

(World news + views)

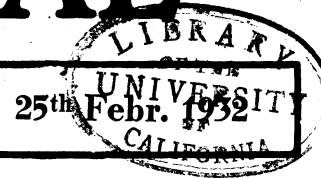
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The Battle at Shanghai.

The War Front and the Front of the Class Struggle.

By S. Lin.

The battle at Shanghai is in full swing. Since February 17, the forces which the Japanese militarists have concentrated in Shanghai have been conducting a furious attack against the positions of the Chinese army. Heavy artillery, tanks, trench mortars, aeroplanes and warships are taking part in the fighting. The great battle at Shanghai is raging on a fighting front 45 kilometres broad. The village of Kiangwan, the ancient fortress of Woosung, Chapei with its population of half a million, are the centre points of the new great battle which has been raging for three days. In spite of their technical superiority, the Japanese troops have not been able to achieve any successes. The Chinese troops are offering desperate resistance. They have three times recaptured the fiercely disputed village of Kiangwan. The Japanese commander is demanding reinforcements. The Cabinet Council in Tokyo is in permanent session. In London, a Cabinet Committee has been formed which is to adopt the necessary measures regarding the situation in Shanghai. Night duty has been introduced in the British War Ministry, the Foreign Ministry and the Admiralty. In Washington, the events in Shanghai are being followed with the greatest concern.

The bourgeois press of all countries is publishing long war reports on the big battle at Shanghai, in which more than 100,000 troops are engaged. And even the press hirelings of imperialism are compelled to write of the **bestial cruelties** of the Japanese troops. Dum-dum bullets, and gas-bombs are being employed by the Japanese army. Women, children and peaceful citizens are being indiscriminately murdered. The International Settlement in Shanghai is still being used by the Japanese as a basis for operations. All the imperialist

robbers are responsible for the devastations, the horrors, and bestial atrocities.

In Japan, the elections have been held at the very time the battle in Shanghai was raging. The workers' and peasants' bloc came forward in the election against the imperialist robber-war being conducted by their government, for the overthrow of the monarchy, against the dictatorship of finance capital and of the semi-feudal big landowners, for a workers' and peasants' government, for the confiscation of the land of the big landowners, for the recall of the Japanese troops from China, Korea and Formosa, against wage cuts and for unemployment relief, against the preparation of anti-Soviet intervention, for the defence of the Soviet Union, the Chinese revolution and the Chinese Soviets, for the conversion of the imperialist war into civil war.

Yoshida, the candidate of the workers' and peasants' bloc, has been arrested as have also 600 revolutionary workers, but the advance-guard of the revolutionary proletariat has fulfilled its proletarian duty. And this in Japan of finance capital and of the big landowners, where the bureaucratic police and military machine of the State apparatus is no less ruthless against the Japanese workers than it is against the Chinese workers.

And in Shanghai itself, where the unbridled terror of the militarists reigns, a soldiers' committee has been formed in the Japanese army; 600 Japanese soldiers **demonstrated against the war and refused to obey orders**. The brutal generals of the Mikado have had a **hundred soldiers shot**. These are only the first signs of the coming revolutionary storm. They are only the first harbingers of the approaching workers' and peasants'

revolution in Japan. And the financial magnates and big landowners of Japan know that it is a question of the further existence of their rule.

The Seiyukai party has "won" the election. This election "victory" does not in any way mean that Japan will be governed by a Parliamentary party, even if it is the most openly reactionary party. The War Minister **Araki** represents the officers' league, the Minister for Justice **Suzuki** represents the league of reserve officers; and this clique of militarists carries out the orders of finance capital. The Japanese socialists, the Okanaki-Sudzuki group, support this clique of militarists, are allied with it and declare themselves to be a party of "national socialism". The Japanese socialists have become openly national socialists: national socialists in the Hitler sense.

In China, things are turning out somewhat different from what the imperialists expected. The Japanese generals imagined they would simply be able to march into Chapei. They reckoned that the Kuomintang in Shanghai would smooth the way for them, just as did the Kuomintang agent **Chang Hsue Liang** in Manchuria, who, following the advice of the League of Nations, ordered his troops to lay down their arms. They reckoned that at the very worst they would succeed in buying the Chinese generals, just as they bought General **Ma** in Manchuria. Their calculations were correct insofar as the Kuomintang and the Chinese generals were concerned. The Kuomintang is still appealing to the League of Nations. It declared itself ready to accept the Japanese ultimatum and to evacuate Chapei, provided the Japanese also withdrew their troops. **Chiang-Kai-shek** ordered the troops to retreat. The Nanking government prohibits the formation of volunteer detachments. It prevents and opposes the arming of the masses. It stands for "passive resistance" in order, behind this phrase, to betray the fight.

The soldiers, the workers and the students have nevertheless organised the resistance. And up to now the resistance of the masses of the people, in spite of the treachery of the Kuomintang, has brought to nought all the efforts of a large, well-equipped and technically superior Japanese army. The **Communist Party of China** is taking part in these defensive fights as a **completely independent force**. It is struggling for the masses. It is struggling for the leadership of the masses in the national revolutionary fight. It is struggling for the hegemony of the proletariat in this fight also in Shanghai, while relying on the Soviet districts, on the Red Army, on the victory of the Soviet people's revolution.

Things are turning out differently to what they did in the first imperialist war. This is also to be seen from the events in Geneva. A great battle is raging in Shanghai, and at the "Disarmament" Conference in Geneva there is to be seen ever more clearly the lining up of the imperialist Powers for a new war. It would be a great mistake to dismiss the Geneva Conference as a mere farce. At Geneva, a comedy is being performed only insofar as there is talk about disarmament.

Now there exists the League of Nations, and on the 16th of February the League of Nations decided to convene a General meeting for the 3rd. of March. On 17th February, the big battle in Shanghai began. The "Vorwärts" speaks of the "tragedy" of the League of Nations. The press of the II. International talks about the Japanese guns having destroyed not only Chapei but also the League of Nations. It is not the League of Nations but the illusions regarding it, fostered by the II. International and the pacifists, that have been destroyed by the Japanese gun-fire. The League of Nations has played its part well. As organiser of war, as the means of preparing and extending war, it has proved excellent. It has rendered great services to Japanese, French and English imperialism and also, to a certain extent, even to the treacherous Kuomintang. And it was quite in order that the representative of the Japanese robber-campaign elaborated before the League of Nations the maximum programme of Japanese imperialism. **The fight against war must also be directed against the organiser of war, against the League of Nations.**

The fight against war must also be conducted **against the II. International**. The war in Manchuria, the battle at Schanghai, the immediate preparations for intervention against the Soviet Union, the intervention against the Chinese revolution have once again exposed the true role of the II. International. Has not **Reinhardt**, the chairman of the social democratic party of Switzerland, declared, that "only the Soviet Union

has an interest in letting loose the dogs of war"? Has not the Vienna "Arbeiter-Zeitung" of the Austro-Marxists put forward the thesis that "the bankers and generals are not planning any war against the Soviet Union"? Has not the Berlin "Vorwärts", the organ of the German social fascists, written regarding the "imperialism of the Soviet Union" towards China and placed it on the same footing with that of Japanese imperialists? Has not the "Vorwärts" declared that now that non-aggression pacts have been signed there is no war danger threatening the Soviet Union? Did not the social-democratic Basle "Arbeiterzeitung" take the war provocatur and Czechish diplomat **Vanek** under its protection? Does not the social democrat **Schönfelder**, the Hamburg chief of police, protect the transport of munitions to the Far East? Is not the Menshevik **Rosenfeld** carrying on a constant incitement against the Soviet Union in the columns of the "Populaire"? Has not **Lansbury**, the great pacifist, refused to have anything to do with a proposed boycott of Japanese goods in England? Has not the Vienna "Arbeiterzeitung" defended the Japanese Mikado-socialists? Have not **Boncour**, **Henderson**, **Vandervelde**, **Citrine** and **Jouhaux** actively taken part in the war preparations at Geneva? Did not **Vandervelde** declare Manchuria, the jumping off ground for intervention, to be a No Man's Land, and justify the Japanese robber-campaign? Do not the parties of the II. International support the war preparations of their own bourgeoisie?

In Shanghai a big battle is raging. The masses are beginning to understand that it is not only a question of China. The war in Manchuria is being continued. And Japanese imperialism has openly announced its further war aims. The masses themselves have already **commenced** the fight against war. The first rumblings of the storm of protest are to be heard. To increase this storm so that it comes to actions is the task which all Communist Parties have now set themselves.

French Town Council Meetings against War.

Paris, February 23, 1932.

** The town council of Alès, South France, at a meeting held on February 15, adopted the following resolution on the motion of the communist councillors:

"This meeting of the town council of Alès protests against the robber-campaign of the Japanese in China and against the slaughter of the Chinese people by Japanese and French imperialism.

"It is necessary to unmask the role of French imperialism,—of which Tardieu and Paul Boncour are worthy representatives in the League of Nations—French imperialism, which is extending and strengthening its military basis in China.

"It is necessary to expose before the masses the role of the social democrats, who support the policy of French imperialism and mislead the working class by means of pacifist phrases, talking about disarmament at a time when war is raging in Asia and demanding bloody sacrifices.

"We demand the withdrawal of the French troops from China. We protest against the supplying of munitions and weapons to the Japanese.

"It is necessary to mobilise the forces of the working class in order to defend the Chinese Soviets and the Soviet Union."

A similar resolution was adopted by the town council of Saint Marin de Valgagnes.

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Anti-war Demonstration in New York.

New York, 23rd February 1932.

A united front demonstration of 20,000 workers took place here on Sunday against the Japanese invasion of China and against the threat to the Soviet Union. Many thousands of workers demonstrated before the editorial offices of the socialist "Forward" against the treacherous policy of this organ. The demonstrating workers carried numerous placards with revolutionary slogans. The procession was so great that the traffic had to be stopped in the streets through which it passed. A resolution against imperialist war and in defence of the Soviet Union was unanimously adopted. Amongst the speakers were representatives of the Communist Party, of the Friends of the Soviet Union organisation, a representative of the striking Kentucky miners, a representative of the striking clothing workers, and a representative of the Negro dockers.

POLITICS

The Social Democratic Party of Germany in the Hindenburg Front.

By F. Brand (Berlin).

The German Reichstag has been summoned for the purpose of fixing the date of the Presidential election. As the date proposed for the elections is the 13th of March, there will be scarcely two weeks for the actual election campaign. The government is fixing the earliest date possible because the longer the election campaign lasts the greater the danger will be for the Brüning Cabinet.

The "Harzburg opposition" are still not yet agreed as to whom they shall put forward as candidates. The Hitler party claims, as a matter of course, that they shall put forward the candidate. But up to now, both Hugenberg and the Stahlhelm have been opposed to a candidature by the Hitler party. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the Harzburger front, at least at the first ballot, will come forward with several candidates.

The Hindenburg-Brüning front, after having adopted the Field Marshal as its candidate, has become more firmly consolidated. The Centre has already come forward with an appeal on behalf of Hindenburg. It is still possible, however, that this time there will be a serious opposition in the Centre which wishes to co-operate with Hitler and Hugenberg. At the General meeting of the Rhenish peasantry, the leader of the Centre, von Papen, openly advocated unity with the "National Opposition".

On the other hand, it is quite likely that this time broad sections of working class supporters of the Centre will be opposed to the Centre and Hindenburg, because they are exceedingly embittered against the policy of emergency decrees, and as they are not yet so far as to vote for the red workers' candidate, they will probably stay away from the poll. That the red united front movement is making considerable headway among the Catholic proletariat is proved not only by the furious incitement of the Centre against the Communist Party of Germany and the Red Trade Union Opposition, but also by the great success of the Communist Party in recruiting members precisely in the Catholic districts of Western Germany. It is obvious that the increased turn of the Communist Party to the Christian proletariat, which the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany introduced with its article by Comrade Thälmann in the "Internationale", is beginning to bear fruit. The Centre, the leading party of the German bourgeoisie, was at the same time the only party of the Brüning bloc which possessed a broad mass basis. A breach by the C.P.G. in the ranks of the working class followers of the Centre has therefore the greatest importance.

In this election the social democracy will again take over the role of shock troop of Brüning-Groener-Hindenburg. It is their special task to oppose the advance of Communism and to cloak the further fascistisation of Germany. It is true, this fight against the red united front has not been made an easy task for the social democracy. They have had to put up with treatment from the government which has roused the indignation of broad strata of the social democratic workers. Groener's Reichswehr decree, with which he allows the national socialists to join the German army, has clearly shown to the working masses the real character of the "protection against fascism" which the Brüning-government was said to constitute. This Groener decree is also directed against the social democracy, in that Groener expressed himself in very uncomplimentary language regarding the Reichsbanner. The resulting indignation among the social democratic and Reichsbanner workers became so great, that Breitscheid considered it necessary to declare that he would "settle accounts" with General Groener.

At the meeting of the Reichstag the social democracy will have the opportunity of showing how they intend to "settle accounts" with General Groener, the patron of the Nazis, for the Communist Reichstag fraction has tabled a vote of no-confidence against Groener, the acceptance of which would be a foregone conclusion if the social democratic party decided to vote for it. It is clear, however, that in spite of all the kicks that General Groener has constantly administered

the social democracy, they will oppose the vote of censure in order not to overthrow the Brüning Cabinet. They have already had long negotiations with the Reichs Chancellor in order that the latter, by making some declaration or other regarding the decree issued by the Reichswehr Minister Groener, will make it easier for them to reject the vote of no-confidence.

In the meantime, the social democracy have already converted the fight against the Communists into a great campaign of slander and incitement. They do not even shrink from printing extracts from an alleged "protocol" of the Plenary meeting of the Communist International—a forgery which is so glaringly stupid that it is immediately obvious to everybody—by which it is sought to prove that the Communists want Hitler to succeed in the election because he is their ally. The social fascist leaders will launch such gas attacks against the C.P. of Germany still more, for it is their chief object to obscure the clear class fronts.

The "Vorwärts" of February 21st, which quite openly declares that the social democratic party will support the re-election of Hindenburg, attempts to represent the Hindenburg-Groener-Brüning bloc as the "middle", and that therefore it is the task of the social democratic party to fight for the "middle" against the Right. But do not the social democratic workers know that the Brüning Cabinet has always designated itself as a government of the Right. Along with the social democratic party there stands in the Hindenburg front the nationalist ex-servicemen's organisations, the Young German Order, the Escherich organisation—all three openly fascist organisations—the agrarian party, the People's Conservatives and the arch-reactionary Economic Party. All these organisations, which even the social democratic party has always described to its followers as Right organisations, are now suddenly converted into "middle". The object of this manoeuvre is obvious: in order to serve up the old story of the "lesser evil", the social democratic party must present Hindenburg, Brüning and Groener as a bulwark against fascism!

"Defeat fascism!" cries the "Vorwärts". Therefore vote for Hindenburg and defend the Brüning-Groener Cabinet. But is not Hindenburg still the honorary President of the fascist Stahlhelm? Has not Groener just permitted the Nazis to enter the Reichswehr? Did not Brüning, only a few weeks ago, conduct long negotiations with Hitler? Has not the Centre declared itself prepared in principle to enter into a coalition with the national socialists? And in face of all this the social democratic workers are expected to believe that they are fighting against fascism when they vote for Hindenburg, Brüning and Groener!

It is true that this election campaign is a fight against fascism. But who is conducting the fight against fascism? The party which is oppressed and persecuted by the Brüning socialists, the Communist Party at the head of the red united front! It is conducting the fight not only as a Parliamentary campaign, but as a big extra-Parliamentary mass action, and not only against a part of fascism, but against every kind of fascism, against all groups of fascism, against the entire reaction from Severing to Hitler. The Communist Party of Germany is leading the red united front under the slogan of **class against class.**

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Berlin, 23rd February 1932.

After protracted negotiations behind the scenes the component parts of the Harzburg National United Front have been unable to agree on a joint candidate for the presidential election. Yesterday evening it was officially announced at a general membership meeting of the Berlin organisation of the Fascist Party that the party would put forward its leader **Adolf Hitler** as its candidate. This evening's bourgeois press reports that all arrangements have been made to secure the nationalisation of Hitler by appointing him to a professorship of applied pedagogics at the University of Brunswick, such an appointment brings with it automatically German citizenship for the holder. The German democratic press is still unable to stomach this and declares that under German law all camouflage business is null and void and that an appointment to a professorship whose sole aim was to grant the would be professor German nationality would also be null and void as such appointments can only have a real significance. However, it is unlikely that the government of the Reich would raise any serious objection

to this way of providing Hitler with German citizenship.

Simultaneously the German Nationalist Party and its semi-military organisation the "Stahlhelm" announce that it will put forward a candidate of its own in the person of **Duestenberg** the vice-chairman of the "Stahlhelm". The "Nationalist United Front" is thus split into two parts, although this does not mean that the breach may not be patched up for future actions, for the second stage of the presidential election, for instance. However, the split has a very real basis and reflects accurately the difficulties of the German bourgeoisie.

The Irish General Election.

By R. Bishop (London).

After ten unbroken years of office the **Cosgrave Government** of the Irish Free State has been defeated. Seven results are still to come, from County Leitrim, where a Government candidate was assassinated a few days before polling, and the election consequently postponed. In addition, at the time of writing, six other results have still to come.

But **Fianna Fail**, the party of **De Valera**, will be the largest single Party, and it is just possible that they may have a majority of one or two over all other Parties. At present they have 65 seats; the followers of Cosgrave, Cumann na Gaedeal, have 50, the Independents and Farmers 15, and the Labour Party (with two Independent Labourites) 9.

The retiring Cosgrave Government throughout its term of office proved to be a more than willing tool of British Imperialism. The wage offensive of the large farmers and industrialists against town and land workers received every support from the Government. The unemployed pay was reduced below the miserable level prevailing in Britain, whilst three-quarters of the workless were cut off benefit altogether. Annually the impoverished populace was called upon to find £3,000,000 to meet the demands of Britain for Land Annuities under the Treaty.

Faced with growing discontent the Government enacted the ferocious **Coercion Act**, abolished jury trial for political suspects (who are now tried by military tribunals), and placed every organisation believed to be in the slightest degree militant, under a ban of illegality. The reign of terror in Ireland during the last year has been comparable only to the regime in countries like Bulgaria and Poland.

Naturally the misery and terror have driven thousands of workers and impoverished farmers into the arms of De Valera, whose Party has attributed the sole responsibility for the crisis to the British connection, and the pro-British policy pursued by the Cosgrave Government. "Abolish the oath of allegiance" was the demagogic keystone to Fianna Fail election propaganda. A high Irish tariff wall is set out as the means by which "prosperity can be brought to Ireland's shores. The big farmer and the industrialist is promised that his industry and his land shall be made more prosperous than ever before. When Cosgrave charges De Valera that if returned to power he will "let loose the menace of Communism and gunmen upon Ireland", De Valera replies, more truthful in this than in most things, that he also will do his utmost to suppress both.

It is significant that whilst it is generally assumed in Ireland that Fianna Fail would repeal the Coercion Act, De Valera and his lieutenants have carefully avoided any concrete pledges in this direction. Nevertheless the town workers in particular have rallied to the standard of Fianna Fail, not from any very definite enthusiasm, but from the point of view of its being the "lesser evil", the Party most likely to secure the downfall of the hated Cumann na Gaedeal.

The unity of the capitalist parties in their desire to crush the working class movement and to keep buried the great traditions of the Irish workers associated with the name of **Jim Connolly** was shown in all their elections utterances. Here are two typical pronouncements.

Ernest Blythe (Cumann na Gaedeal):—

"There is only one way of dealing with Communists. That is to put them in jail and to shoot them if necessary."

Dr. Ryan (Fianna Fail):—

"If anyone knows of a Communist in Wexford, he will be doing a service to his country by pointing him

out to the Government. A Fianna Fail Government will deal with Communism as well as any other."

Fianna Fail gave up the fight long ago. The well-to-do farmers, the country gentlemen and the bourgeoisie of the towns who finance Fianna Fail have no stomach for the fight. They hope that by negotiation the annual Land Tenure payments made to Britain may be whittled down, or handed over to the Free State Government, and that by this means and an tariff they will be able to solve the crisis.

The London "Observer" of 21.2.32. carried an interview with **De Valera** in which he said:—

"These monies (the Land Annuities) are the property of the Free State. The annuities collected in the North are retained in the Northern Treasury. Our title to those collected in the South is equally good. There is no justification whatever for sending these annuities to Britain".

"We will retain the annuities and extend our trade with the Dominions", says Mr. De Valera. This is simply an expression of political bankruptcy. The whole policy of Britain as embodied in the Treaty is to prevent the industrial development of Ireland. That is why the industrial North was cut away from the agrarian South. This is the reason for bleeding the peasant farmers white, through the annuities.

The whole **British Press** takes the victory of De Valera very light-heartedly. They know he will not force the issue. They know that he will use the excuse of no majority or an unstable majority to merely continue the policy of his predecessor.

The small **Labour group** is utterly corrupt and will support De Valera if he makes the price high enough. They supported Cosgrave in maintaining the Treaty, now they try to screen their corruption by saying they will support De Valera, and urge him to leave the constitutional issue alone and to concentrate on the issue of unemployment. But the question of unemployment, of wages, of the poverty of the peasant farmers, all these are bound up with the question of independence.

The solution of the crisis for the workers and poor farmers is along the path of revolutionary struggle for independence, which must be carried on against the British Imperialists and against the Irish bourgeoisie as represented by Cumann na Gaedeal and Fianna Fail. This is the lesson that the young energetic Irish Republicans have to learn. At the elections they identified themselves with Fianna Fail. Some time back they claimed to be clear on the fact that only the organised masses of workers and poor farmers, fighting for existence against ever-increasing poverty, could solve the problem of independence, which had been betrayed by the bourgeoisie for an agreement with the imperialist enemies of Ireland. Having recognised this their path should have been towards the young Communist Party and for the unity of the workers with the peasant farmers. But this support of Fianna Fail is a turning away from the masses, a turning away from the vital force of the revolutionary struggle.

Only the small and young **Communist groups** came forward with a clear policy for the Irish workers and poor peasants, a policy of revolutionary struggle for independence based on a concrete programme of demands that arise from the everyday life of the workers and poor farmers. Only two Communist candidates were put forward, **Jim Larkin junior** and **Joe Troy**. They stood for two Dublin constituencies and both lost their deposit money. Their combined vote was under 1200. A small vote, maybe, but in the situation that existed a significant one. Not only was the desire to get rid of the murderous Cosgrave regime responsible for a drift towards the "lesser evil" theory, but the Bishops and the priests, whose influence is nowhere greater than in Ireland, came out with ferocious zeal against Communism.

These votes were cast for Communism, with every force in Ireland, pulpit, press and platform ranged against the Communist groups. But the campaign on the Communist policy was cheered by many thousands of workers who at the last moment cast their votes for Fianna Fail. A start has been made in Ireland towards merging the revolutionary groups into a strong Communist Party. The election campaign will serve to bring that immediate goal nearer, and as disillusionment with Fianna Fail succeeds disillusionment with Cumann na Gaedeal, so will the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants grow—the only movement able to wage successfully the fight for Irish independence and a Free Workers and Peasants Ireland.

Great Election Victory of the Bulgarian Workers' Party.

Sofia, 18th February 1932.

The results of the **municipal elections** which took place a day or so ago in 67 Bulgarian towns represent a fine success for the **Workers Party** even if the official figures are accepted. These figures are as follows: People's Block (the government coalition of four parties) 78,540, Workers Party 38,003, Democratic Block (oppositional parties) 17,030, and the National Fascist Block 1,005 votes.

The workers newspapers however declare that the results have been rigged by the authorities and that in reality the Workers Party received 46,732 votes whilst the People's Block received only 75,545 votes. **The Workers Party is in any case the strongest party in the country**, despite the terrific wave of police terror which swept over the country prior to the elections. In three towns the Workers Party has gained the absolute majority of the votes, in the textile centre **Sliven**, in **Troyan** and in the tobacco centre **Svilengrad**. In **Russe**, **Varna**, **Burgas**, **Plovdiv**, **Haskovo**, **Yambul**, **Stara-Zagora**, **Shumen**, **Gabrovo**, **Teteven** and a series of smaller towns the Workers Party headed the polls. The government coalition was the chief loser.

The Minister of the Interior **Geriginov** reports that the elections passed off peaceably. He made no reference to a series of shameless terrorist acts committed at the last moment by the police. In **Russe**, for instance, all the candidates of the Workers Party were arrested early in the morning and held in custody during the elections. In **Plovdiv** an election day raid took place on the headquarters of the Workers Party and everyone on the premises was arrested. The house was closed down for the day and the election organisation disorganised. Apart from this over 200 workers were arrested throughout the day. The same action was taken by the police in **Burgas** and **Sliven**. According to a statement issued by the Central Committee of the Workers Party after the poll, the police confiscated every leaflet of the party they could lay hands on. And despite the terror, the Workers Party emerges triumphantly from the polls!

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Sofia, 19th February 1932.

The Ministry of the Interior has now published the total figures of all the municipal elections which have taken place in Bulgaria in the towns (with the exception of Sofia) between the 1st November 1931 and the 14th February 1932. The list is as follows:

People's Block (Government Coalition)	105,085	and	740	seats
Workers Party	50,087	and	294	seats
Democrats (Bourgeois Opposition)	25,389	and	136	seats
Social Democrats	7,778	and	15	seats

Even according to those figures which the Workers Party declares to be rigged and despite the terrific wave of terror, the Workers Party is the strongest party in the country for the so-called People's Block consists of four different parties.

The Ferment in Fascist Italy.

From the Italian Frontier, 22nd February, 1932.

The wave of workers' and peasants' demonstrations against the fascist dictatorship, against Italian imperialism, is increasing every day. Eight days ago there were the demonstrations of the **Milan** bank employees, the movement of the day labourers in the neighbourhood of **Ravenna** and the revolutionary activity of the peasants in **Sardinia** and **Istria**.

The latest news emphasises the growing excitement prevailing the other side of the Alps.

The unemployed, whom the fascist authorities regard as fools and deprive of all unemployment benefit, are now going over to the offensive. In **Florence**, thousands of workers demonstrated in front of the premises of the fascist trade unions and demanded unemployment relief as well as good and adequate food for their families. The demonstrators refused to listen to the fascist trade union leaders, who proposed fresh negotiations and tried to palm them off with promises. In a

few minutes the masses had stormed the trade union premises and wrecked everything. It came to a very fierce collision between the reinforcements who were called up and the demonstrating unemployed, in the course of which a number of unemployed were wounded and a great number arrested. Since these events great excitement has prevailed in Florence, especially among the unemployed whose numbers are increasing every day.

In **Milan**, some hundreds of unemployed demonstrated in front of the Poor Law offices in the **Ceresio strada**. When a number of unemployed who had been refused all benefit informed their fellow-unemployed, who were gathered outside in the street, of this, a powerful demonstration procession was formed, which finally compelled the Poor Law Authorities to pay out relief.

Another expression of the anti-fascist movement in Italy is the fight of the peasants against the **podesta**, the fascist tax collectors and against the taxes in general. Just recently, in **Caltanissetta**, it came to a demonstration in which over 1000 day labourers and peasants took part. The crowd gathered in front of the burgomaster's offices and raised the cry: "Death to the **podesta**!", "Down with fascism!", "Down with the new taxes!", "Work and Bread!" . . . As nobody within the burgomaster's office made any response, the demonstrators were roused to fury. In few seconds the burgomaster's offices were occupied. In the course of the collision with the police which ensued, a number of the demonstrators were injured.

Particularly serious incidents took place in **Taurinova** in **Calabria**. Here, too hundreds of peasants and day labourers demonstrated against fascism and the exorbitant taxes. The demonstrators marched in a body to the town hall, which they besieged for several hours. When the fascist authorities did not venture to show their faces to the enraged masses, the demonstrators attempted to storm the town hall. When considerable police forces arrived from **Palma**, a very fierce encounter lasting two hours took place. Forty demonstrators were arrested and sentenced to one to two years' imprisonment.

Also in **Lombardy** the movement of the masses, who followed the slogans of the Communist Party against the fascist dictatorship, against its home and foreign policy, as well as against the taxes, found powerful expression. In three small localities, **Carmono**, **Brusaglia** and **Lazzaretto**, the workers and peasants demonstrated in front of the burgomaster's offices against the new taxes. In spite of the hastily summoned police and troops, the demonstrations were so powerful, that in **Carmono** the **podesta** was compelled to reduce the new taxes by 50 per cent. Following this success, a leaflet was immediately distributed in the whole neighbourhood calling upon the proletarians to continue their movement until complete victory. Also in **Benevento** it came to a fierce demonstration in front of the town hall and to bloody collisions between the peasants and the police.

Mass Meeting against War in Hamburg.

Berlin, 22nd February 1932.

A mass meeting organised by the Communist Party against the imperialist war in the Far East and against the threat to the Soviet Union took place yesterday evening in Hamburg. The exhibition hall in which the meeting took place was filled to overflowing long before the time fixed for the meeting to begin. A parallel meeting was then held in a nearby hall. Twenty thousand working men and women took part in the meetings. The police were present in the neighbourhood of the halls in great force and searched the workers attending the meetings. No arms of any description were found. 134 workers joined the Communist Party and hundreds of working men and women signed their names in the lists as red election helpers. Resolutions were unanimously adopted against imperialist war and in defence of the Soviet Union, and in support of **Comrade Thaelmann** in the presidential elections.

THE WAR IN THE FAR EAST

The Spreading War Conflagration in the Far East.

By Clemens Dutt (London).

The war of Japanese imperialism against the Chinese workers and peasants, conducted with the assistance of the other imperialist Powers, takes on an increasingly fiercer and more far-reaching character. The first stage, with the sudden savage onslaught against Shanghai on January 28th, ended with a definite check for the Japanese forces owing to the heroic resistance of the Chinese revolutionary masses. The Japanese troops succeeded neither in capturing the Woosung Forts nor in occupying Chapei.

The next phase has now opened. Japan brought up reinforcements giving her an Army of over 40,000 men round about Shanghai, together with more warships, heavy artillery and bombing-planes. A further Army of 45,000 men is reported to be ready to embark for Shanghai at any moment. A new great offensive was prepared. First of all, with the assistance of the imperialist Powers in Shanghai, an effort was made to induce the Chinese defending forces to capitulate. The treacherous Nanking Government, of course, favoured surrender. On February 17th, the Chinese and Japanese military commanders met on neutral ground, and the Japanese proposals were presented. On refusal, practically the same terms, embodying the evacuation of Chinese forces and their withdrawal indefinitely to beyond the zone of twelve miles of Greater Shanghai, the destruction of the forts at Woosung forever and the complete abandonment of anti-Japanese action, were presented as an ultimatum to be fulfilled within 24 hours.

On February 20, the new "great push" began. Japan commenced an attack with all the methods based on the experience of modern warfare resulting from the last imperialist Great War. Over 60 guns were employed for the preliminary artillery bombardment. Most of Chapei has already been destroyed. The whole territory is to be reduced to a mass of devastated ruins preliminary to its capture by the Japanese Army. Since January 28th and before the new offensive, already over 3,500 Chinese wounded were officially recorded as having been admitted to hospitals and Red Cross stations. The first days alone of the new attack are estimated to have caused at least 4,000 Chinese deaths. Yet, so far, the ground gained by the Japanese has been inconsiderable. The revolutionary 19th Army has been strengthened by the incorporation of militant workers and volunteers and is practically a new force. Additional troops have arrived from other parts. The war continues without intermission.

The Japanese attack on Shanghai represents an unprecedented example of naked imperialist brigandage. During the World War of 1914-18, the imperialist Governments and their agents were able to bull-doze the masses with propaganda of "defence of the fatherland". Japanese imperialism has no shadow of a possibility of putting forward such a pretence in this case. Lacking the long tradition of hypocritical statesmanship of the Western Powers, Japanese imperialism has always expressed its predatory aims more frankly and cynically than is customary for European diplomacy. The famous "Twenty-One Points" document, the ultimatum presented to China in 1919 demanding the cession of Shantung, the surrender of the chief economic resources and enterprises of China into Japanese hands, and which explicitly recorded that "Japanese capitalists" could be put as an equivalent for "Japanese Government", is a typical instance of this frankness.

Japan is conducting a war of open colonial aggression waged against the Chinese people. It confirms everything that Lenin has written on the possibility and inevitability of national revolutionary wars in the epoch of imperialism. It also demonstrates in a striking fashion a characteristic feature of the present period of world imperialism in decline, viz., that the national bourgeoisie in the chief colonial countries is unable to lead the masses in a national revolutionary war of resistance to imperialism. The national bourgeoisie in China, the representatives of which control the Kuomintang and the Nanking Government, have finally and

irrevocably exposed themselves before the Chinese masses by their treacherous attitude to the armed resistance of the masses against Japanese imperialism and by their servility to the brigand-Powers of foreign imperialism. **The bourgeois national revolution in China has received its death blow.**

The use of the International Settlement in Shanghai by Japan as a secure base for conducting military operations emphasizes the co-operation given to Japan by the other imperialist Powers. Formal protests, as a face-saving device, have of course been made. But the Director-General of the Municipal Council of the International Settlement has officially declared that the Settlement "enjoys only qualified neutrality for defensive purposes", and has intimidated his powerlessness to prevent the Japanese action. Japanese troops land without danger or possibility of interference from the Chinese at the wharves of the Settlement and their military camp and Army headquarters are situated in the Settlement area and thus enjoy the protection of the other Powers against any attack being made on them. They are free to make their advance from this base, but the British General Fleming, the Commander of the International Army in the Settlement, has issued a statement threatening to "shoot down" without mercy any Chinese soldiers who dare to enter the settlement in order to repel the invaders.

This international imperialist complicity in the Japanese aggression is evident also in the condoning of such atrocities as the dropping of bombs within the settlement, e. g. on the Wington textile mill; the savage killing of thousands of Chinese prisoners and refugees and the murderous bombardment of the hospital camp for victims of flood disaster which resulted in the destruction of the camp and over 50 deaths.

The collaboration between the robber imperialisms finds an open form in negotiations now proceeding in Shanghai which undoubtedly centre around the question of the partition of China. The Japanese Foreign Office has already put forward its proposal for "internationalising" all the important Chinese trade ports and fixing round them a neutral international zone of 15 to 20 miles width, which can only mean the complete colonisation and destruction of the national independence of China. The British Minister, Sir Miles Lampson, arrived in Shanghai on February 12 and immediately began negotiations not only with the Japanese Minister but also with "prominent Chinese" including the Chinese ex-Foreign Minister, Wellington Koo. The London "Times" (February 9) reports:—

"British, American and French ambassadors are still endeavouring to find a formula whereby the Chinese might be induced to withdraw their troops. The chief difficulty is that the troops now fighting are not under the Nanking Government's control."

The fact-finding **Consular Commission** set up by the **League of Nations** in Shanghai has issued its second report dealing with the period between January 29 and February 6. It concludes that the difficulty of deciding which party broke the truce and the intricate problems involved in the present conflict show that the machinery of the League of Nations is not adequate to deal with such complicated questions. Nevertheless it has perforce to speak of an open state of war existing and records also "numerous excesses" on the part of the Japanese and of a "reign of terror" instituted by them.

In view of the Japanese new offensive, the **Council of the League of Nations** decided on February 17th to send a special note solely to Japan, containing no demands or practical proposals, but drawing attention to the need to observe the obligations of the League Covenant and the Kellogg Pact. The best comment on this is that of the leading article in the London "Times" (February 18th), which praised it as "a dignified and sincere appeal to the better nature of the Japanese people". Since then, a meeting of the League Council has decided to comply with the request of the Nanking Government's representative and to convene a full Assembly meeting on March 3rd, by which time the effects of the Japanese offensive could be gauged. In any case, the Japanese Foreign Office has raised technical objections to the meeting of the Assembly and has further let it be known that it does not attach any particular importance to the measures adopted by the League of Nations. Japanese imperialism is well aware that it has nothing to fear from that quarter.

Japan is systematically continuing her advance in other parts of China as well. The advance towards Tehol shows the intention to control the approaches to Peking and Tientsin, while the operations against Nanking, Amoy and Swatow and

the dispatch of warships to **Hankow** indicate that Japanese imperialist expansion aims at the control of the major part of the **Yangtse valley** and **Southern China**. In the North also, the Japanese forces continue to extend their occupation. **Manchuria** has been proclaimed an independent Republic. The troops in Manchuria have advanced from **Harbin** to **Vinshow**, where whole streets of the town have been destroyed by bombardment. **The Japanese threat against the U.S.S.R. grows ever more serious.** In the German "Börsenzeitung" of February 10, there appeared an article by **Massow**, the ex-chief inspector of the Chinese Eastern Railway, in which he declared:

"It can hardly be questioned that in time Japan will stretch out its hand to Vladivostok, to the Northern half of Sakhalin, indeed to the whole so-called coastal provinces of Soviet Russia."

The explosive material in the Far East accumulates day by day. The spoilation of China by the united imperialist Powers is only a part of the programme of the destruction of the revolutionary workers' and peasants' movement in China, the complete wiping out of Soviet China. The attempt to destroy **Soviet China** and the inevitable advance in the next stage against **Soviet Mongolia** and the **eastern territory of the Soviet Union** lead to the immediate and acute threat of interventionist war against the U.S.S.R., which would be organised in co-operation with attacks through the imperialist vassal states on the Western borders in Europe. And behind and beyond these possibilities, there lurks all the time the approach of a **new imperialist world war** for a re-division of colonial possessions. The latest event in the immediate strategic preparations is seen in the U.S.A. demand from **Mexico** that in the event of a war with Japan, Mexico will not permit Japan to use any base there.

In the face of this situation the leaders of the **Second International** and the **Amsterdam Trade Union International** gathered this month in **Geneva** and issued a pitiful protest at the Japanese action in China, calling upon their parliamentary fractions to raise the question of the sanctity of existing treaties in their parliaments!

But other forces are also developing. Mutinies have already made their appearance among the Japanese troops. The revolutionary masses in **Japan** are fighting under the slogan of converting the war into a civil war against Japanese imperialism. The mass movement in **China** takes on ever bigger dimensions. The increasing excitement among the workers throughout Shanghai is such that the correspondent of the "**New York Daily News**" says that the internal situation in the International Settlement is more dangerous than the Japanese-Chinese war itself. The advance of the Chinese Soviet revolution takes on a new form. With the complete disintegration of the bourgeois nationalist movement, the struggle for independence and for the Chinese Soviet revolution can only be carried forward as a national revolutionary armed struggle of the Chinese toiling masses against imperialism under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chinese Soviets.

At the present moment, war material is pouring out from the armament factories of Europe and is being despatched to the Far East for the use of the Japanese imperialists. More and more troops are being sent by the imperialist Powers. **The struggle of the Chinese workers and peasants against foreign imperialism is a matter of life and death for the proletariat throughout the world. The testing moment is here now. The fate of the working class movement in Europe and America depends on whether it can take effective action to counter the imperialist war schemes against China and the Soviet Union.**

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Hamburg Workers Protest against Transports.

Berlin, 18th February 1932.

On Tuesday numerous protest meetings were held in Hamburg against the transport of war materials from Hamburg docks to Japan to assist in the imperialist attack on the Chinese people. A deputation was elected to visit the Hamburg Police President, the social democrat **Schoenfelder** with a view to securing the prohibition of these transports. Schoenfelder refused to see the deputation which was then received by his second-in-command. The deputation put forward the point of view of the workers and demanded that measures be taken to prevent this shameful trade. The police representative replied that the police were not in a position to take any action.

The True Countenance of the International of War Makers.

By Sen Katayama.

The **2nd International** showed its true face as soon as the first shots were fired from the Japanese guns in the Far East. Naturally, the first to defend the voracious appetites of their bourgeoisie were the **Japanese social democrats.**

"Japan, so poor in raw material, is not at all obliged, for the sake of peace, to carry on a semi-starvation existence for all eternity, for fear of being called aggressive".

This statement comes from **Akamatzu**, the leader of the Japanese social democrats. According to these social-imperialists, the responsibility for the starvation existence of the Japanese workers and peasants rests not with the Japanese landlords and capitalists, but . . . with China! No wonder that an important organ of the Japanese bourgeoisie expresses satisfaction that the "social democratic party is now definitely in favour of defending our rights and interests in Manchuria and Mongolia".

In the first stage of the military operations, when the Japanese social chauvinists were actively supporting the war in Manchuria, the **European** social-imperialists, tried to appease the world proletariat by asserting that there was no war, but only a slight collision which the beneficent League of Nations will soon liquidate. Now, when it is clear even to the most backward worker, that the war in the Far East is becoming more and more ruthless; that it is only a prelude to another world slaughter, to another military intervention against the U.S.S.R., the Second International is compelled to adopt new methods, in order to befool the masses.

We, **Communists**, said from the beginning that the statements of the Japanese social democrats in defence of the predatory expedition of the Japanese imperialists into China is only an indication of the attitude of the entire 2nd International towards imperialist war in general, and towards the present war in the Far East, in particular. Our prophecies have been fully vindicated.

In the European countries and in America the Communists are mobilising the workers against the despatch of arms to the Japanese imperialists. The Communists expose the secret transport of arms, advocate strikes in the munition and the arms factories, in ports and on railways, in order to prevent the delivery of this war material to Japan. But what are the social democrats doing? They dare not frankly tell the masses of workers that they are for the despatch of arms with the help of which the Chinese people is to be throttled. Therefore, they shuffle their cards cleverly and have the impudence to declare that the arms taken to the Far East are not meant to go to Japan, but to China!

The Second International and all its sections help energetically the Japanese imperialists to shoot the heroic workers of Chapei, to burn down Chinese cities, and to bombard Chinese women and children. Every worker must know this!

The Second International is in favour of plundering oppressed China in the interests of imperialism. More than that. It looks with savage hatred upon the country of victorious socialism, the first workers' and peasants' republic, the Soviet Union.

I have before me a copy of "**Der Abend**", the organ of the German social democracy, dated February 10th 1932. Here is what this miserable rag has to say:

"Just as Japan, the **Soviet Union** is with regard to China an **Imperialist power**, mindful of maintaining the advantages accruing to it from the coercive treaties it has taken over from the Tsarist government." . . . "Even Japan's request regarding the transport of troops on the Chinese Eastern railway which is under mixed Russo-Chinese administration, has not been declined by Moscow."

The U.S.S.R.—an imperialist power! Don't the social democratic lackeys of the bourgeoisie know that the U.S.S.R. has repudiated all the Tsarist agreements with China and other oppressed countries? Don't these shameless betrayers of the workers know that the agreement regarding the Chinese Eastern Railway was concluded between the U.S.S.R. and China in 1924 on the basis of full equality of rights? Don't

they know that there isn't a single Red Army man on the Chinese Eastern Railway, and that the U.S.S.R. has relinquished any utilisation of the railway for political purposes, having handed over all political questions connected with the Chinese Eastern Railway to the Chinese side? All this the gentlemen of "Vorwärts" and "Abend" know perfectly well. But if they were to mention these indisputable facts, how could they make the German workers believe that the U.S.S.R. was well able, but not inclined to prevent the transport of Japanese troops by the Chinese Eastern Railway?

The fact of the matter is that the Social fascists are determined to sabotage the construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R. which, for the first time in history, shows not in theory but in practice to the world proletariat the way to its liberation. At the beginning of the Japanese intervention in Manchuria, these loyal servants of world capitalism, together with their imperialist masters, tried to drive the U.S.S.R. into war with Japan. The social democratic as well as the entire capitalist press throughout the world, mysteriously hinted that the U.S.S.R. is preparing to intervene in the Manchurian affair, and to oppose Japan. But the Soviet Government did not allow itself to be provoked. The Soviet Government decisively declared that it will not cede an inch of its own territory, but that it also does not want an inch of other people's territory, and will steadily adhere to the policy of peace. **Comrade Litvinoff's speech in Geneva** is the most vivid proof of the Soviet Government's genuine fight for peace.

The first social fascist attempt to drive the U.S.S.R. into war has failed. A change of front is required. And the bark of the watchdogs of world imperialism has assumed a different tone! They are now accusing the U.S.S.R. of alliance with Japan!

The protest against the predatory expedition against China is assuming large proportions among the workers of the whole world. Millions of workers in Europe and America are drawn into the struggle for peace, and against the imperialist war in the Far East. The social fascists try to sabotage this struggle, and to direct it against the U.S.S.R., as the alleged ally of Japan. This is the real cause of the new social fascist campaign of lies and slander against the U.S.S.R.

The never to be forgotten leader of the German revolutionary proletariat, **Rosa Luxemburg**, driven to death by the social democratic hangmen, on August 4th 1914, called German social democracy a fetid corpse. To the revolutionary proletariat, the Second International is truly a corpse which for the time being still infects with deadly poison the backward sections of the working class. But to the bourgeoisie, the Second International is in the present epoch the vanguard in the preparation of another imperialist slaughter and intervention in the U.S.S.R.

Fellow workers! Leave the Second International, the International of War and intervention! Come out unitedly against the Japanese bandits, in defence of revolutionary China, in defence of the U.S.S.R.! Remember that it rests with you and you alone to put a stop to the criminal plot of world imperialism to drive the masses of workers and peasants into another war, even more destructive than the last world slaughter!

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Polish Worker Demonstrations against War.

Warsaw, 17th February 1932.

During the last few days a series of demonstrations have taken place against the imperialist war in the Far East and against the threat to the Soviet Union. Collisions have occurred with the police and scores of workers have been arrested.

The white-guardist newspaper "Svobodu" which enthusiastically supports imperialist Japan and hopes for an attack on the Soviet Union as a result of the Japanese campaign, has opened up a subscription in order to pay the fares of out-of-work whites to Manchuria in order to join the white detachments which Japan is forming there for service against the Soviet Union. The "Svobodu" complains bitterly to the Polish authorities against "a series of terrorist attacks" which have been made on its premises recently. Its office windows have been broken on several occasions and a number of other unpleasant happenings have taken place.

STRUGGLE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

National Unemployment Day in the United States.

By A. Bosse (New York).

Hundreds of thousands of workers in cities throughout the country were mobilized on February 4th, National Unemployment Day, by the Unemployed Councils, supported by the C.P.U.S.A. and all Left wing workers' organisations. They demonstrated for unemployment insurance and immediate relief, and against the imperialist war on the Chinese Soviets and the U.S.S.R. The demonstrations, which were called for by the National Hunger Marchers on Dec. 7th, were held in the public squares in the centers of the cities, and most of them were followed by marches to the city hall, demanding relief.

Despite rain, snow, or intense cold in most parts of the country, many of the meetings were large and all were militant. Following upon the national hunger march, they will strengthen greatly the organisation of the unemployed councils. The charity "relief" that local agencies have given is starving millions, and millions more who don't receive even this slop are slowly dying of hunger exposure, and disease. In Wisconsin the liberals, socialists, and conservatives have united on a state unemployment insurance law which is meant frankly, to forestall Communist agitation for real relief and insurance. This bill which becomes law only in July 1933, may give each worker, **except** those now jobless and many other categories, \$10 a week for 10 weeks, for which the workers will pay. It is the first open admission of any local or state government that unemployment insurance must come, even though in this castrated form, and it is evidence of the scare the activities of the unemployed council movement is throwing the bosses into. A few more national hunger marches and an intensification of the campaign for the Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill will bring more substantial action from the legislatures.

The workers' bill, on the other hand, which was endorsed by the demonstrations throughout the country on February 4th, calls for a **federal** system of unemployment insurance guaranteeing full wages to workers wholly or partly jobless. It is to be paid to all workers regardless of age, sex, race, colour, citizenship, or political views or strike activities, with the funds raised by diversion of military appropriations and taxes on bosses' profits and large incomes. The workers through their elected committees shall administer it. The bill also demands social insurance at the rate of full wages for sickness, accident, old age, maternity, etc.

Of the demonstrations in support of this bill and **against the imperialist war in the Far East**, the one in **New York** was the largest and lasted about five hours. Mass pressure had forced the granting of a permit. Local demonstrations were held in various parts of the city, from which the workers came to the main meeting in **Union Square**. From five nearby squares they also marched in disciplined form carrying hundreds of placards and flying the banners of their unions, unemployed councils and **block** committees, **fraternal** organisations and workers clubs. They entered the square with raised fists, singing the "Internationale". The banners were described by the capitalist press as "a forest of red banners, including a huge red flag bearing a German inscription 'Dem New York Proletariat' from the 'Hamburger Proletariern'".

Over 10,000 marched down Broadway to city hall—the first time a mass workers' demonstration has used this main street, usually reserved for foreign diplomats and nobles. There 25,000 massed, with every door of the city hall but one heavily barricaded and 300 police plus many detectives on guard. The delegation elected was heard and their demands rejected; they answered that the workers would continue to stop evictions and would force the city to grant relief by mass activities and militant pressure.

In **McKeesport**, a **Pennsylvania** steel town in which no demonstration has been allowed for years, 10,000 workers massed and heroically resisted repeated tear-gas attacks by the steel-trust police. Nine workers were arrested, many

brutally beaten. In **Pittsburgh** a permit had been forced, but when the thousands of steel workers and miners assembled, the state troopers of the "liberal" governor Pinchot and the city police clubbed them and broke up the meeting on the charge, that the workers were parading to it. Six were arrested and 28 held. In **New Castle** 4,000 gathered for the demonstration, with a permit, but the police arrested the speaker of the Unemployed Council. In **Ambridge** and a dozen other steel and coal towns meetings were held, many of them being attacked.

In **Knoxville, Tennessee**, hundreds of workers demonstrated in the industrial section, in **Lawrence** 2,000 textile workers, in **New Haven** munitions workers, etc. In **Chicago**, 9,000 demonstrated in a blizzard and bitter cold, among them many Negro workers. In **Cleveland** 5,000 met in a snowstorm and marched to the city hall. In **Seattle** 2,500 demonstrated and then 12,000 paraded to the mayor's office. In **Boston** 3,000 met at an enthusiastic demonstration. After the meeting hundreds marching to the headquarters of the Unemployed Council were viciously attacked by the police and five arrested. Two thousand workers demonstrated in **Detroit** and 1,000 marched.

THE WORLD "DISARMAMENT" CONFERENCE

"The League of the Six."

A Necessary Complement to M. Tardieu's Speech in Geneva.

By L. Volynsky.

When putting forward at the disarmament conference the plan for the conversion of the League of Nations — the mart of imperialistic bargaining—into an armed police international, French imperialism hardly reckoned on direct practical results.

There is no need for imperialist France, which "France Militaire", the organ of its general staff itself describes as the "gendarme who keeps watch over the treaties and over law and order in Europe", to create an international gendarmerie. Through the efforts of Paris a similar unification is already created, true, not on as grand a scale, and Tardieu's aim is to legalize and extend its framework. We have in mind the military and political union of three "democracies" (France, Poland and Czechoslovakia) and three kingdoms (Belgium, Rumania, and Yugoslavia), headed and led by French imperialism.

The foundation of this union was laid in Versailles, Trianon, Neuilly and St. Germain, on the bones of the defeated and dismembered Central powers.

"The League of the Six" is founded on a series of political agreements and secret military treaties.

France and Belgium are bound by the secret military treaty concluded in 1919, by-the-by, with the participation of Vandervelde. Subsequently, this treaty was widened and given a more precise form through the agreements of the general staffs. 1920 witnessed the signature of the Franco-Polish-Rumanian Treaty "regarding the common interests of France, Poland and Rumania in all questions of defence." It forms the basis of the Polish-Rumanian guarantee treaty of 1921, extended and prolonged in 1926, and signed in a fuller form by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mironescu, and by Zalesky in Geneva in January 1931.

In 1920—21, the Little Entente took a definite form through the signature of three "defensive" military treaties; between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia and Rumania, and Czechoslovakia and Rumania. The alliance treaty between France and Czechoslovakia is dated 1925; Two years later the Franco-Yugo Slavian treaty was signed. This whole scheme is supplemented by all sorts of political, financial and purely military agreements and conventions, which, in the entirety, create unity in the external (and to a considerable extent in the internal) policy,—unity of leadership and action.

It is in the French general staff that the mobilisation and operative plans of all the six armies are co-ordinated. The senior general staff officers of the allied countries study in the French military academy, and participate in the most

important military manoeuvres. It is also from here that the systematic supply of the land, naval and air forces of the coalition is directed. The policy of identical organisational structure of the army units is closely connected with identical types of equipment and armament in the allied armies. For this purpose, French military missions have been formed in the war ministries of the allied countries, missions invested with wide functions of control and instruction. The work of these missions is supplemented by constant visits of inspection by French marshals and generals, who constitute the usual entourage of Pilsudski, Carol of Rumania, Alexander of Yugoslavia, etc. These visits of inspection are of a very practical character: Thus, last year, General Gouraud made a trip along the Dniestr for "scientific research purposes".

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The frenzied campaign indefatigably carried on by the French imperialist press against limitation of armaments is based on the assertion that France, with its frontiers open to hostile invasion (modestly, no mention is made of the reinforced-concrete chain of modern fortifications erected along the frontier with Belgium, Germany and Italy), which is alleged to have reduced its land forces by reducing the period of military service, is not adequately protected.

The position of Rumania, Poland and others is well known; stereotyped assertions by Messrs. Zalesky, Benesh and Mironescu that, being "factors of law and order in East Europe", etc., their countries stand in need of further considerable armaments for the fulfilment of their "historical mission". As a proof, figures, tables, such as were laid before the League of Nations, are brought forward.

If one takes these official data, that stand in need of drastic correction, regarding every individual country, and sums up the armed forces of the whole coalition, the "peace factor" appears in the following form:

Countries	Peacetime Army	Number of trained reserves	Number of military airplanes*	
			in thousands	
France	724.3	4,260	2,810	(1,542)
Poland	290	2,000	1,200	(126)
Rumania	240.5	1,200	800	(182)
Czechoslovakia	138.6	1,200	600	(228)
Yugoslavia	184.4	1,875	500	(90)
Belgium	86.4	600	400	(189)
	1,664.2	11,135	6,310	(2,357)

Let us look at the map. Against whom does this monstrous 11-million avalanche, supplemented by enormous police and gendarmerie cadres (not included in the official figures), and also by hundreds of thousands of members of fascist unions (the Polish "Streletz", the Yugoslavian "White Hand", the Rumanian "Voinichilory", the Czechoslovakian "Sokol", etc.), as well as by gangs of Russian White Guards co-ordinated into regular units, which are maintained at the expense of several state budgets, intend to "defend" itself?

Against Germany which is encircled from all sides, has a hundred thousand strong Reichswehr and is deprived, according to the Versailles Treaty, of the right to keep up a military air service? Against Austria with its 30,000 army? Against Italy with which French imperialism is still contending with regard to the correlation of forces in the Mediterranean, the African colonies, etc.? Or doesn't this smack of a repetition of 1918-20, a repetition that, according to the plans of Ramsin and Co. and of the Mensheviks, was to have taken place in the Spring of 1930, and then again in 1931?

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The official military budgets of France and its allies for 1932 constitute about 24 milliard Francs. In reality, as shown by the analysis of the French budget, with due consideration to the whole expenditure for the army, navy and military air service that goes through various departments, France alone will spend 20 milliard francs in 1932. The military expenditure of Poland, which constituted in 1930—31, 836,6 million zloty, has reached one milliard in 1931—32.

* In the brackets is indicated the number of airplanes in 1923; there are at present 100% acting airplanes in the reserve force of the military air service.

French imperialism gives financial support to its allies. According to official figures, **Rumania** obtained between 1929 and the autumn of 1931, two military loans of 500 million and 675 million francs respectively; **Poland**—575 and 100 million; **Yugoslavia**—400 and 200 million francs. The French newspapers supplement the paucity of the official sources. According to the press, during the last months, Poland obtained another loan of 216 million francs, guaranteed by the revenue of the state coal industry in Upper Silesia, and by revenue from the timber district. In January, 1932, an agreement was signed in Paris regarding a loan of 500 million francs for Czechoslovakia. The Yugoslavian Minister, Sverzhnucha, concluded also in Paris an agreement regarding a loan of 1,025 million francs for Yugoslavia. The Rumanian minister of finance, Arzhetoianu, carried on about three weeks ago negotiations regarding three simultaneous loans: to the Rumanian National Bank—by the French Bank—250 million and by the "Banque d'Acceptation" 100 million francs; to the Rumanian administration of the autonomous funds from the "Caisse des Depots et Consignations"—500 million francs.

These operations, guaranteed by the French treasury, are at 6—7% annual interest, which, apart from everything else, is good business for the "unemployed" French capital. Accurate accountancy is guaranteed by **Direct Control of the Finances of the Debtor-Countries.**

In 1923, the number of workers employed in the war industry of **Poland** was 21,000, and in 1931 65,000. And this at the time when the icy breath of the crisis puts out one after the other the furnaces of the non-military enterprises.

The war industry of Poland comprises over 30 state and 100 private enterprises. And yet, despite the existence of such large firms as the "Polish Skoda Works", etc. and despite the colossal investment of capital by Schneider-Creuzot, the Polish war industry satisfies the home demand only by 25—30%. The remainder is supplied through colossal import from France and Czechoslovakia.

The latter, owing to its highly developed heavy industry, and on the strength of its convenient geographical situation, plays the role of a **very important central arsenal** for the Eastern and South Eastern members of the coalition. The milliards of the French and Czechoslovakian banks find here an excellent investment. One can assume that Vanec & Co. will also profit by it to a certain extent.

The Skoda Joint Stock Company whose control packet of shares is in the hands of Schneider-Creuzot, is connected with the British Vickers firm. It amalgamates over a score of gigantic enterprises that can serve for war purposes, such as the motor car works in Malaya Boleslav, "Kablo", "Zbroiovka", the Vitkovitz engineering and metallurgical works and the "Czechoslovakian Aviation Company". Apart from enterprises under direct Skoda control, there are 61 enterprises, including 9 works that manufacture airplanes and motors, 5—explosives, 13—armoured cars and lorries, over 20—arms, machine guns, rifles. During the imperialist war the Skoda works employed 30,000 workers, at present over 40,000 are employed.

The war industry in **Rumania** has been rapidly developing in the crisis years, also under the aegis of French capital. Schneider-Creuzot bought in August 1931, and is now reconstructing the "Reshita" heavy industry works that constitute the basis of the Rumanian war industry. With French money the following works are now in course of construction: the motor car works in Brashova, the tanks and projectile works in Kopsha-Mizha, chemical works, and works for the manufacture of machine guns and rifles. Skoda has acquired most of the shares of the metal works in Ploeshta, of the small arms and machine gun works in Kudshara and of the armoured car works in Kiskanus.

No wonder that "Universul", the organ of the Siguranza (secret police) which represents the views of the military circles, has recently declared:

"With regard to arms, Rumania is fully prepared to meet any eventualities in South-East Europe. In the Rumanian army, military technique has already serious and gratifying successes to its credit".

By spending milliards according to plan for the "common cause", French imperialism and its allies see to it that their sea and land communications, and transit routes for war material, and the dispatch of troops are secured.

Poland has equipped enormous military stores on the Westerplatte Peninsula, at the entrance to the Danzig harbour. In the Danzig port, the administration of which was up to quite recently subordinate to the French General Lerond, a landing stage for the Polish navy has been constructed.

Gdynia which not so long ago was an insignificant fishing village 20 km from Danzig, has been transformed into a town with a population of 60,000. Here, a first rate port has been constructed capable of handling cargoes of millions of tons.

In order to connect inner-Poland with the allied countries, the Gdynia-Kattovitz railway line is being constructed, for which purpose a Franco-Polish company has been formed with a capital of 1,100 million francs. France is represented in this company by Schneider-Creuzot and by the "Banque des Pays du Nord", and Poland by the National Economy Bank. A part of the line (Gdynia-Bydgosz and Gerby-Zkunska Volia is already working. This year the "goods" unloaded from French steamers in Gdynia, will go direct to Kattovitz and other destinations.

In Rumania, the connecting line between the Revaka and Kainari stations which shortens the railway route from South Bessarabia, and facilitates the concentration and movement of troops, is already in operation. Large sums have been assigned for the reconstruction of the Galats-Bessarabaska-Kainari line. The re-equipment of the Constanza-Bucharest and Bucharest-Chernovitz-Poland line, parallel with the Soviet frontier, has been taken in hand.

For want of space, we draw attention only to some of the more significant measures, such as the organisation of the strategical air line Warsaw-Bucharest, Salonica: the construction of the giant aerodrome in Kralievo (Yugoslavia) the hangars of which are to accommodate 600 airplanes; the establishment of as large an aerodrome with hangars and workshops in Kashau (Czechoslovakia), near the Eastern frontier of Slovakia, and near Carpathian Ukraine, generally speaking, in the neighbourhood of the East. A small technical detail: the radius covered by the bomb carriers in one direction has reached now 1,000 km., and their carrying capacity is 900—1,000 kg.

In the face of this, can anything be said against the complaints of "France Militaire", "Gazeta Polska", and "Neamul Ruminesk" that their countries are not protected from the air, and that one must accelerate the development of the military air service?

"The centre of gravity of our tactic must be shifted from the artillery to the air service. Airplanes must be constructed for long-distance flights. It is essential to solve the problem of flight at a great altitude and at night. I would like our works, and especially the Skoda works, to construct airplanes entirely of steel"...

You probably think this is from a speech by Benesh or Gaida? You are mistaken, it is the anxious cry of the **social democratic deputy of the Czechoslovakian Parliament, Srba.**

The convocation of the "Disarmament" conference was preceded by frequent visits to Paris by the Ministers of the French Coalition, and by a conference of the General Staffs of the Little Entente in Poland. One can get an idea of the atmosphere at these conferences from the interview of the Rumanian Minister of Finance, Arzhetoianu, in "Liberté". It was a question of the catastrophic consequences of the crisis in Rumania and in other capitalist countries of East Europe. In conclusion, Arzhetoianu was carried away to say:

"**She (France-L. V.) has only to say the word, and she will be obeyed...** for we are not only the friends and allies of France, but participants in a "common cause".

"**Say the word, and we will obey**", — can one express more vividly the devotion of the allies of French imperialism, the devotion of participants in a "common cause"?

They are impatient and anxious, they are driven by the crisis whose grip tightens more and more.

What exceptional sangfroid, and what exemplary discipline must the individual members of the League of the Six possess to be able in such "exciting" times, in obedience to Paris, to attend with a businesslike mien the session in Geneva, to stand up for projects and plans in which none of them believe.

But it cannot be helped, this is a necessary phase.

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

On the Second Five-Year Plan.

By V. Molotov.

Full Text of the Report Delivered at the XVII. Party Conference of the C.P.S.U.

(Conclusion.)

IV. The Capitalist World and the Second Five-Year Plan.

The U.S.S.R. is still surrounded by a capitalist world. This means that a fierce struggle and competition is going on between two worlds opposed to each other by their class differences; between two social systems irreconcilable in principle — the capitalist and the socialist. This is particularly manifest at the present time, in the period of the deep world economic crisis.

In this connection it is impossible not to note the changes which are taking place in the attitude of the capitalist countries towards the U.S.S.R.

Even the first Pyatiletka was accomplished while continually under the menace of an imperialist attack. However, this Pyatiletka is already three-quarters realized; and was realized because we had a peaceful spell to devote to socialist construction. Despite all the interior difficulties, despite the sharpening of the class struggle within the country, the struggle against the capitalist elements, we have victoriously advanced and are continually advancing and strengthening our positions.

At the present time the menace from our exterior foes, from the imperialist forces antagonistic to the U.S.S.R. is becoming more pronounced. The danger of an imperialist attack has greatly increased. We must take this into consideration in the course of all our work.

The situation in the capitalist countries today can be characterised first of all by the most acute crisis and the sharpening of all capitalistic contradictions. At the same time the capitalist countries are more actively seeking an external solution of the existing situation in an attack on other countries, in the organisation of intervention against the U.S.S.R. The foreign policy of the imperialist countries is becoming more openly aggressive. In all countries, the war industries are loaded with orders, armaments are increasing with unusual rapidity; preparations for new wars proceed at a feverish pace.

The living conditions of the toiling masses in the capitalist countries are worsening. Contemporary capitalism has created for tens of millions of workers and their families, widespread unemployment, poverty and starvation. The masses of peasants in the capitalist countries are also crushed by the crisis and starvation is affecting millions among them. Simultaneously, discontent and hatred of capitalists continue to grow among the toiling masses.

At the same time it is important to note what is taking place in the camp of the bourgeoisie.

The bewilderment of the politicians and economists, the hopeless economic plight of many capitalist concerns, are causing a growing panic among the bourgeoisie. Those who, only yesterday, were sure of their power, now feel the ground cracking under their feet. The bourgeois press more and more advocates openly reactionary solutions for all fundamental problems, even in relation to machinery and technique. The master class in the bourgeois countries is showing increasing manifestations of spiritual and moral decay.

Condemnation of modern technique in the press and over the radio is becoming frequent in the capitalist countries. An English bishop has even gone to the extent of publicly declaring that it is necessary to withhold all new inventions and to retard the development of the natural sciences for the next decades.

Only yesterday the politicians and economists of the bourgeoisie prophesied that the end of the crisis was in sight, and that a new economic prosperity was approaching. To-day, how-

ever, an American publisher has published a special book dealing with these prophecies made in the course of two years and this book constitutes not only a reproach to, but is also a shameful indictment of many bourgeois politicians and Ministers in America.

Of late the bourgeois press has been filled with predictions regarding the crisis. Predictions of various charlatans and fortune-tellers. This is most characteristic of the morale of the master class in the capitalist countries.

Here are some of the "prophecies" which have appeared in the foreign press. One Parisian newspaper reports that a famous French fortune-teller has given an interview to the bourgeois press on the prospects for 1932. According to her, the crisis will decrease in the spring; because, at that time, the influence of Mercury will be replaced by Saturn — the fiercest foe of the crisis! (Laughter.)

The fortune-teller further goes on to express her conclusions on Poland, the U.S.S.R. Britain, etc., prophesying the following:

"Several revolutions will take place in Central Europe."

And further:

"Several floods will take place." (Laughter.)

Besides astrologists, predictions for the current year are made also by "numerologists" in some London Sunday papers. The "numerologist", Quinton Siegfried, for instance, predicts the following:

"Soviet Russia, this year, is destined to destruction. (Laughter.) She will be compelled to recognize her defeat and acknowledge the failure of her existing regime."

As you see, even the numerologists prophecy for the U.S.S.R. a sort of "Thermidor".

And further:

"The luckiest months will be April and August; the luckiest colour will be blue; and the luckiest day, Friday." (Laughter.)

I cannot refrain from quoting one other "prophecy" taken from a Parisian newspaper:

"Of particular interest is the horoscope of the famous Irish astrologist McCuekish whose predictions for the year 1931 have been completely realized." (Voice: You don't say!) (Laughter.)

For instance, referring to the world crisis, McCuekish asserts that it will end on the night of February 26. (Laughter) "At a doctor's ball in the Victor Hugo hall." (Laughter.) This is the kind of stuff the bourgeois and Russian White Guard newspapers abroad are printing.

In order to get a more complete picture it will be necessary to say a few words about a certain celebrity of contemporary America—and perhaps of the whole capitalist world.

It appears that recently several American journals added up the number of newspaper columns and photographs devoted to different bourgeois "heroes" during 1931. The result of these statistics showed that the most outstanding "hero" was none other than Al Capone, the chief of the Chicago gangsters.

Descriptions of his ventures, biographical data, interviews with him, etc., in the world press, were found to have filled no less than 1,587,422 newspaper columns. To this must be added the 5,050 photographs that were published in the different journals. Only second place in this world publicity is occupied by President Hoover.

Who is this Al Capone, who in 1931 was looked upon, so to speak, as such a "hero of the day" that the world press

devoted so much space to him? This is not difficult to see from the foreign press. In fact, several books have been written regarding his activity. Thus for example in London last year there was published a book by Fred D. Paisley: "Al Capone" from which I will give a few quotations. Firstly this book states:

"If the mayor of the city of Chicago is the official master, the second master is the not less powerful and in fact in the political world much more influential notorious leader of the Chicago under-world — Al Capone."

The American newspapers write at great length about everything regarding Al Capone and one learns from this book that Al Capone has not only his own motor car, but a steamship, aeroplane and many other things which an ordinary mortal lacks. He owns a magnificent villa in Florida and in no other place than where President Hoover has his villa. According to the description contained in the American press Al Capone's villa is in no way inferior to that of Hoover.

The same Paisley writes as follows:

"In the autumn of 1927, according to the calculations of government officials, the annual income of the undertakings run by Al Capone amounted to 105 million dollars, divided as follows: beer and spirit trade 60 million dollars, from gaming houses and dog breeding establishments 25 million dollars (Laughter), from places of amusement and boarding houses 10 million dollars, from various forms of blackmail etc. 10 million dollars (Laughter). It was from this income that Capone and his associates paid the police and various politicians with whom he was well acquainted through his wide activities."

From this one can see that Al Capone is one of the most powerful capitalists, one of the pillars of bourgeois society so to speak, and possesses numerous undertakings and a permanent large income. In American and also in the European press, in which a good deal is written about Al Capone, one finds that though he is still quite a young man, 32 years of age, he has already spent at least 700 million dollars. In short, this Chicago bandit is not an unimportant man in the capitalist world, but is quite a big gun.

When he once found himself in prison on account of smuggling arms, he had no cause for despondency. In the above mentioned book it is stated in this respect:

"During his stay in prison the press devoted a good deal of its space to Capone. It wrote about his general state of health, how he was passing the time, his mood and the books he read." (Laughter.)

One could paint the portrait of this celebrity of bourgeois countries in still more striking colours, but what we have said is sufficient.

Nothing but the decadence, the complete moral and spiritual decomposition of the ruling classes in contemporary capitalist countries can explain the existence of these facts.

On the other hand we find the best elements leaving the bourgeoisie.

For a long time Romain Rolland, a leading writer of France, has been severely criticizing bourgeois society; and at the same time he has proved himself to be a friend of the U.S.S.R. It is also known that one of the leading American writers, Upton Sinclair, has openly opposed Kautsky in the defence of the U.S.S.R. The British bourgeois writer, Bernard Shaw, has written many scathing articles on the bourgeoisie, contrasting its decadence with the development and achievements of the U.S.S.R.

The desertion of the bourgeoisie will evidently continue among men of science and of letters, with the increasing decadence of capitalist society and the simultaneous development of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R.

This is one of the indications of the victorious growth of socialism in the U.S.S.R. However, it is not the principal one.

Beyond the boundaries of our country the U.S.S.R. has a real base: the masses of the toilers.

It is not necessary to prove that the prestige of the U.S.S.R. is growing among the workers in the capitalist countries and in the colonies, thus strengthening our international position. It is impossible not to see that the active sympathy of the workers in capitalist countries is the most important condition for the building of socialism in the Soviet Union and the guarantee of the final victory of communism.

With each stride in the socialist construction of our country, not only our internal situation but also our inter-

national position is strengthening. Despite all difficulties in our struggle with the capitalist elements within our country — as well as externally in defending the proletarian republic from each and every attempt of political pressure and economic blockade on the part of the capitalist powers — the Soviet Union is growing stronger from day to day.

What is the basis of this growth?

It is sufficient to visit our factories, plants and kolkhozes, in order to see that the growth of the power of the U.S.S.R. is based upon the activity of the masses, upon the participation of the workers and peasants in socialist construction. Our Party, the trade unions, the Young Communist League, and the Soviets are doing all in their power to stimulate greater activity on the part of the workers, in order to overcome whatever vacillation, backwardness and influence of bourgeois elements may exist among them, and further, in order to organize these masses and mobilize them for the decisive tasks of building socialism. This work, in mobilising the masses under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, is the key to it all.

The ranks of the shock brigaders and of those who are participating in socialist competition in our factories and workshops, in the mines, in transport and on the collective farms are growing. The army of workers who are devoted to the Soviet Power and before all to Socialism is increasing.

In spite of the fact that with us the productivity of labour in many cases is still small and that proletarian discipline has not yet by a long way been raised to the requisite level, we can face the future with confidence: on the basis of a new technique, on the basis of the growth of our proletarian technical cadres, in the increased fight against all possible bureaucratic resistance and against the lack of culture, we shall achieve a considerable increase in the productivity of labour both in the town and in the country.

Our technical, economic and political basis is becoming more consolidated every day and the Soviet Union is becoming more and more a powerful fortress of Socialism.

The development of our national economy proceeds on the basis of our industrialisation policy. On this basis, our economic and cultural construction is growing in all regions, in all national republics. Nationalities which only 15 years ago were colonies or semi-colonies of tsarist Russia are gaining new vitality; are developing their national culture; are training their national cadres of Bolsheviks. The U.S.S.R. is becoming stronger as the union of peoples, building socialism under the leadership of the working class.

We must change the work in many respects. The most important thing the Party demands of us is fewer resolutions, fewer decrees and directives and in place of these a greater control of the carrying out of the tasks set, a more concrete leadership, comprehensive study of the tasks and their mastery in practice. Only thus — with the active co-operation of the masses and all proletarian organisations — shall we exterminate bureaucratism in our apparatus root and branch.

Lenin said:

"Ten to twenty years of proper relations with the peasantry, and victory is assured on a world scale (even if the proletarian revolutions are delayed); otherwise, 20 to 40 years of suffering under White Guard terror."

Over ten years have passed since Lenin wrote these words. The facts of the victorious construction in the U.S.S.R. fully prove the correctness of the words of our great teacher.

The Soviet Union is growing as the fatherland of the workers of the world. The victorious construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is the best assurance of the victory of socialism on a world scale.

In the second Five-Year Plan we set ourselves tasks of world historical importance, the tasks connected with the setting up of the classless socialist society. The realisation of this task can proceed only in inexorable fight against the capitalist elements and must lead to a definite sharpening of the class struggle on certain sectors and at certain moments.

But the will of the working class is unshaken, it firmly marches towards the final victory.

We have a Leninist Party of 3 millions, we have a Young Communist League numbering 6 millions, our basis in the teeming million masses in town and country is becoming firmer. Therein lies our strength and therefore we have the unshakeable conviction that capitalism with its Al Capones is nearing its end, whilst our cause with our shock brigaders of Socialism is rapidly approaching final victory. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

A Heroic Piece of Work by the Emancipated Proletariat.

By **N. A n o v** (Dnieprostroy).

In 1921, when **Lenin** was paying particular attention to the question of electrification, the famous English novelist, **H. G. Wells**, arrived in Moscow. After visiting the Kremlin, and having a talk with **Lenin**, **Wells** wrote his impressions of this trip to the Soviet Union:

"For **Lenin**, who like a good orthodox Marxist denounces all 'Utopians', has succumbed at last to a Utopia, the Utopia of the electricians. He is throwing all his weight into a scheme for the development of great power stations in Russia to serve whole provinces with light, with transport, and industrial power. Two experimental districts he said had already been electrified. Can one imagine a more courageous project in a vast flat land of forests and illiterate peasants, with no water power, with no technical skill available, and with trade and industry at the last gasp? Projects for such an electrification are in process of development in Holland and they have been discussed in England, and in those densely-populated and industrially highly-developed centres one can imagine them as successful, economical, and altogether beneficial. But their application to Russia is an altogether greater strain upon the constructive imagination. I cannot see anything of the sort happening in this dark crystal of Russia, but this little man at the Kremlin can."

The conversation between **Lenin** and **Wells**, judging from the above quotation, centered around electrification. In taking leave of the famous British author, **Ilytch** said:

"Come back and see what we have done in Russia in ten years time."

Wells, in returning to his native country, looked out of the large window of his internationale coupé upon the depressing monotonous fields of the peasants, upon the blackened thatched roof huts, with broken windows stuffed with pillows, upon ragged peasants in shoes of bast, and upon underfed and sickly horses, hardly able to stand on their legs, and was struck with deep resentment.

Two of the power stations referred to by **Wells** actually existed at that time, and **Lenin** mentioned them with pride which can easily be understood: They were built in the time of the Soviets. The first was, on the **Shatura** peat moors, for investigating the conditions for using peat fuel. The second was the **Kashira** station, using local coal from the **Moscow** basin. Speaking at the 9th Congress of Soviets, **Lenin** complained that the opening of the **Kashira** station was unexpectedly delayed. It would have given and can give 6,000 kilowatts from the start, which would be a great help, as we have only 18,000 kilowatts now in **Moscow**.

Nevertheless, **Lenin** pointed with great satisfaction at the 9th Congress to the figures showing the achievements made in electrification.

"If we take the years 1918 and 1919 together, we find that during this period, 51 stations were opened with a capacity of 3,500 kilowatts. If we take the years of 1920 and 1921 together, we find that during this period 221 stations were opened with a capacity of 12,000 kilowatts."

15,500 kilowatts in four years! This figure induced **Wells** to refer to **Lenin** as the "Dreamer of the Kremlin". There was one thing which the illustrious foreigner did not understand. For four years Soviet Russia had bled. For four years the country had been a military camp. The proletariat had not been in a position to build. It had been engaged in the struggle against the counter revolution and intervention. Under these conditions, 15,500 kilowatts had to be considered from another point of view, from the dialectical standpoint. This was the way **Lenin** looked at these figures when he invited **Wells** to come again after ten years to see what had been done.

Why after ten years? Because the electrification plan of the country known as the **Goelro Plan** (government commission for the electrification of Russian, set up on the

initiative of **Lenin**) was calculated for that period. This plan, which for ten months absorbed the attention of 200 of the most learned specialists of the time, provided also for the building of the **Dnieprostroy**. With such a plan in his hands, **Lenin** could speak with conviction of giant electrification projects of the future. He had the outlines for the future **Dnieprostroy** before his eyes when he talked with **Wells**.

Ten years have passed and the facts have proved **Lenin** to be right and **Wells** to be wrong.

Four years of war and destruction (1917 to 1921) gave the country 15,500 kilowatts. In the past year alone, the Soviet Union had under construction centralised power stations with a total capacity of three and a half million kilowatts. **Dnieprostroy** alone, after being constructed for four and a half years, will provide the country with 560,000 kilowatts. **Wells'** native country has lagged hopelessly behind the Soviet Union in electrification. Electrification in the Soviet Union holds first place, way ahead of England—"A densely-populated and industrially highly-developed country".

* * *

It must be honestly said that not only **Wells** was sceptical at that time, **Lenin's** plan of electrification was sneered at also by unprincipled Russian critics, who made **Lenin** very indignant.

The electrification plan was defended by **Comrade Stalin**, who concluded that it was necessary "first of all not to lose another minute in arguing about the plan and secondly to begin immediately to put it into practice".

The first steps in carrying out the **Goelro** Plan were taken in 1923, and by March 1927 over the bare steppes by the **Dniepr** rapids rang out the first blow of the pile driver. The first **Dnieprostroy** carpenter began to hew the first beam for the first workers' quarters. However, the scepticism did not diminish. The former member of the Ukrainian academy, **Efremoff**, a saboteur and enemy of the Soviet Government sneered:

"The new topic in vogue is **Dnieprostroy**. Everywhere you hear 'Dnieprostroy', 'Dnieprostroy'. The magnificent idea which was thought of long ago, of freeing the **Dniepr** of its rapids and making it navigatable all along its course, this tremendous idea calls for great expenditures. They say, that when this plan was put before the Americans, it took their breath away, they praised it and gasped in astonishment. But when they were asked to invest money in it, the practical Yankees refused: 'You know if such a plan were submitted in America, we would say that our country is too poor to stand it.' But under the given circumstances we think we can stand it and are already collecting money. One railway circle collected 38 roubles. It is clear that if such a construction, if the fate of such a tremendous plan depends in the long run on collections of money, then it is not such an important matter. And may be there is some sense in the considerations of the practical Yankee, that their country is too poor for this."

The old saboteur is utterly indignant! Some circle of railway workers somewhere collected 38 roubles for **Dnieprostroy**, a construction work which called for 200,000,000 roubles! In the mind of a person with life-long habits of cringing before capitalism, such a minute sum was insignificant. It would be another manner if **Ryabushinsky**, the well-known industrialist of pre-revolutionary **Moscow** would give a million. Then the academician would understand it. But that railway workers, at their own initiative, should have collected money for the construction, penny by penny, in answer to **Lenin's** appeal—this is something that the academician **Efremoff** of course could not understand.

Lenin, speaking of the necessity of propaganda for electrification wrote:

"The most important thing is to be able to appeal to the **spirit of competition** and the **initiative** of the masses so that they will get things started **immediately.**"

A little group of railway workers collected 38 roubles. This money was enough to pay for a few boards. Not many of course; But then a young Soviet engineer, a Communist named **Blinoff**, proposed to construct the coffer dams with wider intervals between the piles than was the practice of the Americans. Each cubic meter of caisson space together with the jointing cost 20 roubles, and at Dnieprostroy 300,000 cubic meters had to be provided. Comrade Blinoff's proposal provided for a saving of 40 per cent of the piles, which translated into terms of money meant a million and a half roubles.

The railway workers gave 38 roubles. The Communist Blinoff, whose proposal was carried out, saved a million and a half at Dnieprostroy. Of course, it is not a question of the amount. The important thing is that everyone, from the cleaning women to the engineers, consider Dnieprostroy as their offspring, and they themselves were seeking for ways and means to build it faster and cheaper. It is worth mentioning the initiative of the Dnieprostroy workers in the preparation of cadres for construction work. When new workers, who only yesterday were peasants, arrived in **Kishkass** (centre of construction of Dnieprostroy) they were met by skilled workers, engineers and technicians, who explained to them what the Dnieprostroy meant, why and how it should be built and explained to them the plan of work. It was something like an introductory course. This course provided the energy for the hard work in the excavations. Collective labour regenerated the former peasant, changing his psychology.

Thousands of "illiterate peasants" went to study in the evening schools, when they found out that work on the Dniepr would not be limited to the building of a power station only. Alongside the dam, construction was already under way for the largest factories in the world which would form the Dniepr Combine. The factories of this plant called for skilled workers. New cadres are being formed at Dnieprostroy at the basis of initiative of the workers themselves. Engineers, working by day on the dam, hurried to the technical schools in the evening to lecture to students who by day were employed as concrete layers or carpenters. Two or three years will go by, and these concrete workers, who not so long ago were ploughing the land, will be technicians and even engineers.

When the technical university was established at Dnieprostroy a grey eyed girl in working clothes came before the Acceptance Commission. It was one of the first applications submitted to the Commission. This in brief is what her document stated:

"Zueva, Anna, 24 years old, 14 years standing as a worker: nursemaid, agricultural labourer, laundress, hospital worker, cleaning woman, unskilled labourer, assistant electrician, electrician."

In 1927, Comrade Zueva came to Dnieprostroy and worked as a cleaning woman. She advanced steadily and became an electrician. But the former laundress wanted to be an engineer and was one of the first to enter the university.

47,000 workers are building the largest power station in the world on the Dniepr. One out of every five is studying—at courses, in school, in the college and in the university. The institute at Dnieprostroy must be able to take care of 4,000 persons a year. The country needs technicians and engineers. Dnieprostroy will not only supply cheap electric current, but it will also train leaders for socialist industry in struggling with difficult problems of construction.

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"The most important thing is to be able to appeal to the spirit of competition!"

Before this Leninist slogan of work was carried out on the Dniepr, the work proceeded at a slow pace. It is enough to say that in July, 1929 (before there was any Socialist competition) the concrete workers laid about 400 cubic metres of concrete a day. Then came the first shock brigades, in August. Concrete laying rose from 400 to 600 cubic metres. And the curve of this increase on the careful diagrams took a sharp turn upwards. Formerly it took 20 minutes to bring up a load of concrete. At the height of the work, loads were brought in every 2 minutes. In September they laid 1,320 cubic metres of concrete a day. There were days when the amount reached 1,800 cubic metres. In no capitalist country had more than 32,000 cubic metres been laid in this space of time!

This was the first great victory achieved on the Dniepr as a result of socialist competition. The first victory was followed by another. At a production conference, when the question of dismantling the coffer dams was being discussed, the concrete layer **Dmitro Koval** stepped up to the platform and said, adjusting his drooping black moustache which was already tinged with grey:

"My proposal is the following: Considering the fact that Comrade Lenin was the leader of electrification, the dismantling should be started on January 22nd..."

Dmitro Koval, crumpling his cap in his hands, stepped back. The conference began to discuss his proposals. Was it possible or not to complete the programme by the new date? The club was full of smoke, it was almost impossible to breathe. But the people, who were already sweating, did not disperse till late at night.

"It's a go! It's a go!" cried young voices impatiently from the back rows. "We have to lay 1,800 cubic meters of concrete"

Exactly two years ago, the workers of the whole world read telegrams of the Dnieprostroy workers.

"On Lenin Memorial Day we are taking up the coffer dam of the left bank. We are turning the Dniepr to the left."

The Lenin days of 1930 when the Soviet workers turned the course of one of the most untamable rivers, showed the broad scope of the shock brigade movement. The central mechanical workshops declared themselves to be Communist shops. Thousands of workers signed up for shock brigades.

This shock brigade work is the key to the miracle which the capitalist world cannot understand. Why in 1930, under tremendous obstacles, the Dnieprostroy workers, in place of the 419,000 cubic meters required by the plan put forward a counterplan of 500,000 and exceeded this counterplan, laying 518,000 cubic meters. There were days (September 29) when volunteers came to the help of the concrete layers—engineers office workers, machinists and Red Army men, and the concrete laying reached 5,280 cubic meters (in 1929 the record figure was 1,800). The shock brigade concrete layers set unprecedented records by their socialist work. The American engineer Cooper sent an enthusiastic telegram of congratulation from beyond the seas. The figure of 518,000 spread over the whole world. The workers in all countries heard about it. The pace of the work at Dnieprostroy carried on better agitation for the proletarian revolution than thousands of agitators.

The year 1931 brought with it tremendous speed in assemblage work. The assemblage of nine spiral ducts was completed in 55 days ahead of time. The assemblage of two turbines, instead of taking 90 days for each turbine as provided in the plan, or 60 days as provided in the counter plan, was completed in 30 days. The Turkin-Rykoff brigade which had laid 700 to 900 bricks per man, succeeded in laying 3000 bricks per man in 5½ hours. The assemblage workers upset all the technical calculations of the specialists. The American experts set the time for the assemblage of the turbine ring at two months, the Soviet technical experts set it at one month, and **the workers completed the assemblage in five days.**

On the 8th Anniversary of Lenin's death the Dnieprostroy workers summed up their achievements. Since the building of the dam already over 670,000 cubic meters of concrete had been laid. There were 34,000 cubic meters still to be laid. In a little over a month the dam will be completed. Five turbines have already been set up ahead of time. Work on the sixth turbine has already been started.

The construction of the Dniepr hydro electric station is nearing its completion. The First of May of this year will be marked as the day of greatest victory on the front of Socialist industrialisation. On that day the bridled Dniepr rapids will produce the first spark of electric energy. The whole world will hear that Bolshevism has put through a significant change in European geography. A new lake is being formed on the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic—about 20 kilometers wide. Thus, the Dniepr will expand, its throat gripped by a crescent shaped dam. The roaring of rapids, which the illustrious Count Stenbock-Fermor loved to extol, will disappear forever. Stenbock-Fermor was the man in the Czar's council who defeated one project after another for the navigation of the Dniepr. 14 tons of paper (a whole carload) were used by engineers, professors, economists and statisticians, who, before the revolution worked for decades on the Dniepr problem. And absolutely nothing came of it.

And then "the dreamer of the Kremlin" came along, and taught the workers and peasants how to take the government

into their own hands, and in 4½ years, the hugest power plant in the world arose on the banks of the Dniepr.

The electrification of the whole country is possible only where the contradictions of capitalism do not exist. In his article on "A Unified Economic Plan", Lenin wrote:

"In order to get an idea of the tremendous scope and value of work accomplished by the Goelro, let us take a glance at Germany. There, a scientist, named Ballod, performed similar work. He drew up a scientific plan for the socialist reorganisation of the entire economic life of Germany. In capitalist Germany the plan hung in the air. It remained merely a literary production to be put off on a shelf by itself. "Professor Ballod calculated that three or four years was sufficient for the electrification of Germany." Lenin declared at the third congress of the Comintern, "for us ten years is not enough".

In 1921, ten years seemed too short a time to Lenin. Electrification at that time had only just begun.

"12,000 kilowatts—a very modest beginning!" he declared in connection with the achievements of 1920 and 1921.

"It may be", Lenin continued, "that a foreigner familiar with electrification in America, Germany or Sweden will laugh at this. **But he laughs best who laughs last.**"

H. G. Wells, the academician Efremoff and others will not smile on the next May first.

But how much laughter will we hear on May First from consciousness of the victory gained, when the engineer on duty—some Komsomolka, who was once a laundress, and then completed the Dnieprostroy technical school—walks up to the switch, imbued with the tremendous solemnity of the historic moment, and with youthful fervour turns on the first high tension current.

IN THE R.I.L.U.

Metal Workers Preparing for Struggle.

From the 4th to 6th February there took place in Berlin a meeting of the Enlarged Secretariat of the International Committee of the Metal Workers, at which very important and far-reaching decisions for preparing economic struggles and building up the revolutionary metal workers union and red trade union opposition in the metal industry in the different countries were adopted.

The chief item on the agenda was the carrying out of the decisions of the VIII. Session of the Central Council of the R.I.L.U. and of the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. in the metal industry on a national and international scale.

In his report Comrade **Niederkirchner** pointed out that, in spite of some considerable improvement and progress which is to be recorded in the activity of the International Committee of the Metal Workers in the past year, there nevertheless still exist considerable shortcomings and weaknesses in work, which must be overcome at all costs in the near future. The Secretariat must in the immediate future establish a firm permanent political and organisational contact with those countries with which there has hitherto existed only a weak and more or less formal connection, in order to be able to carry out the tasks set to the International Committee of the Metal Workers. This applies especially to England, Spain, the United States, Portugal, the Balkans, the countries of the Far East and the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

A second important task consists in building up and strengthening the work of the frontier committee set up for the Franco-Belgian-German-Luxemburg frontier district of the heavy iron industry, as well as in the creation of new frontier committees in the foundry industry in German and Polish Upper Silesia and in the Moravian-Ostrau district of Czechoslovakia, as well as in North Spain and South France. An important task consists in the orientation of the work on a national and international scale to the different branches of the metal industry, especially to the armament, the electric industry, shipbuilding etc., in order, after suitable political and organisational preparation, to convene also in these branches of industry national and international conferences of delegates elected in the works and factories in order to decide the special demands and fighting tasks for these branches of

industry and to elect the appropriate organs for carrying out the work.

A special task of the revolutionary metal workers consists in the fight against imperialist war, for the protection of the Soviet Union, against the danger of imperialist intervention. A special report was delivered dealing with the role and the tasks of the revolutionary metal workers in this fight. It was decided to issue a joint appeal with the International Committee of the Factory Workers to the Metal and Factory Workers of all countries, as well as to organise and to carry out a number of international protest demonstrations against the danger of intervention and for solidarity with the Soviet Union in the different countries, especially in the centres of the armament industry and in the frontier districts, and also to convene as quickly as possible Conferences of workers in the armament industries in the various countries.

Comrade **Croizat**, secretary of the red metal workers Union in France, reported on the employers' offensive, the activity and tasks of the revolutionary metal workers in France and the situation and tasks of the Union. The Union has only in a few cases succeeded in increasing the resistance of the workers until it came to a strike. The reformist metal workers' Union, just as in all other countries, uses every means in order to prevent a strike and if a strike does break out, to throttle it.

Comrade **Maddalena** reported on the fights in the German metal industry, on the Judas-role of the bureaucracy of the German metal workers Union, on the situation and the tasks of the metal workers group in the Red Trade Union Opposition and of the red metal workers Union in Germany. The red metal workers Union has not succeeded to a sufficient extent in bringing about strikes against wage cuts, and against the employers attacks. The number of workers organised in the metal workers' group of the red trade union opposition amounted on 1st January 1932 to 57,000, of which 26,000 are organised in the Unity union of the metal workers in Berlin, the Lower Rhine and Limbach.

Comrade **Kolsky** reported on the situation in the metal workers movement in Czechoslovakia and the activity of the "Union of Workers in the metal industry in Czechoslovakia". In the Czechoslovakian metal industry, very low basic wages are fixed in nearly all collective agreements. It is thereby easy for the employers to reduce the earnings of the metal workers by reduction of piece work rates, premiums etc. The fight against wholesale dismissals plays a great role in the Czechoslovakian metal industry. The red union of metal workers in Czechoslovakia is growing very slowly. In the course of the past year, 2,500 new members were recruited. The present membership amounts to 14,500. There are about 80,000 metal workers organised in the German and Czechish reformist metal workers' unions. From this is to be seen the big tasks confronting the union in the fight to win the masses of metal workers in Czechoslovakia.

A representative of the revolutionary metal workers Union in **Poland** reported on the struggles of the metal workers in Poland, especially in Polish Upper Silesia, on the monstrous terror exercised by the State power, the shameless treachery of the reformist bureaucracy and their manoeuvres in order to prevent and throttle strike struggles.

A representative of the **Minority Movement in England** reported on the situation of the metal workers movement in England and the activity of the Minority Movement. From this report it was to be seen that the revolutionary metal workers' movement in England is still very weak and almost entirely unorganised, so that it is comparatively easy for the reformists in England to carry out their treacherous policy in the Unions and in the factories. The Secretariat was specially pledged to render assistance in building up a revolutionary metal workers' movement in England.

Special decisions were adopted both for England and Czechoslovakia, in which the special tasks of the revolutionary metal workers unions in these countries were indicated.

In the absence of the representative from **Spain**, Comrade **Niederkirchner** gave a short report on the Spanish metal workers movement, from which it was to be seen that the unions in Seville and Bilbao, in spite of the terror exercised by the State power, are becoming stronger organisationally.

In conclusion, the meeting of the Secretariat instructed all the national sections of the International Committee, as well as all members of the Secretariat and of the Plenum, to participate in the work of the Secretariat in regard to carrying out the decisions in the various countries.

International Women's Day

Achievements in the Work among Women in the U.S.S.R.

By R. Risel (Moscow).

The gigantic tempi of the socialist reconstruction of the whole economic system of the U.S.S.R. are accompanied by a systematic qualitative growth of the working class, by the improvement of its material and cultural level, by an unprecedented growth of the political and industrial activity of broad masses of **working women** in town and country.

This activity made itself first of all felt by the enormous growth of women members in the Communist Party. In the beginning of 1930, the All-Union Communist Party had in its ranks 219,300 women, by July 1st, 1931, the number of women in the Party was 382,900, 46% of them being industrial workers. Owing to the more rapid growth of the female membership of the Party, compared with its other section, its proportional weight in the C.P.S.U. has risen in the period under consideration from 14 to 16%.

The success achieved by the Party in regard to the socialist reorganisation of agriculture is accompanied by an unprecedented desire on the part of the best and most advanced section of collectivised peasants and peasant women, as well as men and women farm labourers, to join the Party. Women's role in the village Party organisations has become more important. The general percentage of women in the village nuclei has risen in the course of last year from 10—15 (their percentage is 19.4 in the nuclei of agricultural communes).

This fighting detachment of advanced women, imposing by its numerical strength, as well as by its political weight, has in its following steadily growing reserves of nearly two million women delegates, members of the delegate meetings of working women, collectivised and individual peasant women. The reserve forces of the Party include about 800,000 girls, members of the L.Y.C.L.S.U., and up to 2 million young Pioneers who will subsequently take their place. The reserve forces of the Party include also the large cadres of active workers from the trade unions, Soviets, cooperatives, voluntary societies which have millions of women in their ranks.

Figures which illustrate the promotion of women to the organs of proletarian dictatorship — the Soviets, are indicative of the evergrowing activity of the masses of working women. Together with the enormous growth of the activity of the women voters themselves, about 312,000 women were elected to the rural Soviets of the last convocation, which constitutes 20.9%, instead of the 19.4% of the previous elections. The same can be said of the elections to the Town Soviets, to which 43,900 women were elected, or 25.9% of the total number of elected, instead of the 24.6% of the preceding year.

There is no doubt whatever that the growth of the political activity of the women brings with it the growth of their industrial activity. Women workers in industry, in the transport service, in the development of Soviet farms, as well as the collectivised peasant women begin to feel that they are the real masters of the country, they initiate new forms of mass work, they are drawn into the socialist construction, into socialist competition and the shock brigade movement, and also into all the political and economic campaigns for the carrying through of the Five-Year Plan in four years.

In the first half of the year 1931, up to 44% of women metal workers, 54% of women chemical workers, 57% of women employed in the paper industry, etc. were drawn into socialist competition. There was a similar activity also in the shock brigades, in industry, on the Soviet and collective farms. Every month brings with it the growing participation of industrial women workers and collectivised peasant women in the production conferences (56% in the shift and group conferences of the textile workers, 67.4% among the garment makers, and 41.7% in the departmental production conferences

of the food workers). Women workers belonging to shock brigades exhibit exceptional enthusiasm and perseverance whenever a breach has occurred on the industrial front (Dnieprostroi, Kharkov Traktorstroi, Cherepanovsky Grain Soviet Farms, etc.). In North Caucasus, on the lower and middle Volga, in the Ukraine and in the Urals, in the central Black Earth district, and finally, in Central Asia, in the grain and vegetable growing districts, mass campaigns were carried out in the past year — meets, district meetings of collective farms and groups of such farms, conferences of women shock brigade members, women-delegates and brigadeers at the various machinery and tractor stations (M.T.S.), in the districts of power bases. Having strengthened the work in the various experimental sectors, the Party organisations transferred the experience gained there in the organisation of woman labour to the weaker districts through the despatch of special brigades, the organisation of meets, conferences, etc.

The socialist industry which is developing at an unprecedented rate, the enormous growth of the socialist sector of agriculture, are accompanied by an ever growing demand for labour power. Having liquidated unemployment in the Soviet Union, they open wide possibilities for the drawing of woman labour into industry and into the other branches of national economy, for its technical equipment. The State has already begun to redistribute the already employed labour power according to plan. In 1932 alone, it is proposed to draw into the national economy 1,600,000 women, with the result that by the end of the year the number of women wage earners will be 4,863,000. The influx of such a colossal number of women into the national economy demands first of all the creation of appropriate material and social conditions. This means development of a whole network of social institutions (nursery schools, children's homes, creches, public laundries and kitchens, etc.) which will enable women to become wage earners, to be freed from household drudgery, and also to raise their industrial, technical and political standard.

The development of the socialist economy brings with it a demand for woman labour also in those branches of industry (metallurgy, for instance) in which woman labour was not hitherto applied. The introduction of woman labour into the heavy industry has already gained a particularly great significance. But utilisation of woman labour on a large scale is only possible if the standard of the new cadres of men and women workers in industry is constantly raised, if their political education is not neglected, if the systematic training of skilled woman cadres is carried on according to plan.

The progress made in regard to work among women is enormous.

This progress is particularly noticeable in the work in rural districts. For instance, by August 1st, 1931, the Collective Farm Central Organisation had already a network of children's institutions (creches, children's playgrounds and nursery schools) which catered for 5,423,480 children. 6,175,400 collectivised peasants and farm labourers benefited by the system of public feeding during the period of strenuous work in the fields. One should bear in mind that this number does not include all the children's institutions and institutions which cater for the social needs of the adult population in the rural districts, of the other economic and social institutions: the Peoples Health and Education Commissariats, the Soviets, the voluntary and other societies which carry on cultural and social work on a large scale in the towns and factories, and especially in the Soviet villages.

This progress shows that the women of the Soviet Union have entered the path of their complete and final emancipation.