burdens of taxation on the working masses in order to balance the capitalist budget.

The economic crisis has special severity for the toiling masses by reason of a number of specific economic, political and historical factors, which characterise the present situation in Ireland: —

Firstly: — The preponderating role of the agrarian crisis in the general economic crisis in the Free State. The preponderating role of peasant economy in Irish agriculture. The fall in agricultural prices is much more severe than in the prices in industry.

Secondly: — The crisis now develops after years of a ruthless application of the capitalist solution of economy at the expense of the workers and peasants in the domain of wage reductions, attacks on social services, tariffs, and considerable rationalisation of a direct and brutal character.

Thirdly: — The masses are bearing the burden of the attempts of a "nationally emancipated bourgeoisie" to develop economic independence by establishing new industries in the midst of the general crisis of capitalism, and under the conditions of a relatively backward peasant economy.

Fourthly: — The crisis develops in the Free State following years of internal conflict during and after the civil war. The imposition of "Free State national freedom" upon the toiling masses necessitated an armed conflict for two years.

During the stabilisation epoch of the second period of post-war capitalism, the Free State bourgeoisie were without the co-operation of all the bourgeois political forces. Reformist nationalism (DeValera) did not enter into positive co-operation with the bourgeoisie State until 1927.

Finally: — The crisis develops in a country torn by the contradictions of imperialism, with two governments, and a tariff wall dividing a small population. In this historic and economic situation, after years of economy at the masses' expense; budget balancing, trade balancing, tariffs, attacks on social services, etc., the Free State bourgeoisie finds itself called upon to face a growingly acute economic crisis. This explains this terror legislation, the dictatorial regime outlawing the class organisations of the workers and peasants.

The conditions under which the dictatorship is established reveal the growing sharpness of the class struggle, and the differentiation among the masses. Important factors in estimating the character of the present drive along the path of fascist terror by the bourgeoisie, are: —

1. The dictatorship has been essential to the bourgeoisie in the fight against the toiling masses, despite the constitutional parliamentary orientation of Fianna Fail and its legal co-operation with the Free State Government.

2. The existence of the reformist Labour Party and the most naked sabotage of all working class action by the trade union bureaucracy.

3. The virtual collapse of Larkinism as a fighting force, resulting in corresponding leaderlessness among an important section of the proletariat.

4. With religion more consciously and organisationally linked with the bourgeoisie, a native catholic government is able to utilise this instrument against the toiling masses on a much more effective scale than its British Imperial predecessors.

The change in the relation of class forces has thus revealed the bankruptcy of the old leadership and organisation, within both the national and labour movements. At the same time, the masses have not yet found the alternative to republicanism, reformism and left-labour radicalism. The present dictatorship is therefore being directed against the toiling masses, in the absence of a well-organised Communist Party.

All these factors taken together are an indication of the developing depths of the crisis and the sharpness of the class struggle.

The bourgeoisie, the priests and the national and labour reformists are united against the working masses, under the cry of the "communist menace". The Labour reformists have outdone all other political parties, even the Government party, in their anti-Communist propaganda. (Two Labour T.D.'s voted with the Government for the Terror Act.)

The shifting in class relations is shown in the more openly imperialist orientation of the Government (O'Sullivan's speech re danger of wrecking the Empire), the swallowing up by the Government party of the old Nationalist group (Redmond, Byrne etc.), and its open championship of the Unionists. Fianna Fail takes the place vacated by the Government Party and now occupies a position in its political propaganda, of the Free State party in 1922 (Griffithism) . . . Fianna Fail, armed with its new daily paper, endeavours to obtain the hegemony of the anti-Government forces and to find a basis within the trade unions and the working class by advances to the Labour Party and Larkin; while its tactics and propaganda are directed to draw the I.R.A. republicans into its constitutional net, and away from Communist influence.

The faith of the peasantry and semi-proletarians in the parties of national and labour reformism, and also the tactics of petty-bourgeois terrorism, is so far shaken as to cause them to attempt to put forward their own policy and organise independently. **Saor Eire** represents the attempt of the peasantry to find an independent line of advance, but under the leadership of the revolutionary republican petty bourgeoisie. It also represents the attempt of the latter to head the developing movement on a line alternative to that of Communism. But the sharpness of the class issues, the sledge-hammer blows of the entire bourgeois forces, the frantic anti-communist, anti-soviet propaganda, has spread disintegration in the leadership of this group: the left trade union officials' capitulation to the reformist bureaucracy; the petty bourgeois radicals to the priests; and the workers and peasants moving closer to the Revolutionary Workers' Groups and Communism.

The line of the Communists: Despite the undoubted obstacles presented by the bourgeois dictatorship, the situation gives favourable ground for the class organisation of the

workers and peasants under communist leadership. The work of the moment is to push forward with the organisation of the class conscious forces in the Communist Party. This must be the reply of the Irish workers and peasants to the Cosgrave Terror Act.

The Groups must push forward with the work of extending the main basis of the revolutionary workers' movement and thus bring the proletariat to the leadership of the revolutionary rural elements. This necessitates intensified work along the following lines: —

1. To carry the fight against the trade union bureaucracy beyond the propaganda stage by organised opposition around concrete issues within the T.U. branches. Progress in this work has been weak and tendencies to capitulation to the laws of the Reformist apparatus are much in evidence among party members.

2. Increasing attention to the factories, yards, and docks around, particularly, the issues of rationalisation, and dismissals. The Groups, have, even in propaganda, been weak on the issues of rationalisation, now a dominant factor in the capitalist offensive against the workers (Drumm battery on railways, elevators at Docks, Shannon Scheme).

3. The organisation of the unemployed around a specific programme (extension of unemployment insurance, Labour Exchange grievances, relief, etc.). This programme to be launched at the all-in Conference in Dublin.

4. To strengthen the united front now developing with the Workers' Union of Ireland membership, by drawing the lower ranks into active leadership of the mass movement.

5. To intensify the work in preparation for the United Front Conference; ensure election of delegates from T.U. branches, factories, etc. Preparation of Programme of Action.

6. To increase the work of securing a strong proletarian base in Ulster.

7. To enter the impending General Election in the Free State with Communist candidates, fighting on the basis of the united front programme and standing for the organisation of the Communist Party.

8. To combat the anti-Soviet campaign by wide popularisation of the achievements of the U.S.S.R. in the liberation of subject peoples, and the Five-Year Plan, as a contrast to the crisis in the capitalist world; and reply to the present campaign by the organisation of a strong delegation of workers from both parts of the country to U.S.S.R.

9. The immediate issuance of literature.

10. To take immediate steps for the organisation of the Irish workers abroad around the policy of the Anti-Imperialist League; the organisation of delegations to the Soviet Union, and in general to bring the foreign Irish workers into the international struggle against imperialism.

On the success of our work on these lines will depend the extent to which the workers will be won to Communism and the hegemony of the proletariat over the revolutionary peasant forces in the country brought into being.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Worker Inventors in the Soviet Union.

The fight for the Five-Year Plan called forth a tremendous increase of technical creative work and drew vast masses of shock-brigaders into this work. The words of **Lenin** regarding "connecting the latest science and capitalist technique with the mass organisation of class-conscious workers, creators of large-scale socialist production", found their realisation. The Society of Worker Inventors was founded in 1930, in accordance with a decision adopted by the Central Trade Union Council of the Soviet Union and approved by the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.

According to incomplete statistics, this society has now in its ranks about 700,000 worker inventors. The Leningrad organisation alone has over 60,000 members, the Ukrainian organisation 75,000, the Moscow organisation 50,000. The growth of the inventiveness of the masses and of the organisation of inventors is particularly seen in the works and factories. In the Putilov works the nuclei of the worker inventors have 2,400 members, in "Krasny Treugolnik" factory 2,000, in the Moscow "Electro-Savod" 3,200, in the Stalingrad tractor-works 2,300, in the factory "Red Profintern" 1,200 etc.

The inventors have always stood in the front ranks. Wherever the production plan is threatened, there the inventor fights. The Leningrad organisation of the worker inventors fought energetically and magnificently for the collection of inventions and improvements for the fund of the third decisive section of the Five-Year Plan. Leningrad inventors set themselves the aim of effecting economies which would realise 100 million roubles for the fund; they exceeded their aim, and by improvements and inventions effected savings amounting to 102 million roubles.

But other organisations of the society have not lagged behind Leningrad. The North Caucasus organisation aimed at saving 50 million roubles, Stalingrad 60 million roubles, the Central Black-Earth district 25 million roubles, the Western district 25 million roubles. Everywhere the inventors have fulfilled their pledges, saved the country millions of roubles and raised the technique of production.

In the first six months of 1931 the worker inventors in the Putilov works made 8000 proposals and achieved a total saving of 6,200,000 roubles. The value of the proposals has greatly increased. In 1929/30 the average value of the workers' proposals amounted at most to 600 roubles. In 1930 it already increased to 1393 roubles, and in the middle of 1931 to over 2800 roubles.

In the Moscow factory "Serp i Molotov", in the year 1927, only 17 inventions were submitted, and in 1928/29 only 24, whilst in 1929/30 their number increased to 1952 and in the first nine months of the year 1931 to 2892. Although only a part of these last were adopted, they affected a saving in nine months of no less than 800,000 roubles.

The greatest shortcoming in regard to mass invention was its planlessness, until the inventors themselves elaborated a plan. In the factories there appeared so-called tasks-books for inventors. In order to give the reader a clear idea of the nature of these tasks books, we give below two quotations from such a book in the "Marx" factory:

"One of the weakest points are the cranes. Just consider what arrangements should be made in the foundry in order that the cranes should not have to travel such great distances."

"In the smithy the process of tempering takes 10 to 12 days. How could this be altered in order to shorten the time required?"

In addition to issuing tasks-books, the nuclei of inventors have worked out methods of drawing in the individual worker. In the factory "Electro-Apparat" the different tasks were discussed at meetings of the workers and appeals to the workers were attached to the machines in question. The tasks-books contained photographs clearly showing the deficiencies of the factory. Last year the miners of Lussichank successfully allocated socialist tasks to the inventors.

In addition to creating new forms of planning, the nuclei of worker inventors found the most effective form of mobilising the creative ideas of the workers. Already two years ago, the so-called "worker invention loans" achieved great popularity in the Moscow and Leningrad factories. They consist in the workers who subscribe to a loan to the amount of say 1000 or 5000 roubles, undertaking within a definite time to make proposals which will render possible a saving corresponding in value to the amount subscribed.

The proposals submitted are examined and tested in the shortest possible time, and the workers submitting them are rewarded with a premium.

The imparting of a planned character to inventive work will result in an enormous increase of technique.

The fourth, the concluding year of the Five-Year Plan sees the inventors engaged in a strenuous struggle to fulfil their obligations. These obligations are really very great. The

organisation has set itself the aim of effecting, by means of inventions and improvements, savings amounting to 1000 million roubles.

This growth of creative initiative, these victories of mass inventiveness are the best answers to the calumnies of Kautsky and Trotzky regarding the exploitation which is said to prevail in the Soviet factories. Is it possible for exploitation to evoke such a huge growth of creative initiative, such a heroic fight for technical advance? The tremendous upsurge of the rationalisation and invention movement of the masses in the Soviet Union is clearly seen when one compares it with the world crisis, unemployment and technical stagnation in the capitalist countries.

The first All-Union Congress of Worker Inventors was opened on January 16 in the Trade Union House in Moscow. Delegates, representing 500,000 worker inventors, were present from all parts of the Soviet Union.

Comrade Weinberg, the Secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions, delivered the Report on the tasks of worker inventors in socialist construction.

The mass movement of the worker inventors, declared Comrade Weinberg, is one of the most important forms of the creative participation of the workers in the building up of Socialism. Without this creative initiative of the masses we should not have achieved these successes which we are able to record.

The capitalists are now against the activity of the inventor, against technical improvements. Only inventions of a military-technical character are of importance to them. Inventions which contribute to the development of productive forces are rejected by the capitalists. For example, the German glass cartel recently purchased a patent for a bottle-machine, the employment of which would have revolutionised the glass industry. The glass cartel, however, purchased the patent solely in order to prevent it from being used. Thus we see that technical progress has ceased under capitalism.

Here, in the Soviet Union, we see the exact opposite. The building up of Socialism demands the most rapid development of technique. We are striving to rationalise production in order to lighten the labour of the workers, in order, by releasing workers, to be able to take up fresh construction work.

We have set ourselves the task of increasing the productivity of labour this year by 22 per cent., while at the same time improving the quality of our production. We have set ourselves the task of setting up new works and factories and new branches of industry. In all this the worker inventors play a great role.

Comrade Weinberg reported that in nine months of the year 1931, 194,709 workers proposals came into the various bureaux of the State industry, 96,500 into the railway administrations, and a lesser number into such institutions as the post-office. Among the most important inventions were automatic couplings and the engine-driven combine harvester, which alone effected a saving of 81 million roubles.

At the evening session Comrade Petuchov reported on the situation and the next tasks of the Society of Worker Inventors.

Obituary

Peter Stutchka.

Peter Stutchka is dead. One of the oldest fighters, the irreplaceable leader of the Latvian revolutionary proletariat, the founder and theoretician of his Party, has been taken from the ranks of the old Bolshevik guard. The name of Comrade Stutchka is closely bound up with the fight of the Latvian proletariat in the course of the last forty years.

Comrade Stutchka belongs not only to the Latvian proletariat. His name will go down in the history of the building

up of the Soviet Union, to which he devoted all his powers right from the moment of the October Revolution.

Comrade Stutchka was born on July 14th, (old style) 1865, in Livland, of peasant parents. After he had completed his studies at the faculty of law at St. Petersburg University, he worked in Riga as jurist and journalist. In the years 1888/1891 he was editor of the democratic Latvian newspaper "Denas Lapa" which, beginning with the year 1893, assumed an outspokenly social-democratic character. "Denas Lapa" played a very great role in the first historical stage of the Latvian revolutionary movement. In the year 1897 Comrade Stutchka was arrested along with the whole of the editorial staff. After being held under arrest for 7 months, he was banished to the gubernia of Wjatka for five years.

From 1903 to 1906 Comrade Stutchka practised as lawyer in Witebsk, during which time he was under police surveillance. In the year 1903 the Latvian social democracy was founded, and Comrade Stutchka was elected to its central committee. He worked on the illegal Latvian party press in Latvia and abroad. In the year 1903, after his return to Riga, he took part in the unity Congress of the Latvian social democratic party before this party was merged in the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party.

From 1907 on, Comrade Stutchka worked in St. Petersburg. He worked uninterruptedly at the publication of illegal Latvian literature, and at the same time worked on the Russian party press. After the February Revolution, he became a member of the Bolshevik fraction in the Executive Committee of the Petrograd workers' and soldiers' Council, and since then was without interruption elected member of the Central Executive Committee.

After the October Revolution Comrade Stutchka was appointed member of the investigation commission and as first People's Commissar for Justice.

From the year 1917 Comrade Stutchka was regularly elected member of the C.C. of the Communist Party of Latvia, and later was elected its representative on the E.C.C.I.

In the year 1919, he went to Riga and was placed at the head of the second Latvian Soviet government. After the crushing of Soviet Latvia he returned to Moscow and was for a time deputy people's commissar for Justice, and in 1923 was appointed president of the Supreme Court of the R.S.F.S.R.

In the last few years Comrade Stutchka occupied the position of chairman of the International Control Commission in the Communist International.

Comrade Stutchka was a member of the Communist Academy, in which he was the founder and first chairman of the section for the theory of law and the State. In the Summer 1931 he was appointed director of the Institute for Soviet Law. His chief works on Soviet law have become a means of aid to a Leninist knowledge of law to hundreds and thousands of students of the middle and high schools, to teachers, jurists, judges and economists of the Soviet Union.

Comrade Stutchka was the most productive and highly cultured collaborator on the Latvian Party press. In addition to numerous articles and pamphlets on the agrarian question, the national and other questions, he made a magnificent translation of the first volume of Marx' "Capital".

It is therefore not surprising that the name of Comrade Stutchka became thoroughly hated by the bourgeoisie on account of his unshakable devotion to the proletarian revolution. On the other hand, his name is loved not only by hundreds thousands of Latvian proletarians but by millions of workers of the Soviet Union.

We, the next friends and oldest comrades in arms of Comrade Stutchka, have lost in him the best friend, a faithful councillor and a good comrade.

Farewell, dear friend. You have spent yourself completely in a Leninist manner. But your cause is not dead. It lives on in victorious World Communism.

In the name of the Presidium of the Council of the Society of the Old Bolsheviks of the Soviet Union and in the name of his next friends:

Stopani. Dauge.