

# Stalin: Two Letters Concerning the History of Bolshevism.

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## Fifteen Years of the Russian Revolution and the British Working Class.

By Ralph Fox (London).

With the entry of the crisis in England into a new and deeper phase, the efforts of the capitalist class and its agent the "National" Government to throw the whole crushing burden on the working class become more open and shameless. While the various "conversion" schemes enrich the finance oligarchy and that section of the ruling class which lives on interest, while heavy subsidies are given to favoured industries through the new tariffs, unemployment grows to menacing proportions, the Means Test is "reformed" into an even viler weapon against the poorest section of the workers, poverty and destitution become the daily lot of millions. Wages are slashed in industry after industry, the police terror against the workers grows, and today the worker has to expect vicious attacks by horse, foot and motor police on the most ordinary of mass demonstrations.

The attack on health and cultural amenities continues. The new working class houses projected in London are uncomfortable and ill-equipped barracks. As a supreme form of robbery of the workers the Government contemplates withdrawing all housing subsidies and handing the housing of the masses over to the Building Societies, one of the greatest ramps in history, if it comes off. Secondary education is being closed to the workers by the raising of fees, higher education

is becoming a dream, while even the elementary schools are to have their doubtful efficiency further reduced by "economies". The miserable health and medical services for which capitalist England is notorious are likewise to come once more under the axe.

It has been the historic merit of the English capitalists that they were pioneers in the greatest development of productive forces in human history, a development which it is true enriched themselves and cost the exploited an indescribable hell of misery, blood and suffering.

But today the reverse process is taking place. Capitalism is busy retarding further development, destroying much of what exists and has become "superfluous". Shipyards are scrapped, mines flooded, empty factories left to rust or the machinery sold for scrap. And again it is the wage-earners who pay the price in poverty, disease and human suffering.

Even the brains of production, the technical intelligentsia, the highly skilled engineers and organisers are suffering. Ford has recently sacked heads of departments who have been with him at Detroit for 30 years, and in some cases these skilled technicians have been glad to go back to work at the bench. The "Observer" for October 23rd contained the account of an inquest on a mechanical engineer, for many years manager

of a glass factory, who committed suicide rather than face death by slow starvation. The number of students in the higher technical schools and universities who have no prospect of finding work grows daily. In this way capitalism fulfils its function of guardian of "culture" and "civilisation".

The contrast of British capitalism in decay with the achievements of workers' power in the **Soviet Union** is startling. The XVII Party Conference of the C.P.S.U. setting as the aim of the Second Five-Year-Plan, now about to begin, the creation of classless Socialist Society, threw a vivid light on the crumbling structure of capitalist stabilisation.

The complete technical reconstruction of the Soviet national economy successfully begun in the first Five-Year-Plan, which is now being completed at the end of the Fourth Year, is to be the basis for the completion of the new society, whose socialist foundation already exists.

This means the creation of an entirely new electrical power basis for socialist industry and agriculture, a basis, that is, for the eventual doing away of the division between town and country, the realisation of Lenin's slogan—"Soviet power plus electrification equals communism". In the great new hydroelectrical station just opened on the **Dnieper**, the workers of the whole world have the firmest guarantee that this slogan is being realised.

The reconstruction of transport, the development of the greatest network of air routes in the world, the creation of a chemical industry for the new agriculture, the creation of a great tractor and automobile industry, the solving of immense scientific-technical problems, such as the application of electricity to agriculture on a mass scale, the production of synthetic rubber (already achieved), the electric smelting of iron and steel, these are to be the basis on which classless socialist society is to be built in the next five years.

The new form of alliance between town and country made possible by the success of the First Five-Year-Plan, the **productive alliance**, by which the workers of the towns provided the peasantry with the means of production and not merely the means of consumption in the form of manufactured goods, with tractors, steel ploughs, auto trucks, thrashers, combine harvesters, giant elevators, has proved a triumphant success. The new, higher form of alliance has brought the peasantry on to the path of socialist development, of collectivisation. Those elements who resisted the new development, who struggled to lead the masses of middle peasantry along the path of capitalist development, have been miserably defeated.

**Mass collectivisation** has only been possible through a bitter struggle against the capitalist, rich peasant elements in the village, the kulaks, and their destruction as a class by the expropriation of their holdings. The kulak found his agents among certain elements inside the Communist Party and a strong ally in the former capitalist elements of the towns and certain sections of the Soviet intelligentsia. The right wing opposition in the Party, finally smashed at the XVI Party Congress, has attempted to raise its head again by collecting all the most discredited "left" and right opportunist elements left in the Party. The **group of Zinoviev and Kamenev**, in close touch with counter-revolutionary bourgeois organisations, as the first right wing opposition, was in touch with the counter-revolutionary "Toiling Peasant Party" in 1929/30, secretly put forward a plan for the liquidation of the workers' socialist conquests and the restoration of capitalism. This group of counter-revolutionary renegades has been rightly thrown out of the Party and the world working class movement which they have deceived for so long.

The peasantry as a class is already disappearing, through the collective farmer changing into the future socialist toiler of the countryside. The achievement of 100 per cent. collectivisation, the organisational and economic strengthening of the collective farms, particularly the training of a new type of Party worker who shall be at once an agrarian expert and a Leninist organiser of the masses of collective farmers, are the methods by which the peasantry as a class will cease to exist in the Soviet Union.

But the **Second Five-Year-Plan** is to do more. It sets as its aim to raise the standard of life of the people of the Soviet Union by two to three times. This does not simply mean, of course, as the capitalist press and their social-fascist friends try to pretend, that the "under-nourished" Soviet worker will get twice or three times as much to eat in five

years time. Of course the Soviet workers will get more and better food, more and better clothes. Rationing will be abolished and all supply difficulties disappear. But this, important as it is, is far from being all. In the first place the development of social-feeding, restaurants, factory-kitchens, etc., of mechanised laundries, crèches, nursery schools, modern housing, will emancipate many millions of women from the drudgery of the home, thereby creating an improvement in the living conditions of a very important section of the population unheard of and impossible in capitalist countries.

The best and most modern types of housing, the best holiday and health facilities, a short working week, the widest imaginable facilities for education (compulsory secondary education, free access to universities, research institutes and higher technical schools), the most widespread provision of recreation, sport, club life, theatre, radio, gramophone, and cinema, these things, in capitalist countries, the monopoly of the few, in the workers' Socialist State will become in the next five years, available for all. It should be emphasised that even today in many of these things, particularly in health, education and recreation facilities, the Soviet worker has far overtaken and surpassed the capitalist world.

The last few years have seen a great development of the activity of the Soviet working class and the masses of poor and middle peasantry. The rapid growth of **socialist competition** and **shock brigade work** in town and country is not only drawing new millions into active and conscious socialist construction, it is creating a new, socialist attitude to labour, as a matter of honour and courage. Socialist society is only possible when labour becomes as much a necessity to the human organism as eating, drinking or sleeping. In killing the old attitude to labour as something toilsome and unpleasant, an attitude caused by centuries of brutal exploitation, socialist competition plays a great role.

The work of the **Soviets**, closely connected with the factories and enterprises by thousands of voluntary helpers, is drawing the most active elements into administration. The whole idea of a caste of civil servants, of a professional bureaucracy, is foreign to socialism and is being overcome, not without struggle and difficulty, but resolutely and firmly. In the same way the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection and Central Control Commission of the Party, the leaders in the struggle against bureaucracy and inefficiency, in the checking up of how decisions are carried out, of the working of the factories and Soviet apparatus, accomplish their work by drawing in thousands of voluntary inspectors from the factories.

The **Trade Unions**, which now have a membership of almost 20 million, also play a tremendous part in the organising of the masses for the Socialist offensive. On them lies the great responsibility of struggling in the factories, depots and mines for the fulfilment of the production plan, for the organisation of shock brigades and socialist competition. The struggle for the improvement of the conditions and supplying of the workers is also one of the most important phases of the mass work of the Trade Unions.

Uniting, leading and directing all is the **Communist Party**, itself a great mass organisation of three million members, with a **youth organisation** of six millions, uniting all the most active, class-conscious elements of the working class, all the enthusiasts for socialist construction in the village. In the fifteen years since the Revolution, the C.P.S.U. has grown and strengthened in the struggle for socialism. It has proved over and over again its right to lead the vanguard of the world revolution and its victories have given courage and experience to the revolutionary workers of every country. The Party, destroying Trotskyism and right-wing opportunism in its ranks, has led the workers of the Soviet Union to the last and greatest of their tasks, the abolition of classes, all the time strengthening and developing its connections with the masses. The confidence of the working class of the Soviet Union in their Party and in its leader, **Comrade Stalin**, has never stood so high as at the present moment.

At a period when class divisions in the capitalist world are being widened and deepened, when the conditions of the masses, far from being raised two to three times, are being worsened two to three times, and even more in some countries, the Russian revolution and the successful building of the foundations of socialism in the First Five-Year-Plan assume tremendous significance.

It is well to recall today that the Revolution of November 1917 took place in the midst of a bloody imperialist war, that it was the first armed protest of the masses against the war, which ended in the overthrow of one of the most important imperialist Powers. The action of the Russian masses gave a revolutionary character to the struggle against the war and after November every strike in England became a political one, an act of "Bolshevism". The unrest among the workers spread to the soldiers in the trenches, and though the next revolutions were in Germany and Austria, the feeling in England against the war among the masses, including the soldiers, rose to fever point.

The I.L.P. had welcomed the November Revolution with sneers. The **Labour Party** in July of 1918 refused comrade Litvinov the right to speak at their conference and brought Kerensky on to the platform instead. But among the masses of the workers sympathy for the revolution, the feeling that the Russian workers had placed themselves at the head of the world struggle against war and for a new life, grew uncontrollably.

It was felt in the Army and Navy. The intervention in North Russia failed because of the mutinies in the Army. The effort of the Lloyd George Government to assist the Polish interventionists in 1920 came to nothing owing to the spontaneous mass resistance of the British working class, which flung up a nation-wide network of Councils of Action.

"The whole English bourgeois press has written that the Councils of Action mean Soviets. And it was right: they were not called Soviets, but in essence they were the same." (Lenin.)

On this wave of mass resistance to war and intervention the young **Communist Party of Great Britain** was born. The reactionary Coalition Government, though it was able to commence successfully a great offensive on the workers owing to the treachery of their leaders, was nevertheless weakened by the **Council of Action movement** and in little over a year's time the "strongest" and most "national" Government England had ever known collapsed in ruins.

Capitalism, entering in 1923 on the period of temporary stabilisation, did not for a moment cease its attacks on the Soviet Union, while it prepared for a tremendous attack on the conditions of the workers to accompany reorganisation and rationalisation of industry. In this period the help and confidence that the English working class got from their united front with the Soviet workers in the **Anglo-Russian Trade Union Unity Committee** were of historic importance. They won not only experience in class struggle, but a great education in internationalism. The **General Strike of 1926**, the miners' fight which followed, showed the value of the alliance. Not only the material help given, but the political exposure by the Russian trade unions of the cowardly and treacherous leadership of the General Council, both its "left" and right members, was a lesson that the English workers have not forgotten.

At the present time, when capitalist stabilisation is ending, when the fifteenth anniversary of the Revolution is able to show great and vital conquests, the unity of the British and Soviet workers is of greater importance than ever. Capitalism shamelessly tries to throw the terrible burden of the crisis on the masses, enforcing its will by police terror and the development of Fascist dictatorship. Capitalism seeks a way out of the crisis in war, above all in war against the Soviet Union.

Resistance to the National Government, to its Labour Party, I.L.P. and Trade Union Congress allies, who by attempting to "restore" capitalism force the workers into ever deeper poverty and degradation, can today only go hand in hand with the struggle for the defence of the Soviet Union. The fight against hunger and poverty, against war, is also a fight for Socialism, for a **Soviet Britain**. Many of the difficulties of our Russian comrades have arisen because of the delay in the revolution in other, more "advanced" countries, a delay due not so much to the fault of the workers themselves as to the treachery of reformism and the failure to see through the manoeuvres of reformism. The best gift the British working class can make to their Soviet comrades on the 15th anniversary of the November revolution is to redouble their struggle against the National Government and its chief support, the reformists of all colours, to fight for the revolutionary way out of the crisis in Britain, and for the building of a mass revolutionary Communist Party.

## POLITICS

### The Election Struggle in the United States.

By J. Louis Engdahl.

The keen interest internationally in the presidential elections in the United States (November Eighth) seeks an answer to several questions. The general opinion seems to be that **Roosevelt**, the democrat, will be elected, as an intelligent protest not only against the Hoover-Hunger regime, but as a basis for securing some concessions for the starving masses, in industry and agriculture. There is also the feeling that Roosevelt's election will bring in an administration less hostile to the Soviet Union, more favourable to Soviet recognition, and that the United States will thus be less a basis for developing the imperialist war against the First Workers' Republic.

First of all, it is certain that the election results, in figures, will in no way register the clash of social forces in the United States. The reasons for this may even lead to the re-election of Hoover, although the vast majority of the nation may be against him. These include the tens of millions of disfranchised Negroes, foreign-born, the homeless and wandering unemployed, as well as those unable to meet many other qualifications for enjoying the ballot privilege.

American "democracy" in every election seeks to cover up much of its sham character by the hypocritical appeal to "get out the vote", always complaining that the average citizen does not take his obligations seriously and go to the polls on election day. It never exposes the fact that great masses of the population have no right to vote at all, and are systematically barred from that right.

In 1928, when Hoover was elected, the United States polled the heaviest vote in its history. But the 36,879,414 ballots cast were only approximately half of the 72,943,624 persons of voting age.

Nearly five million adult **Negroes** are disfranchised in the 15 Southern states, that have one-fourth of the voting population but cast only one-fifth of the total vote. Mostly in the northern states, however, are the five million of disfranchised foreign-born unable to leap the bar of extreme naturalisation requirements. Only five per cent of these are in the Southern states. This year, it is certain, these ten millions of voteless are far outnumbered by the other millions barred from voting by numerous qualifications including the following: Alabama, the state of the Scottsboro infamy and of 25 per cent illiteracy among Negroes, requires the voter to have employment; many states require payment of a poll tax which, no matter how small, disfranchises great multitudes this year; many states, especially in the South, require the voter to be able to read and write; some states have property qualifications and others exclude those having delinquent taxes; pauperism, vagrancy or residence in charitable institutions are other "crimes" punishable with disfranchisement. It was charged that most of the recent bonus marchers to Washington were vagrants, and this was in great part the basis of President Hoover's denunciation of them as "criminals". Millions of votes will never be cast because of "residence qualifications" that will affect a great share of the fifteen millions of jobless "on the move", but also great masses of workers who move only short distances to share the apartment or slum tenement home of friend or relative.

Perhaps in no nation in the world is discontent so thoroughly gagged under the forms of "democracy" as in the United States this year. Exactly because of the devastating effects of the crisis, in city and country, disfranchising tens of millions who would otherwise roll up the bulk of the protest, if not the really class conscious vote, we may see Hoover re-elected, and the whole world, not understanding the actual facts, will be thoroughly puzzled.

Although millions of protest votes will go to Roosevelt, and even be the basis for his triumphant election, the general thesis holds true that there are no fundamental differences between Hoover and Roosevelt, or the programmes of the parties that they represent, or even basic cleavages between the class forces that will profit by their election. This is also puzzling to those who do not understand the workings of the American two-party system.

It may be said that Hoover is the most hated man in the United States. Every American city has its "Hooverville", the name given in bitter irony to those clusters of shacks made of scraps of all kinds of building material where the homeless jobless seek shelter. It was such a Hooverville to which the military applied the torch in driving the bonus marchers out of Washington. So the slogan is raised of "Any Dog to Beat Hoover!" and masses of votes will go to Roosevelt, not because the discontented voter wants him, or believes in his programme, but because he feels it will be a vote against the hunger president and his starvation regime.

The whole campaign of the democrat, Roosevelt, has followed the traditional course. As governor of New York he has sought to lay down the most alluring barrage of social demagoguery, even while the police were subjecting jobless workers demanding aid in the state capitol itself to the worst bloody beatings, not to mention the savage repression against the unemployed in New York City. Roosevelt played the game of "radicalism", as well as making deals with every section of the party, to get the nomination last summer. Thus he placated William G. McAdoo, secretary of the treasury in President Woodrow Wilson's war cabinet, which means the dregs, the Protestants and "The South", by accepting Speaker Garner, of the house of representatives, as the vice presidential candidate, an entirely different appeal than his approach to Tammany Hall in New York City and state, or the corrupt democratic machines in Massachusetts, Indiana or Illinois, with its Chicago. Immediately after his nomination as democratic candidate, Roosevelt began to slough off any taint of "radicalism". He came out in favour of the reduction of pay for railroad workers. After hesitating for weeks, to secure the proper political effect, he finally declared himself against the payment now of the world war veteran's bonus. If elected, Roosevelt will be absolutely as "safe" for finance capital as Hoover ever was, exactly because the democratic as well as the republican party is the creature of the great financial interests.

As is necessary with a party of opposition that wants "to get in", Roosevelt is everything to everybody.

Roosevelt, with President Wilson in 1920, was for the League of Nations, but in 1932, with the owner of the largest chain of personally-controlled daily newspapers, William Randolph Hearst, he is now against the League. In Germany, especially, it is felt that Roosevelt's election will mean a swing in favour of the cancellation of war debts. As a matter of fact Roosevelt is opposed to cancellation. As an imperialist, as a "big navy and big army" advocate, he served well during the regime of President Wilson, when he was assistant secretary of the navy, joining in the sending of Wall Street's expeditionary forces into the Soviet Union (Archangel and Siberia), and leader in the bloody subjugation, through the slaughter of thousands of the worker and peasant masses of Hayti, of the Negro West Indian republic. Behind the mask of Woodrow Wilson "pacifism", he was among the most active in carrying through the war preparedness drive in 1916.

Thus the dollar reaction has a ready-made mouthpiece in still further carrying through its war preparations and imperialist ambitions. Roosevelt, like Hoover, will act as the dollar dictates. Not Roosevelt or Hoover, not the democratic or the republican programmes in this election, which are merely written for pre-election purposes to help elect candidates, will determine the path to be pursued toward war, toward the recognition or continued non-recognition of the Soviet Union, and on other questions. The working out of these problems will be determined by the immediate needs of finance capital in seeking to maintain its dominant position in the world. For this purpose Roosevelt or Hoover would serve equally well, except that the latter has won the hatred of the masses during nearly four years of increasingly acute hunger, and Roosevelt will serve better to allay popular discontent, at least for a time.

This does not mean, however, that there may not be a big drift away from the two leading capitalist parties on election day, in spite of disfranchisement, social demagoguery, and various forms of repression (the state governments in Florida, California and Kansas have refused to put the Communist candidates upon the ballot).

In spite of tremendous obstacles, in addition to all those already enumerated, the **Communist Party** strives to win these elements, while various capitalist forces (especially its press),

seek to divert this drift toward the Socialist Party, the third party of capitalism.

The wide disfranchisement, naturalisation difficulties, the growing terror in the election campaign against militant workers, cannot help but breed opposition to parliamentary activities. In this election, especially, the Communist Party has fought all such tendencies, basing its struggle on Lenin's writings on this question. One result of this effort is the fact that the party candidates under the emblem of the Hammer and Sickle will be on the ballot in more states (probably 40) than at any time in its history. In 1928 it was on the ballot in only 32 out of the 48 states. At the same time it carries on an energetic struggle to win the right of franchise for the voteless millions, especially the Negroes.

The **Socialist Party** that lost its overwhelming strength to the Communist movement in 1919, nevertheless, polling 919,799 votes for Eugene V. Debs in 1920, when the Communist Party (illegal) had no candidate, saw its vote drop to 267,420 for Thomas, for president, in 1928, the lowest figure since the Socialist Party's first participation in a presidential election in 1900, three decades ago. It was well-nigh completely crushed in 1924, between the growing strength of the Communist Party on the one hand, and the La Follette-Wheeler movement with which it merged, but which was followed by a drift back to the old capitalist parties. This year the Socialist Party leadership speaks of two or three million votes as a basis for uniting all discontented elements in some sort of a Labour Party on a purely liberal programme. That it realises the Communist Party is the great obstacle in achieving this goal is admitted by the vicious campaign against the Party's candidate, **William Z. Foster**, the savage attacks against the Communist Party and its programme, as well as the poisonous propaganda against the Soviet Union. At the same time, wherever it is deemed advisable, the Socialist Party and its spokesmen come forward with all the demagoguery of the "left Socialists". It is difficult to see, however, where the Socialist Party will realise any of its dreams. It has in no sense been a leader of any section of the unemployed struggles, its main activity being to attack the mass movements organised and led by the Communist Party. It has not been in the midst of any strike struggles except to betray them. Wherever it boasts of any leadership in the old trade unions, this leadership has become notorious for accepting wage cuts without struggle, and allying itself with the most reactionary elements.

It will be a distinct victory for the working class struggle if the Communist Party vote, which was officially given as 48,770 in 1928, will this year pass that of the Socialist Party, bringing forward the Communist Party more clearly before the masses as the only Party of class struggle against the two capitalist parties, and helping to liquidate any illusions as to the possibilities of a so-called all-inclusive "Labour Party".

## The Results of the Senate Elections in France.

By J. Berlioz (Paris).

On October 16, there took place the elections for the renewal of a third of the French Senate. As these elections were held under a restricted franchise, they of course could not express the changes in popular feeling.

The election campaign was extraordinarily quiet. The social democratic party cherished hopes of winning some seats, and ventured to make out that its penetration into the old bulwark of conservatism would be a victory of the workers.

The elections have resulted in some trifling gains for the Radical party and have disappointed the hopes of the socialists, as one of their two candidates who had to submit to re-election, was defeated. In certain departments such as Hérault, the Radicals, Socialists and centre parties were equally enthusiastic in their support of Herriot's policy.

The Radical party endeavoured to appear as the basis of the Parliamentary majority and to proclaim a certain independence from the Socialist Party.

The Communist Party, which has only a few supporters among the Senate electors, did not play any great role in this election. In many places the Party put forward class war

prisoners such as André Marty as candidates. The socialist party, of course, fiercely attacked this clear presentation of the class position.

The Government is in serious difficulties. In order to balance a budget with a deficit amounting to a third of the total, it contemplates introducing new taxes, reducing the salaries of officials and the pensions of ex-servicemen, as well as raising huge loans. It clings frantically to the Treaty of Versailles, persists in preparations for war, and is therefore attempting to stir up chauvinistic feeling, which however, encounters a powerful united front of the masses which is beginning to be set up on the basis of the decisions of the Amsterdam Anti-War Congress—a united front in which socialists and even socialist organisations are participating.

In order to carry out its war measures and economy measures the Government **requires a firm majority**, as it is of the opinion that the Socialist Party will be later compelled, under the pressure of the masses, to play the comedy of a Parliamentary opposition. Herriot prefers a majority which shall as frequently as possible include the Socialists.

This changeable majority has already repeatedly materialised. The Centre groups, led by Flandin, have several times spontaneously offered their aid, as for instance on the rentes conversion. The aim of the Radical Party during the Senate election was to secure this faithful assistance.

Fairly broad strata of the population, especially the peasants, who are at present in a state of great confusion as a result of the drop in prices of agricultural products, still cherish hopes in the "Lefts". The formation of an open National Union will tend to disillusion these strata. Therefore, the Left parties consider it better to pose as "outspoken Radicals" and "independents".

The "**Temps**" itself, which is an instrument of the Comité de Forges and the Mineowners Committee, advises the parties to put aside their special wishes and think only of the general interest, which is very well defended by Herriot. An organ of finance capital rightly summed up the situation as follows:

**"The concentration has come about without a crisis** and the present government, if it pursues its way without attempting to please now this and now that party, can gather round it a complete and permanent majority."

The recent Senate elections therefore are of interest only insofar as they served to reveal an orientation of the Radical Party towards a concentration and exposed the role played by the Socialist Party, the main social buttress of imperialism. For complete unanimity prevails in regard to the foreign policy. The Right French imperialists have no more energetic defenders than the socialist leaders, so that the most reactionary organ of heavy industry, in discussing the article by Leon Blum praising the attitude of France towards Germany, recently wrote:

"These lines, which one would believe were taken from the 'Debats', appeared in the 'Populaire' this morning."

The Socialist Party wish to oppose to the partial inflationist plans of Herriot a plan of inflation by means of a gigantic loan, because they fear the anger of the government employees and of the ex-servicemen. They will not succeed, however, in diverting attention from the fact that in July they voted for measures which initiated the present general attack on salaries and war pensions, and that they are doing nothing in order to organise the resistance of the victims of the economy measures.

The Communist Party will not allow them to escape responsibility by means of some sham Left manoeuvre. The chief task of the C.P. is to get into touch with the working people who have been deceived by the parties of the Left bloc and are beginning to be disappointed, and to draw them into the united front against any cutting down of salaries, wages and social services.

In an interview which Poincaré gave a representative of the "Petit Journal" on October 18 he declared following the example of the socialists Frossard and Blum—that he had complete confidence in Herriot. This is sufficient proof of how threatening the future is for the working masses of France. It is therefore necessary ruthlessly to oppose Herriot and all his supporters from the Right to the Left.

## GERMANY

### Growing Difficulties of the Papen Government.

By B. Steinemann (Berlin).

In the last few days reports have been current according to which the Reichswehr Minister, General von Schleicher, and his powerful circle are preparing to bring about changes in the Reichs Government and wish to throw Papen and some other ministers overboard. Schleicher issued a denial through the Wolff Telegraph Bureau. On the same day there appeared a leading article in the "Tägliche Rundschau", entitled: "**Papen's Successor**", the first sentence of which was as follows:

"The mission which the Reichs Chancellor von Papen had to fulfil is approaching its end."

What is behind this? The "revival of economy" so loudly announced by the Papen Government is proving to be more and more an illusion, whilst "the emancipation from Versailles" promised by it has turned out a complete fiasco. Instead of the "silver streaks", the economic sky is overcast with the blackest clouds. The capitalist **economic crisis** in Germany is still continuing. The number of unemployed, which in the second half of September showed a slight decline—mainly owing to seasonal reasons and the striking off of unemployed from the Labour Exchange registers—, increased again in the first half of October by 58,000. The financial situation in the Reich, in the States and especially in the municipalities is disastrous. In the sphere of foreign politics the Papen Government has manoeuvred Germany into a position of **isolation** and bound it more than ever to the Versailles system.

The reactionary measures of the Papen Government have encountered the **growing resistance of the workers**. The cutting down of social services, the attempts to reduce wages in accordance to the Papen emergency decree, the repressive measures, the gagging of the workers' press, the planned alteration of the Constitution—all these actions of the fascist dictatorship and the attempts of Papen to continue these actions still further call forth the increasing defensive action of the working masses.

Of great importance is the strike wave against wage cuts. As Comrade Thälmann stated in his report to the recent Reichs Party Conference, from the middle of September to the middle of October, 447 strikes were registered of which 228 ended with complete success, 16 with partial success, and 30 without success (of 173 the result was not known). Spontaneous workers' demonstrations are becoming more frequent and the unemployed movement is increasing.

Among a part of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the peasant population there undoubtedly exist illusions regarding von Papen's economic programme, and these illusions will also be reflected in the Reichstag elections and lead to certain parts of these strata abandoning the Nazis and voting for the German nationalists, who openly support Papen. These illusions, so far as they relate to the Papen Government, cannot last long.

There can be no doubt that **the coming months will witness an extraordinary strengthening and intensification of the mass movement against the Papen Government**. The bourgeoisie view this development with disquiet. This anxiety and concern is expressed in the speeches of the leaders of all the bourgeois parties.

The bourgeoisie are thoroughly agreed that a dictatorial regime shall be exercised and further developed, that still more burdens must be imposed upon the masses and that these masses shall be held down. But the profound crisis and the successful strikes of the workers who have repelled the attacks on wages, have increased the differences in the camp of the bourgeoisie, have increased their quarrel over the share of surplus value, their differences over the best methods of exploiting and holding down the masses, and over the influence in the capitalist State apparatus. The plans of the Papen Government to introduce import quotas (a concession to the big agrarians) have brought about energetic **counteractions on the part of industry and wholesale trade**. The rift extends to the Cabinet, where the Minister for Trade, **Warm-**

bold (as well as the President of the Reichsbank Luther) represents the big industrialists, and the Minister for Agriculture, von Braun, represents the interests of the big agrarians. A compromise becomes increasingly difficult in face of the profound industrial and agrarian crisis.

The capitalist circles are beginning to consider new measures against the working masses and to seek before all to extend the social basis of the fascist dictatorship. This is where the Schleicher circle comes in. The "Tägliche Rundschau" openly writes:

"The method of governing cannot be changed for the time being, but the persons and aims can be changed. After November 6, we need a change of chancellors, otherwise the situation in Germany will become dangerously acute. One can govern without Parliament, but one cannot govern without the people. . . A Cabinet of national concentration is necessary, but it must include real personalities from all camps. If the national socialist party is approached honestly, it will certainly be ready to send two representatives into this concentration, whilst the trade unions of all tendencies will be unable to remain outside."

The plan, therefore, is to form a Government of Schleicher with representatives of the Nazis and of the A.D.G.B. (excluding the social democratic party) as supports among the masses. In point of fact a conversation recently took place between Schleicher, the Nazi leader Gregor Strasser, and the christian trade union leader Imbusch. Of importance in this connection is the speech delivered by Leipart, the A.D.G.B. leader, on October 14 in Bernau, in the course of which he declared:

"No social stratum can escape the nationalist development. We also did not when we fought in the world war for our fatherland until the sad collapse."

This nationalist hint to General von Schleicher and the national socialist party has been fully understood. The Nazi leader Strasser stated at an open meeting in the Berlin Sports Palace on October 20:

"More important still appears to me to be the declarations which the leader of the A.D.G.B. Theodor Leipart made on October 14 in Bernau. In these declarations we find passages which, if they are honestly intended, open up wide prospects for the future."

It has also become known that this question was dealt with in the conversations between the Central Committee of the social democratic party and the Central Committee of the A.D.G.B. There were differences between Wels, who fears the exclusion of the social democratic party, and Leipart, Grassmann and Tarnow of the A.D.G.B.

All these moves are only preparations. It is not certain that the Reichs Government will be reformed immediately after the election. It is possible that the employers will seek at first to exhaust with Papen the possibilities of the Papen programme with some modifications, in order after the election to carry out the intended fresh wage reductions. In the meantime, Papen is exploding all his mines; he is also establishing contacts with the Centre, the Nazis and the A.D.G.B. and has now obtained the partial support of the Bavarian People's Party and of the Bavarian Peasants League in return for concessions in the direction of Bavarian federalism.

In the meantime, fighting determination and consciousness of power are increasing in the camp of the working class. The Communist Party is striving with all its energy to increase its influence. The Red Trade Union Opposition is making use of the Reichstag election for the purpose of mobilising the working masses, is promoting the strike movement in every way and preparing for new struggles.

## Election Appeal of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany.

Berlin, October 23, 1932.

Today's "Rote Fahne" published an appeal of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany under the heading: "Forward to Socialism under the red flag of liberty", in which it is stated, inter alia:

"On November 7, the world proletariat, together with the 130 million of workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, will celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of the victorious Russian Revolution. Under the leadership of the Communist Party gigantic socialist construction is proceeding in the U.S.S.R. . . .

In capitalist Germany the economic crisis daily causes further devastations! . . . 9 million unemployed without work and bread! 20,000 suicides alone in the year 1931. An army of homeless and beggars are tramping the high roads! . . .

The chains of Versailles are fettering the toiling German people more heavily than ever and increasing the exploitation and plundering of the German masses. The war danger is threatening . . .

A storm of popular indignation has arisen against the presten rulers . . . The working class has already started a bold offensive against the capitalist dictatorship by letting loose a wave of strike struggles against the wage cuts imposed on the basis of the emergency decrees. . .

We Communists are the only Party which never bargained with the capitalist rulers, never made pacts with the capitalist parties for the sake of obtaining ministerial seats and State positions! We are the only fighters against Versailles, fascism, emergency decrees and wage cuts, the only fighters for Germany's social and national emancipation.

We Communists want a Germany in which only the workers and peasants rule! . . . A socialist Germany will tear up the shameful treaty of Versailles. . . Therefore toilers in town and country, strengthen our revolutionary army of freedom in the fight against Versailles!

The Reichstag elections of November 6, must demonstrate the determination of all the oppressed to fight against capitalist exploitation and plundering, the common fighting will for socialism of all those who suffer. The Papen reaction is speculating on your being tired of elections. Abstention from the poll however means aid for Papen! On November 6, give your million pledges for Communism! Fight in the united front action for the revolutionary emancipation struggle under the banner of the Communist Party of Germany, for the victory of list No. 3.

Fight against the Papen Government! Fight the emergency decrees! Down with the imperialist war mongers! Fight the social fascist strike breakers! Down with fascism which is murdering the workers!

Long live the united front action of all workers and employees against the cuts in wages, salaries and social services and against the fascist dictatorship! Long live the anti-fascist action! Long live the Soviet Union!

Long live the victory of the workers and peasants, long live Socialism!

## National Party Congress of the C.P. of Germany.

Berlin, 20th October 1932.

The Central Committee of the C. P. of Germany has issued the following statement regarding the recently held Conference of the Party.

Following on a Plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party, a Party Conference of the C.P. of Germany has just taken place, which heard with great enthusiasm the report of Comrade Thälmann on the deliberations and resolutions of the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and on the mass struggle against the capitalist offensive, fascism and war.

The delegates to the Party Conference, mainly from the factories (123 comrades), voted unanimously in favour of the political resolution submitted by the Central Committee on the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. and the tasks confronting the German Party.

The Party Conference was a living expression of the stormy advance of the Communist Party, the development of the united front action against hunger, war and fascism. Dozens of delegates from the factories reported on their strike experience in the fight against wage cuts and the emergency dictatorship of Papen, on the mass struggle against Hitler fascism and their successes in the fight against the deceitful manoeuvres of the social democracy. The Party Conference showed that, on the basis of the decisions of the February Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany, work has been concentrated during the last few months on the factories and an energetic inner-trade union work has been started.

The speech of Comrade Thälmann dealt with the concrete application of the decisions of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. to the situation in Germany, and in particular to the coming election. The election campaign should be used to intensify the extra-Parliamentary struggle of the masses and

to strengthen the strike movement against the von Papen emergency decrees and against wage cuts.

The revolutionary trade union opposition must be strengthened by promoting proletarian democracy, by improving inner-trade union work by a more courageous mass policy, by the broadest propaganda of the proletarian way out of the crisis, by popularising our slogan of the workers and peasants Republic, by daily representing the class interests of the proletariat and of the toiling sections, by partial struggles, and developing them to mass strikes in accordance with the decisions of the XII. Plenum of the P.C.C.I. It is necessary, by means of the broadest mass mobilisation, to bring all forces into action against the further development of the fascist dictatorship and for the overthrow of fascism.

The Party Conference enthusiastically expressed the confidence of the Party in its Bolshevik leadership and in Comrade Thalmann. The Conference unanimously adopted a resolution condemning Comrade Heinz Neumann and other comrades who, on the basis of their political mistakes and deviations from the line of the Party and with the methods of group struggle, attempted to interfere with the turn of the Party work to intensified proletarian mass policy. The Party Conference recorded that these attempts were doomed to failure in view of the unshakable unity and the revolutionary maturity of the Party and its close contact with the Party leadership.

The Party Conference, expressing the brotherly revolutionary alliance of the Party with the C.P. of the Soviet Union under the leadership of Comrade Stalin and with the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union who are heroically working on the building up of Socialism and the establishment of a classless society, welcomed the drastic action of the C.P.S.U. against the counter-revolutionary group of Rjutin and its confederates, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Ouglanov and others, and approved the Bolshevik decisions for the carrying out of the Bolshevik general line. The Party Conference constitutes an important, historic milestone in the development and Bolshevikisation of our Party. The growing proletarian upsurge in Germany will receive a new impulse through this Conference.

## FASCISM

### Tenth Anniversary of the Fascist Regime in Italy.

By Carlo Rossi.

In the first moments of the commencement of the fascist offensive the Italian reformists thought that all that it meant was a severe lesson which the extremists, who were filled with Bolshevik illusions, had well deserved, and that the reformists, as soon as the extremists were put into their place, would be able still to maintain their dominating position in regard to the masses. When, therefore, in November 1920, the fascists directed their first attack against Bologna, the centre of a very important agricultural region where the fierce economic and political fights had reduced the actual power of the bourgeoisie to a minimum, the reformist leaders fled, after they had done everything in order to prevent any immediate counter-offensive of the agricultural proletariat, whose organisation and forces were still intact.

The whole policy of the Italian socialist party in the years 1920/22 consisted in appeasing and pacifying the masses. Here are a few examples:

In March 1921, Matteotti spoke in Parliament on the crimes (murder, incendiarism and all kinds of acts of violence) which had been committed by the fascist fighting detachments in the service of the agrarians against the landworkers and peasants in the Polesino district. But what were the instructions he gave the proletarians: "Remain at home, do not respond to provocations. Silence, even cowardice is at times an act of heroism." Thus it is understandable how the fascists were able to get into their hands the district in which all the provincial councils, with only one exception, and all members of Parliament with one exception, were socialist and where 90 per cent of the agricultural labourers, who form the majority of the population, were organised in the Red Leagues. In two months everything had collapsed.

A long series of bloody battles were fought in Apulia by those landworkers who were less under reformist influence. But the leader of Italian reformism sent his word of "encouragement" to these workers. On April 26, 1921, Philip Turati addressed a letter to the workers of Apulia, in which he stated:

"... Do not respond to provocations . . . Do not provide them with any pretexts; do not respond to insults; be good, be patient, be patient as saints. You have been patient a thousand years, be patient a bit longer. Endure, bear the sufferings, continue to forgive . . ."

There came the day of the march on Rome. The Communist Party called for a general strike. The socialists threw themselves into the fight . . . against the Communists. The organ of the General Confederation of Labour, "Battaglie Sindicali", in its issue of November 9, 1922, wrote:

"As Italians we can only rejoice that the two opposing forces (fascism, and the government which was in power Ed.) have so acted that the hostile collisions, which would have led to a massacre, could be avoided. The workers' organisations have remained outside the two belligerent parties. Their intervention on the side of one party would have endangered the independence of the labour movement, and in addition retarded the process leading to the clarification of the situation which is becoming more and more unbearable. The workers on their part immediately perceive that their entry into the fight would have brought them under the cross fire of both parties. Only the stupid Communist braggarts could think that the proletarian forces could take part in a conflict which did not immediately concern them."

"How far the present political upheaval may be conservative or revolutionary, it would be venturesome to say. The direction of future events depends upon whether the rejuvenating forces in the present government predominate over the conservative forces, as well as upon what attitude the various political tendencies and the various interests in the country adopt towards the concrete measures of the government."

Obviously it was in order to support the rejuvenating forces existing in fascism that the two leaders of the Confederation del Lavoro, Buoizzi and Baldesi, on the day Mussolini arrived in Rome, declared in the lobby of the House of Deputies that they were ready to accept an eventual offer concerning participation in the new government, and that consequently all the endeavours of the trade unions bureaucracy were directed towards obtaining toleration from the fascists, misleading the masses and driving the Communists out of the trade union organisations.

The Matteotti crisis broke out. Here we prefer to quote the words of the democratic Professor Salvemini, who is at present also a refugee in France and is connected with the social democracy:

"... If the Parliamentary opposition (Liberals, Catholics, socialists and republicans) had published on the 17th or 18th (July 1924) the 'memorandum' of Filippelli and the revelations contained in Finzi's will and issued to the peasants, the workers and employees the slogan of the general strike, then Mussolini would have been lost. But they did not issue the slogan. They had no confidence in the country. They believed that in the event of the strike slogan not being followed fascism would have murdered them all. If, however, the slogan had been carried out, a revolutionary crisis would have arisen from which they saw no way out and for which they were afraid to take over responsibility." ("Europe" January 1927.)

The Communist Party again called for a general strike. But the working masses were still too much under the influence of the Aventino politicians. Fascism was once again victorious. At the end of 1926 some of the leaders of democratic anti-fascism who were still left found refuge in France (the overwhelming majority of them went over more or less openly to fascism). Immediately after their arrival a conference met in Nerac, at which the following resolution was adopted:

"Fascism arose in Italy as an instrument of capitalist and political reaction against the proletarian and democratic aspirations, and this under the pretext of saving the country from revolutionary convulsions at a moment when the inevitable and understandable exaggerations of the

immediate post-war period, which were common to all other countries, had already found their corrective in the activity and in the spontaneous control of the progressive parties and of the trade union class organisations."

Thus the leaders of the Italian social democracy and the elements connected with them announced that it was not fascism, but they who prevented the proletarian revolution in Italy in the years 1919/20 (they had already boasted of this several times in Italy), in order that the bourgeoisie should regret having preferred the fascists to them and would soon call them back to accomplish such glorious deeds . . . And at the Congress which the social democrats held in Paris in December 1927, a resolution was adopted which stated:

" . . . Fascism has rapidly and inevitably become converted into the military and parasitic dictatorship of an oligarchy, which from day to day, in a more disastrous manner, comes forward against all producing strata of the population, exploits everybody for the one single purpose of strengthening and perpetuating its position of power and its profits. Fascism will fall when the utopia of Bolshevik violence will no longer frighten the one or blind the other, when the direful experiences of the parasitic oligarchy will teach the productive strata in Italy not only the necessity of a democratic regime, but also the duty of establishing this regime and defending it with all suitable means . . ."

One wonders in the first place how in this hypocritical document the industrialists, the capitalists have become producing strata. One further admires how skillfully participation in a war against the Soviet Union is advocated, in order that the bourgeoisie, no longer frightened by the Bolshevik acts of violence, will again become democratic! In this connection Turati later stated: "The way to Rome is via Moscow!"

But time passes. The crisis of capitalist society and the true character of fascism are becoming so clear that the Italian social democracy, in the special situation in which events have placed it, is obliged to resort to the most complicated "Left" manoeuvres if it wishes to maintain any contact with the masses, in order, at the suitable moment, to serve the bourgeoisie. At this moment the Congress returns to the old programme on which (in Paris 1930) the reformists united with the Right Maximalists: ". . . the winning of public power for the purpose of converting it from an instrument of oppression into an instrument of emancipation of the oppressed class." At the same time, however, the Austro-Marxist fig-leaf is brought into use: "The right of the proletariat to revolt in order to repel the acts of violence of the ruling classes against the independence of the working classes and against public liberty." The reformist leaders did not speak of insurrection in Italy in 1922, when it was necessary to defend freedom against fascism. They speak of insurrection now, when the prospect is beginning to arise that in Italy it will be necessary in the near future, to defend "freedom" "democracy" etc. against the insurgent working masses, against the proletarian revolution. For the slogan of the social democrats is the "democratic Republic".

But the Italian socialists have no programme of their own but endorse the programme of the "Giustizia e Libertà", which is actually directed towards gathering the peasant masses round the rich peasants and mobilising the whole mass of the peasantry against the proletariat.

The other day the "Temps" published a report from Rome regarding an amnesty on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the March on Rome. At the same time news was spread among the emigration of fresh negotiations between Mussolini and the social democratic leaders abroad regarding the latter's return to Italy. (There were negotiations already formerly—a fact which was admitted by Buozzi, the so-called general secretary of the so-called General Confederation of Labour, i.e., a functionary maintained abroad by the French C.G.T. and the Amsterdam International.) It is difficult to foretell the result. It is probable that it will not come to an understanding, for the social democratic leaders can only return to Italy and be of use to the bourgeoisie there if they are in a position to retain a certain mask before the masses. Up to now, however, the pressure of the masses has not been of such a nature as to compel the bourgeoisie to separate itself from fascism.

From the statements quoted above it is clear that the Italian social democracy is only waiting and longing for the moment when it will be in a position to return to Italy in order to defend the "public liberties"; "democracy" etc., i.e., the regime of the capitalist "producing strata".

## THE WHITE TERROR

### Rescue Karikas, Madzsar, Poll and Comrades!

#### Appeal of the Red Aid of Hungary to the International Proletariat.

On October 24 the trial of Fritz Karikas and 12 other comrades will commence before the Budapest Penal Court. The trial is the continuation of those proceedings, as a result of which our heroic martyrs Emmerich Sallai and Alexander Fürst, the two leaders of the C.P. of Hungary, have been executed.

The heroic mass movement of the Budapest working class during the trial, the continued existence of the Communist Party and all revolutionary workers' organisations have increased the fury of the Hungarian bourgeoisie. After the execution it intended, by means of mass arrests of Communist Party members and oppositional social democrats, to supply fresh victims for the gallows of the fascist dictatorship. It was only the fear of fresh protest movements which saved Dr. Madzsar, Poll and other comrades from being executed. But by "regular" court proceedings they are to be condemned to long terms of imprisonment. Their trial is being hastily prepared and is to commence already on October 28.

The trial of Karikas is to be the first in the series of the "trials of leaders". The first Karikas trial only dealt with the activity of Comrade Karikas and his fellow-accused in connection with their participation in the illegal Party work of the C.P. of Hungary. A second summary court trial to investigate charges of "murder" execution of traitors and spies of Czech imperialism against the heroic Red Army of Soviet Hungary will commence later, although Comrade Karikas had nothing to do with these "murders". It is a cunning manoeuvre, on the part of Hungarian fascism, by fixing the first trial for October 24, to attempt to divert the attention of the Hungarian and of the international proletariat from the second summary court proceedings.

In spite of all the manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie and in spite of the social democratic treachery, we must realise the great danger which threatens our Comrade Karikas and his fellow accused. At the first trial it is intended to impose sentences up to 15 years imprisonment on our Comrades Karikas and Kilian as "leaders", and sentences up to three years on their fellow accused. According to the indictment, Comrades Karikas and Kilian—the latter as intermediary of the Young Communist League—have been members of the Secretariat of the C.P. of Hungary. In addition, Comrade Karikas is accused of having been a member of the C.C. of the C.P. of Hungary and as such of having worked in a leading position in Vienna, Berlin, Paris and Moscow. His activity as a revolutionary writer, his translation of Schweik and author of numerous proletarian novels, his work as red director in the Soviet Union, are special counts in the indictment.

The fight for the release of Dr. Madzsar, Poll and comrades must be commenced now, as these leaders of the social democratic opposition and rank and file members of the Communist Party of Hungary are likewise to be condemned as "Communist leaders" to long terms of imprisonment, after the bourgeoisie was compelled to refrain from committing the judicial murder which was already prepared. Dr. Madzsar, whom the social fascist Peyer denounced in the "Az Est" as a "Bolshevist", and whom a long article in "Nepszava" described as "putschist", are to be rendered harmless to the bourgeoisie and the social fascist leaders. It is further intended to sentence as a leader the Communist Alexander Poll, who has already once served 3½ years in the dungeons of the Horthy prisons, in spite of the fact that the bloody "examination", the horrible tortures at the police station could not produce any proofs of his activity.

The protest of the international proletariat must come to the aid of the arrested Hungarian revolutionaries. The first trial of Karikas on October 24, the trial of Dr. Madzsar, Poll and comrades on October 28, as well as the subsequent summary court proceedings against Comrade Karikas must call forth a powerful storm of protest of the international proletariat. All social democratic and non-party workers must take part in it.

Central Committee of the Red Aid of Hungary.



## THE WAR

### The Struggle over the Redistribution of Africa.

By Yobe.

A number of facts go to show that the question of the redistribution of the African Continent among the imperialist big Powers is again becoming a pressing problem in connection with the general aggravation of the economic crisis and the imperialist antagonisms.

The king of Italy's visit to Eritrea means a move on the part of Italy in this connection. The visit was interpreted by the fascist press as emphasising Italy's demand for an extension of its colonial possessions in Africa. The old claims to include Abyssinia in Italy's colonial territory are being revived, but as since the world war French influence has penetrated into Abyssinia, Italy's claims cannot be realised except at the cost of France. Reports of fresh revolts in Abyssinia and the threatening of Menelik, which arrive simultaneously with reports of the visit of the king of Italy, show that Italian imperialism is actively striving to realise its desires.

At the same time the demand is made in the Italian press that the Southern frontiers of the Italian colonial territory in Eritrea shall be extended, whereby the aim of Italian colonial policy to possess a colonial territory in which Tripoli shall be directly linked up with Eritrea, thereby securing a considerable part of the black Continent for Italian imperialist exploitation is to be brought a step nearer realisation. This plan also can only be realised at the cost of France. But it is precisely these demands which are now being pushed to the forefront. It is even said that they have led to secret negotiations at which Italy put forward its colonial claims, the satisfaction of which is to be the price of Italy's support of France in the latter's fight against Germany's claim for equality in armaments. At the same time, Italy is continuing its expansionist policy in Tunis, in South Arabia, and also in the mandatory countries of North Arabia, whereby not only the Franco-Italian but also the Anglo-Italian antagonism in African questions are clearly revealed.

The question of the redistribution of Africa, however, has been raised by the increasingly pressing demands of the German imperialists for the restoration of the former German colonies. The 15th anniversary of the existence of the German Colonial Company formed the occasion for numerous demonstrations at which the demand for the handing back of the German colonies was openly made. The more aggressive the foreign policy of the Papen Government becomes, the more sharply the question of colonies comes to the forefront. Germany's claims, however, can only be fulfilled at the cost of England or France, who have divided among themselves the German African colonies. Both the British and the French Governments are at no pains to hide that they are not inclined to part with even the smallest portion of their colonial booty. On the other hand, voices are heard in England recommending that Germany be compensated at the cost of France, while at the same time French circles are suggesting a reduction of the British colonial possessions in favour of Germany. Here there is revealed the Anglo-French antagonisms.

Herriot's visit to Madrid and the approaching Franco-Spanish negotiations indicate an attempt to bring about a new settlement in regard to colonial possessions in the North-West part of Africa. French imperialism is again in the midst of a new Moroccan war adventure. The French General Staff insist on joint operations with Spanish troops—as was the case in 1925 on the occasion of the suppression of the revolt of Abd-el-Krim in the Riff area. According to French reports, Herriot will propose the cession of a part of the Spanish possessions on the West coast of Africa to France, in return for which France will cede to Spain its rights in Tanger. Such a settlement would mean not only a considerable strengthening of French influence, but also the setting up of a Franco-Spanish bloc in North Africa, which would of course be bound to call forth great uneasiness both in Italy and England.

No matter how much the diplomats and imperialist politicians may endeavour to bring about a redistribution of Africa by "peaceful means", by negotiations and pacts, the question of the redistribution of African colonial territory leads inevitably to warlike complications.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### Down with the Versailles Treaty!

Joint Proclamation of the Communist Parties of Germany and France for the Cancellation of the Versailles Treaty.

*The following Manifesto of the German and the French Communist Party was submitted by Comrade Ernst Thälmann, the leader of the German C.P. at two crowded mass meetings of the Ruhr proletariat—at a meeting of 25,000 workers in Essen and at a meeting of 40,000 workers in Dortmund—and was received with prolonged and enthusiastic applause.*

**Class Comrades in Germany and France!  
Working Men and Women, Young Workers, Toilers,  
Peasants and Soldiers of the French Army!**

Fourteen years have passed since the slaughter of the last imperialist war. The imperialist robbers are again seeking to kindle the flames of a new fratricidal war. Their way out of the crisis lies in a redistribution of the world by means of a new world war.

The predatory dictated peace of Versailles weighs down on the toilers of vanquished Germany with a crushing burden of misery, with double exploitation under the lash of hunger of the German capitalists and of the simultaneous tribute-slavery to international finance capital, to the victor Powers of Versailles.

The predatory Versailles Peace oppresses countless millions in Alsace-Lorraine, West and East Prussia, Poland, Upper Silesia, South Tyrol, by brutal annexation without their being consulted. It forces them under the rule of imperialist France and its vassal States, fascist Poland and Czechoslovakia, under the tyrannous rule of Belgium and Lithuania or the fascist barbarism of Mussolini. The Austrian people is also robbed of all right of self-determination by the Versailles system, the treaty of Germain and the new League of Nations Pact. But the Versailles system at the same time brings increased servitude, increased misery to the working and peasant masses of "victorious" France. In order to maintain its imperialist hegemony in Europe, French imperialism, as the gendarme of the Versailles system, increases at the cost of the toilers of France its huge expenditure for war purposes, for controlling and arming its vassal States and for oppressing the people of France itself.

Huge fortifications are being erected on the Franco-German frontier. The whole of France is being converted into an armed camp. French Imperialism, under the pretext of "security", causes the clatter of arms to be heard in the whole of Europe.

The bourgeoisie of Germany, supported by the Hitler fascist movement, by the monarchist adventurers, by the "Stahlhelm" and aided by the social democratic party, is pursuing a course which means armaments and imperialist adventures, nationalist incitement and military poisoning of the youth.

French imperialism is repeating its threats after the style of the Ruhr occupation by Poincaré in 1923, and is carrying on increased chauvinistic propaganda.

Fascist Poland is preparing to annex Danzig and East Prussia. The spectre of war is again threatening the homes of the workers of Germany and France.

The imperialists in Germany and France are preparing for war. The new imperialist slaughter is being prepared by military manoeuvres, experiments with poison-gas attacks drill in the barrack yards, and chauvinistic propaganda.

Soldiers of the French army, what did you fight for in the great war, what are you to fight for to-day? Again as then in the mud and filth and blood of the trenches, whilst your families starve at home and the war profiteers and staff officers eat to repletion! To-day, as then, you are to be incited against one another for their profits!

The capitalists are again attempting to persuade the German workers that their fellow workers in France are the

enemy, and vice versa. **Thus there is an increasing danger of a new war between France and Germany.** In face of this threat to the workers and peasants we, the Communists of Germany and France, repeat louder than ever the words of Liebknecht as our slogan: "The enemy is in our own country!"

Shoulder to shoulder, under the banner of freedom of proletarian internationalism, the Communists of Germany and France summon you, the workers and peasants of both countries, to the fight against the robber Versailles system!

Not nationalism, not militarism, not fascism, can alleviate the slavery of the toilers, but only the fight of the masses against capitalist class rule, against the bourgeoisie!

No agreement, no "disarmament" or other conference, no Pact of capitalist governments can bring the toilers of Germany and France anything else but increased misery, intensified oppression, threatening war!

There can never be any "disarmament" for imperialism! We, however, the representatives of the toilers, want the huge sums which are expended for military purposes to be employed for the purpose of immediately alleviating the suffering of the unemployed, the small peasants and small-holders who are hit by the crisis, as well as and before all for the war victims and incapacitated, whose pensions are threatened.

The social democratic leaders are to-day attempting with fresh pacifist manoeuvres to hold back the masses from the real fight against imperialism.

As social patriots of the last world war they vote the war credits. The signatories to the Versailles Peace, Vandervelde and Hermann Müller, Paul Boncour and Gustav Noske, came from their ranks:

They built armoured cruisers and voted milliards for the German Reichswehr and for the French army, which they strengthened by the military law of 1927.

In 1918/1919 they, together with the monarchist officers, the present leaders of Hitler's brown army, bloodily frustrated the victory of the German working class fighting under the leadership of Karl Liebknecht, and thereby rendered Versailles possible.

To-day the same national socialist leaders are hypocritically posing as "friends of peace"! The same Nazi leaders are to-day deceitfully claiming to be fighters against Versailles!

Break with the treacherous leaders of social democracy, the agents of the bourgeois dictatorship! Away with the fascist watchdogs of the bourgeoisie! Away with Hitler!

There is only one way for the toilers of Germany and France, in order to achieve social and national emancipation, to free the masses from the scourge of imperialist war and to escape from the capitalist crisis: the abolition of capitalism, the victory of the working class, supported by the alliance with the poor peasants!

Communists, workers, toilers in Germany and France!

Discuss in the factories, at the Labour Exchanges, in the working class districts and in the villages this appeal of the Communist Parties for the common fight of the toiling population of Germany and France regardless of frontiers!

Conduct in the proletarian united front the fight against your capitalist oppressors, the fight for work, bread and freedom; conduct strikes and mass struggles in town and country!

Long live our common fight against the imperialist war-mongers, against fascism, chauvinistic incitement and pacifist deception of the people, against all expenditure on the military and police apparatus of the bourgeoisie for the purpose of oppression, for utilising these means for the benefit of the war victims, unemployed, and small pensioners, for the right of self-determination of Alsace-Lorraine!

Long live the fight of the German Communists for a free socialist Germany in which the working class rule!

Long live the unbreakable solidarity of the toilers of France with the revolutionary fight for freedom of the German proletariat against all intervention plans of French imperialism!

**Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany.**

**Central Committee of the Communist Party of France.**

**Central Committee of the Young Communist League of Germany.**

**Central Committee of the Young Communist League of France.**

**District Committee of the Communist Party of Alsace-Lorraine.**

## PROLETARIAN MASS ORGANISATIONS

### French Red Aid before World I.R.A. Congress.

By J. Louis Engdahl.

Denied the opportunity of being present himself, because of the savage repression of the Herriot radical-socialist government, **André Marty**, leader of the Black Sea mutiny in the French Fleet, 1919, sent his greeting by letter to the Fourth National Congress of the Secours Rouge International, the French Section of the International Red Aid, raising the demand for a wide united front struggle for amnesty for all proletarian political prisoners, and the strengthening of the world-wide protest demanding the liberation of the **Scottsboro Negro boys** facing the electric chair in the United States.

In his letter, Marty argued against any tendency to make the building of broad united front actions appear more difficult now than in July, 1923, when the wide protest of the masses forced his own release as the last of the Black Sea mutineers to be liberated.

The Fourth French Red Aid Congress was held in the days immediately following the **October Tenth Campaign** to save the lives of the Scottsboro Negro children. All day on October Tenth, worker delegations had poured into the American Embassy in Paris, making their protest. But it was felt that the campaign was only beginning and the congress itself became a mobilisation against the manoeuvre of the United States Supreme Court, in reserving its decision, hoping thus to confuse and disarm the International Scottsboro Campaign.

It was felt that the Red Aid had not been able to utilise the electoral campaign to raise the question of "Amnesty!" before the broadest masses and thus to raise a revolutionary current of protest as broad as that created for the Black Sea sailors.

In his letter Marty declared that the Red Aid must not be afraid to reinforce its arguments with an appeal to the sentiments of the masses. He told of the response of the workers to the exposure of the brutal treatment of the five Calvi sailors last year. He urged the denunciation of prison atrocities as a weapon hitting at imperialist oppression.

"Calvi showed us the path to follow," said Marty. "We must use the attacks on us as a lever to force the imperialists to retreat by liberating our comrades, and to draw toward us all hesitating workers. We must draw toward us the social-democratic masses, to become members of the International Red Aid. We must fight and denounce the role of the Socialist leaders who are trying to stop our mass current of protest through urging negotiations through lawyers, claiming that these negotiations and not mass protest would secure the release of the mutineers."

It was in his letter that Marty also brought before the French Red Aid Congress the necessity of working more in the villages, among the peasants, who are beginning to move, he declared. He urged a tremendous reception on the return of the soldier-prisoner, **Rousseng**, from his 24 years of imprisonment in the French colony of Cayenne, South America, for burning his uniform. He was first condemned to life imprisonment.

Through developing its work on a really mass scale the French Red Aid Section sets itself the aim to reach 100,000 members by May 1, 1933, and 50,000 circulation for its central organ, "La Defense".

In its mobilisation for the World I.R.A. Congress, through the carrying out of the decisions of its own national congress, the French Red Aid Section develops its resistance not only to the growing persecution in France and in the French colonies, but also internationally. There were fraternal delegates at the congress from Germany, Belgium, Syria and the United States, raising the problems facing the Red Aid struggles in these countries, which are the problems internationally. Marty's greeting concluded:

"I hope to be back soon to help fight the repression that prepares the way for war."

## **XV. Anniversary of the October Revolution**

# **On the Threshold of October.**

By N. K. Krupskaya (Moscow).

It would be a mistake to imagine that the October Revolution was spontaneous. On the other hand, it would be as great a mistake to imagine that this social and political upheaval was the result of a conspiracy. The October Revolution was a combination of enormous revolutionary enthusiasm on the part of the masses of workers and peasants, and of clear leadership of this movement on the part of the Bolshevik Party.

Serfdom existed in Russia prior to 1861. Russia was an agricultural country where backward agriculture on a small scale predominated, and industry was inadequately developed, with the result that the proletariat was weak and unorganised. The Labour Movement did not commence to develop until the 90's. Prior to the 90's the revolutionary movement did not rest on the masses. On the one hand, it followed the line of anarchism. Anarchists placed all their hopes on the peasantry, urged it to rise, saying that there was no necessity of any power. This movement did not meet with success. The peasants rose here and there against the landlords, but these uprisings were invariably put down. On the other hand, the revolutionary movement followed another course—the course of establishing conspirative organisations, making use of terrorist methods. They were the "Narodovoltzy" (People's Will Party). Their heroic struggle against tsarism did not have the support of the masses. It did not attain its aim.

The Labour movement which sprang up in Russia in the beginning of the 90's, affiliated immediately to the international Labour movement. The revolutionary Labour movement in the West had already considerable revolutionary experience, it had geniuses like Marx and Engels who showed which way social development is going, who explained the part of the proletariat in the revolutionary movement. Marxist teachings threw light on the path to be pursued by this struggle. It was no longer going blindly, but according to plan. Advanced Russian revolutionaries became Marxists, commenced studying and appraising from the Marxist point of view the revolutionary experience and the whole social movement. This helped them to become genuine leaders of the labour movement.

From the very beginning Lenin placed all his hopes on the working class, already in 1894 he said in "Druzia Naroda" (People's Friends) that "The Russian Workmen, at the head of all democratic elements, will overthrow absolutism and will lead the Russian proletariat (alongside of the proletariat of all countries) along the straight path of open political struggle to victorious communist revolution". This prophecy came true in 1917. Lenin, like Marx and Engels, attached enormous importance to questions of organisation. Anarchists who expressed the point of view of the lower middle class, underestimated the role of organisation. The "Narodovoltzy" appreciated organisation, but they narrowed it down to conspirative organisation. It was left to the Marxists to raise in its whole magnitude the question of organising the masses. They said: there is absolute need of a strong revolutionary organisation of the working class, of firm correct Marxist leadership over this organisation, over the whole movement.

Lenin was not only the most prominent theorist, but also the most prominent organiser, capable of putting in to practice this Marxist proposition. It was not accidental that at the Second Congress of the Party, in 1903, the question of organisation was the cause of the split between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. It was a great piece of work on the part of Lenin to organise the party of the working class and the Labour movement. He went into every detail, he listened attentively to what workers, peasants and soldiers were saying, studied carefully their life and thought deeply about the best manner of approaching them and drawing them into the movement. A whole series of Lenin's sayings are devoted to questions of organisation. He knew that the victorious Communist revolution demands to be organised according to plan.

Through the prism of a revolutionist and an organiser Lenin studied the experience of the Great French Revolution, the revolution of 1848 and that of the Paris Commune. He said more than once that the weakness of the Paris Commune was its spontaneity. He studied with special care and attention the Jacobin movement in the Great French Revolution, a movement which rested on the masses and was able to organise resistance to the counter-revolution.

On his arrival in Russia in the month of April, Ilyich developed a gigantic agitational activity. "Down with the predatory war!" was the slogan around which the masses rallied. The selection of correct slogans was of enormous importance. The influence of the working class and the Bolshevik Party was rapidly growing. The working class carried with it the peasantry and the army.

The seizure of power in October was carefully thought out and prepared by the Party of the proletariat, the Bolshevik Party. The uprising in the July days was spontaneous. But the Party considered this uprising premature, and did not lose its head. Truth had to be faced. The masses were not yet ready to rise. The C.C. decided to delay the uprising. It was difficult for the Bolshevik to keep in leash those who had risen, those who were spoiling for the fight. But they did their duty, being aware of what enormous importance is the selection of the right moment for the uprising.

A couple of months went by. The situation changed. Ilyich who had to keep in hiding in Finland, wrote between September 12th and 14th the letter to the C.C., for the Petrograd and Moscow Committee:

"Having obtained a majority in the Soviets of Workers and Soldiers Deputies in both capitals, the Bolsheviks can and must take power into their own hands."

Further down he argues why seizure of power must take place just then. It was intended to surrender Petier (short for Petersburg), this would have spoiled the chances of victory. A separate peace was contemplated between British and German imperialists. "To propose peace now to the people means victory", wrote, Ilyich.

In the letter to the C.C. he tells in detail how to choose the right moment for the uprising and how to prepare it:

"The uprising, to be successful, must rest not on conspiracy, **not on the Party, but on the foremost class.** This first, and second, the uprising must rest on the **revolutionary enthusiasm of the people** (the italics are mine, N. K.) Third, the uprising must rest on a **turning point in the history** of the growing revolution, when the activity of the foremost ranks of the people has reached its climax, when **vacillations in the ranks of the enemies and in the ranks of weak, half-hearted, hesitating friends of the revolution** have also reached their climax."

Ilyitsch wound up his letter by telling what must be done to treat the uprising in a Marxist manner, i. e. like an art.

"And to treat the uprising in a Marxist manner, i. e., like art, we must at the same time, not losing a moment, organise the **staff** of the rebel detachments, distribute the forces, move the loyal regiments to the most important points, surround the Alexandrinka (Alexander Theatre), occupy the Petro-Pavlovka (Peter and Paul Fortress), arrest the general staff and the government, send against the Junkers (cadets) and the wild division, detachments capable of laying down their lives rather than allow the enemy to move towards the centres of the town. We must mobilise the armed workers, call them to the last desperate fight, occupy at once the telegraph and telephone, place our "revolution" staff in the central telephone station, connect with it by telephone, all the factories, regiments and points where fighting is going on, etc."

All this is, of course, a suggestion, only to **illustrate** that one cannot in such a situation remain true to Marxism and to revolution **without treating the uprising like art**" (Lenin, free translation).

Sitting there in Finland, Ilyitch was in a state of great excitement, in fear that the favourable moment for the uprising would be missed. On October 7 he wrote to the Petersburg Town Conference, and at the same time to the Central Committee, the Moscow Committee, the Petersburg Committee and the Bolshevik members of the Petersburg and Moscow Soviets. On the 8th he wrote to the Bolshevik comrades participating in the Congress of the Soviets of the Northern Province, worried very much as to the safe arrival of his letter, and on the 9th arrived himself in Petersburg, took up illegal quarters in the Viborg District, and led from there the preparations for the uprising.

This last month Ilyitch lived entirely for the uprising, it was his only thought, he infected the comrades with his enthusiasm and confidence.

Of exceptional importance is Ilyitch's last letter from Finland to the Bolsheviks who participated in the Congress of the Soviets of the Northern Province. Here is the letter:

"The armed uprising is a **special** form of political struggle, subject to special laws which must be pondered over. This truth has been vividly expressed by Karl Marx who said that armed '**uprising, just like war, is an art.**'"

"Among the main rules of this art Marx selected:

1. "Never to play with an uprising, but having commenced it, to firmly believe that one must **go to the end.**"
2. "It is essential to collect **superior forces** in the decisive centre, at the decisive moment, for otherwise the enemy who is better prepared and organised, will annihilate the rebels."

3. "The uprising having commenced, one must act with the utmost **determination**, and certainly, without any hesitation, take up the **offensive.** 'A defensive attitude means death to the armed uprising.'"

4. "Efforts must be made to take the enemy unawares, to seize the occasion when his troops are still scattered."

5. "There must be **daily successes**, no matter how small (one can even say hourly, if it is a question of one town only), to keep up 'moral superiority' at any cost."

"Marx summed up the lessons of all the revolutions with regard to armed uprising with the words of the greatest master of revolutionary tactic in history, Danton: 'audacity, again audacity and once more audacity.'"

"Applied to Russia and to October, 1917, this means: Simultaneous, as sudden as possible, and rapid advance on Petersburg, from outside and inside, as a matter of course, from workers' quarters, from Finland, from Revel—and from Kronstadt advance of the **whole fleet**, accumulation of **gigantic superior forces**, to cope with 15-20,000 (and maybe more) of our 'bourgeois guards' (the cadets) and our Vendée troops (part of the cossacks) etc."

"To combine our three main forces: the fleet, the workers and the army units, in order to occupy and keep in our hands **at the cost of any losses whatever** a) the telephone, b) the telegraph, c) the railway stations, d) and the bridges first of all."

"To organise the **most determined** elements (our shock troops' and the **young workers**, as well as the best sailors) into small detachments for the occupation of all the most important points, and **for their participation** in all the most important operations, for instance:

"To surround and cut off Petersburg, to take it by a combined attack of fleet, workers and troops,—such is the task which demands **great art and treble audacity.**"

"To organise detachments of the best workers with rifles and bombs, to attack and surround the 'centres' of the enemy (cadet schools, the telegraph, the telephone, etc.) with the slogan: '**Death to all rather than let through the enemy.**'"

"Let us hope that in the event of this venture being decided upon, the leaders will successfully apply the great behests of Danton and Marx."

"The success of the Russian and the world revolution depends on two to three days of struggle" (Lenin, free translation).

This letter was written on the 21st (8th), and on the 22nd (9th) Ilyitch was already in Petersburg, and already the

next day the C.C. meeting took place where he carried a resolution on armed uprising. Zinoviev and Kamenev spoke against it and demanded that an emergency C.C. Plenum be called. Kamenev declared that he would resign from the C.C.

The preparation of the uprising commenced. On October 26 (13) the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet carried a decision to set up the Military Revolutionary Committee. On October 29 (16) was the enlarged C.C. session with the representatives of Party organisations. The same day, at the C.C. session, the military revolutionary centre for practical leadership of the uprising was elected. It consisted of comrades **Stalin, Sverdlov, Dzerzhinsky, Bubnov and Uritzky.**

On the 30th (17th) the plan for the organisation of the Military Revolutionary Committee was confirmed not only by the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet, but by the Soviet as a whole. Five days later the meeting of regimental committees recognised the Petrograd Military Revolutionary Committee as the leading organ of the military units of Petrograd and resolved not to obey orders of the staff not countersigned by the Military Revolutionary Committee.

On November 5 (October 23) the M.R.C. appointed already commissars to the army units. The next day, November 6 (October 24), the Provisional Government decided to prosecute the members of the M.R.C., to arrest the commissars appointed, to the army units, and ordered the cadet schools to the Winter Palace. But it was already too late, the army units were for the Bolsheviks, the workers were in favour of transferring the power to the Soviets. The M.R.C. worked under the direct leadership of the C.C., the majority of the C.C. members, including Stalin, Sverdlov, Molotov, Dzerzhinsky, Bubnov and others, were also members of the M.R.C.

According to comrade Bubnov, a special "Troika" (committee of three)—Sverdlov, himself and Sokolnikov—was appointed, which was to watch the railway stations. They visited the railway stations in the night, and watched the bridges. According to comrade Bubnov, Ilyitch simply overwhelmed them with questions, wanted to know all the details, demanded that everything be strictly checked up, got angry if he did not receive an exact and concrete answer to his questions.

On November 6 (October 24) Ilyitch went to Smolny, to take up direct leadership of the uprising. On October 25, the armed uprising was assuming large dimensions, the Winter Palace where the Provisional Government had retired under the protection of the cadets, was stormed. The head of the Provisional Government, Kerensky, escaped in order to commence the armed struggle against the Petersburg proletariat.

The news that the Winter Palace was taken and the Provisional Government arrested was received with wild enthusiasm by the emergency session of the Petrograd Soviet. Lenin, who came to the session, was given an enthusiastic reception.

Not until late at night, only when there was no doubt, whatever of the achieved victory, did Ilyitch leave Smolny to spend the night at the Bonch-Bruевич family who lived in the neighbourhood. He was given a separate room, but could not go to sleep for a long time. He got up quietly and began to draw up the long-thought-out land decree. I also spent this night at the Bonch-Bruевич, for I wanted to see Ilyitch.

While we were having tea in the morning, he read us the decree written during the night. There was nothing pompous about it, it was written in simple language, but what was said in it meant a thorough revolution in all previous class relations. The land was handed over to the toilers without compensation, the landlords were deprived of the instrument of exploitation of the peasant masses. From his youngest days Ilyitch studied this question with passionate earnestness, considered ways and means of attaining this aim. The working class alone, having taken power into its own hands, can free the peasantry from the yoke of the landlords.—Lenin considered this the only correct, the only possible way. Well, the working class had seized power,—and its first act was: **establishment of the Soviet power, proclamation of peace, proposal to all countries to put an end to the fratricidal slaughter, transference of all the land to the toilers without compensation.** Life itself has proved the correctness of this line.

I well remember the night session of October 26. The Congress of the Soviets was discussing the above-mentioned decrees. I remember Ilyitch reading at this night session the

land decree. Simply, without any pathos whatever. A man of peasant type was sitting not far from me. Excitement made his face look transparent, waxen, only his eyes were shining.

The decrees were adopted. They were to rally the masses around the Soviet Power. But much remained to be done to organise this Power, a new type of Power, unprecedented in the whole world.

The Soviet Power exists now fifteen years. The landlords and capitalists suffered a crushing defeat in October. They raised the banner of civil war, called to their assistance the Germans, the British and the French. Together with them they devastated the country, plundered it, cut down and shot the population, not sparing anyone: neither old people nor children. The masses of workers and peasants grew up in this struggle, began to understand better, more deeply the class character of the struggle. Having driven out the enemies, the masses commenced, under the leadership of the Party, to reconstruct their life on new lines. This is hard work, new tracks have to be opened up. And this struggle for the building up of the new and complicated structure of socialism is developing on broader and broader lines, and is also going deep down. Our experience of struggle and construction is bound to help the cause of world revolution.

## The Most Imposing Task is Solved!

By Th. Neubauer (Berlin).

"Comrades, to work! Let us show that we are able to accomplish greater wonders of heroism and achieve still greater victories on the field of peaceful work than in war against the exploiters!"

Thus Lenin, more than 12 years ago, summoned the people, the Russian workers and peasants who only had just annihilated the white-guardist armies, to new and bloodless war: to the building up of a new life. It was necessary to build up the destroyed economy anew, to organise public life on a new foundation, to create new forms of social life. Gigantic tasks!

To-day, 12 years later, looking back over the path which the victorious Russian revolution has traversed since then, we can record with pride, how much has already been done to solve those tremendous tasks which Lenin set the Russian proletariat and its leader, the Bolshevik Party. The victories which the emancipated Russian workers and collective peasants have achieved in this bloodless war were achieved for the proletarians of all countries, for the great cause of international Socialism.

That the Russian people, exhausted by seven years of war and civil war, succeeded in spite of the capitalist blockade and uninterrupted threats of intervention in building up its economy anew in the space of a few years—this was the first magnificent victory, a victory unparalleled in the history of the world! And nevertheless, who speaks of it to-day? For a new, greater victory has put it in the shade: the victory of the Five-Year Plan!

When, four years ago, work was commenced on the Five-Year Plan, it was regarded by the whole of the capitalist world as a "utopian" idea, as a castle in the air, a chimera, as "Bolshevik propaganda"; and in all countries the economic experts of capitalism set to work in order to prove beyond all doubt, in hundreds of books and thousands of newspaper articles, that the Five-Year Plan was absolutely utopian and could never be carried out.

When to-day the emancipated people of Russia, numbering 160 million, prepare to celebrate the XV. anniversary of their victorious October revolution, they at the same time celebrate the **victory of the Five-Year Plan in four years!** The slogan of the Bolshevik Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., "catch up and surpass the capitalist countries!", has been partly fulfilled: the Soviet Union occupies a higher place in the statistics of world production than the highly industrialised old capitalist countries of Western Europe, above Germany and England, and is only surpassed by the United States. That is a new world-historical victory, the visible symbol of which is **Dnieprostroi**.

The working masses in all capitalist countries of the world view with terror the approach of a fresh and worse winter of starvation. The world crisis of capitalism has

reached a new stage and threatens to plunge the world into a new series of disasters. At the same time, however, the Soviet Union is completing the final preparations for the second, more gigantic, Five-Year Plan, which will complete the task of overtaking the capitalist countries and raise the whole social life of the people to a new and higher stage.

The enemies of the working class, the bourgeoisie and their social fascist lackeys, who can no longer deny the tremendous successes of socialist construction, wish to save the cause of bankrupt capitalism by insisting on the enormous sacrifices this victory of Socialism entailed. But pardon, gentlemen, it is very incautious of you to raise the question of sacrifices! In the capitalist countries of the world, over 35 million unemployed are starving at the present moment. Is that no sacrifice? The masses of the working people are sinking ever deeper into boundless misery. Is that no sacrifice? The capitalist class is proceeding ruthlessly with fascist methods of oppression against the working masses. Is that no sacrifice? But it is true, there is a difference: you impose the most monstrous and cruel sacrifices upon the working masses in the capitalist countries, in order to maintain a social order which is doomed to perish, to maintain the class dictatorship of the capitalist class enemy, whilst the sacrifices which the working masses of the Soviet Union made and are making are in order to build up their own economy, their own social life, their (and our) better socialist future.

Therefore, the whole of the world proletariat celebrate together with the workers and collective peasants of the Soviet Union the XV. anniversary of October as a day of victory for Socialism. As Marxist-Leninists we are not content with recording that in the course of a few years a new highly modern industry and a new collectivised agriculture have been created. What for us is more important, much more significant, is the transformation of social life which is taking place in this process of economic and social construction.

Only on the basis of proletarian democracy, which is the only genuine democracy and which can only be realised through the revolutionary victory of the working class, could the working class of the Soviet Union accomplish the heroic deeds of socialist construction which have compelled the respect of even the most fanatical enemies. This proletarian democracy is nothing else but the Soviet system, which, in the hands of Bolshevism, has shown that it is capable of unchaining the creative forces of the masses numbering millions and placing them in the service of Socialism. By means of the Soviet system it has been possible to make the masses of workers and peasants themselves responsible leaders of the economic life of the country and of the whole of public life. This proletarian democracy, which places the youngest working woman on an equal level with the red director, was the

## The Growth of the Soviet Towns.

Moscow, 24th October 1932.

The increase of the numerical strength of the working class as the result of the successful building up of socialism in the Soviet Union is also causing the towns and industrial districts to increase in size and population. In 1926 there were 31 towns in the Soviet Union each having a population of over 100,000. To-day there are 46 such towns. During the last few years no less than **one hundred completely new towns** have grown up around socialist industrial giants. The biggest of these new towns is **Magnitostroi** which now has a population of 140,000 and is rapidly rising to the 200,000 mark. The new town at the **Dnieperstroi** power station has already 130,000 inhabitants. A new town of 75,000 inhabitants has grown up around the **Gorki** motor car works. A new town is growing up rapidly around the **Yaroslav** rubber works. In the neighbourhood of **Stalingrad** four new towns with a population of 100,000 each have grown up. In the **Kusnetzk** metallurgical district fifteen new towns are in course of construction. All these new socialist towns are very different from the old provincial towns of Czarist Russia. They are all planned organically with the latest municipal advantages for the workers living in them. The difficulties which have to be overcome in this work are tremendous, but they are not insuperable to socialism.

most effective instrument for developing the forces which the Soviet State requires in order to organise the whole of its social life.

Proletarian democracy has been able, on the basis of the socialist economic system, to tear down those thousand-year-old barriers which are insurmountable in all capitalist countries. It did away with the subjection of women and conferred upon her full equal rights in the economic and social life. It overcame the cleavage in the generations and finally abolished the capitalist suppression of the youth.

Proletarian democracy was the basis on which the new labour discipline developed. That was and is no easy task. For it means that millions of people, who only recently were unable to read or write and were entirely ignorant not only of modern machines but also of the collective process of production and collective work and life, are being filled with the spirit of Socialism. We know that this is a long process of development, the completion of which lead immediately into the second, higher phase of the new social development, into fully developed Communism. But we see the foundation already before us in the Soviet Union.

Socialist competition unites the enormous energies of the working masses for the common aim, the realisation of Socialism. The passionate devotion of the thousands of shock brigades, which unite in their ranks the best working men and women, is becoming the driving force of the rapid development of Socialism. This is something new, which no capitalist country has ever been able to produce, and which is solely possible as a result of the revolutionary emancipation of the working masses.

The press hirelings of capitalism imagine that they can belittle the magnificent successes of socialist construction by magnifying the difficulties which continually arise, in order by this means to arouse fresh hopes of the collapse of the hated Bolshevism. But the difficulties in the Soviet Union arise in the struggle for a new world, in the struggle for the solution of questions which confront the human race for the first time. But the enormous forces of the emancipated working masses, which have hitherto overcome all these difficulties, are the guarantee that they will also be overcome in the future.

On the basis of proletarian democracy, the national question, which the capitalist world is incapable of solving, is also being solved. On the territory of the Soviet Union there live 186 different peoples, belonging to the various nations, enjoying full equality of status and co-operating harmoniously with one another. What this means is shown by a mere glance at the situation in capitalist Europe, which is continually threatened by war owing to the national antagonisms of 32 nations which antagonisms capitalism maintains and intensifies.

**To-day, 15 years after the October Revolution, we witness** the growth of a new world, of new forms of socialist work and social life. This new world of Socialism which is being built up on one-sixth of the globe is a thousand times more than the gigantic power works, the huge factories and the miraculous achievements of technique; it acquires its real meaning through the new social life which fills it. We can find technique in its most modern and powerful forms also in capitalist countries, but the new social life of Socialism we find only in the Soviet Union.

The prerequisite for this development of Socialism, the precondition to the solution of all those great world historical tasks, was for the Russian working class, and is for the working class of all capitalist countries, revolutionary emancipation from the yoke of capitalism. The later powerful victories of the cause of Socialism are based on this first victory which the proletariat of the Soviet Union, under Lenin's leadership, achieved with its victorious October, and which we in the capitalist countries have still to achieve. The working people of the Soviet Union are the teacher of the working class of all countries. Their victories for the realisation of Socialism are a stimulus and an example for the working masses of the other countries who are still pining to-day in the darkness and barbarism of capitalism.

If precisely at the present time the imperialists of all countries are again discussing the plan for a common anti-Bolshevist world war, if we see not only in the Far East but simultaneously also in Europe that the imperialist Powers,

headed by France and England, threaten the Soviet Union with war, then the working class of all capitalist countries must realise that in defending the Soviet Union they are defending their own cause, the cause of Socialism and the most sublime aims which ever inspired humanity.

Thus we greet the working people of the Soviet Union on the XV. anniversary of their victorious October.

## Appeal of the International Bureau of the F.S.U.

On November 7th 1917 the revolutionary workers and peasants of Russia, under the leadership of the Bolsheviki headed by Lenin, overthrew the bourgeois government supported by the social-democrats, and through the Soviet Government, established the rule of the working class. Against a world of enemies and at enormous sacrifices, they defended the victory of Socialism, and after the defeat of the counter-revolution proceeded to re-build their country on a new socialist basis.

When the toiling masses of the Soviet Union celebrated the 10th anniversary of their revolution on the 7th November 1927, 1000 delegates of the toiling and oppressed masses of all countries met in Moscow to form the "Friends of the Soviet Union". Profoundly convinced that the Russian workers and peasants had demonstrated the right and only way by which the exploitation of human beings by human beings can be abolished, they resolved to gather together all those forces existing in the capitalist countries who, like themselves, were ready to take up the unconditional defence of the first workers' and peasants' state against all imperialist attacks.

This was on the eve of the beginning of the gigantic work of Socialist reconstruction on the basis of the first Five Year Plan. The organised Friends of the Soviet Union have followed the realisation of this stupendous plan, month by month and year by year, through the eyes of their delegates elected in the factories and workshops, and have carried the tidings of the successes of socialist construction into every country. Whilst the bourgeois world, and the social-democratic accomplices of reaction sneered at the Plan and prophesied its failure, the Friends of the Soviet Union proclaimed that the mighty undertaking would succeed. And they have proved right.

To-day the whole world knows and recognises that the Plan has succeeded, has indeed more than succeeded. To-day the whole world knows and recognises that over this one-sixth of the earth the production of material goods increases daily and hourly, that the last elements of the whole class rule are being finally eradicated, that unemployment has vanished, and that the millions of the population of this once backward country are passing through an unparalleled social and cultural upswing. And all this when, in all capitalist countries, the economic structure is collapsing and the mass of the toilers, deprived of work and bread, sinks deeper and deeper into want and misery.

On November 7th 1932 the workers and peasants of the whole world will celebrate **the 15th anniversary of the victorious proletarian revolution.** The Friends of the Soviet Union call upon the masses of the exploited and oppressed in all countries to gather together in great demonstrations in honour of this day, it summons them to show that for them, in view of the collapse of capitalism, in view of the increasing danger of a new imperialist war, and in view of the glorious example set by the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, there is only one slogan: **With all forces against decaying capitalism! With all forces against a last desperate effort of capitalism to save itself by destroying the advancing Socialism by force of arms!**

**Everything for the Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union!**

**Everything for the triumph of the socialist order all over the world!**

**Defend the Soviet Union! Join the F.S.U.!**

**The International Committee of the Friends of the Soviet Union.**

Berlin, 19th of October, 1932

## **Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union**

# **The Results of the September Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U.**

**By M. Kaganovitch.**

*The following is taken from the report delivered by Comrade Kaganovitch at the Plenum of the Moscow Committee of the C.P.S.U. on the results of the Plenum of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. and the tasks of the Moscow organisation.*

The September Plenum of the Central Committee of our Party dealt with three questions: the development of Soviet trade, the production of articles of daily use and the promotion of the iron smelting industry. On all these questions the Plenum adopted the reports of the respective People's Commissariats and organisations and also the co-reports of the Workers- and Peasants-Inspection.

The decisions on the question of the iron smelting industry, of articles of consumption and of Soviet trade constitute a uniform whole, the totality of the tasks on which the C.C. of the Party has concentrated its attention and for whose solution all the forces, the whole will and energy of the Party, of the non-party working masses and collective farmers are being mobilised.

By means of the successful fight against Trotzkyism and the Right deviation, by collectivisation and by strengthening the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, we now have the possibility of strengthening this alliance still further on the basis of developing collective-farm trading. The great achievements in the sphere of heavy industry enable us, provided we increase the tempo of the heavy industry and especially of the iron industry, to develop light industry to a maximum, and to increase the output of articles of daily consumption. The development of Soviet trade, the increase in the circulation of goods are being effected by us on the basis of the decisive fight against the private trader, the nepman and speculators. The decisions of the Plenum of the C.C. mobilise the Party, the working class, and the collective-farm peasants for the solution of new practical tasks in the fight for the general line of the Party, for the victorious conclusion of the first Five-Year Plan. The decisions of the Plenum fill the masses, numbering millions, with new strength, courage and energy and call upon them to repel all opportunists, to rally more firmly round the Leninist C.C. of our Party in order further to overcome the difficulties and to fight for socialism.

### **For overcoming the Faults and for Organising new Victories in the Iron-Smelting Industry.**

Comrade Kaganovitch then proceeded to give a detailed analysis of the social and economic development of the country in connection with the successes and victories of the Five-Year Plan. He illustrated by means of figures the successful realisation of the Five-Year Plan in the most important branches of economy (Machine construction, oil production, electro-technics, clothing industry etc.), and emphasised that the iron smelting industry and a number of branches of the light industry have remained behindhand in regard to carrying out this year's programme.

Continuing, he said, although the iron smelting industry is among those branches of economy which have been lagging behind in carrying out this year's programme, we have to record great achievements also in this branch of industry, which we must not underestimate in any case. It suffices to mention that in the period since the XVI. Party Congress eight blast furnaces have been reconstructed, twelve new blast furnaces have commenced working, nine of them in the course of the present year. Two further blast furnaces are to commence working shortly. Of the 20 Martin furnaces which commenced working in the recent period, 13 were blown in in the course of the present year. In addition, 16 blast furnaces and 50 Martins furnaces are being constructed. As regards the production of iron, the output in the nine months of the

current year amounted to 4½ million tons, and that of steel to 3½ million tons. We have also increased the output of high-grade steel.

But all these achievements in the iron smelting industry must not blind us to the very serious shortcomings existing in the sphere of constructing and setting to work of new blast furnaces, Martins furnaces and rolling mills, and especially in regard to carrying out the production plans in the smelting works and rolling mills. In this respect we must keep in mind the gigantically increasing demand of our national economy for metal and the possibilities we have of considerably increasing the output of metal, which possibilities, however, we have not sufficiently utilised. Our tremendously growing engineering industry constitutes an enormous demand for metal. Its demands, unfortunately, are met only to an insufficient extent. There exists a considerable disparity between the growth of our engineering industry and its supplying with metal. Whilst, for example, the engineering industry has increased fourfold in comparison with the year 1928, the production of steel has increased only 36 per cent. From this it is clear how important for us is the work of the iron smelting industry and how important it is to ascertain and remove the shortcomings which exist in the organisation and management of the smelting works.

The Plenum of the C.C. emphasised in its resolution that among all the causes of inadequate work of the iron smelting industry, the chief consist in the unsatisfactory economic, administrative and technical management, that too little regard is paid to the study and mastery of the technique of production, that labour discipline is weak and too little attention is paid to the daily requirements of the workers.

An important cause of the inadequate work of the iron-smelting industry is the weakness of the work in regard to training cadres, beginning with the workers, foremen and technicians right up to the engineers, department and factory managers. This is an urgent question not only in the smelting industry. There is a great number of new workers and young foremen, technicians and engineers in our enterprises. It suffices, for example, to point out that in the electro-technical industry the number of workers employed has increased from 45,000 in the year 1930 to 130,000 in the year 1932. In the engineering industry the number of workers employed has increased from 455,000 in the year 1930 to 947,000 in the year 1932.

The Central Committee has taken all this into consideration and in a number of its recent decisions emphasised the necessity of a systematic and consistent struggle to improve the qualifications and extend the technical knowledge of the middle and higher engineering and technical staffs and also of the ordinary workers. The C.C. especially emphasised this in the recently published decisions on the high schools and on the coal-mining industry in the Don Basin.

### **On the Production of Articles of Daily Use, on the Work of Industry and the Productive Co-operatives.**

On the basis of the tremendous growth of the heavy industry, the reconstruction of agriculture, and the increase of the cultivation of technical plants, we have created the possibility to promote also the light industry very rapidly—both in regard to increased output (in the year 1931, output increased by 71 per cent. as compared with 1928), as well as in regard to the reconstruction of the technical basis of production. The following industries show a particular growth: the garment industry by 276 per cent., hosiery by 140 per cent., the footwear industry by 226 per cent., and the leather industry by 134 per cent. (the increase relates to the year 1931 compared with 1928). But the demand in the coun-

try, the demand of the workers and collective peasants, has increased still more. At the same time the growth of the heavy industry has resulted in an increasing demand for the products of light industry.

With the general increase of 11 per cent. in the output of goods in the year 1931 compared with the year 1930, the stocks on the market increased by 5½ per cent. and consumption outside of the market by 27 per cent. The C.C. has therefore elaborated a programme for increasing mass consumption and raised the question of restriction of consumption outside of the market.

The C.C. has issued strict instructions according to which, in the first place, articles of daily use are to be delivered to the market, and especially to the village market. In the course of the last six months, and especially in the last three months, we have supplied the village with more goods than we have the town. We have done this deliberately, because it is absolutely necessary, in order really to develop the collective farm trade, to supply the collective farm peasants with industrial products.

In the production of articles of daily need we come up in the first place against the question of the raw material basis. Take for instance the question of cotton. Before the revolution, Russia imported as much as 200,000 tons of cotton a year. We also have to import raw cotton. But the Party has conducted a persistent fight in order to create a cotton basis, and has succeeded in this.

This year we must and will harvest 27 to 28 million poods of home grown cotton, and will not have to send money abroad for the purchase of cotton.

The complaint made by the economists of light industry as to the lack of raw material in the fourth quarter of this year will not stand examination.

In the decisions of the Plenum of the C.C. the Party devotes great attention to the textile industry. The wages of the textile workers are increased on an average by 15.9 per cent. We must take special pains to improve the conditions of living of the textile workers (midday meals etc.).

#### **Development of Soviet Trade, Improved Work for Supplying the Workers and Collective Farm Peasants.**

In the course of the last 18 months or two years the C.C. has adopted a number of drastic measures for developing Soviet trade.

The Plenum of the C.C., after hearing the report of the People's Commissar for supplies and of the Centrosoyus as well as the co-reports of the C.C.C., recorded that there is still unsatisfactory work on the part of the trade organs, although a number of successes are to be recorded in the development of the network of trade. During the first seven months of the year 1932, 20,200 shops and 28,600 stalls were opened by the People's Commissariat for Supplies and by the Centrosoyus. But we are still lagging behind in the organising of our trade, before all in regard to the rapidity of the turnover, the reduction of overhead charges, the purchasing on the part of the trade organs themselves, cleanliness in the shops and on the markets, as well as the fight against embezzlements. Goods are still frequently sent where they are not needed. We have also to fight against the accumulating of unnecessary reserves of goods. By the directives of the C.C., the share of reserved goods in the villages was reduced from 23.1 per cent. in the year 1931 to 9.5 per cent. in the year 1932, but in actual fact the reserves were much larger.

The most important question to-day is that of commercial cadres. We will not achieve anything, no matter how many resolutions we pass, if we do not introduce new strong cadres into the co-operatives, and into the trade organs.

We have not yet properly developed collective-farm trade. We must openly admit this. Although, for instance, the turnover of the collective farm peasants on the Moscow markets is increasing from month to month, it is still by no means satisfactorily.

The central task consists in organising and developing the collective farm and Soviet trade as the most important instrument for improving the supplies to the workers and for further strengthening the alliance between town and country. We must decisively oppose the Leftist, underestimation of the importance of collective-farm trade, as well as the attempts of the Right opportunists and of the kulak elements to let loose the anarchy of the market, to give elbow-room to the kulaks and speculators.

Public feeding is of extraordinary importance. Whilst in the year 1928 there were in Moscow 167 public dining rooms capable of providing meals for 180,000 persons, in the year 1931 were 508 dining rooms with 874,000 regular guests, and in the year 1932 1,000 dining rooms and 1,600,000 guests. In Moscow, in the near future, public meals will be supplied to 2 million people. Public dining rooms are to be established for employees and at least a further 80 to 100 dining rooms for workers.

In regard to cattle breeding we still have the greatest difficulties, but we must not permit the bureaucrats to use these difficulties as an excuse for their inactivity, their bad work and the half-heartedness with which they conduct the fight against bad management, embezzlements and waste.

#### **Forwards to new Victories under the Leadership of the Leninist C.C.**

The decisions of the C.C. deal heavy blows to the capitalists and the bourgeois-degenerated counter-revolutionary Trotzkyists and Right opportunists; they offer resistance to all grumblers, they mobilise the will, the energy and the forces of the Bolsheviks, of the workers and collective farm peasants, for the further fight on the basis of the successes already achieved, under the leadership of the Leninist C.C.

The decision on increasing the harvest yields and the cultivation of the land of the collective farms are of the greatest importance by reason of the fact that firstly, they consolidate our achievements in the sphere of the socialist transformation of our economy and secondly, they indicate the way to further increasing and improving agricultural production.

The decree for the protection of socialist property is of historical importance in regard to consolidating the achievements in the sphere of socialist construction. The fight for protection of socialist property against kulaks, speculators and robbers is one of the most important forms of the class struggle at the present moment.

What tremendous changes the Five-Year Plan has brought about! Hundreds of new works and factories, dozens of new towns, ten thousand of square kilometers of land where only recently a patriarchal order prevailed now have hundred of thousands of new Soviet farms, collective farms, machine and tractor stations, schools, clubs and libraries. 140,000 tractors are working on the fields of the collective farms and Soviet farms; thousands of automobiles made in the Soviet factories are travelling on the newly constructed thousand-mile-long high roads.

And there are still people in the camp of the counter-revolutionary Trotzkyists and of the Right opportunists who now, in the year 1932, propose nothing more nor less than that we give back to the capitalists in the form of concessions the works which have been erected by the arduous work of the workers and the collective farmers. There are people who propose to us nothing more nor less than that we dissolve the Soviet and collective farms and restore the kulaks. We have achieved great successes in the fight for our economic independence, in the fight for the industrialisation of our country. But there are people who still propose that we increase our dependence upon the capitalist world, as nothing has come of our fight for our economic independence. This is a miserable group, the rotting remnants of the Trotzkyist and Right opportunist opposition, with whom it is no longer necessary to enter into discussion but who must be simply expelled from the ranks of our Leninist Party. We must throw out the people who adopt a conciliatory attitude towards and help these enemies.

The great Leninist Party is firmly pursuing its way and is rallying more firmly than ever round its C.C., round its steadfast leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin (loud applause).

We do not forget for a moment that our country, through the firm Leninist leadership of the C.C. and of Comrade Stalin, has strengthened not only its inner, but also its international power. As a result of the industrialisation we have strengthened the defensive force of our country and increased the power of the Red Army. This enables us to conduct the foreign policy of a strong proletarian State. Our workers and collective farm peasants are firmly convinced that their government which is pursuing a peaceful policy, will, should necessity arise, know how to defend the independence of our country, not only by diplomatic means but also by deeds.

For this reason our workers and our collective farm peasants unconditionally support our Party and its true Leninist policy.



**Marxism-Leninism**

# Comrade Stalin's Reply to Comrades Olechnovitch and Aristov in Connection with the Letter to the Editorial Board of "Proletarskaya Revoluzia") on "Some Questions of the History of Bolshevism".

*The fortnightly journal of the C. C. of the C. P. S. U. "Bolshevik", publishes Comrade's Stalin's reply to the letters of two comrades which they addressed to Comrade Stalin on the occasion of Comrade Stalin's well-known letter to the "Proletarskaya Revoluzia" — On some questions of the history of Bolshevism.*

To Comrade Olechnovitch,

I received your letter. I am somewhat late in replying owing to being overloaded with work.

I can in no way agree with you Comrade Olechnovitch, and for the following reasons:

1. It is not true to say that "Trotskyism never was a fraction of Communism". So far as the Trotskyists broke—even only temporarily—with Menshevism and divested themselves of their anti-Bolshevist views—also only temporarily—and were admitted into the C.P.S.U. and the Comintern and accepted their decisions, Trotskyism was undoubtedly a part, a fraction of Communism. Trotskyism was a fraction of Communism also in the wide sense of the term, i. e., as part of the Communist world movement, while at the same time remaining apart as a group, as well as also in the narrow sense of the term, i. e., as a more or less organised fraction within the C.P.S.U., which fought for influence in the Party. It would be ridiculous to deny the facts, known to all, regarding the Trotskyists—facts which are recorded in the resolutions of the Party Congresses and Conferences of the C.P.S.U.—proving that Trotskyism was a fraction of the C.P.S.U. Does the C.P.S.U. tolerate no fractions and is it unable to consent to their legalisation? Yes, the C.P.S.U. does not tolerate fractions and cannot agree to their legalisation. That does not mean, however, that Trotskyism did not in reality constitute a fraction. Precisely because the Trotskyists in reality had their fraction and fought for its legalisation, precisely therefore, and for other reason, were they subsequently expelled from the Party.

You try to put yourself in the right by endeavouring to make a distinction between Trotskyism and the Trotskyists, with the idea that what applies to Trotskyism cannot apply to the Trotskyists. In other words, you want to say that Trotskyism was never a fraction of Communism, but Trotsky and the Trotskyists were a fraction of Communism. That is sophistry and self-deception, Comrade Olechnovitch! There can be no Trotskyism, without the bearers of Trotskyism, i. e., without Trotskyists, just as there can be no Trotskyists without Trotskyism—even if it be a concealed Trotskyism—otherwise they would cease to be Trotskyists.

Wherein consisted the characteristic feature of the Trotskyists when they formed a fraction of Communism? It consisted in the fact that the Trotskyists "permanently" vacillated between Bolshevism and Menshevism, this vacillation reaching its highest point and developing into a fraction fight against the Party at every turn made by the Party and the Comintern. What does this mean? It means that the Trotskyists were not real Bolsheviks, even when they were in the Party and submitted to its decisions, and that at the same time one could not call them real Mensheviks, although they often diverged in the direction of Menshevism. It was these vacillations which underlay the inner-Party fight between the Leninists and the Trotskyists in the period in which the Trotskyists were in our Party (1917-1927). Behind the vacillations of the Trotskyists themselves lay the fact that the Trotskyists had, it is true, divested themselves

of their anti-Bolshevist views and had thus entered the Party, but had not abandoned these views, for which reason these views were plainly manifested at every turn made by the Party and the Comintern.

You obviously do not agree with such an interpretation of the question of Trotskyism. Then, however, you are bound to arrive at one of two incorrect conclusions. Either you must arrive at the conclusion that after entering the Party, Trotsky and the Trotskyists completely abandoned their views and became real Bolsheviks—and this is incorrect as with such an assumption, that constant inner-Party fight of the Trotskyists against the Party which prevailed during the whole period when the Trotskyists belonged to our Party, becomes unintelligible and inexplicable—or you must arrive at the conclusion that Trotskyism (the Trotskyists) "was always a fraction of Menshevism", and this again is incorrect, as Lenin and the Leninist Party would have committed a fundamental error, if they had admitted Mensheviks into the Communist Party, even if only for a minute.

2. It is not true to say that Trotskyism "was always a fraction of Menshevism, one of the varieties of the bourgeois agency in the workers' movement", and equally wrong is your attempt to separate from one another "the relation of the Party to Trotskyism as to the theory and practice of a bourgeois agency in the workers' movement" and "the relation of the Party to Trotsky and to the Trotskyists in a definite historical period".

Firstly, as I have already said, you commit an error, a scholastic error, when you artificially separate Trotskyism from the Trotskyists and, vice versa, the Trotskyists from Trotskyism. The history of our Party shows that such a separation, so far as it has been permitted by one or another part of our Party, redounds always and entirely to the advantage of Trotskyism and facilitates the latter's concealment tactics when making attacks on the Party. I can only tell you, between ourselves, that you render Trotsky and the Trotskyist smugglers the greatest service when you introduce into our political practice the methods of artificial separation of the question of Trotskyism from the question of the Trotskyists.

Secondly, after committing this mistake you were bound to commit another, resulting from the first, in that you assumed that the Party, "in a definite historical period" regarded Trotsky and the Trotskyists as real Bolsheviks. Such an assumption, however, is quite incorrect and absolutely irreconcilable with the facts of the history of the inner-Party fight between the Trotskyists and the Leninists. In this case what is the explanation of the unceasing fight between the Party and the Trotskyists during the whole period the Trotskyists belonged to the Party? You do not believe that this was a wrangle and not a fight waged over principles?

You see that your "correction" of my "letter" to the redaction of the "Proletarskaya Revoluzia" led to an absurdity.

In actual fact, Trotskyism was a fraction of Menshevism until the Trotskyists entered our Party. After the entry of the Trotskyists into our Party it became temporarily a fraction of Communism. After the Trotskyists had been driven out of our Party it became again a fraction of Menshevism: "The dog returned to his vomit".

It therefore follows:

a) it cannot be maintained that the Party, "in a definite historical period", regarded Trotsky and the Trotskyists as real Bolsheviks, as such an assumption is contrary to the facts of the history of our Party in the period from 1917 to 1927;

\* "Proletarian Revolution". Periodical of the C.P.S.U. devoted to Party history.

b) one cannot be of the opinion that Trotzkyism (the Trotzkyists) "was always a fraction of Menshevism", as from such an assumption it would follow that our Party, in the period from 1917 to 1927, was a party of a **block** between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks and not a **Bolshevik party cast in one mould**: a conclusion which is absolutely false and incompatible with the fundamentals of Bolshevism:

c) one cannot artificially separate the question of Trotzkyism from the question of the Trotzkyists without running the danger of becoming an unwitting instrument of Trotzkyist machinations.

What course then still remains open? There is only one course open, namely, to recognise the fact that Trotzkyism, "in a definite historical period", constituted a fraction of Communism—a fraction which vacillated between Bolshevism and Menshevism.

15. 1. 1932.

J. Stalin.

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To Comrade Aristov.

You are involved in a misunderstanding, Comrade Aristov.

There is no contradiction between the article "The October Revolution and the Tactic of the Russian Communists" (1924) and the "Letter to the Redaction of the "Proletarskaya Revoluzia" (1931). These two documents deal with different sides of the question; and this appears to you as a "contradiction". But there is no "contradiction" here.

In the article "The October Revolution" it is stated that in the year 1905 it was not Rosa Luxemburg, but Parvus and Trotzky who brought forward the theory of "permanent" revolution against Lenin. This is perfectly in accordance with the historical facts. It was no other than Parvus who came to Russia in 1905 and edited a special newspaper in which he actively advocated "permanent" revolution against the Leninist "conception"; and afterwards it was Parvus, and with him

Trotzky—these yoke-fellows, who at that time bombarded the Leninist scheme of revolution and set over against it the theory of "permanent" revolution. As regards Rosa Luxemburg, she was at that time behind the scenes and refrained from active fight against Lenin on this ground, preferring, apparently, not to be involved in the fight for the time being.

In the polemic with Radek in the article "The October Revolution and the Tactic of the Russian Communists" I dealt specially with Parvus because Radek, who dealt with the year 1905 and "permanent" revolution, purposely maintained silence regarding Parvus. And he maintained silence regarding Parvus because after 1905, Parvus became an odious figure; he became a millionaire; he became a direct agent of the German imperialists, and Radek did not wish to couple the theory of "permanent" revolution with the hated name of Parvus; he wanted to evade history. I, however, went straight ahead and thwarted Radek's manoeuvre by re-establishing historical truth and giving Parvus his deserts.

So much for the article "The October Revolution and the Tactic of the Russian Communists".

As regards the "Letter to the Redaction of the Proletarskaya Revoluzia", the question is dealt with there from another aspect, namely, that the theory of "permanent" revolution was created by Rosa Luxemburg and Parvus. This, also, is in accordance with the historical facts. Not Trotzky, but Rosa Luxemburg and Parvus created the theory of "permanent" revolution. Not Rosa Luxemburg, but Parvus and Trotzky, in the year 1905, employed the theory of "permanent" revolution and fought actively for it against Lenin. Afterwards Rosa Luxemburg began likewise to fight actively against the Leninist scheme of Revolution. That, however, was already after 1905.

That is all.

24. 1. 1932.

J. Stalin.

## ***The Situation of the Working Masses in the Capitalist Countries***

# **The Situation of the Working Class in Czechoslovakia.**

## **2. The Position of the Metal Workers.**

**By G. Friedrich (Prague).**

*Whilst the conditions of living of the miners even before the war were wretched, the metal workers on the other hand were always among the better paid sections of the working class. In times of prosperity skilled metal workers frequently earned as much as 2,000 to 3,000 crowns a month. A considerable part of the labour aristocracy was recruited from the ranks of the metal workers. For this reason also, the big metal-works in Prague, Pilsen, Moravian-Ostrau etc. were for years strongholds of reformism. For the same reason the Communist Party and the red trade unions were for years unable to establish a foothold in these centres of capitalist production, which are decisive for the whole development of the class struggle. Only in the last two years has it been possible to penetrate these undertakings. The Communist Party led the magnificent strike of the Rothau metal workers and of the Karlshütte proletarians, and it also broke through the social-fascist front in the Prague metal works.*

\* \* \*

In the post-war period the process of concentration in the Czech metal industry and smelting industry proceeded at a rapid pace, with the result that these branches of industry constitute monopolies. There arose a number of gigantic undertakings, such as the Witkovitz mining and smelting works, Skoda works, Cesko-Moravska-Kolben-Danek works, which, in constant competitive struggle against each other and against foreign concerns, carried out a feverish rationalisation. The boom which was experienced in the years 1926-1929 compelled the metal industry to increase this process of rationalisation still further. The gigantic new investments which were under-

taken at a time of high prices and high rates of interest, imposed an enormous burden, amounting to hundreds of millions, on the metal industry. It is quite understandable, therefore, that with such a degree of rationalisation in Czechoslovakia the crisis was bound to mean a complete disaster to the metal industry. Foreign markets were closed to an increasing extent. The policy of the Czechoslovakian big agrarians, who prevented any imports of agricultural products from the agrarian States of South-East Europe, was largely responsible for this exclusion of the products of the Czech metal industry from foreign markets. The export of finished goods from Czechoslovakia declined from a monthly average of 1,298 million crowns in 1929 to merely 358 million crowns in August 1932. The export of machines and instruments alone declined by fully 50 per cent. in the first seven months of 1932 compared with the same period of 1929. The home market declined at an equally rapid rate. The smelting, metal and machine works were compelled to restrict their production more and more. Of the 34 blast furnaces which were working in Czechoslovakia in 1929, only 11 are operating now. The production of iron, which in the year 1919 amounted to only 54 per cent. of the pre-war production and which in the year 1929 rose to the peak level of 134 per cent., dropped in May 1932 to scarcely 31 per cent. of the pre-war output. In the same month the steel output amounted to 55 per cent. of the output before the war. In the first six months of 1929 818,000 tons of pig iron were produced. In the first six months of 1930 the output had dropped to 609,000 tons and in the year 1932 to only 252,000 tons. This means a decline in output of 58.8 per cent. in the course of a year and 70 per cent. compared with

the peak level of 1929. The "Prager Tageblatt" of August 20, stated:

"Already in 1931 the output did not suffice, in view of the greatly increased capacity, to guarantee a profit. In 1932 it is obvious the return will not be sufficient to cover costs of depreciation and interest; the industry is bound to enter a period of definite loss."

These gigantic losses were of course shifted on to the metal workers. The dismissals and closing of works had assumed a mass character already in the previous year. At the same time there was a reduction of piece rates, which was soon followed by a reduction of basic wages. The first blow was dealt against the working population of the nationally oppressed districts. In Carpatho-Ukraine and Slovakia nearly all the iron works were closed down. In the German industrial districts of Czechoslovakia the first big mass dismissals were carried out when the iron works in Rothau, which in the boom period employed about 3,000 workers, was closed down and a part of the workers were transferred to Karlshütte in the Czech district of Czechoslovakia. As a result of this closing down of works not only were the dismissed proletarians deprived of bread, but the whole district with its hundreds of small shopkeepers and tradesmen were ruined. Immediately afterwards, however, wholesale dismissals took place also in Karlshütte.

With the intensification of the crisis the mass dismissals in the metal industry increased. The Skoda works, which in times of prosperity employed as many as 40,000 workers, dismissed about 10,000 workers in the course of the year 1930. There took place further dismissals of thousands of workers in the course of 1932. Thus in the Prague Skoda works only 600 workers are employed at present compared with 1,640 in normal times. The method of laying off working for definite periods is employed in the whole of the metal industry. The Prague Eisenindustriengesellschaft in Kladno temporarily lays off 2,000 to 2,500 workers each week. On an average the undertakings work only 5 days a week, and many departments only 4. In the last few months there have been increasing attacks on the workers employed in the Cesko-Moravska-Kolben-Danek concern, the largest undertaking in Prague and one of the most important rivals of the Skoda Works. At the end of 1931, about 11,000 workers were still employed in all the works of this concern. By the end of July, 2,250 workers and 200 officials had been dismissed. A further 6,000 workers are to be dismissed shortly. In one factory of the concern in Cesko-Moravska, half of the workers (2,500) have been temporarily laid off. There is a strike in the "Walter" automobile works in Prague. The management made a monstrous attack on wages. Out of 800 workers 200 were dismissed and the rest temporarily laid off. With the aid of the reformist trade union leaders wage cuts ranging from 20 to 45 per cent. were put through and about 450 workers were re-engaged under the new conditions. The average wage now amounts to between 100 to 120 crowns a week.

Of the six blast furnaces in the Vitkovitz works, four have been extinguished. The Ringhoffer works in Prague at present employ scarcely a third of the normal staff; 730 workers are at present employed as compared with 1,130 last year. All of them are on short time.

According to official figures the total number of the unemployed metal workers is 63,000. Their actual number, however, exceeds 100,000 and the greater part of those who are still in employment are working only 3 or 4 days a week. Only a very small part of the unemployed receive any benefit under the Ghent system. The majority of them get only food tickets. The social composition of the unemployed metal workers has greatly changed of late. Among them there is a continual increase of highly skilled workers who have been thrown on the street after having worked for 15 to 20 years. The former high wages have been reduced to a starvation level. In 1931 wage cuts amounted on an average to 30 to 40 per cent. and in the year 1932 increased on an average to 50 per cent. of the wages in 1929. The normal monthly income of a metal worker ranges from 400 to 600 crowns.

The increased attacks on wages are coupled with an increasing fascisation in the factories, with increasing attacks on the revolutionary workers and the rights of the factory councils. Every revolutionary worker is dismissed. In the "Walter" factory the management prevented the setting up of a list of red candidates at the factory council elections by

dismissing all the candidates and also those workers who signed the red list.

The increased misery and terror, however, leads at the same time to a far-reaching radicalisation of the metal workers. In a number of metal works the red trade unions achieved big successes at the last factory council elections. The ferment and discontent resulting from the treachery of the reformist leaders is increasing among the whole of the metal workers. In the Skoda works in Pilsen, which was an unshakable stronghold of the social democracy, great mass demonstrations have taken place recently against dismissals. A broad united front movement against dismissals and wage cuts is also developing among the Prague metal workers. In addition to the strike in the "Walter" undertaking, there were strikes in various departments of the Cesko-Moravska-Kolben-Danek works. Of great importance was the strike in the Janecek munition works, where the workers fought for three days on account of the dismissal of one of their number. In Prague there took place in August, for the first time for years, mass demonstrations of the metal workers employed in the Kolben works, which were attended by over 4,000 metal workers. The other day there took place a demonstration of the metal workers of the Nusle and Vrsovice districts of Prague, which was attended by over 2,000 workers who put forward their revolutionary demands.

## SOCIAL FASCISM

### The Congress of the Socialist Party of Spain.

By Vincente Arroyo (Madrid).

The party congress of the Socialist party of Spain, which was held in Madrid, was concluded a few days ago. The discussion on the activity of the party fully confirmed its policy of betrayal of the interests of the working and peasant masses of Spain.

The question which occupied the centre of attention at the party congress was the attitude of the leaders of the Madrid organisation in connection with the movement prepared by the Republicans for the overthrow of the monarchy in December 1930. The socialist leaders endeavoured to prove that they were not responsible for the fact that on the outbreak of the general strike in the whole country, there was no strike in Madrid. In this discussion the various leaders simply engaged in mutual recriminations, the only result being that they fully proved the culpability of all responsible leaders.

It was the desire of the socialist leaders that the participation of the workers in the revolt in 1930 was to be confined, in those places where a movement of the military was proceeding, to serving as a background to the actions of the military, to "lending warmth" to this action, i. e. to shouting "hurrah!" on the streets. Where, however, there was no movement of the military, the workers had to see to it that government troops were not sent to other districts, but at the same time no resort was to be had to violence, which "would dishonour the revolution"; that is to say, the workers were to allow themselves to be shot down without resistance by the bullets of the monarchist troops. Care was to be taken to prevent weapons falling into the hands of "irresponsible elements", into the hands of Communists and revolutionary workers in general, so as to prevent the movement from going beyond the limits which were agreeable to the Spanish bourgeoisie, in order to throttle the revolutionary movement, which at the same time was tantamount to strengthening the government troops—monarchist or republican.

The treachery is perfectly obvious, and this betrayal by the socialist leaders of the revolution which had already commenced has been approved by the socialist party congress. Not a single voice was raised at this Congress in order to condemn the counter-revolutionary character of the instructions which were issued by the leaders of a movement calling itself revolutionary.

After all this it is not surprising that the Congress approved the whole of the anti-working class and counter-revolutionary policy of the three socialist Ministers.

As regards the future attitude of the socialist party, it is significant that the whole of the further discussion turned almost entirely on the question of participation in the govern-

ment: should the three socialist ministers remain in the government, or should they leave it? On this question three tendencies were revealed at the party congress: 1) Immediate resignation of the three socialist Ministers and no participation in bourgeois governments but allowing the formation of a purely socialist Government in the capitalist State; 2) the three socialist Ministers to remain in the government on condition that certain laws are passed, and 3) the three socialist Ministers to remain in the government for an indefinite time unrestricted by any provisions or conditions.

The first tendency was advocated by only one delegate and did not receive even one vote. The discussion then continued on the two other tendencies, which were in agreement so far as regards participation in the Republican government and only differed in their estimates of the given political situation. The tendency in favour of unconditional continuation of participation in the government carried the day with 23,718 votes against 6,536.

Nearly all who took part in the discussion emphasised that here there was no question of principle at issue, for no socialist Party could refuse on principle to take part in bourgeois governments, but rather was it a question of tactics, i. e., whether it was advantageous at the present time for the party to remain in the government. The socialist leaders argued as follows: **Prieto** said: "I maintain that the socialist party, should it obtain power—complete power, would be committing a serious mistake, in fact open suicide, if it encouraged the demand for the setting up of Socialism in Spain."

Thus for the socialists, who claim to believe in the possibility of transforming the prevailing order by peaceful means, the declaration of **Prieto** means: our mission, the mission of the socialist party, does not consist in countenancing the popular demand for Socialism, which would be "madness", rather is it the task of the socialists to bolster up the capitalist regime.

**Besteiro**, who was "opposed" to participation in the government, added: "I assume, if our Ministers withdraw from the government, it would upset the Parliamentary balance of the Republic, with the result that the life of the present Parliament would be shortened and premature elections would be necessary, which would be dangerous."

The treacherous role of the socialist party, however, was most plainly revealed by **Largo Caballero** who declared: "The fact is that the workers are demanding more than can be given them." (Therefore the socialist Ministers, when the workers demand bread, send the civil guard against them who shoot them down.) "If we compromise ourselves in the government, we would compromise ourselves no less in opposition, as the masses would demand of us the realisation of their hopes, which is impossible, and we would thereby also discredit the Parliamentary opposition and thus drive the masses to permanent revolution."

The socialists therefore consider it necessary to continue to participate in the government in order the better to mislead the masses with promises of social legislation and to divert them from the revolutionary path.

No mention was made at the socialist party congress of the terrible situation of the working class and the tremendous unemployment. It was a government congress which did not concern itself with problems immediately affecting the proletariat.

It was impossible however to pass over in silence the question of the **civil guard**. The socialist leaders know very well how the working masses hate the civil guard on account of their brutality and the bloodbaths carried out by them; and they also know that this hatred is still increasing and the existence of the civil guard is threatened. They were therefore compelled to deal with this question in order to prevent the workers from taking the matter into their own hands. Thus a resolution was adopted calling for the disbandment of the civil guard and its replacement by a "Republican guard".

But this was only a very platonic decision. **Besteiro**, who voted for the disbandment of the civil guard, hastened to declare: "this vote does not in any way mean approval of any ill-considered campaign or hasty action which our comrades might be drawn into, which might land them in difficulties, when the party would not be in a position to render

them any support". Here there is plainly exposed the demagogy of the socialist leaders and also their determination not to let it come to any concrete action and not to conduct any fight for the disbandment of the civil guard.

The attitude to the **question of war** is analogous. At first a resolution was adopted for proclaiming civil war, armed insurrection in the event of a war. Then the leaders and Ministers intervened, and told of the difficulty of the situation, with the result that the Ministers and Parliamentary deputies were then empowered to vote for the military budget.

The socialist congress, according to its composition—bureaucrats, lawyers etc.—, was a gathering at which the voice of the masses, who were filled with indignation on account of the treachery of their leaders, was not heard. The decisions of the Congress were that of a counter-revolutionary Congress. The honest rank and file members of the Socialist Party cannot but feel bitter disappointment in view of the results of this Congress, which has destroyed many of their illusions. The Communist Party has therefore a great task to fulfil: to draw the lessons from this Congress, to stigmatise the treachery of the socialist leaders before the masses of workers, and by means of the united front to draw these masses into the revolutionary fight against the bourgeoisie.

## How the Finnish Social Democrats Assist the Police.

Helsingfors, 18th October 1932.

The Communist Party of Finland is illegal but extremely active, particularly amongst the Finnish soldiers, in order to enlighten them concerning the tasks they will later on be expected to perform in the interests and as the cannon-fodder of the world bourgeoisie against the Soviet Union. The police are therefore equally active in their attempts to suppress all communist propaganda and arrest the propagandists who are then sentenced to long terms of hard labour. In their struggle against the Communist Party the police have the support of the Finnish social democrats who are anxious to prove that they are patriotic and loyal to the Finnish bourgeoisie. The following is an extract from the "**Arbeter-bladet**", the organ of the Finnish social democrats which appears in **Helsingfors**, of the 13th October:

"New Communist Arrests. More Military Agents arrested. The police have arrested an agent of the Communist Party named **Vuorinen** in **Kuusankosi**. **Vuorinen** worked as a military agent in **Kotka**. When he was arrested **Vuorinen** tried to shoot the officers who seized him. A great amount of material was found relating to the military policy of the Communist Party, including detailed instructions concerning the propaganda in the army and the work to form communist cells in the army. Amongst the papers were certain documents which indicated that **Vuorinen** conducted espionage. The communists always deny that they carry on espionage, but a drawing in the possession of **Vuorinen** was very compromising and in fact he tried to swallow the paper on which it was found when he was arrested."

This neat little report is in itself sufficient "evidence" to send **Vuorinen** down for years of hard labour. Where did the newspaper which calls itself a workers newspaper, get all this information? Was its correspondent present when **Vuorinen** was arrested? How does the paper know that **Vuorinen** is as a member of the Communist Party? Did its correspondent see **Vuorinen** attempt to shoot the police or attempt to swallow the "compromising drawing"? No, is the answer to all these questions. The report was either presented exactly as it is by the Finnish political police or it was drawn up on the "information" offered by them. At the trial this "report" of the social democratic newspaper will then serve as "evidence". This is only one of scores of similar cases in which the social democratic press co-operates with the police in the most shameful fashion in order to send revolutionary workers to prison, not mention the lively campaign of denunciation which it conducts on its own for the benefit of the police.