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The New Geneva Compromise.

By W. Baum (Berlin).

After long and, as the bourgeois press does not fail to report, "partially dramatic" negotiations, a compromise formula was finally agreed upon last Sunday at the Five-Power Conference at Geneva, which fulfils the purpose of bringing the German Government back to the deliberations of the Disarmament Conference. Having said this there remains little to be said regarding the significance of this formula. The judgements and expressions of opinion which we find in a part of the German bourgeois press going far beyond this, are nothing but a swindle. It is simply untrue when the "Zwölf-Uhr-Blatt" writes that "the Geneva agreement upsets the Versailles Treaty".

It is true, in the first paragraph of the agreement the governments of England, France, and Italy—the representative of the United States is still keeping behind the scenes—declare "that one of the principles that should guide the Conference on Disarmament should be the grant to Germany, and to the other Powers disarmed by treaty, equality of rights in a system which would provide security for all nations", nevertheless this "principle" still exists only in theory. For in actual practice the "principle" of equality is first to be embodied in a convention containing the conclusions of the Disarmament Conference. But it will be a long time before this convention is completed. The draft convention, which has been submitted to the Disarmament Conference as a basis for negotiations, demands that the armament figures shall be fixed right down to the last details for each individual State (there are 64 countries taking part in the Conference, 9 of whom do not belong to the League of Nations). This is a task which would last for years—if it can ever be completed. Now the Geneva Agree-

ment states that the declaration of the Governments of the United Kingdom, France and England "implies that the respective limitations of armaments of all States should be included in a proposed disarmament Convention."

There is not the least prospect, however, of the Disarmament Conference proceeding in the near future to lay down the figures for each individual country. For the Conference has still to consider the French security proposals, and further has to discuss the practical application of the principle of equality. There immediately arises the old problem: Shall equality be achieved by the other States gradually reducing their armaments to the level of Germany, or by Germany, and the three other disarmed States, being allowed to arm?

Nothing has therefore been decided regarding the fate of the Disarmament Conference. All that has been achieved by the new Geneva Agreement is that it has saved the Conference from being already wrecked now by the inner contradictions of the capitalist world, and especially by the antagonism between French and German imperialism. Both the English and the American governments exerted all their energies in order to prevent such a sudden end. But there can be no doubt that the fierce debates which are now pending, that the antagonisms in these discussions, will lead to still sharper collisions.

A fight for disarmament has been going on ever since Germany, 14 years ago, was compelled by the Versailles Treaty to disarm and the victor States undertook at the same time to disarm on their part, so far as this was compatible with the "national security" and the "special conditions of each

State". The Geneva compromise formula does not even attempt to overcome the antagonism between the French "security" demand and the German demand for equality. It has simply joined together the two contradictory demands in such a manner that the final convention, on which the German bourgeoisie' places its hopes, shall justify both.

For the time being everything remains as it was. General von Schleicher will be compelled more or less to abandon his "reorganisation of the Reichswehr", and proclaim it as a "success" that the oppressive isolation of Germany into which the German Government had manoeuvred itself since Neurath's ultimatum has been overcome. The Herriot Government has made good use of the time during which the German Government kept away from the Disarmament Conference.

There is no doubt that both for Paris and Warsaw the obdurate attitude of Germany on the disarmament question was a reason for ratifying the non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union more quickly than had been expected up to then. Herriot further succeeded in bringing about a close co-operation with the American representative Norman Davis, which must have appeared very threatening to the German Government. That was the reason why the Schleicher-Neurath Cabinet declared itself ready to seek a compromise resolution at the Geneva Five-Power Conference. The negotiations at Geneva confirm and emphasise the fact that the German bourgeoisie have really no reason to be proud of the result

of Geneva or to speak of it as a "great success", as the official comment does.

It is nothing else but a stupid attempt to deceive the population of Germany when the papers in Berlin and in Paris closely connected with the respective governments represent the new Geneva compromise as a guarantee of peace. As a matter of fact, this very compromise, even though it appears to ameliorate the existing antagonisms for the moment, will only stir up the fight between France and Germany. The capitalist world is unable to find a solution to any of the big questions in dispute, but is forced again and again to the expedient of postponing these questions. This is what is happening in the case of the Manchurian conflict, which is again being buried in a League of Nations Commission; this is also the case with regard to the question of war debts which after the categorical No! given by the United States, had to be postponed indefinitely; and the same thing has happened in regard to the disarmament question.

This method of putting off questions which the capitalist world is incapable of solving, will not ease and alleviate the situation, but render it more and more complicated. The antagonisms between the imperialist States are becoming more acute, and this development must finally drive to a point at which further evasion is no longer possible, at which it will appear as the only "solution" to the imperialists to cut through the Gordian knot with the sword of a new war.

Socialism Creates Undreamt-of Possibilities for Science and Technique.

By G. M. Krjijanovski.

(Member of the Soviet Academy of Science.)

Abridged Text of Speech Delivered at the V. All-Union Congress of Engineers and Technicians.

I.

At the present time, science in the countries of the West, which are in the grip of the unprecedented crisis of capitalism, is passing through a period of the fiercest reaction. In every language in the world we can find declarations that among the evils in the world, almost the chief one is the rapid advance of technique. The well known financier and famous journalist of France, **Caillaux** proposes as the chief measures of salvation a peculiar kind of "moratorium" with regard to all scientific and technical invention, a "moratorium", which is to extend for whole decades in the future.

The American writer, Chase, and a whole phalanx of fascist ideologists of capitalism in Germany and other countries make the same proposals.

The position in Germany is particularly difficult and the position of the German engineers is especially bad. The rapid post-war technical progress of capitalist rationalised economy, which with the help of machine-technique is rapidly throwing millions of workers out of industry, is an undisputed fact. But how can engineers and technicians oppose technical progress? How could they cut through the branch on which they themselves are sitting? And so they are reduced to writing helpless treatises on the subject: "We cannot help realising it, but we also cannot help avowing it", which is practically what is contained in the article of Professor Heidebreck and the manifesto of the German engineers published in the October number of the central organ of the German Engineers' Association.

This article and this manifesto describe with unusual clearness the position of the upper circles of the German engineers, and under the cloak of a pretended businesslike and realistic analysis of the causes of modern unemployment and the role of machine-technique in causing this unemployment, the timidity of scientific thought and the complete social helplessness of the upper ranks of the German engineers stands out with unusual vividness.

It is clear to Professor Heidebreck that it would be absolute **suicide** for Germany to accuse technique of every crime, to seek salvation in the stoppage of technical advance. He shows with sufficient eloquence how this technical progress was the prime cause of the great capitalist upsurge in

the period of the relative stabilisation of capitalism. He perceives that "you should not blame the tool if you don't know, how to use it". He realises that the modern capitalist world, in its reliance on modern technique, resembles the wizard of Goethe who called forth spirits from the underworld and was unable to cope with them.

But what is to be done—to give up technique means for Germany to give up its "place in the sun", to surrender its position to other nations which are in a more fortunate historic situation. To abandon technique means to fall into still greater unemployment.

In his confusion, Heidebreck tries to find support in the specific situation of Germany. He immediately brings up the Versailles treaty and the difficulties of working in Germany with borrowed capital, and the shortsighted eagerness to satisfy the demands which accumulated during the war and in the years of post-war devastation, but the chief thing is the "ethical factor". If only we could eliminate "gross materialism"! If only unemployment did not breed disquiet most of all "from the social-psychological aspect"! If only everything did not depend on the "internal position" of man! etc. The only salvation is for a group of high-minded engineers, technicians and businessmen, realising their responsibility to the country as one united whole and basing themselves on "selection" and "self-criticism", to unite their forces for improving the **quality** of their work and once more defeating other nations on the world markets. And such poverty of ideas is given out as the innermost aspirations of the whole German nation.

II.

The tragedy of the situation of the German technical bureaucracy, helplessly wandering in the capitalist blind alley is made still worse by another special feature. We correctly described the first Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union as a programme of great works and widely developed socialist advance. This experiment conducted was in a **backward country**, in conditions of tremendous post-war devastation, with the whole weight of the unfavourable historic inheritance on the shoulders of the working class. This experiment shows above all the greatness of the deeds and the aims which can be realised when the whole of mankind is liberated from the capitalist chains. By attentively

studying the documents of Western technique, we can glimpse even at the present time the outlines of the future gigantic construction works.

At the time of the Genoa Conference, we discussed with Comrade Lenin one proposal for such an internationalisation of labour. We proposed to take advantage of the Genoa Conference to consider a proposal for a great **electrified Railway from London to Peking, passing through all the chief capitals of Europe**. This line was to be combined with a tremendous plan for the electrification of the whole of Europe and Asia, and could have provided a tremendous field of labour for many millions of people. The circumstances of the Genoa Conference proved to be unsuitable for the consideration of this project, but in the speeches of Comrade Chicherin you can find references to this project.

Since then, technique has made new and tremendous advances. By our own experience we know that we have to give a new estimate to the value of electricity as the basis of modern economy. Not long ago we looked on a power station of 200,000 H.P. as the largest type of such a station. **At the present time we are already approaching the standard of 500,000 and 1 million kilowatts, and this is far from being the limit.** Remember the stages of our own transition from Volkostroï to Dnieprostroi, to Volgastroï and to the great rivers of Siberia with the impending huge plants on the Irtish, Ob, Yeneseï and Angara. But the Western engineers have already thought out and carefully drawn up plans for still larger projects. We are not speaking here of all-European electric power stations of the type worked out by the engineer **Oliven**. But I will call your attention to the project of the engineer **Hermann Zoergel on utilising the current in the straits of Gibraltar**, which has been very highly estimated from the technical point of view.

The position is as follows. The present Mediterranean Sea is the result of a geological convulsion which raised its previous level by 1,000 metres. The waters of the Atlantic Ocean are sweeping into the present Mediterranean Sea at the rate of 88,000 cubic metres a second. The Mediterranean Sea is a gigantic evaporating basin with a surface of 2½ million square kilometres. Every year, over 4,000 cubic kilometres of water are evaporated. A dam across the straits of Gibraltar would guarantee a yearly fall of over 1.6 metres in the level of the Mediterranean Sea. By lowering its level to the extent of 200 metres, we should provide for the establishment of a station of 160 million H.P. at the Straits of Gibraltar and at the same time we should interfere in the play of the elements and rectify their destructive powers, once more making Europe and Africa into a united continent.

We should hasten this process by building another dam across the **Dardanelles**, which would give a power of 7,200,000 H.P. A tremendous quantity of energy would be produced from electric water stations at the mouths of the rivers Rhone, Po and Nile when the level of the Mediterranean Sea was lowered.

Naturally, this work would take **many decades**, but the functioning of the stations with tremendous power would commence as soon as the level of the Mediterranean Sea fell by the first ten meters. At the same time, the Adriatic Sea would almost disappear, Italy would double its territory and there would be an enormous increase in excellent land in the best climatic conditions for Spain, France and all the countries on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

From the technical point of view, the project of the main dam at Gibraltar has been carefully worked out. This dam would be 29 kilometres long with a thickness of 550 metres at the base and 50 metres at the crest. The facing walls would be of concrete and the interior would be filled with earth. This project is known under the title of "Panrop", and the capital needed to carry it out is estimated at 8000 million dollars. Naturally, this is **beyond the power of the capitalist world**, which is perishing before our very eyes owing to the destructive internal contradictions which are tearing it to pieces. **But would it be impossible for the victorious proletariat of the world to take up such projects!**

Equally interesting is the project of the French engineer **Gandrillon**, who has called attention to another difference in water levels which could be used. This is due to the fact that the Jordan Valley and the Lake of Tiberius are 293 metres below the level of the Mediterranean Sea while the Red Sea is almost 400 metres below. In this connection, we might remember that our own Caspian Sea is 26 metres below the level of the Black Sea.

The most elementary calculations show that mankind in the future is faced **with an unlimited field of work along these lines with the most attractive perspectives**. But modern technique is developing similar perspectives of gigantic works in a number of very promising branches of electro dynamics. The **utilisation of the Tides** will bring us to the utilisation of such power which it is difficult for us even to imagine, because it is measured in many trillions of horse power. The utilisation of the hydraulic impact of the waves of the sea (and the use of the hydraulic ram already indicates the way in which this could be used), and finally the utilisation of **aerial cyclones** in turn lead us to such enormous quantities of electric power that we can only have a very distant idea of at the present time.

I wish to call your attention to a wonderfully brilliant project of the French engineer **Dubeau** for forming artificial hurricanes for the future African aero-dynamic stations. This project is based on the utilisation of the great differences of temperature in enormous masses of air over such sun baked and extensive plains as the Sahara Desert when there are steep mountain chains dropping into this plain as is the case in North Africa. It is easy to imagine that by building pipes of tremendous diameter up these mountain slopes with a smooth inside surface and reliable external insulation and the construction of receivers with glass roofs at the lower entrance of each pipe to increase the heating and by their construction assisting in the formation of an eddy motion, we shall be able to form real artificial cyclones, taking advantage of the difference of temperature between the upper end of these pipes which would rise kilometres high on the mountain chains, and the lower end which would receive the desert heat in the day time. Naturally at the upper end all these constructions would be provided with air turbines converting the destructive force of such hurricanes into the obedient tool of electric energy.

It is impossible for me to deal here with the perspectives which are opening up before the world of engineers and technicians by the **utilisation of the potential difference of low temperatures**, and methods of converting chemical potential directly into electric potential, or with the path along which we are gradually and steadily moving towards the utilisation of the inner **energy of the atom**. But sufficient has been said to see that in the light of these ever-growing possibilities, there is a deepening of the present gulf between them and the pitiful extent of actual practice which opens up before us in the conditions of the present crisis of capitalist economy. How absurd, what a mockery of mankind is the present labour of the falsification of scientific thought, all these plans for a "moratorium" of technical progress, all this pitiful babbling of the sycophants of capitalism, when the light of our own real achievements so powerfully converts the dreams of yesterday into the actual practice of to-day, so mightily outlines the new scale of future construction, the new possibilities of applying the developed front of science to the growing needs of the workers, liberated from the chains of capitalism.

III.

From the point of view of energetics, the final synthesis consists of the fact that **the October revolution sums up the whole of the energetics of the past and opens up the wonderful mechanism of the energetics of the future**. The energetics of the past were based on the economy of private property. In spite of the deadly influence of the internal contradictions of this economy, we will not minimise the achievements in the sphere of scientific and technical thought which the world has at its disposal at the present time. But the experience of our construction work plainly shows the only paths, the paths along which we are feeling our way, along which we shall rise in the future to higher stages in the construction of life. We rose to these stages and are still rising by difficult efforts.

In our past, it often seemed to us that we were faced with insuperable difficulties. Our class enemy was building his hopes on the expectation of our doom during these efforts. And now we stand immediately before the completion of the first Five-Year Plan, the same Five-Year Plan which our foreign enemies took to be pure bluff owing to its enormous magnitude. **The fact that this Five-Year Plan in its main features has already been accomplished is in itself a matter of world historic importance.** Is not this fact the most eloquent proof of the gigantic forces of the **new socialist energetics** which we are developing in our country?

As we look at world literature and the world press in our time, we see that, in the search for a way out of the blind alley, the minds of the seekers take up the idea of **planned economy**.

Heidebreck speaks of "definite aims" in the sphere of economy, of a „healthy plan" for agriculture. In this respect, a whole group of American economists take special pains. But nothing comes out of it. They cannot realise the simple fact that **great achievements are bought by great sacrifices and are paid for at a high price**.

We know what these sacrifices are when we look at the path of our October Revolution, when we sum up the results of our progress along the path of the construction of planned socialist economy in our country. Every stage was won in a fight, and only the class of the revolutionary proletariat is capable of such heroic sacrifices.

We have in our favour the tremendous battalions of proletarian fighters throughout the world who are marching towards the last and decisive fight. We have in our favour the equally tremendous achievements of world scientific and technical thought. **We are the only ones at the present time who have the greatest chances of success in opening up these resources**. We are fighting against the barriers set up by the economy of private interests along every line. At the present time we approach our agriculture and our transport as special branches of industry. We throw down all the barriers and build up our economy as a whole on a united electro-energetic basis.

The industrialisation of all the parts of our economy on the basis of electrification means nothing else but a more and more complete control by man over the elements. In all branches of science and technique at the present time we observe, as it were, the breaking of the river ice in the spring. All barriers are being swept away, and before our very eyes revolutionary changes are taking place, and a new science is being created.

IV.

There are no more hypocritical reproaches than those which we hear from our class enemies, when they charge us with building a community of ants with crippled individual development. Every one of our engineers, by examining himself, can plainly see how his intellect is growing year by year, how his vision is widening, and how all of us from the youth to the oldest members of the scientific academy, are being re-educated while standing at our posts of engineering and technical work.

We see how the vision of our first teacher, **Karl Marx**, is being materialised before our very eyes: We are approaching very near to the world expropriation of the expropriators, to the time when the prophecy of Marx will be fulfilled, that Communism will open the springs of material abundance, when we shall demand from each according to his ability and give to each according to his needs. The time is near when the classless structure of society will guarantee to every citizen the maximum development of his individual abilities.

Our record speed of economic construction shows that we are moving in this direction along a firm path and with the unprecedented speed which **Lenin** foresaw even at the period of our struggle against the terrific devastation after the war. Our loyalty to the red banner of Lenin is the best guarantee for our final and decisive success in this struggle for the new man.

China and Soviet Union again in Diplomatic Relations.

Moscow, 12th December 1932.

The Moscow press publishes an official report from Geneva according to which the president of the Chinese delegation to the disarmament conference, **Yen** and **Litvinov** have exchanged statements to the effect that as and from the 12th December normal diplomatic and consular relations exist between the two countries.

According to a report from **Tokio**, a prominent representative of the Japanese government has declared that the re-opening of diplomatic relations between China and the Soviet Union is viewed with mistrust in Tokio. He also declared that "elements under suspicion of attempting to break peace were now making common cause". This is about the last word in shameless Japanese impudence.

POLITICS

The Situation in Germany.

By B. St. (Berlin).

After sitting for three days, the Reichstag has adjourned. The immediate division on the vote of censure against the Schleicher government, demanded at the beginning of the session by the C.P.G., was prevented by the National Socialists, the Centre Party, the Social Democrats, and the German National Party. A hypocritical motion brought in the S.P.G., according to which a government declaration was first to be called for and then the vote taken on the vote of censure, was rejected programmatically by the Centre and Nazi parties. Finally the adjournment of the Reichstag for an indefinite period was resolved upon with the votes of the National Socialists and Centre Party.

This toleration of the Schleicher government by the Nazis, Centre, and Social Democrats, in Parliament, has run (and continues to run) parallel with a more or less "oppositionally" masked support of the Parliament. The A.D.G.B. (General German Trade Union Federation) leader **Leipart** declared himself openly for Schleicher in an interview with the Paris "Excelsior", and the committee of the A.D.G.B. is zealously promoting the wage reduction offensive. The same applies to the Christian trade union leaders. The National Socialist Party is taking an active part in strikebreaking actions, and has made on several occasions attacks on workers. And all join in a general chorus in every key against the revolutionary workers' movement.

Thanks to the direct and powerful support of the National Socialist Party, the Centre Party, and the Social Democrats with the A.D.G.B., both in Parliament and among the masses, the Schleicher government has succeeded in imparting a slightly parliamentary cloak to its dictatorship for the moment, thereby somewhat strengthening its position at the present juncture. But the class contradictions are becoming more intensified at an accelerated speed, and the differences in the camp of the bourgeoisie are not lessening, but increasing.

The growing indignation of the masses and the increasing acuteness of class antagonisms have wrung from the bourgeoisie a partial amnesty, passed in the Reichstag.

Schleicher's fascist government is trying to camouflage its actually intensified fascist regime by a few "social" gestures, and to hold back the proletarian mass movement, whose accelerated development the bourgeoisie fears in this hunger winter, with the aid of the A.D.G.B., the Christian trade unions, and the National Socialists, and to defeat the proletariat.

The aggravation of the economic crisis, the catastrophic financial situation, and the growing unemployment, place very narrow restrictions on the "concessions" granted by the Schleicher government. For instance, the 2nd part of the Papen wage reduction emergency order, issued on 3rd September, has been cancelled by the decision of the Reichstag; in actual fact all that has been cancelled is the general authority granted to issue further enactments on wage reductions, but the present wage reduction enactments, the millions granted in subventions to the employers, are maintained, and a new enactment is to "condense and supplement" these. Wage cuts will now be carried out by other methods for the most part: arbitration awards, free agreements with the trade union bureaucracy, and the like. The motions brought in for winter relief for the unemployed were passed on to a Reichstag committee by the Nazis and Centre, with the agreement of the Schleicher government. In this committee the minister for finance declared on 13th December that there is no money, that any deductions from the military budget for this purpose, as proposed by the communists, were not to be thought of, that the government would take up "work schemes" instead of this, and that "impossibilities should not be demanded" of the government.

Schleicher is working to draw the National Socialist Party directly into the Prussian and state governments. With this the manoeuvring capabilities of the S.P.G. will be enhanced at the same time, in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

The proposed participation of the National Socialist Party in the government on the one hand, and the growing

radicalisation of the masses and the rebellion in the Nazi Party on the other, have intensified the quarrels among the Nazi leaders as to the tactics and methods of deceiving the masses, and have brought about a clash in the National Socialist Party.

The Nazi leader **Strasser** sent a letter to Hitler, resigning all his functions. The Nazi "theoretician" **Feder** took a similar step, offering different reasons. The Nazi leaders **Frick** (chairman of the Reichstag fraction), Colonel **Hierl**, **Rosenberg** (editor in chief of the "Völk. Beobachter") are said to have like intentions. On the following day there was a renewed hail of "declarations of allegiance" but this does not signify much.

The differences between Hitler and Strasser involve the following points: **Hitler** is in favour of participation in the government, but in a concealed form, and accompanied by the largest possible amount of pseudo-opposition, in order to deceive the adherents of the party and to attain his goal of assuming the leadership and sole power in the capitalist state. **Strasser**, in agreement with Schleicher, is in favour of the immediate taking over of the posts of prime minister in Prussia and vice chancellor in the national government, and wants the concentration of the Reichswehr, the National Socialist Party, and the A.D.G.B., again under Schleicher's leadership.

Under the influence of the big industrialists, the financial backers of the National Socialist Party, and of the adherents of Strasser (and of Schleicher's plans for the direct participation of the National Socialists in the government), Hitler is going over more and more to Strasser's line.

The differences in the National Socialist Party are increasing, and are accelerating the disruption of the fascist mass movement.

Among the social democrats, disagreements have arisen between the A.D.G.B. and the Reichsbanner on the one hand, and the S.P.G. on the other. Whilst the A.D.G.B. leaders come forward more openly for the Schleicher government and strive for the inclusion of the trade unions in the ranks of fascism, and whilst the Reichsbanner is willing to participate in the "Institution for Promoting the Physical Efficiency of Youth", alongside with the Nazi Storm Detachments and the Steel Helmets, the S.P.G. would prefer to support the fascist regime in a rather more veiled manner. The rebellion of the proletarian members is strongest in the S.P.G., and therefore it requires a more impenetrable mask for its social fascist policy.

The C.P.G. is exerting every effort to mobilise the workers in a united front against the Schleicher government, and to expose its "social" gestures and the deceptive manoeuvres of the social democracy and national socialism. The C.P.G. is concentrating its main efforts on work in the reformist trade unions, in the works and factories, and at the labour exchanges.

Capitalist Relief Methods in the United States.

By M. L. (New York).

At least sixteen millions are unemployed in the United States, and they exist side by side with a huge inert productive apparatus. There is as much hunger as there is unsold food. The fourth year of the crisis finds city after city pretending to feed only one-third or one-fourth of its starving population, according to capitalist admissions. In city after city the entire mechanism of relief has collapsed; in coal mining and cropper towns in the South relief exists only as a word.

The capitalists are compelled to admit the seriousness of the situation. Thus, **Floyd Carlisle** (chairman of the Consolidated Gas, New York Edison and Niagara-Hudson Power Companies—all Morgan concerns) states that "unless the response this winter is greater than ever before, it would come close to meaning that the capitalistic system had broken". And **Newton Baker**, head of Hoover's Welfare Committee for Relief Mobilisation, said at the opening meeting of the Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee in New York City: "If you succeed in New York, and if we succeed in the U.S. generally, in feeding the hungry, and clothing the needy, and housing the shelterless, then there will be an atmosphere of calm and patient waiting on the part of those who are victims of whatever maladjustments have brought this catastrophe upon us . . ."

In **New York City** the relief work is handled by the Gibson-Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee which has

on its executive committee such millionaire bankers and businessmen as **Walter S. Gifford**, **Thomas W. Lamont**, **Charles Schwab**, **Owen D. Young**, **Myron G. Taylor**, etc. The relief drive in **New York City** is the spearhead of the capitalist plan for extending relief. This plan is to extort money from the pockets of those who are working on full or part time and for miserable wages. This scheme is being used as an example for the rest of the country to follow. The Emergency Relief Committee expects to raise a \$15,000,000 fund for the jobless and needy of the city. In this campaign, the capitalists impose forced collections on the workers, who usually dare not refuse to "voluntarily" contribute for fear of losing their jobs. The burden thrown on the employed workers is in effect a wage cut. The capitalists are determined to find the cheapest way out in this relief business and that is to make the workers pay. The basic methods, demanded by the workers, such as social insurance and unemployment relief, are repudiated by them.

Some of the facts cited below are taken from **Fortune** magazine, a respectable capitalist publication. In **New York**, the richest city in the country, relief, in the words of the director of the Welfare Council, "is on a disaster basis". Between 150,000-200,000 families are admitted to be in dire need. Grants of the Home Relief Bureau amount to \$2.67 per family per week for all needs. In the last eight months there were 280,000 eviction applications filed by landlords, "an astounding number". More than 20 per cent. of the City's school children are suffering from malnutrition, according to the Health Department. There are about 5,000 homeless boys adrift in the city and 10 per cent. of these are between the ages of 16-21 years.

Throughout the United States there are from 200,000-300,000 of these vagrant youths—the American "bezprizorni".

In **Philadelphia**, the situation was described by its Community Council as one of "slow starvation and progressive disintegration of family life. . ." The Governor of Pennsylvania estimated that 250,000 persons in Philadelphia "faced actual starvation" (in June 1932). Over 150,000 children are in need of charity and 27 per cent. of the school children are undernourished—i. e. 216,000 out of a school population of 800,000. The magnificent sum of \$4.23 a week is given to a family averaging 4.8 persons.

Unemployed in **Chicago** number about 700,000, forty per cent. of the employable population. Persons demanding relief must be in utter destitution to receive it. In Dec. 1931, the Emergency Relief fund in Chicago raised about \$10,000,000, which was less than one-quarter of the amount needed. By February 1932 this was gone.

In **St. Louis**, 13,000 families were dropped by relief agencies in July 1932. One-eighth of the city's population faced starvation and evictions. In this city, as well as all over the United States, large numbers of the unemployed live in refuse dumps and dig in the garbage for food. Hoovervilles have grown up out of packing cases, tin cans and sheet iron beyond the railroad tracks and among the vacant lots of industrial cities.

In **Youngstown**, Ohio, homeless men slept in the garbage in the municipal incinerator to keep warm until an abandoned police station was converted into a flop-house. In **Michigan**, 17,757 families were cut off the relief lists in July 1932. In **New Jersey**, the Emergency Relief Committee asked for \$20,000,000 for 1933, which would provide an allotment of 70 cents per person per week. In **Paterson**, New Jersey, 8,500 of the 12,000 families requesting relief get nothing at all. In **Georgia**, fifteen families are cited as keeping alive on a total weekly income of ten dollars for all fifteen. In **Pineville**, Kentucky, 157 children are fed one meal a day consisting of boiled potatoes, beans and cornbread—an ideal diet for inducing pellagra. In the coalmining states of Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Illinois, tens of thousands of miners and their families live in tents, children are eating every other day, dysentery and pellagra are common diseases. In **Paterson**, New Jersey, wages for full time run as low as two dollars per week; dye workers earn 12—14 dollars a week for an eleven-twelve hour day. In **New Bedford**, Massachusetts, girls in the pocketbook trades earn two dollars a week for a 48 hour week. In the textile mills of North Carolina, where large numbers of the 200,000 unemployed are begging on the roads, the full time wage is \$6.50 per week. The facts related above are neither isolated nor overstated, but are a cross-section that can be multiplied on a mass scale. The entire situation reflects mass undernourishment, disease, and starvation.

How many people face hunger this winter? If we assume that there are 2.5 dependents (**Fortune's** estimate) on each un-

employed worker, then on the basis of sixteen million unemployed, we can calculate 40,000,000 people who are in distress and need the means of subsistence. But this figure excludes the many millions working part time and their dependents. If these are included then the total is from fifty to sixty million people who are without adequate means of living. To include part time workers and their dependents, the forty million should be increased by 25 to 50 per cent.

The **American Federation of Labor** estimates the decline in the income of the working class since 1929 as 25 billion dollars, as shown in the following table:

Year	Workers' income (in millions of dollars)	Loss from 1929
1929	53,252	—
1930	45,503	7,749
1931	37,741	15,511
1932	28,232	25,020

In contrast with this stupendous decrease in workers' income, which is the result of the wage-cutting campaigns carried on by the bosses, the total interest and dividend payments by corporations in both 1930 and 1931 exceeded that of 1929 and in the early part of this year were still 72 per cent. above 1926 levels.

The capitalists are working toward the systematic reduction of living standards to unheard of low levels. The miserable charity relief is being reduced from a mere existence level to an actual starvation basis. The relief organisations have worked out a diet and a technique of purchase and distribution of food which reduces the money expended for feeding. Now they measure the food in calories and make the workers believe that if more calories are administered, they are getting a "well-balanced diet". Thus in Chicago, a well-balanced diet can be bought for nine cents, per person daily, in Syracuse nine cents per person, in Toledo, six cents, in Niles (Ohio) three cents per person. Yet no less an authority than the U.S. Children's Bureau states that the minimum weekly cost to provide food only for a family of five is \$7.65 to \$10.25, or twenty-two cents per person per day.

The job-sharing campaign is an even more vicious attempt to force the living standards of the whole working class to lower depths. It serves to put upon the workers still on the job the obligation of supporting the millions of unemployed. **Walter Teagle**, president of the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey, is head of this job-sharing movement. Teagle, in an article in the N.Y. Times (Oct. 30) stated the programme of the spread-the-work movement, as follows:

"More than 3,000 firms, mostly in the manufacturing industries, have already adopted similar plans and it is estimated that if they had not done so 3,000,000 more workers would have been added to the unemployed. Railroad companies are now following the same procedure and the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. has kept 50,000 employes on this basis."

Teagle's own company has put its 30,000 workers on this basis. He says further, "The contribution of the worker is easily discerned, for his pay envelope . . . is immediately reduced." A writer in the new outlook (edited by Al Smith, leading Democratic politician) baldly characterises this stagger system as a senseless fake and admits its obvious inability to increase consumption.

"The share-work programme now being promoted in industry needs little comment. It is sterile of all logic or sense. The total amount of work remains the same. Sharing will certainly not increase purchasing power and industry cannot move until purchasing power is raised."

The **Journal of Commerce**, organ of Wall Street, admits bluntly the futility of the solution to the problem of increasing consumption while production does not increase. It vaguely hopes for some Messianic way of eliminating overproduction and crises. In an editorial entitled "Creating Jobs" it states (Nov. 7):

"At some future time it may be possible to secure a more stable condition of working class income, when we have discovered ways of effecting a better balance between production and consumption (i. e. the obviously impossible hope of overcoming crises of overproduction—M. L.). At present, however, we do not possess any magic formula capable of bringing about an expansion of wage payments in periods of depression before the opportunities for

profitable utilisation of more labour have become manifest."

The attempt to relieve unemployment and restore purchasing power by constructing public works has been a failure. The rapid increase in unemployment figures attest to this. The amount expended for all public works, federal, state and local, has declined from 3.6 billion dollars in 1930 to 3 billion in 1931. This year the Emergency Relief Act was passed by Congress authorising the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to loan \$300,000,000 directly to states for relief purposes, and \$1.5 billion for construction projects. Up till the end of October only \$31,000,000 went to thirty states for relief and only \$134,000,000 for construction works. This money is released slowly except under mass pressure. By demonstrating against a 50 per cent. cut in relief in **Chicago**, 50,000 workers compelled the Secretary of the Illinois Emergency Committee to rush to Washington and force the Reconstruction Finance Corp. to grant about six million dollars.

In order to press the demands of the millions who face starvation and force the federal government to grant these demands, the **National Committee of Unemployed Councils** is organising a **National Hunger March and Worker's Congress** to meet at **Washington** beginning of December. The basis of the Hunger March is the representation from masses of jobless who have been united for the local struggle for relief through city and state Hunger Marches. The Hunger March consists of three thousand delegates from all over the country representing mine, marine, textile, steel and metal, railroad and transport workers. They will attend a worker's congress in Washington, then go in a body to the United States Congress and place before it the demands already endorsed by mass meetings, united front conferences, unemployed councils and labour unions. These include 1) fifty dollars relief for each jobless worker; 2) ten dollars more for each dependent, and this in addition to local relief; 3) the Federal Worker's Unemployment Insurance Bill; and 4) the immediate full payment of the ex-soldier's bonus. The statement of the National Committee of the Unemployed Councils points out that "only the determined and united struggle of the masses who suffer from and are threatened by the effects of the prolonged crisis can save the millions who face slow starvation, exposure and death this winter."

INTERNATIONAL STRIKE WAVE

Barricade Fights in Greece.

By Kostas Grypos.

Two weeks after the outbreak of the first big strike in Greece the tremendous strike wave has not only lost nothing in intensity, but on the contrary has increased in extent and assumed **exceedingly sharp forms**. As is to be seen from the frantic declarations of the Ministers, as well as from the nervous, panicky, column-long reports of the whole of the capitalist press, the situation in the country is **extraordinarily tense**. In the present article I will confine myself to giving only the most important of the items of news, which follow swiftly one after the other and speak for themselves.

In addition to 2,500 tramwaymen, 1,500 gas workers, and over 1,000 bakers assistants in Athens, the bakers assistants and textile workers in Piraeus have gone on strike. Up to now only the strike of the tobacco workers in Agrini has been settled, following the granting of the whole of the workers' demands. Most of the organisations of the State employees, the railway workers on all lines in the country, the gas workers of Piraeus, the dock workers of Salonica, the most important trade unions in Patras, and a whole number of smaller trade unions have already unanimously adopted strike decisions at their general meetings, elected strike committees and also in many cases paid their contributions to the strike fund.

All the ruthless measures of the government, including the persecution of the strikers and the Communists, the arrest of the whole of the civil servants' committees, the strict prohibition of any meeting of State employees, and of the railwaymen in particular, have been unable to check the powerful movement. Special measures have been adopted against the Communists, who are playing an important role

in all these strike preparations and strikes. The Communist Party, which up to now has been leading a semi-legal existence, is now threatened by the Minister for the Interior with complete illegality. The "**Rizospastis**", the daily central organ of the Party, has been prohibited, the whole of its editorial and printing staff arrested, and its offices sealed. Nevertheless the Party was able immediately to issue a smaller daily edition of the "**Rizospastis**" and to publish the Communist weekly organ of Salonica as a daily. Seven of the ten Communist members of Parliament are in prison; two of them were arrested during the street and barricade fighting in Athens.

As the whole of the bourgeois press is forced to admit, up to the present **not a single strike-breaker** has been found among the tramwaymen and gas workers. The many hundreds of unemployed tramwaymen and gas workers, some of whom have been out of work for years, who do not receive any unemployment benefit and are actually starving, have not only not performed blackleg work, but stand in one front with their striking fellow workers, take their place in the picket line, and actively participate in the barricade fights.

The government is having the bread for the population of Athens and Piraeus baked by soldiers. The few street cars which have left the depots are driven exclusively by airmen, sailors and naval officers. It is only by having the dangerous work in the gas works performed by sailors, who are compelled thereto by military discipline, that it is possible to secure a limited supply of gas to the town. After a special leaflet of the strikers addressed to the sailors had been distributed by the young Communists, in spite of the greatest difficulties, and 20 sailors lay in hospital with burns sustained in performing the dangerous unaccustomed work in the gas works, it came to a big mutiny. Even the arrest and imprisonment of four, and then 50 sailors proved unable to restore discipline. As the bourgeois press writers, who slander the sailors in the most contemptible manner, admit, fresh mutinies are to be expected.

It came to extraordinarily fierce fights between the bakers and the police. Some bakeries which were working with the aid of strikebreakers and under police protection were demolished by the strikers. Many strikers and police have been more or less severely injured in the uninterrupted street fighting. A striker named **Adamopoulos** was so savagely beaten by a policeman that he died on the spot. This did not prevent two eminent medical professors from certifying that Adamopoulos died as a result of a chronic illness, and not from the injuries he received. Immediately after Adamopoulos' death it came to great demonstrations of the strikers, who brought his corpse from the mortuary to the trade union house. It was only after fierce fighting that the police were able to bring the corpse back. The cruel death of Adamopoulos has increased the indignation of the masses and welded the strike front more closely together.

It came to fierce forms of fighting in the case of the tramwaymen. Uninterrupted struggles, extending over years, by the tramwaymen against the obdurate electricity company, which is working mainly with English capital, have imbued the tramwaymen and their families with strong self-confidence and militancy, which find expression in their present strike. For the first time in the history of their fights there are absolutely no strike-breakers. **Moreover, it is the first time that their wives and older children have taken part in the street and barricade fights to such an extent as at present.** Of the few agents of the electricity company who ventured to enter the works and depots, 11 are already lying in hospital. 37 of the street cars, which were driven exclusively by sailors and airmen, were, as the government announces, completely demolished by "strikers, communists and other workers". As the whole of the bourgeois press writes, "the public no longer venture to travel by the street cars".

The main fights, however, are taking place outside the tram depots. Already on the second day of the strike it came to **barricade fighting** in Kalithea, at which the Communist member of Parliament Nefeludis, who fought at the head of the strikers against the police, was mishandled and arrested. On the fifth and sixth day it came to **fresh and fiercer barricade fighting.** Hundreds of strikers with their wives and older children erected barricades in front of the Agia Trias tramway depot in Piraeus, and fought for hours against a large body of police which arrived in 40 motor lorries. One worker was severely injured, many were slightly injured and 300 strikers were arrested. In spite of this the police could not accomplish anything, so that the chief of police had to

order the withdrawal of all the blackleg cars which were running.

Astonished beyond measure at the heroism and fighting spirit of the workers in the barricade fights in Agia Trias, the whole of the capitalist press are publishing column-long reports and demanding in their leading articles still more brutal and bloody measures against the strikers. It came again to barricade fighting in Kalithea and in the Piraeus Street in Athens.

The Prime Minister Tsaldaris, who at the beginning of the strike declared: "I shall not negotiate with the strikers until they return to work", has now been obliged to receive a delegation of workers in his private house, it is true, without result. With the slogan of "life or death", untimidated in spite of the wholesale arrests and injuries, the tramwaymen, together with their wives and children, are continuing the fight until final victory.

It is too early yet to sum up the result of the events in Greece. The strike of the railwaymen and civil servants, which is expected to break out shortly, will enormously swell the strike wave and give it greater impetus, so that the Tsaldaris Government, which is already shaky, will in all likelihood be overthrown. The Communists, even where they do not possess the majority on the strike committees, have won the complete confidence of the broad masses of strikers by their active participation in the street and barricade fights, and today are playing the most prominent role on all strike fronts. The next and most important task of the red trade unions and of the revolutionary trade union opposition is, by means of mass pressure, to break the last desperate resistance of the trade union bureaucracy of the railwaymen and post-office employees. In this way this powerful strike wave, which is shaking the whole country, will not only remain a unique and magnificent chapter in the heroic history of the Greek proletariat, but will be followed by a whole series of events of the very greatest importance, which will play a decisive part in the immediate future of capitalist Greece.

Increasing Struggles of the Irish Workers.

By Jim Hale (Dublin).

For six weeks the **Castlecomer miners** (Co Kilkenny) have fought the coal bosses for an increase in the miserable scale of wages paid them. Their strike has now ended in a victory for the workers. The bosses were forced to grant an increase of 1d per ton to the drawers. This fight has been a great triumph for militant rank and file leadership.

This struggle very clearly exposed the reactionary role of the Trade Union officials. The **Dublin Trades Union Council** refused to grant any help to the miners while the leading Trade Unions were very noticeable by their inactivity.

On the other hand solidarity of the rank and file of the organised workers with the miners was demonstrated by the action of Dublin No. 1 Branch of the Irish Woodworkers Union, which undertook to levy themselves while the strike lasted and collections were taken at many Dublin factories.

The rank and file leadership of the strike and the solidarity of the workers and the poor farmers with the striking miners has been able to defeat the bosses in spite of the fact that the whole capitalist press and the reformist Trade Union leaders were with the coal owners.

The **Irish railwaymen** are now preparing for strike action. The Award of the Railway Wages Board which seeks to impose drastic cuts on the already meagre pay of the rail workers has been rejected by the men. The Dublin Council of the National Union of Railwaymen composed of 52 branches with a membership of 5,000 has called for strike action for midnight December 11th. The other unions involved have also had meetings at which the rank and file displayed their determination to resist any attempt to impose a cut. By the wonderful solidarity and the fact that strike committees have already been set up by the men the Trade Union Officials have been forced to go more to the "Left". The workers in the subsidiary companies, namely, Irish Omnibus Company and Wallis Carriers have pledged themselves to stand by the rail workers in the forthcoming struggle.

The growing militancy of the workers and working farmers as shown in the great **Belfast** fight last October, in the many strikes now actually in progress or pending, the rapid organisation of **the unemployed**, who have just held a most successful National Convention, and the many important concessions won by them in many towns and the growing

strength and influence of the **Irish Revolutionary Workers Groups** has resulted in a terrific barrage from press and pulpit against communism. The Bishops have issued pastorals in which they announce that anyone having connection with communism cannot remain in the Church. Militant workers are victimised in and out of work. At the instigation of the Clergy workers who attended the National Conference of the Revolutionary Workers Groups were evicted and thrown on the roadside. Here in a country where there is so much about the "Sanctity of the Home" homes are broken up and home life denied to militants of the working class.

Every religious denomination without exception, every bourgeois and petty bourgeois political party and even the recently formed White Army has been granted the use of the Public Hall in the Mansion House, Dublin, whenever they required it. But the meeting advertised by the Irish Revolutionary workers Groups to be held in the Mansion House in Commemoration of the 15th anniversary of the Russian Revolution was banned by the Lord Mayor who cancelled the meeting. In spite of the ban a mass meeting was held **outside** the Mansion House.

Councillor **Jim Larkin** (Jun) moved a vote of censure on the Lord Mayor for his refusal of the Mansion House at the meeting of the Council on Monday 5th December. The motion was defeated by 28 votes to 2. The opposition was composed of a solid block of the Conservatives, Fianna Fail and Labour Party. One of the members of the Labour Party who voted against the motion was P.T. Daly who has recently been to the Soviet Union on a delegation.

When in the Soviet Union, Daly called for a closer connection between the Irish workers and the workers of the Soviet Union, but in Ireland Daly lines himself up with the class enemy and attempts to prevent any working class connection between the two countries.

With the break up of capitalism all pretence at democracy is dropped. In **Cork** where a public meeting of the unemployed was to take place the clergy mobilised the members of the various religious societies in order to "prevent a communist meeting". One worker who was suspected of being a communist received a severe beating. These incidents occur in a country where the President "guarantees" free speech for all.

It is significant that every religious and capitalist paper now features the "menace of communism" daily as the principle item. The growing membership and formation of new groups of the Irish Revolutionary Workers Groups added to the fact that a definite decision has been taken by the workers to launch the **Communist Party of Ireland** in **February** has struck fear and terror into the hearts of the capitalist class with the results as stated.

Ireland is no exception to any other country. Neither are the Irish workers any different from the workers in other lands. The growing white terror in Ireland will have the same results as in Poland, Germany and elsewhere and that will be a strong mass Communist Party leading the workers in alliance with the poor farmers to a complete overthrow of the present degrading system and the establishment of the Workers' State.

London, December 11.

A postponement of the Irish rail strike, due to start tonight, is now assured, by reason of the Free State Government having offered a subsidy of four months' duration to the railway companies equivalent to the saving that would have been effected by the imposition of the 10 per cent wage-cut demanded. The railway unions have expressed the hope that the Government of Northern Ireland will fall into line on this matter and that the companies will accept it.

Crisis on the Indian Railways.

By M.

Railway transport is by far the most important industry in India—at least so far as the volume of business is concerned. It employs the largest number of men—nearly eight hundred thousand. The industry is also a bulwark of British imperialism and directly of the British government in as much as 4 out of the 9 principal railways are state owned. The revenue from the railways constitutes one of the main sources of the colonial plunder of British imperialism, and British finance capital is intimately associated with the Indian railway industry.

Be that as it may, the post-war economic crisis did not fail to make itself felt in the Indian railway industry. But still in

1930 the railway companies had not suffered any actual loss. In fact, the earnings of the Indian railways in 1930 with regard to their operating ratios (ratio of expenses incurred to revenue earned) were superior to the earnings of the best foreign railways. In India in the year 1930 the operating ratio was 65.83, while nowhere else in the civilised world was it less than 70.65. While the net percentage of profits on the Indian railways was 4.66 in 1930, the first class railroads in the U.S.A. yielded only 3.56 per cent. But this did not save the workers. Already the wages of the workers in India were ridiculously low, being founded on a starvation basis. The railway workers (who, by the way, are the best paid in India) begin work at the rate of Rs. 12 per month (little less than \$3.65) and out of this pay for Sundays and most other holidays are deducted. Only those workers of the line staff who have also to work on Sundays and most holidays get their pay for those days. This brings the daily wages of a worker to nearly 6 d and the workers are expected to live and work on this meagre earning. Nevertheless the authorities began to pursue a slow and steady retrenchment scheme. Not that the authorities were slow in retrenching men out of any consideration for the distress of the workers. Their past experience had taught them that if a large number of men were suddenly thrown out of work then there might be a disturbance and the workers might go on strike. Besides, the political atmosphere of the country was dangerous and there might have been a flare up. So, they drew up a scheme for gradually discharging three hundred thousand people and the scheme began to work with extreme nicety and clockwork precision. By the end of June, 1931, nearly 35,000 men were sacked and in this the state managed railways showed the most zeal, their retrenchment figures together being nearly three-fourths of the total number.

Besides retrenchment various other policies of rationalisation were also pursued. Men were forced to take long leaves without pay. Several workshops were closed down on Saturdays, many were forced to work shorter hours and so forth. The authorities were intent upon getting back their fabulous profits at the expense of the poor workers. By December, 1931, the total number of workers discharged amounted to nearly 43,000 as admitted by the Railway Board.

The **Railway Trade Unions** were looking idly on without taking any action. There are 18 or 19 Trade Unions on the various railways, some of the railways possessing more than one. Of these a few are controlled by direct Government agents, one or two trying to give realrevolutionary lead to the working class and the rest, forming the majority, are under the domination of the policy of the Second International, that is, reactionary and reformist in nature. They are extremely averse to direct mass action or to educating the workers to take their stand on the class basis, and their only way to "fight" the authorities is by "firm but respectful" resolutions of protest, sending long memoranda and applications etc.

But the crisis was deepening and the discontent of the workers was also rising to a higher pitch. In the face of this mad orgy of retrenchment and wage-cuts, the All India Railwaymen's Federation, submitted quite tame proposals to the All India Railway Board (which is the representative body of the State-owned railways in particular and all the railways in general). The Federation openly avowed that it had at heart "the commercial interests of the management". But even these proposals were rejected by the Railway Board. The Federation, ruled by reactionary labour leaders like Giri, Mehta, Ruikar etc., went on threatening the authorities with empty phrases. But even this threat which but feebly reflected the growing dissatisfaction and unrest among the workers could not be overlooked by the Board, and so they again began to flirt with these reactionary champions of labour. As a result fresh negotiations ensued between the Board and the Federation.

The Federation duped the workers with false hopes making them believe that herculean tasks were being performed at the conferences between the Board and the Federation. The Board was fully aware of the reformist role of the Federation and in order to countenance the Federation the Board and the Government decided after months of deliberation to appoint a Court of Enquiry under the Trade Disputes Act to enquire into the retrenchment of the workers. But the limits imposed upon it turned it into a farce, for the Court was impotent as regards the major question of retrenchment, it being empowered to enquire into the minor questions of victimisation, favouritism, inadequate terms allowed to the discharged staff, etc. Even the reactionary Federation was not at first satisfied with it and it decided to boycott the Court of Enquiry. Later, these champions

of labour mysteriously changed their mind and decided to place evidence before the Court. Only one union, the E. B. Railway Workers' Union declared, "The Court is impotent as regards the major question of retrenchment and it has been arbitrarily appointed by the Government without taking into it any representative of labour. The Court has been appointed only to hoodwink the workers. This is obvious from the fact that the Government itself is attaching no importance to it, for even while the Court is holding its sittings, it has notified its desire to discharge 7,500 fresh men without waiting for the decisions of the Court on retrenchment. The only honourable way for the workers to protest against this farce and against the new move of further retrenchment is to boycott the Court of Enquiry and to be prepared for a General Strike."

But the mountain was, all the same, in labour. In the meantime rationalisation went on in full swing. More workshops closed down on Saturdays, several on Fridays also, and one or two even on Thursdays too. To crown all, from December, 1931, an all round wage-cut at the rate of 3½% for men getting less than Rs.40/- a month, 6¼% for those getting up to Rs.82/- and 10% for the rest was introduced. Even a "Khalasi" getting Rs.9 i.e., 12s. per month was not exempted from this wage-cut.

This was the last straw to break the camel's back. In spite of the ceaseless efforts of the treacherous reformist Trade Union bureaucracy to keep the workers in check and to prevent the workers from resorting to direct action, at some places the class conscious workers took the lead in their own hands, and sporadic strikes broke out at **Lahore, Bombay, Nagpur**, etc. at the beginning of this year. But the Trade Union officials in conjunction with the authorities cut off all their resources and prevented the strike from spreading all over the lines. The one or two revolutionary Trade Unions being comparatively very weak and hampered on all sides through want of funds, persecution etc. were unable to assume the lead immediately and so the strikes ended with on or two minor victories here and there. In this connection it should be mentioned that the **Calcutta Committee of the Communist Party of India** distributed many illegal leaflets to the railway workers at this time and with the help of the Party nuclei in the railway centres of **Bengal** tried to spread the strike all through the line. But due to the want of an All-India, well coordinated and strongly functioning Party apparatus they were unable to carry this into effect.

At last the Court of Enquiry published its decisions on the 10th of March and in it they were unanimous in eulogising the railway administration. According to them, "there was no evidence that improper conditions of work have been imposed on the remaining staff in the workshops. In other large groups . . . of the engineering gangs more work has undoubtedly been imposed on the men where members of a gang have been reduced and their beats have been enlarged". But still they "do not consider that the conditions imposed thereby are improper" (in spite of the fact that even with the normal number of men these gangs have to work on Sundays and most holidays). They did not give any opinion on the question whether the terms allowed to the discharged staff were inadequate or unreasonable for, according to them "the issue is really a question of finance". On the question of victimisation and favouritism they also maintained discreet silence, saying, "as to whether improper motives operated in any case" of dismissal "we cannot make any pronouncement . . . we have decided not to embark upon any such enquiry". But there was no escape from the overwhelming evidence supporting the truth about victimisation and so the Court, in contradiction to its own opinion, appended a list of those who, in their opinion, should be reinstated. Even this list was overlooked by the authorities till in the first week of June the Railway Board instructed the railways concerned to take back into service 65 only out of the large number of men named in the Court's list but at the same time, to compensate for this great generosity, they have notified their desire to sack a few thousand more men very shortly.

The findings of the Court of Enquiry were so disappointing that they shocked even the reactionary Federation. The high hopes which it had held out to the workers all melted away into nothingness before the report of the Court and the attitude of the administration. This, coupled with the decision of the Railway Board to retrench nearly 10,000 more men, necessitated another ruse by the Federation in order to serve the interests of capital. The anger and discontent of the working class was also accumulating and concentrating and this

doubly necessitated the ruse. So the Federation and its heroes after long deliberations decided to "take ballots" for a General Strike. This General Strike is a mere phrase with them and they are systematically checking all attempts to popularise the slogan or to organise and prepare the workers for it. Later events have amply justified this statement. For though an overwhelming majority of the workers in even the reformist Trade Unions voted in favour of the General Strike and though the taking of ballots was finished by the last week of April, the Federation became suddenly completely silent about the strike and regular work is going on for sabotaging the strikes, if any.

With the prevailing deep political and agrarian unrest in the country a general strike on the railways is full of tremendous revolutionary possibilities and it is the duty of all revolutionary Trade Unions and revolutionary workers to take the initiative in giving a correct lead to the broad masses of the workers, to expose right and left the treacherous role of the reformist Trade Union bureaucracy and to help the workers in taking the lead in their own hands. They must set up strike committees on all important stations throughout the line with members from the rank and file, explain to them the political significance attached to such a strike and generally carry on all sorts of revolutionary agitation and propaganda. The Communist Party of India should also try its utmost to convert this strike into a political strike. Now is the time to strike a decisive blow at British Imperialism and British finance capital.

THE WAR

The Reply of the Soviet Government to the Japanese Demand for Handing over Sub-Win-weng and his Army.

Moscow, 11th December 1932.

According to an official report the Japanese Chargé d'Affaires in Moscow was received by Comrade Karachan for the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs on the 8th December. The Chargé d'Affaires, Amo, expressed Japan's recognition of the fact that the Soviet government had ordered the disarming of General Sub-Win-weng and his troops. He pointed out, however, that Japan was responsible for the maintenance of law and order in Manchuria and pointed out that even unarmed and the captured men were dangerous. In the name of the Japanese government he therefore demanded that the Soviet government should hand over General Sub-Win-weng and all the men with him to the Japanese.

In reply to Amo Comrade Karachan expressed "surprise that the Japanese government should make such a request to the Soviet government and pointed out that the Soviet government had maintained strict neutrality during the conflict. The government of the Soviet Union was not in a position to hand over the interned men or even to consider a request for the handing over of these men.

Amo then declared that there could be no question of neutrality towards Sub-Wing-weng because the general had not represented any properly constituted authority, but had united against the Manchukuo authorities, disturbed international traffic and caused destruction and murders. He was therefore not a political opponent but a criminal who might be extradited.

Comrade Karachan answered that he was unable to share the standpoint of Amo and pointed out that the Japanese military authorities had themselves sent an official commission to negotiate with General Sub-Win-weng at the railway station Makayevskaya. He added that the Japanese government would hardly have sought to take up peace negotiations on foreign soil with a man they regarded as a common criminal. Further, pointed out Karachan, it was quite impossible for the Soviet government to assume that the Japanese government had requested it to act as go-between to a common criminal. At the request of the Japanese government the Soviet government had negotiated with General Sub-Win-weng and secured the release of numerous Japanese citizens. The majority of these Japanese citizens had been released prior to the defeat of General Sub-Win-weng and the remainder had been taken by the general onto Soviet territory where they had imme-

diately been released. The correct and generous attitude of General Sub-Win-weng alone was sufficient to settle immediately any question of extradition now that he had been disarmed and interned.

Finally, Comrade Karachan declared, in Manchukuo and Japan there live thousands of rebellious white guardist soldiers who with weapons in hand have fought against the Soviet Union and still wish to fight against it, but the Soviet Union has never asked for their extradition and the Japanese Government has never offered to hand them over to the Soviet Union, although the white guardists cannot be regarded as representatives of an independent State. The Japanese government obviously realises that such questions are a matter of the domestic policy of the country concerned.

Comrade Karachan declared in conclusion that the refusal must be considered as the final decision of the Soviet government in the matter.

On the same day the Japanese Chargé d'Affaires Amo again met Comrade Karachan and informed him that the Japanese government withdrew its request for the extradition of General Sub-Win-weng, but put the further request that the Soviet government should hold Sub-Win-weng interned and negotiate with the Japanese government concerning the fate of Sub-Win-weng and his army.

Comrade Karachan replied that the fate of Sub Win-weng and the remnants of his army now disarmed and interned on Soviet territory was a matter for the Soviet government alone to decide. It could not be made the basis of any negotiations with any other power. Comrade Karachan pointed out that tens of thousands of armed enemies of the Soviet Union existed on the Manchukuo territory where they enjoyed the favour of the authorities and conducted a fierce campaign against the Soviet Union. The Japanese government had never shown any willingness to negotiate with the Soviet government concerning the fate of these enemies of the Soviet Union.

On the 10th December the Japanese Chargé d'Affaires again visited Comrade Karachan and repeated the request of the Japanese government that the Soviet government should hold Sub-Win-weng and his men interned and negotiate with the Japanese government concerning their fate. In his reply Comrade Karachan repeated that the fate of these men was an internal affair of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union was not prepared to make it the basis of negotiation with any outside power.

The Anglo-Persian Conflict.

London, December 11.

The bourgeoisie is now hinting at the indisputable fact that the British ultimatum to Persia may well lead to open war. The most open admission of this fact is made in the Sunday newspaper of the Co-Operative Movement, "**Reynolds**" which heads its main news story: "**Oil Dispute May Lead to War: Navy Full Supply in Peril**".

The article is concerned to show that anti-British feeling is at fever heat but that it is not of natural birth but has been generated either by Russian or American oil interests who are anxious to get the Persian wells under their own control. "Well informed observers", says "Reynolds", "say that incitement comes from the agents of Standard Oil, the mammoth American combine, as part of a concerted attempt to raise the world prices of petrol".

The article points out the danger of war. It points out that: "Ships, troops and above all aeroplanes could swiftly be rushed from Irak, India, Palestine and Egypt". The reason given for the apprehension of war is that "A slackening in the rate of supply from Persia would not only enable oil prices to be raised, it would even endanger the British Navy's oil supplies".

Every encouragement is being given to the war-makers by the **Labour members of Parliament. Mr. Wedgwood** is to ask the Air Ministry on Wednesday for an assurance that the police and officials of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company are in a position to communicate freely with the Air Force in Irak and that the Air Force is in a position to "immediately defend, in case of necessity, **our** property".

Wedgwood is a leading member of the Labour Party, and for the last week his voice has been louder than that of any other member of Parliament in demanding the use of the mailed fist by the imperialists.

Advance of the Japanese Troops to Eastern Manchuria.

Peping, 11th December 1932.

Now that the military operations on the western arm of the Chinese Eastern Railway have closed successfully for the Japanese thanks to a tremendous superiority in men and material over General Sub-Win-weng and his badly-armed, badly-equipped and badly-munitioned troops, the Japanese military authorities are now turning their attention to the eastern arm of the line. The Vice-Chairman of the Japanese Military Commission in Harbin, Takysita, has declared that now that the military operations on the western line had ended with the capture of Manchuli, the Japanese military command would now direct its attention towards the eastern line up to Pogranitchnaya. According to Takysita the eastern arm of the Chinese Eastern Railway is threatened by Chinese "insurrectionaries" under General Dintao. Takysita declared that Japanese troops were already on the way and that they would, "press forward up to the Soviet frontier if necessary".

THE BALKANS

Declaration of the C.C. of the Workers' Party of Bulgaria on the Macedonian Murders.

Following the attempted murder of the Macedonian deputy Filippov on November 26 last in Sofia, the legal organ of the fascist I.M.R.O. bands in Bulgaria, "Macedonia", which calls itself the "organ of the Macedonian emigration in Bulgaria", is openly carrying on a murderous incitement against the revolutionary labour movement. In reply to this incitement the C.C. of the Workers' Party of Bulgaria has come forward with a courageous declaration, in which it plainly and clearly sets forth the attitude of the revolutionary labour movement to the Macedonian murderers and to the I.M.R.O., which is headed by Ivan Michailov.

After referring to the murderous incitement carried on by the "Macedonia", the declaration states:

"This language is clear; the I.M.R.O. of Ivan Michailov threatens in the "Macedonia" actively to resume the well-known role which it played in the years 1923 and 1925 as executioner of the functionaries of the revolutionary labour movement. It has already actually commenced this role by the murder of Kavrakirov, Duschan Spassov, Boschidar Mitrev and others. The I.M.R.O. of Ivan Michailov is not fighting for the national emancipation of the Macedonian people, but for the realisation of the imperialist foreign policy of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, who aspire to conquer new territories and peoples. By its methods of fight (assassinations, attacks on partisans), it only tightens the chains of the enslaved Macedonian people. By its connections with foreign imperialism it is preparing the way for still more frightful enslavement of the Macedonian and other Balkan peoples.

In the sphere of domestic policy the I.M.R.O. of Ivan Michailov is the faithful supporter of the blackest fascist reaction. It rejects and persecutes the fight of the refugees and other Macedonian working masses for their immediate economic and political demands, and thereby sanctions their exploitation by the Macedonian and Bulgarian bourgeoisie. In the new districts it actively organises the exploitation and robbery of the population by its "black taxes" and the purchase of the products of the population at exceedingly low prices.

As a result of all this, the I.M.R.O. of Ivan Michailov is more and more losing its influence among the broad masses of the Macedonian working people, both in old Bulgaria and in the new districts. This has been plainly proved not only by the results of the elections hitherto (even in the new districts a great number of votes were cast against Ivan Michailov's lists), not only by the meetings and congresses of the Macedonian mass organisations, but also by the active mass self-defence organised by the working population in a number of localities in the new districts against the terrorist bands of Ivan Michailov. The I.M.R.O. maintains its position only by

means of bloody terror and with the active support of the fascist dictatorship.

As regards the so-called Protogerovist wing of the I.M.R.O., the Workers' Party notes the process of increased Left radicalisation in its rank and file, and its approach to the correct conception of the methods of fight for national emancipation. The Workers' Party records, however, that the leaders of this wing have not yet severed their connection with the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, that they have not freed themselves from imperialist foreign-political influence, nor have they renounced the old fighting methods of individual terror.

The Workers' Party and the masses of workers and toiling peasants who follow it not only sympathise with the fight of the enslaved Macedonian working people for national emancipation, but also actively support this fight under the slogan of right of self-determination of the Macedonian people up to complete separation and the formation of an independent State.

This fight of the Workers' Party and the whole of the revolutionary movement of Bulgaria has nothing to do with the tactics of individual terror which the "Macedonia" and the men behind it endeavour, for obvious reasons, to ascribe to it. The Workers' Party emphatically condemns these murders, no matter by what organisation they are committed. It directs the attention of its members and sympathisers, who, embittered by the unending murders committed by Verchovists, might be inclined to adopt the same path of individual terror, to the tremendous danger which such a course means to the movement for social and national emancipation.

The Workers' Party of Bulgaria declares that no terror of "responsible" and "irresponsible" factors will divert it from the path of mobilising the broad masses of working people, including also the refugees and the nationally oppressed Macedonian masses, for the defence of their economic and political vital interests, from the path of determined fight for national and social emancipation.

The Workers' Party of Bulgaria, while denouncing the increasing assassinations, draws the attention of the honest Macedonian workers and toiling peasants who are still under the influence of the Verchovist I.M.R.O. to the shameful role—as executioner of the Bulgarian workers and peasants in order to maintain the rule of the bankers and capitalists—which their leaders, headed by Ivan Michailov, assign to them.

At the same time, the Workers' Party calls upon the toiling masses to rally still more closely round the workers' movement for the purpose of completely isolating and rendering harmless the murder-bands and their instigators.

The Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Bulgaria.

THE WHITE TERROR

Intensified Struggle for Release of Communist Leaders in Canada.

By Beckie Buhay (Toronto).

On October 17th, 900 prisoners of the **Kingston Penitentiary**, went on **strike** against intolerable conditions and forced back armed troops who were sent in to subdue them, by the threat that they would burn down the prison.

The capitalist newspapers came out with screaming headlines that **Tim Buck**, (secretary of the Communist Party before it was declared illegal) and the seven other Communist leaders who are incarcerated in this "hell-hole" for 5 years, were the leaders of the riot, and demanded that severe punishment be meted out to them.

This Kingston Penitentiary strike, which was followed less than a week later by another revolt, because the police authorities were singling out the "ring-leaders" and brutally torturing them (probably our comrades among them), has not only aroused the Canadian masses over the fact that the Communist leaders are treated worse than criminals, that they may within these thick barred walls be undergoing the most horrible tortures, but has also brought to light the inhuman conditions that exist in this and most of the other bastilles of the country.

The Canadian Labour Defence League, the Canadian Section of the I.R.A., was able to give wide publicity to true stories of ex-prisoners of the terrible tortures, vermin infested

dungeons, atrocious food, long solitary confinement and lack of any human decencies, that exist in this penal institution. Newspapers, magazines, anything that would give the slightest information on the labour movement is forbidden. A prisoner can only write once a month and only to relatives on domestic affairs, visits from relatives are permitted only once every two months and the prisoners can be seen only through two sets of mesh bars with a guard in between and nothing but domestic affairs may be discussed. Even these so called privileges can be withdrawn at the behest of a guard or the Warden. For the least infringement of the rules prisoners are put in the "hole" where they are shackled to the bars. No one may speak... These are the horrible conditions under which our eight comrades have been forced to exist.

This strike that broke out revolved around the slogan that the prisoners had formulated: "Steal a million and see Collins Bay". Collins Bay is situated a few miles from Kingston and is a preferential prison to which the rich thieves and brokers are transferred from Kingston to enjoy what is virtually a "rest cure". While our Communist leaders were sentenced to 5 years for leading the workers in the struggle against hunger, exploitation and war, whilst thousands of unfortunate workers deprived of any means of livelihood are sentenced to savage sentences for small thefts, men who have embezzled hundreds of thousands of dollars have been sent to the Collins Bay "rest home" and released before half of their sentence has been served.

The prisoners fought, not only against this class preference, but for the following **demands**: Shorter working hours, longer period of recreation, larger allowance of tobacco, improvement in food, right to receive newspapers, proper heating of cells, and installation of radio in cells.

The prisoners strike occurred on the eve of the launching of the C.L.D.L. campaign for 200,000 signatures for the release of all class war prisoners (about 100). This campaign is to culminate December 16, when the signatures will be brought to the government by a National deputation whilst mass demonstrations are taking place throughout the country.

The C.L.D.L., which has greatly increased its membership and influence during the year (13,000 individual and 26,000 affiliated members), reacted very quickly to the Kingston Pen. strike situation. Demonstrations were organised throughout the country, hundreds of telegrams were sent to the Prison Warden and the Minister of Justice holding them responsible for anything that would happen to the 8 Communist leaders, and demanding preferential treatment for politicals, better treatment for all prisoners and a public investigation into prison conditions. This was followed up by a deputation of the wives and children of the 8 Communists led by the officials of the C.L.D.L. and huge mass meetings where the deputation reported on their visit to Kingston Penitentiary and to the Minister of Justice, Ottawa.

The Canadian Labour Defence League has been so successful in arousing public sentiment on this issue that leading intellectuals from Universities, such as **Professor Scott of McGill, Montreal**, have been drawn into the campaign and the whole case of the 8 Communist leaders has again come to the fore. The C.L.D.L. is at present demanding a reopening of the case and the right to Appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada for a new trial.

Significant of how the government was attempting to use the Kingston Penitentiary strike for a new wave of terror against the revolutionary movement, is the statement of General Ormond, who was sent in to "investigate" the "riot". When asked by the newspaper reporters whether the Communist leaders were responsible for the prison revolt, he stated that Moscow was organising world wide disturbances; look at what happened in Belfast and London recently; now its at Kingston Penitentiary!

The C.L.D.L. in its campaign for the release of all class war prisoners, especially the 8 Communist leaders has called upon all the I.R.A. sections, especially the Anglo-Saxon sections for mass support. The I.L.D. of the U.S.A. immediately sent a wired protest to the Warden in Kingston and the Minister of Justice. But this is not sufficient. The revolutionary movement in the U.S.A., in England in Australia etc. must get behind this campaign in a demonstrative manner and rouse the widest working class solidarity with the Canadian revolutionary masses in their endeavour to smash the political reaction of the Bennet regime, free our working class fighters and again legalise the Communist Party of Canada.

In the International

The Party Purging in the Soviet Union.

Moscow, December 12, 1932.

In its today's issue the "Pravda" publishes a leading article on the decision of the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. regarding the Party purging, in which it states:

The decision of the C.C. is of particular political importance. It is based on the decision of the XVI. Party Conference (April 1929) on the necessity of carrying out a periodical examination of all members and candidates of the C.P.S.U. for the purpose of improving the social composition and raising the political and moral level of the Party organisations and of the whole Party.

The first general Party purging was carried out in the year 1921 on Comrade Lenin's proposal, when the Party consolidated its ranks at the time of the transition to the New Economic Policy. The second general purging and checking up of the Party ranks was carried out in the year 1929, in the most difficult stage of the struggle for Socialism, when the Party proceeded to the developed socialist offensive on the whole front. The third purging of the Party will now take place in the first year of struggle for the second Five-Year Plan.

The Party, by carrying out a general purging of its ranks, by checking up the members and candidates, by examining the work of every Communist and his devotion to the cause of the working class, has fulfilled and is fulfilling one of the pre-conditions for being a section of the Communist International, which demands of every legal Communist Party the carrying out of periodical purgings (re-registration) of the members of the Party organisation in order systematically to rid the Party of petty-bourgeois elements. The article states that the number of members and candidates of the Party has increased by 1,278,000 since the XVI. Party Congress. On the 1st April 1930 the membership amounted to 1,852,000 and on 1st July 1932 already to 3,130,000, i. e., the membership increased by 69 per cent. within two years, whilst it increased by 42.2 per cent. from the XV. to XVI. Party Congress and by 20.8 per cent. from the XIV. to the XV. Party Congress.

In the towns the Party has grown mainly by admitting the best shock-brigaders of production and in the village by admitting the best collective farm peasants. The Party organisations, however, have not everywhere carried out a good selection of those who joined the Party. One must bear in mind how seriously Lenin regarded the question of admission into the Party, what high demands he put to the new members and how he considered the period of candidateship as a serious test of the new member. Lenin's statements regarding the ununiformness of the composition of the working class still hold good today. Formerly the opposition obliterated the distinction between the Party as the leading portion of the working class and the whole working mass, and propagated the dissolution of the Party, thereby opposing the Party purging. The Party determinedly rejected these attempts, as it realised that "the Party cannot consolidate itself without a periodical purging of its ranks from the vacillating elements" (Stalin).

It not unfrequently happens that a comrade, although he may be personally quite loyal to the Soviet Power, as a Party member may damage the movement in practice, even without willing it, if he is not yet in a position to lead the collective peasants or the non-Party workers in the interests of the Party. Here is the case not of a Party member, but of a comrade who sympathises with the Party. Such sympathising comrades often hasten to join the organisation, not understanding that there is a difference between a comrade who wishes to help the Party, and a Party member, who must possess the necessary political preparation in order to be able to lead the non-party masses under the slogans of the Party.

The "Pravda" then proceeds to show the manner in which every Party member and candidate should be examined. Every Party member and candidate is bound to know the Party programme, as well as the most important decisions, and is compelled to carry out these decisions and to submit to the iron discipline of the Party. Every Communist is examined in the factory and works and outside of it; in what manner he is fighting for socialist labour discipline against slacking, idleness, shirkers, faulty work, how he himself furnishes a model example for proletarian working discipline.

In the nuclei attached to the non-productive undertakings there exists the greatest possibility to abuse the Party position for personal aims, embezzlement, nepotism, careerism, bureaucratic attitude towards the masses. One often encounters among the Party members cases of duplicity of political and moral disintegration, of degeneration and of influences exerted by alien elements, who violate the Party discipline in the highest degree. The Party purge must strike a severe blow against all these symptoms of opportunism, bureaucratism in our State and economic apparatus.

In the village every member of the Party will be examined as to what manner he is fighting for the fulfilment of the tasks set by the State, for fulfilling the obligations of the collective farms and individual peasants in regard to the grain and meat producing etc. Every Party member in the village will be examined as to what manner he is securing the Bolshevist influence on the collective farms, whether he is actively fighting against the kulak and his agents, how he is protecting the socialist common property, and whether he actively participates in collective farm production.

The XVII. Party Conference showed that a further intensification of the class struggle in certain periods, and in particular on certain sectors of socialist construction, is inevitable, and pointed out that for a still longer period class influences alien to the proletariat will inevitably penetrate into the working class and even into the Party. In this connection the Party Conference emphasised the necessity of strengthening the proletarian dictatorship and increasing the fight against opportunism, in particular against the Right deviation as the main danger in the present period. Reality confirmed the importance and correctness of these statements made by the XVII. Party Conference.

The Party purging must be thoroughly organised; its main attention must be directed to improving the qualitative composition of the organisation. Only those comrades can remain in the Party who are wholly devoted to the working class, who place the interests of Communism and of the Party above everything.

On the threshold of the second Five-Year Plan, during the advance of our socialist economy and the upsurge of the revolutionary world movement, Lenin's gigantic Party will examine and purge its ranks in order to steel itself further and to raise Lenin's banner higher. The Party, by exposing those who violate the Party discipline, the Right opportunists, the counter-revolutionary Trotskyists, the double-dealing swindlers, who hide behind a formal agreement with the Party line, but in actual fact conduct a shameful anti-Party work, inexorably fights against the "Left" distortions of the Party line and against any conciliatory attitude towards opportunism, and will achieve a still greater steeling of its ranks. The examination of the Party ranks will increase the uniformity and fighting capacity of the Party, strengthen its connection with the toiling masses and more closely weld the Party ranks for the fight for fulfilling the historical tasks of the second Five-Year Plan, for the fight for the proletarian world revolution.

The Sixth Party Congress of the C.P. of Poland.

The VI. Party Congress of the C.P. of Poland was held last month in Vienna. The Party Congress analysed and summed up the experiences of the Party gained in the great and uninterrupted struggles of the Polish proletariat, of the peasants and the oppressed nationalities during the course of the last two years since the V. Party Congress.

The VI. Party Congress was of particular importance because it adopted the Programme of the Communist Party of Poland, a programme representing an adaptation of the Programme of the C.L. to the Polish conditions.

The agenda of the Party Congress consisted of the following items:

1. The estimation of the political situation and the tasks of the Party.

2. The tasks of the Communist Party of Poland in the fight against Polish imperialism and national oppression.

3. Adoption of the Party programme.

The VI. Party Congress proceeded from the estimation of the international situation and the tasks as laid down by the XII. Plenum of the E.C.C.I. The political resolution states that in Poland the end of capitalist stabilisation is expressed in a profound decline of capitalist economy, in a great drop in industrial output, in the paralysis of whole branches of industry (with the exception of the war industry), in unemployment, embracing the majority of the proletariat, in the ruin of the peasant masses and in a return to obsolete methods of agricultural production; further in the increasing deficit of the State budget, in the progressive paralysing of the banking system and in a decline of industrial investments, in the immediately threatening danger of inflation, in the liquidation by fascism of all social achievements.

The new feature in the political situation is the obvious growth of the economic struggles into political struggles, the going over of the proletariat to the counter-offensive against the fascist dictatorship, the linking up of the strike struggles of the proletariat with the increasing elements of the agrarian revolution and of the national emancipation struggles. Following the example of the proletariat, the peasants are pursuing the path of big struggles, in which a whole number of villages are simultaneously involved. The upsurge of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat draws broad masses of impoverished petty bourgeois and thousands of State and municipal employees into the struggle against monopoly capital, and thus accelerates the disintegration in the lower sections of the State apparatus.

Poland is immediately on the threshold of the revolutionary crisis which, thanks to the active role of the Party, will develop into decisive struggles for the workers' and peasants government, for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Proceeding from this estimation of the political situation, the Party Congress pointed out that.

"In the present decisive period, the basis of the tactical-organisational attitude of the Party must be the extension, revolutionisation and coordination of the daily fights, the linking up of economic strikes with political strikes, the development of revolutionary mass strikes, winning the leading role in all decisive sections of the struggles of the proletariat and of the exploited peasantry, the shattering of the mass basis of social fascism and national fascism, the acceleration of the tempo in winning the majority of the proletariat."

The question of the tactics of the united front from below and at the same time the question of the struggle against social fascism were the guiding line of Comrade Lenski's report on the first item of the agenda. Comrade Lenski gave an all-round analysis of the social fascist manoeuvres which aim at helping the bourgeoisie to cast the burden of the crisis on to the toiling masses, as the capitalist way out of the crisis.

On the basis of the great experiences gained in the economic fights, the Party Congress laid down the guiding lines of revolutionary strike strategy by pointing out that strengthening the revolutionary trade union movement and increased revolutionary work in the reactionary trade unions represent the indispensable preconditions of the fight for winning the majority of the working class.

The Party Congress and its commissions also discussed at great length the forms of the struggles of the peasantry and the tasks of the Party in the growing mass movement of the peasantry.

The discussions on the second item of the agenda, on the national question, serve to establish the concrete tasks of the C.P. of Poland in the fight against Polish imperialism, against national oppression, for the right of self-determination of the oppressed nations up to separation from the Polish State. The Party Congress called for an increased fight against Polish chauvinism, against anti-semitism and against the anti-German incitement.

The Party Congress mobilised the Party for the fight against the danger of imperialist wars, of intervention against the Soviet Union and called for vigilance on the part of the Party against the imperialist designs of the Polish bourgeoisie on Danzig. The 6th Party Congress pledged all Party organisations, members of the Party and of the Young Communist League, to carry out a real turn in the work among the Polish soldiers.

The 6th Party Congress reflected the complete unity of the Party, the removal of all former fractional boundaries, which was achieved by the decisive fight of the Party against the Right wing, by the Bolshevik rallying of the Party round its leadership, headed by Comrade Lenski.

The Party Congress, by emphasising the necessity of increased vigilance against all symptoms of deviations from the general line of the Party, considered it necessary to call for an increased fight against Trotskyism, which is still preserved, in Poland by the remnants of the Right group and is based on the ideology of Kostrzevism.

The Party Congress was attended by 33 delegates with decisive votes and 24 delegates with advisory votes. Nearly all the districts of the Party were represented, as well as the C.P. of the West-Ukraine, the C.P. of Western White Russia, and the Young Communist League.

Comrade Florin greeted the Party Congress in the name of the Communist International and of the C.P. of Germany.

Ten Years of the C.P. of Japan.

The C.P. of Japan celebrated its tenth anniversary in July last. We have received the following documents with a delay of several months.
Ed.

I. Greeting of the C.C. of the C.P. of Japan to the E.C.C.I.

At the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the Communist Party of Japan, we send ardent revolutionary greetings to the E.C. of the Communist International,—general staff of the world revolution and direct leader of the foundation of our Party and its later development. Under the present serious situation at home and in the world, we are aware of the profound importance of our duty, and declare that we are preparing the toiling exploited masses for the approaching revolution in Japan. Our Party, which is fully conscious of the increasing aggravation of the situation and the development of the revolutionary movement, correctly recognises our mistakes on the question of the strategy of the Japanese revolution, pointed out in the "These on the Japanese Question" drawn up by the west European Bureau of the Comintern. We express our firm determination to overcome our past mistakes on the basis of the new theses, through preparing, organising and leading the daily struggles of the masses of workers, peasants and city poor.

We pledge here that we shall conduct a ruthless fight against the social fascists and nationalists—slaves of Mikado, as well as against the right opportunist deviation, which is the principal danger at the present moment and against the "leftist" sectarian deviation still deeply rooted in our ranks, and thus we shall strive to pursue the line of the Comintern. We believe that only through such action shall we be able to become a really Bolshevik mass party which is strong enough to carry through the important task laid on our shoulders. Fight against the imperialist war, against the police monarchy, for the "people's revolution" for rice, land and freedom, for the workers' and peasants' government.

At the 10th anniversary of our Party, we earnestly hope that the international leadership will strengthen the connection with us and give us immediately comradeship leadership and criticism.

Long live the C.P. of Japan!

Long live the E.C. of the Comintern!

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan.

(Japanese Section of the Communist International.)

July 15th, 1932.

(Note: The above letter appeared in the "Sekki" (Red Flag), illegal central organ of the C.P.J., No. 84, July 15th 1932.)

II. To the Communist Party of Japan.

For the 10th Anniversary of the existence of the vanguard of the Japanese proletariat—the C.P. of Japan, the E.C.C.I. sends hearty greetings to the courageous fighters for the liberation of the working and exploited masses of Japan—to the members of the C.P. of Japan and to the true leader of the Communist Party of Japan—the C.C. of the Communist Party of Japan. The E.C.C.I. sends hearty proletarian greetings to the Communists who are languishing in the prison cells and valiantly defending the cause of the proletariat and the honour of the Communist Party.

The C.P. of Japan—a militant regiment of the international proletarian revolution, is putting up a Bolshevik struggle against war and persistently carrying out the line of the Comintern. The C.P. of Japan is the only party capable of saving the working population of Japan from the catastrophe into which the war and police monarchy of the bourgeoisie and landlords is leading Japan.

This places a tremendous historical responsibility on the Party and all its organisations and on every Communist in Japan. The E.C.C.I. is convinced that the glorious C.P. of Japan, under the leadership of its C.C., will hold aloft the banner of Leninism and will lead the working masses of Japan to victorious struggle for their complete and final liberation.

Long live the Communist Party of Japan!

Long live the Japanese proletariat!

Executive Committee of the Comintern.

To the Communist Party of Japan.

To All Revolutionary Workers.

On the tenth Anniversary of the founding of the first Communist organisation of the Japanese proletariat we send hearty greetings to the glorious Communist Party of Japan and its militant Central Committee.

We send our proletarian greetings to the members of the C.P. of Japan who have been imprisoned by the bourgeoisie and who are heroically carrying on the struggle for the cause of Communism as real proletarian revolutionists.

During these ten years the vanguard of the Japanese proletariat—the C.P. of Japan—has become firmly established, consolidated and tempered in the fire of class struggle and raging police terror.

Under the leadership of its present C.C. the C.P. of Japan has held aloft the banner of militant proletarian internationalism and is heroically struggling against the imperialist war begun by the bourgeois and landlord monarchy of Japan.

Learning from experience in class struggle, the C.P. of Japan is developing Bolshevik self-criticism and is rising to a higher level as leader of the struggles of really broad masses.

The C.C. of the C.P. of Japan is carrying out the theses of the West-European Bureau of the E.C.C.I. not only in words, but in deeds, and is criticising in a Bolshevik manner and correcting certain incorrect formulations contained in the estimation of the character of the coming revolution and the tasks of the Party which were contained in the draft of the political thesis of April 1931. These errors, which have now been overcome by the Party, as is shown by the whole practical line of activity of the C.C. of the C.P. of Japan, were but episodes and were not characteristic of the political line of the C.P. of Japan.

These formulations were largely due to incorrect theories with regard to the character of the Japanese revolution, developed by individual collaborators in the organs of the E.C.C.I. and the R.I.L.U. previous to the discussion and decision of this question by the leading organs of the E.C.C.I. Neither the C.C. of the C.P. of Japan nor the Party as a whole bears any responsibility for these erroneous theories.

The fact that the C.C. of the C.P. of Japan has adopted a Bolshevik attitude towards the mistakes contained in the draft thesis of April 1931, rapidly overcoming these errors and heading the discussion and application of the thesis of the Western Bureau of the E.C.C.I. is resulting in a still greater rallying of the Party around the present C.C. of the C.P. of Japan and hastening the victory of the Japanese revolution.

Under exceptionally difficult circumstances, and after a most violent disrupting of the Party, the present C.C. basing its support on the front ranks of the Japanese proletariat, has built up the Party organisation again with Bolshevik energy, heading the Bolshevisation of the Party and developing the work of the Communists among great masses of workers, peasants and soldiers.

The poverty and lack of rights of the working masses of Japan is becoming more and more intolerable. The workers are being thrown out onto the streets and doomed to hunger and death. The ruined and impoverished peasants are forced to turn over half of their harvest to the parasitic landlords. The masses are hungry while millions of bushels of rice are rotting in the store houses of the government and landlords.

The monarchist government, by its tax pressure and policy of inflation, is taking from the workers their last

handful of rice, while it spends hundreds of millions of yen on war against the Chinese people and on the preparations for intervention against the Soviet Union, which it is carrying on together with French imperialism and with the support of British imperialism. It is spending hundreds of millions of yen on consolidating its apparatus for oppressing the workers and peasants with the help of the big bankers and exporters, manufacturers and landlords. For the starving and impoverished workers, the bourgeois-landlord government preaches "self-help". The working masses realise more and more who is guilty for their poverty, and who is subjecting them to poverty and starvation. They are coming to recognise the necessity for self-help, but not self-help through alliance with the usurers and landlords, as the government proposes, but irreconcilable revolutionary mass struggle against the military and police monarchy and against the landlords and capitalists.

The revolutionary struggle of the workers and enslaved peasants is increasing. The C.P. of Japan, which is the only party in Japan struggling for the fundamental daily interests of the workers, peasants and all toiling elements, is showing the masses the one real escape from war and unemployment, from hunger and deprivation of rights.

The XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I. declared that a revolutionary situation was likely to arise in Japan within a very short time. This confronts the C.P. of Japan with a task of historic importance, namely winning to its side the majority of the proletariat within the briefest possible time and guaranteeing proletarian leadership of the peasant movement.

We have no doubt that the C.P. of Japan will mobilise all its forces for the carrying out of the decision of the XII Plenum of the E.C.C.I.:

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

We have no doubt that the C.P. of Japan will strengthen its work many times over in the big enterprises and the yellow trade unions, in the army and in the villages, in the reactionary mass organisations (reformist, youth etc.), and among all elements of the working population.

If the C.P. of Japan does not limit its activities to agitation and propaganda it will develop a much more extensive and active work among the masses, both in the economic field and in connection with daily political questions, and will concentrate its energies on organising mass action of the workers and peasants on the basis of the united front from below.

In organising the unity of the struggles of all workers, and uncompromisingly unmasking the leaders of the social democratic and yellow trade unions who, according to Lenin, are the worst enemies of the proletariat, the C.P. of Japan must make it its chief task to win over the masses of members in the reformist and all possible reactionary trade unions and develop mass struggles for the legal existence of class trade unions and for the organisation of these trade unions openly, at the same time consolidating the Dtsenkio and strengthening the recruiting of workers into its ranks.

In close connection with its work among the masses, the C.P. of Japan must draw ever greater masses of revolutionary workers into its ranks, extend the network of capable Party committees and strong nuclei able to carry on independent Party work, especially in the big enterprises, on the railways,

in the army and in the navy, and must strengthen still further the unity and iron discipline within the Party.

The C.P. of Japan has unmasked and expelled from its ranks the liquidators of the revolutionary movement—Yamakawa and Company. The C.P. of Japan has overcome the sectarian liquidationist Fukmotoism and putchism. It has unmasked and pilloried the vicious renegades who adopted the name of "Workers' Group of the Communist Party".

Uncompromising struggle, above all ideological and political struggle against all new manifestations of right and "left" opportunism (the Tenkoho group, "economic" and other opportunist and sectarian tendencies) is a necessary condition for the consolidation of the C. P. of Japan and the growth of its influence among the masses.

The leaders of the social democracy are now resorting to "left" manoeuvres with a view to undermining the growing revolutionary movement. The C.P. of Japan must link up its entire work with uncompromising struggle against the social democracy and the fascists, unmasking their demagogues, and freeing the workers from their influence. The discrediting of the fascist and social-fascist parties (Syakai Taisyuto, Rono-Seidsi, Tosodomei etc.), and their isolation from the masses constitute the principal condition for the growth and victory of the revolutionary movement.

The successes achieved by the C.P. of Japan during the past years offer a firm guarantee that if the C.P. of Japan develops the consciousness, activity and determination of the masses, organising them for independent action and relying on their interest in the struggle and their readiness to struggle, it will develop mass economic and political battles and will become a real teacher and guide not of thousands but of millions of workers and peasants, and will lead them to open revolutionary struggle of the masses for the liberation of all labouring and exploited elements, for a Soviet Government of workers', peasants' and soldiers' deputies.

Long live the Communist Party of Japan!

Long live the C.C. of the C.P. of Japan and the founders and organisers of the Communist Party in Japan, comrades **Sen Katayama, Yamamoto Kendso and Sano Gaku!**

Long live the Japanese proletariat!

Long live the Comintern!

C.C. of the C.P. Germany.
(signed): Ernst Thaelmann.

C.C. of the C.P. of France.
(signed): Andre Marty.

Socialist Construction in the Soviet Union

The Technical Intelligentsia and Socialist Construction.

By **W. Molotov.**

Speech Delivered at the 5th All-Union Conference of Engineers and Technicians of the Soviet Union on November 26, 1932.

(Conclusion.)

II.

The Practical Organisational Tasks of the Village and the Question of Cadres.

The main political task of the proletarian revolution in the Soviet Union has been accomplished—Socialism is victorious. This does not in any way lessen the importance of the political questions confronting us. It is necessary, however, specially to emphasise the importance of the **organisational-political** tasks under the present conditions. Whilst bearing in mind that the correct political line is the foundation and the elementary precondition of practical work, we must, taking into account the concrete circumstances, persistently concentrate our forces on the organisational side of the matter. In other words, our task consists in bringing politics into our practical work, and thereby raising to a higher level the realisation of the actual unity of the political leadership and the practical work in the Soviet Union.

We are faced with tremendous organisational-political tasks in the sphere of industry and transport. It is only necessary to consider how many new industrial and transport undertakings, how many new factories, mines, power works, railways, and water transport services are being opened. In order to secure the proper management of this vast number of State undertakings we must still do much to improve the organisation of the whole of the works and their numerous branches. Everybody will understand that here there are many important practical questions regarding the factories and works already functioning as well as those under construction.

The organisational tasks in this sphere, however, are not to be compared with the extraordinary organisational-practical difficulties which we have at present to overcome in the agricultural sphere in the village.

A few years ago, when there were not many collective farms nor a very big network of Soviet farms, our organisa-

tional tasks in the village were considerably simpler. We learnt fairly well about five years ago how to organise the village poor, to weld together the poor and middle peasants for the fight against the kulak, and to adopt a number of fundamental State and party measures. But on the other hand we have acquired very little experience in organising socialist forms of economy.

Since then the situation in the village has undergone a thorough change.

In the last three or four years the collective and Soviet farms have acquired a dominating position. It suffices to point out that 80 per cent. of the Spring sowings this year were carried out by the Soviet and collective farms, and only 20 per cent. by the individual peasants. This was only due to the fact that there are over 200,000 collective farms and over 5000 Soviet and co-operative farms in the Soviet Union.

It will be obvious to everybody, however, that it is an exceedingly hard task correctly to organise the work on this vast number of Soviet farms and collective farms. It requires above all hundreds of thousands of qualified specialists for the various branches of large-scale agriculture. From where are they to be obtained? These cadres did not exist formerly, unless one reckons the thin strata of the old specialists. For the purpose of organising socialist large-scale economy, which is developing on such a broad front, we could not obtain any cadres from the old bourgeois society, not even the inadequate but qualified specialists who existed in industry before the revolution. The many millions of peasants who have joined the collective farms could not wait until we obtained the economic cadres required for mass collectivisation. It follows from this that enormous problems have arisen recently in regard to obtaining cadres of specialists for various branches of socialist large-scale economy, and these cadres must for the greater part come from the collective farming movement itself; they must arise on the basis of successful building up of collective farms,

regardless of all the difficulties of organising the collective farms in the present period.

The cadres of organisers and technical specialists in large-scale agriculture are growing in the process of the fight for the collective farms and for their consolidation. This does not mean, however, that we can close our eyes to the special difficulties of the moment which we have to cope with in building up the collective farms and Soviet farms. And these are not simply organisational difficulties of a technical nature, nor is it simply a question of a lack of agriculture. No, the matter is far more complicated, and at the same time the organisational tasks are closely interconnected with the political.

The kulak, of course, is no longer so strong that he can venture to conduct an open fight. No, he has been forced into the background; he has been beaten and has crept away out of sight. But apart from everything else, there are on the 200,000 new collective farms and on the Soviet farms not a few cracks and fissures which we cannot see here from above, but which offer sufficient opportunity for anti-Soviet elements from the ranks of the kulaks and merchants who have been beaten by us, from the ranks of the officers etc. to creep in. And how many there are of those who have not learned anything during the years of the revolution and cannot reconcile themselves to the new system; how many there are in these strata who have maintained their anger, resentment and hostility to the Soviet Power and are concealing them until the "suitable" moment arrives. And finally, how many of such enemies have found their way into our factories and institutions, and still more into the collective and Soviet farms in the remote and backward districts.

We cannot expect anything else from these people but fanatical but skilfully concealed resistance to the whole of our difficult work in the village. They will offer this resistance when we work at improving the collective farms, when we fight to increase the yield of the fields of the collective farms, when we organise the sowing campaign, the harvest, the threshing work and the storing up of grain. It not infrequently happens on the present-day collective farms that people carry on a concealed disruptive anti-Soviet work, at the same time posing as "friends" of the collective peasants in order deliberately to counterpose the interests of the individual peasants to the interests of the collective farm as a whole, skilfully play up to the private property instincts of the collective peasants, by inducing the vacillating part of them to misappropriate the property of the collective farm and thereby organise robbery of the collective farms; sabotage the grain-collecting and other State tasks, under the pretext that the requirements of the collective farm members are not yet covered; push "their" people into the apparatus of the collective farms in order to discredit the idea of the collective farming; magnify the shortcomings in the work of managers of collective farms who are not particularly efficient but nevertheless true to the Soviet Power—all this and many other things take place not infrequently on the collective farms. Owing to the weakness of our Party cadres in the village and the existence of politically unstable elements, often also of politically degenerate people among the leading Communists in the village, there are not infrequently great possibilities for anti-Soviet disintegration work on the collective farms and even on the Soviet farms.

From this there arise our chief difficulties in the sowing and harvesting campaigns and the special difficulties in the grain-procuring campaign, as it is precisely in the fight for grain that the anti-Soviet forces are endeavouring with their special secret measures to offer the greatest resistance to us. The kulak in particular takes advantage of the fact that in many cases we have not succeeded in managing the collective farms properly and not yet learned Bolshevistically to educate the collective peasants. We must in any case demand from our functionaries in the village an understanding of the new situation which has arisen in the village. It is precisely this understanding which our comrades in many cases lack.

Cases are still not infrequent in which our Party workers fail to see that in the socialist background of the collective farms at the present stage there exist inevitable social and political differences among the collective peasants. They therefore do not grasp the simple Bolshevik truth, that it is possible to strengthen the collective farm, to promote it economically and really improve the position of the collective peasants, only if on the collective farm itself there is con-

ducted a persistent inexorable fight for organising a strong cadre of collective farmers, for mobilising the main mass of the collective peasants round these cadres against sabotage carried on on the collective farms, against anti-Soviet elements who have managed to creep in, against the slackers on the collective farms, against those who waste the collective farm property, against those who sabotage the grain collecting and other State tasks. The whole mass of collective peasants, not to speak of the Communists, must realise that these tasks rank first. From this it naturally follows that the solution of the main tasks regarding the strengthening of the collective farms consists in the main in solving the question of the economic and technical management. In order to cope with the economic-technical tasks, one must of course understand the new political circumstances which have arisen in the village.

In the sphere of strengthening the collective farms we are faced with a number of big and urgent tasks, the extent and newness of which renders their solution difficult. But for this reason the success of every honest functionary who is engaged in organising Soviet farms and collective farms into model socialist farms, is such an important and congenial task that it attracts all the really class-conscious intellectuals who are devoted to the cause of our people.

Our practical organisers, our economic and technical leaders on the collective farms and Soviet farms, whose ranks must be daily reinforced, must bear in mind that they occupy one of the most decisive sectors of the front of socialist construction. We have established thousands of collective farms, but we are not yet so far that all these collective farms are our collective farms. It must be realised that the collective farms which are not controlled and managed by us are controlled and managed by anti-Soviet elements. Here, too, there is no neutrality. We, and especially our comrades in the villages, will only be able to master the task of building up collective farms and making ourselves their real leaders when we conduct the fight against the hostile class elements who are carrying on a persistent anti-Soviet undermining activity on the collective farms in order to frustrate the realisation of the State tasks, when we fight for the strengthening of the collective farms and Soviet farms on the basis of common fraternal work for increasing the harvest yield, for the socialist re-education of the masses of the collective peasants.

The main political task of the proletarian revolution in the village has been solved—the collective farms have triumphed in the main. Precisely therefore there have arisen enormous organisational practical tasks the solution of which demands prolonged and strenuous work. It demands the corresponding transformation of the village, a whole army of new specialists and organisers for agriculture of the new socialist type. We can and must now energetically tackle these organisational-practical questions of agriculture, and our revolutionary experience is a guarantee that we shall solve them in spite of all the difficulties.

We can assert this with such confidence because we already have a firm material basis in the national economy, and before all in the industry which has developed in the last few years.

III.

The Successes of the Five-Year Plan, the Productivity of Labour and the Technical Intelligentsia.

The Bolshevik policy of industrialisation, which was successfully carried out by the working class in the years of so-called "peaceful construction", has already shown great results. It is not for nothing that we fought for the Bolshevik tempo of industrialisation in the Soviet Union. Thanks to this fight we have achieved great successes in promoting the national economy and have created the pre-conditions for further and still greater successes of its development.

The Bolshevik tempo of industrialisation found its fullest expression in the successful realisation of the Five-Year Plan. The Bourgeoisie and its press, right from the first day, has yapped about the impossibility of fulfilling the Five-Year Plan, about the inevitability of its collapse. In reply to that there arose among the working masses of the Soviet Union a greater struggle for the accelerated carrying out of the Five-Year Plan. We see now that in the main the Five-Year Plan has been successfully realised in four years. (Applause.)

The tempo of our Five-Year Plan was not invented by the Bolsheviks. It was a historical necessity for the prole-

tarian State, which is building socialism in hostile capitalist surroundings. We should not have been Bolsheviki if we had not understood our obligations to use to the utmost every year of peaceful existence of the Soviet Union and the support which we are getting in this respect from the workers abroad for the greater development of our industry and the growth of the working class cadres. He who forgets the international conditions in which our work of construction goes on, does not take into account the great difficulties and the main danger which exists for the cause of the working class in the country and for the cause of the whole world proletariat.

We can already speak of the fundamental results of the first Five-Year Plan.

These results consist before all in the fact that the Socialist economic forms have triumphed in the Soviet Union and have acquired the dominating position in the whole national economy. It follows from this that our chief work at present lies in solving practical organisational questions.

The most important result of the first Five-Year Plan consists in the fact that, by developing our heavy industry we have created our own Soviet basis for carrying out the technical reconstruction of all branches of our national economy. This in no way means, however, that we can rest satisfied with the results we have already achieved.

There are a number of weak spots in our heavy industry which hamper our economy. Whilst we have a tremendous growth of machine construction, there are a number of cases in which we have not learned really to master the technique of production. Some branches of our light industry are lagging behind, a thing which is impermissible, especially in the period of intensified struggle of the working class to increase the production of articles of daily use. No one, however, can deny the fact that there has been created in the Soviet Union the material basis for technically re-equipping industry itself (heavy and light industry) and transport, which is very much behindhand in technical reconstruction, and finally also agriculture, where the tasks of technical reconstruction are tremendous.

Comrades, we must technically re-equip our whole economy not only by raising it to the level which has been reached by the technically advanced capitalist countries, but also by considerably surpassing the present technical achievements of these countries. We are already successfully advancing on this path, but we must and can do incomparably more than we have done hitherto.

By introducing the production of complicated machines, the most modern methods of production and organisation in a number of new branches of production, we are—in spite of the numerous faults in the work of various organs, institutions and undertakings—paving the way to the complete mastery of all the fundamental achievements of international technique. We are making decided progress towards the solution of the tremendous tasks set by Comrade Stalin to the whole Party—the task of mastering technique.

Of course, to acquire all these achievements has been no easy task. But there are no limits and no insuperable difficulties for the growing enthusiasm of the builders of Socialism in our country, who under real Bolshevik leadership are devotedly performing their work in the factories, in the mines, on the Soviet farms and collective farms, on the new constructions and in the enterprises which are running.

The best indication of the possibilities we have in this sphere is the following: we have already been able to prove by facts that there is now no task in the sphere of technique the difficulties of which our scientists and engineers cannot vanquish and overcome. (Applause.)

We pay tribute to the foreign specialists who are honestly working in our enterprises and on our new constructions. We shall make use of their services also in the future. Apart from all else this is in accordance with our international principles. But as internationalists we are confident that the time will come when the workers and toilers of other countries will make good use of our experiences, and will apply our Soviet experience not only in the sphere of technique but also in regard to socialist revolution. (Loud applause.)

Whilst paying due recognition to the foreign specialists, and without coming into contradiction with our principles of internationalism I can nevertheless maintain that what has been achieved in the Soviet Republic, what is growing and increasing to the advantage of all toilers and to the terror

of our enemy, is the achievement of our Soviet workers, technicians and engineers. (Loud applause.)

We must draw definite practical conclusions from all this. These practical conclusions must of course consist before all in achieving an improvement in the work on the most important and still weak sectors of economic activity.

In the Soviet Union all the industrial and transport undertakings which were left over from the pre-revolutionary period are working. With us there is no closing down of works and factories. If with us there are enterprises which are not sufficiently utilised, this is not to be attributed to lack of orders or lack of purchasing power on the part of the consumers. In the years since the revolution, thousands of new enterprises have been set going. Not a day passes without our industry, our transport and our agriculture increasing their output and new works being added to those which are already functioning.

At the same time we must admit that there are many weaknesses and shortcomings in the organising of production. To keep to the main matter, one must say that our greatest weakness is the **low productivity of labour**.

I will not cite any statistical data. Everyone of you knows of not a few examples of this low productivity of labour and also of examples of how in some undertakings, instead of a growth, a decline of the productivity of labour is to be recorded.

We know the reasons for this. Before all it is due to the fact that in the last year or so our undertakings have engaged a tremendous number of new workers who have never worked in factories before. In the last two or three years alone 2½ million new workers have been engaged in the industrial undertakings. We must add to these the several millions of new workers engaged on the construction of new buildings. The whole of these new workers and employees are passing through the first school of work in industry, are first learning to work at the machines, are first learning collective work and proletarian discipline. Among these new workers there are already many real shock-brigade workers and heroes of labour, but a considerable part of these new workers has served greatly to increase the stratum of inexperienced and undisciplined workers in our enterprises. In addition, there took place in these years an influx of elements hostile to the working class; sometimes openly antagonistic and direct anti-Soviet elements.

There is no doubt that the lack of technical and economic cadres also affects the productivity of labour.

I will not deal with the other causes of the low productivity of labour. They can be traced in the last resort to the lack of organisational work in our enterprises.

It is obvious that we cannot put up with this state of affairs.

“Socialism” — said Lenin — “requires a conscious movement forward of the masses to a higher productivity of labour in comparison with capitalism.”

These and many other references by Lenin to the importance of the struggle for increasing the productivity of Labour for Socialism must serve to guide us also at the present time. The working class of our country must make the fight against the low productivity of labour in our industry, transport and agriculture one of their main practical tasks.

The working class can now develop this fight with the prospect of rapid and considerable successes. There exist the prerequisites for this.

We have done a good deal in the last few years for the reequipment of our enterprises. Our machine-construction industry has accomplished tremendous work. We have imported numerous machines, plants and other factory equipment from abroad. In addition to a great number of new agricultural and industrial enterprises which are equipped with the most modern technique, one can cite a long list of factories and works which have been reconstructed, and thereby converted into completely new enterprises with first-class technique.

From this one can see what a solid material technical basis we have for the development of the fight for increasing the productivity of labour. The material basis already existing, if rightly utilised, renders it possible to lighten the labour of the workers in many respects and at the same time successfully increase the productivity of labour in the whole of industry, transport and socialised agriculture.

A whole number of new measures on the part of the Party and the government facilitate the struggle to increase the productivity of labour.

These measures include the decisions regarding improvement in the supplies to the workers and the extension of the powers of the factory managements responsible for the supplies to the workers in the big factories; the recently issued decree regarding the fight against absence from work without excuse which is directed against idlers, slackers and those who abuse the privileges of special food-cards, as well as other measures against the abnormal fluctuation of cadres in industry and in transport, which are likewise of great importance in regard to this question.

The trade unions themselves have recently undertaken an increased supervision of the work of their lower organisations and especially of the factory committees. The attitude of the working masses to the question of increasing the productivity of labour is shown by the fact that socialist competition is bringing forth ever fresh thousands of shock-brigades and heroes of labour from the ranks of the workers, engineers and technicians.

We therefore have every reason for making the improvement in the productivity of labour our main practical task.

Insofar as the socialist forms of our national economy have acquired a dominating position and thereby secured the necessary degree of construction (growth of the most important branches of industry and extension of the area under cultivation), the promotion of the productivity of labour must become a decisive practical task of the whole of the working class and of the peasants on the collective farms. It is also clear that the successful increase of the productivity of labour is based upon the intelligent utilisation of the greatly increasing material-technical basis of our enterprises, on the better organisation of labour and, of course, on securing the necessary working discipline. There is no need to prove that in all these respects we have vast inner reserves and tremendous possibilities, the utilisation of which depends wholly and entirely upon the socialist consciousness, upon the activity and the degree of organisation of the working class and its economic and technical commanding staff.

In connection with all these questions a special responsibility rests with the technical intelligentsia. It must be openly admitted that the engineer-technical cadres and their organisations have not yet by a long way done all that is necessary in this respect. In the meantime, we must judge the real activity and devotion of the engineers and technicians to the cause of the proletarian revolution on the basis of their participation in the work of the party, Soviets and trade unions for increasing the productivity of labour in the socialist undertakings.

There is no need for me to deal at length with the question of the attitude of the Soviet Power to the technical intelligentsia. I will only say a few words on this subject.

In the first place it is clear that the attitude of the Soviet Power to the technical intelligentsia depends entirely upon the technical intelligentsia themselves, upon the attitude of the technical intelligentsia to the cause of the working class and upon their practical participation in the building of Socialism. (Applause.) The relations of the Soviet Power to the technical intelligentsia and the attitude of the masses of engineers and technicians to the struggle of the working class which is building Socialism, are inseparably bound up with one another. Not only the present conference of engineers and technicians, all of whom, I hope, are sincere friends of the working class (applause), but also the whole body of technicians and engineers in our country must, by their work in the factories and in the organisation of economy, secure that the attitude to them of the Party and the Government shall be the same as that which exists in our country for the class-conscious and active builders of Socialism. (Applause.)

There is no need for me to explain the differences, which are already known to you, in the attitude of the Soviet Power to the various strata of the technical intelligentsia. I shall not be saying anything new to you if I repeat that our attitude to the wreckers, that our policy towards them as towards sworn enemies of the working class, remains firm and ruthless. (Applause.) On the other hand, as regards those honest, non-party specialists who work hand in hand with us, we consider it our task to achieve with them complete understanding of our aims and practical tasks, an understanding which is indispensable to all fighters for Socialism. (Applause.)

In the reconstruction period very much depends upon the cadres of engineers and technicians. Judged from the standpoint of the present tasks of reconstruction, we have very few cadres of old, highly qualified specialists. It is all the more necessary therefore for us to preserve such cadres and help them in their work. No single branch of our industry can manage even now without these old, highly qualified cadres.

But the old cadres of technical intelligentsia no longer have the monopoly position they formerly possessed. The position has changed considerably, new technical cadres and red specialists have streamed into and are streaming into our industry day after day. The cause of socialist construction now depends more and more upon the work of these new technical and economic forces.

The ranks of the engineering and technical workers have grown enormously in the last two or three years. In no single sphere of our construction have we such a rapid growth as in the training of technical cadres. This is an enormous achievement on our part.

But even so we cannot close our eyes to the shortcomings connected with this rapid growth. One cannot deny that, along with the whole positive significance of the enormous extent of the training of red specialists there exists not a little superficiality, and sometimes also a lack of scientific-technical training. It must be pointed out that our economic organisations conduct the technical high schools and polytechnics inefficiently. In this connection attention must be called to the great political importance of the decision recently adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Union on decisively improving the work of technical high schools and universities. It is necessary that our engineers and technicians actively participate in carrying out the appropriate measures.

Finally, regarding the material and living conditions of the engineers and technicians. This question was already dealt with in the report delivered today and I shall not indulge in repetitions.

It must be clear to you that our Party and the Government have adopted a number of serious measures and show the greatest concern for the material and living conditions of the engineers and technicians. You are well aware of the government decisions regarding improving the housing conditions of the engineers and technicians. A number of important measures are also being adopted in regard to improving supplies. The salaries of the engineers and technicians in the Soviet Union are not declining, as is the case in all capitalist countries, but are increasing every year. It cannot be denied that the carrying out in practice of the above-mentioned measures depends upon the work of the local organs, and also upon the checking up of this work by the central organisations. More attention must also be devoted to this in the future.

A comparison of the position of our engineers and technicians with the position of the technical intelligentsia in the capitalist countries is very instructive. Precisely at the present time, in the period of the severe crisis in the capitalist countries, capitalism has forced under its iron heel not only the workers and toiling peasants, but also the great mass of engineers and technicians and maintains the well-being only of the ruling capitalist leaders and their parasites and watchdogs. The capitalists do not shrink from day after day throwing on to the street and reducing to beggary people who only yesterday occupied leading technical positions in their works and factories. Naturally there is now heard even from the ranks of those specialists who only yesterday had nothing whatever to do with politics—not to speak of the fight against the capitalists—voices of despair and protest against the rule of the bourgeoisie, against the regime of capitalism.

It should also be noted that in the capitalist press of Europe and America there is to be heard ever louder the voices of those intellectuals who are indignant on account of the proposals, emanating from the bourgeoisie, to abandon every technical progress, and who are now compelled to admit that in the whole world there is only one State, the Soviet Union, which connects its hopes and aims with the technical progress and firmly believes in it. In this recognition we see not so much the recognition of our merits, as the objective confirmation of the actual advantages of Socialism over capitalism, which is now over-ripe and decaying.

At the same time we do not cease to speak of the difficulties of socialist construction, and will not cease to summon the working class and all toilers in the country to the active fight for overcoming these difficulties. We know that the fight against these difficulties, against the difficulties of growth of

socialist economy and culture, will not weaken our muscles but will steel them, that is to say will strengthen our whole construction and open up new and ever grander prospects for the victory of emancipated labour in socialist society.

Gorki in his article, "On the Most Important", has already shown in beautiful language how our socialist construction is changing the whole face of our country and its whole life, even in its remotest corners. In this article, published on October 31, Gorki says:

"This process is growing in breadth and depth; it is the process of the regeneration of our whole country, its rebirth to a new life, to the creation of a new culture. The little towns with wooden buildings, the nests of dull-witted petty bourgeois, of intellectually inert people, of the small parasites who spent their whole lives in cheating in order to enrich themselves at the cost of the workers and peasants and who have died in conditions of semi-poverty, are disappearing. Instead of these secluded retreats, new socialist towns are rising in the centres of industry. The idiotism of the village, the clusters of small wooden houses with their three front windows and stuffy rooms in which the old rubbish of religious superstition was hoarded for centuries, where day in and day out there went on the petty struggle of brutal individualism, of blind self-centred, spiteful, grasping, egotism with all its abominations, are disappearing.

Under the wheels of the tractors and combines, in face of the power of the new agricultural technique, the dull egotism of the village with the slavish submission to the elementary force of nature, with the lack of ideas, and servile surrender to fate, is disappearing."

We all read the works of Gorki, and know how well he understands the many, many characteristic features of the life of old Russia, and how wonderfully and artistically he is able to portray them. We can understand therefore, his joy and happiness when he sees now, in place of that obsolete, rotten system, there is rising the new life and socialist culture.

I should like to quote still another passage from Gorki's article. He concludes the above-mentioned article "On the Most Important" with the words:

"Hundreds of thousands, millions of young people faded and withered without blossoming; they perished under the yoke of idiotism of the small provincial towns, of the villages and settlements. Now, however, all ways are open to this youth, and the eager desire for knowledge is animating them more and more.... The Party is striking ever deeper roots in this youth; it is drawing up the most valuable juices from the ground, is absorbing youthful energy, is revolutionarily organising the youth, training them in various spheres and enriching the country with intellectual forces. This is the most important and most valuable of all that is being created in our beautiful, rich, great and happy country."

With us the material basis of the new socialist society is becoming stronger, and many millions of young people, full of energy, courage and belief in the cause of Socialism, are growing up. We must agree with the assertion that this is the hopeful guarantee of the victory of our cause.

You see, comrades, that the Bolshevik revolution in our country has not only smashed the system of the bourgeois-feudal order, but is also organising the new socialist society by work, in which our engineers and technicians must stand in the front ranks. (Loud applause, which develops into an ovation.)

More Determined Fight Against the Remnants of the Kulaks and Their Agents.

Leading Article of the "Pravda" of December 8.

We have practically liquidated the kulaks in the most important grain and raw-material districts of the Soviet Union on the basis of the collectivisation of these districts. We have merged over 60 per cent. of the poor and middle peasant farms in collective farms, established a powerful network of Soviet grain and cattle-breeding farms, and strengthened our agriculture on the path of socialist development.

That is a perfectly obvious result of the policy of reconstruction in agriculture. The Party has pursued and is pursuing this policy; it is overcoming the bitter resistance

of the class enemy—the kulaks, the last supports of capitalist exploitation in our country.

The kulaks attempted to hold back the poor and middle peasant masses from joining the collective farms. They have not succeeded in this. Nevertheless, at the commencement of the compact collectivisation there was another kind of kulak tactics; the attempt to enter the collective farms and to disrupt them from within. In the year 1929, some comrades did not understand this new manoeuvre and advocated the acceptance of the kulaks into the collective farms. In his speech at the Conference of Marxist agronomists in December 1929, Comrade Stalin strongly condemned this impermissible magnanimity.

"It is ridiculous", said Comrade Stalin, "to put the question whether the kulaks can be admitted into the collective farms. Of course, one cannot accept them into the collective farms. That is impossible, as they are sworn enemies of the collective farm movement."

Now that compact collectivisation in the most important grain and raw material regions has been mainly completed, the remnants of the kulaks are beginning to set their hopes on disintegrating the collective farms from within.

Hence the efforts of the kulak elements, by all lawful and unlawful means, to work their way into the collective farms, into the collective economic apparatus (as book-keepers, store keepers etc.), and even into the Party nuclei in the country, making use of the slackening of the class vigilance of our Party and Soviet functionaries.

Last year this was most plainly evident in the Ukraine; this year in the Kuban district, and partly also in other regions of North Caucasus.

In all these districts the kulak elements systematically attempted to induce the backward groups of collective farmers to plunder the harvest of the collective farms (in order to frustrate the grain collection and the sowing campaign, they attempted to induce them to cultivate the collective farms badly, to neglect or directly damage the tractors and horses). Some Party organisations (this was particularly noticeable in the Ukraine last year), instead of replying to these new manoeuvres of the class enemy by ruthlessly exposing them to the masses of the collective peasants, instead of replying with decisive repressive measures against the kulaks and the persons influenced by them and with increased enlightenment work among the masses of the collective farmers, adopted the line of mere "Leftist" administration, and thereby strengthened the position of the kulaks and rendered it easier for them to influence the backward collective farmers.

The C.C. of the C.P.S.U. issued a number of extremely important directions aiming at increasing the attention of the Party organisations to questions of agriculture and its socialist reconstruction and taking into account the new manoeuvres of the class enemy.

The C.C., proceeding from the necessity of mobilising the masses of collective peasantry for the purpose of strengthening the collective farms organisationally and economically, adopted, together with the government, the historical decision regarding the protection of social (socialist) property.

The C.C., in order to strengthen the collective farm cadres, undertook the transformation of the Communist universities into agricultural high schools.

A number of our Party organisations, by carrying out the Party directives, by determinedly overcoming the resistance of the kulaks and the Left deviations, achieved great successes in regard to the progress of socialist agriculture in the fight against pilfering, in improving the organisation of collective farm work.

It suffices to point to the Moscow district and the Tartar Republic, which by realising a concrete Bolshevik leadership in agriculture, have carried out the annual plan of grain procuring before time, stored the seed-corn and are now proceeding to develop collective farm trade. At the present time the most important grain regions of our country, such as the central Volga district and the central black-earth district, are likewise successfully realising their tasks. In Western Siberia and in the Bashkir Republic the grain procuring is proceeding this year much more successfully than last year. In every Republic, in every province, in every gubernia we have dozens of leading districts which have carried out the plans in regard to grain procuring and sowing. In every gubernia there are splendid examples of work for increasing

the harvest yield, showing in the most striking manner what tremendous possibilities exist in these fields.

That is the result of strengthening the collective farms, the results of the successful fight against the kulaks.

In those places, however, where the work of organisational-economic strengthening of the collective farms was not developed, where the masses of the collective farm peasants were not mobilised in good time for the fight against the new manoeuvres of the kulak, and especially against the pilfering of the collective farm harvest, where the historical decision of the C.C. and of the government regarding the protection of social (socialist) property was underestimated, where the Party organisation of the village was allowed to be diluted, where, as a result of all this, hostile elements made their appearance, where too little was done in regard to mass work and enlightening the village population, there is to be recorded a lagging behind in the carrying out of the most important agricultural campaigns.

This applies before all to the Kuban district, partly also to other districts in the North Caucasus and to some districts in the Ukraine and the Lower Volga region.

As a result of this, the plan of autumn sowing in the North Caucasus was over 20 per cent. unfulfilled. In regard to fulfilling the annual plan of grain procuring, the North Caucasus and the Lower Volga region still continue to occupy the last place.

It is perfectly obvious that the lagging behind of the North Caucasus, the Ukraine and the Lower Volga region is due to the fact that, unlike other regions with compact collectivisation, the Party organisations neglected to pay attention to agriculture, and relaxed the fight against the remnants of the kulaks.

The counter-revolutionary Rjutin group, which consisted of former oppositional elements, revealed the secret thoughts of the Right hypocrites. This small group of white-guardist conspirators, which included some persons in possession of membership books, directly declared that they are in favour of the restoration of the kulaks. This little group, which the Party exposed, openly said what others thought.

In spite of the resistance of the kulaks and their Right allies, in spite of the "Left" aids of the Right, the Party achieved tremendous successes in the work for the socialist reconstruction of agriculture. The collectivisation of agriculture has carried the day. As a result of the successes achieved by the collective and Soviet farms, and the essential increase in the area under cultivation, the proletarian State receives some hundred million puds of grain more than before the XV. Party Congress. Every Party member and every worker realises that without this we could not have secured the rapid growth of industry and of the proletariat in the last few years, that without this we should not have built Magnitostroj and Dnieprostroj, that we should not have created our own basis for the socialist reconstruction of the whole of agriculture, and that we should not have achieved the strengthening of the international power of the Soviet Union.

The line of the Rights, who fought against the socialist reconstruction of agriculture, against the Bolshevik pace of industrialisation, would have led to the conversion of the Soviet Union into a colonial appendage of international imperialism, would have reduced our country to the position of China, which is being torn to pieces and unceremoniously robbed of everything.

We have not yet finally overcome the resistance of the kulaks. This resistance retards the development of our socialist economy, hampers the strengthening of the Soviet and collective farms.

The work for the socialist re-education of the masses of collective farmers must be intensified still further. The Party organisations must devote special attention to the Machine and Tractor Stations as the technical-economic and political organisations. Only if we decidedly increase the role and influence of the Machine and Tractor Stations on the neighbouring collective farms shall we be able to achieve fresh brilliant successes in collective farm construction.

The organisations in North Caucasus, the Ukraine, the Lower Volga district must, by shock-brigade work, by ruthless fight against the remnants of the kulaks, by driving out of the Party the traitors who have gone over to the class enemy, by a real turn to agriculture, by developing mass work, and overcoming "Left" deviations which bring grist to the mill of the kulaks, secure the punctual carrying out of the State grain procuring plan in order to develop collective farm trade, in order to prepare for the fourth Bolshevik Spring sowing, in

order to advance to the first ranks in the socialist construction of agriculture.

Socialist reconstruction of agriculture must be promoted, the remnants of the kulaks must be crushed, and a determined fight conducted on two fronts against opportunism, against Right opportunism as the chief danger.

On the basis of the Bolshevik pace of development of heavy industry, on the further promotion of agriculture, on the basis of an all-round increase in the productivity of labour on the collective farms, we shall secure an improvement in the supplies to the workers, an extension of the raw material basis of light industry and the fulfilment of the programme of the second Five-Year Plan.

Metal and Books.

By D. Saslavsky.

The factory book store is at the very entrance to the Moscow "Hammer and Sickle" plant. This is a big metallurgical plant, well-known in the U.S.S.R. and even abroad. It is one of the most advanced enterprises in Moscow.

The output of the "Hammer and Sickle" plant is usually measured in tons, but another unit of measurement must now be added—printed pages. The production of books has become one of the departments of the plant. It produces steel and it produces books. The windows of the book store speak vividly of the new output of the plant. In 1932 it turned out at least 200,000 copies.

Most of it was technical literature. The open hearth furnaces produced such books as the following:

I. Kalinin. How to charge and trim an open hearth furnace.

G. Ilyin. Capital repairs to open hearth furnaces.

P. Sled. Running repairs to open hearth furnaces.

K. Lukashov. Steel smelting in open hearth furnaces.

L. Brilkin. Smelting high grade steel.

F. Firsov. Preparation of casting ladles.

The sheet iron shop produced:

V. Ilyin. Assembling a sheet rolling mill.

G. Suslov. The work of a sheet rolling gang.

Other shops produced:

I. Sherepnev. Bimetal.

T. Fomishev. Handbook for a crane mechanic.

B. Novichkov. How to make tools for forging bolts.

F. Andreyev. The teaching of the fitters' art.

I. Ionov. Bolt forging, etc.

Thirteen technical books in a single year is not so bad for a factory! But it is not only a matter of quantity. In other plants the engineers publish their works, which does not astonish anybody. The peculiarity of the technical library of the "Hammer and Sickle" plant is that it was produced not by engineers, not by authors or theoreticians, but all the books were written by workers, rank and file workers and foremen who have risen from workers.

Their works are the result of their direct personal experience at the furnaces, at the sheet rolling mills, at the machines. They had previously never written anything and did not even suppose that they could write. But they willingly responded to the call of the factory council for technical propaganda, and the first to present his manuscript was comrade **Kalinin**, a worker with many years experience.

The history of industry throughout the world has never before seen such a technical library. Its value lies in the fact that it was made by people with direct experience—workers who know what to teach new comers to the industry and how to teach them. Comrade **Kalinin** is a shock worker and rationaliser who has received prizes four times. Comrade **Brilkin** is one of the most accurate and energetic members of the circle of worker-authors. Worker authorship arose from shock work, socialist competition, from the appeal of the Leninist Party to master technique. It is a matter for special technical critics to examine these booklets by workers, to show their strong and weak sides, to help the workers in their new work, to exchange experience by means of print. We merely note the fact of great political importance, a fact which once more shows the growth of the working class in the U.S.S.R. and new Victories.

Among the worker-authors, Comrade **Lukashov** is specially prominent by his age. He is a young worker, a purely Soviet product. In the preface of his book he writes:

"In this book I have tried to deal with the chief principles of the open hearth steel process in connection with practical work at the furnace itself. The reader will be able to judge how far I have succeeded. The book contains the chemical formulae necessary for understanding the open hearth process. All the chemical reactions which take place in an open hearth furnace are given in words in addition to the chemical formulae. This is done to enable the reader to learn to understand chemical symbols so that in the future he can advance to the reading of more serious technical books on the open hearth process."

The book of Comrade Lukashov really describes the process in light and simple language for beginners, who are making their first acquaintance with chemistry from its pages. The young steel worker proves to be an author-pedagogue.

The technical library of the "Hammer and Sickle" plant acquaints the workers of other plants first of all with the experience of the plant, with its methods of work, with its achievements. A socialist plant has no secrets of production to hide from its "competitors". The old experienced workers do not conceal their knowledge, do not fear the youth who may occupy their places when they have learned the trade. **There is work for all** and there is a tremendous demand for new cadres.

"I wish to acquaint the workers of the open hearth furnaces in other plants with the methods of making running repairs to the open hearth furnaces in the "Hammer and Sickle" plant" writes **Comrade Sled**.

Comrade **Novichkov** writes:

"We wish to describe to the readers the achievements of our factory in the production of bolt and rivet tools **as the result of the collective inventiveness of the workers**, which have made radical changes both in the construction of the dies and in the methods of making the tool. The tools made by us have been tested in practice. They have proved to be extremely hard wearing, cheap in production and they give the necessary accuracy in the forgings."

Of course, the technical library of the "Hammer and Sickle" plant attracts the attention of the widest circles of workers. The Soviet proletariat is young. Frequently it lacks technical training. It has not the same experience as the proletariat of the old capitalist countries. A considerable part of the workers come from the villages and only recently began to absorb socialist technical culture. The significance of such a technical library, based on the direct experience of the workers, is enormous. The publication of technical libraries

has also begun at other Soviet big plants. The publishing houses have already received manuscripts from the "Electro-stal" plant. In their leisure hours, the workers of the metallurgical plants of Donbas, Dnepropetrovsk and the Urals have taken to the writing of books.

The success of the technical library of the "Hammer and Sickle" plant is the result of the great work performed in the plant by the Party organisation and the system of circles of worker-authors under the guidance of the trade union council for technical propaganda. The engineers of the plant have given willing help to the workers. Especially valuable was the assistance of the factory newspaper "Martenovka". It has printed a number of articles and paragraphs on this subject and has interested all the workers of the plant in the technical library.

It should be noted that the editor of "Martenovka" is Comrade **Mikhailov**, a worker of the "Hammer and Sickle" plant and author of a well-known pamphlet "The Struggle for Metal". This pamphlet ran through several editions, was translated in the foreign languages, and is known among the workers of capitalist countries. It was the first example of worker-authorship in the plant. It opened up a broad road for a new "sheet rolling" production in the plant—the production of printed sheets.

The technical books of the "Hammer and Sickle" plant are not the only books produced. A full list will be given on another occasion. We will merely mention two of the new books shown in the windows of the book store. Comrade **L. Shipilin** has written a book "The Shop on Fire" in a vivid form it describes the struggle of the Y.C.L. brigades at the open hearth furnaces to increase the efficiency of labour. Although it is in the form of a novel, it is really a technical book.

The other book is called "The Fighting Traditions of Bolshevism for the Y.C.L.". It summarises the great work done by the youth in the factory in studying the VI. Congress of the Russian Communist Party. This was an experiment in a new form of the propaganda of Bolshevism, and now, using this experience, many Moscow factories are carrying on the mass study of the VI Congress of the Party.

The pamphlet was written by young workers who directly participated and organised the study of the Congress at the "Hammer and Sickle" plant. The book on Party and Y.C.L. work is classed in the technical library as the product of a worker-author. But there is a deeper connection among all these books. Only the Communist education of the mass of workers in the plant—the old and young workers—could produce such a glow of worker-authorship.

The Situation of the Working Masses in the Capitalist Countries

The Situation of the Working Class in Norway.

By V. O.

The economic crisis in Norway has increased very considerably in the last year or so. The foreign trade turnover in the first six months of the present year amounted to 606 million crowns as compared with 867.5 million crowns in the first six months of 1930. In January of this year 1,596,000 tons, i. e. 23 per cent of the total tonnage of the Norwegian mercantile fleet was lying idle. The official number of registered unemployed has increased from 13,939 in June 1930 to 27,752 in June of the present year. These figures also indicate the growing want and misery among the Norwegian working class and the broad masses of the toiling rural population.

It would be a great mistake to assume, however, that the workers who are still employed, are still able to lead a decent existence. Let us take the miners for example. Since the lockout of 1931, the minimum wage of a miner on piece work is 36.96 crowns; a skilled worker earns 45.60 crowns a week. What are the weekly expenses of a miner for himself and his family (wife and two children)? A miner's wife gives the following figures regarding weekly expenses: food 25 crowns, rent 8 crowns, electric light 2.50 crowns. To this there is added trade union dues, health insurance contributions,

shoes and working clothes for her husband in the mine, and life-insurance premiums, making in all 43.95 crowns. In the majority of cases however the workers do not receive the full minimum wage, as a part is deducted by the employer for taxes etc. The result is that the worker is unable to live on his wages even if he spends nothing on clothes etc. In order to make both ends meet he must screw down expenditure wherever it is at all possible, and as he is frequently on short time he is literally on the verge of starvation. The situation of the workers in other industries differs very little from that of the miners. The increasing short time work and the periodical unemployment, especially among the paper workers, have worsened the situation of the whole of the working class.

The efforts of the bourgeoisie to shift the burden of the crisis on to the working class and to lower the standard of living of the proletariat are expressed in the following measures, which have been adopted in the last twelve months:

Reduction of the nominal tariff wages by 6 to 8 per cent for the majority of the industrial workers, new agreements following the lockout in 1931, and later a new agreement for a number of other groups of workers (road workers, forest workers etc.);

reduction of piece-work rates for a great number of workers;

various rationalisation and speeding up methods in the works and factories;

increase of the import duties on coffee and sugar by 15 per cent and by 20 per cent on a number of other articles. (In June last—before the dissolution of the Storting—the government was given full powers to increase all customs duties fourfold or to increase the duty by 50 per cent of the value of the goods);

reduction of the expenditure by the State on health insurance and other social services. To this is to be added the cutting down of children's allowances for civil servants from 40 to 25 crowns and reduction of the special allowances of the pensioned civil servants on account of increased prices by 15 per cent etc.;

reduction of the poor law relief for the unemployed and limitation of public works; increase of direct taxes; State aid to the bankrupt banks, and great subventions to industrial undertakings on condition that the latter reduce the wages of their staffs.

The reactionary peasant government has acted as the agent of finance capital in order to find a way out of the crisis by shifting the heaviest burdens on to the shoulders of the working population.

The Situation of the Unemployed.

The official statistics do not give a correct estimate of the number of the unemployed, as they embrace only those unemployed workers who voluntarily register at the Labour Exchanges. These very inadequate statistics give the following picture regarding unemployment and its growth in the first six months of the years 1930, 1931 and 1932:

	January	February	March	April	May	June
1930	22,549	22,974	22,533	19,829	16,376	13,939
1931	28,596	29,107	29,095	28,477	25,206	22,736
1932	34,636	37,796	38,356	36,939	31,504	37,752

If, however, we apply the average percentage of the unemployed to the municipalities in which there are no labour exchanges, we find that in the month of June last the number of unemployed in the whole country was 44,500. To this number there must be added the young people under the age of 18, who are not registered at all and regarding whom there exist no official data. One can therefore say without exaggeration that the actual number of unemployed is not less than 70 to 75,000 and that the number of those who are directly affected by unemployment amounts to more than 200,000. There are altogether 362,000 wage earners in Norway. On the basis of this figure we can further state that the total income of the Norwegian working class has been reduced by 20 per cent as a result of unemployment.

There exists no State unemployment insurance in Norway. In nearly all the trade unions unemployment benefit has either been completely done away with or very much reduced. The masses of the youth, who during the crisis have never had the possibility of finding a job and therefore have to live with their parents, do not receive any poor law relief. Although this poor law relief is the only form of aid accorded the unemployed and the number of unemployed in receipt of this relief is increasing from year to year, the sums spent by the State and the municipalities for this purpose have declined in the last few years. In the budget year 1927/28 the amount spent by the State on Poor law relief for the unemployed was 54,171,000 crowns. The figures for 1928/29 and 1929/30 were 51,283,000 and 49,026,000 crowns respectively. The total expenditure of the State and the municipalities for social purposes was reduced in the period from 1927/28 to 1929/30 from 99,034,000 to 90,762,000 crowns.

This curtailment of the expenditure on unemployment and poor relief was only possible thanks to the ruthless procedure of the bourgeoisie against the whole of the working class. In a number of municipalities the poor law relief has been cut down to such an extent that it is absolutely impossible for the recipients to exist on it. In the case of those municipalities which are in financial difficulties and are therefore under some form or other of State control (and there are 307 of such municipalities out of 668), the Government directly determines the maximum amount of relief that may be paid out. The Government has decreed that relief must not be given in cash but only in kind.

The situation of the unemployed in Strinda (near Trondheim) is described as follows:

"A man with a large family (4 children) receives 12 crowns a week poor law relief... There is no food whatever in the house. The children have been crying from hunger the whole night."

The distress is particularly great in those districts in which the population are normally engaged in forest work and fishing. The misery of the poor fisherfolk in Kirkenes (North of Norway) was so great last year that they plundered the bread shops. Great misery also prevails in the forest districts. Several municipalities have not paid out any relief for some time past, because, it is alleged, the municipal council have no funds and the State has refused to grant them any aid. The central organ of the Norwegian social democracy "Arbeiderbladet" wrote as follows in its issue of May 30, last:

"It is reported from Torpa that very serious distress prevails there... Not a single penny has been paid out in the last 10 days. More than 400 unemployed are starving..."

At the same time, however, thousands of crowns are squandered on the Church and for similar purposes.

But the Norwegian bourgeoisie are not content with constantly cutting down the relief granted to the unemployed. Repeated attempts have been made recently to deprive the unemployed of the franchise and their social rights. Already in the present year a law has been passed according to which an unemployed worker cannot be a member of the poor-law guardians if he has received relief for himself and his family in the course of the preceding 12 months.

In the course of the last 11 years the Norwegian Storting has granted 200 millions crowns for "combating of unemployment". Of this sum 23 per cent. has been expended on relief work schemes. The wages of the relief workers, however, are so small that it means in reality that they are working for poor-law-relief. The wages of relief workers have been fixed by the Ministry for labour at 30 Oere per hour, with an increase of 2 Oere in respect of every child.

PROLETARIAN PRESS

The Revolutionary Press of Japan.

The central organ of the Communist Party of Japan, "Sekki", (Red Flag) published its 100th number on October 15. The publication of "Sekki" began in 1928 after the first mass arrest of the leading functionaries of the C.P.J. which had been driven underground. In spite of unceasing persecution, "Sekki" was the winner in all conflicts with the police and gendarmes, owing to its reliance on the enthusiasm and loyalty of the workers and peasants to the cause of the revolution.

After the second breakup of some of the chief organisations of the C.P.J. in April 1929, "Sekki" again became the centre and the organising backbone for the organisations of the C.P. of Japan and played a prominent role in the reorganisation of the ranks of the Communist Party.

In 1932, "Sekki" achieved a new and tremendous victory. As the result of a mass campaign to collect money for the "Sekki", the paper has appeared regularly once in 5 days in the form of a printed newspaper.

The formation of a "Sekki" printing plant made it technically possible to convert "Sekki" into a real mass paper.

The paper is printed in thousands of copies, and reaches a great number of readers. In most factories, mines and villages there are circles of worker correspondents of "Sekki" who are united around their own wall newspapers which grow up utilising the experience accumulated by the central organ.

At present "Sekki" is carrying on a campaign for the further increase of its circulation and for making it into a three-day paper.

In the jubilee number, "Sekki" publishes an appeal from the editors of the paper to the oldest Bolshevik paper "Pravda" and the central organ of the C.P. of China "Huntsi" (Red Flag). In the appeal to "Pravda" it says:

"Dear comrades of 'Pravda'.

You will understand the tremendous tasks which face the C.P. of Japan. Japanese imperialism leads the counter-revolutionary international interventionist front against

the U.S.S.R.—the fatherland of the toilers of the whole world. Japanese imperialism is shamelessly plundering China.

The monarchy and the capitalist class are enslaving and exploiting the workers and peasants by colonial methods. The workers and peasants are deprived of the most elementary rights. Rebellion against oppression by the revolutionary masses is punished by imprisonment and death. In such circumstances the C.P.J. is carrying on a struggle against imperialist war, for the overthrow of the monarchy, for rice, land and freedom, for the people's revolution and the formation of the worker's and peasants' government.

"Sekki" is publishing its 100th copy under the slogan of the consolidation and extension of this struggle. "Sekki" organises this struggle to convert imperialist war into civil war and organises the development of the struggle for the defence of the U.S.S.R. "Sekki" organises the struggle against the slaughter of the revolutionary vanguard which is being carried out at the orders of the Mikado.

"The workers and peasants of Russia, under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, overthrew Tsarism and established the dictatorship of the proletariat. At present the construction of socialist classless society is going on in the U.S.S.R. During the whole of this heroic struggle, "Pravda" was one of the chief weapons of the Bolsheviks.

"The Japanese workers and peasants look on the struggle of the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. as a model for their own actions and study their path of revolution and liberation. In the same way, "Sekki" looks on "Pravda" as its prototype and sets itself the aim of becoming the "Pravda" of revolutionary Japan."

"Sekki" is not alone in the struggle for the Bolshevisation of the C.P.J. and the organisation of the workers and peasants. The C.P.J. has published a monthly organ "**Tokensetsusha**" (Party construction) since June 1st, 1931, dealing with questions of the building of the Party.

In the first number of the journal, the editors write as follows on the tasks of "Tokensetsusha":

"The chief task in leading the revolutionary struggle of the worker and peasant masses is the overcoming of the existing backwardness of the tempo of Party construction. For this purpose we must greatly accelerate the Bolshevisation of the Party, carry on a determined struggle against opportunism which has deeply rooted itself in the Party.

"The study and utilisation of revolutionary practice is the best means of struggle for Bolshevisation. The central monthly organ of the Party "Tokensetsusha" will make all Party members acquainted with concrete figures on Party construction, with the concrete and practical work of individual Party members and in its pages will carry on the exchange of experience, opinions and practical proposals which may be useful for the Bolshevisation of the Party.

"The central organ of the Party "Sekki" already appears once in 5 days. In addition the Party proposes to issue a theoretical journal, the monthly "Bolshevik". Together with these organs "Tokensetsusha" will show the concrete activity of the organisers and agitators of the Party in the factories, villages and barracks.

"All the workers, peasants and soldiers must become readers of "Tokensetsusha" and look on the material of the journal as a lever of Leninist self-criticism so as to be able to utilise the journal as a guide for everyday work.

"Thus, the first number of the journal appeals to all readers with the slogan:

"For the Bolshevisation of your revolutionary practice, for the strengthening and consolidation of Leninist leadership in the factories, mines, villages, barracks and battleships."

In the first number of the journal there was much interesting material from the revolutionary practice of the C.P.J. In particular, the history of the concrete leadership of the successful strike of the Tokyo underground railway workers was set out in detail.

One of the most experienced and most authoritative organisers of circles of readers of "Sekki" in factories and mills gave his experience.

Further, there is given a diary of a Communist functionary participating in the election campaign on the eve of the parliamentary elections. Two articles deal with the practice of the Party organisers in the villages, and a short estimate is given of the struggle of the tenant peasants in the village of Urusima in the prefecture of Niigata. The number contains concrete material on the strike of the food workers. Finally, the number gives the experience in organising the children of the tenant peasants fighting against the landlords.

The practical significance of the first number of "Tokensetsusha" is undoubtedly tremendous. The second number of the journal which appeared with great delay—August 29, almost 3 months later—dealt with 3 basic questions: The agrarian revolution, the International Red Day of August 1st and the struggle against imperialist war.

Three articles dealt with the question of the agrarian revolution and the concrete practice of the peasant movement. While giving concrete examples of the struggle of the workers in the machine shops of Niigata and the acute struggle of the peasants in the prefecture of Niigata, the journal emphasises that the Communists and the district organisation of the C.P.J. were unable to link up the struggle of the workers and peasants and to merge them into one whole. A considerable number of peasants in the prefecture are organised and carry on the struggle under the leadership of real revolutionary elements. The same applies to the metal workers of Niigata, but nevertheless the possible contacts were not established.

Examples of the incorrect understanding of the real tasks in the villages are given in the second article on the peasant movement. In one of the villages about 30 tenant peasants, led by the left wing of the Peasant League "Dzenkoku Nomin Kumlai" who had cultivated about 60 chobu of land for 6 years refused to pay rent. The landlord and the local authorities retreated before the solidarity of the peasants and took no measures to levy the rent. As a result, the population of the village are in much better conditions than the surrounding villages who remained on one side and took no part in the struggle of their neighbours. One of the village organisers of the Party who had been in this village returned to the centre and reported: "Everything is in order in the village, all are satisfied. They have obtained what they wanted, their feelings are good and the question may be considered to be finished with. The question of the right to own the land does not play any role. The rent is not collected. We do not need any organisational work there because the solidarity of the tenant peasants there is excellent". The journal points out the mistakes of this point of view.

The revolutionary peasant movement led by the Party cannot restrict itself to the unstable success of refusing the payment of rent. The Party is working for an agrarian revolution, the complete remaking of agrarian relations, naturally not in some individual corner but on an all-Japanese scale. The population of this village must know that only a joint struggle with the other peasants and with the city Proletariat will ensure them the right of not paying rent to the landlord parasites. The peasant committee of the village can and must become the standard bearer of a movement for the expropriation of the land of the landlords, and only after this fundamental task has been carried out can we make the statement that everything is in order in this village.

The biggest mistake of the district committee was its failure to notice the absence of a political struggle in the village, being satisfied to establish that "the economic struggle is finished and there is nothing more to do."

A similar under-estimation of the political struggle took place in another place, in a village of the same prefecture. Here three poor peasants united in a commune—they joined together their property and debts and began to work the land in common, and to pay their debts to the money-lender in common. In both cases the common symptom was the absence of a political struggle. The 3 "communards" also limited themselves to the economic struggle and did not think of the struggle against the landlord-capitalist state. The Communist Party, as represented by the district committee, was unable to give them the necessary aid, was unable to develop and lead the political struggle which will consolidate the victory of the peasants.

At the same time the journal points to the slow increase of the number of village wall newspapers. The number of readers of "Sekki" in the villages has increased, but the tempo

of increase of the village papers has been very slow. "Tokensetsusha" points out the prominent importance of village newspapers containing material which is of interest to the readers, and calls on all Communists in the villages to pay the greatest attention to this question.

The journal puts forward the slogan "In addition to the reading of 'Sekki', every village must have its own village newspaper."

In an article dealing with the experience of the celebration of August 1st, the journal gives vivid examples to illustrate the weakness of mass work by various organisations. Some organisations continue to under-estimate the necessity of carefully preparing a plan for mass activity. In one district of Tokyo on August 1st, 1,000 workers turned up on time at the point which had been announced in advance for the anti-imperialist demonstration. Nevertheless the police succeeded in dispersing them, because the leaders who had not worked out a plan in advance did not know where and how to move the demonstrators who had assembled. Instead of having a route decided in advance, arguments commenced as to which streets the procession should march along, and the police were able to drive off the workers who did not know where to go.

The third basic problem—the conversion of the struggle against imperialist war into a mass movement of workers and peasants—is dealt with by "Tokensetsusha" in 3 separate articles. In addition to the various methods of work in the factories, villages and barracks, one of the authors describes his experience in forming an "association of visitors to soldiers". Often the soldiers are not allowed even a weekly day of rest and are kept locked up in the barracks.

The representatives of the association are welcome guests for the soldiers and are able to give them news and make them acquainted with the real state of affairs.

Another author describes the experience of winning over the soldiers who have returned from Shanghai and Manchuria. The workers of a factory or the peasants in a village organise meetings of welcome for the soldiers, and together with them discuss the events and the plans of the imperialists. The questions and answers at such meetings of welcome always give good results. The author gives a short description of a number of such meetings of welcome, affirms their usefulness, but points out that the Party has not yet succeeded in utilising them fully owing to their novelty and recommends that a plan should be discussed for raising this very promising commencement to a higher stage.

Finally, the journal contains material on the life of the sailors in the navy and a number of practical propositions on the methods of organising the sailors in the navy.

In this number of the journal, as in the first number, practical instructions are given regarding the organisation of the children's movement.

On September 15th the C.P.J. commenced the regular publication of a fortnightly paper "Heisino Tomo" (The Friend of the Soldier), intended for distribution among the soldiers and sailors.

In the first number, the editors explain in simple language the history of the founding of "Heisino Tomo" and explain the basic aims of the journal.

"Heisino Tomo" was formed at the request of revolutionary soldiers and sailors who were deprived of the possibility of learning the real situation in the country and the real position of their families whom they have left in the villages or the towns.

"The bourgeois papers like 'Asahi' or 'Nitsi Nitsi' are not friends of the soldiers and sailors. They try to describe life in the barracks or on the warships as heaven. The soldiers and sailors well know how false these statements are.

The bourgeois papers do not give any reply to the questions of the soldiers and sailors. For example, the soldiers are forcibly sent to the war in Manchuria. The authorities state in the newspapers that certain sums of money have been collected to assist the families of the conscripts. But the papers do not say why the wives and children of the conscript soldiers are hungry, as can be seen from the letters which the soldiers receive from home.

The soldiers often ask the officers "what are we fighting for?" "Shall we live better if we win?" The officers

usually reply: "Of course, if we can occupy Manchuria." "But my mother, wife and children are starving now. Is it impossible to arrange for them to live better now and not in the future?" "Silence" is the answer. "You must fight in the interests of the whole country and it is not your business to argue."

The bourgeois papers do not give a single word about such conversations which frequently take place in Manchuria.

In the barracks, the soldiers are subjected to humiliation and suffering. Why are the soldiers trained under such conditions? No paper gives an answer to this question.

When a soldier has finished his time of service, he returns home. He is told that "in view of the depression he cannot be given his old job". But the soldier has suffered for two years in the barracks "in the interests of the state" and has the right to demand work. The papers say nothing about this.

The papers tell nothing of the tremendous difference between the Red Army and the Japanese army. Why can the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. become commanders, while in Japan officers can only be taken from among those who have money and who have been to school. Why are the Red Army men and the Red commanders comrades and brothers?

In the Japanese army, the soldiers are taught that the army is needed to defend the interests of the state. In this case, how can you explain why the soldiers were compelled to shoot at peasants in the Gifu prefecture when they refused to repair the dam on the River Sai, which flooded the peasants' fields after it had been repaired?

Why were the soldiers forced to kill the leaders of the revolutionary workers' movement during the 1923 earthquake? Not a single paper writes about this.

When the workers are on strike or when the tenant peasants refuse to carry out the demands of the landlords who are driving them from the land, the officers of the reserve compel the reservists to become strike-breakers and defenders of the landlords. None of the bourgeois papers tell us that these officers are the blood brothers of the factory owners and landlords, and oppress the masses together with them.

Under such conditions, continues the newspaper, the front in Manchuria is being enlarged at the present time. The officers now openly state "soon we shall start a war against the Soviet Union".

We are driven into the cold of North Manchuria, we are compelled to leave our parents, wives and children, who are doomed to starvation in our poor huts without us. What shall we do? Neither "Asaki" or "Nitsi Nitsi" will reply to this difficult question.

"Heisino Tomos" replies to all these questions. It teaches the soldiers and sailors how to abolish such conditions. "Heisino Tomos" lives the life of the workers and peasants in soldiers' uniform and points out the way for them. Make "Heisino Tomos" into your real friend! Read it together and discuss what you have read together! Ask any question which arises in your discussion, and "Heisino Tomos" will reply it."

In calling on the soldiers to rally around "Heisino Tomos" the journal in the first number replies to all the questions raised in the preface from the editors which we have given above. The journal explains in detail the basic reasons of the Manchurian and Shanghai adventure of Japanese imperialism. A picture is also given of the preparations to form an anti-Soviet bloc of imperialist powers and the role of imperialist Japan in these preparations.

There is particular value in the facts which are given and the concrete statements about the energetic work of the employers in the munition factories in Japan who have received big orders, both in connection with the events in Manchuria and Shanghai and in connection with the preparations for a new war. The details on unpaid overtime work in these munition factories which are prospering under war conditions are particularly eloquent.

"Heisino Tomos", together with the other organs of the C.P.J., will undoubtedly play a big role in the leadership of the workers and peasants of Japan who are becoming more and more revolutionary.