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The Soviet Union and the World Proletariat.

By D. S. Manuilski (Moscow).

Report Delivered at the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

I. The Main Facts of World Historical Importance.

As we know, our epoch of war and proletarian revolutions is characterised by the fact that the struggle between the two systems—the dying world of capitalism and the rising world of socialism—is becoming the key point of world politics and world economy. In the light of this struggle the political parties, their programmes, their methods of leading the masses, their words and their deeds are tested. Political doctrines pass from the sphere of demagogic promises into actual practice, which the masses perceive by their concrete experience. It is precisely the present universal crisis in the world of capitalism and the successes of socialist construction in the first land of proletarian dictatorship which open up for the proletarian masses a wide field for observation, reflection, the weighing of facts and for making political deductions. The masses are now passing through a great political school, but they are passing through it by peculiar paths, corresponding to their „national“ conditions. One of the tasks of this Plenum is to assist the toiling masses of

all capitalist countries to give form to the doubt which is rising in their minds about traditional „common sense“, to compel them to ponder all the historical events of the post-war epoch.

This period has been inexhaustibly rich in experience, comrades. There is not only the experience of the proletarian revolution in Russia in 1917, but also the experience of revolution in Austria and Germany, the experience of so-called „democratic socialism“ in all its varieties—political democracy, industrial democracy, constructive socialism; the experience of coalition governments and the experience of labour governments without coalitions, the experience of the so-called winning of the majority by legal, parliamentary methods, and the experience of dictatorship. Whatever country you look at provides a great lesson for the world proletariat.

Take for example U.S.A., the most classical land of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the form of bourgeois democracy, where the bourgeoisie govern without even requiring the services of their scabby social-democracy. The bourgeoisie of the U.S.A. prided themselves on the fact that

the U.S.A. was the incarnation of reason, justice and the eternity of the capitalist system, that all their experience refuted the socialist ravings of the European fanatics, that the U.S.A. had no social problem, that it was not only the land of the highest profits but also of the highest wages, that in the U.S.A. every European emigrant, like Napoleon's soldiers, had a millionaire's baton in his knapsack, that there was not, is not and will never be a class struggle in the U.S.A., that the U.S.A. had eternal prosperity. Who, even among the most shameless apologists of capitalism, would dare to repeat these assertions, which have been refuted by the whole course of events of the world crisis, in the United States to-day, in this land where the working class in actual fact is absolutely deprived of rights?

Or take **Great Britain**, this living example of the bankruptcy of the idea of the prosperity of a country pursuing an imperialist, predatory policy. Precisely at this time, when the bourgeoisie of all capitalist countries, and Japan especially, are calling for a way out of the crisis by means of war, by seizing new territories, by enslaving new peoples, the experience of Great Britain shouts to the toiling masses of all countries against this panacea with which the ruling classes still fool the working masses. Great Britain has carried on war, it has seized and plundered hundreds of millions of foreign peoples, has subjected whole continents, but this has not saved her from decay, which commenced long before the present world crisis. But the experience of Great Britain is also the experience of two labour (sic!) governments, the governments of Mr. MacDonald, who, unlike us Soviet Bolsheviks, the advocates of proletarian dictatorship, put into practice his "programme of constructive socialism". We will say nothing about the first labour government; it is sufficient to recall the work of Mr. MacDonald's last labour government to realise what this programme means: an attack along the whole front on the wages of the British working class, the reduction of the unemployment dole, the crushing of strikes, air bombardments and gallows in India, and the open desertion of the most prominent leaders of the so-called Labour Party to the camp of the Conservatives.

And do we not get an instructive lesson from the post-war politics of the biggest Party in the II. International, the German Social-Democratic Party? The German Social-Democrats rose to power on the revolutionary wave of 1918. For years they had fooled the workers with promises to bring about socialism by democratic methods. They demanded the greatest sacrifices from the masses for the sake of the triumph of the "democratic" method. In practice their whole policy was food and drink for fascism. For years they had been paving the way for it piecemeal by their policy of the "lesser evil" until they finally surrendered all power to it without the slightest attempt at resistance. French social-democracy regarded the Versailles system the "natural right" of French imperialism to exploit Germany, the whole of Central and Eastern Europe and their colonies, a guarantee of a privileged position for the upper circles of the French labour aristocracy. As a matter of fact, we see the complete bankruptcy of the Versailles system, and of the Dawes and Young plans, and the collapse of the legend about the impossibility of an economic crisis in France.

Let us next take fascism, the spread of which in the capitalist states indicates that there are large masses who still believe in the possibility of finding a way out of the present crisis along capitalist lines. But has not fascism, which has celebrated its tenth anniversary in Italy, brought in its trail, in addition to bloody persecution, unprecedented destitution for the masses? Has not unbridled reaction in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Hungary, in Spain prior to the overthrow of Primo de Rivera's military dictatorship, shown the millions of workers and peasants of Europe what fascism brings them when it is victorious? Finally, no unimportant lesson is to be drawn from **Spain** with regard to the anarchist and the anarcho-syndicalist leadership of the working class in the Revolution. In words the anarchists in that country appeared as enemies of the bourgeois State, but both in words and in deeds they were the enemies of the revolutionary methods of the proletarian dictatorship. And this is why their leadership led the heroic working class of Spain from defeat to defeat—they disarmed the workers both politically and organisationally and put them at the mercy of the Spanish counter-revolution. Such are only a few of

the facts of the development of a few of the capitalist countries.

In the main, these facts can be summed up as being: an extended attack upon the working class, fascism, war. And on the background of these facts the main achievements in the development of the land of proletarian dictatorship during the past few years. Facts which to a vast extent foster the growing revolutionary upsurge of the working class stand out in most striking relief. To-day the delegation of the C.P.S.U. in the Comintern desires to present these facts to the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

In this lies the sense and significance of **the report on the achievements of the first Five-Year Plan and the perspectives of the second Five-Year Plan**. Despite the fact that the fourth and final year has not yet ended, we are able to state with conviction to-day that in the main the toiling masses of the U.S.S.R., under the leadership of the C.P.S.U., will fulfil the Five-Year Plan in four years, that only the successful fulfilment of the first Five-Year Plan enables the C.P.S.U. to map out for the second Five-Year Plan such truly stupendous tasks as **the complete reconstruction of the whole of national economy, raising the standards of the toilers three-fold and the construction of classless, socialist society**. It is no easy task to build a classless society, a society in which all will be engaged in socialist labour; to do this in conditions of savage capitalist encirclement! It is no easy task to build this society in the historical period when millions in the capitalist world, as the result of the crisis, are being squeezed out of the process of production, are being declassed, doomed to destitution, to starvation, and extermination, when the class gulf in the camp of capitalism is becoming wider and deeper, when the social contrasts are growing ever sharper.

All our tremendous achievements in the economic and social and political fields may be summed up as follows:

As the result of fulfilling in the main the first Five-Year Plan, a powerful industrial basis for socialism has been laid in the U.S.S.R. Not only have we ceased to be an agrarian country, we have ceased to be a land of small industry, which is a characteristic feature of all the backward colonial and semi-colonial countries. The share that large industry contributes to the national income has increased during the last four years from 27 per cent. to 35 per cent. We have now our own engineering industry, the output of which in 1931 amounted to almost 5,000 million rubles. The output of iron and steel has almost doubled compared with pre-war output. We have created a second metallurgical base in the East (Urals-Kuzbas). We have re-equipped all our industries on the most up-to-date technical basis. Moreover 75 per cent. of the equipment of our industries has been renewed during the period of the first Five-Year Plan. We have set up a number of new branches of industry which never before existed in this country. We are becoming a land of tractors, a land of automobile transport, a land of chemistry, a land that can build blooming mills, powerful turbine-generators, diesels, oil cracking plants, etc. We are changing the energetics base of our national economy, and we are uniting this base both for industry and agriculture.

Secondly, having become a land of heavy industry and heavy engineering, putting into operation the first blast furnaces at Magnitogorsk and Stalinsk, such enormous enterprises as the Sverdlovsk Engineering Works, our gigantic automobile and tractor plants at Nishni-Novgorod, Stalingrad, Kharkov, and the Amo works in Moscow, the ball-bearings plant, having built the Dniepr Dam and having laid the basis for providing our industries with raw materials (cotton in Central Asia, Azerbaidjan and Ukraine, synthetic rubber, etc.) we, as a result of the first Five-Year Plan, have taken a decisive step towards attaining our economic independence. The Leninist Electrification Plan known as **goelro**, the plan to which **Lenin** attached particular importance, was fulfilled and surpassed as early as 1931.

Thirdly, by carrying out the first Five-Year Plan, we have solved the problem of the reconstruction of the basic funds of our industry, and yet the whole capitalist world prophesied that we should break down in solving this task, that we can only live as a spendthrift inheritor, at the expense of the resources left us by the old order.

Fourthly, as regards agriculture, we have laid an unshakable foundation for the mechanisation of agriculture. By 1934-35 the existing productive possibilities guarantee

the completion of the mechanisation of agriculture, which is the technical-economic basis for consolidating the old and securing further successes in collectivisation of agriculture in the U.S.S.R. We have created the largest scale agricultural industry in the world, and we are therefore able not only to mechanise as in America, but also to apply chemistry to agriculture as in Germany. We have carried out the agrarian revolution, in the possibility of which, not only the capitalist world and its social-fascist hangers-on, but also the panic-mongers and opportunists in our own midst did not believe. Having organised more than 60 per cent. of the peasant farms in collective farms, having now whole regions completely collectivised, having put an end to the class differentiation in the countryside, we have abolished the age-long scourge of agrarian over-population, which in the past, under tsarism, created a vast army of unemployed, and enabled the capitalists to keep the standards of life of the working class in old Russia down to the verge of starvation and extinction.

But, comrades, our achievements are not merely confined simply to the growth of industry and agriculture. Among our achievements we must mention firstly, the raising of the material and cultural standard of the toiling masses. I am not speaking only of the fact that wages here are continually rising, that from 1928 to 1932 wages in all branches of national economy have risen on the average by 62 per cent. The general budget of our national economy increased from 11,000 million rubles in 1928 to 26,000 million rubles in 1932. I am speaking of the fact that we have no unemployment, that the number of factory and office workers from 1928 to 1932 has almost doubled, reaching a total of 21 millions, that the material and cultural requirements of the masses are constantly rising, that the outlay for social insurance, for cultural services, education, medical service, etc. has doubled during these four years, reaching an average of 200 rubles per worker in 1932. House building is developing in our industrial districts (from 1928 to 1931 we provided houses for 3 million workers, and in 1932 alone a further 3 million workers will be provided with house accommodation). New industrial centres are being built, public dining rooms are being developed and already provide for 35 per cent of the population. Opportunities have been created for every worker to improve his qualifications, the doors of our universities are wide open for the children of workers and peasants. There is a great increase in the number of clubs, reading rooms, parks of culture and rest. Feverish work is going on for the improvement of working class districts and suburbs where the working class population predominate. Sanitary conditions are continually improving, rest homes and workers' sanatoria are increasing in numbers.

Secondly, there is the development of the broadest proletarian democracy which is the very spirit of the regime of the proletarian dictatorship. Through the soviets, through the trade unions and the factory committees, millions of our toiling population have been drawn into the administration of the country, of industry and of agriculture.

Thirdly, we have consolidated our achievements in the sphere of national policy, in the matter of establishing equality and the brotherhood of the nations inhabiting the U.S.S.R., by fully carrying out the policy of the Soviet Government to provide a material and economic basis for the socialist industrialisation of the remote regions of the country and provide such a planned distribution of the development of productive forces that will enable the nation that has been most backward in the past to overtake economically and culturally the foremost industrial districts in the country in the shortest possible time.

Further, as a result of the first Five-Year Plan, enormous social and political changes have taken place in the country, which have enormously strengthened the proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R. and which are laying a granite social-class foundation for the edifice of socialism which is being built. During the past Five-Year Plan (carried out in four years), we have continued the work started by the October Revolution. We have liquidated the kulaks as a class and in the districts of complete collectivisation we have caused the middle peasants (now collective farmers) to take an irrevocable stand on the side of socialism, and become a firm bulwark of the Soviet state. We have enlarged the proletarian base of the Soviet state by drawing millions

of new proletarians into industry, especially in the formerly backward regions.

All these achievements have enabled us to solve irrevocably the question of "who will conquer" in the internal arena in favour of socialism. Having entered upon the period of socialism, having completed the foundation of socialist economy, and having firmly entrenched ourselves on the socialist path, we are able by the living experience of our great work to prove to the millions of toilers in the capitalist countries the advantages of the socialist system of economy compared with the capitalist system.

The significance of the fulfilment of the first Five-Year Plan, comrades, lies in that we have provided a powerful material base for the world proletarian revolution, that the relative strength of even the smallest of our Communist Parties increases tremendously as a result of the victory of the proletariat in the U.S.S.R., that the proletariat in the capitalist countries, relying on this firm rock, will be able more easily to defeat their bourgeoisie, to overthrow capitalism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat as the condition for winning socialism.

Finally, we have achieved these decisive successes of world historical importance in the course of a tireless struggle within the Communist Party against the Right deviation as the chief danger and against the "Left" deviation, which fosters it, on the basis of carrying out the correct general line of the Party.

The role of our Party and its Leninist Central Committee in attaining all these successes has been tremendous. Our Party, led by the Leninist Central Committee, was the initiator of the first Five-Year Plan, the inspirer of the high socialist tempo and rejected the proposal of the right wingers for a "two year plan", ruthlessly crushed the theory advanced by the opportunist faint-hearts about the "declining curve".*) The Party and its Leninist Central Committee roused millions of toilers to action, for the struggle to fulfil the Five-Year Plan, acted everywhere as agitators, propagandists and organisers for the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan. In the struggle for the Five-Year Plan our Party and its Leninist Central Committee still further extended and strengthened its deep rooted connections with the broad masses of toilers, who, on their own initiative, and under the leadership of the Party, put forward and in the main have carried out, the slogan of "The Five-Year Plan in Four Years". Historical truth obliges us to mention here the role of the man, under whose firm and tried leadership the Party and its Central Committee marched through the difficult mountain pass after the death of Comrade Lenin. (Loud applause.) It is all the more necessary to mention this for the reason that soon we will celebrate the **Fifteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution** and a little later the Tenth Anniversary of the death of **Comrade Lenin** which was a severe and irreplaceable loss for us, for the working class of our country and for the proletariat and toilers of the whole world.

Comrade Stalin, the true comrade-in-arms and best disciple of Comrade Lenin, led the Party, the working class and the entire country over all the dangers that we encountered during the past decade, to surmount all the difficulties which stood in our way. (Loud applause.) Never yet has our Party been so firmly consolidated and united as it is now under the leadership of Comrade Stalin. The entire work of strengthening the internal and international position of the U.S.S.R., the whole of the stupendous work of socialist construction carried out during the past ten years in the conditions of capitalist encirclement which demanded the greatest Leninist firmness and flexibility combined with steel-like determination, bears the direct impress of the mind, the will and the actions of Stalin.

Marx and Engels gave to the international proletariat the theory of scientific socialism,—Marxism, and on the basis of an analysis of the laws of capitalist development and of the development of the class struggle, revealed the historic mission of the working class as the grave-digger of capitalism and the inevitability of the dictatorship of the proletariat by means of which the working class, after breaking the resistance of the exploiters, and leading the oppressed masses of the whole people, will organise planned socialist industry and prepare the ground for classless socialist society.

*) i. e. the theory that the rate of increase of production in the U.S.S.R. would diminish. Ed.

Lenin further developed the teachings of Marx and Engels for the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, analysed the problems of monopolist capitalism, the proletarian dictatorship, the hegemony of the proletariat in the revolution, the role of the national-colonial revolutions, the Party and the problem of the successful construction of Socialism in the period of the proletarian dictatorship, and gave to the world proletariat the experience of the first proletarian revolution and the first proletarian dictatorship in the world, leading them through the most dangerous and difficult years of ruin caused by the imperialist and civil wars and of intervention, and at the same time laid firm foundations for the construction of socialism in the U.S.S.R. The great name of Lenin is linked with Leninism as Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

The name of Stalin is linked in the minds of the toilers of our country and of the international proletariat with the entire phase of Socialist construction and its triumph in the U.S.S.R. On the basis of the law of the uneven development of imperialism, he worked out and put into practice the Leninist teachings on the construction of socialism in a single country. In this Stalinist position, which has been studied by the whole of the Communist International, the task of preparing the international proletariat for a new round of wars and revolutions was actually realised. Under the leadership of Lenin, the C.P.S.U. defeated Menshevism, which stood in the path of the proletarian revolution in Russia, under the leadership of Stalin, in the period of socialist construction, a decisive blow was struck at the Menshevism of our epoch which sometimes appears in the form of counter-revolutionary Trotzkyism and sometimes in the form of the Right opportunist deviation.

In the struggle against these deviations, Stalin not only successfully defended Marxism-Leninism from Trotzkyist and Right opportunist distortions. In his reports, speeches and articles he developed the teachings of Marx and Lenin and adapted them to the first phase of Communism. (Socialism) Stalin's articles, such as *Year of the Great Change*, his speeches as the one delivered at the Conference of Agrarian Marxists, or the one delivered at the Conference of Business Managers on the mastery of technique, Stalin's Six Points*) are not only directives for our Party, not only historical landmarks of our achievements and victories, they are documents of tremendous theoretical importance for the whole of the Comintern, documents whose significance is not confined to our country, or to our times.

And, comrades, those who, because of our temporary difficulties fail to see these fundamental facts in the development of two opposite worlds, those who, impressed by these difficulties, are inclined to belittle the successes achieved in the U.S.S.R., in fact fraternise with the class enemy and are slipping to the other side of the barricade. For instance, can we forget that we have saved about 100,000 million rubles since the end of the imperialist and civil wars and have invested this sum in the restoration and reconstruction of our national economy. Can we leave out of account the fact that owing to collectivisation, we succeeded in 1930 and 1931 in extending the sown area of our fields by 14 million hectares, i. e., that in one or two years we travelled a road which took the U.S.A. 15 years and Canada 20 years to travel. Is not the fact that in spite of a big crop failure last year, we succeeded this year in reaching last year's sown area although we did not quite fulfil the plan for this year proof of the strength of our socialist organisation of economy? Or the fact that we collected about 1,500 million poods of grain last year? How remote this is from those 285 million poods of which comrade Lenin so triumphantly informed the Third Congress of the Comintern!

II. Socialist Construction and Capitalist Encirclement.

The significance of these successes is all the greater because they were achieved by the C.P.S.U. after overcoming a number of difficulties which were inherent in economic and international conditions.

First of all, a most serious obstacle to the success of our socialist construction was the extremely low level of productive forces which the U.S.S.R. inherited from the old capitalist system. Whereas in highly developed capitalist countries the obsolete private capitalist relations are the obstacle to the

further development of productive forces, the position in our country was exactly the reverse. We had a low level of productive forces which all the time restricted the development of high socialist relations. As we know, the Mensheviks drew the conclusion from this contradiction that neither a proletarian revolution nor socialism was possible in the U.S.S.R. Lenin, in his notes on Sukhanov, brilliantly refuted this argument of international social democracy, if it can be described as an argument, with the question: why cannot a country, exhausted and ruined by three years of imperialist war, just overthrow the power of the landlords and capitalists and then, on new, free and clear ground, set out to overtake economically, the foremost capitalist countries?

Comrades, we need only think a moment to realise what would have happened to our country at the present time of world crisis if, in 1917, it had followed the line of the Mensheviks and had not overthrown capitalism. It would have become a colony of world capitalism like India or China. Its fragile economic organism would have fallen to pieces under the blows of the world crisis. It would have been the first European country to compensate at the expense of its own ruin, world capital for the losses it is suffering by the present crisis, and the toilers of India, China, Indo-China, and the other colonies of world imperialism should seriously think of the example of Russia, which, through the proletarian revolution, has taken the path towards socialist industrialisation.

But this contradiction between socialist relations and the low level of our productive forces was the chief source of our difficulties. The liquidation of this contradiction was the main task of the first Five-Year Plan. The breaches that occur from time to time in the fulfilment of the industrial and financial plan, the inadequate increase in the efficiency of labour, due to the fluctuation of labour in the factories, sometimes to inability to handle complicated machines, poor labour discipline, tendencies towards wage hogging, the low quality of our products, inadequate reduction of scrapped work, our organisational difficulties in the state farms and especially in the collective farms, accompanied by individualist relapses (e.g., the reduction of the number of cattle during the first period of the organisational construction of collective farms, careless and inefficient cultivation of the fields leading to a drop in the yield, a slight non-fulfilment of the sowing plan this year), all this in the long run is due to the main contradiction, which we are eliminating in the process of socialist industry. All this is the dark heritage of the past, cultivated by the centuries of the capitalist and feudal systems of old tsarist Russia, and is being broken down by the proletarian dictatorship with the firm hand of the revolutionary transformer.

The routine, inertness, Asiatic quietism, the "terrible force of habit of millions" established by centuries, has been fearlessly broken down by the proletarian power in the U.S.S.R. Without having had any important "industrial culture" in the past, it has opened up the tundras, deserts and steppes, has conquered new industries such as the chemical industry (producing nitrates, potassium, super-phosphates), non-ferrous metal industry (copper, nickel, tin, aluminium), tractor and automobile building, engineering (blooming mills, oil cracking mills, complicated machines and tools, heavy engineering).

I cannot refrain at this juncture from recalling the shameful part **international social-democracy** has played and the struggle it has waged against socialist industrialisation. It has continuously defended the capitalist-feudal heritage of the past in all its forms as against the socialist industrialisation carried out by the C.P.S.U. It vilified industrialisation, it qualified the technical revolution in agriculture as mere bluff, it prophesied the collapse of collectivisation, it depicted the Machine and Tractor Stations, these strongholds of socialist reconstruction of the countryside, as Arakcheyev settlements.*) It defended kulak wage hogging as against the new socialist attitude towards labour, socialist competition and the shockbrigade movement. It indiscriminately took under its protecting wing the liquidated kulak, the unemployed priest and traditional Russian backwardness. And in the same way as contemporary monopolist capitalism supports all the reactionary feudal institutions in the colonies (India, the countries of Latin America) in order to preserve

*) Arakcheyev: a Minister under Alexander I who organised farm colonies of soldiers, in which strict military discipline was maintained. Ed.

*) See Stalin: *New Conditions New Tasks*, Ed.

the capitalist system as a whole, so contemporary social democracy, in order to save its position among the masses of workers in the capitalist countries who are becoming radicalised by the world crisis and also as a result of the achievements of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., comes out in relation to the U.S.S.R. as the champion of capitalist-feudal obscurantism and social retrogression. This example alone illustrates the terrible strained conditions of capitalist encirclement in which our Party has carried out its first Five-Year Plan.

Frequently this irreconcilable struggle between two systems is forgotten, there are tendencies to consider the so-called "breathing space" as something more than the temporary equilibrium of forces of which Lenin spoke. Actually we never had a breathing space in the sense of a safe, calm situation for socialist construction.

Never in history has any country in the world had to build its economy in an atmosphere so highly charged with the class hatred of the bourgeoisie, with continual plots, intrigues, "legal" and illegal wrecking activities, systematically alternating with hostile campaigns, as the U.S.S.R. has had to do. We have not plundered other peoples as Great Britain has done, we have not waged wars as Germany and France have done, we have levied no contributions on anyone, we have received no long term loans for the purpose of developing our economy. We have built up our economy for the toilers, but only with the efforts and resources of the toilers of our Union. If we have traded with the capitalist world during these years the capitalist world has received much profit from this trade. If we have received technical aid, we paid for the "instruction" a hundredfold. If we have received equipment from abroad, we paid cash for it; we have had no moratorium on credits, as Germany has had. And moreover, never for a moment has the threat of war ceased to hang over the toilers of our Union.

Finally, when characterising the conditions under which the Five-Year Plan was carried out in four years, we must not forget the fact that the two last and decisive years of the Five-Year Plan (the third and the fourth) coincided with the time when the world crisis was at its height. Of course, our economy does not suffer from crises and this is one of the chief features that distinguish it from capitalist economy. But on one section of our front, in the sphere of foreign trade, we came in contact with the capitalist world which is deeply affected by the crisis. Our country exported lumber, flax, and grain, and was inevitably affected by the catastrophic fall of world prices for agricultural raw materials. At the same time, we paid trustified industry prices for machinery and equipment imported from abroad (and don't forget that our machinery imports in 1931 comprised 24 per cent of the world imports of machinery), and these prices did not fluctuate to the same extent as the prices of other goods. Therefore, we were the losers in the foreign trade turnover. And while taking advantage of this situation, the capitalist world still had the effrontery to accuse the U.S.S.R. of dumping.

III. Socialist Industrialisation and the Proletarian Masses Abroad.

And if, despite all these unfavourable circumstances, the C.P.S.U. has successfully attained the object it set itself, it is only because the realisation of the Five-Year Plan in four years was the cause not only of the few million members of our Party, but was the cause of the vast masses of the toilers of our country. The strength of our Five-Year Plan lies in that it was detailed, corrected, augmented and what is most important, carried out by the broad masses, who put forward counter-plans, broadly developed the shock work movement and socialist competition; it lies in the fact that the Five-Year Plan became the socialist school for the masses, an instrument for stimulating the greatest self-activity and initiative of the masses.

And if, today, at a time when capitalism is affected by the greatest crisis it has ever experienced in its history, in recording the successes of the Communist Parties we are compelled to admit that the overwhelming majority of the workers have not yet turned towards Communism, that they still waver in some countries between social-democracy and fascism, it shows that the experience of the C.P.S.U. and the U.S.S.R. has not yet brought about a complete revolution in the minds of these millions. For us members of the C.P.S.U.

it means that we must fight still more strenuously, still more determinedly for success, in order to consolidate, to organise the proletarian masses around the Communist International. And if the **first Five-Year Plan played a tremendous part in turning the workers in the capitalist countries towards Communism, the role of the second Five-Year Plan must become and will be decisive.**

What elements of our great experience in socialist construction are generally recognised by these broad proletarian masses—mark you, not the Communist vanguard,—but precisely those masses who are only just looking around, cautiously feeling their way and slowly drawing nearer to Communism? This question is of great practical importance for the Sections of the Comintern. The correct reply to this will enable the communists in the capitalist countries to organise agitation around the U.S.S.R. properly.

Undoubtedly, in addition to the chief gain of the October Revolution, the overthrow of the power of the capitalists and the establishment of the power of the workers, a gain that has particularly impressed the minds of the broad toiling masses of all countries, we must ascribe first place to our successful **socialist industrialisation.**

Social-democracy cannot dissuade the working class from recognising this. It is difficult to hide from the working class of the world, to lie about and gloss over facts like these;—only three or four years ago the U.S.S.R. occupied fourth and fifth place in the world's output of iron and steel, and now comes forward to second place, immediately after the U.S.A.; that the U.S.S.R. fulfilled the Five-Year Plan for oil in 2½ years; that the Five-Year Plan for machine construction was already surpassed in 1931; that by creating gigantic tractor works the U.S.S.R. has insured for herself at the end of the second Five-Year Plan traction power amounting to 15 million H.P. for agriculture; that by the end of the first Five-Year Plan the U.S.S.R. will have increased the capacity of her electric stations to 5½ million kilowatts, with an output of electric power equal to 17,000 million units, i.e. eight and nine times more than was consumed by pre-revolutionary Russia. These facts speak for themselves better than hundreds of books and speeches.

Even if the U.S.S.R. has not fulfilled the programme that was drawn up for the chemical industry despite the starting of such enterprises as Bereznikiy, the workers in the capitalist countries know that the Soviet working class has to build its chemical industry on empty wastes, that it has neither cadres nor experience, nor its own chemical equipment, that the strict secrecy of chemical processes maintained by the capitalist states compels the U.S.S.R. to find ways of its own to give the country a chemical industry.

Do you remember, comrades, the sensation that was created throughout the whole of the capitalist world by the publication of the main outlines for the second Five-Year Plan adopted by our Seventeenth Party Conference? That plan provides for 22 million tons of pig iron, 250 million tons of coal, 80-90 million tons of oil, 65 million tons of peat—our peat industry is now working hard to mechanise its output; it provides for 100,000 million units of electric energy, 30,000 kilometres of new railways; it provides for: new canals, such as the Volga-Moscow canal, work on which has already been started; increased productivity of labour by 120-140 per cent., reduced costs of production by 30-35 per cent.,—in a word, it provides for a threefold increase in production compared with 1932.

And this is no fantastic plan. It has been verified by persons of experience and knowledge, and it is still being verified at numerous conferences, such as: conference on the distribution of productive forces, on electrification, transport, national education, etc.—and it will certainly be carried out. The new metallurgical works now under construction will alone, when working at full capacity, provide as much as 20 million tons of pig iron; already despite the seasonal interruptions in the output of pig iron, the productive capacity of our furnaces amounts to 20,000 tons a day. The new mine construction which we have widely developed ensures for 1935 already up to 150 million tons of coal. By a decision of the Central Committee of our Party and of the Council of People's Commissars the foundations are being laid for three new powerful electric power stations on the Volga and the Kama, which are to cater for the old and new industrial districts of the Volga. Finally, at Kamyshina we are laying the foundations for a huge dam and electric

power station, the projected capacity of which will amount to one-half of the present total electric energy of the country, which is to serve as a source of power for the artificial irrigation for the whole of the Trans-Volga, which will convert this region, which is periodically stricken by drought, into a most important wheat basis for the U.S.S.R. with an annual output of 300—400 millions poods of wheat. In order to realise the significance of these gigantic undertakings, equal to three Dnieprostroys, one must realise what a terrible scourge drought in our country has been for the peasant masses. Every three or four years such districts as the Trans-Volga, Kazakstan, the steppe region of the Ukraine were periodically stricken with drought. According to approximate estimates, during 11 years, (from 1921 to 1931) our country lost as a result of drought about 2½ milliard poods of grain, which, together with the losses in cattle, amount to a financial loss calculated at 4½ milliard rubles. The enormous investment of many millions of rubles for the development of agriculture in the Volga district alone is the best reply the Soviet Union can give to the "theories" advanced by the social-fascist scoundrels to the effect that "original accumulation" is taking place in the U.S.S.R. at the expense of agriculture.

But these are not our only investments in agriculture. For instance, in the second Five-Year Plan our agricultural machinery industry is to supply agriculture with machinery to the value of 9,000-10,000 million rubles, i. e. a sum four times larger than the value of the machinery now in use in agriculture. Our tractors, which at the present time number about 150,000, by the end of the second Five-Year Plan will increase to 700 to 750,000. Our automobiles, which serve agriculture, will amount to 750,000. Finally, in place of the approximate 2,000 Machine Tractor Stations that we have today we will have about 5½ to 6 thousand stations with an aggregate power equal to an average textile mill, and the value of the mechanical equipment of each of these stations will be 3 million rubles. This programme, however, is not a song of the remote future, part of this programme is already being carried out. And these achievements in the socialist industrialisation of the U.S.S.R. cannot but demonstrate to the broad masses in the capitalist countries the powerful impetus that the productive forces will receive when they are liberated from the chains of capitalism.

Socialist industrialisation, however, does not strike the workers of the capitalist countries from the purely technical aspects; they judge it by the results it brings for the Soviet working class. The U.S.S.R. is the only country where there is no unemployment, the bony hand of which is now strangling millions of people throughout the entire capitalist world. Everyone in the U.S.S.R. can find work. Here, the right to labour is the same as the right to be born, the right to live, to choose a free companion in life, to go to the theatre, to enjoy the beauties of nature. In the U.S.S.R. all forms of social insurance are continually increasing. When going to bed or getting up, there is no need to think of that terrible "rainy day". Here labour is "a matter of honour, a matter of glory, a matter of valour, a matter of heroism". It is respected in the U.S.S.R. more than money or aristocratic birth is respected in the capitalist world. Every able-bodied member of a worker's family is engaged in production. Factory kitchens are springing up, because the workers' wives are becoming the fellow workers of their husbands in the factories. The old petty-bourgeois life is disappearing, and the new life of socialism is being created. Nowhere is so much thought given to children as in the U.S.S.R. Nowhere is there such a complete emancipation of personality as in this land of severe proletarian dictatorship, nowhere is there such a realisation of human dignity, of workers' freedom, of rights as a citizen of the Republic of Labour, as in the U.S.S.R., which denies "freedom" to the bourgeoisie to exploit, plunder and strangle the economically enslaved.

The workers in the capitalist countries, who in their countries experience the very opposite of this cannot but feel moved at the majesty of this land of socialist construction. They cannot but be inspired by the stupendous cultural revolution that is taking place in this former land of illiteracy where in the third year of the Five-Year Plan, those able to read and write already represented more than 81 per cent of the population,—among the peasant women already 50 per cent can read and write. It is only in the U.S.S.R. that science, art, and culture are for the toilers. The entire land

of the toilers, under the proletarian dictatorship, has grown in stature by several heads. The intellectual level of the masses has grown, they have advanced from their own midst tens of thousands of talented organisers for new socialist economy. In 1932 the total circulation of newspapers reached 40 millions, i. e. ten times as much as in tsarist Russia. In 1932 there were 80 millions receiving various forms of education, half the entire population. In Universities alone, in 1931, about 400,000 students were being educated, while in the technicums there were 860,000—and in all educational institutions the overwhelming majority of the students are sons and daughters of workers and collective farmers. Take the unprecedented growth of national culture, now that it is freed from oppression. Or the growth and development of genuine workers' and collective-farm democracy, realising itself to be the master of the country. The Soviet Government is the cheapest government in the world for the masses. Do not all of these facts bring about a change in the sentiments of the broad masses of toilers in the capitalist countries towards the U.S.S.R.?

IV. Socialist Construction and the Difficulties of Growth.

But doubts begin to arise in the minds of the social-democratic workers in the capitalist countries when they hear of the difficulties of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. And this is where the despicable role of international social democracy is made plain. During the whole of the existence of the proletarian dictatorship in the U.S.S.R., the social democrats, in their counter-revolutionary agitation against the U.S.S.R. have fed like parasites on our difficulties. Deprive them of our difficulties and they appear before the masses naked as lepers.

Like the tempting spirit of the bible they whisper to the worker in the capitalist desert: "Dost thou believe in this Bolshevik socialism? Enough! Where is the equality of consumption?"

"But this is only the first phase of Communism (socialism)," says our class conscious worker, "when bourgeois right has been liquidated only with regard to the means of production, but is still in operation with regard to the distribution of the products of labour."

"But the worker does not receive the full product of his labour in the U.S.S.R."

"Well, even in the final phase of socialism deductions will be made from the product of the labour of the worker to cover depreciation, for the further extension of production, for social insurance, etc."

"How can it be avoided then in the country which, thanks to your social democratic treachery, is building socialism alone for the time being, in the face of the furious resistance of your world, of the whole capitalist world."

"But in the U.S.S.R. there is not enough meat, fats, clothes, boots; there is a card system of rationing, there are reserved stores for the workers, the marauders of the private market continue to operate."

"Yes, there is a shortage of things", say the proletarians of the U.S.S.R., "because socialism has increased the requirements of the toiling population of 150 million who in the past dragged miserable and wretched lives, lived amidst filth and vermin, etc., ate grass in famine years, died from epidemics. Before the war we made 25 million pairs of boots a year and now we make 80 million, i.e., three times as many, and still there is not enough, because our peasants no longer want to wear bark shoes, because the nomad tribesman of yesterday, the Kirghis, now works in a factory, and now justly demands a house with electric light, a bath, soap, working garments, factory made boots. The standard of life of the formerly privileged classes and groups has fallen. The relics of the old bourgeoisie and their hangers-on, the intelligentsia, the government officials, the urban petty-bourgeoisie, the extraders, the owners of small workshops, etc., have a lower standard than they formerly enjoyed but we have improved the standard of life of the main strata of the toilers of the 108 nationalities which inhabit the U.S.S.R., and which the old system tried to convert into human manure for the benefit of Russian imperialism."

"There is a shortage of things because we have to economise on the light industry so as to build up heavy industry as the basis of our economic independence and as a material guarantee against military surprises. There is a shortage because the population in this country is increasing

at a more rapid rate than in any other country in the capitalist world. The birth rate is rising, and this is the first sign of an improvement in the material conditions of the masses. At present we cannot feed, clothe and shoe the whole of the toiling population in this enormous country, provide them with sanatoriums, rest homes, decent dining rooms to the extent we would like; we cannot yet do away with queues because we have not enough clothes, boots, fats, and meat. Hence, the class principle of distribution. Hence, the card system of rationing, the reserved stores for the workers of our chief industrial centres and the chief branches of industry—things which will be abolished by the second Five-Year Plan.

"But if the capitalist system which you social-democrats support, introduced the ration system in order to help carry on the imperialist war, and you, despised reptiles, called it war socialism, has not the class which is waging a desperate class war against the whole of the capitalist world and against the 'terrible habits of the millions', within the country, the right to introduce temporary restrictions to help strengthen the cause of socialism and the cause of the world revolution?"

"You complain that here and there in the crevices of the new system marauders of the private market are still to be found. But we have the apparatus of the class dictatorship of the proletariat to deal with the marauders of the market. We are now enforcing the death penalty against marauders of collective property, but we are sure that the social democrats will take these very marauders under their protecting wing just as they took the priests, the wreckers, the counter-revolutionary plotters and all the most bitter enemies of socialism."

"But in the U.S.S.R.," say the social democrats, "in view of the difficulties arising in connection with the construction of socialism, the present generation has to make sacrifices for the benefit of future generations. But can socialism in the U.S.S.R. keep going merely on the sacrifices of the working class, can it continue to call forth the enthusiasm of the millions if there is no material basis for such an upsurge and such enthusiasm among the masses?"

To think that our young generation of workers and peasants, which is growing up amidst the conditions of the greatest revolution in the world, of the most extensive proletarian democracy, which has not experienced capitalism or the tsarist regime, to think that this generation with its growing political, material and cultural requirements will accept socialism only in the form of sacrifices and deprivation, is sheer lunacy. The heroic struggle of this generation for the happiness of future generations, its advance under the flag of service to the interests of the world proletarian revolution, is not the detached, romantic asceticism of the intelligentsia, but an all-embracing synthesis of the great social ideal with the immediate material interests of the masses. Therefore it is for this very reason that social democracy and all the General Staffs in the world have been unable to crush the proletarian revolution and to prevent socialist construction in the U.S.S.R.

The chief blame for the sacrifices which the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. is compelled to make must rest chiefly on the shoulders of social-democracy, which, in the capitalist countries, has betrayed the ultimate aims and the temporary interests of the working class. And yet it has the effrontery to talk about sacrifices! 10 millions killed, 19 millions wounded and crippled, 30 millions dead from epidemics and famine during the world imperialist war, the destruction of productive forces of the warring governments to the amount of 200,000 million dollars, the sharp reduction in the consumption of the masses during the world crisis, the halving of wages, the indescribable starvation and degeneration which is going on in the colonies, India, China, and the Latin American countries, 50 million unemployed, not counting their families, the increase of suicides of whole families of workers, the terrible infant mortality, i. e., a second war without battles—these are some of the sacrifices which the working class has made and is still making for the salvation of capitalism and which the social democrats justify and call on the workers to continue!

Social democracy says to the masses: the Bolsheviki claim that the second Five-Year Plan will bring about the complete reconstruction of national economy in the U.S.S.R., but at the present time the output of coal in the Donbas is declining and there are serious difficulties in iron and steel production and in transport. They are promising to increase the consumption

per head of the population two or threefold during the second Five-Year Plan, but in the Ukraine they have not sown enough because of the loss of horses. During the second Five-Year Plan they want to build classless society. But how does this square with the latest decree which gives the right to trade to collective farms, to individual collective farmers and to individual peasants?

Yes, comrades, we still have difficulties to contend against and will have in the immediate future but, as Comrade Stalin emphasised at the XVI. Congress of our Party, these difficulties are difficulties of growth, i. e. difficulties which contain within themselves the elements for overcoming them. For example, the tempo of our industrialisation comes up against backwardness and lack of culture, against the absence of trained cadres, but industrialisation itself provides the means for overcoming this evil. Take another example—the mechanisation of agriculture, an auxiliary phenomenon of which was the drop in the number of horses. But mechanisation itself is the key to the liquidation of the effects of the horse shortage. Our difficulties are of a different kind from the difficulties of capitalism, which is moving to destruction and therefore contains within itself the elements of further decay and disintegration.

Those who wish to understand our difficulties, not as class enemies, but as friends of the toilers, like Romain Rolland, Theodore Dreiser, Upton Sinclair and others, first of all take into account the concrete international and internal situation in which socialist construction is going on in the U.S.S.R.

The question of which state of socialism has been reached in the U.S.S.R. is of decisive importance for the understanding of our difficulties and for our practical policy in the construction of socialism. Do not forget, comrades, that we are only at the beginning of the first phase of communism, that we have only just entered the period of socialism. Our system still bears many "birthmarks" of the transition period, which are a feature not only of the present stage of socialism, but will not disappear entirely until the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. has built up complete socialist society and arrives at the second phase of communism when the ruling principle will be "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs". Do not forget that we have not yet socialised all the means of production. About one third of our farms are still individual peasant farms, and we have still to convince these individual peasants, by practice, by concrete experience, of the advantages of the collective form of farming over the individual form. Another peculiar feature of our stage of socialism is the fact that in agriculture, except for the state farms and the machine tractor stations, a considerable part of the means of production does not belong to society as a whole (the state) but is the collective property of the population of each collective farm. Do not forget that the principle we apply in the distribution of goods is "according to the amount of labour performed". It is the kulaks, the wage-hogs and slackers who demand "equal" distribution and consumption. Do not forget that we still have the commodity-money form of circulation which, however, radically differs from the commodity-money form of capitalism. This is the system of the last stage of N.E.P. *) it will continue throughout the whole period of the first phase of Communism and even in classless society it will become more and more a means of socialist accounting, control and distribution. Do not forget that we are strongly developing Soviet trading because we have not yet achieved the direct socialist exchange of products. We have payment by results, financial control. Do not forget that we shall enter classless society only with the completion of the second Five-Year Plan, that we are marching along the path of socialist construction in the midst of severe class struggle, that the struggle for a socialist attitude to labour, as one of the forms of the class struggle, will continue even after the liquidation of classes, as a prolonged and stubborn struggle for the "socialist remoulding of the mind of man". Do not forget that surrounded by capitalism as we are, the liquidated classes, which formally have submitted to the new system, will attempt to smash it by all means in their power, quietly, by inconspicuous sabotage, by wage-grabbing, by slacking at work, by bureaucracy, pilfering, profiteering, etc.

*) New Economic Policy—Ed.

And those who fail to appreciate the concrete social-economic and political conditions under which we are constructing socialism in the U.S.S.R., will wander away from the general line of the Party. In the sphere of collective farm policy they will substitute bureaucratic administration for mass work among the peasant collective farmers. They will regard collective farm property as state property and not as the collective property of the farmers. On distributing the harvest in the collective farms they will widely apply the equalisation method on the principle "distribution according to size of the family". They will have fantastic ideas about forming agricultural-industrial combines. In the sphere of socialist industrialisation and circulation they will ignore the last stage of N.E.P., which is still essential for us—business accounting, financial control, the regime of economy, etc.

And these "left" deviations interfere, and will in the future hamper the Party in fulfilling the important task of increasing the efficiency of labour and the problem connected with this—reducing the cost of production and improving quality, the organisational-economic strengthening of the collective farms and the improvement of supplies for the toilers of our country.

These "left" deviations also foster Right opportunism which is the chief danger, opportunism which is trying to drag us in the direction of restoring capitalism and its methods of economy (drift, conniving at kulak tendencies, the waste of social property, etc.). It is true that since it was taught a lesson not long ago right opportunism does not dare to come out openly with its platform. It dreams quietly about slowing down the rate of industrialisation, about returning to the previous stages of N.E.P., the revising of the collectivisation policy. Our Bolshevik Party, which grew up and became steered in the struggle against opportunism, will strike mercilessly at it in future, even if it comes out without a platform and in the form of vague, amorphous sentiment.

V. The Main Tasks of Current Policy.

What are the ways and means by which we can overcome our present difficulties? The Party has already received the answer to this question. It received it in the form of the **six conditions of Comrade Stalin**. The historic significance of these conditions lies in that Comrade Stalin did not merely propose them for the current situation; but as guidance for the Party and the working class which holds good for the whole historical period of the construction of socialism. In them the working class of our country and of capitalist countries found the reply to the question as to what was the concrete content of the present stage of socialism. To fight against "equalisation", against "depersonalisation" and for business accounting—are these tasks for one month, for one season, for one year? These are the tasks that correspond to the basic principles of Marx and Lenin regarding the first phase of Communism, and the fulfilment of these tasks will take up the whole, or nearly the whole of the first phase of Communism. By putting these tasks before us, Comrade Stalin put a check on those who had already jumped from the concrete, historical conditions of the beginning of the first phase of Communism and who in their practical policy reflected the illusion that it was possible to achieve the **equality** of the second phase of Communism, direct socialist exchange of products, right at the present day, at the beginning of the first phase of Communism.

Or take the problems of the organisation of labour, labour power and skilled cadres—problems which have to be solved by our Party in completely new conditions—are these merely problems of the present day? No! They are problems of a whole historic period. And the task of our Party, trade union, and business organisations is to apply concretely in their work the points of Comrade Stalin under the conditions actually prevailing on every sector of the economic front. This is the essence of concrete leadership, the absence of which frequently gives rise to such great difficulties. Concrete leadership presupposes a series of measures based on a calculation of the growing demands which the masses make on the new system, great initiative on the part of the lower economic units, a certain decentralisation of the economic organisations within the framework of the general plan, liberating our economic system from useless forms of bureaucratic centralism (we have already begun to divide our chief

commissariats and economic institutions into smaller units), and the application from top to bottom of the system of individual responsibility for given tasks, and above all the adoption of business accounting and financial control.

It must be frankly stated that we have not yet applied business accounting and financial control. With regard to these, we still have in operation many relics of war communism, fostered from time to time by ideological leaps into the second phase of Communism. We must introduce business accounting into all branches of our economy. For example, in practice we must enforce material responsibility (financial) for the factory which is to blame for disorganising the work of another factory. Let us suppose that a textile factory stops working five or six times in a day because the electric power station did not supply current, the station must pay the loss incurred and must itself demand compensation for loss from the organisation which supplied poor quality peat and thus caused frequent stoppages at the power station.

But at the same time the Party must strike hard at everyone who, on the pretext of introducing business accounting, drags in the commercial methods of the first years of N.E.P., and calls for the restoration of "freedom of trade" and the free market. A correct application of the methods of business accounting in the present stage of socialism presupposes a stern regime of economy, and this means that we must keep the expenditure on our new constructions within the limits of the estimates, that we must definitely fix the order in which they are to be built, avoid unproductive expenditures in the factories, avoid having superfluous people on central government supply, it means carefully handling complicated tools and machines—it means further the establishment of firm financial discipline, putting an end to the contemptuous attitude that some adopt towards the Soviet ruble, to accumulate necessary reserves which will enable the enterprises to meet contingent difficulties.

Business accounting is the surest way to increase the efficiency of labour and to improve the quality of our products, to strengthen the collective farms organisationally and economically and consequently to improve supplies for the broad masses. Of course, we do not want a caricature of business accounting; but we need business accounting as the basic element of the plan, and applied to every machine group, every machine, and every worker, to the collective farm, the brigade and the individual collective farmer.

In 1919 Lenin said that "the efficiency of labour in the long run is the most important and the chief thing necessary for the victory of the new social order". Socialism will conquer because it shows a higher productivity of labour than capitalism can show. But the productivity of labour is determined by two factors—firstly the level of technique which includes the question of the equipment of our factories, the ability to operate complicated machines and tools, the training of skilled cadres for our industry, the proper organisation of labour in the factories, etc. To ensure this condition—the raising of the productivity of labour—our Party has done and is still doing a great deal. It has reconstructed all our factories. Such factories as the "A.M.O." which has grown from the small automobile shop owned by Riabushinsky, into a giant, is far from being an exception. Every year it trains thousands of young Soviet engineers, who have already become prominent such as Kartashov in the Donbas, Kanemoshnikov in Baku, excellent workers whose qualifications far exceed those of the best specialists in capitalist industry.

Secondly, the productivity of labour is determined by a factor of a social-political character, namely, by the socialist attitude to labour. This opens up an enormous field for a prolonged, stubborn, revolutionary educational effort for the "socialist remoulding of the mind of man". This is one of the chief tasks of the second Five-Year Plan. Socialist competition and shock-brigade methods have raised the socialist attitude of our working class to labour to a tremendous height; 70 per cent. of the workers in the factories are now engaged in shock-brigade and socialist competition. They have developed also in the collective farms and are transforming the mentality of yesterday's individual farmer into that of collectivism. Socialist competition and shock-brigade work represent on a par with the heroism of the civil war, the finest and brightest page in the history of our revolution.

But it would be wrong to think that since socialist competition and shock-brigade work have strongly developed, we have already remoulded the minds of our toiling population in the spirit of socialism. The psychology of the masses cannot make dizzy leaps towards complete Communism if the material

conditions of human life have not yet emerged from the first phases of Communism. If we, members of the C.P.S.U. the party of the social revolution and of socialism, cannot yet say that we are communists in the sense of the second phase of Communism, then what can we except of the non-Party workers and the mass of collective farmers? The bulk of our proletariat represents a new stratum of the proletariat; the overwhelming majority of our industrial workers have only recently come from the country. The old stratum of the proletariat which has been in industry for years, is a very thin stratum, while the new stratum from the villages, bring with them the sentiments of yesterday's small owner with which they are still imbued. And if we observe the process, how socialist competition, shock-brigade work and the work of our Party and trade unions turns these raw village masses into a new type of man and woman we shall see an amazing picture of the renaissance of human psychology under the new material conditions of socialism. But these are still far from being the communists of complete socialist society.

But still more difficult processes of the reconstruction of the human mind are taking place and will take place in the collective farms. In the year of the great change, the masses of middle peasants definitely turned in the direction of socialism. But we must know how firmly to consolidate these masses in the collective farms, to reorganise them under conditions which are new to them, to give them a new orientation, to re-educate them. And this is a very difficult task which may give us many a headache yet. In pursuing its policy our Party takes all these difficulties in the matter of the socialist re-education of the masses into account. Therefore, while greatly developing the new socialist stimuli, our Party does not neglect to use the stimulus of personal interest either in socialist industry or in collective farm practice. Hence, in our wages policy, we employ the system of wage scales, we have introduced piece work, wages depend on the quality of the work performed, etc.

It is well known that we are also experiencing difficulties in supplying the toiling masses. What measures is our Party taking at the present time to overcome these difficulties? Firstly, the rapid rate of industrialisation is the best method of overcoming the commodity shortage and of satisfying the growing demands of the toiling masses. In addition to increasing the sown area in the second Five-Year Plan to 160 million hectares, the extensive development of collective vegetable farms and state cattle ranches,—which in the main have already overcome the difficulties of the organisational period and have brought their stock of sheep to 4½ millions, horned cattle to 2½ millions, and pigs to one million,—in addition to more extensively developing light industry than previously, our Party in the last few months has introduced two important measures—the development of collective farm trading and the development of the production of articles for immediate consumption in the big factories (the chief role in which is played by the newly organised waste utilisation departments of factories especially in the metal industry, for the manufacture of goods of general utility for the villages). And as these measures are not only calculated to improve supplies for town and country, but are the main lever for the organisational and economic strengthening of the collective farms, I shall have to deal with them in greater detail.

The decrees recently passed by the Soviet government on collective farm trading are the economic and political continuation of the six conditions of Comrade Stalin, forming with them a complete system of measures calculated to secure a further rapid advance to socialism in our country and which rest on a combination of the stimuli of both social and individual interests in accordance with the stage of socialism through which we are passing.

The bourgeois and social-democratic press interpreted these decrees as marking the beginning of a return to the first period of N.E.P. Can this collective farm trading be compared with the first period of N.E.P.? Of course not. The socialist sector now occupies the predominating position in the economics of our country, the arena of socialist accounting, control and regulation has been widely extended, the apparatus of Soviet state and co-operative trading in spite of all its defects, handles practically the whole commodity turnover of the country, the kulaks have been liquidated as a class in the districts where complete collectivisation has been established and a great blow has thus been struck at the parasitic elements, the strengthening of the proletarian dictatorship has given the Soviet government great power in the struggle

against speculators and traders. Only apologists of capitalism can deliberately spread the opinion that this is a step back from collectivisation, a return to N.E.P. of the first period, the abandonment by the Party of the construction of classless society.

At the beginning of N.E.P., Lenin, in reply to a question put to him by the English newspaper correspondent **Arthur Ransome** as to whether N.E.P. would not lead to the dictatorship of the middle man on the market as the result of "free trading", quite reasonably answered: "How can that happen when production is in our hands and not in the hands of the middle man?" Now we can say more. Now we hold the predominant position in the market. What new positions can the private capitalists seize in the villages if the land and the means of production (implements, tractor power) are socialised, if the machine-tractor stations are gradually helping to transfer the present **artel*** form of the collectivisation of agricultural implements to the higher stage of being an undertaking of the socialist type, not differing from the factory? The orchard and garden, private animal stock (cows, sheep, chickens), the share of the farm produce received by the collective farmer on the basis of the number of days he has worked, all remain the private property of the collective farmers, but all those are merely elements of the personal fund of consumption of the collective farmer and his family. They are not means of production, ownership of which would create the conditions for the exploitation of man by man. If the consumption fund be compared with wages, because collectivisation is not entirely the same as the relationships that exist in a socialist factory, and a collective farmer is still not entirely the same as a proletarian, nevertheless, this personal consumption fund of the collective farm family, realised through the market, cannot, on the other hand be identified with small commodity farming. Although economically, the market relations of the unsocialised part of a collective farm resembles those of small commodity farming the social relations of the collective farm, however, are approximate to those of the socialist factory. To fail to see the dialectics of collective farming is to make a number of mistakes in practical collective farm policy. This means, to regard collective farm trading, not as the perfectly natural function of the **artel** form of the collective farms, but as a concession to "petty bourgeois" anarchy. But the theory of "concessions", i. e., statements that collective farm trading is a concession, a retreat, reflects in practice those excesses in collective farm practice which foster equalisation and depersonalisation, leading to the absolute disruption of some collective farms.

Why do we fight against equalisation in wages in the socialist factory? Why do we employ the stimulus of the personal interest of the worker in order to raise his output, and pay wages according to results? Why is it that in enterprises of the consistently socialist type, i. e., higher forms than that of collective farms, we permit piece work? And why is it that sometimes in our practical work in the collective farms, in the lower **artel** form, we have gone to such a length of bureaucratic distortions with this equalisation in payment and lack of personal responsibility that we hinder both the social and the individual stimulus to labour? When our Party, on the initiative of Comrade Stalin, corrected this pernicious practice and, not in the least degree changing the basis of our collective farming policy, by means of the new decree simply directed the entire attention of the Party and Soviet apparatus to the correct Leninist-Stalinist application of this policy, the bourgeoisie and their social-fascist hangers-on raised a howl that we were returning to the N.E.P., that we were making "concessions" to elementary forces, etc. What is meant by a struggle against the equalising tendency and lack of personal responsibility in collective farming? It means an increased fund for the personal consumption of the collective farmer and his family, here, too, making use of the incentive of personal interest, through the market, it is true, but a market which is directed, which is regulated by the proletarian state, a market which serves the interests of socialist construction, or, what is the same thing under the proletarian dictatorship, which serves to raise the standard of living of the toiling masses. But did our Party ever deny or entirely replace the socialist stimulus by the stimulus of personal interest in the collective farms? The very **artel** form of the collective farm is the best combination of personal and

* Co-operative. Ed.

social stimuli, because we are now only at the beginning of the first phase of Communism (socialism), and we chose this form of socialised agriculture and not the agricultural commune.

"The conditions are not yet ripe for agricultural communes as the **prevailing** form, in which not only production but distribution also is socialised*).")

The basic line laid down by Comrade Stalin still holds good.

And when certain people advise us to give up the new social stimulus and rely only on the individual stimulus of the peasants for the purpose of raising the level of agriculture, we cannot describe these counsellors otherwise than as the mouthpiece of the kulaks. We never rejected the personal stimulus of the collective farmer. But the increased emphasis which is now being put on the individual stimulus has a different political meaning. Behind the talk of restoring individualist stimuli there is hidden a cowardly attempt to revise the policy of collectivisation.

As we know, the whole of bourgeois political economy has been built up on the idea that no society can exist without the individualist principle of personal interest, that socialism is impossible for the very reason that it destroys this "fundamental of fundamentals" of capitalist society. Not only our system but monopolist capitalism itself has proved the reverse.

Impersonality, the crushing of all individuality, the bureaucratisation of the economic apparatus due to the growth of unproductive expenditure, that which Schmalenbach called the "bonds of business"—this is the direction of the development of monopolist capitalism.

And now, when the individualistic stimulus is passing through such fundamental perturbations in the capitalist world, we in the land of socialism are advised to return to it. And what does a return **entirely** to the stimulus of personal interest mean in agriculture except a return from collectivisation to small commodity farming. Moreover, why should the stimulus of personal interest be interpreted to mean exclusively wage hogging, the striving of the collective farmers to sell the whole of the marketable part of their crop on the private market at speculative prices, the restoration of the "personal" work of the collective farmer and his family on a separate, exclusive, isolated part of land, with the help of primitive implements of labour, a horse and plough?

And is not the advantage of large scale production over small production, the replacement of the barbarous, peasant form of hand labour by the work of machines and the resulting enormous increase in the productivity of this labour, the shortening of the busy seasons in farming, the freeing of peasant hands from extra work, the penetration of electricity into the villages, the introduction of artificial irrigation, which are possible only on a "collective" basis and which abolish the age-long worry of the peasant concerning rain, does not all this serve as a "stimulus of personal interest" for the peasant in the collective form of farming?

How otherwise can we explain the overfulfilment of the Five-Year Plan of collectivisation which took place in the U.S.S.R. in 1929, the unquestionable historic fact that the middle peasants, not to speak of the poor peasants, irrevocably turned in the direction of socialism in the "year of great change", joining in solid ranks the collective farms and forming whole regions of complete collectivisation?

What idealist motives and what ideal measures of organisation could have compelled millions of peasants who had lost the stimulus of personal interest, year after year, to plough and sow, to reap and mow, to plough up summer fallow, to sow in the autumn when the fields are almost like swamps? Why did the stimulus of personal interest of the collective farmer, which acted in combination with the new social stimulus in 1929 more or less correctly, fail to act in 1932? It is merely a seasonal stimulus? Furthermore, why does it act fairly well at the present time in the middle Volga, where in spite of the drought last year, the sowing plan was fulfilled, the harvest was gathered in good time, or in the Moscow region, which has carried out all the agricultural campaigns of the last few years not at all badly, but for some reason this unfortunate stimulus breaks down in the Ukraine. One would think that this stimulus is subject to local variation. And this local variation exists not only in whole

regions but in separate districts in that region and even in one and the same district, in individual collective farms. We can find two collective farms in one and the same district, where in one, the stimulus fails to act, as in the Ukrainian, while in the other it acts as effectively as in the middle Volga and the Moscow Region. It is quite obvious that the question is not one of "stimuli" but of the organisation of the collective farm, that talk about stimuli is an attempt to throw the responsibility for organisational impotence and inability on to objective causes, to turn away from the difficulties of organisational tasks, to choose the easiest path.

The task of organisationally and economically strengthening the collective farms is now the main link which we must seize in order to pull the whole chain of tasks for raising the agriculture of our country. Without this it will be impossible to raise agriculture. We cannot improve the harvests by elimination of weeds, winter fallowing for crops like beet, we cannot restore and extend individual and collective cattle raising, dairy farming, chicken farming, vegetable gardening, fruit growing, etc. if we do not increase the profitability of the collective farms. And this in turn presupposes the proper organisation of labour in the collective farms based on a combination of social and personal stimuli, the introduction of piece work in the collective farms, the ruthless elimination of equalisation in wages and lack of responsibility which foster loafing on the job, a careful supervision and control over the quality of the work, proper registration of this work and a sensible and economic division of labour among the brigades. This also presupposes reducing so-called capital investment in the collective farms to the limits of actual necessity, the ruthless cutting down of all kinds of management expenses, the organisation of all kinds of supplementary handicraft work in addition to field work.

We shall not advance a single step forward in raising agriculture unless we increase the profitability of the working day. Millions of collective farmers must become convinced by personal experience of the greater economic advantages collective farming brings them compared with individual farming. It is not a matter of words and speeches and agitation, but a matter of facts which speak for themselves and convince the collective masses.

Finally, the problem of the organisational and economical strengthening of the collective farms is connected with the development of the Soviet goods turn-over. Collective farm trading will receive a great impetus if, in exchange for the products of agriculture and stock rearing in the villages, a stream of manufactured goods for general use flows from the towns. We must not forget that our *smytchka**) with the villages, which above all is of a productive character, does not exclude consumption. Our Party and the Soviet government are now taking energetic measures to develop the manufacture of articles of general use by a supplementary mobilisation of commodity resources.

Such are the measures by which the C.P.S.U. is strengthening the cause of socialism in the U.S.S.R.

VI. The Path of the U.S.S.R. is the Path of Revolution and Victory.

When Lenin left us, he said: "Ten or twenty years of proper relations with the peasants and victory is assured, even if the proletarian revolutions, which are growing, should be delayed." Under conditions when the proletarian revolution in other countries is being delayed, we treasure this behest of Lenin like the apple of our eye. The relations of the proletariat to the peasants in the U.S.S.R. have already become not merely an alliance, not merely a *smytchka* as we called these relations in 1929. Thanks to collectivisation they have become something more. The position now is not merely that class interests coincide; they have grown into the unity of class interests based on the unity of the social system.

The proletariat of the U.S.S.R., under the leadership of the C.P.S.U., secured the victory of socialism with the support of the world proletariat, but for the time being, without the practical help of the world proletarian revolution.

But the cause of socialism would make immeasurably greater progress in the U.S.S.R. if we got help from your side in the form of a **proletarian revolution**.

The world proletariat must know that its belatedness in the matter of the world proletarian revolution has created

*) Stalin: **Giddy with Success**.

*) Alliance. Ed.

many additional difficulties for us. The fact that our proletariat was the first to break through the imperialist front without support from the proletarian revolution in other countries made this work particularly difficult, much more difficult than it will be for the workers of those countries which, in the approaching second round of revolutions and wars, will take the path of the proletarian revolution.

It is true that in the struggle for the proletarian revolution in your countries you will encounter many additional difficulties that did not exist for us Russians on the eve of the October Revolution. But you have many advantages which we had not when we marched to the October Revolution.

It is true that your capitalism is more firmly established than Russian capitalism was in 1917, but your proletariat is much more numerous and much stronger than ours was. It is true that your bourgeoisie is cleverer and has learned many lessons from the October Revolution, but it is also the task of the Communist Parties to learn from the experience of the October Revolution, so as to be more strongly armed against a cunning, deceitful and clever enemy.

It is true that we Bolsheviks were helped by the war, but you are being helped by the **world crisis**.

It is true that we were saved by the enormous expanse of our territory, but in your rear you have the enormous place d'armes of the proletarian revolution and socialism in the U.S.S.R.

It is true that social democracy is stronger in your countries than it was in the U.S.S.R., but if you have not been able to undermine the influence of social democracy in spite of the world war, the proletarian revolution in the U.S.S.R., the revolutions in the Central Empires*) and the world crisis, the fault is yours.

It is true that fascism has come across the path of the proletarian revolution in your countries, which was not the case with us, but the appearance and growth of fascism are due to the over-ripeness of capitalism and the belatedness of the proletarian revolution.

At the Second Congress of the Comintern we said that the proletarian struggle for power in the capitalist countries would be more difficult than here. But comrades, certain changes have taken place since then. The U.S.S.R. has victoriously fulfilled the first Five-Year Plan and is entering into the second. By this it renders enormous assistance to the world proletariat in the struggle for power. The country that next takes the path of proletarian revolution after the U.S.S.R. will have behind it, not the Socialist Republic of 1920 in the period of war communism, but a socialist, industrialised country, which has completed a Five-Year Plan. We rushed into the fight alone in the sense that we had behind us neither a victorious proletarian revolution nor a country which was victoriously building socialism. We had no ready made models of practical socialism. You have an invincible fortress—a socialist country with a firm industrial basis. Our experience of the various stages of our revolution will help you to avoid many difficulties in the sphere of relations with the peasants, N.E.P., collectivisation, the management of socialised industry, etc. We took a road hitherto untrodden by human feet. You will march along a beaten path. For you the construction of socialism will be many times easier than it was for us, because you will inherit from the past a higher level of productive forces than the October Revolution inherited. And if we were able to obtain our tremendous successes, in spite of the difficulties we had to overcome day after day owing to the low level of productive forces we inherited, then what unprecedented rates of development and expansion will you achieve when your productive forces are put on a socialist basis?

The experience of our first Five-Year Plan and the prospects of the second, tell the workers in the capitalist countries who still fear the cost of revolution and the difficulties of constructing socialism that: in 1918-19, after the end of the World War you feared the cost of revolution, but during the past fifteen years you have suffered greater loss by preserving the obsolete capitalist system. And will it be only fifteen years? You were afraid that revolution and civil war would destroy the productive forces, but the world crisis of capitalism has destroyed them to a far larger extent than revolution would have done. You were afraid of the convulsions which might be caused by the proletarian revolution—unemployment, depreciation of currency, fierce class struggles, bloody war; but capitalism has put you into a zone

of tremendous convulsions, fascism, war, the undermining of the material basis of existence of millions of human beings. You dreamt of "stabilised capitalism", but the relative, decayed capitalist stabilisation which was established after the first round of revolution and wars has come to an end. You were afraid of the difficulties of socialist construction, but capitalism has compelled you to share with it all the sufferings of its own death agony—the closing of factories, the failure of banks, unemployment and the loss of the savings of small depositors, wage cuts, the reduction and even the abolition of social insurance, the increase of exploitation. Proletarians, comrades, you must choose between capitalism and socialism, between reaction and revolution, between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of your own class. There is no other way. And we have no doubt as to the choice which the working class of the world will make. **It will choose the path of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., the path of revolution and victory!**

POLITICS

The Plans for Changing the Constitution in Germany.

By B. Steinemann (Berlin).

Reichs Chancellor von Papen delivered a speech on October 12 in Munich, in which the "reform of the Constitution" occupied a prominent place; in fact the entire visit of the Chancellor to the Bavarian capital was devoted to discussions and negotiations on the "reform".

The technical preparatory work for this intended change in the Constitution was already commenced in the Reichs Ministry for the Interior at the end of September. Various plans have been submitted which can be summed up in four main points:

1. Alteration of the voting age: the voting age is to be raised from 20 to 25 years (the right to be elected from 25 to 30 years). This would mean that 7 million, chiefly young workers and toilers (whose radical moods it is obviously intended, shall be prevented from finding expression) will lose their right to vote. The proportional representation system is to be replaced by a system under which the electors vote for only one candidate, but probably with a second ballot.

2. Establishment of a "Second Chamber": in addition to, or better said, above the Reichstag, a sort of a second Chamber will be set up. The "second Chamber" will possess "equal rights" with the Reichstag, i. e., in practice it will completely paralyse the Reichstag and thus give a free hand to the government. According to one of the plans, the "second Chamber" will consist of a third of members of the Reichsrat, i. e. the representatives of Bavaria, Baden, Saxony etc., another third of members of the Reichs Economic Council (a board of employers' representatives and some trade union bureaucrats) and a third of "personalities" nominated by the Reichs President and the government.

3. Increased powers to the Reichs President. Although the "democratic" Weimar Constitution contains paragraph 48, which places extraordinary dictatorial power in the hands of the Reichs President, these powers are to be extended still further. Paragraph 54 of the Constitution, according to which the Reichs government has to resign after a vote of censure by the Reichstag, is to be abolished.

4. The Reichs Reform: It is intended to set up a union between the Reich and Prussia (almost four-fifths of Germany). The Reichs Chancellor will be at the same time Prime Minister of Prussia, who will be assisted by a Minister "without portefeuille" as deputy in Prussian affairs. The Prussian Diet will formally remain, but separate elections for Prussia will not take place, the members of Parliament elected in Prussia forming the Prussian Diet, which will not adopt political decisions but only assist in the drawing up of the budget for Prussia.

The remaining States such as Bavaria, Württemberg, Saxony etc. fear that the union between the Reich and Prussia will mark the commencement of restrictions of the independence hitherto enjoyed by them. Papen's journey to Munich, his speech to the Bavarian Industrial Federation,

*) i. e. Austria and Germany in 1918. Ed.

and his conversations with the Bavarian Government and the Bavarian People's Party aimed at pacifying the South-German State governments and even to grant them, at least for the time being, greater independence than hitherto and in return to obtain their aid in the contemplated alteration of the Constitution and the union of the Reich with Prussia. As Papen stated in his speech in Munich:

"The Reichs Government will so draw up the draft Constitution that it will be laid before the Reichstag when it meets. It is hoped that the Reichstag will show itself capable of coping with this great task."

What is the meaning of the intended alteration of the Constitution? With the inner-political strengthening of the German bourgeoisie with the necessity, in face of the deep economic crisis and the accentuation of class antagonisms and in view of the political antagonisms for it to proceed more drastically against the workers, some of the "democratic" provisions of the Weimar Constitution have proved an obstacle to the capitalist measures. The bourgeois parties with a mass following, the Hitler party, the Centre and the social democracy, confronted with the Communists in Parliament, are compelled, out of fear of losing their followers, to manoeuvre, and for capital this means delay in putting through its measures against the working class. This became obvious on the occasion of the Reichstag vote on September 12, when the national socialist party and the social democratic party voted for the Communist motions for the abolition of Papen's emergency decrees and also for the vote of censure against the Papen government.

The "democratic" mantle, which has hitherto served to conceal and protect the rule of capital, has become a hindrance to the necessarily more ruthless actions of capital. The democratic mantle is therefore replaced by the open fascist methods. The circles behind the Papen-Schleicher government wish to bring about an alteration of the Constitution which shall contain a fascist dictatorship in a somewhat concealed Parliamentary form:

In principle, all the bourgeois parties of Germany support this intended change of the Constitution. The quarrel only turns on the extent of the Parliamentary camouflage and the influence of the parties in the State apparatus.

The German nationalists fully support the plans for altering the Constitution. No bill can go far enough for them. The ex-crown-prince, who is a member of this party, according to newspaper reports, has stated that he is to be appointed vice-regent. The Papen Government considered it necessary to deny the statements of the impatient Hohenzollern prince.

The Hitler Party is, of course, for the alteration of the Constitution, although for tactical reasons it is not entirely in favour of the disenfranchisement of the youth, of whom it has many supporters among the petty bourgeoisie.

The Centre recently published its views through its deputy Dr. Bell in the "Kölnische Zeitung". Dr. Bell is openly in favour of the formation of an "Upper Chamber" having equal rights with the Reichstag, for "a satisfactory solution of the question of the voting age", and for doing away with the "faults of the present system of election lists". What the Centre, and with it the Bavarian People's Party wishes is that the federal character of the Reich and, the independence of Bavaria, Baden etc., be strengthened, and that these States, i. e. the Centre, shall have greater influence in the "Upper Chamber".

As regards the Democratic Party, its leader, the former Minister Dietrich, speaking at the "South-West German Conference of the Democratic Party" held on October 2 in Mannheim, stated "we are striving for the development of the Reichsrat into an Upper Chamber with equal rights with the Reichstag".

The social democracy will, of course, attempt to stage oppositional sham fights against the alteration of the Constitution. But as a matter of fact the social democratic leaders have several times pronounced in favour of the electoral disenfranchisement of the young workers and toilers. Moreover, it was the social democratic Prime Minister of Prussia, Braun, who already in July 1931 discussed with Brüning the main outlines of the present alteration of the Constitution.

The Communist Party is the only Party which is ruthlessly opposing the intended alteration of the Constitution. The line of the C.P.G. is indicated in an article by Comrade Ernst

Thälmann, published in the "Internationale" (the theoretical organ of the Party):

"In the fight against fascism, against Papen, Schleicher and Hitler, in the fight against every fascist measure aiming at still further depriving the masses of their rights and replacing the existing laws by even more reactionary laws, we must not allow any illusion to arise that we wish to fight for the Weimar Republic, that our aim is to restore a 'Constitutional state of affairs'....

"We defend the democratic rights of the workers in the fight not for the bankrupt bourgeois democracy, but in the fight for proletarian democracy, for Socialism."

The contemplated change of the Constitution will lead to a further intensification of the class antagonisms in Germany.

The Bloody "Pacification" in Volhynia.

A Statement by the Communist Fraction of the Polish Diet.

The Communist Sejm fraction has recently received information which throws a terrible light on the events in Volhynia. This information gives the lie to the denials of the Polish press of all shades. This press have the effrontery to assert that the reports published by the "Daily Herald" and other foreign papers regarding the bloody pacification action in Volhynia and the fight of the Ukrainian masses for emancipation are "lies".

The chief centres of the pacification of the Kovel district are Smolary, Czeremoszbo, Hurno and Povursk. In addition to the police, military forces of various categories took part in the pacification action. The pacification proceeded according to the methods usually adopted in East Galicia and were supplemented by courts martial and summary courts. After the arrival of a punitive expedition in a village there commenced arrests and beatings up of all the peasant inhabitants. Nobody was spared, but the most active peasants, for example members of the "Selrob", were persecuted in the first place. They were beaten and tortured in order to extract statements from them regarding the "bandits" living in the woods and the co-operation of the population with these "bandits". (It has been ascertained that the peasants provide these "bandits" with food and conceal them in their barns.) The population state that the pacification detachments not only destroyed their goods and property but, what is most characteristic, during the pacification action, which lasted for weeks, they did not receive any regular food: just as in war-time the punitive expeditions requisitioned food and fodder from the peasants and robbed them of all their stocks of food and their cattle.

Under the pretext of fighting against the insurgent peasants, the punitive expeditions seized hostages from the villages. Their fate is unknown. The partisan detachment in the neighbourhood of Smolary is said to be 80 strong; another in Kamien-Koszyrski is said to be 160 strong. In the fight against the peasants military aeroplanes reconnoitred the district.

The number of the alleged "bandits" who have been arrested is said to amount to over 30. Rumours are current among the local peasant population that many hostages and insurgents have been court-martialled and shot. Exact figures, however, are lacking. Only four of the arrested insurgent peasants were given an open trial. Their names are: Terentij Dyak, Afanasiy Olesczuk, inhabitants of the village of Verchy, Semen Olearczuk living in the village of Gnoyno, and Alexander Mioncz, living in the village of Piastovo. They were all accused before the summary court in Kovel of participating in a band under the leadership of revolutionary elements, of committing robber attacks on landed estates and of offering armed resistance to the police. The Jewish weekly paper "Kovler Stimme" of September 16, reports that, according to the indictment before the summary court, the number of members of the "bands" amounts to 49. What has happened to the others, the indictment does not say. Of the accused four peasants three were hanged and one sentenced to imprisonment for life.

The prohibition of the "Selrob" party constitutes the continuation of this pacification action. The number of arrests and house-searches amounts to thousands. The repressive actions are still going on.

Nazi Provocation in Vienna.

Vienna, 17th October 1932.

A pitched battle in which hundreds of shots were exchanged took place yesterday between armed fascists and armed members of the Republican Defence League (the defence organisation of the Austrian Social Democratic Party) in the working class quarter of Simmering in Vienna. On Sunday the fascists held a district conference in Simmering and mobilised hundreds of uniformed members for a demonstration. A mob of uniformed fascists marched to the local headquarters of the Republican Defence League in the Lorenz Gasse. The Lorenz Gasse is quite out of the way so that the fascist responsibility for the collisions is absolutely clear.

The first hand to hand fighting took place in the doorway of the socialist premises when fascists attempted to force their way in. Almost immediately shots were fired by the fascists, whereupon the socialist workers armed themselves with rifles and revolvers stored on the premises and replied to the fascist fire. The fascists retired a little distance and erected barricades from behind which they fired at the socialist workers.

During the shooting, which lasted some time and was very heavy, a policeman and two fascists were shot dead. Scores of persons on both sides were wounded. A large force of armed police arrived and put an end to the fighting. The police occupied the socialist premises and disarmed the workers found there. In their treatment of the disarmed workers the police were guilty of great brutality and many of the socialist casualties occurred after the fighting had ended. A sixty year old worker was cut down by a police sabre stroke. The facade of the house was peppered with bullet marks. According to the police report, seventy rifles and a number of revolvers were found on the premises and confiscated. There is no mention of any fascists having been arrested. Amongst the killed was a German fascist, apparently a fraternal delegate to the congress.

The first special edition which appeared on the streets and dealing with the events was the "Kampfruf" of the Nazis. It demanded the immediate dissolution of the Republican Defence League and the prohibition of the Communist Party and the "Rote Fahne", the organ of the C.P., and announced that on Monday morning a deputation would interview the Federal Chancellor and put forward these demands. There soon appeared a special edition of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung", in which the central committee of the social democratic party addressed an appeal to the Vienna workers and again attempted to quieten and pacify them. Nevertheless this special edition was very soon confiscated by the authorities. The content of this special edition and the intention of the authors of the appeal are best seen from today's issue of the "Arbeiter-Zeitung", which states:

"It is incredible and unprecedented in the political history that the Public Prosecutor, at the moment of extreme tension, gags the biggest party in the country, just when the party is endeavouring to inform its supporters and ally the excitement. That this was the intention of our special edition is shown by its contents."

The Government has already announced its measures. The first is the appointment of the fascist Major Fey as Minister for Public Safety. In addition, the Ministerial Council had a meeting this afternoon at which the Federal Chancellor Dollfuss announced the adoption of an emergency decree under the War Emergency Powers Act of 1917. This emergency decree provides for a strict control of the possession of weapons. From this it is to be clearly seen that this decree will be employed in a one-sided manner only against the workers' organisations.

The Communist Party issued a leaflet yesterday in which it dealt with the occurrences and issued the following slogans: Not another fascist parade in the workers' quarters! Clear the Nazi barracks out of the workers' quarters! Drive the brown murder bands out of the workers' districts! Fight for the release of the arrested Simmering workers!

The Communists call for a solidarity strike in Simmering as a protest on behalf of the arrested, as one can already assume that the social democrats will leave the arrested workers in the lurch.

THE BALKANS

After the Elections in Greece.

By B. S. (Athens).

The result of the elections to the Greek Parliament mean in the first place a **defeat of the dictatorship Government of Venizelos**, the hangman of the masses. In spite of the pressure of the government apparatus and the cynical falsification and cheating in the counting of the votes and the distribution of seats, the Government did not succeed in hiding the fact that the overwhelming majority of the electors cast their votes against the hated Venizelos regime. The indignation of the broad strata of the population was taken advantage of by the opposition bourgeois parties, above all by the monarchists, who concealed their real aims—which differ in no way from those of Venizelos—behind deceitful phrases about "defending parliamentary democracy". But the clearest indication of the real feeling and will of the toiling masses of Greece is the **great success scored by the list of candidates of the Workers and Peasants United Front**, led by the Communist Party. According to the official figures, the number of votes cast for this list is four times as great as in the election in 1928—and this in spite of the bestial terror of the government organs and their fascist bands. This victory is still further emphasised by the fact that the social democratic party, which was solemnly constituted a year ago as a section of the 2nd International, did not venture to come forward with its own independent list of candidates, but confined itself to running some of its leaders as candidates on the lists of the agrarian party, the party of the kulaks.

The great change in the feeling of the masses and the squabbles in the camp of the Greek bourgeoisie are a result of the economic collapse, which was increased by the blows of the world crisis and the shifting of all burdens on to the working masses. The output of Greek industry, which in the period from 1928 to 1931 sank by a third, is still declining; the so-called productive work, which was undertaken at the cost of the foreign capitalists, has been interrupted; more than half of the workers are hit by unemployment and are deprived of all benefit. The nominal wages of the workers and employees have been greatly reduced in spite of the enormous increase in price, especially after the collapse of the Drachma. During the first five months of 1932, exports sank by one third; two-thirds of the mercantile fleet is laid idle; out of 11,000 seamen 7,000 are unemployed. The position of the peasantry is disastrous; in the present year the area under cultivation has declined by a third; whole villages are suffering from epidemics caused by famine. The State revenue has fallen off considerably, whilst at the same time expenditure for military purposes has increased. The reserves of foreign bills, mainly used for paying for armament orders, have fallen to one tenth of the level of 1928.

The masses are offering a desperate and increasing resistance to the shifting of all the consequence of the economic catastrophe on to their shoulders. Strike struggles are continually taking place in all parts of the country and in all branches of industry. In May last the State employees, including a part of the railwaymen, went on strike. The unemployed are waging an energetic fight. The peasants are rising; collisions with the armed forces are becoming more and more frequent and masses of hungry peasants organise demonstrations in the towns. The ferment among the soldiers is spreading.

The hopes and speculations of the Greek bourgeoisie on financial aid from abroad have proved illusory. In face of this situation the Venizelos Government, which represents the most important groups of the bourgeoisie—big capital and the banks—is seeking a way out of the crisis in an increased exploitation of the toiling masses, and therefore aims at the setting up of an open military dictatorship supported by the "Military League" of the Generals and higher officers. The monarchist party, which pursues practically the same aims and is prepared to employ the same methods but is excluded by Venizelos from participation in the Government, is taking advantage of his increasing unpopularity among the middle and smaller bourgeoisie in order to take his place. The small republican-bourgeois and big peasant parties, who supported all Venizelos' principal measures, vacillate between the desire to be allowed to participate in the Government and the fear

of assuming responsibility before the masses for the hated Government.

The Parliament without a majority, the result of the recent elections, will undoubtedly become a factor facilitating the Greek bourgeoisie, and Venizelos in particular, in going over from the fascist methods of government already employed by him to the unconcealed fascist dictatorship.

The revolutionary deputies in the Greek Parliament will make use of the parliamentary tribune not only in order to pillory and stigmatise the crimes of the Greek bourgeoisie and their government. They will bring in interpellations on all questions touching the vital and immediate interests of the working population. They will move the immediate repeal of the odious "defence of the realm Act", the introduction of complete freedom of organisation and struggle of the exploited. They will propose an effective social insurance for the toilers, especially for the unemployed. They will propose the immediate liquidation of the budget for war purpose, for the police and the gendarmerie and the utilisation of the means thereby set free in relief for the unemployed and the poor peasants. They will propose the immediate abolition of all taxes payable by the propertyless and the poor population in town and country.

But the deputies of the Workers' and Peasants' United Front will not confine themselves to their courageous fight in Parliament. Their no less important task will be the work among the masses themselves. They will place themselves at the service of all the political and trade union organisations which have united in the election campaign on the basis of the united front. They will take part in the organising in the whole country, in the towns and villages, and above all in the factories, of **Committees of the Workers' and Peasants' United Front**. These committees, elected at mass meetings, will support the work of the workers' and peasants' parliamentary fraction, will carry on the agitation among the masses. These committees will organise the fight of the masses in defence of their parliamentary fraction in the event of the Government—which has already stolen more than half of the workers' and peasants' seats in parliament—attempting to attack the revolutionary deputies, to exclude them from parliament and throw them into prison.

Financial Bankruptcy and Government Crisis in Rumania.

By Z. Gregor.

The Stresa Conference, which represented its task as being to mobilise the forces of the big Powers for the purpose of rendering aid to the bankrupt small States of South-East Europe, was already an acknowledgment on the part of France that its financial sources of help alone no longer suffice for this purpose. The failure of the Stresa Conference was bound therefore to shake very severely the French vassal system in South-East Europe.

As a matter of fact, following the Stresa Conference, there was a government crisis in nearly every State which had placed its hopes in this Conference: in Austria, Hungary, Rumania and even in Czechoslovakia. The country most severely shaken as a result of the failure of the Stresa Conference is undoubtedly Rumania.

The Rumania State is completely bankrupt. The State budget this year already has a deficit of 11,000 Lei. The salaries of government employees cannot be paid. The unmet liabilities of the State amount to about 10,000 million Lei. The State revenue amounted to merely 1200 to 1300 million Lei a month, whilst on the other hand the expenditure increased to between 1,700 and 1,800 million Lei. The State budget was only maintained by the National Bank placing at the disposal of the Treasury 1,040 million Lei from the profits of the mint and 405 million Lei as an advance from the stabilisation fund. In addition, the Government succeeded a few months ago in obtaining a credit of 50 million Swiss francs at 4½ per cent interest from the Union of Swiss banks.

To-day, however, the Government has an empty treasury and is faced with complete chaos in the State finances.

The Swiss loan was already the result of the refusal of France to grant a loan. The French Government adopted the standpoint contained in the report of the League of Nations controller Professor Rist, and demanded the reorganisation

of the taxation system, abolition of the privileges hitherto granted for political reasons, and of corruption in general, repeal of the peasant moratorium law and drastic economy measures, in particular reduction of the exceedingly large number of government officials (50,000). Paris made any financial aid dependent upon the carrying out of these measures under strict foreign control.

At the negotiations which Minister Madgearu conducted with the Finance Committee of the League of Nations on "technical co-operation" with the latter, it transpired that what French financial circles intended was a subjection of Rumania to foreign control which would destroy the last remnants of its sovereignty.

The Vajda Government rejected these proposals. The estrangement between Paris and Bucharest was now expressed in a conflict with the Financial committee of the League of Nations. Vajda offered the king the resignation of the government, which was accepted. The endeavours of Mihalache, the Minister of the Interior, to bring about a reconciliation between Vajda and Titulescu failed. The king has had a conversation with the Minister of the Interior regarding the formation of a new Cabinet.

The open conflict between Titulescu and Vajda arose in connection with the question of the relations of Rumania with the Soviet Union. Poland, Rumania's military ally, concluded a non-aggression Pact with the Soviet Union. France has drawn up a similar Pact. At the same time France advised Rumania likewise to regulate its relations with the Soviet Union. This action on the part of France arose out of the momentary requirements of French imperialism on the Rhine frontier. Thereupon Vajda, without informing Titulescu beforehand, ordered the Rumanian Ambassador Kadere to get into touch with Litvinov for the purpose of concluding such a Pact. Titulescu was furious. He handed in his resignation as Delegate to the League of Nations and Ambassador. Vajda accepted this resignation, at the same time politely informing Titulescu that the post of Foreign Minister still remained open to him.

Thereupon Titulescu took Vajda at his word and telegraphed to Bucharest stating that he accepted the position of Foreign Minister.

In this conflict between Titulescu and Vajda it must be borne in mind that Titulescu has behind him not only Deterding, but all the right circles in France, including the General Staff, who are opposed to any regulation of the relations between Rumania and the Soviet Union and therefore welcome a defeat of Herriot in Bucharest.

The heavy industry, armament industry, the oil kings, the members of the General Staff are backing Titulescu. Will they, however, provide the necessary means in order to bring order, at least for the moment, into the chaos of Rumanian finances?

There is no question, however, that the recent development in Rumania means a sharpening of the relations with the Soviet Union, that the financial bourgeoisie of this bankrupt country are seeking a way out of the crisis in a war-adventure.

The Chinese Red Army Threat to Hankow.

Shanghai, 13th October 1932.

"The North China Daily News" writes as follows concerning the advance of the red troops on **Hankow**:

"Apparently the governmental military campaign to clear the Wuhan district (the district around the three towns Hankow, Wuchang and Hanyang) of the red troops has not been successful. The action of the government troops in the south of Hankow has caused the red command to alter its line of attack and threaten the town from the north. It is too early to estimate the exact nature of the danger threatening the town, but the fact that it is again threatened by the red troops so soon after the official government report announcing a victory over the Red Army causes the general public to doubt the truth of the government statements."

The red troops are now 27 miles to the north west of Hankow at the nearest point.

Germany

Social Democracy, National Socialism and their Role in Rescuing German Capitalism.

By Th. Lorenz (Berlin).
(Conclusion.)

The Role of the Coalition Policy.

To-day there prevails general resentment, even among the broad masses of the social democratic workers, on account of the coalition policy of the social democratic party. Have they, however, really recognised the function of this coalition policy? Finance capital can teach them something on this point. The "Letters to the Leaders" state:

"As moreover, the social democratic capitalisation of the revolution into social policy coincided with the transference of the fight from the factory and the streets to Parliament, the Ministries and the Chancelleries, i. e., with the conversion of the fight "from below" into security "from above", from now on the social democracy and the trade union bureaucracy, and with them also that part of the working class led by them, were firmly bound to the bourgeois State and its power; and this so long as there remained over even the slightest of those achievements to defend in this way, and as long as the workers followed their leaders."

How the leaders of the social democratic party and of the reformist trade unions deceived and fooled the masses in these years with talk of "democratisation of economy, of the State, of the Reichswehr and of the police"! Was not all this a way to Socialism: Did not Wilhelm Dittmann announce at the Magdeburg Party Congress in 1929: Socialism wherever we look? Hear, what Dittmann said at that time:

"But comrades, economic development has not come to a conclusion with capitalism. It is advancing to Socialism. We are no longer living under pure capitalism, but already in the period of transition to Socialism, economic, political and social." (Official report of the Party Congress, page 109.)

Conclusions which Finance Capital Draws.

On the basis of the analysis of the function of the social democratic party and of the trade unions for the capitalist State, finance capital comes to the following exceedingly important conclusions:

"There are four important conclusions resulting from this analysis: 1. The policy of the "lesser evil" is not a tactic, it is the political content of social democracy. 2. The tying of the trade union bureaucracy to the State "from above" is more constraining than the tying of the trade union bureaucracy to the social democracy, and applies to every bourgeois State which wishes to tie the trade union bureaucracy to itself. 3. The tying of the trade union bureaucracy to the social democracy stands and falls with Parliamentarism. 4. The possibility of a liberal social constitution of monopoly capitalism is determined by the existence of an automatic mechanism which disrupts the working class. A bourgeois regime based on a liberal bourgeois Constitution must not only be Parliamentary, it must rely for support on the social democracy and allow the social democracy adequate achievements; a bourgeois regime which destroys these achievements must sacrifice social democracy and Parliamentarism, must create a substitute for the social democracy and must go over to a restricted (fascist, — the author) social constitution."

What do these reflections of finance capital mean? If now, in the acutest crisis, finance capital abolishes all the social achievements by means of which the social democracy was able to split the working class and keep it split, the social democracy party will thereby be deprived of the basis on which it stands.

There then arises the question, however: can the bourgeoisie give up the social democratic party and in spite of this retain the aid of the trade unions? Finance capital answer this question in the affirmative. For the trade unions are bound to the State, no matter what the nature of this State. As we see,

they negotiate to-day with Papen and Schleicher just as they formerly negotiated with Brüning and Stegerwald. Finance capital concludes from this, that it can separate the trade union bureaucracy from the social democratic party if Parliamentarism is abolished and the trade union bureaucracy no longer attaches any value to being represented by a political party. Of course, the "Letters to Leaders" express the view that the trade unions must then be incorporated in a new social Constitution, i. e., in a fascist Constitution. Here the question of the social democratic party and the trade unions is bound up with the question of national socialism.

Why Finance Capital Needs National Socialism.

The social democratic party can carry out its task of maintaining capitalism only if it allowed certain achievements, by means of which it can hold back the working masses from revolution. But we see at present how all these achievements are being done away with one after the other. Finance capital clearly perceives the danger arising from this:

"The process of this transition which we are undergoing at present, because the economic crisis necessarily destroys these achievements, passes through the stage of acute danger that, with the disappearance of these achievements, the mechanism of disrupting the working class which is based upon these achievements, will cease to operate, with the result that the working class will begin to turn in the direction of Communism and the bourgeois rule will be faced with the necessity of setting up a military dictatorship. This stage would mark the beginning of the phase of the incurableness of bourgeois rule. As that sluice-mechanism can no longer be sufficiently restored, the only possible means of saving bourgeois rule from this abyss is to effect the splitting of the working class and its tying to the State apparatus by other and more direct means. Herein lie the positive possibilities and the tasks of national socialism."

The social democratic party and the trade union leaders are no longer able to fulfil their task of defending capitalism, as capital is compelled by the crisis to do away with those social achievements with the aid of which the social democrats and the A. D. G. B. kept the workers docile in the interests of capital. The working masses are turning to Communism. This represents a deadly danger to finance capital. In order to obviate this danger, it requires the aid of national socialism, which splits the working class in another way.

The Hitler Party and the Social Democracy.

The "Letters to Leaders" compare the Hitler movement with the social democratic party and enumerate the features they have in common:

"The parallelism is indeed really striking. The then social democracy (from 1918 to 1930) and present-day national socialism perform similar functions in that they both were the grave diggers of the preceding system, and then, instead of leading the masses to the revolution proclaimed by them, led them to the new formation of bourgeois rule. The comparison which has often been drawn between Ebert and Hitler is also valid in this respect."

It is then further stated that the Hitler Party to-day, like the social democracy of 1918, bases itself on broad anti-capitalist tendencies among the masses:

"that in appealing to the anti-capitalist yearning for emancipation both of them promise a new "social" or "national" commonwealth . . ."

From this comparison of functions finance capital draws the following conclusion:

"The parallelism itself shows that national socialism has taken over from the social democracy the task of pro-

viding the mass support for the rule of the bourgeoisie in Germany."

We consider this formulation contained in the "Letters to Leaders" somewhat exaggerated and therefore not correct. In the July issue of the "Internationale" (the theoretical organ of the C.P. of Germany), Comrade Thälmann showed that it would be wrong to say that national socialism has taken over the function of the social democratic party and of the A.D.G.B.; it would be more correct to say that the bourgeoisie supports itself simultaneously on the social democratic party and on the national socialist party, but that the social democratic party, precisely because it has behind it the trade union bureaucracy and thereby has influence over the workers in the factories, still remains the chief social buttress of the bourgeoisie.

The Main Weakness of National Socialism.

The "Letters to Leaders" carry their comparison further, and then proceed to argue that the social democratic party could fulfil its role in the interest of German finance capital only because it had the trade unions behind it:

"National socialism is still only a movement . . . and ideology. If this wall collapses one stumbles into the void. For whilst it embraces all strata and groups it is not identical with anyone of them; it is not sociologically incorporated in any permanent strata of the social structure. In addition to the above-mentioned parallelism, this important circumstance constitutes the fundamental difference between these two mass movements in regard to their importance for the reconsolidation of bourgeois rule."

How rightly finance capital has recognised this chief weakness of national socialism is shown by the events of the last few weeks with their serious set-backs for the Hitler movement. But the Nazi leaders have also recognised this chief weakness of theirs and have therefore made the greatest efforts in order to penetrate into the working class, and above all to obtain a firm foothold in the factories. These efforts have failed for the time being. The national socialist factory organisation has only about 110,000 members, of whom 80,000 are clerks and employees and only 30,000 are workers. It is therefore of no importance as a mass basis.

Finance capital also sees quite clearly the result of this weakness of national socialism:

"In contradiction to the S. P. G., the fascist character of national socialism is determined by its lack of social basis. Because it has no specific social foundation which could uphold it even without Hitler, national socialism can only either capture the whole power in order, by possession of the State apparatus, to create what it lacks in regard to social basis, or break its forces on the social structure which offers it political resistance and into which it can find no entrance."

What is said here should serve as a lesson to all those muddle-heads who say: only let Hitler come into power, he will soon make a mess of things. They do not perceive what the seizure of power would mean to national socialism: the creation of a firm basis of existence such as it has never been able to find up to now. For this reason, the forces of the working class must be concentrated on repelling national socialism.

National Socialism and the Trade Unions.

It must have struck every free trade unionist and every worker in general what strenuous efforts national socialism has been making in the last few months in order to get into closer contact with the trade unions. It is known that Gregor Strasser negotiated with Herr Furtwängler of the A. D. G. B., and that the connecting threads between the heads of the A. D. G. B. and the Nazi leaders which were established through the mediation of the christian trade unions and General von Schleicher have never been completely severed. The workers are asking; what is the meaning of this? The "Private Correspondence" of finance capital furnishes the answer:

"As result of their separation from the social democracy the trade unions would lose the political representation they hitherto had; in place of it they would need, in a non-Parliamentary or very limited Parliamentary State, a new political leadership. If national socialism succeeded in taking over this leadership and bringing the trade unions into a restricted (fascist, — Author) constitution, just as the social democracy formerly brought them into the liberal Constitution, then national socialism would

thereby become the bearer of a function indispensable to the future bourgeois rule and must necessarily find its organic place in the social and State system of this rule."

The Lessons of the "Letters to Leaders" for the Working Class.

The social democratic workers, and also the proletarians in the ranks of the national socialist party, now see that what we Communists say regarding the role of the social democratic party and of the national socialist party in the interest of finance capital is confirmed by finance capital itself in its private documents namely:

1. The social democracy and the trade union bureaucracy are still to-day the main social buttresses of the bourgeoisie.
2. As the social democracy and the trade union bureaucracy, as a result of the advance of the crisis, are less and less able to keep the masses from going over to Communism, national socialism is to enter the breach as rescuer of capitalism.
3. The "labour policy" of national socialism means service to finance capital and aims at subjugating the masses by new means to the rule of finance capital.
4. The only danger to the rule of finance capital and the existence of German capital is Communism.
5. Whoever wishes to abolish capitalism and overthrow the rule of finance capital must take his place in the red united front and fight for the victory of Communism.
6. The aim of this fight cannot be the restoration of "democracy", for "democracy" is only the concealed rule of finance capital, but the aim must be the abolition of capitalism and the setting up of the rule of the working class.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE UNEMPLOYED

The Fight of the Unemployed in Belfast.

By R. B. (London).

The fierce and sanguinary fighting which took place in Belfast on the occasion of the prohibited demonstration of the unemployed on October 11, marks the highest point reached so far by the struggle of the workers of the united Kingdom against the Means Test and the attacks on unemployment benefit generally. One worker was shot dead and two others were taken to hospital in a critical condition. There were over a hundred others with serious injuries, including twenty police. Sixty-five arrests were made in the evening and 8 more during the night for being out during the curfew, which was imposed during the period from 11 p. m. to 5 a. m. Forty more were arrested in the morning on the following day on charges of "rioting", "arson" and "looting". In preparation for the banned demonstration on October 11 hundreds of police carrying batons and loaded revolvers were mobilised and placed in position with armoured cars. Other cars were in readiness with steel cages for prisoners. The first fighting began in the Ballymacarrett area, where the police charged the assembling demonstrators with batons. Three workers were arrested and it was twenty minutes before the police managed to break up the ranks of the workers.

As the arrested demonstrators were being driven to the police station in their steel cage, the police were bombarded with stones and another charge took place. Shortly before 1 o'clock the police tried to disperse a gathering of demonstrators in Shankhill Road and made a series of baton charges, during which a watchman's hut was set on fire and the police were stoned heavily. By 1.30 fighting was taking place all over the city. In the Ardoyne area trams were stopped by planks laid across the rails, while in the very centre of the city a bus taking police up to the Shankills area was overturned and the occupants and the driver injured. Here the police opened fire with revolvers and one worker was hit by a bullet. Many shop windows began to get broken and their contents were taken.

Barricades were erected in Falls Road and trenches dug in the road. Large pipes which were being laid were used for the barricades and broken pipes were used as missiles. In Albert Street the police opened a heavy fire and after 15 minutes fighting the barricades were in flames. More police were rushed to the area with not only revolvers and rifles but also bayonets.

Charge after charge was made by the police all over the city, but despite their heavy armament and their discipline they were unable to make more than a temporary impression anywhere. In many places the police were overpowered and beaten off by the crowd, in which women played a prominent part. The workers, driven into alleys, on occasion, would form up and bombard the police with such vigour that they would retreat with the workers in pursuit, shouting "We must have bread".

In a fierce battle in Regent Street at 5 o'clock a 30-year old worker, Samuel Baxter was found dead with a gun-shot wound in the chest. Near here a police-inspector was ambushed and disarmed by six workers. Bus and tram services were suspended and a police cordon was drawn around the city, no one being allowed to enter except on official business.

Fresh fighting broke out in Falls Road when 150 armed police were marched up with fixed bayonets.

In many districts all the street lights were put out and armoured cars with searchlights patrolled the streets. In the darkness many buildings were set on fire.

After midnight the town became quiet except in Falls Road, where every time a policeman showed himself he was sniped at from windows.

Later reports showed that the Belfast police conducted themselves throughout the week with unrestrained savagery. The following incidents are but a few of many reported even in the Belfast capitalist press:

A man named Prince was speaking to a baker on the street when a police armoured car appeared. A policeman jumped out, seized Prince by the throat, and dragged him into the car. As far as could be seen he had no connection with the demonstrations.

The police dashed into houses, first battering down the doors and cursing. With revolvers drawn they beat up the inmates and dragged them into the waiting police cars. During the night of the 13th hundreds of houses were visited in search of members of the Revolutionary Workers Group. In every case the police behaved like wild beasts, even where they found no one against whom they could level any charge, or whom they could even arrest on suspicion. A number of workers reported being beaten with rifle butts on the merest protest at the arbitrary action of the police.

It is a significant fact that the Inspector-General of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, Lt. Colonel Sir Charles Wickham, who is responsible for the police organisation in Belfast, played a leading part in intervention in Russia from 1918 to 1920. He played a prominent part in the expedition of General Knox at Vladivostok. On his return from Russia he was immediately given his present job of organising the suppression of the Irish workers.

FASCISM

New Wave of Terror in the Italian Fascist Prisons.

By Vasta (Milan).

The figure of 2 million fully unemployed, of which the official statistics admit 945,972, is in itself an indication of the extent of the economic crisis which is shaking Italian fascism.

As a result of this crisis the struggles of the workers and peasants against fascism are assuming a more extensive and sharper character.

Hundreds of demonstrations of the unemployed and of the poor peasants, as well as the agitation organised and led by the C.P. of Italy and the Trade Union Federation (struggles of the rice workers in the Po valley, of the textile workers in Lombardy, of the metal workers in Milan) are proof of this, as are also the incidents of the struggle against war penetrating even into the army (unrest among the soldiers of two regiments in Bergamo) and into the navy (incidents on board the armoured cruiser Andrea Doria, Trieste etc.)

In view of this militancy of the masses, fascism is obliged to resort to demagogic manoeuvres, whilst at the same time, however, it is compelled to persecute the revolutionary movement still more savagely.

Many arrests have taken place in the last few weeks, in addition to the hundreds which were carried out in July and

August last. Fascism is repeatedly attempting with desperate means to destroy the illegal organisations of the Communist Party, the underground groups of the Trade Union Federation and of the Italian section of the International Red Aid, which by recruiting new members are continually filling the gaps in their ranks caused by the arrests.

But arrests alone do not suffice in order to call the revolutionary movement to a halt. Fascism wishes to intimidate the workers and therefore wreaks vengeance on the hostages of the workers which it has in its hands, on the political prisoners, who are the object of special hatred and lust for revenge. The political prisoners on the deportation islands and in the prisons have been subjected to a fearful wave of terror.

Hundreds of political exiles who have already served their five-year period of exile, have been banished for a further five years without any trial or legal proceedings. The best of our exiled comrades are separated from the others and transferred from such islands as Ponza, Lipari, and Tremiti to the more remote and terrible islands where usually only criminals are detained, for instance to Ustica, where six of our comrades have been sent to join the thousands of ordinary criminals there, and to Ventotene, where our Comrades **Pompilio Molinari** and **Vassili Vassiliadis**, who was a member of the Communist Party of Egypt, are isolated.

The new wave of fascist terror, however, is directed with special ferocity and cruelty against the political prisoners in the ordinary prisons.

The offensive commenced with a number of Ministerial orders rendering the prison regime more severe, above all by prohibiting the political prisoners having books, periodicals and newspapers. Dozens of inspectors of the Minister of the Interior and of the OVRA (the fascist secret political police) were sent to the prisons in order to see that the new regulations were rigorously carried out. 5,000 political prisoners were ill-treated, deprived of their books and newspapers and any printed matter whatever. Our comrades were even refused the right to read books from the prison library.

It is further reported that fresh proceedings are being commenced against our comrades, who have already been sentenced to 10, 15 and 20 years imprisonment, on account of "re-establishing the Communist Party in the prisons".

Our comrades in the fascist prisons have risen like one man against this brutal attack. Commencing with the prison in San Gimignano, a wave of common protest action on the part of the political prisoners soon spread to the prisons in Viterbo, Lucca, Soriano del Cimino, Volterra and Pallaanza.

In the prisons of Volterra and Pallaanza the political prisoners went on hunger strike. In face of this spread of the protest movement the government ordered that the political prisoners be concentrated in the Civitavecchia prison near Rome. Several hundreds of our comrades have been concentrated in the terrible underground cells in the Civitavecchia prison, where light and air only enter through a small hole in the ceiling, guarded by specially selected warders, in order there to serve periods of solitary confinement up to three months. This means that for five days in the week these victims have nothing but bread and water. At the same time, these prisoners are not allowed any daily exercise or to correspond with their families. The prisoners who have been sentenced to this cruel regime of solitary confinement include the best champions of the Italian proletariat: Comrades **Terracini, Li Causi, Sanna, Tuli, Monfrini, Tettamanti, Sassano, Pianezza, Gazzotti, Maggioni, Secchia** and others.

The transference of the political prisoners to Civitavecchia and the special punishment to which they have been subjected, are an attempt to render our comrades physical wrecks.

The first group of 200 comrades who were transferred to Civitavecchia have gone on hunger strike against these measures. The groups of prisoners who are arriving almost every day in dozens, heavily chained, from the various prisons of Italy also join in the hunger strike. But the hunger strike has also spread to the other prisons.

International proletarian solidarity must help us to wrest these victims from the clutches of bloody fascism. Great mass demonstrations have already taken place in Basle, Zürich, Paris and numerous other places. At the moment when Italian fascism is about to celebrate its tenth anniversary, the tenth anniversary of misery, starvation and slavery of the working class and of the toiling masses of Italy, the storm of indignation on the part of the international proletariat must render effective aid to the Italian revolutionaries.

The War

Rumania's Sabotage of the Fight for Peace.

Tass Agency's Interview With Comrade Litvinov.

In view of the question of the non-aggression Pact between the Soviet Union and Rumania, which is the subject of lively discussion in the Rumanian press and the press of other countries, and in view of the recent interview given by **M. Titulescu**, a representative of the Tass Agency approached the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Comrade **Litvinov**, requesting him for an expression of his opinion on the situation of the negotiations with Rumania. The representative of the Tass received from Comrade Litvinov the following communication:

The negotiations with Rumania began nearly ten months ago in Riga, which was the place proposed by the Rumanian Government for the negotiations. Before the representatives of the two States arrived in Riga, Rumania, through the mediation of the Polish Government, submitted the condition that the questions in dispute between the two States should not be touched upon in the negotiations for the Pact, and that these questions should be placed on one side. The main question was that of Bessarabia, but there are other questions which in this way were to remain open until after the conclusion of the Pact of non-aggression.

The negotiations in Riga were conducted on the basis of a draft treaty submitted by the Soviet Government and a counter-draft of the Rumanian Government. In the course of some weeks the plenipotentiaries of the two countries succeeded in arriving at an understanding on nearly all the articles of the Pact, and these articles were recorded in the protocol, in the text agreed upon and signed by the two plenipotentiaries. As was agreed by the two parties, the Pact was to be concluded for five years, just as the Pact concluded with Poland, Rumania's ally.

Differences of opinion were revealed in Riga on two points. The Rumanian representative was emphatically opposed to there being mentioned, in the introductory part or any other part of the Pact, that the questions in dispute between the two contracting parties are put on one side, that they are not touched upon in the Pact and that both governments fully and entirely maintain their attitude to these questions.

The objections were all the more unfounded as Rumania itself, before entering into the negotiations, had made this point a precondition, and the existence of questions of dispute between the Soviet Union and Rumania, and especially the question of Bessarabia, is known to the whole world and cannot be denied.

Rumania, on its part, proposed formulations on the obligation of the non-aggression pact which could be interpreted as an immediate recognition by the Soviet Government of Rumania's occupation of Bessarabia. We emphatically rejected these formulations and proposed others, in which it was clearly and plainly stated that the Soviet Union undertakes not to resort in any case to forcible actions in order to solve any disputed questions. These formulations gave Rumania full guarantee that the dispute over Bessarabia would not be used by the Soviet Government in order to depart from the non-aggression Pact. The discussion on these two points clearly showed that the Rumanian representative was less concerned about the non-aggression Pact than to obtain a direct or tacit recognition by the Soviet Government of Rumania's occupation of Bessarabia. Thereupon negotiations were broken off in order afterwards to be resumed through the mediation of other countries.

Whilst, however, the Soviet Union, in order to arrive at an agreement, showed every readiness to meet Rumania and proposed new formulations regarding the points in dispute, Rumania made no fresh proposals and obstinately stood by the demands and objections made in Riga. We even accepted some compromise formulations which had been proposed by representatives of the countries allied with Rumania, who had intervened as mediators. Nevertheless, Rumania rejected these formulations one after the other.

The representative of the Polish Government who was then acting as mediator made proposals to me with the reserva-

tion that these proposals should not be binding on Rumania. This new draft embodied the same ideas which **M. Titulescu** elaborated some days ago at his interview in Paris. Such a proposal, which meant rendering null and void all the negotiations conducted so far, could of course not be accepted by me, and therefore I proposed that efforts be concentrated on removing the differences of opinion which remained after the negotiations in Riga.

Before my last journey to Geneva, there arrived from a country allied with Rumania a new compromise-proposal on the chief point of the difference of opinion in the negotiations with Rumania. Unfortunately, at the same time there was handed in a new draft Pact which differed in every article from the text agreed on in Riga. We had every reason for assuming that this proposal was made in agreement with Rumania. I declared that I was prepared to recognise the new compromise-proposal as a basis which would facilitate an agreement to be arrived at in the further negotiations with Rumania, on condition that we did not return to the old articles already agreed upon.

On my way to Geneva I said the same thing at a meeting with **M. Kadere**, Rumanian Ambassador in Warsaw, at which it was agreed to resume negotiations in Switzerland.

The negotiations were actually resumed in Switzerland. **M. Kadere** representing the Rumanian government. He declared, however, that his government did not consider itself bound either by the Protocol signed by the plenipotentiaries in Riga or by the proposals made by the representatives of the countries allied with Rumania. We had some meetings with him in the course of which we again succeeded in arriving at an agreement on the whole Pact, with the exception of one point, on which however the differences of opinion had become less. Before my departure from Geneva **M. Kadere** proposed a formula on this disputed point which practically did away with the sole remaining difference of opinion and made possible and brought nearer the signing of the Pact. Unfortunately, on the following day, **M. Kadere** declared that his proposal had not been accepted by his own government and at the same time expressed doubt whether the other formulations which had already been agreed on between us would be acceptable to his government. He decided to go to Bucharest in order finally to ascertain the views of his government.

From the above account of the actual course of the negotiations it is perfectly clear that if Rumania had striven like our other neighbours, to conclude a non-aggression pact and not pursued aims which are irrelevant to it, an agreement would not have entailed such long negotiations and would have been reached long ago. But the systematic disavowals of their own plenipotentiaries and of the representatives of countries allied with Rumania, revealed traces of the various influences fighting each other in Rumania, both in foreign and home politics.

The course of the negotiations often compelled one to doubt the seriousness and the sincerity of the efforts of Rumania to conclude a Pact. We have an open declaration by a responsible Rumanian politician as to the unnecessary of the Pact to Rumania. One can hardly expect of such politicians that they will guide and conduct negotiations with the object of arriving at an understanding, whatever they may say regarding their efforts to bring about an agreement between Rumania and the Soviet Union. The substitution, of the former articles, which had been arrived at after long negotiations, by others which open the door to fresh differences of opinion, can have no other object than further to prolong negotiations as much as possible and to postpone the signing of the Pact, and possibly represents an effort to sabotage the non-aggression Pact between the Soviet Union and Rumania.

As regards the Soviet Union, it is inspired now, as it was also in the course of all the negotiations, with the sincere desire to conclude a Pact of non-aggression with Rumania and other countries as quickly as possible. It cannot, however, agree to negotiations on such a serious matter being converted

into a diplomatic game for objects which are unknown and alien to it.

In my opinion, further negotiations must be conducted on the basis of the text already agreed upon twice with representatives of Rumania. If there existed good will on Rumania's part, then long negotiations or any negotiations

whatever would be scarcely necessary, for there remains over only one difference of opinion, regarding which the Rumanian Government must give a final answer. I am convinced that, after the negotiations at Geneva, the Rumanian Government is sufficiently aware of the standpoint of the Soviet Government on this question.

The Report of the Lytton Commission.

By Karl Radek.

A Scientific Research Brigade of the League of Nations.

After Japan, within two and a half months, beginning on 18th September 1931, had occupied almost the whole of Manchuria, the League of Nations, not being able to discover whether there was a war on in Manchuria, or what it should call the events going on there, resolved to send a scientific research brigade to the Far East, with the task of not only studying the situation in the Far East, but of considering what was to be done to improve it.

The composition of this research party was arranged accordingly. Among its members were the former governor of the Province of Bengal, Lord Lytton, the French general Claudel, the American officer MacKoy, and the Italian diplomatist Altronandi. Even Germany was granted the right of being represented by Herrn Schnee, the former governor of the German colonies in Africa.

The Commission states that it encountered great difficulties in discovering the truth in Manchuria (pp 107 to 111 of report). They were most carefully protected from "bandits, Korean communists, and even from elements supporting the new government, who might have felt themselves constrained by the presence of a Chinese member in the Commission". The Commission decides not to state whether the danger was real or pretended, but places on record that "the result of these police measures was its isolation from witnesses; many Chinese openly declared that they feared to meet the members of the Commission".

In spite of the great difficulties thus thrown in the way of the inquiry, the League of Nations Commission has succeeded in drawing up an exhaustive report running to 150 pages, to which it intends adding several more hundred pages of supplementary material (only the report has been published so far).

Regarded from the scientific aspect, the report—to speak candidly—is a slovenly piece of work, containing nothing which any reader cannot look up for himself in the Encyclopedia Britannica. But however bad the report may be from the scientific and literary standpoint, it possesses **great value** as a document showing the manner in which international imperialism would like to solve the Far Eastern question, if it could only subjugate imperialist Japan and create a united front of the imperialists. Thus viewed, what is most important in the Lytton report is not what it reports, but what is to be read between the lines. At bottom, **the decisive criterion by which every report must be judged is the objective aim which it serves.**

What the Lytton Commission failed to observe.

To the Commission of the League of Nations the matter is very simple: Japan has taken over "Western civilisation", and even though it may not have been entirely successful in doing this, still it has managed to achieve a fair approach to the model prototypes to be found in top hats in the city of London. The Chinese, on the other hand "did not want such reforms", and developed very sluggishly in the direction of capitalist civilisation. The Lytton Commission, with the sense of justice so peculiar to it, is willing to grant certain extenuating circumstances. Still the fact remains, it states, that "the masses of the people in China still continue to think in terms of the family, of the locality, to a greater extent than in terms of the nation", so that China still fails to represent a united nation. Besides this, where the Chinese have contrived to develop a national consciousness, this finds expression "in an abnormal bitterness against foreign influence, and even pursues such aims as the liberation of all Asiatic peoples from the imperialist yoke".

The Commission places the words "imperialist yoke" in inverted commas. Lord Lytton, Colonel MacKoy, and Governor General Schnee, have travelled all over Europe, America, Africa, and Asia, **but have not noticed any imperialism.** Their sole explanation of the mistrust of the Chinese masses towards imperialism is the fact that the Kuomintang once had contact with the communists, and this has left traces of anti-imperialism behind it. The League of Nations Commission finds this a reason for complaint, for "the great Powers have as a rule maintained a benevolent attitude towards the strivings of the Chinese to free themselves from the unequal treaties". That the Chinese have not succeeded in this is due to there being no order in China. All the Powers have suffered from the lack of order in China, but "as Japan is China's nearest neighbour, and sells most goods to China, it has suffered more than any other Power from the lawless conditions described in this chapter". Hence all the disagreeable events in the Far East!

Imperialism, which comes forward with claims against China in regard to devastation, has itself caused this devastation by its exploitation of China. The Lytton Commission forgets that the war of the generals, about which it complains here, has been and is still being supported by all the imperialist Powers. Each Power patronises one or the other of the generals engaged in fighting one another and still engaged in fleecing the Chinese peasants. The father of Chinese "chaos" is imperialism, which fears nothing so much as the creation of "order" in China—that is, a united China.

A Commission which has failed to "observe" the existence of imperialism at all is certainly **incapable of observing the role played by imperialist antagonisms in the Far Eastern conflict.** The Lytton Commission quietly ignores, for instance, that there is a severe economic struggle in China between Japanese and British imperialism. And it also avoids mentioning that **whilst Manchuria was once the bone of contention between Japanese and zarist imperialism, it had become the object of a struggle between Japanese and U.S.A. imperialism even before the war.**

The Lytton Commission, though dealing in detail with the struggle between Japan and zarism, makes no mention of the fact that before the war the American Secretary of State Knox proposed the **internationalisation of the Manchurian railways**, that is to say, he endeavoured to remove Japan's hands from Manchuria, which was becoming more and more a Japanese colony since the defeat of zarism. **The report makes no mention of the whole struggle between Japanese and American imperialism during the war and after it.** Other trifling facts too are omitted—for instance that in 1921 Japan and the United States were literally on the verge of war.

How can the Lytton Commission, which traces so carefully the impressions left on the Japanese soul by the Russo-Japanese war, pass over in silence **the antagonisms between America and Japan as one of the sources of Japanese policy in Manchuria?** That it does so is the more to be wondered at as here it is no distant past which is involved, no question of antagonisms playing a part in the politics of the Far East 10 years ago, but of the antagonisms of to-day.

The Lytton Commission devotes a whole chapter to the Manchurian railways, and to the struggle arising over them between Chinese and Japanese capital. It describes how Japanese capital regards the Chinese railways as being opposed to its interests, but it does not accord a word to the fact that **Japan regards the Chinese railway companies in Manchuria, which are endeavouring to create a railway system parallel to that of the South Manchurian railway and ending at the independent Chinese port of Chulutao, as the puppets of American capital.**

The Lytton Commission, though taking every opportunity to state the ideas of Japanese capital, preserves silence on the fact that the Japanese press and Japanese literature accuse

American capital of attempting to cut through the whole of Manchuria from South to North by means of a railway, thus rendering the South Manchurian railway worthless and converting Chulutao, which is being built by foreign capital, into a port competing with Dairen.

The Lytton Commission, having so "little knowledge" of the role played by the antagonism between Japan and the United States in the Manchurian question, has naturally failed to include in its report any reference to the whole strategic and economic complex of the question of the part to be played by Manchuria as a point of support for Japan in the event of war with the U.S.A. and in case of a blockade. This "lack of knowledge" on the part of the Lytton commission on this point is certainly—to speak plainly—well thought out. Only if these good people from the League of Nations conceal the actual attitude of the imperialists towards China can they pose as the "defenders of China", and can preach moral sermons to their youngest brother Japan, who is only doing what they have taught him.

The Points to Which the Lytton Commission Devotes Attention.

The Lytton Commission devotes great attention—if not to say loving attention—to the importance of the Soviet element in the Far Eastern question. We need not assume a modest air. There is no doubt whatever that the role played by the Soviet Union in the Far East is a mighty one, and will continue to grow. The Japanese imperialists refer constantly to the industrialisation of the Soviet Union in general and to that of Siberia in particular, and draw the conclusion of danger to Japan from the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union cannot disappear, or cease to develop the productive forces of our gigantic country, simply in order that the imperialists may sleep in peace. But the Soviet Union has not taken a single step entitling anyone to state that it has warlike intentions against Japan or any other country. The Soviet Union pursues no imperialist policy; it needs no foreign territory. Not only will it make no attack on Japan, but it does not compete with Japan for Manchuria. The Soviet Union is the opponent of all imperialist policy. It can neither join in combinations for the dividing up of other countries' territory, nor strive independently for foreign ground.

The Soviet Union does not conceal the opinion held by its population regarding Japanese policy in Manchuria. But the Soviet Union cannot undertake the task of fighting against every action taken by the imperialists. Had it undertaken this, then it would have had to spend the whole of its time since it came into existence in carrying on wars on all the continents, for the whole history of the post-war period—so far as the imperialist Powers are concerned—consists of an uninterrupted series of attacks by imperialism on the interests of the masses of the people.

From the tzarist regime the Soviet Union inherited the railway across North Manchuria, built with the money of the masses of the people. The Soviet Union has done its utmost to divest this railway of the characteristics of imperialism. It has relinquished the right of having the railway protected by its troops. It has permitted Chinese to take part in the management, and has employed Chinese and Russian workers and employees on the railway with equal rights. But it has no reason to make a present of the railway to anyone. These are facts which have been examined over and over again by international public opinion, and must be known to the gentlemen of the Lytton Commission. But we shall see how they twist these facts:

"Japan's main interest in Manchuria is the strategic importance of this region. There are many people in Japan who believe that it is necessary to be powerfully fortified in Manchuria against the possibilities of an attack from the Soviet Union."

And what does the Commission of the League of Nations do, after thus recording "without prejudice" the inventions of the Japanese militarists? Does it demand that these Japanese militarists produce facts permitting their "fears" to be investigated? No. It simply supports this propaganda on the part of the Japanese imperialists against the Soviet Union, and states on page 129:

"The actions and policy of Japan in Manchuria are probably determined less by economic considerations than

by fear for the safety of Japan's position. In this connection the statesmen and military authorities generally refer to Manchuria as the "life line" of Japan. It is possible to sympathise with these fears, and to comprehend the actions and motives of those who bear the heavy responsibility of protecting their country against all possibilities. But even if the interests of Japan in not permitting Manchuria to be converted into a basis for operations against Japanese territory are recognised, and even the wishes of the Japanese to take all necessary military steps in the event that under certain circumstances the armed forces of a foreign state should cross the frontiers of Manchuria, still it may be doubted whether the military occupation of Manchuria for an indefinite time, costing much money, is the best means of security against dangers from outside. It may be doubted whether, in the case of such an attack, the Japanese troops in Manchuria would not be in serious danger, surrounded as they would be by a population rising against them and supported by an anti-Japanese China."

Further on the Commission warns the Japanese imperialists that "any division of China may lead very rapidly to serious international rivalry, which will be the sharper if it coincides with the rivalry between different social systems."

Lytton and his helpers do not however turn out to be such simple-minded infants as might have been expected from their historical knowledge as displayed in their report. They possess as a "reserve" that idea inspiring all imperialists today, the idea of overcoming all the antagonisms within imperialism by means of a united front against the Soviet Union. And yet, when we examine closely into their recipe for the solution of the Far Eastern question, we see that the gentlemen of the League of Nations, though hounding on the Japanese imperialists against the Soviet Union, and assuring them of their sympathies in the case of a conflict with the Soviet Union, are none the less inclined to leave a small backdoor open through which they may attempt to draw the Soviet Union into the front of the struggle against Japan.

The Programme of the Lytton Commission.

Faced by the fundamental question of whether an "independent Manchuria" is to be recognised or not—that is to say, by the question of the separation of Manchuria from China, the Commission is obliged to give a reply.

This reply consists formally of a proposal for a compromise between Japanese and world imperialism. It draws Japan's attention to the fact that the occupation of Manchuria cannot replace the loss of the Chinese markets, which absorb more than a quarter of Japanese exports. This means that a compromise is to be made in the interests of Japan, by which the Chinese Government is to be aided to recognise the special interests of Japan in Manchuria. Let Japan recognise Chinese sovereignty over the Manchurian population, which is Chinese in nationality, and which in the opinion of the Lytton Commission takes no part in the creation of the "independent state". In exchange, China is to recognise the special interests of Japan in Manchuria, and to conclude a number of agreements securing these interests. Upon this Japan will be enabled to withdraw its troops from Manchuria. In Manchuria there will simply be a gendarmerie set up, under the command of foreign instructors, mainly Japanese, in order to maintain order.

The government of the autonomous Manchuria is to be deprived of the right to an independent foreign policy, and of the revenue which serves to pay the interests on the foreign loans granted to China. The Chinese and Japanese railways are to form a trust doing away with all competition between them. It will be possible in the future to endeavour to include the Chinese Eastern Railway in this trust. It will be the task of the government to secure the interests of all foreign capital, and this will ensure for Manchuria the possibility of obtaining foreign loans. China and Japan should conclude a non-aggression pact, or even a pact for mutual defence in case of attack from a third party.

And what does the Lytton Commission propose to China? It appeals to Chang Kai Shek and to the Kuomintang clique,

pointing out the danger threatening from the Soviet districts. In order to alarm the Chinese bankers, merchants, and large landowners, the Lytton Commission even forces itself to express a certain degree of comprehension for the power of the Chinese Soviet movement. This is intended to say to Chang Kai Shek and the Kuomintang: **Without the help of the international bourgeoisie you will not succeed in saving your power. Therefore you must decide in favour of not only an international control over Manchuria, but for an international control of the whole of China; in return you will receive "help".** Behind the report of the Lytton Commission there stands the spectre of the restoration of the **international banking consortium**, which is to have all China in its hands.

This then is the programme which international imperialism would like to see carried out, could it but succeed in creating an imperialist united front in the Far East: **China transformed into a colony of international imperialism and into a base for an attack on the first country of socialism. Japanese imperialism, a young, hungry, and therefore inconvenient rival, is to be side-tracked against the young socialist giant, thus expending its forces.**

The Actual Meaning of the Lytton Report.

The report of the Lytton Commission rightly states that **"for Japan the essence of the problem lies in its uneasiness as to the political development of the China of today and as to the future towards which China is advancing"** (p. 131). Japan does not believe that the imperialist Powers will be able to cope with the danger of the Chinese revolution, and it adds to its other efforts that of endeavouring to secure its imperialist booty in good time against this danger, by means of pursuing a policy of separating parts of China and isolating them from the general development of the country.

From the very beginning of the latest events in Manchuria, the pressure exercised by the U.S.A. imperialists on the other imperialist Powers has grown from day to day, urging these against Japan. Both France and Great Britain have done their utmost to prevent themselves from being forced to take action against Japan, which they want to play off as a trump against the imperialism of the U.S.A. This pressure led to the resolution adopted by the League of Nations on March, in which the League of Nations, that is to say, both France and Great Britain, undertook not to recognise any changes in Manchuria which had been brought about by force of arms against the will of the great Powers. The pressure has not decreased of late, but has become stronger. The United States have opened negotiations with France and Great Britain both on the question of the debts and on the question of armaments. There can be no doubt that in these negotiations the U.S.A. is promising to give, in exchange for aid against Japan, its consent to a solution of the debt question to the advantage of France and England, besides its support of the maintenance of the present conditions in Europe against Germany (a concession to France), and its relinquishment of competition on the seas (a concession to Great Britain).

The publication of the Lytton Report, with its rejection of the main Japanese thesis of the autogenesis of the "independent Manchurian state", signifies that **France and Great Britain are afraid to support the Japanese thesis, for this would be equivalent to taking sides with Japan.** During the further course of the negotiations, they will either undertake further steps against Japan conjointly with the United States, or they will declare that even though all the assertions of the Lytton Report are correct, still Japan will not let itself be ousted from of Manchuria without a war, and therefore they can do nothing.

The significance of the Lytton Report lies in the **mobilisation of public opinion in Europe, America, China and Manchuria. The prospect of the isolation of Japan will strengthen the anti-Japanese tendencies in China.** In so far as all bargaining between Japanese imperialism and international imperialism on the basis of the proposals of the Lytton Commission is just as much a chimera as the idea of an international agreement of the imperialists for the solution of any great question, when this agreement demands a co-ordination of their expansion for a length of time, the **actual significance of the Lytton report consists precisely in this anti-Japanese propaganda.** The extent to which this report is the outcome of bargaining is amply proved by the fact that whilst it urges Japan against the Soviet Union, it tries at the same time to bribe the Soviet Union, and to draw it into a possible anti-Japanese front. On page 129 it

points out the "great interests involved for the Soviet Union, as owner of the Chinese Eastern Railway, in the regions of the North and North East of Manchuria" and declares that "it would be unjust and imprudent, and opposed to the interests of peace, to strive for peaceful relations between the two neighbouring countries (China and Japan) without taking into account the interests of a third."

This last observation is even classified under the title of: **"Consideration of the interests of the Soviet Union" ...**

Whilst the Lytton Report is making the round of the world and mobilising public opinion against Japan, behind the scenes of the League of Nations the question of what is to be actually done with the report is being dealt with. A particularly interesting light is thrown on this game by the correspondent **Strate** in the "New York Times" of 18th September. Strate is a man who is very well informed as to what is going on behind the diplomatic scenes. He states that with regard to the Lytton Report, two tendencies are combatting one another: One proposes that the League of Nations should accept the conclusions of the Lytton Commission, even if this would mean the withdrawal of Japan from the League of Nations; the other suggests that events should be awaited, and the decision on the proposals of the report postponed. **"This policy (that of waiting) is based on the supposition that the further development of events in Japan, whether taking the form of financial bankruptcy, of revolution, or of open war in China, will lead to Japan's giving way."**

Nothing can be more touching than the fact that the bosses of the League of Nations, whilst frightening the Japanese imperialists with the dangers threatening them from revolutionary propaganda and the revolutionary strivings of the Soviet Union, are none the less hoping for the victory of a revolution in Japan, which would release them from a number of difficulties. Considering how profoundly the Lytton Commission is concerned for the interests of the Soviet Union, we hope that the Commission will not think it too bold of us if we suggest that it takes as motto for the second edition of its report this piece of information furnished by Strate, the chairman of the association of the journalists working with the League of Nations.

Frightful Situation of Japanese Peasants.

Berlin, 10th October 1932.

The bourgeois democratic "**Vossische Zeitung**" publishes a report from its correspondent in Japan containing, inter alia, the following:

"The Japanese peasants were always poor, in fact, their poverty is proverbial. During the last few years, however, their situation has become catastrophic. In 1929 the average income of a peasant holding was calculated at 1,000 Yen per annum. In 1931 it was calculated at 300 Yen. A debt of about 1,000 Yen burdens on an average each peasant holding. Usurious interest rises in many cases to forty percent per annum. . . . For a long time the authorities were able to reckon with the conservatism of the peasants and their stolid submission to privations, but now the number of conflicts between the peasant tenants and the landowners is increasing to an alarming extent and 'red ideas' are making rapid progress amongst the peasant masses."

The French newspaper "**Paris Midi**" publishes the following remarks of its Japanese correspondent:

"Numerous trees in the woods of Northern Japan have been deprived of their barks. The peasants have stripped them and used the bark for food. . . . The director of a Fire Insurance Agency told me that his society was no longer able to insure peasant cottages because there was an epidemic of arson against which the police were powerless. The unfortunate peasants, he declared, saw no other way out. Either they would receive the insurance money or be sent to prison where they would have their food."

The Japanese newspaper, "**Nizi Nizi**" writes: "The poverty of the peasants is frightful. In most of the cottages there is not a single piece of money to be found. Parents are compelled to watch their children wasting away from hunger."

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

For the XV. Anniversary of the October Revolution.

I.

Fifteen years ago the October Revolution in Russia wrested the power out of the hands of the bourgeoisie and handed it over to the proletariat.

The Russian proletariat, utilising the great lessons of the Paris Commune of 1871, and taking the path indicated by Marx and Lenin, established their dictatorship in the form of the Soviet State over one-sixth of the globe.

The October Revolution opened up a new chapter of world history—the chapter of **world proletarian revolution**.

The Soviet State, which was born in the midst of the conflagration of the World War, at the time of the deep crisis of capitalism, in the struggle of the broad masses for food, freedom and peace, from its very first days made its slogan the complete destruction of capitalism, the construction of socialist society on the ruins of the landlords and bourgeoisie of Russia, and the struggle for the victory of socialism throughout the world.

With this flag in its hands, the proletarian dictatorship not only proclaimed, but carried into existence a wide programme for the radical reconstruction of the whole life of the country.

From the first days of its existence, the Soviet power **delivered an annihilating blow at imperialist war**, appealing to all the peoples and governments to stop the war, and at the same time, directing their own arms against the imperialists in their own country. The Proletarian Dictatorship which expropriated **the land of the landlords** and gave it into the hands of the toiling peasants, put an end to the relics of feudalism, absolutely destroyed the oppression of the landlords, and won over the basic masses of the peasants to the side of the proletariat, as allies in the further fight for socialism.

By wresting the banks, factories and mines from the hands of the capitalist class, the Soviet State **radically undermined the roots of the economic and political domination of the bourgeoisie** and commenced the socialist transformation of the economics of the country.

The Soviet State gave **full rights** to all nations which were previously oppressed by Czarism and Russian imperialism, gave them the right of self-determination, and freedom to decide their own fate.

Relying on the revolutionary power of the toiling masses hundreds of peoples have organised a fraternal alliance of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, in which there is no place for the exploitation of the weaker peoples by the stronger ones, in which the advanced countries help the backward ones to develop their economic systems on the basis of the newest technique and industrialisation, and to develop socialist culture in a national form; in which there is no place for national and race hatred, and in which all the peoples are willingly helping to build socialism.

The October Revolution destroyed the shameful **oppression and slavery of the toiling women** and gave them complete equality with the toiling men, setting free the creative forces of the broadest masses of women for the struggle for socialism.

The Soviets mercilessly crushed the resistance of the bourgeois class, which they had overthrown, and simultaneously began to carry out the most consistent and the **broadest proletarian democracy**, the democracy of the masses which insured an unprecedented development of creative forces, energy and revolutionary enthusiasm.

The Proletarian State set up its **Red Army**, the army of the proletarian revolution, and other organs of revolutionary defence. It **repulsed the intervention of the imperialists**, the innumerable revolts of the white guards and the kulaks, and it overcame the sabotage and the wrecking of the counter-revolutionary sections of the specialists, the repeated attempts of the class enemy to undermine and overthrow the Soviet power.

The Soviet power took its heroic way through hunger, devastation, civil war, and imperialist intervention, and overcoming terrific difficulties, it steadily marched on from victory to victory, day by day strengthening the economic and political might of the country, gaining more and more victories on the front of the cultural revolution, and strengthening its contacts with the revolutionary vanguard of the toilers of all countries.

Having converted the Soviet Union into an impregnable fortress of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, year by year **increasing its importance on the world arena**, the Soviet power forced the imperialist world and the enemies of socialism to reckon with it as a tremendous power. Having established its right to existence in the civil war, and its right to further development along the new socialist path, the country of the Proletarian Dictatorship became converted into the main support of the world proletarian revolution.

At present the Soviet Union stands against the whole of the old capitalist world as the banner of the toilers and the oppressed of all countries, as a stern warning to the imperialist world, as the banner of world communism.

The international proletariat, the toilers and the oppressed of both hemispheres celebrate the 15th anniversary of the October Revolution as their greatest holiday. The international proletariat summarises the path along which it has travelled and notes the tremendous growth of the forces of socialism, the forces of the world proletarian revolution, and simultaneously, the tremendous weakening of the positions of world capitalism.

The Soviet Union—the fatherland of the toilers of all countries—has irrevocably consolidated its socialist position. The proletariat of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the Leninist Party, has completed the foundation of socialist economy, and in the Second Five-Year-Plan will commence to build a classless socialist society.

II.

The victorious **banner of the Soviets** is waving over an extensive territory in **China**, enlightening the whole colonial East with the glaring blaze of the revolution, rousing India and Indo-China, shaking the might of imperialism, extending and strengthening the front of the world proletarian revolution.

The proletarian revolution is knocking at the door of capitalist Europe, at one end of which, in Spain, the revolutionary conflagration is already flaring up and is being shattered by the rapid maturing of the factors for the revolutionary crisis in Poland and Germany. The forces of the world proletarian revolution are growing in the strikes of the proletariat of town and village, in the revolutionary movement of the unemployed, in peasant revolts, in colonial revolutions, in the revolutionary movement of the soldiers and sailors of imperialist countries, in the expansion of the united front of the toilers against the capitalist offensive, against fascism and war, in the mighty upsurge of the communist movement, of the steady growth of the Communist International.

Since the beginning of the world war, world capitalism entered into a deep general crisis, receiving a heavy blow from the October Revolution which tore away one-sixth of the world from the power of capital.

In spite of the temporary strengthening of capital, it not only failed to establish itself firmly, but it is steadily decaying. The forces of capitalism are continually declining under the destructive blows of the ever-deepening economic crisis, the growing revolutionary resistance of the masses, and the sharpening of the antagonisms between the imperialist Powers.

The Fifteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution will be met by the world proletariat under the conditions of the beginning of a new war in the East and the approach of new and decisive class struggles. **The temporary stabilisation of**

capitalism has ended and a new cycle of wars and revolutions is approaching.

In the decisive class fights which are coming, the socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. is the greatest support for the proletariat of all countries. This socialist construction has been achieved in spite of tremendous difficulties, in a country surrounded by capitalists, and it has achieved historic success as the result of the tremendous heroism and creative power of the broad working masses, the correct general line of the C.P.S.U., and the active support given to the country which is building socialism by the international proletariat and by the whole of the Communist International.

III.

For fifteen years two worlds have existed side by side—the new world and the old world, the world of rising socialism, and the world of dying capitalism. Today, the international proletariat, together with all the exploited and oppressed of the world, are comparing the results of 15 years of bourgeois domination and 15 years of the rule of the proletariat, and in every respect these results speak in favour of Socialism.

During these 15 years, the Soviet Union has moved forward with gigantic strides. In the course of a few months achievements have been made which required years in capitalist countries.

In the first few years of the existence of the Soviet State, the bourgeoisie and the social-democrats tirelessly repeated that its rapid downfall was inevitable. When the victory of the Soviets in the civil war destroyed these prophecies, the class enemies again began tirelessly to foretell the inevitable breakdown of the Soviet State on the economic front. As the result of the successful completion of the restoration period, on the basis of the New Economic Policy (N.E.P.), these prophecies were altered into statements by our enemies that the success of the Soviets on the economic front did not mean the victory of socialism, and that socialism will be completely defeated, as the development of the Soviet Union will lead to the restoration of capitalism.

The success of the first Five-Year-Plan, the plan of the extensive socialist offensive and the rapid rate of industrialisation and mass collectivisation, the Five-Year-Plan for the construction of the foundation of socialist economy—this Five-Year-Plan destroyed all these prophecies.

Long before the end of the first Five-Year-Plan, the Soviet Union entered the period of socialism. In the struggle of the two systems, the question of victory has been decided in favour of Socialism. The proletariat of the U.S.S.R. has shown in practice to the whole world what the working class is capable of when it takes power into its own hands. The working class of the U.S.S.R. not only by force took possession of capitalist property, overcame devastation without the help of the capitalists, and emerged from economic crisis, but it has multiplied the wealth of the country, has raised the economics of the country to a higher level, and has ensured a further rapid growth on a new socialist foundation.

The international proletariat notes another tremendous victory of socialism—the completion of the first Five-Year-Plan in four years, simultaneously with the fifteenth anniversary of the October Revolution.

The fourth year of the Socialist Five-Year-Plan is ending. The Soviet Union stands at the threshold of the second Five-Year-Plan. In the sphere of industry and agriculture gigantic industrial plants have been constructed equipped according to the latest technical achievements, and making it possible on a socialist basis to achieve a rapid development of productive forces and a **continuous improvement of the well-being and the standard of life of the broad masses of toilers.**

In the sphere of metallurgy, coal production, machine construction, oil production, tractor building, the production of agricultural machinery, the first Five-Year-Plan has already been surpassed. With regard to the production of oil, the Soviet Union has reached first place in the world; in the sphere of machine construction, the U.S.S.R. this year will win second place in the world; and in the manufacture of agriculture machinery—**first place in the world.** In this way is carried out the slogan: **"Over-take and pass the foremost capitalist countries in economic and technical matters within the next 10 years"**. Owing to this success, the Soviet Union in the next few years will be

completely independent of the capitalist world in technical and economic respects.

The Five-Year-Plan has been more than fulfilled in the most difficult sphere of Socialist construction—the **socialist reconstruction of agriculture.** Already 61.5% of the peasants are collectivised and 70% of the sown area of the whole country belongs to the collective farms. 81% of the sown area is cultivated by the socialist sector. Agriculture in the U.S.S.R. has been converted from the obsolete scattered poverty-stricken little farms where the land was cultivated by primitive wooden plows as in ancient times, into a country of agriculture on the largest scale in the world, where the land is cultivated by the most modern agricultural implements, machines and fleets of tractors which guarantee a high efficiency of labour.

Thousands of machine-tractor stations cultivate the fields. Deserts are being irrigated, the steppes are being worked up, arid districts are being converted into fertile fields. New regions are continually being added to the area under cultivation, new industrial centres are growing up, new towns are being built and the old ones are being reconstructed. Dozens of new electric power stations are operating the newly built factories and mills, illuminating the most distant villages, driving out candles and rush-lights. Backward, illiterate Russia is steadily progressing towards prosperity, light and socialism.

The fourteen years of **post war development of capitalism** present a complete contrast to all this. The crushing of the first wave of revolutionary fights from 1918—1923, temporary stabilisation, rationalisation and the present economic world crisis—such is the path of post-war development of capitalism, a path of increasing poverty, of increasing exploitation and oppression of millions of toilers.

Under the blows of an unprecedented, sharp, continued, lengthy and deep economic crisis, capitalism has been thrown back for decades to the level of the 19th century. Industry is falling month by month, throwing tens of millions of unemployed onto the streets. Only one branch of industry continues to grow—the war industry. Almost all of the capitalist states are going through a period of shattering of their credit systems and a period of inflation. In capitalist countries agriculture has not emerged from a state of prolonged agrarian crisis since the war. The world economic crisis which has unceasingly sharpened and deepened since 1914 has thrown agriculture backwards for many decades.

The falling prices for grain and the growing taxes and debts are a heavy burden on the peasants. Millions of toiling peasants have been forced to sell their homes and their farms, and have become proletarianised in masses. And this has taken place at a time when the agriculture of the Soviet Union is rapidly reaching a state of development only possible under socialism.

While in the capitalist world unemployment has assumed unprecedented proportions, in the Soviet Union unemployment has completely disappeared although the first Five-Year-Plan did not provide for this. Tens of thousands of the unemployed from capitalist countries have found work in the U.S.S.R.

While in the capitalist countries the poverty and starvation of the masses is reaching frightful proportions, in the U.S.S.R. the standard of living of the working class, of the broad masses of collective farmers and of the office workers is rising year by year. In 1931 the total number of workers in the Soviet Union reached the enormous figure of 18,000,000, an increase of 3,000,000 in a single year. In the same year wages increased by 16 per cent. During the last three years the income of a worker's family has increased by 60 per cent. owing to the absence of unemployment. The expenditure for social service to the workers (rest homes, sanatoriums) has reached the enormous sum of 3,500 million rubles in one year.

The cultural revolution in the Soviet Union has achieved enormous successes in contrast to the deep cultural reaction in the capitalist countries.

Socialist industrialisation and collectivisation requires an army of millions of skilled cultural and technical instructors, workers and organisers. While in capitalist countries the education budgets are being cut down, schools are being closed and millions of proletarian youth are starving and are in a hopeless material situation, a state of complete despair without any prospects for the future, in the U.S.S.R. the preparation of active and conscious builders of socialism is taking place on a tremendous scale. By the end of 1931 there

were over 3,000,000 students in the universities, colleges and workers faculties. This number is increasing day by day. The country which only yesterday was an ignorant and illiterate country is already becoming a country where everybody can read and write, a country with compulsory 7-year and 10-year school courses, the country of the new socialist culture.

Only in the U.S.S.R. can the workers look hopefully to the future of their children. Only in the U.S.S.R. is the youth full of confidence and enthusiasm, realising its great historic mission and the broad horizon for the application of its creative powers and the application of its energy and great aims.

IV.

All these successes have been achieved under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union, which mobilised the broadest masses on the basis of the general Party line under the slogan of socialist industrialisation and socialist competition and shock brigade work, developing the creative energy of the millions, organising and leading them. The Bolshevik Party entered on socialist construction under the gifted leadership of **Lenin** and widely developed it under the leadership of the best disciple of Lenin, **Comrade Stalin**, the leader of the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern. The Bolshevik Party organises this construction and leads it in a Marxist-Leninist spirit, in an irreconcilable struggle against Right opportunism and left deviations and against conciliation to them, and **mobilises the millions to carry it out.**

On the basis of the successes already achieved, the proletariat of the U.S.S.R., confident of its own strength, puts forward the historic task of the second Five-Year-Plan.

In the second Five-Year-Plan the proletariat of the Soviet Union undertakes the **final liquidation of capitalist elements and classes in general**, the destruction of the causes which give rise to class distinctions and exploitation, the destruction of all the relics of capitalism in economics and in the consciousness of the people, the conversion of the whole of the toiling population of the Soviet Union into conscious and active builders of classless socialist society.

With these great tasks in view, the second Five-Year-Plan provides for the **complete re-equipment of all branches of national economy on the basis of the most modern technique, the satisfaction of all the needs of the rapidly developing national economy and the further raising of the level of well-being of the toiling masses** (above all, the workers and collective farmers).

V.

However, there are great difficulties in the path of the fulfilment of the great plan—the difficulties of growth. These difficulties have nothing in common with the difficulties of capitalist economy. In the capitalist countries the stores are bursting with enormous supplies of food and clothing while the impoverished and starving masses cannot obtain them. In South America tremendous quantities of rice, grain and coffee are being destroyed, coffee is being made into fuel bricks with the aim of forcing up prices, while the masses are dying of starvation. Between the starving masses and the articles necessary for them stands the wall of capitalist ownership. In capitalist economy the growth of productive forces has changed from a progressive force into a hindrance.

But in the U.S.S.R. the workers who have made tremendous strides in the direction of improving their material situation, have become converted from culturally backward, easily satisfied and downtrodden semi-slaves into the foremost fighters for socialism, and cannot satisfy completely their rapidly growing demands, although every day these demands are being satisfied more and more.

House-building is rapidly increasing. The workers long since left the dark cellars where they used to live, but the number of men and women workers is growing faster than the number of new houses equipped with all comforts. Boots and clothing are being made on a much larger scale than before the revolution, but before the revolution a hundred million peasants used to wear rags on their backs and bast shoes on their feet, while now they wear leather boots and city clothing. Their increased income makes it possible for them to buy more and their higher cultural level develops in them new demands every day. There is a rapidly growing demand for light and airy rooms, for furniture, books, newspapers, radios and movies. Although the production of

these articles is continually increasing, nevertheless, there are not enough of them.

Before the revolution peasants used to eat nothing but black bread all the year around. To pay the taxes, they sold not only their grain, but also their chickens, eggs and milk. They only had enough to eat twice a year—at Easter and Christmas—and on these occasions they drank themselves insensible. Now they and their children wish to live and are actually living as human beings and are making ever-increasing demands on life. These demands are being satisfied better and better every day, but still insufficiently.

This is the reason that one of the chief tasks for the coming years is the rapid acceleration of the total volume of production, a still more rapid development of all the productive forces of the country.

The plan for **increasing the efficiency of labour** has not yet been carried out in full. On this depends the further success of the great socialist plan. "The efficiency of labour in the long run is the most important of all, the most important for the victories of the new social system. Capitalism created productive forces which were unknown under the serf system. Capitalism can only be finally defeated by the fact that socialism will create a new and much higher efficiency of labour" (Lenin).

The rapidly growing industry demands an ever-increasing output of equipment.

The plan for increased harvest has not yet been carried out. To a great extent the proper growth of the well-being of the toiling masses depends on this. The development of transport is lagging still further behind the speed of socialist industry. Until these tasks are solved, the supply of industrial articles to the villages and agricultural products for the towns will suffer. The development of Soviet trading will lag behind instead of raising socialist distribution to a higher level.

The backwardness which exists on these extremely important fronts has its source in the resistance of the liquidated classes which has not yet been eliminated and in the existence of relics of them in town and village, in industry and in the apparatus of the state. A source for all this backwardness is the striving for ownership which has not yet been completely wiped out by the revolution, the relics of individualist psychology, which hinders the small property owner of yesterday from being rapidly converted into a conscious worker in the field of socialist labour.

Only by struggling heroically for its great aims, only by stubbornly continuing to break down all the old standards all the conservative habits, only by mercilessly destroying all the causes which give rise to these standards and habits, will the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. be able to bury them together with the corpse of the bourgeois system and will be able to ensure the complete triumph of socialism.

VI.

These difficulties of growth are also nourished to a great extent from without, from the capitalists who surround the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union alone has resisted the destructive effect of the world economic crisis. But as the Soviet Union comes into contact with the capitalist world on the field of world commerce, it suffers losses in view of the fact that it is a seller of grain (the fall of grain prices) and as a buyer of machines, on which the trusts maintain high prices. The growing war danger which is constantly hanging over the Soviet Union not only creates a further strain, but gives rise to uneasiness among the less resolute sections of the toilers and continues to keep alive the hopes of the relics of the overthrown classes for support and resistance, and so hinders the complete victory of the new socialist forms of labour and socialist life.

All these difficulties of growth compel the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. to work with still greater energy on industrialisation and to develop with still greater success their heavy industry and especially the machine construction industry so as to confirm still more the independence of the country and guarantee its defensive capacity.

The overwhelming majority of these difficulties which arise from the economic, technical and cultural backwardness of the late Tsarist Russia which were inherited by the Soviet Power, which arise from its encirclement by capitalist countries, **will not impede the development of the proletarian dictatorship and the growth of socialism in the more "advanced"**

countries of the west, especially as these countries right from the very first day will rely on the enormous might of the Soviet Union.

These difficulties will disappear more rapidly in the Soviet Union in proportion as the proletarian revolution develops successfully in the countries of imperialism.

More than ever before the fate of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. and the further development of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat in the foremost capitalist countries are closely interwoven. More than ever before the fate of socialist construction is in the hands of the proletariat of all countries.

VII.

The awakening masses of capitalist countries are more and more often comparing the achievements of the U.S.S.R. with the "achievements" of capitalism and social democracy since the war.

Before the eyes of the masses there is the example of the U.S.A. the classical country of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in its purest form, in the form of "democracy"; the example of Great Britain with its experience of two "labour governments" under MacDonald, which were to have put into practice a programme of constructive socialism in Great Britain; the lessons of the German "republic" and the policy of German social democracy, the strongest party of the Second International, which betrayed the revolution in Germany, which demanded tremendous sacrifices from the masses in the name of "democracy" and still demands them, the former rulers of Germany, who have taken part in various coalition governments and have promised to lead the masses to socialism (by means of parliaments, by winning "democracy", "economic democracy", by "organised capitalism", and "state capitalism"); the lessons of the French "democratic republic", the fascist dictatorship in Italy and "democracy" in Spain.

All these lessons refute the theory of the social democrats as to the possibility of a peaceful growth into socialism, as to peace between classes and the possibility of improving the situation of the working class under capitalism. All the governments, all the parties which are in power in these countries have continually led the masses to ever-increasing poverty, want, unemployment, to ever greater burdens and inhuman oppression. The world economic crisis, mass unemployment, wage cuts, the reduction of social insurance, eviction from their homes, growing taxation, mass bankruptcy and ruin in the villages—all these are results of fifteen years of "peaceful construction" carried on with the active participation of the social democrats who thus displayed their role of the guardians of capitalism.

The "democratic" German republic, guided and supported by the social democrats with their theory of the lesser evil, has taken the road to fascism, has handed over the reins of the government into its hands. French imperialism with the active support of the French socialists is not only adopting the most brutal methods of crushing its own working class, but is the protector of the most brutal and reactionary fascist dictatorships in Yugoslavia, Poland, Finland, Roumania, etc. The policy of "labour governments" in England is a policy of throttling the strike movement, the demonstrations of the unemployed and the mass revolutionary movement in Great Britain and the colonies. Mass executions in India, the most brutal terror, such are the results of the creative activity of "constructive socialism".

VIII.

In 1914 when the World War broke out, the social fascists advanced the slogan of the defence of their own countries and sent the masses to the slaughter. Almost fifteen years ago, when the peace treaties were made, the German social democrats and Vandervelde, who hid behind the slogan of "no more war" were the first to sign these treaties which handed 1,250,000,000 people to the exploitation of the finance oligarchy of the victors, particularly to England and France. One of the results of these "peace" treaties and this international "peace policy" is the feverish race for armaments, the building of new war factories, the tremendous programmes for naval and military construction, etc. The struggle for a redivision of the world is becoming more acute. War has already commenced for this redivision. It was commenced by Japan when it occupied Manchuria and attacked Shanghai. **Manchuria has been converted into a new "starting place" from which war will be launched against the eastern borders of the U.S.S.R., while similar**

places being strengthened continually on the western borders—in Poland, Roumania, Latvia and Finland.

The last fifteen years of the domination of the bourgeoisie have not brought about the abolition of exploitation or the elimination of the poverty of the toiling masses, but on the contrary they have brought increased exploitation and oppression, the enslavement of the toiling masses and the simultaneous enrichment of the bourgeoisie. They have not led to the destruction of classes nor the abolition of war. They have not led to democracy, but to the sharpening of class antagonisms, an ever more brutal dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the growth of Fascism out of democracy, the "third empire" of the fascists, preparations for new imperialist wars, and new interventions against the U.S.S.R.

IX.

The end of capitalist stabilisation is leading the world to a new cycle of wars and revolutions. The proletariat and all the toilers and the oppressed are faced with their greatest trial, they are faced with decisive class fights.

The whole of the path which has been traveled, the whole of the world situation show that, in the struggle against the terrible calamities of the economic crisis, against unemployment, fascist counter-revolution and war, there is only one way which leads to victory—the path of the revolutionary overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie, the seizure of power by the proletariat, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the path of the October revolution.

At the present time, when the crisis has shaken the capitalist system to its very foundations, while socialism is obtaining historic victories in the U.S.S.R., the forces of the socialist revolution are growing throughout the world.

At the same time, world counter-revolution is carrying on an unprecedentedly fierce offensive on all fronts against the toilers, against their revolutionary struggle, against their vanguard, the communists. Imperialism is prepared to throw the nations into a new and unprecedentedly criminal war of plunder. **Never before has there been so great a danger of military attacks on the U.S.S.R. as there is now.**

At the time, when the working class and the Communist Parties of a number of countries are directly faced with the struggle for power, the dictatorship of the proletariat, they see the year 1917, the seizure of power by the proletariat, standing before them like a mighty land-mark in the history of the class struggle, and the international proletariat has a tremendous lesson to learn from it.

The October Revolution in Russia serves as a model for the whole of the world proletariat in the formation of an invincible united front of the toilers, led by the proletariat against the landlords, capitalists and their socialist lackeys, for the struggle against war, for land and for power. It was this very united front of the working class and the basic masses of the peasants, under the leadership of the proletariat, which insured the victory of the October Revolution. The October Revolution is a brilliant example of the conversion of imperialist war into civil war, into war by the exploited and oppressed masses against their own bourgeoisie and the foreign imperialists; into a war for the revolutionary way out of catastrophe, which grew into the victorious proletarian revolution.

The October Revolution was victorious because "it was led by such a thoroughly tested party as the Bolshevik Party which was strong not only through its experience and its discipline, acquired in the course of years, but also by its tremendously strong contacts with the toiling masses." (Stalin: "Questions of Leninism.")

On the basis of the programme of action worked out in 1917, under the leadership of Lenin at the Party Conference in April, and later at the 6th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik), the programme which formulated the chief tasks of Party policy in the approaching proletarian revolution, **the broad Party masses, owing to the unceasing work of the Party in the factories, in the army, and in the villages throughout the country, broke away from the influence of the treacherous petty bourgeois parties of the mensheviks and the social-revolutionaries, and came over to the side of the Bolsheviks.**

During the whole of the October period of the revolution, in all the fights of the proletariat and peasants in town and village, in the April manifestations and the July demonstra-

tions, in the elections for the sectional Dumas and the city Duma of Petrograd, in the struggle against the counter-revolutionary revolt of Kornilov, in the struggle for the formation of Soviets, in the period of direct struggle for power and the organisation of the armed revolt, the Bolsheviks marched together with the masses and at their head, everywhere organising them for struggle and victory.

The Bolsheviks won the Soviets rapidly, although in the first part of the revolution the treacherous Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionaries had a majority in them. Under the slogan of "All Power to the Soviets", one Soviet after another came into the hands of the Bolsheviks at the elections.

Step by step, under the talented leadership of Lenin, the Bolsheviks won over the majority of the working class, creating the prerequisites for a victorious armed revolt. The October Revolution was only able to succeed thanks to these preparations.

X.

In this same period the Bolsheviks carried on a struggle against the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries for the allies of the proletariat, for the toiling peasants.

"The history of this period is the history of the struggle of the Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks on the one hand, and the Bolsheviks on the other hand, for the toiling masses of peasants, for winning over these masses. The fate of this struggle was decided by the period of the coalition; by the period of Kerensky; the refusal of the Social-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks to confiscate the land of the landlords; the struggle of the Social-Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks to continue the war; the July offensive at the front; the death penalty for soldiers; the Kornilov rising, and this struggle was decided in favour of Bolshevik strategy, because, without the isolation of the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries, it would have been impossible to overthrow the imperialist government, and without overthrowing this government, it would have been impossible to get out of the war." (Stalin.)

XI.

The success of the Bolsheviks in winning over the masses was the result of their tireless work for many years, in the training and education of the party for this task, the result of the merciless struggle of the Party against all forms of opportunism in the ranks of the workers' movement and in the Party itself.

"One of the conditions necessary to prepare the proletariat for its victory is a long, stubborn and merciless struggle against opportunism, reformism, social-chauvinism, and similar bourgeois influences and tendencies which are inevitable, because the proletariat is acting in capitalist surroundings. Without such a struggle, without a preliminary full victory over opportunism (and anarchism as well) in the workers' movement, there can be no question of the proletarian dictatorship. The Bolsheviks could not have defeated the bourgeoisie in 1917 to 1919 if they had not previously learned, in 1902-17, to drive mercilessly out of the Party of the revolutionary vanguard, and to defeat, the Mensheviks, i. e., the opportunists, reformists and social-chauvinists" (Lenin, Vol. 16.)

The October Revolution was successful because it was able to isolate the conciliatory Mensheviks and Social-Revolutionary Parties, as the chief social support of the bourgeoisie, from the working masses and to defeat them as the most dangerous hindrance to the revolution in the most important period.

It was owing to the absence of a genuine Bolshevik Party in the western European countries that the powerful revolutionary movement of 1918-23 was doomed to defeat. These countries did not have Parties trained in a Bolshevik spirit which had learned, in the course of long years of struggle against opportunism in their own ranks and in the workers' movement, to win the confidence of the masses, to isolate and defeat the social-democrats, the "Independents", the Centrists, anarchists and syndicalists.

In the post-war revolutionary struggles for the Proletarian Revolution in Germany and Austria, for the Bavarian and Hungarian Soviet Republics, for the workers' revolution in Finland, in the tremendous revolts in Japan and Korea, the Communist Parties arose under the influence of the October Revolution and Bolshevism. They learned by their own experience, by their successes and failures, paying a

high price for their mistakes, and they became steeled and strong in the fights.

The proletariat of the capitalist countries will not enter the forthcoming historic fights without leaders, as they entered the first cycle of wars and revolutions. The Communist Parties have grown and become stronger. In a number of countries they have become genuine mass Parties (China, Germany, Poland, France, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria).

The 12th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International noted the great successes achieved by the Communist Party in Germany during the last elections, and in the organisation of the anti-fascist struggle, on the basis of the united front from below, and also the growth of the mass influence of the Communist Parties of China, Poland and Bulgaria.

XII.

While the bourgeoisie in most countries are "organising fascist gangs for civil war, making political banditism, the white terror, the torture of political prisoners, provocation, the shooting of strikers and demonstrations, the suppression of workers organisations into a system" the Communists "in numerous fights and trials have shown themselves to be courageous and truly revolutionary advanced fighters of the proletariat" (12th Plenum E.C.C.I.).

The Communist Parties must overcome in their ranks all the relics of social democratic traditions, which are the main source of the right deviation within Communism. Among these relics there is above all the opportunist underestimation of the power of the proletariat, of the radicalisation of the masses, the underestimation of the revolutionary perspectives and hence there arises opportunist passivity. Bolshevik irreconcilability towards the chief class enemy and his social democratic support, revolutionary activity, initiative, determination, steadfastness in carrying out the firm general line of the Party, these are the guarantees of a successful struggle for the masses.

Along with this, the struggle against anarchist and sectarian deviations, against "left" phraseology, against attempts to leap over historic stages, against putchism, these are other conditions for the success of work among the masses.

It is only by a Bolshevik alliance with the masses, and only by leading them that the Communists will successfully fulfil their chief task—the winning over of the majority of the working class.

In preparing for the forthcoming decisive class struggles, for the direct struggle for power and for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Parties, in following the footsteps of the Bolsheviks, must strengthen their constant contacts with the majority of the workers, carrying on mass work in the factories, in the reformist and other trade unions, at the labour exchanges, in strikes, everywhere spreading their influence on the non-Communist workers, systematically exposing and isolating the social-democratic and reformist leaders.

By reacting promptly and capably in a Bolshevik manner to every attack of the class enemy, by throwing out clear slogans of struggle to the masses, by combining the tasks of the everyday struggle with the great general class tasks, by consistently operating the tactic of the united front from below, gathering the broad semi-proletarian masses of town and village under the leadership of the working class, by strengthening their own ranks, promoting new Bolshevik cadres and steeling them in the struggle, the Communist Parties will be equal to their great tasks both in the period of preparation at the decisive moment when the fate of millions will be at stake in the struggle for power.

* * *

The world proletariat celebrates the XV Anniversary of the October Revolution at a time when the possibility of sudden explosions and developments place the greatest responsibility on the Communist vanguard. Under these conditions a Bolshevik ability to change the forms and methods of work among the masses to correspond to the rapid approach of a revolutionary situation, the ability to win them over in a Bolshevik manner will be an important guarantee of victory.

The world proletariat has passed through a tremendous school of class struggle since the war. In spite of slander, lies, and provocation with which the bourgeoisie and the social democrats have surrounded the October Revolution and the Soviet Union, the truth about it is known far beyond its boundaries.

The Fifteenth Anniversary of the October Revolution will be a new step forward along the path of strengthening the united front of the proletariat of the U.S.S.R. with the working class of the capitalist countries and the toiling masses of the colonies and semi-colonies.

Under the leadership of the Communist International the Communist Parties of all countries will use the anniversary of the great October Revolution to rally the broad working masses: against the capitalist offensive! Against fascism and reaction! Against the approaching imperialist war and the intervention against the U.S.S.R.! For the victory of the second five-year-plan in the U.S.S.R.! For the rapid victory of the Soviet power in China, Germany and Spain! For the overthrow of the power of the bourgeoisie throughout the world! For the dictatorship of the proletariat, for Communism!

Agitprop Department, E.C.C.I.

Volkhov—Dniepr—Volga.

By B. Bedeneiev, member of the Academy, Kichkas.

Lenin's electrification idea, Lenin's words—"Communism is Soviet Power plus electrification of the whole country", have come to life in the electrical giants erected in the last few years in the U.S.S.R. One of these largest giants in the whole world is the Dniepr hydro-electrical station which was officially inaugurated on October 10.

There was no hydro-construction on a large scale in pre-revolutionary Russia. Bourgeois-landlord Russia was not capable of mastering the enormous productive forces of the country. Not until the October Revolution was the question of making use of the powerful currents of the Volkhov, Dniepr and Volga and other rivers fully considered. When the Soviet Power was only coming into being, when at the numerous fronts the fate of the young proletarian state was being decided, a beginning was already made with the construction of the **Volkhov** hydro-electrical station. The preparatory work on the Volkhovstroi commenced in 1919, and in 1921 the construction was taken in hand in good earnest.

The writer of these lines was also engaged in the erection of the Volkhov hydro-station. Together with the main cadres of the engineers and builders of the Volkhovstroi, we were transferred to the Dnieprostroi.

Now, at the completion of this power station, according to the decision of the All Union Council of People's Commissars and of the C.C. C.P.S.U., we are to take in hand an even more gigantic undertaking—the erection of two hydro-stations on the **Volga** and one on the **Kama**.

Three hydro-electrical constructions—on the Volkhov, Dniepr and Volga represent one chain of powerful hydro-technical erections. That is why one cannot keep silent to-day, the day of the inauguration of the Dniepr hydro-electrical station, about the Volkhovstroi, the experience of which was of enormous significance for our further work.

The **Volkhov hydro-station** was inaugurated on December 19, 1926. On that day were given over for exploitation four turbine generators with a general power of 36,000 kilowatt. The remaining four generators were ready for exploitation in the course of 1927. The building operations lasted five years. The work had to proceed in the absence of very necessary equipment, with a limited number of mechanisms, without a preliminary plan of work. Only in the third year of the building operations we succeeded in working out a plan of the mechanisation and completion of the work, and not until then was the necessary equipment received.

The Volkhovstroi created the cadres of builders and fitters who have played a very important part in the work on the Dnieprostroi. But not only the specialists went from the Volkhov to the Dniepr. The same can be said of the **workmen** who continue to develop and add to their experience. The loader from the Volkhovstroi, Comrade **Zakharov**, works now as rigging brigadier on the Dnieprostroi, the carpenter, Comrade **Goltelov**, as assistant section foreman at the dam, the unskilled workman, Comrade **Sanin**, as locksmith, etc.

At the Volkhovstroi about **250,000 cubic meters** concrete were laid, on the Dnieprostroi **1,150,000**. The Dniepr hydro-station joins the ranks of the functioning hydro-stations of the union, having already at its disposal five aggregates of **300,000 kilowatt** power altogether, or ten times greater power than the Volkhov station when it commenced functioning.

In fact, the hydro-station was built and equipped in four years. The erection of such a gigantic and complicated electrical system without interruption is unprecedented in the whole world. At present the Dniepr hydro-electrical station has **450,000 H.P.**, and when fully developed, will have **850,000 H.P.**

Whereas, the largest station on Niagara Falls has **425,000 H.P.** and the Conovingo and Mussel Shoals (U.S.A.) stations **378,000 H.P.**, and **260,000 H.P.** respectively.

The electrical power generated by the hydro-station will be transmitted to the consumers along electro-transmitting lines 100,000 kilometers long, **300 kilometers** of which are already functioning. The power of the Dnieprostroi will be dropped from **160,000 volts** to **35,000** and **6,000** volts in eleven substations. **160,000** is at present the highest voltage in the Soviet Union.

The completion of the construction and inauguration of the Dniepr power station coincide with the commencement of another gigantic undertaking. "To consider the present Dnieprostroi apparatus as the working apparatus of the 'Middle Volgstroi'. And to transfer the Dnieprostroi apparatus to the 'Middle Volgstroi' consistent with the completion of the work on the Dnieprostroi and with the erection of the adjoining factories and works"—such is the decision of the All-Union Council of People's Commissars and the C.C. C.P.S.U. of March 23, 1932.

This gigantic undertaking is to be crowned in 1935 by the erection of three powerful hydro-stations, dams and locks on the **Volga** near Yaroslav, Gorky (in the vicinity of Vassiliev) and on the Kama, near Perm.

It is estimated that the cost of these erections will amount to **1,300,000,000** Roubles. The Yaroslav power station—**300,000,000** Roubles, the Vassiliev—**600,000,000** Roubles—and the Perm—**400,000,000** Roubles. With regard to the magnitude of the building operations, these three hydro-stations are equal to three Dnieprostrois. Contrary to the Dniepr Dam, which was built on a rocky foundation, the Yaroslav Dam will be built on sand, and the Gorky on clay. This means that the erections must be more massive. About 800,000 cubic meters concrete will be required for the Yaroslav hydro-station and dam, 1,500,000 cubic meters for the Vassiliev, and 1,000,000 cubic meters for the Perm station, whereas, 1,150,000 cubic meters concrete were required for the Dniepr hydro-station, dam and lock.

The Volkhovstroi problem must be considered not only from the point of view of construction of powerful hydro-stations. It is connected to a considerable extent with the problem of navigation. The construction of the **Volga-Moscow canal** and the erection of locks on the Volga will create an important deep waterway from Moscow to Nishni-Novgorod (Gorky). Thus, the Volgstroi is also of enormous importance with regard to transport. Furthermore, it will provide the industry of the Ivanovo-Voznesensk Province, the Nishni-Novgorod region and the Ural with powerful power bases.

Prospecting is going on now on the territories of the future building operations. On its basis a general scheme of the proposed constructions will be ready by November 1. This will be followed by further prospecting. Alongside of this a beginning will be made very soon with the planning of the various objects. Preparatory work for the erection of housing accommodation has already commenced on the building sites.

Next year will see the development of the preparatory work. Projects, plans and estimates will have to be worked out. In the Balakhny district we shall build a mechanical works (cost—15,000,000 roubles) which will provide the various undertakings with equipment—cranes, gates for locks, etc., and will also undertake the necessary repairs. The Volgstroi will set up very soon its excavating caravan, and is already organising the supply of timber. Simultaneously, preparations will be made for the erection of dwellings, works for washing gravel, sawing mills and concrete works, mechanical workshops etc. Possibly we shall be able to make a beginning with the excavations by the end of next year.

Special attention will be paid to the food supply for the building sites. The Volgstroi is already in touch with **23 Soviet Farms** which will be responsible for the food supply of the builders of the hydro-stations on the Volga and Kama.

Such is the plan of work for next year.

The Volkhov hydro-station has functioned well for the last six years. The Dniepr hydro-station can already register five months of continuous work. The millions of kilowatt hours of power, supplied by it to-day, are a guarantee of the suc-

successful completion of all the aggregates. The experience, the thoroughly tested cadres of designers, fitters and builders who have gone through the school of the Dnieprostroi, is a guarantee of new and even more important victories on the Volga.

The commencement of the construction of the Volga hydro-stations coincides with the commencement of the **second Five-Year-Plan**. While the Volkhovstroi was the first sound stone in the foundation of electrification, while the tempi of the Dnieprostroi were exponents of the successful completion of the first Five-Year-Plan, the constructors of the Volgastroi, in their fight for the realisation of the decision of the All Union Council of People's Commissars and the C.C. C.P.S.U., will attain new successes in the struggle for the electrification of the whole Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, for the establishment of a socialist society.

THE WHITE TERROR

Appeal for the World Congress of the International Red Aid.

To all Toilers!

The World Congress of the International Red Aid will meet in Moscow on November 10. The Congress will sum up the achievements of the International Red Aid during the ten years of its existence. The Congress will call on you to join the International Red Aid, to extend and consolidate its ranks. The voice of the Red Aid must be heard by all toilers; its appeal must arouse a unanimous response.

Look around you! In the capitalist countries the most monstrous cruel fascist white terror is raging; everywhere police and class justice are active.

Listen! From all the capitalist prisons there arises the cry for help. It is your duty to fight against the oppressors who cruelly mishandle your imprisoned class brothers.

All of you, your friends and relatives, working men and women, you workers in town and country, are all threatened with the same fate.

The cause of the Red Aid is your cause! It is an inseparable part of the Communist fight for work and bread, against imperialist war and against an attack on our only fatherland, the Soviet Union!

Join the ranks of the Red Aid in masses! May the sign of the Red Aid, the red flag, which still flutters behind prison bars, soon take its rightful place in every workers' and peasants' family!

Long live the International Red Aid!

Long live the international solidarity of the toilers in the fight against white terror, fascism and war danger!

The Executive Committee of the International Red Aid.

Scottsboro and the World Congress of the I.R.A.

By J. Louis Engdahl.

The fight for the lives of the seven Scottsboro Negro children reaches a new and higher level of struggle as the United States Supreme Court adopts the same evasive methods used to pave the way for the burning alive of Sacco and Vanzetti five years ago.

The high court at Washington listened to the arguments for and against a new trial for the Scottsboro boys and then reserved decision until "some time in November", hoping by the very indefiniteness of its postponement to confuse and disarm world protest. This is an old tactic that must be met decisively through a continually sharpening struggle against the electric chair of dollar oppression.

The **International Scottsboro Day of protest**, October, Tenth, at the very moment when the U. S. Supreme Court was in session hearing the appeal, with world protest centred directly upon the tribunal of dollar class justice, marks the opening of a new phase of struggle under the leadership of the International Red Aid. Never before had the American high court been under fire as on October Tenth. World labour has never been so mobilised against the high court of any other capitalist country.

There was no such mobilisation in the Sacco-Vanzetti case. The class courts had already made their decision before world protest was mobilised, which then thundered fruitlessly at the door of the Massachusetts' millionaire governor. The same is true of the Mooney-Billings persecution.

Two characteristics of the Scottsboro Campaign under the leadership of the International Red Aid are: (1) It has been quickly mobilised compared with other campaigns, and (2) It is without illusions as to the "justness" and the "fairness" of capitalist class justice. Not even the bourgeois press raises a word of defence on behalf of the so-called "impartiality" of the American judicial lynchers.

For instance, there are Parisian editions of two leading capitalist newspapers in the United States, the "Chicago Daily Tribune" and the "New York Herald". Neither of these dares utter a word against mass protest on the basis of the "justice and fairness" that may be expected from the American court. They merely seek to differentiate as between "good protest" and "bad protest" as, "All day long", in the words of the "Chicago Tribune", "from the time it opened in the morning until it closed at five p. m., the Embassy (Paris) was besieged by delegations of Reds who presented petitions in favour of the condemned Negroes".

The "Chicago Daily Tribune", that has fascist aspirations and has been closely linked with underworld gangsterdom in its own home city, uses the familiar and vicious method of trying to discredit militant mass protest by excitedly speaking of "Threats to assault U. S. Embassy officials and prominent Americans in Paris and to bomb American buildings here (Paris) unless the seven Negroes sentenced to death at Scottsboro, Alabama, . . . are set free". The threats are supposed to have been made by a youth representative of the French Section of the International Red Aid. But this is all in the usual method of the "Chicago Daily Tribune", that styles itself the "World's Greatest Newspaper", that sets out with its venomous poison to discredit a movement that it can no longer combat with silence. On the other hand it lauds "peaceful and polite" protest and of "behaviour" before the American embassy secretary that "was above reproach". The "New York Herald" tries to console itself with the declaration that the fifteen delegations that came to the American embassy in Paris were "calm and peaceful".

The mouthpieces of the American bourgeoisie in Paris are both wrong twice over. The growing Scottsboro world protest is neither "bomb throwing" nor "calm and peaceful". It grows into mighty mass demonstrations and strike struggles. The mobilised working class cannot be charged with the deeds of the police agent provocateurs on the one hand, or the tears of bourgeois sentimentalists including the social fascists (Léon Blum, Emile Vandervelde, etc.) on the other.

The truth of this is revealed in the fact that the Scottsboro protest action on October Tenth, for the first time, crashed through quite generally to the first pages of the world press. This means that hundreds of millions of copies of daily newspapers in all lands re-echoed with "Scottsboro!"—the story of the judicial lynching in Alabama. And the United States Supreme Court, that could have given a decision if it desired in five minutes, postponed action until November.

It did not sit well upon the stomach of dollar class justice to have its court room crowded with workers, mostly Negroes, with many more outside; that there were demonstrations over all the United States and Canada; that German worker delegations coming to the American embassy in Berlin ordered the Hindenburg-von Papen police to "stay outside" when they insisted on accompanying them into the building. And so it went the world over, all delegations were elected from great mass meetings. In Berlin the Scottsboro Day delegations were elected at the mass meetings greeting the released nine young workers tried for the death of a Nazi in the Röntgenstrasse Hitlerite attack upon workers.

The U. S. Supreme Court postponed its decision in the month of intensive preparations for the **World Congress of the International Red Aid**, that leads the Scottsboro Campaign, to be held in Moscow, November 10.

Into the most secluded conference chambers of the U. S. Supreme Court of millionaire corporation lawyers must roar labour's growing denunciation of the Scottsboro judicial lynch murder.

The Situation of the Working Masses in the Capitalist Countries

The Situation of the Working Class in Czechoslovakia.

1. The Position of the Miners.

By G. Friedrich (Prague).

Czechoslovakian economy, with its strongly developed industry, is dependent to a great extent (almost a third of the industrial production) upon exports. The competitive struggle on the world market, above all on the markets of South-East Europe, from which Czechoslovakian goods are being more and more ousted by German goods, drove the Czechoslovakian capitalists during the whole of the post-war period to adopt special far-reaching rationalisation measures and constantly to dismiss workers, to cut wages and do away with the social achievements of the proletariat. Even in the years of prosperity the wages of the Czechoslovakian workers—especially in the nationally oppressed districts of Slovakia, Carpatho-Ukraine and the German industrial districts—were among the lowest in Europe. Now, after three years of economic crisis, the standard of living of the proletariat has been reduced to the level of starvation. Unemployment commenced to increase again already in August. In many branches of industry, for example the glass industry, 70 per cent. of all workers are unemployed. The majority of the workers still employed are on short time.

Only a fraction of the unemployed (in July 168,000 out of 460,000 officially registered unemployed) received any support under the Ghent system. The State support is being more and more restricted. Thousands of proletarians, mostly young workers, who have never had the chance of seeing the inside of a factory, are being converted into hopeless down-and-outs as a result of unemployment.

It is really difficult to ascertain statistically the losses suffered by the Czech proletariat as a result of the crisis, as no statistics regarding occupation and wages are compiled in Czechoslovakia. According to bourgeois economists, the Labour Exchanges embrace only 30 to 50 per cent. of the actual unemployed. Strike statistics are deliberately falsified. Therefore, the data which we give below are only of value as a means of comparison.

★

Industry producing means of production has been most severely hit by the crisis. This is all the more the case as in the post-war years, especially in the boom years of 1926-1929, it was rationalised at a rapid rate, millions being expended for this purpose. A great part of the apparatus of production is now lying idle, with the result that the costs of production have increased to such an extent as to render the enterprises unprofitable.

In the year 1920 there were 154 hard coal mining undertakings and 258 brown coal mining undertakings in Czechoslovakia. In the year 1928 there were already only 97 hard coal and 181 brown coal mining undertakings. The crisis accelerated this process of concentration, so that in July 1932 only 78 hard coal and 161 brown coal mining undertakings were working. The winning of coal in the concentrated undertakings was mechanised to an increasing extent. In 1927, 46.6 per cent. of the hard coal was won by mechanical means; in 1930 the percentage was 78.7. As a result, the number of miners has been reduced in the course of the decade ending with the year 1931 by almost 40,000. In 1921, 75,893 miners were employed in the hard coal mining industry; in 1931 their number was 53,856 and in July 1932 40,700. 51,440 miners were employed in the brown coal-mining industry in 1921, 33,893 in 1931 and only 31,200 in July 1932. At the same time the intensity of labour has been increased from year to year. The average daily output of a miner was as follows:

In metric centals

Brown coal Hard coal

1921	15.09	5.83
1931	22.85	10.62

This thorough-going rationalisation and the constant speeding up resulted in an increasing number of accidents and illnesses. The number of accidents and sicknesses amounted in 1919 to 32.11 per thousand, and in 1930 to 66.88 per thousand. In the Ostrau-Karviner coalfields alone, in the 12 years from 1919 to 1930, there were 721 killed and 31,267 accidents and cases of sickness. In 1931 the number of accidents was 8,884, 776 being serious and 49 with fatal results. Accidents are just as frequent in the other coalfields. Only a few months ago, 8 miners were victims of a terrible disaster in the Humboldt pit in North Bohemia; due solely to the criminal rationalisation.

In what relation does the increasing intensity of labour stand to wages?

The great losses suffered by the miners during the crisis are to be seen from the latest statistics regarding wages published by the State statistical office, even though these are incomplete:

Annual income of a miner in crowns.

Total income, wages and all bonuses and perquisites:

	Hard coal			brown coal		
	1929	1930	1931	1929	1930	1931
Hewers	15,569	13,561	13,018	14,067	12,645	12,024
Haulers	11,106	9,658	9,496	—	—	—
Young workers (below bank)	6,580	6,885	5,822	4,539	4,331	3,751
Technicians	14,223	13,397	12,549	14,358	13,808	13,143
Young workers (above bank)	3,805	3,436	3,031	4,602	4,193	3,818
Women	5,648	5,202	5,059	6,481	6,193	5,878
General average	12,923	11,479	11,064	12,313	11,429	11,090

As is to be seen, already in 1931 the income of a miner had sunk on an average by 15 per cent. as compared with 1929. The total loss of the miners in wages amounted during this period to more than 2,500 million crowns, for simultaneously with the wage reductions there were continual discharges of workers and closing down of pits.

With the intensification of the crisis at the beginning of 1932 the dismissals in the mining industry assumed a mass character. Simultaneously, the Ostrau coal magnates commenced a general attack on the basic wages of the miners. Of the 35,000 miners who were employed in the coalfield, 15,000 were to be discharged and the wages of the remaining were to be reduced. The cunning deception of the social fascist trade union secretaries and the monstrous police terror succeeded in preventing the formation of a united front of the Ostrau miners and in breaking the strike, and thus enabled the mine owners to put through their demands. 10,000 workers in the Ostrau coalfield have been dismissed, and further dismissals are pending. Already in 1930 wages were 40 per cent. of those obtaining in 1921. The average annual income of an Ostrau miner has fallen as follows: in 1929 it amounted to 13,492 crowns, in 1930 to 11,636, and in 1931 to 11,330 crowns. At the present time the average wage amounts to about 40 crowns per shift, with three shifts being worked in a week.

Whilst the Ostrau proletarians must now pay for the treachery of their leaders with a tremendous reduction of their standard of living, the miners of the North Bohemian brown coalfield succeeded by the most heroic strike struggle in the history of the last decade of the Czechoslovakian labour movement in preventing the announced wholesale dismissals and wage reductions being carried out. No dismissals have taken place in the coalfield since the conclusion of the strike. One must bear in mind how great the misery of the North-Bohemian miners is in order to realise the courage, born of despair, with which they opposed further impoverishment.

The total amount of wages paid in the North-Bohemian coalfield declined from 815.5 million crowns in 1921 to 342.2

million crowns in 1931, i. e., a reduction of 58 per cent. The allowances in kind received by the miners fell in the same period by 80 per cent. In the Brůx coalfield 19,103 miners were employed in February 1931. Each of these workers on an average 18 days a month. In these 18 days, 737,000 tons of brown coal were produced. In February 1932, each worker in the coalfield was likewise working 18 days a month, but only 17,581 workers were employed, whilst their output amounted to 708,000 tons of coal. The average output per man, therefore, increased from 38.7 to 40.11 tons. And what about wages?

"A hewer earns up to 500 crowns a month. But a hauler at the end of the week never receives more than 75 crows, and usually only 50." (Lidove noviny, 26th March 1932.)

The North-Bohemian strike prevented the capitalists for a time from shifting the burden of their losses onto the workers by wholesale dismissals and wage cuts. Recently, however, the crisis in the coal mining industry has experienced a further deepening. In the first seven months of the current year, 6,265,000 tons of hard coal were produced as compared with 7,441,000 tons in the same period of the previous year, and 8,498,000 tons of brown coal and 773,000 tons of coke were produced compared with 9,843,000 tons and 1,218,000 tons respectively in the previous year. The output of hard coal sank by 16 per cent, that of brown coal by 14 per cent, and the production of coke by 37 per cent. In spite of this reduced output the stocks at the pitheads have continually increased.

In the Kladno-Schlan coalfield about 8000 workers are employed at present. In most of the pits 4, and in many only three, shifts are worked a week. The average daily output has increased from 5.07 cubic metres per man in the year 1921 to 7.33 cubic metres in the year 1931. The average wages sank in the same period from 57.50 crowns per shift to 38.28 crowns. At the present time the piece-rate workers in the coalfield receive at the most 42 crowns, the day labourers, however, at most 27.60 crowns per shift.

In the Rossitz-Oslavan coalfield the number of workers has been reduced from 2,500 in the second quarter of the year 1930 to about 2,200 in the second quarter of 1932. The average output increased from 6.32 cubic metres to 6.76 cubic metres, whilst the average wage sank from 32.05 to 31.74 crowns.

That is how the position of the Czechoslovakian miners has deteriorated as a result of wholesale dismissals, short-time and wage cuts. To this there is added the terrible housing conditions. The infantile mortality, owing to the constant starvation and terrible housing conditions, often exceeds 60 per cent. of the birth rate. Tuberculosis is rife in the mining villages.

The miners, this broad stratum of the Czechoslovakian proletariat, are rapidly being pushed down to the lowest level of poverty. But the North Bohemian strike broke through the front of the capitalists and prevented them from further reducing the standard of living of the masses. A broad united front is being set up in the other mining areas.

SOCIAL FASCISM

The British Labour Party Conference.

By Arthur Pooley (London).

The thirty-second annual conference of the Labour Party took place at **Leicester** on October 3rd. to 7th. It met at a period of rapidly deepening capitalist crisis, of sharpening of class antagonisms and rising working-class militancy. The slight recovery in British industrial production following the abandonment of the gold standard in September 1931 had reached its peak by February, to be followed by an ever accelerating catastrophic decline. The Empire was rapidly crumbling. India especially was visibly proceeding to open rebellion, while Ireland had become once more a source of acute anxiety. At the Ottawa Conference Britain had endeavoured to counteract the centrifugal tendency and the rival pull of American capital on the Dominions by the bribe of economic concessions which could only result in deepening her own internal crisis. Internationally, Britain was involved in a maze of perplexities and antagonisms growing more acute every day.

In Britain itself, capitalism was vainly trying to stabilise itself by savage attacks on the working class. In this it was loyally seconded by the Labour Party and the trade union leadership, but there were growing signs that the workers were escaping from the blight of reformist domination and entering on the path of working-class struggle. Industry after industry had suffered wage-cuts and worsening of conditions, and many further attacks were pending. A strong rank-and-file movement among the **London busmen** had forced the employers to withdraw part of their demands and gained a partial victory in spite of the defeatism of their leaders. 160,000 **cotton weavers** had just concluded a heroic strike, forced back to work, bitter and resentful, under terms of defeat, betrayed by the trade union bureaucracy. But the brunt of the struggle was being borne by the **unemployed**, an ever-growing army of over three million. Here the reformists had lost almost every scrap of influence, and huge militant demonstrations, leading to street fights with the police, were taking place daily against the Means Test and the other starvation measures of the National Government, under the undisputed leadership of the **National Unemployed Workers' Movement**.

These events had left their mark on the Labour Party. In structure it was becoming less a mass party of the trade unions, more a Social-Democratic party of individual members based largely on the petty bourgeoisie. The affiliated membership reached a maximum of nearly 4,360,000 in 1920, the year of militancy, declined to 3,156,000 in 1923, rose again to reach a peak of 3,388,000 in the general strike year of 1926, and since then had steadily declined to 2,060,000 in 1932. The fresh wave of militancy finds no reflection in a growth in Labour Party strength. The workers are seeking other forms of struggle. On the other hand, individual membership has risen from 215,000 in 1928 to 297,000 in 1932. The Labour Party is steadily shedding proletarians and recruiting from the intellectuals and the lower middle class.

The leadership of the Party is suspect among the members, and still more among the masses outside. The record of the last Labour Government and the hesitancy shown by the whole Cabinet whether or not to follow MacDonald cannot be obliterated by a few pious assurances of repentance. Even among the delegates to the Conference, largely trade union and Labour Party functionaries, this mass feeling found its expression. The delegates, especially from the distressed industrial areas, expressed in private discussion lively interest in the U.S.S.R. and the Communist Party. One delegate stated that many thousand Labour Party members are only one step from the Communist Party. But the discontent was completely formless and unorganised, individual delegates feeling the hopelessness of opposing the platform, and lacking the courage to break with the powerful Labour Party machine.

The Conference itself was an object-lesson in platform manoeuvring. The main purpose of the conference was intended by the executive to be the laying of plans for the next **Labour Government**. Besides the executive resolutions dealing with the reorganisation of finance, transport, electricity, and agriculture, the preliminary agenda contained many resolutions from local labour parties reflecting the distrust of the leadership and asking for immediate action on the Means Test. One group of resolutions demanded that the Labour Party should not again take office as a minority Government, or that it should do so only to introduce bold Socialist legislation in order that it could appeal to the country on its defeat; another group tied the next Cabinet to bold legislation within the first few weeks of office; another wanted all the leaders compromised with Macdonaldism to be expelled; many local parties demanded that all Labour representatives on local authorities should be instructed forthwith to refuse to administer the Means Test. It is instructive to follow the fate of these resolutions.

Between the preliminary agenda and the conference itself there intervenes a body known as the Conference Arrangement Committee. Its nominal function is to reduce to manageable proportions the vast number of resolutions sent in for discussion. Actually, it is one of the most useful auxiliaries to the platform in keeping awkward topics off the conference floor. It takes all the resolutions on a given subject, producing from them a "composite resolution" covering the main points.

The treatment of the unemployment question is a case in point. The "composite resolution" omitted entirely the demand for an immediate refusal to administer the Means Test, and merely called upon the National Government to abolish it. But

there was clearly a mass demand for something more than this futile gesture. The platform therefore proceeded to take the lead in order to smother the demand in rhetoric. **Shinwell**, Minister of Mines in the Labour Government, made a demagogic left-wing speech suggesting but not clearly stating that the time had come to refuse to administer the Means Test. The speech was in such a form that **Lansbury**, as an old fighter against the Poor Law, was able to reply that the demand was inopportune. Thus the more militant delegates were satisfied with Shinwell's "fine fighting speech", while the vote did not commit the Party to any action. The real motive behind the whole manoeuvre was clearly brought out in Shinwell's closing sentence: "For God's sake don't let the leadership of the unemployed pass to the Communist Party!"

The unemployment issue forced itself again before the conference. On the morning of October 6th, the news came of batoning of unemployed processions at **North Shields** and **West Ham**. An emergency resolution was put before the conference protesting against the batoning at North Shields, calling upon the Government to institute an immediate inquiry, and urging the police to give the unemployed full facilities to demonstrate. There are two significant omissions from the resolution. One is the lack of any suggestion of support for the demands of the unemployed. The other is the omission of the more serious trouble at West Ham. Curiously enough, at West Ham the police had been sent against the unemployed by a Labour Council! The mover again clearly revealed the motive, stating that they must show the unemployed that the Labour Party was as much interested in their plight as the Communist Party. The very next resolution affirmed that unemployment was due to rationalisation, and advocated a reduction of hours as a solution. The responsibility of the Labour Party for rationalisation was discreetly concealed. Thus the message of the conference to the unemployed is, wait for the next Labour Government to legislate a reduction of hours.

On the question of the trustworthiness of the leadership the platform did not have it quite its own way. This was due to a large extent to the uncompromising stand taken by **Sir Charles Trevelyan**, who resigned the Ministry of Education in the Labour Government as a protest against MacDonald's compromising policy. It is significant of the degradation into which the Labour Party has fallen that the only serious opposition to the platform took the form of individual protests by two ex-Liberal landed aristocrats, Trevelyan and Lord Ponsonby. Trevelyan tried to raise the question of the record of the last Labour Government the first morning, but Henderson manoeuvred a postponement. The question of a future minority Labour Government arose again in the afternoon on a resolution from Birmingham. There was a long acrimonious debate, the platform trying to prevent any decision. Finally Henderson was reluctantly compelled to give a specific pledge that should another opportunity arise to form a minority government, a special Labour Party Conference would be convened to take the decision. Even this did not suffice. Trevelyan, moving a resolution demanding that the next Labour Government immediately adopt a bold Socialist policy, denounced the vacillation of the leaders in the 1931 crisis, and said "Even now people are not certain about the Labour Party. We must get back their confidence." He said that the only Parliament which had been really effective, taking its enemy by the throat, was the Long Parliament of 1640 (which eventually executed Charles I in 1649 and established Cromwell's Republic). He received tremendous applause. Henderson immediately rose to reply, and was subjected to many hostile interruptions, repeated appeals by the chairman being necessary to secure him a hearing. He said the resolution would tie the hands of the Party ("We want to tie your hands!"). There were even shouts of "Traitor!". Every other speaker supported the resolution, which was carried. The supporters included the big trade union bosses. One of them revealed the reason. He said that 30 to 40 per cent. of his members were refusing to pay the political levy. A bold policy was needed to regain support for the Labour Party. Another resolution implying suspicion of the leadership was carried unanimously. It demanded that Labour Ministers should be subject to Party decisions equally with other Members of Parliament.

A resolution was moved by **Henderson** on disarmament which, under the cloak of pious phrases, actually supported the attitude of the British Government. The only protest came from **Lord Ponsonby**, who described the resolution as "drafted

by Sir John Simon". He got a good deal of support, and only a strong appeal from Henderson for unity and moderation secured an unopposed passage to the resolution. The solidarity of the Labour Party with British Imperialism was here strikingly shown. Another example of solidarity with British Imperialism was provided by a resolution on **India**, calling for the resumption of the policy of the Round Table Conference; calling for the reform of the Indian criminal procedure that made the Meerut trial possible (now the Meerut trial is over!); and asking the Indian Government to promote trade union organisation. **Wedgwood Benn**, the Secretary for India, got a hostile reception (cries of "Why didn't you release the Meerut prisoners?") but by a clever speech blaming MacDonald and the Indian Civil Service managed to get his record approved and the resolution unanimously carried.

These incidents are more revealing of the actual position of the Labour Party than the main debates, which were devoted to the discussion of what the next Labour Government should do. But even in these debates on totally unreal issues, the function of the Labour Party as an agent for the consolidation of capitalism became clear. Two separate resolutions were passed affirming that the sole aim of the Labour Party is **Socialism**. This left-wing turn is a cloak for right-wing actions, as was clearly revealed by **Cramp**, leader of the Railwaymen's Union, moving one of the resolutions. Capitalism, he said, is collapsing. It can afford no more concessions. Therefore it is useless to fight against wage-cuts, Government economies, or the Means Test. The only hope is to wait for a Labour Government to introduce Socialism. Thus the "conversion" of the Labour Party to Socialism is being used to sabotage the fight of the workers against capitalist attacks.

As for the way to Socialism, the Labour Party has discovered that nationalisation, workers' control, and all the rest of its old slogans are completely out of date. The new policy is to set up public utility corporations to buy out the shareholders, giving them a guaranteed interest on bonds instead of subjecting them to the risks of the market. The industry so acquired is then to be run by a semi-independent trust under state supervision, governed by a bureaucratic board appointed by the Minister concerned "on appropriate grounds of ability". A big debate developed on whether the autocrats should include trade union representatives. The matter was referred to joint consideration with the Trades Union Congress. But the main principle went practically unchallenged.

A financial policy was presented, consisting of the nationalisation of the Bank of England and the setting up of a National Investment Board to control new issues of capital. This scheme won the warm approval of the bourgeois economist **Maynard Keynes**, who, however, showed in his analysis that the only effect, if it was found possible to control anything, would be to stabilise wholesale prices by alternately encouraging and restricting production. In other words, it was a scheme to stabilise unemployment. An amendment to include nationalisation of the joint stock banks was carried against the executive, and hailed as a great militant victory.

A scheme for agriculture was unanimously adopted, involving setting up national and county agricultural boards, national and local commodity boards, wages boards, and possibly housing boards, all bureaucratically appointed and all presumably men of outstanding ability.

These schemes coincide with the line of capitalist stabilisation, which is to interlock industry closer with the imperialist state. Similar schemes have already been adopted by Tory Governments for electricity and broadcasting. Under them the subjection and oppression of the workers are increased. Capitalism actually prefers such schemes to be introduced by a Labour Government, since they then become "great measures of Socialist reconstruction", enabling the trade union leaders to represent strikes as imperilling the success of Socialist experiments.

The message of the Labour Party Conference to the workers may be paraphrased thus:— MacDonaldism is ended. The Labour Party is newly born, militant and Socialist. Capitalism is collapsing, so it is no use fighting for immediate amelioration. Put all your energies into returning a majority Labour Government, which will introduce bold measures of Socialist reconstruction, with the co-operation of the more efficient and far-seeing of the capitalists themselves.

PROLETARIAN MASS ORGANISATIONS

American Veterans Prepare for New March

By A. G. Bosse (New York).

A national conference of war veterans was held in Cleveland toward the end of September, called by the Central Rank and File Committee and the **Workers Ex-Servicemen's League**. Its purpose was to sum up the lessons of the July bonus march and massacre in Washington and to prepare for a new march in December when Congress meets. The July march was initiated by the same groups of militants, supported by the Communist Party and sympathetic organisations, and led the fight not only against Hoover and Congress, but also against the traitorous fascist leaders of the veterans.

Since the Washington murders the various large veterans' organisations under bourgeois control have been forced by mass pressure from the rank and file of their membership to come out in favour of immediate payment of the bonus. Despite the hysterical pleading of Hoover, his secretary of war and generals, the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars (the two largest organisations) and the Jewish veterans have all voted overwhelmingly in favour of the bonus. At the American Legion convention the vote was ten to one for the bonus, despite previous opposition to it. According to present legislation the veterans will receive \$2 billion in 1945, but over half of the 4 million ex-servicemen and their families are starving now and the movement for immediate payment is sweeping the country.

There were at the Cleveland convention 300 delegates from over 50 cities. They represented 18,000 veterans from all organisations, jingo as well as militant. The first session was opened by S. J. Stember of the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League (W.E.S.L.), leader of the militant section of the July march and delegate to the Amsterdam International Congress Against War. John Pace, who was elected chairman, had been jailed for leading the mass picketing demonstration before the White House; H. Wood, Negro veteran, was elected vice-chairman; The presidium included veterans from all parts of the country, and among the honorary members were **J. W. Ford**, Negro veteran and Communist vice-presidential candidate, **Tom Mooney**, the Scottsboro boys, the marines who refused to attack the Washington marchers, and Betsy Ross (great grand-daughter of the woman who made the first American flag and an ardent supporter of the W.E.S.L.).

E. Levin, national chairman of the W.E.S.L., made the main report, laying down the line which the convention followed. Among the points outlined were the following: 1) that the conference issues a call to all veterans to march on Congress in December to demand payment of the bonus; 2) that a mass campaign be started in all veterans' organisations (American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Disabled American Veterans, Khaki Shirts, Spanish-American War Veterans Association), and large fraternal organisations to win the rank and file for a militant struggle for the bonus; 3) that Rank and File Committees be organised in all cities; 4) that local struggles for relief be carried on, including marches and demonstrations before city and state governments, for the bonus and for condemnation of the Hoover administration for using troops against the veterans; 5) that the women be organised around the fight for the bonus; 6) that the International (I.A.C.) be endorsed and supported; 7) that the Committee elected at the conference work out a plan for activity among the armed forces for support of the veterans' movement; 8) that the conference cooperate with the unemployed and employed workers in the struggle for unemployment and social insurance.

The conference not only endorsed these points, but summarised the basic demands of the veterans as follows: immediate payment of the bonus, increased disability compensation, unemployment insurance at the expense of the bosses and state, against Jim-Crowing (discrimination) of Negroes, and against imperialist war. **It voted unanimously for the march on Washington**, practically all the delegates having brought resolutions from their organisations in favour of such action. The plan adopted called for the marchers first paying tribute to Hushka and Carlson, the two veterans killed

in Washington in July; then a committee, backed up by the masses of veterans, to visit Congress and present a bill for the immediate payment of the bonus.

The delegates condemned the attitude and actions of the three parties of capitalism on the bonus issue. Roosevelt, democratic presidential candidate, has pretended to favour payment of the bonus—but not immediate payment. His method is to attempt to curry favour with every group which has a grievance against Hoover and the Republicans and may give him votes in the elections. The socialists have also come out in opposition to the bonus. All three parties say the government cannot afford to pay the veterans though it has just given the big capitalists a "dole" of \$3000 million through the Reconstruction Corporation and is spending billions more on war preparations. The militant veterans demand that these funds, and a surtax on all industries and a tax on large incomes, be used to pay the bonus.

Comrade **Browder** greeted the conference in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and was accorded an enthusiastic ovation for several minutes. A telegram from Comrade **Poster**, Communist presidential candidate, was also applauded greatly. **A. W. Mills**, Communist leader of the unemployed march on Washington last December, addressed the delegates. An attempt to deport Mills to fascist Poland is now in process; the delegates adopted and sent to Secretary of Labour Doak a resolution demanding that deportation proceedings be dropped. The conference endorsed Mill's proposal to coordinate the veterans' and unemployed marches in December. Comrade **Hugo Graef**, wounded secretary of the I.A.C. and Reichstag deputy of the C.P.G., greeted the delegates in the name of the International. The conference decided to endorse the I.A.C. and send delegates to its conference next spring.

Upon closing, the conference elected a **Central Rank and File Committee** of 26 to lead the struggle. This committee, which will have its headquarters in Detroit, has on it representatives of the various veterans' organisations. The delegates pledged to organise local rank and file conferences in their own cities at the end of October to rally the masses of ex-servicemen for the December march. These city committees will lead the various contingents of the march and will have sub-committees on organisation, education, finances, transportation, commissary, and publicity. Special demands against Jim-Crowism will be raised in each town, especially against the discrimination against Negroes in government hospitals. The delegates will also hold meetings in the various cities they pass through on the way home, mobilising the workers in support of the march. They will speak before political, social, educational, fraternal, and labour organisations to urge support of the fight and the sending of delegates to the local rank and file conferences.

Following the adjournment of the National Rank and File Conference there was held the **convention of the Workers Ex-Servicemen's League**, with Walter Trumbull, secretary, making the main report. Among the decisions of the League delegates, who were the backbone of the earlier conference, were the following: to organise a women's auxiliary, to accept into membership non-worker veterans who support the programme of the League, to accept workers who were imprisoned for fighting against the World War, and to accept veterans regardless of which flag they fought under. The convention voted to demand increased pensions for Spanish-American war veterans. The convention also decided to move its headquarters from New York to Detroit.

Of interest in this connection is a recent resolution of the C.C. of the C.P.U.S.A., published in the September issue of **"The Communist"**, on the lessons of the July veterans' march on Washington. In summarizing the development of the campaign, the resolution showed how the W.E.S.L. had initiated it by a series of local demonstrations in March and April, followed by the appearance of its representatives before a Congressional committee, where they put forth a demand for the bonus and presented the programme of the W.E.S.L., including unemployment insurance. The resolution discussed the weaknesses of the League and of its Communist fraction in the campaign and set forth a further programme for the struggle. Among the errors enumerated are the general underestimation of the veteran's struggle and lack of support by the Party, a narrow concept of the movement, weakness in exposing the fascist leadership of the march and in combating the attempts of the fascists and police to isolate the militants, etc.

Documents of the International**The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I.****The War in the Far East and the Tasks of the Communists in the Struggle against Imperialist War and Military Intervention against the U.S.S.R.****(Resolution adopted by the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on the report of Comrade Okano.)**

1. The period of relative stability in international relations has ended. The attack of Japanese imperialism on China, which is taking place with the full and open support of France and with the secret support of England, marks the beginning of a new imperialist war. The struggle for the re-division of the world, sharpened as the result of the world economic crisis, is expressed by the intensification of all the contradictions within the imperialist system. The intensification of the main contradiction in the camp of imperialism—the contradiction between the U.S.A. and Great Britain, the sharpening of the conflict between the U.S.A. and Japan, the extreme intensification of the struggle around the Versailles system between France and Germany and between Poland and Germany around the question of Danzig, the Polish Corridor, and the question of East Prussia, the sharpening of the struggle between French and Italian imperialism and, in connection with all these facts, the regrouping of imperialist powers which is taking place—all these are leading to the outbreak of new military conflicts. The attitude of the League of Nations towards the Japanese attack on China once again plainly shows that the League of Nations serves as an instrument of war and intervention in the hands of French and British imperialism. In opposing the occupation of Manchuria, the U.S.A. is pursuing its own imperialist aims of securing a "fair" redistribution of spheres of influence in the Far East. The conferences at Geneva, Lausanne and Ottawa will not help to remove the antagonisms among the imperialists.

2. The intensification of the imperialist antagonisms increases the tendency in the camp of imperialism to settle these antagonisms at the expense of the U.S.S.R. The imperialist powers, and first of all the imperialists of France and Japan, are exerting every effort to extend and strengthen the Anti-Soviet bloc in order to deliver a decisive military blow at the basis of the world proletarian revolution—the U.S.S.R.—which is strengthening itself on the socialist path. British imperialism supports all the plans for intervention against the U.S.S.R. The U.S.A. is striving to provoke war between Japan and the Soviet Union in order that, by weakening both Japan and the U.S.S.R., it may strengthen its own position in the Pacific. In Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic countries and the Balkan countries, preparations for war are being carried on with the greatest possible intensity under the guidance of the French General Staff. By the efforts of Japanese imperialism, supported by France and Great Britain, Manchuria has been converted into a place d'armes for an attack on the U.S.S.R. At the same time direct preparations for intervention against the U.S.S.R. are being carried on under the guidance of France in Poland, Rumania, and the Baltic countries, etc. The threat of direct military intervention hangs over the U.S.S.R.

3. A new imperialist war, a new intervention against the U.S.S.R. will bring to the workers and toilers of the whole world such suffering, deprivation and bloody sacrifice, as were not experienced even during the first world imperialist slaughter. The sharpening of all forms of bourgeois dictatorship, the strengthening of reaction, the growth of fascism, the persecution of the revolutionary movement, shootings and hangings are already the preparation of the rear for an imperialist war and military intervention against the U.S.S.R.

The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. is of the opinion that the main task of all Communist Parties is to organise and lead the struggle of the workers, peasants and all the toilers

for the defence of China and the Chinese revolution, for the defence of the fatherland of the workers of all countries, the U.S.S.R., against the closely approaching intervention and for the defence of the toilers of capitalist countries against a new imperialist war.

4. During the Far Eastern War, the leaders of the Second International and its parties adapted their tactics to suit the requirements of the bourgeoisie of their respective countries. At the beginning of the war against China, they called on the workers to support the League of Nations, representing the League and the Kellogg Pact to be organs of peace. They supported the policy of their own imperialist governments, only criticising the imperialist governments of other countries. They declared Japan's attack upon China to be a remote colonial war which did not affect the interests of the working class in Europe or America. As a means of combatting war, they proposed to the workers to appeal to the League of Nations and to their own government. They either silently ignored the danger of intervention against the U.S.S.R., or directly deceived the masses by alleging that the U.S.S.R. is not in danger of intervention. At the same time the parties of the Second International increased their slanderous anti-Soviet campaign and strove to weaken the influence of the peace policy of the U.S.S.R. on the toiling masses and supported the ill-concealed aggressive policy of the imperialist governments in opposition to the Soviet proposal for complete disarmament. The reformist trade unions sabotaged the struggle against the manufacture of munitions and the transport of munitions to Japan, and argued that a war would put an end to unemployment. The Japanese social democrats, who are in contact with the Second and Amsterdam International, fully and completely supported the predatory war of the Japanese bourgeoisie, on the plea that this war is the path to socialism. This position taken by Japanese social democracy is an indication of the position which will be taken up by world social democracy as a whole when a new imperialist war breaks out.

Later, under the pressure of the masses, the Executive Committee of the Second International in Zurich adopted a resolution which formally opposed imperialist war, and advocated defence of the U.S.S.R., thus passing from the position of intervention and the support of counter-revolutionary efforts against the Soviet State to a position of formal neutrality and verbal defence of the U.S.S.R. In reality, however the parties of the Second International are continuing their slanderous anti-Soviet campaign, supporting the Russian Menshevik-interventionists, sabotaging all the concrete actions of the workers against the production and transport of munitions for Japan and continuing to sow pacifist illusions with the aim of diverting the masses from the real struggle against imperialist war and military intervention, boycotting the Amsterdam Anti-War-Congress, participating in the preparations and the organisation of imperialist war and military intervention, and in every country supporting their own bourgeois government.

5. The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. greets the heroic struggle the C.P. of Japan is waging against the imperialist war commenced by the Japanese bourgeoisie and landlords, and the revolutionary struggle of the C.P. of China against Japanese imperialism and against all imperialists.

The C.P. of China must continue to exert every effort to guarantee the hegemony of the proletariat in the mass anti-imperialist movement in Kuomintang China. For this purpose the C.P. of China must set itself the task of further developing and deepening the Soviet movement, strengthening the Red Army of the Chinese Soviets, linking up the Soviet

movement with the mass anti-imperialist struggle in Kuomintang China, widely and consistently using the tactic of the united front from below in the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses, organising the masses under the slogan of a revolutionary national liberation war for the independence, unity and territorial integrity of China, against all imperialists, for the overthrow of the agent of imperialism—the Kuomintang.

The C.P. of Japan must increase its work in the army and navy, especially in Manchuria, must carry on popular agitation among the workers, peasants and the exploited urban petty bourgeois masses, in language that can be understood by the broad masses, in order to expose the indissoluble connection that exists between imperialist war and the direct preparations for military intervention against the U.S.S.R., on the one hand, and the strengthening of the military-police reaction and the increased plundering of the toiling masses in Japan itself, on the other hand. The C.P. of Japan must develop the economic struggle of the workers against the capitalist offensive, linking this up with the struggle against imperialist war and the preparations for intervention. It must organise the peasant movement and link up this movement with the struggle of the working class and raise it to the level of the agrarian revolution. It must expose the demagogy of the fascists and the social democrats as a means of mobilising the masses for imperialist war and military intervention.

The Communists of Korea and Formosa, in close collaboration with the C.P. of Japan and the C.P. of China, must mobilise the workers and peasants of Korea and Formosa for the struggle against Japanese imperialism, for the independence of Korea and Formosa, and must establish a revolutionary fighting alliance of all the oppressed and exploited for the national liberation struggle.

6. While recognising the undoubtedly favourable results in the work of the C.P.'s in imperialist and colonial countries in the matter of mobilising the masses against imperialist war and against preparations for military intervention, the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. declares that the Communist Parties of the imperialist countries have not been able, by their revolutionary actions, to prevent the transport of troops to China and military supplies to Japan, that they have not been able to rouse the broad working masses employed in munition factories and in transport for the struggle, that the mass anti-war campaign has developed slowly, partly because of an opportunist underestimation of the war in the Far East and also because of a leftist-fatalistic, frivolous attitude to the war.

The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. calls particular attention to the impermissible weakness of the contacts of the C.P.'s with the principal munition factories, with the chief ports and with the key-points on the railroads, and also to the fact that the anti-war work of the Communist Parties and the Y.C.L. in the army, the navy and the special fascist semi-military organisations is in an intolerably neglected condition. The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. particularly emphasises the weakness and the backwardness of the Y.C.L. in the struggle against imperialist war and military intervention. In addition, the XII. Plenum states that the Communist Parties have not succeeded in fulfilling the urgent task of creating legal, semi-legal or illegal control committees and illegal committees of action, based on the masses, in the factories, railroads, ports and ships, have not succeeded in mobilising the masses of workers in the reformist trade unions and other mass workers' organisations on the basis of the tactic of the united front from below for the purpose of preventing the transport of troops to China and munitions of war to Japan, and in developing the agitation against imperialist war and military intervention among the masses of peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie. Inadequate Bolshevik resistance was shown to the opportunist underestimation of the war in China and to the underestimation of the danger of imperialist war and military intervention, to the opportunist failure to understand all the peculiarities of the present drift towards a new world war, to individual pacifist deviations from the Leninist teaching on war, to opportunist passivity with regard to war and to fatalistic opportunist moods as expressed by the theory that revolution will automatically arise out of war.

7. The general tasks of all Communist Parties in the struggle against imperialist war and military intervention and in the struggle against fascism, social democracy and bourgeois pacifism, which facilitate with various methods the preparation and carrying on of imperialist war and military intervention against the U.S.S.R. are as follows:

a) To develop a systematic ideological struggle against chauvinism and nationalism, to carry on propaganda for real proletarian internationalism, to expose to the masses all the machinations of the foreign policy of their own bourgeoisie in preparation for war, to expose the production and transport of munitions for imperialist countries, to remind the masses of all the calamities of the first imperialist war, to fight tirelessly against the militarisation of the schools.

b) To react actively to all manifestations of the anti-Soviet campaigns, seriously to improve the propaganda of the successes of socialist construction in the U.S.S.R. among the broadest masses, to mobilise the toilers against the white guards, to popularise the peace policy of the U.S.S.R., to mobilise the masses for the active defence of the U.S.S.R., China and the Chinese-Soviet revolution.

c) To expose on the basis of actual and well known facts all the sophisms and manoeuvres of the bourgeois pacifists and especially the social democratic parties.

d) To expose widely to the masses the peculiar, secret birth and conduct of a new imperialist war (mobilisation in parts, formation of a covering army, preparations to purge the rear of revolutionary elements) and in deciding the anti-war tactics of the Communist Party to take into account the variety of the new methods employed by the bourgeoisie in preparing and carrying on war.

e) By employing the tactic of the united front, to set up legal, semi-legal and illegal control committees and committees of action in the munition factories, in ports, in factories, on railroads, and on ships, for the purpose of developing mass activity and carefully prepared protest strikes and economic strikes to prevent the transport of munitions and troops, and to rouse the initiative of the broad masses of workers in this matter.

f) To develop extensive mass work among the unemployed, among the youth, among working women and among emigrant workers, against imperialist war and military intervention. To draw the peasant masses into the struggle against imperialist war. To support the national liberation movement of the colonial and subjected nations.

g) To carry on extensive anti-imperialist work among the soldiers and sailors, among recruits, reservists and in the special military organisations of the bourgeoisie. To strengthen the Party organisations and all the revolutionary youth organisations, bearing in mind, that the whole Party, the whole of the Y.C.L. must participate in this work. To organise the struggle of the soldiers for their every day demands and to support this struggle by the solidarity of the workers and the toiling peasants. To popularise revolutionary traditions and examples of the struggle against war.

All the C.P.'s must carry on an irreconcilable Bolshevik struggle in their own ranks against an opportunist underestimation of the war danger, against opportunist passivity in the struggle against imperialist war and military intervention and against a pseudo-left fatalistic attitude towards war.

The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. imposes the duty upon the E.C. Y.C.I. and the C.C.s of the Communist Parties to verify carefully the anti-war work of the Y.C.L. and to take all measures to bring about a decisive improvement.

The entire international situation imposes on the C.P.S.U. an important historic task—to continue undeviatingly to pursue the policy of peace that has been so firmly pursued by the Soviet Government in spite of the increasing provocation of the imperialists, and at the same time, to strengthen the defences of the U.S.S.R., and by carrying out the great plan of socialist construction, by rallying all the toilers around the Soviet Power and the Party, to strengthen the U.S.S.R. as the base and stronghold of socialism.

The Communist Party must understand that bare and empty propaganda of peace, unaccompanied by calls for and the organisation of the revolutionary actions of the masses, is only capable of sowing illusions, or demoralising the proletariat by imbuing them with confidence in the policy of the bourgeoisie and their agents in the working class and of making the working class a plaything in the hands of the bourgeois governments.

The Communist Parties, in carrying on a real struggle against the preparations for imperialist war and military intervention against the U.S.S.R., must go to the workers with Lenin's teachings that imperialist war is caused by capitalism, and that the only guarantee against new imperialist wars and intervention is the conversion of imperialist war into civil war and the overthrow of capitalism.

Message of Greetings of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. to the C.P.S.U. and to the Toilers of the U.S.S.R.

Adopted on the Report of Com. Manuilsky by the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

Having heard the report of Comrade Manuilsky on the results of the First Five-Year-Plan and the prospects for the Second Five-Year-Plan, the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. welcomes with the warmest enthusiasm the magnificent results of the victorious fulfilment of the First Five-Year-Plan in four years. Under the leadership of the Party of Lenin and thanks to the creative will and the mass initiative of tens of millions of toilers in the Soviet Union, in the course of a heroic struggle against the class enemy at home and abroad, despite all difficulties and obstacles, a basis has been created for the completion of the socialist reconstruction of the whole of national economy. On the basis of the policy for the socialist industrialisation of the country carried out by the Party, the mass of the poor and middle peasants have irrevocably turned towards socialism. By the development of state farms and collective farms, the U.S.S.R. has been converted from a country of small and minute-scale agriculture into a country of large scale socialist agriculture. The socialist forms of economy have become the predominant forms in agriculture.

As a result of these successes the national income has increased at a rate that capitalist countries could never achieve. Unemployment has been abolished and the well-being and cultural level of the workers and the toiling peasants is rising year by year.

On the basis of the policy carried out by the Party to liquidate the kulaks as a class, and the enormous growth of socialist industry, owing to the completion of the foundations of socialism, the historical question: "who will be the victor" has been irrevocably decided in the Soviet Union in favour of socialism.

All attempts from within or from without to hinder the victorious march of socialism have been frustrated by the power of the proletariat liberated by the revolution and supported by the broad masses of the toilers. In stubborn struggle against all deviations from the Bolshevik general line, against Right and "Left" opportunism and conciliation with them, and against the Right danger as the chief danger at the present stage, the Leninist C.C. C.P.S.U., headed by the best disciple and fellow fighter of Lenin, Comrade Stalin, is successfully achieving the great cause of building up socialism.

The Second Five-Year-Plan raises new and still more enormous tasks before the Bolshevik Party and the working class of the U.S.S.R.: i. e., to complete the socialist reconstruction of the whole of national economy, to build up a classless, socialist society, completely to eradicate the causes which give rise to the exploitation of man by man, and raise the material well-being of the toilers to a higher level. The victorious realisation of the First Five-Year-Plan imbues the international proletariat with the unshakable conviction that the new and enormous tasks of the Second Five-Year-Plan will likewise be successfully fulfilled.

In the midst of the ever growing world crisis of capitalist economy, in face of the direct danger of a new imperialist world slaughter, vast and increasing numbers of the exploited and the oppressed in capitalist and colonial countries who are doomed to still greater impoverishment by the growing capitalist offensive and who are oppressed by bloody fascist terror, are beginning to realise that the only path which can lead to liberation from the yoke of capital is the path which was taken by the Soviet workers and peasants, the path of merciless class struggle, the path of proletarian revolution, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the establishment of a Soviet state.

Victorious socialist construction in the Soviet Union is more and more becoming a mighty force assisting the revolutionary upsurge and accelerating the maturing of a revolutionary crisis in capitalist and colonial countries. The imperialist bandits are seeking a way out of the crisis by war and above all by military intervention against the U.S.S.R. the fatherland of the toilers of the whole world. International social democracy, which pours forth streams of lies and slander about socialist construction in the U.S.S.R., fully supports the interventionist policy of the imperialist plunderers, sometimes

masking this by lying phrases about defending the U.S.S.R.

The enormous victories of the workers and collective farmers of the Soviet Union are the best support for the fighting masses in capitalist and colonial countries. The duty of defending the Soviet Union to the last drop of blood against all bandit attacks is dictated to the Communist Parties, to the whole of the international proletariat and to the broad masses of toiling peasants not only by the interests of achieving the victory of socialism throughout the world, but by the most urgent everyday interests of the toilers.

Under the leadership of the Communist International, relying on the experience and the lessons of the victorious October Revolution, on the lessons of the heroic civil war and socialist construction, with the spirit of Leninism and steeled with the experience of their own revolutionary class struggle, the Communist Parties in imperialist, colonial and semi-colonial countries are rallying their ranks for a decisive struggle against the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Decision of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. on the Financial Report.

Having examined the financial report for 1931, presented by the Polit-Secretariat of the E.C.C.I., the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. resolves:

- To confirm the entire report;
- To publish a summary of the financial report for 1931.

Financial Summary for 1931.

INCOME.

Carried forward from 1930	\$ 61,089.30
Membership dues (payments from 41 Parties on 3,760,788 members)	1,128,236.40
(Y.C.I. and 17 Parties were exempt from payment, and the financial report for 1931 for the other Parties has not been received.)	
Collections and donations	46,371.80
Receipts from publications, telegraph agencies and bulletins, newspaper information	59,618.30
TOTAL	\$1,295,315.80

EXPENDITURE.

Administrative expenses (personnel, business expenses, etc.)	\$ 372,347.30
Postage and telegraph	38,387.75
Subsidies to Party newspapers, publishing houses and cultural-educational work	756,900.00
Travelling expenses	52,732.00
Carried forward to 1932	74,948.75
TOTAL	\$1,295,315.80

The Results of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I.

Leading Article of the "Pravda" of October 11.

The resolutions adopted by the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. are of tremendous importance for the whole of the international revolutionary movement.

Between the XI. and XII. Plenums of the E.C.C.I. there elapsed a period of 16 months. In this period the world economic crisis has become constantly deeper and more acute in all capitalist countries. All the measures of the capitalist governments aiming at alleviating the crisis have led and are leading only to a further deepening of the crisis.

The rule of monopoly capital renders it difficult, under the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism, to overcome the economic crisis through free competition, the way adopted by capitalism hitherto. The long drawn out economic crisis leads to a further growth of the revolutionary upsurge, to a further aggravation of all the contradictions of the imperialist system. The correctness of the Bolshevik estimate of the third period of the post-war crisis of capitalism as a

period of shakiness and of the end of relative stabilisation of capitalism, as a period of tremendous collisions between the classes and the States is already now confirmed with extraordinary clearness.

The growth of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses compels the imperialists to hasten in their search for new sales markets, sources of raw material and spheres of capital investment. The intensification of the antagonisms between the imperialist States, above all the antagonisms between Great Britain and the United States, but to a no less extent also the antagonisms between the United States and Japan, between France and Italy, Germany and France, Germany and Poland, are leading to a **new imperialist world war**, the main seat of which has now become the Far East.

The victory of the Soviet revolution in a considerable part of China, the phenomenal growth and strengthening of the Chinese Red Army, the revolts of the oppressed peoples against the imperialists in the most backward regions of the colonial world, the revolution in Spain, the economic and political strikes, which coincide with peasant revolts, the growth of the influence and of the numerical strength of the Communist parties, indicate that the revolutionary movement in the whole of the capitalist world is assuming increasingly extensive and sharper forms, whilst certain countries (Poland, Germany) are on the verge of a revolutionary crisis.

Against the growing forces of the revolution the forces of counter-revolution are being mobilised. Bourgeois "democracy" is more and more giving place to open fascist dictatorship. The present government in Germany is one of the forms of the fascist dictatorship. Nevertheless the setting up of the fascist dictatorship betokens not a strengthening but a weakening of the bourgeoisie of Germany.

The fundamental process which is now taking place in the whole of the capitalist countries is the growth of the forces of the revolution. Under the influence of the revolutionary upsurge there is **already to be observed a process of decay of fascism** even in countries in which the fascist dictatorship was set up before the commencement of the present economic crisis (Poland, Italy, Yugoslavia).

On the basis of all these facts, the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. stated that the position of world imperialism as a whole and the situation in a number of big imperialist countries is becoming more and more **shaky and uncertain**, that the relative stabilisation of capitalism which took place after the defeat of the working class in a number of European countries in the first period of revolutions and wars, is at an end, that tremendous collisions between the classes and the States, wars and revolutions are approaching.

The fundamental feature in that estimate of the international situation given by the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. consists in the establishment of the fact that the **relative stabilisation of capitalism is at an end**, that there is taking place at the present moment the **transition** to great and violent collisions between the classes and the States, the **transition to the second round of revolutions and wars**.

The Communist International is exerting all its energies to bind itself still more firmly to the masses, **to place itself at the head of the masses, to organise the fight of the masses and to raise it to the level of the fight for power**. Precisely for this reason the Communist International now makes the **fight against the attack of capital and of reaction, against the approaching new imperialist war and against the danger of military intervention threatening the Soviet Union** its chief task.

The end of the capitalist stabilisation, the rapid growth of the prerequisites for the revolutionary crisis in a number of capitalist countries and the whole of the present new international situation, **indicate that the revolutionary crisis is rapidly approaching**.

The strategic main task confronting the whole of the Communist International and each of its Sections in particular is the **winning of the majority of the working class for the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat**. In some countries (China, Spain, Germany, Poland etc.) this task must be solved already within a short space of time. It must be solved by strengthening the connections of the Communist Parties with the broadest masses of the working class, by persistent work in the reformist trade unions and by organising the fight against the attacks of capital on the wages and rights of the workers. The Communists are the only ones who take on themselves to defend the everyday needs of the masses,

whereby they raise the political activity of the masses and lead them to the fight for power. The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. recorded the inadequate development of the strike struggle in Germany, and at the same time called attention to the great importance of the successes of the proletariat in Germany in the anti-fascist fight—which sometimes assumes very sharp forms of street fighting—and to the importance of the successes of the C.P. of Germany in its fight against the social democracy and for the majority of the working class.

The Plenum also recorded the great importance of the work of the Communist Parties of Poland and of Czechoslovakia in mobilising the masses during the recent strikes and peasant actions. It likewise recorded the great importance of the successes achieved by the C.P. of Bulgaria, which is already leading the majority of the working class and considerable sections of the peasantry.

The winning of the majority of the working class for the revolution can be achieved only in a decisive fight against the social democracy, only by destroying the mass influence of this party which is the main social buttress of the bourgeoisie. The social democracy is resorting to new "Left" manoeuvres. The "Left" manoeuvres of the social democracy indicate that the illusions of the broad masses regarding capitalism and the bourgeois State are already undermined. In accordance with the decisions of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and **on the basis of the tactic of the united front**, the Communists will mobilise the masses, increase their self-confidence and lead them to the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Against the social democratic proposals of "nationalising" the factories and works by the bourgeois State, the Communists advocate the confiscation of the means of production by the proletarian State as being their real nationalisation.

The Communist International regards the preparation and the development of political mass strikes as one of its fundamental and most important tasks. The Communist International therefore sets the Communist Parties of Germany and Poland the task of declaring a **political general strike** under the leadership of the Communists.

The XII. Plenum recorded a number of great weaknesses in the work of the Communist Parties. The Communist Parties have not yet fully utilised the whole favourable situation for organising economic struggles. In a whole number of cases they were not able to induce the masses to enter on a political strike against the attack of fascism and capitalism. The successes of the Communist Parties of the imperialist countries were not able to **put a stop** to the transport of war material to Japan. The successes of the Communist Parties of the capitalist countries in the fight against the attack of capital and against the robbery of the working class, against fascism and reaction, against imperialist war, are not yet adequate by a long way.

The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. pointed out that the Communist International has grown very considerably and has become consolidated. In all the largest capitalist countries the Communist Parties have already finally become Bolshevik Parties. Therefore the fights which the Comintern is now approaching will be much more serious, and in a number of countries will be decisive fights.

The Communist International has grown and become strong in the fight for the Bolshevik line against Right and "Left" opportunism and against the conciliators, against Trotskyism, against Zinoviev, Bukharin and their followers, against Brandlerism, against Lovestoneism and against many other varieties of Right and "Left" opportunism.

The XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. has summoned the whole of the Communist International to a further decisive fight against the Right tendencies in some parties (Humbert-Droz), as well as against the "Left" sectarian (United States) and anarcho-syndicalist (Spain) tendencies, and also against the attempts to unite all the fragments of the various oppositions under the "ideological" leadership of Trotsky (Poland).

In calling upon the working masses to undertake the broadest propaganda of the big socialist achievements of the Soviet Union and to support the Bolshevik policy of the C.P.S.U. by all means, in calling upon them to learn from the great experiences of the revolutionary fight of the C.P.S.U., the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. expressed the firm conviction that **in the approaching big class battles the Communists will be the actual leaders of the masses in the fight for power**.