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Questions of United Front Tactics. (On Partial Demands.)

By D. Manuilsky

The struggle of the Communist Parties for the masses, which is proceeding under the conditions of a world economic crisis, sharply confronts the Communists with the question of the united front tactics. The revolutionary upsurge of the Labour movement has not yet reached such strength and such a degree of tension that the working masses would immediately rise for the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship. At the present stage of the revolutionary upsurge the working masses are approaching this task, but at first by round about ways. The realisation of the united front tactic has not yet become a stormy elementary movement which is symptomatic of the period of the immediate struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. The Communist Parties must at present organise the united front tactic to a much higher degree than in the moment of stormy revolutionary events, which facilitate the solution of these tasks in every possible way.

On what basis will the Communists develop the broad application of the united front tactics at the present stage of the movement? On the partial demands of the working class and the toilers in general. It is precisely in the question of partial demands that the Communist Parties must pursue a particularly clear line, as a gliding down to opportunism can quite easily occur. Such clearness is lacking in the practice of the Communist Parties.

The Communist Parties frequently commit the most glaring political mistakes in the setting up of the partial demands.

In practice the partial demands are not infrequently mixed with the demands of the transition period, regardless of the fact that a revolutionary situation must prevail for the setting up of transition demands; sometimes "partial demands" are set up which distort the character of the proletarian class policy of the Communist Parties; finally the partial demands are confounded with the slogans of the proletarian dictatorship. Thus for instance, two years ago the Communist fraction in the French Parliament introduced a bill for the establishment of an oil monopoly within the frame of the capitalist State, i. e., it set up a slogan for the transition period when there existed no revolutionary situation. Another example, drawn from the practice of the Peasants' International, which set up the slogan of "cheap credits" for the peasants, which, under the dictatorship of finance capital, means a promotion of the policy of subjecting broad peasant masses to the banks. That it is time to deal with the problem of partial demands is shown by the discussion at the last Plenary session of the C. C. of the C. P. of Italy, which raised the question whether in the present conditions in Italy, in combating the system of the nomination of fascist commissars in the municipalities, it would be advisable to set up the slogan of elections to the municipal councils on the basis of general, equal, and direct suffrage with secret ballot. There was a division of opinion. Some of the comrades were of the opinion that the Communist Party can only put forward the slogan of Soviets, whilst other members of the Italian Central Committee defended, under the present

conditions, the slogan of elected municipal councils. These examples suffice to show that the problem of partial demands is already confronting the Communist Parties, and in connection with the growing economic crisis will become much more acute.

The development of the world economic crisis will draw the working class still more into the struggle for economic partial demands, which we cannot ignore and from which we must proceed in order to mobilise the masses for the struggle against the offensive of capital, against the attempts of the bourgeoisie to cast all the burdens of the present crisis upon the toiling masses. Secondly, the struggle for partial demands is dictated by the growth of fascism, which is suppressing with brutal cruelty even the most insignificant expressions of the class struggle of the proletariat. To the extent that the class struggle becomes more acute the Communist Parties in a whole number of countries are approaching a period of illegality. The bourgeoisie is attempting to shatter not only the Communist Parties but all revolutionary labour organisations. The working class must defend its organisations, fight for the right to strike, for freedom of assembly, for the liberty of the working class. This means, that the working class has to fight for political partial demands.

Thirdly, it must be borne in mind that not only the most advanced sections of the working class but also its most backward sections are now being drawn into the revolutionary movement. These latter do not join the revolutionary movement as hundred per cent Communists, but as proletarians who are groping their way to Communism. They are being drawn into the struggle as a result of their elementary economic demands and their misery. It is precisely the revolutionary art of the Bolsheviks to organise these backward strata and to lead them to the revolutionary advance-guard. Hence the significance of the partial demands in the mobilisation of these strata.

Finally, the importance of the partial demands is growing on account of the fascisation of social democracy. At a given historical stage social democracy abandoned the struggle for the ultimate aims of the labour movement in order to carry through reforms. Up to the war and in the first years after the war it advocated reforms. Today it has become a Party which has even abandoned the partial demands of the working class. In the present conditions the Communists are the only workers' party which not only defends the ultimate aims of the working class but also its daily demands. We have to assume this function, and its importance is especially great at the moment of the maturing world crisis, as we have to defend step by step every position against attacking capital.

How shall we approach the question of partial demands? It is necessary before all to lay down a number of fundamental directives in order to guard the Communist Parties against a repetition of those mistakes which have been made hitherto. We cannot set up a general list of "admissible" and "inadmissible" partial demands. Some demands are suitable for a special case and are not suitable in other circumstances. But we can establish directives which will help the Communist Parties to avoid mistakes when setting up partial demands. It is here a question of the method of solving this difficult question and not a panacea for all times and for all peoples. In this respect it must be borne in mind that the Programme of the C.I. makes a definite division in characterising the individual countries—countries with a weak capitalist development which are first approaching the bourgeois-democratic revolution—colonial countries. Then the countries with middle capitalist development and survivals of feudal elements, such as Poland, the Balkan countries, Hungary etc. In some of these countries of the second type bourgeois-democratic revolutions are possible which grow into the socialist revolution. In other countries proletarian revolutions are possible which will to a great extent solve the bourgeois-democratic tasks. In the highly developed capitalist countries only proletarian revolutions are possible. It is perfectly clear that in the countries which are approaching the bourgeois-democratic revolution, we shall put forward the fundamental demands of the bourgeois-democratic revolution to the fullest extent: a democratic republic on the basis of the dictatorship of the workers and peasants, eight-hour day, land to the peasants. It would be a grave mistake, if in addition to these fundamental demands we were to set up some minimum

demands. This is all the more inadmissible in the countries of the middle type, such as Poland. Let us take a concrete example from the practice of the C.P. of West Ukraine. Some years ago it put forward the demand: land to the peasants with compensation, the amount of this compensation to be fixed by the peasant committees, i.e. a slogan so to say representing a "minimum programme" in regard to the slogan of the confiscation of big landed property. There was another case in the C.P. of Western White Russia, where, in the presence of the E.C.C.I. representative, the slogan of national autonomy was put forward, which the E.C.C.I. had afterwards to cancel. As the slogan of national self-determination up to separation is the fundamental slogan of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, we cannot put forward the slogan of Autonomy. It is impermissible to add small amendments, small corrections to such fundamental slogans.

This, however, does not mean that in the countries of the first type we altogether renounce the setting up of such partial demands as do not revise the fundamental slogans of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

How do things stand with the highly developed capitalist countries in which only the proletarian revolution is possible? In these countries bourgeois democracy is a stage already passed. Here the political partial demands of the proletariat bear a distinct class character. The fact of the existence of the Soviet Union and of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union has a decisive influence upon the formulation of the partial demands.

Can anybody assume that, for instance, the German Party, in the event of an attempt at a fascist upheaval, would put forward the slogan of universal suffrage and the defence of democracy? Or if the "Rote Fahne" is suppressed, will the Communist Party put forward the slogan of the freedom of the press? Or will the C.P. of Germany, if the attempt is made to drive the Party into illegality, set up the slogan of the right of combination? In Germany the bourgeois parties, their organisations and their press are the initiators of the fascist dictatorship. Therefore, the German comrades will fight for the freedom of the labour assemblies; for in the advanced capitalist countries the lines of class demarcation are so sharply drawn, that we cannot leave this fact out of account when putting forward our partial demands. The second factor influencing the character of the partial demands is the fact of the proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet Union, the achievements of the working class in the U.S.S.R. The Communists in the capitalist countries are putting forward the demand of the seven-hour day and not of the eight-hour day. In setting up the partial demands, they are confronting all the achievements of the working class in the Soviet Union with the barbarous suppression of the toilers by the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries.

What is the character of the partial demands in countries of the second, the intermediary type? Here a whole number of tasks of a bourgeois-democratic character have not yet been solved. The toilers of these countries are weighed down by the semi-fidal survivals, both in the sphere of the property relations in agriculture and in politics, in the national question etc. Hence the Communist Parties must take up the defence of democratic demands in a number of cases. In Yugoslavia, a State containing many nationalities, based upon the savage suppression of the toilers of other nationalities by the Servian bourgeoisie and the landowners, the Communist Party must unconditionally demand freedom of the press, assembly, and organisation.

The second criterion in putting forward partial demands is the degree of revolutionary upsurge in the given country. Let us cite an example from the practice of the C.P.G. After the Berlin May murders the Party put forward the slogan: Down with Zörgiebel! We believe that the German Party was right in putting forward this slogan. At a moment when Zörgiebel, during the May days, was the incarnation of the whole system of the fascist dictatorship, when the whole hatred of the Berlin workers against social fascism was concentrated upon the most damnable social fascist Zörgiebel, the C.P. would have committed a mistake if it had not expressed the mood of the masses and put forward the partial demand of the day: "Down with Zörgiebel!" The Communists must set up such demands as the masses understand, and by means of which the Communist Party can mobilise the masses and bring

them to a higher stage of the struggle; the Communist must put forward slogans lying along the line of revolutionising the masses.

Let us assume that in Germany, in reply to the murders of workers, a wave of political mass strikes had started, that the May demonstration resulted in a long struggle. Then the C.P. would have rapidly changed its slogans in accordance with the growth of the movement.

Partial demands cannot be unchangeable, they are no programmatic slogans. They are adapted to the mood of the masses in the given moment, in a given concrete situation. The Communist Parties are in duty bound to change them to the extent as the movement grows.

Were the Italian comrades right, when they, in the course of a number of years and in view of the fascist dictatorship, or even today when the first symptoms of a revolutionary upsurge are visible, put forward the slogan of elected municipal councils? If we take into account the traditions of the Italian revolutionary movement and also the fact that in the past the municipal councils played the role of points of support of the mass movement in the struggle against the fascist dictatorship, then we can say that the Italian comrades acted correctly. If, however, the mass movement were to develop in Italy, if breaches were forced in the fascist dictatorship, if in addition to the proletariat the peasantry also were drawn into the movement, then it is perfectly clear that this slogan would be inadequate and the Communist Party would be compelled to put forward the fundamental question, the question of power.

The practice of the Communist Parties shows that they often lag behind the mass movement, cling to old partial demands without taking into account the changes in the situation, and precisely this is the cause of many mistakes in setting up partial demands.

The third main directive is that we put forward our partial demands independently of the fact whether they can be realised within the frame of monopoly capitalism and of the present fascist State or not. Lenin said: we do not put forward such demands as capitalist society can fulfil, but such slogans, the realisation of which we demand of the bourgeoisie. Can we therefore abandon the slogan of freedom of the workers' press, because it is not realisable within the frame of the fascist dictatorship in Italy? Can we abandon the demand of national self-determination up to separation, because there are very poor chances of this slogan being realised within the frame of the imperialist system? The overwhelming majority of the democratic demands can no longer be realised within the frame of the prevailing system; but by putting them forward and advocating them we expose the fascist nature of the present bourgeois State, expose the bourgeois class character of the policy of social fascism, which abandons the defence of the elementary demands of the workers. We thereby educate the masses in a revolutionary spirit and lead them into the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system as a whole.

The fourth directive is that in putting forward partial demands, the fundamental question, the question of power, must not be left out of sight.

The practice of the Communist Parties has placed also this question on the agenda. Thus, for instance, the Italian comrades, with the approval of the Comintern, during the crisis after Matteotti's murder and the strong so-called Aventino movement, put forward the slogan of the Constituent Assembly on the basis of workers' and peasants' committees. The C.P. of Hungary proceeded along the same path when, under the impression of a threatening restoration of the Hapsburg dynasty in Hungary, it put forward simply the slogan of the democratic Republic, in order afterwards to make a turn and to demand the "workers' and peasants" government, so that slogan was as follows: "A Republic with a workers' and peasants' government at the head". As such slogans are likely to confuse the main question, the question of power, and to spread democratic illusions, the Italian and Hungarian comrades have lately dropped these slogans.

Finally, the fifth directive: The partial demands in our agitation must be connected with the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government. This means, that in the colonial countries this slogan can be linked up with the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government on the basis of the

dictatorship of the proletariat and of the peasantry — in the highly developed capitalist countries with the slogan of the workers' and peasants' government on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat which is leading the peasantry.

Of course these directives do not exhaust all the difficulties of this tactical problem, which requires a much more thorough theoretical and practical elaboration. These problems cannot be separated neither from an analysis of the epoch of monopolist capitalism and of the present fascist State, nor from an analysis of those changes which have occurred in the international labour movement since the war. It is necessary to connect this problem with the practical experience which has been acquired by the sections of the Comintern in the mobilisation of the masses on the basis of partial demands. But these preliminary directives can serve the sections of the C.I. as an orientation for the correct putting forward of partial demands.

POLITICS

The Change of Government in Germany

By A. Norden (Berlin).

It is only a few days ago that Severing proudly announced that the social democracy intended to remain in the government until the end of the legislative period, i. e. until 1932, and even longer. The social democratic newspapers, which had triumphantly published these words in big headlines, had hardly appeared, when the four social democratic members were kicked out of the government.

What was the cause of the overthrow of the coalition government. It had so faithfully fulfilled all the wishes of trust capital, that today the social democratic press, in spite of the most eager searching, is unable to find in the 21 months activity of the Müller-Severing Cabinet even one act, which could be represented as a success for the proletariat. In fact there is no sphere of social, cultural, political and economic life in which the coalition government had not rendered more rigorous the existing anti-proletarian laws. Beginning with the film censorship up to the Law for the Defence of the Republic, —the Müller-Severing government has pursued a direct and consistent line.

And when the "Vorwärts" now declares that the social democracy left the government because it would not consent to the social insurance being worsened, then it should be pointed out that it was nobody else but Herr Wissel, who, with the approval and consent of the other three socialist Ministers and of the 152 social democratic members of the Reichstag, deprived 1,300,000 unemployed of their right to benefit, excluded all young workers and seasonal workers from crisis relief and excluded the dock and transport workers from the unemployment insurance. In fact the drastic cutting down of unemployment benefit which is to be carried out in response to the instructions of the Federation of Industries to the Minister of Finance Moldenhauer, has been approved by the late social democratic Ministers as well as by a considerable portion of the Reichstag fraction.

But the 3½ million unemployed with their 7 million dependents are a grim reality. To cut down their benefit further, and with the direct support of the social democratic party of Germany, means greatly to accelerate the pace of proletarian radicalisation and considerably to narrow down the sphere of influence of the social democratic party. And however tenaciously the social democratic Ministers hung on to their jobs and showed their eager readiness to satisfy even the most far-reaching demands of finance capital, the value of the socialist leaders to the capitalists depends upon the strength of their influence over the masses.

As it is now a question of carrying out the Inner Young Plan, i. e. of making a general attack on the unemployment benefit in order to increase the pressure on the labour market, and thereby also on wages, for the purpose of reducing prime costs and to increase exports, it is more advantageous for the big bourgeoisie to have a sham opposition of the social democratic party than that the latter should remain in the government. For the bourgeois block still has the hope that the social democracy, which by its participation in the provincial governments and by occupying the posts of police presidents

is still in fact participating in the new government, will act as a sort of breakwater against the rising wave of the opposition of the workers.

The programme of the new government, which has already been announced, contemplates, in addition to cutting down the unemployment benefit, a tremendous increase of import duties. This is the reason why Hindenburg attaches so much value to the nomination of Schiele, the President of the agricultural union, as Food Minister. Schiele demands the forcing up of the price of wheat and rye, a hundred per cent increase in the import duties on bacon and lard, and further measures which will bring huge profits to the big agrarians. In order that the big industrialists shall not go short of anything, it is intended to place fresh high import duties on manufactured goods.

The Schiele-Treviranus-Brüning Cabinet, in which the catholic Centre have the greatest influence, is the government of the strong hand for which big capital has so long called. The Ministers declare quite openly that in the event of Parliament passing a vote of censure on them, they will send it packing and exercise power on their own account, on the basis of the dictatorship article 48 of the Constitution.

This threat to suspend the Constitution, this outer show of strength is only intended to conceal the real inner weakness of the bourgeoisie. Bayonets are not a very reliable support. But the bourgeois block is unable to govern otherwise. Under the pressure of the general economic crisis, which is particularly acute in Germany, the new Government can maintain and increase the rate of profit of the employers only at the cost of a ruthless offensive against the workers, who, in the interests of their self-preservation, will be forced to offer the most fierce and desperate resistance.

The Hunger March Against the "Labour Government".

By A. F. F.-on.

At the present moment British capitalism is suffering from a crisis within the general crisis. The effect of the Wall Street collapse, the stubborn resistance of the British Working class to rationalisation, the ever increasing pressure of foreign competition have produced a situation which approaches the catastrophic and critical for British capitalism. This is evidenced in the fact that the Ministry of Labour's latest figures regarding unemployment show the highest number of unemployed workers since 1922. The total number of unemployed on the registers of the Labour Exchanges is now 1,621,800. Actually there are more than 2 millions unemployed when one takes into account the army of unemployed on the books of the various Boards of Guardians, Parish Councils and County Councils, and that other army, who receive no relief whatsoever. "The Times" admits the meaning of this huge increase in the unemployed figures when it says.

"It is now beyond a doubt that we are passing through a period of trade depression more intense than at any time since the catastrophic collapse of trade in 1921. . ."

But the crisis of 1921 and 1922 and the crisis of 1930 are on different planes. To-day not only is British capitalism far weaker actually and relatively to world capitalism, but the British working class have passed through a whole number of revolutionising experiences. It is this fact above all others which renders it certain that this deep-seated crisis will not only not be overcome, but cannot be to any appreciable extent eased, by the old time-honoured methods: the pitting of the workers in one industry against the workers in another.

To-day there is developing a sense of solidarity, of oneness among the British working class, which shows itself in the present widespread agitation by the unemployed workers and notably in the fighting demonstrations against the Labour Government and for the demands of the unemployed and workers on short time on March 6th.

The next step is the tremendous national Hunger March on London against the Labour Government. This March, which is timed to culminate in London on 1st May, will give a deep revolutionary significance to May Day in Great Britain. The March is designed to cover the whole country. By a network of routes the various contingents from the districts will touch practically every important town in Great Britain.

This means that a tremendous political agitational campaign against the Labour government will be carried into every town and village in Britain, and, most significant of all, it will not be abstract propaganda, but a living vital agitation by the marching unemployed themselves.

The political consequences of this march are of the most profound nature. It signifies the annihilation among the active energetic section of the unemployed of the hitherto stubbornly held illusion that the Labour Government would help the Unemployed.

The last Hunger March not only forced the Baldwin Government to withdraw the 30 stamps clause, but it played a very important part in arousing and mobilising the storm of opposition which swept Toryism away at the Polls last May.

To-day the unemployed delegates from all over Britain are preparing for the opening of a historically important political struggle against the Social fascist "Labour Government". This is in itself of basic importance but when to it is added the undoubtedly militant attitude and fighting spirit of the workers who are in Industry then the tremendous range and potentialities of this Hunger March are obvious.

In the past marches of the unemployed there was no living contact between them and the employed. By virtue of this the capitalists were able more or less to isolate the unemployed and to prevent their demonstration developing all its potentialities. Now the unemployed marchers have a battle weapon, the *Daily Worker*, which was so sadly lacking in the past. The *Daily Worker* will be invaluable not only in giving publicity to the Hunger March, but in advising, leading and helping to establish revolutionary action by the employed in solidarity with the unemployed. Already in all the various towns in which the marchers must pass the smaller Trade Union bureaucrats and petty Labour Party officialdom are organising opposition to the march. They not only refuse to form reception committees to feed and house the marchers, but they will undoubtedly use their influence in some cases and control in others in order to get Police attacks upon the marchers.

The unemployed must themselves, in conjunction with the W. I. R., organise the workers in these towns in order to form reception and hospitality committees.

It is quite safe to predict that just as the social fascist "Labour" Government has shown itself as the most energetic and unscrupulous in driving forward towards rationalisation and War, so it will be most ruthless and brutal in its endeavour to smash this Unemployed Hunger March. Open physical violence will be employed, a method which commands itself more and more to Messrs. MacDonald, Snowden etc. as the masses more and more realise and express their disillusionment in action.

The unemployed and the employed, under the driving leadership of the C. P. G. B., will, however, be able to smash any attempt to prevent or impede the march. The mass campaign against the Labour Government is developing rapidly. May 1st will be a historic milestone in the development of that campaign.

The Revolutionary Crisis in Spain.

Progressive Radicalisation of the Working Class.

By Yercovi (Barcelona).

In Spain the capitalist regime is passing through a profound crisis. It is incapable of overcoming the economic contradictions and the sharpened class antagonism, which are growing from day to day. It is endeavouring to solve these contradictions by extending the social and political basis of its capitalist dictatorship by a concentration government of all bourgeois and semi-bourgeois parties, from the Conservatives to the Socialists. It is the task of the Berenguer Government, which is a purely makeshift government, to bring about this bourgeois concentration, and for this purpose to promise some pseudo-democratic concessions.

Berenguer is attempting, on the one hand, to widen the social and political basis of his government. On the other hand, however, as he foresees a general collapse, he is supporting the secret efforts to establish a new military dictatorship.

The demonstrations which took place in Madrid on the occasion of the speech delivered by Sanchez Guerra, were a

sufficient reason to induce the government to declare that it must "limit expression of opinion" (as if expression of opinion were ever allowed in Spain). Two days afterwards the Government declared that this had not been their intention. This zig-zag course, which the Government finds it necessary to follow is the best proof of its shaky position and the disintegration of the regime.

The relation of forces and also the driving forces were most strikingly illustrated by the demonstrations on March 6. For the first time since 1923, the Spanish working masses demonstrated on the streets according to a plan laid down for the whole of Spain and under concrete slogans.

In Seville over 3,000 workers demonstrated under the leadership of the Communist Party and for the demands set up by it: Unemployment benefit to the amount of 75 per cent. of wages, and exemption of the unemployed from payment of rent.

At Bilbao over 2,000 workers fought the police for the right to the street. On the same day the social fascist leaders of the metal workers' union of Biscaya published an appeal in "El Liberal", a newspaper appearing in Bilbao and edited by the "Left" socialist Prieto, raving against the demonstration and calling upon the authorities to prevent it by forcible means. The workers, however, did not allow themselves to be held back by this appeal and for over an hour withstood the attacks of the police.

During the whole of the 6th March all the workers employed in the mines of Bilbao, and 40 per cent of the rest of the workers struck work.

The Bilbao workers demonstrated for the fight against social fascism, for the fight against war danger and for the defence of the Soviet Union, for the independence of Catalonia and of the Basque district, for the fight against the Berenguer Government, against the monarchy and for the workers and peasants government.

The fascisation of the Socialist Party of Spain is proceeding very rapidly. Whilst the "Right" Socialists, under the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, made the trade unions under their leadership into part and parcel of the bourgeois state apparatus, and are continuing this same policy under the present government, the "Left" Socialists, as for instance during the events in Bilbao on March 6, have proved themselves to be auxiliary troops of the bourgeoisie and of the state. They quite openly denounced to the authorities the preparations for the street demonstrations and called upon them to proceed against them with force.

The process of radicalisation of the Spanish working masses, which was clearly revealed under the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera, is still making headway. The demonstrations which were carried out on March 6 in Bilbao were the first practical evidence of this period. The strike struggles of the painters and the shoemakers in Bilbao were not defensive struggles, but offensive struggles against the bourgeoisie.

The attack made by the demonstrators on the People's House (which the Government had closed since 1923 and which the Socialists wanted to sell) was a fight against social fascism and the answer of the Bilbao workers to the dirty, contemptible actions of the "Left" social fascists.

The Communist Party, at its last Party Congress and its last conference, characterised the present period as a revolutionary period, in which the Party must act as, organiser and leader of the Revolution, not only theoretically, but also, and in the first place, practically.

The 6th March was a considerable achievement for the Communist Party of Spain and has greatly helped it to win the sympathies of the revolutionary Spanish masses and to acquire the hegemony in their struggles.

But on the 6th March serious faults came to light which the Party must get rid of in the coming fights — faults of the Party leadership and faults of the rank and file.

The whole Party must analyse the events, exercise an open and strict self-criticism of the preparation for and the carrying out of the March 6, ruthlessly acknowledge the mistakes committed, and invigorate the leading organs by the introduction of new members into them capable of grasping the actual historic period and the tasks of the Party, in order to be able to act more rapidly and effectively in the approaching fights.

AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

British Imperialism in the Middle East

By J.B. (Jerusalem).

In addition to the difficulties in India the state of affairs in the so-called Middle East is causing the greatest anxiety to the MacDonald Government. Immediately after coming into office the Labour Government promised to solve this question, but since then it has become entangled in ever fresh contradictions, so that none of the plans—whether in relation to Egypt, to Ibn Saud, or the solution of the Irak or Palestine question—has been realised. Meanwhile, a firm position in the Middle East is absolutely necessary for the British Empire in order to carry out the feverish war preparations and also to create a favourable basis for crushing the revolutionary movement in India.

Therefore, the efforts of MacDonald and his agents to solve the complicated Arabian question by separate negotiations having failed, the social-imperialist Cabinet is now hastily summoning a large-scale conference which shall solve all questions at one stroke. It is a question of a conference in London of the Arab bourgeoisie and of the feudal landowners from the various districts. A number of delegations have already arrived in London, and others are expected.

The most important of these delegations is undoubtedly the Egyptian. At the end of March the negotiations between the representative of the Egyptian national (Wafdist) bourgeoisie, Mustapha Nahas Pasha, and the British Government were officially commenced. There are, however, two difficulties lying in the way to the signing of the social-imperialist Pact submitted by Henderson: 1. The Sudan question, which constitutes a cause of serious conflict between the British imperialist and the young Egyptian bourgeoisie. 2. The growing resistance of the masses of the Egyptian people to the open treachery of the Wafd, which was expressed in the official consent by the latter to the occupation of the Suez Canal zone by British troops.

In addition to the Egyptian the delegation of the Palestine national-Arabian bourgeoisie is already in London. This delegation will confer with the British Government regarding the situation on the eastern bank of the Suez Canal. These conversations will therefore form an immediate extension of the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations. The Palestinian Arab delegation seals the betrayal of the masses of the population of Palestine and Syria by the Arab National Congress. Whilst over a score of Arab peasants are awaiting the carrying out of the death sentence pronounced on them by the British authorities, whilst hundreds of peasants and workers are serving sentences in the mediaeval prisons, and whilst the administrative terror exercised by the British authorities is reaching its culminating point with the aid of Exceptional Laws, these "leaders" of the Arab national movement are conducting negotiations with the social-fascist MacDonald Government, not perchance regarding the complete independence of their country, which has ceased to be even a phrase in their mouths, but over trifling concessions, over a few places in an imperialist "Parliament".

But the series of difficulties in no way come to a conclusion with the Anglo-Egyptian and Anglo-Palestinian negotiations, even should these negotiations lead to favourable results—a thing which is by no means certain. There still remains the Transjordanian problem, which has again become acute of late owing to the outbreaks on the part of the Bedouin tribes, and further there is the Iraqi question, which has not by any means been settled by the setting up of the pro-British Nuri Said-Jaafar Askaria ministry, but on the contrary again necessitates prolonged diplomatic negotiations. (It should be mentioned in passing that both of these questions, in view of the great excitement of the population, can at any moment lead to outbreaks on a large scale.) An Iraqi delegation, if possible under the leadership of King Faisal himself, is shortly to visit London.

Another big problem still awaiting settlement is that of Northern Arabia, which opens the question of the relations between England and Ibn Saud. The latest attempt of the British imperialists to curb the Arab ruler has again proved abortive, in spite of all the loud trumpetings which accom-

panied this attempt. Thus the gap in the Middle Eastern Empire, attempts to fill which have been proceeding for years, exists again. Without the solution of the North Arabian question, however, any settlement of the other Arabian problems will be quite futile.

Thus the new attempt to form a bloc between British imperialism and the whole of the ruling classes of Arabia (Princes, feudal landowners and bourgeoisie) has no sure prospect of success. Should however, the endeavours of the social-imperialist Cabinet to pacify the Middle East and thereby secure the necessary air routes end in failure, a new and extreme aggravation of the situation in this area is to be expected.

Australian Labour Government Imprisons and Deports Refugees from Indonesia.

By M - o.

Following the uprising of November 1926 which was led by the Communist Party of Indonesia, the Dutch imperialist government decided to get rid of all Communists in Indonesia. Acting on the advice of the social fascist Stokvis, a most loyal servant of the Dutch imperialists, a penal colony for Communists was established in **Boven-Digul** in Indonesia. According to a report made by the social democrat Cramer in the Dutch Parliament, there are at the present time about 10,000 Communists languishing in the prisons of Indonesia and about 2000 Communists living in exile in Boven-Digul. The latter, together with their womanfolk and children number over 3000. These people are living under terrible conditions. Boven-Digul is situated in the remote fever-infested district, almost entirely shut off from the outside world, amidst hostile and savage Papuas, real head-hunters. Many of these exiles are forced to live in a swampy district where they erect their primitive huts. The supply of food is totally inadequate, because the place is so inaccessible. Malaria rages in Boven-Digul, and not only the Communists fall victim to it but also government officials and the military. During the military regime of Captain Block, the Communists were forced to work like convicts, and those who offered the slightest resistance were straightaway tortured and thrown into cells.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that these victims of Dutch colonial imperialism make desperate attempts to escape, even in face of apparently insurmountable difficulties. Early in August of 1929, 61 exiles deserted the camps in an attempt to cross the frontier from Dutch New Guinea into Australian New Guinea. Of these 61 who attempted to escape, 41 finally succeeded in reaching Australian territory, where however they were arrested and transported to Thursday Island. The local authorities of Thursday Island sentenced these refugees to imprisonment and deportation for having violated the immigration laws. On the expiry of their sentences, a Dutch steamer is to call at Thursday Island in order to convey them back to Boven-Digul.

Of the remaining 20 Communists who made a dash for freedom, 5 were brought back by the Papuas, 4 returned to the camp of their own accord when they saw no possibility of getting clean away, while nothing certain is known regarding the fate of the remaining.

It is obvious that the **Labour Government of Australia** is not only carrying out the principle of a "White Australia", but also the principle of a White Australian New Guinea! The escaped Communists have been sentenced to imprisonment and are to be deported for the sole reason that they are coloured people who entered white Australian New Guinea in the hope of finding asylum there.

These 41 comrades, who are innocent of any crime against the Australian government, are at present serving their term of imprisonment on Thursday Island as a preliminary to their being returned to their place of torment in Boven-Digul. It is urgently necessary for the International Red Aid and for the international proletariat, particularly the proletariat of Great Britain and Australia, to do everything in their power to make the most effective protest against the Australian government in order that these victims of imperialist exploitation are not handed to the Dutch authorities. They must also at the same time demand a complete amnesty for the thousands of Indonesian comrades who are languishing in prisons and in the places of exile.

THE WHITE TERROR

The Lives of Revolutionary Fighters in Danger.

By Vera Danitsch.

The blood-stained regime of the military-fascist dictatorship in Yugoslavia cannot satisfy its hunger for the lives of proletarian fighters. Ever fresh abominable deeds are being added to the crimes of this bloodiest of the present fascist dictatorship. Thus, for example, Vladimir Neshitch was thrown out of window because the blows he had received had caused him incurable injuries. A similar danger now threatens **Paul Bihaly**, a journalist.

Paul Bihaly, who is the proprietor of the Nolit Publishing House, was arrested at the beginning of the present month along with the journalist Ottokar Kerchovani and many others. He was flogged and beaten for hours on end with rawhide whips and sandbags. When as a result of this indescribably cruel treatment his leg became badly festered, he was not removed to the hospital, but was forced to remain in the damp and filthy cell without any medical care or treatment. Blood poisoning set in and after a few days his condition became so serious that the only means of saving his life was to amputate his leg. As, however, the fascist regime will be very loth to allow a political prisoner showing such obvious results of the system of torture obtaining in the prisons to appear in the court or to see other people at all, the life of **Paul Bihaly** is in immediate and serious danger.

Another political prisoner whose life is in danger is **Anka Mihota-Kordic**, who was arrested on the occasion of the last wholesale arrests carried out by the police in Zagreb. She was fetched out of the sanatorium for consumptives, where she lay seriously ill, and thrown into the dark underground cells of the Zagreb police prison. She is accused of having carried on Communist propaganda and worked for the Red Aid. As she is known to the police from the time of the legality of the revolutionary Labour movement as an active and determined proletarian, they simply assume her to be an active Party worker entrusted with important work. They are therefore employing all their tried and approved methods of torture in order to extort statements from her, on the basis of which the police will then be able to arrange further tortures. Like Bihaly, **Anka Mihota-Kordic** is subjected to fresh torture every day. Hence — and particularly in view of the fact that she has suffered for years from disease of the lungs and is physically very weak — it is to be feared that she also will never leave the dungeons of the police prison alive.

The workers of all countries must raise most vehement protest against the abominable deeds of the bestial murderers and most energetically support the fight of the working class of Yugoslavia against the white terror.

Comrade Rada Vuyovitch Disappeared from Prison.

From Yugoslavia, the land of the military-fascist dictatorship, we are receiving ever fresh, revolting news. A new wave of mass arrests is sweeping the country.

We have learned that Comrade Rada Vuyovitch, who has been pining in prison since 1927, has disappeared. In response to their urgent inquiries, his nearest relatives have been informed that he has been transferred from the Mitrovica prison to Marburg, a town on the Austrian frontier.

As this "transference" has been carried out secretly, and as only a few months ago, in this very same neighbourhood, two comrades were shot while "attempting to escape", there exists the greatest cause for anxiety.

As a brave and well-known leader of the workers, Comrade Rada Vuyovitch is the object of the unbounded hate of the Yugoslavian rulers.

The whole of the working class must raise a powerful protest against the hangmen's regime in Yugoslavia and demand that information be given as to where our comrade actually is, as his life is in greatest danger.

Enlarged Presidium of the E. C. C. I.

On the Soviet Union. A New Phase.

By V. Molotov.

Report at Enlarged Presidium, Executive Committee of the Communist International, February 25, 1930.

Comrades, I shall be dealing only with questions of the internal situation in the U.S.S.R. I shall therefore not dwell on the international situation and our foreign policy. I must only point out that events in the mutual relations between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist countries are bound to be linked up most intimately with the internal situation in the Soviet Union.

I may illustrate this linking up by two groups of facts. In the first group fall such events as the change in relations between Great Britain and the U.S.S.R., and the conflict on the Chinese Eastern Railway. In both cases, as you are aware, the U.S.S.R. emerged the victor. The MacDonald Government was forced to disavow the action of the Conservatives in breaking off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union in 1927. The resumption of relations, which had been broken off on the initiative of Great Britain, cannot but be recognised as a very great success for us. It is equally well known that the dispute on the Chinese-Eastern Railway was also not settled in favour of those who began the provocation in the Far East. The Chinese landlords and capitalists and the imperialist forces backing them, who attempted to seize the C.E.R., were taught a severe lesson. They found themselves obliged to beat a retreat. Thus in the Far East also we demonstrated the growing strength and importance of the Soviet Union in international affairs.

This is one group of facts characteristic of our successes on the international field. On the other hand, and particularly recently, we find new attempts by the capitalist countries to increase their attacks against the U.S.S.R.

Our international successes are the result of the internal consolidation of our country, and the newly-intensified anti-Soviet campaign in Europe and America cannot be considered apart from this circumstance either. It is exactly the internal consolidation of the Proletarian State that excites the ire of the capitalists of the whole world against the Soviet Union, and prompts the ruling cliques in the capitalist countries towards new steps in preparation of military intervention. Of recent date the anti-Soviet campaign abroad has developed most extensively in connection with the question of religion. All the forces of bourgeois reaction and Russian emigrant counter-revolution, with the active sympathy and support of the Social Democrats in every country, are engaged in a furious drive against the U.S.S.R. on this pretext—in reality, first and foremost, on account of the practical effect now being given in our country to the watchword of "liquidating the Kulak as a class". The exceptionally violent anti-Soviet campaign is intended to serve as a preliminary on the part of the imperialists to the attack on the Soviet Union.

In connection with the first item on the agenda of our Session, we saw how this anti-Soviet campaign is bound up with the international situation in the capitalist countries and colonies, and what relation it bears to economic development and the sharpening of class conflict in those countries. My task, therefore, is only to examine the connection between this anti-Soviet campaign abroad and our internal situation.

1. The Building of Socialism and the Class Struggle.

1. The Struggle for the Plan and the Working Class.

The first part of my report will try to bring out what is going on in the U.S.S.R., what is the economic position here, and how class relations are taking shape at the present stage of the building of Socialism. For this purpose I shall have to dwell on the main facts of economic development and the class struggle, confining myself to the principal events in the economic year just concluded and the new year which

began in October. This means that I shall be dealing with facts bearing on the first and the beginning of the second years of the Five-Year Plan.

I shall deal first with industry.

Exactly one month ago the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. appealed to the Party and to the whole working class to make a new effort along the whole industrial front. The Party established the fact that the industrial plan laid down for the current year (i. e. the second year of the Five-Year Plan) was not being carried out, and sounded the alarm. It directed the eyes of the working class first and foremost to the front on which the struggle for the industrial and financial plan is proceeding. An energetic mobilisation of working class forces to carry out the second year's plan has begun.

Further on I shall deal with the definite facts which produced the Central Committee's manifesto of January 25th. I must, however, first of all expose the bourgeois lie, assiduously circulated by the capitalist newspaper trusts abroad, in connection with the courageous proletarian self-criticism contained in the manifesto I have mentioned. The bourgeois press maintains that the Party has itself admitted the failure of the industrial plan, and that this shows the economic collapse of the country. We are used to these lies, and are used also to reply to such an outcry by facts and an analysis of the real economic situation of the U.S.S.R. We shall do the same on this occasion. What are the facts?

It is true that the increase of production by 31% as compared with last year, which had been laid down for the current year in the branches of industry controlled by the Supreme Economic Council, was not carried out during the first quarter. During the first three months of the current year (October—December) we have an increase of only 26% as compared with the same period last year. But this very figure of an increase of 26% shows how futile is the rejoicing in the bourgeois press about an economic crisis in the U.S.S.R. Let me remind you also that the Five-Year Plan provided for an increase of industrial output during the current year of only 20% i. e. the programme of production laid down by the control figures (representing an increase on the figures originally laid down in the Five-Year Plan) for this year is one and a half times as large as the programme for last year. Finally, we should compare industrial output during the first quarter of this year with the same quarter last year. Such a comparison shows us that the increase of industrial output during the first quarter of 1928/29 was 19%, while this year we have a further increase of 26%. In respect of the productivity of labour, we have the following figures: last year 10% in the first quarter, this year a further increase of 18%. So far as costs of production are concerned, instead of an increase of 2% in the first quarter of 1928/29, we have the opposite in 1929/30, namely, a decrease of 4%. These facts have long been published in our press, but are hushed up by the bourgeois press which is howling about the collapse of the Bolshevik plans for industry.

In spite of all this, our Party is sounding the alarm, and has proclaimed the struggle for the industrial and financial plan to be the most important job before all Party, trade union, Young Communist and economic organisations, because in the first quarter of the year the increase achieved was only 26%, and the level of 31% which had been fixed was not attained.

During the last few days there have been published the results of the first four months of the new economic year (October-January). These show that we now have an increase of industrial output by 27%. While this represents an improvement on the first three months, it means that the industrial and financial plan for the year is still not being carried out. The front has not been straightened out. The

press continues to print daily communiqüs stigmatising the defects of the economic, industrial and party organisations. Side by side with the defects are indicated also the successes achieved by individual factories and districts. The papers have introduced a "black list" for workers and organisations which are not carrying out their obligations under the Plan. At the same time the names of the leaders of organisations notable for their achievements are being printed in "red lists". Proletarian self-criticism is developing, the mobilisation of forces is proceeding, and confidence in the successful achievement of the objectives laid down is growing.

Experience has shown that the first months of the new economic year are always the most difficult in the execution of the economic plan. Numerous delays in confirming programmes of production in central offices begin to take effect. Lack of capacity to adapt oneself quickly to the new problems arising in the districts also makes itself felt. In spite of all this, judging from the past, the plan will be carried out.

Last year the leeway in the first quarter of the Plan was even greater, and yet the programme for the year was not only carried out but surpassed — by an increase of 24% instead of 22%. This year the production programme is more than half as large again as that provided for the second year under the Five-Year Plan; and still the Party considers it practicable and obligatory. In its manifesto of January 25, the Central Committee calls for the economic Plan to be not only carried out but surpassed. And we are certain that this appeal will meet with a response in practice.

In order to give you a picture of the state of affairs in our industry, I will quote one more fact. Under the Five-Year Plan, capital expenditure for this year was fixed at 2,265 million roubles (£ 226 millions). But the actual plan of capital expenditure exceeds this estimate by more than 150%, and has already reached 3,664 million roubles (£ 366 millions). Quite recently this figure too has been increased, and probably the whole sum of capital expenditure this year, apart from electrical construction, will be somewhere near 4000 million roubles (£ 400 millions).

Returning to the question of the carrying out of the Plan, I believe it is essential to emphasise that the main difficulty is to carry out the task of reducing the costs of industrial production while improving its quality. Instead of the reduction of 11% provided for in the first quarter, we have a reduction of only 4%: a very considerable discrepancy. Here, in the opinion of the Party, is the principal task arising under the industrial and financial plan.

The fulfilment of this task is bound up first and foremost with an increase in the productivity of labour. At this point I must deal with several questions concerning the position of the working class. The increasing of the productivity of labour in industry and in all the socialised sectors of our economy is bound to claim our undivided attention. Last year the plan provided for an increase in labour productivity of 16%. The task was fulfilled. This year we have accepted provisions for a further increase of 25%. Notwithstanding the fact that the original increase laid down in the second year of the five year's programme was only 14%, we do not consider this task exaggerated or beyond our strength. We do not doubt that the Party's mobilisation on the front of the struggle for the Plan ensures the success of our efforts in this direction. The main proof of this is the increase in the equipment of the industrial worker with energy, electrical and mechanical. Last year this technical equipment increased by about 12%: this year the Plan provides for a further growth of 30%. Thus an increase in the productivity of labour in our industry is very much bound up with a growth in the technical equipment of labour.

I turn now to the question of industrial man power and unemployment. From year to year the number of persons engaged in our industry increases. On an average, during the last three years we have had a yearly increase of five to six per cent, while last year it reached seven per cent. Apart from this, we see a very rapid growth of the number of persons engaged in the building industry. In recent years this increase has reached twenty to thirty percent yearly, while this year, in view of the tremendous extension of our building operations, we anticipate a further increase of over 50%. This gives an indication of the rate at which the working class army is expanding.

Naturally enough, unemployment is visibly decreasing. During 1929 the total of unemployed decreased by 19%. In

the industrial workers section, the number of unemployed was reduced from 237,000 to 188,000 i. e. about 21%. Increases in the number of unemployed take place only in the unskilled sections, which on January 1, 1930, represented 60% of the total mass of unemployed. In reality the percentage is somewhat higher, as there is a certain proportion of unskilled workers amongst the unemployed in the industrial section. Thus it will be clear that the unemployment position in the USSR is altogether different from the position in the capitalist countries. There it is constantly increasing, here it is noticeably decreasing.

We are making successful progress in the application of the 7-hour working day in industry. During last year one-fifth of the total number of workers had their working day reduced to 7 hours, while not less than 43% of the workers will be working the shorter day by the end of the present economic year. This figure does not take into account the new works, where the 7-hour day is being introduced from the outset.

The chief difficulty as regards the position of the workers is in the questions of housing and feeding. Despite our growing volume of house-building, housing is still at a low level, owing to the growth of the population in the towns, particularly the industrial centres. This year there is a definite speeding up provided for in the housing programme, which will render possible a small rise in the average housing space allotted. As for the food situation, we have a definite improvement in the central question, that of the bread supply. But the supply of dairy produce (butter, milk, meat) is still far from adequate to meet the growing demand. Due to the fact that the supply of this produce is partly dependent upon the private market, while the State and co-operative organisations have not taken a thorough grip of the situation, there are frequent rises in prices in this sphere, which of course have their effect upon the workers' wages.

As a result, the increase in real wages is proceeding more slowly than was provided for in the Plan. During last year it amounted to approximately 3%, notwithstanding a much larger increase of money wages. This year it has been laid down that real wages must be increased not less than 12%. In spite of a certain improvement which has to be registered, we are bound to admit that the increase is as yet much behind the Plan. We have to remember, however, that during the whole period of the New Economic Policy there has not been a year in which wages of the workers in the U. S. S. R. have not risen. The policy of the Soviet Government is indissolubly bound up with the work of improving the material and cultural conditions of the workers, and this policy is firmly and unalterably maintained.

The successes of the Soviet State in developing industry and improving the position of the working class have been made possible by a determined effort to overcome tremendous difficulties, particularly to overcome the most bitter resistance on the part of our class enemies. I need only refer to the numerous facts of counter-revolutionary sabotage on the part of former owners and bourgeois experts engaged in our industry. There is scarcely a single branch of national economy in which during the last two years counter-revolutionary organisations of saboteurs were not discovered. These organisations were brought to light both in heavy and in light industry, in transport and agriculture, in the banks and the cooperatives. The net-work of sabotage was most wide spread in industry. Here counter-revolutionary experts, supported by white emigrants and foreign capital, undermined our constructive work. There have even been cases of sabotage by individual workers, amongst whom elements alien to the proletariat had penetrated. Sabotage has increased particularly during the last three or four years, special attention being paid to the war industries.

The organisations of sabotage adapted their tactics to the special features of the different stages of development of our economy. From 1918 onwards they went through three stages. In the first, their object was to preserve the property of the former owners and delay the development of Soviet industry. In the second, when the new economic policy began, the saboteurs cherished illusions about the economic degeneration of the proletarian state and set themselves the task of undermining the process of restoring industry and of extending the practice of concessions, expecting in this way to hasten the downfall of bolshevism. When we had

grappled successfully with the problems involved in the restoration of industry, and set about the total reconstruction of our national economy, they saw the futility of their efforts and began the direct preparation of intervention. In this they received constant support from the Russian and foreign organisations of former property owners abroad. We have numerous and extremely detailed evidence of all this from the saboteurs themselves and from the counter-revolutionary organisations crushed by the GPU.

Unquestionably the destructive organisations in industry represented one of the most dangerous forms of struggle on the part of our class enemies. They inflicted many severe blows on our industry. Nevertheless, the agents of the former owners and bourgeois governments suffered defeat, as the tremendous successes of Socialist industry can testify.

Now, comrades, we can strike a balance of our industrial development, and the best way of doing it is to compare it with the development of industry in the capitalist States. As the watch-word of the working class in the Soviet Union is to "catch up with and outstrip" the capitalist countries, such a comparison is exceptionally important.

Let us compare the development of industry in the Soviet Union and the largest capitalist countries in its relation to the pre-war level of 1913. We find that, in comparison with the pre-war level, the U.S.S.R. has achieved greater successes than even France and the U.S.A., which developed most rapidly after the world war. The comparison shows that as early as 1928 the Soviet Union had already outpaced France, while during the second half of the last year it outstripped the industry of U.S.A. During the last months of 1929, the so-called physical volume of industrial output in the U.S.S.R. compared with 1913, surpassed the similar index of any capitalist country. Consequently we have here the partial achievement of the objective of "catching up with and outstripping" the capitalist countries. This is the most important result of industrial development in the Soviet Union.

We cannot, however, by any means rest content with the results achieved so far. A more careful analysis of the growth of Soviet industry, mentioned above, reveals most important shortcomings. The fact is that the level of the growth of our heavy industry, compared with the pre-war figure, is still lower than the corresponding level of this industry in such countries as France and U.S.A. This obliges us to place special emphasis on the regeneration of our heavy industry and the increasing of its output. That is why the industrial and financial plan for 1929-1930, while providing for an increase in industrial output as a whole of 31%, provides for an expansion of the heavy industries by 46%. We are confident that this plan will be not only carried out but surpassed. We shall strive to increase the output of heavy industry this year by at least 150%.

2. The Socialist Reconstruction of Agriculture.

I turn to the question of agriculture.

The first and principal question is that of the grain supply, on which depends the feeding of our cities.

This year we achieved substantial successes on the grain front. By a contrast, the situation on this front during the two preceding years was one of exceptional difficulty owing to the opposition of the kulaks, while the task of laying in the necessary stores of grain was protracted throughout the whole year, which had an adverse effect upon all our economic activity. However, our last grain storage campaign demonstrated our substantial achievements in the mobilisation of the poor and middle peasantry against the kulaks, and was very successful. In the main, it was concluded in the first five months, and the grain storage plan was more than carried out. For the first time this year we have been able to constitute a grain reserve of two million tons. Thus we have achieved a decisive change on the grain front, and our workers and Red Army have their bread assured until the new harvest.

Now we are faced with another campaign in connection with agriculture. I have in mind the spring sowing campaign. During the next few months this will be the principal front of Socialist construction. On this front we are now

concentrating special forces and, in keeping with the progress of mass collectivisation, are making a preparation for the spring sowing by new methods. I will speak more in detail of the tasks of this campaign later. At the moment I want to dwell on the special conditions which have developed in our agriculture. I refer to collectivisation which has developed in recent months to a gigantic extent.

The radical change in the rate of development of collective agriculture which made itself felt in the second half of last year represents an event of exceptional importance for the cause of Communism. It expresses itself in the fact that the "central figure of agriculture" — the middle peasant — has turned towards Socialism. Vast masses of the peasants, poor and middle, have become involved in the process of collectivisation. Wholesale collectivisation, i. e. that in which eighty to ninety per cent of peasant farms participate, is now the characteristic feature, not only of individual districts and areas, but of whole regions and national republics. Amongst such regions count at the present time the Northern Caucasus and the Central "Black Earth" Region.

At the present time not less than one half of the total mass of peasant farms have already entered the collective farms. This means that no less than 13 or 14 millions of poor and middle peasants have been drawn into the movement for collectivisation. This means that several tens of millions of adult able bodied men and women are members of collective farms in the countryside — a fact of world historical importance.

Collectivisation has developed particularly rapidly in recent weeks. During the last 30 days there entered into the collective farms as many peasant-households as were brought into collective farms during the preceding twelve years. This exceptional rate of collectivisation during the most recent period requires concentration of the utmost attention on consolidating the successes achieved, to avoid any ebbing of the tide out of the collective farms. The most determined work among the masses of poor and middle peasantry is essential if the further successes of the collective movement are to be rendered possible. This in its turn necessitates a most persistent and resolute struggle against distortions of the party policy in effecting collectivisation, particularly a struggle against infringements of the voluntary principle when bringing peasants into the collective farms, and against the bureaucratic methods of collectivisation which mean replacement of patient and stubborn work among the masses by purely administrative methods and the chase after exaggerated speeds of collectivisation.

We have three main forms of the collective movement. The simplest is the society for joint tillage, in which only labour is socialised. Even the chief means of production are not socialised in this form. The highest form of the collective movement is the commune; in which both agricultural machinery and cattle, and living conditions, themselves are socialised. The commune means not only the joint working of the land and the joint ownership of the means of production, but also the socialisation of feeding and housing. The prevailing and principal form of the collective movement at the present stage is the agricultural artel. In this the socialisation of the chief means of production, i. e. agricultural machines, working cattle, agricultural buildings and undertakings, has been carried out. But the artel does not involve communal feeding or housing or the socialisation of land attached directly to houses, minor cattle or cows, producing for immediate consumption which remain the property of individual families. The consolidation of the agricultural artel means the consolidation of the principal form of the collective farming movement in present conditions. Last year, when the swing in the direction of mass collectivisation began in the autumn, the lowest form of collective farm i. e. the society for jointly tilling the soil, developed particularly rapidly. Lately predominance is visibly on the side of the artel. The proportion of communes amongst the general mass of collective farms cannot as yet be very large, in the present stage of the collective movement.

The forms and methods of collective farming are extremely varied. At the tenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I. we noted the importance of machine and tractor depots for the collectivisation movement. But in practice the anticipations of that time about the rate of development of machine and

tractor depots have been left far behind. These depots are now organised by a special State and cooperative body, the "Tractor centre". This body selects the most important agricultural districts and there organises, with the assistance of the local cooperative organisations, special depots equipped with dozens of tractors and suitable agricultural machines. These machine and tractor depots sign agreements with collective farms, to plough their fields and gather in the harvest with the help of their tractors and agricultural machines. The contract provides for the obligation on the part of the collective farms to carry out all necessary agricultural works with their own labour, to maintain the machine and tractor depots, and to acquire them out of their own resources in three years. The depots receive a definite proportion of the harvest — from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{3}$ — as payment for their work. These machine and tractor depots, which began on the local initiative of the Shevchenko Soviet farm in the Ukraine, have rapidly won tremendous popularity amongst the peasantry. In the spring of 1930 the Tractor centre is organising 162 machines and tractor depots which will till an area of 3,750,000 hectares. By the autumn of 1930 the "Tractor centre" proposes to organise 237 depots.

Apart from this, the agricultural cooperative societies propose themselves to organise, in the spring of this year, a large number of machine and tractor depots and tractor columns. The tractor column, consisting of several dozen tractors, does not represent a fully developed organisation, and constitutes the embryo and incomplete form of M. T. D.

The machine and tractor depots are becoming centres of mass collectivisation. They possess the necessary tractors and machines, they organise the essential technical basis, they build up a skeleton of skilled workers, and at the same time they develop their work only with the active participation of the peasant cooperators. Thus they are destined to serve as one of the decisive methods of mass collectivisation, one of the best means of reorganising the petty peasant farms on the foundations of machine production and large scale collective agriculture.

However, in view of the lack of tractors and larger agricultural machines, tens of thousands of the newly created collective farms are vitally interested in the organisation of machine and horse depots. By bringing about a definite centralisation of the means of production they provide a number of the advantages of collective farming. In many districts we cannot postpone mass collectivisation until tractors have arrived. In such cases machine and horse depots are a transitional step to the organisation of collective farms on the basis of tractors, combines and other higher grade agricultural machinery. It is proposed this spring to organise over 7000 machine and horse depots throughout the U. S. S. R.

Particularly important in the development of Socialist agriculture is the success of our efforts to build up Soviet farms, i. e. large scaled State agricultural undertakings. In the course of 1929, 55 new large Soviet farms were created, under the control of the Grain Trust in which 1,050,000 hectares were tilled. This year 125 Soviet estates, covering a tilled area of not less than 4,000,000 hectares, will be in existence. The whole of the ploughing will be carried out by tractors (10,000) while at least two-thirds of the harvesting will be carried out by 1,550 combines. You will see that these Soviet estates are of a giant size unprecedented throughout the world. Even in America there are no such large-scale agricultural undertakings as our large Soviet estates. This year their output will be about 830,000 tons, while next year their output will be over 3,000,000 tons of marketable grain. This means that the vast plan for the building of new Soviet farms laid down in the five years' programme will by the third year have already been carried out nearly 200%.

We do not hide the fact that in 1929, when we were casting up accounts for the year, we discovered considerable defects in the first year's work on the new Soviet farms. The average harvest proved to be lower than was anticipated. This is to be explained by the unfavourable climatic conditions of this year and the predominance of virgin soil in the new Soviet estates; furthermore, it should be borne in mind that we have to build the new Soviet farms, as a rule, in districts which are constantly in peri of drought, and this is bound to have an effect on the harvest. This obliges us to take a number of steps to raise the output in the Soviet farms. But individual

defects cannot arrest the general movement towards the organisation of large-scale Socialist agriculture. The experience of one of the most extensive new Soviet farms — the "Giant", in the Northern Caucasus shows what tremendous potentialities there are in undertakings of this type. The "Giant" not only carried out its full programme, but exceeded it, while the cost of production turned out to be much lower than was anticipated: a result of great importance, not only for the Soviet farm movement, but also for the work of collectivisation. Soviet farms of this type are model organisations of large-scale Socialist agriculture and give a practical object lesson of the great advantages of such Socialist organisation.

The formation of undertakings in the sugar industry has made considerable progress, and similarly in the cotton bearing districts. New centres for special Soviet estates for cattle and sheep farming have been set up.

Apart from these new Soviet farms, we are continuing to develop as rapidly as possible the old Soviet farms, organised under the Sovkhozcentre. In dimensions they are much smaller than the new farms, but they are much more numerous and fall within territories which are agriculturally much more favourable.

These facts show how rapidly the building of Soviet farms is developing. The Soviet Government is determined to continue the development of these farms and is convinced that models of large-scale socialist agriculture can be, and will be, set in this way before the eyes of the millions of peasantry who have entered the collective farms.

I should also mention that recently, in some districts, relations have been established between the Soviet farms and the surrounding collective farms, amalgamations being created under the leadership of the Soviet farm. There is a great future before this form of development of Socialist agriculture, given the necessary attention by the Soviet farms themselves.

Exceptionally important in this connection is the problem of tractors, combines and agricultural power stations.

This year the output of agricultural machinery will be nearly doubled. Next year, the plan provides for a further doubling once again. The steps taken to enlarge tractor and combine production are worthy particular attention. Part of the "Red Putilov" Works has been transformed into an independent tractor works, while this year a large tractor works is being completed at Stalingrad; in addition, two new gigantic tractor works are being commenced this year in the Urals and the Ukraine. This autumn we shall have in the fields of the U. S. S. R. tractors whose aggregate power will be equivalent to that of nearly 100,000 tractors of the Fordson type. As yet imported machinery represents a considerable proportion of the whole; but next year the number of tractors produced in Soviet works, will begin to grow rapidly. Furthermore, the organisation of two very large combine works has begun in Northern Caucasus and Ukraine. Thus it will be seen that the Party has taken drastic steps to make a complete change in the technical basis of agriculture. I should add that this year the assembling shop of the motor works being built in Nizhni Novgorod has begun operations. As a result, we shall this summer have already two or three thousand motors of Soviet construction in the country districts. This is an example of how before one's eyes the radical reconstruction of living conditions in the country is taking place.

The collectivisation of millions of peasant farms produces a radical change in the development of class relations in the villages. It is drawing more and more of the poor and middle peasantry into its scope. In the areas of wholesale collectivisation, this inevitably leads to the expropriation of the kulaks. The Central Committee resolution on January 5, pointed out that now "we have the material basis for replacing large-scale kulak production by large-scale collective production . . . not to speak of the Soviet farms". Hence the Party was bound to review its attitude to the kulaks. The Party, in its resolution of January 5, declared that it was necessary "to proceed in practice from the policy of limitation of the exploiting tendencies of the kulaks to the policy of liquidating the kulaks as a class." It is with the watchword of "liquidating the kulaks as a class" that the Party is now advancing its work in the villages, and rallying around this watchword very wide masses of the peasantry in a bitter struggle against the kulaks.

In view of the great differences in economic development existing between the various areas of the U. S. S. R., and

also the totally different conditions under which agriculture has to develop, e. g. the central districts as compared with the Soviet Republics in the East, the Party's policy with regard to the kulaks cannot be applied without the necessary careful consideration of the peculiarities in the more backward districts. In the majority of the national republics in the East, our problem at the moment is to take the necessary preliminary steps through the co-operative, Soviets and Party organisations in the villages with the object of effecting the mass collectivisation of the peasant farms at some time in the future. The main task here is constantly to apply and enforce those limitations on the activities of the kulaks which arise out of the very foundations of Communist and Soviet policy. Hasty collectivisation in these districts imperils our contact with the masses, and is therefore not to be thought of for a moment. To fail to reckon with the peculiarities of the backward districts, means to ignore one of the main principles of Leninist policy.

Mass collectivisation has fundamentally altered the productive basis of agriculture, together with the development of the Soviet farms, it means that Socialist agriculture is growing up side by side with Socialist industry, and it will be clear to you that this is of tremendous significance for our economic life.

However, the picture of the economic development of our country will be incomplete if I do not mention some new facts in other spheres of our economic life.

This applies, above all, to the sphere of commerce. It is important to note that by the beginning of the present economic year 93 % of the total commercial turnover came within the socialised sector, and only 7 % in the private, which, by the end of the present year, will be further decreased approximately to 3 %. Private trading maintains itself almost entirely in the retail section. In addition should be noted the tremendous growth of the Budget. During the current year alone the Budget will expand by about 150 %. Quite recently there has taken place the reorganisation of the whole credit system, leading to its complete adaptation to the requirements of planned Socialist economy. All these features reflect the success of the element of planning in our reconstruction, and this in its turn is a reflection of the growth of Socialism in our country.

With this I will conclude my general remarks of what is going on in the U.S.S.R.

(To be continued.)

THE PEASANT MOVEMENT

The European Peasants' Congress — A Step Forward

By Heinrich Rau (Berlin).

The European Peasant Congress, which met in Berlin from the 27th to the 29th of March, is ended. For the first time in history working peasants from 18 different countries met together at a European Congress in order, by means of joint discussion, to find a common way for their emancipation from the yoke of capitalism. This alone lends the Congress a special importance. The Congress was borne out of the great crisis from which the small and middle peasants are suffering and which has become particularly acute in the last few months.

The peasant delegates recognised with tolerable clearness the causes of their present desperate situation. The sales market for the products of peasant farms is shrinking more and more as a result of the declining purchasing power of the broad masses of the people. Finance capital, in alliance with the big agrarians, by means of its monopolistic price and tariff policy dictates to the small and middle peasants the amount of their costs of production. The lack of land, in addition to the lack of capital, renders it impossible for the working peasants to employ rational methods of cultivating the soil, whilst the big agricultural undertakings are rationalised and industrialised. Along with the shortage of land the ground rents increase. The working peasant is forced to pay exorbitant interest for any credits he receives from the

private capitalist. The property of the peasants which he mortgages for his credits, is passing more and more into the hands of the banks and money lenders. To all this is to be added the unbearably high taxes and other outgoings.

The Congress recognised that the maintenance of the capitalist system means the accentuation of this development, the impoverishment and proletarianisation of the working peasantry. Proceeding from this recognition the delegates were able to expose all the manoeuvres employed by the ruling class to lure the peasants, and to characterise the anti-peasant role of all organisations supporting the capitalist system. The Congress especially directed the attention of the working peasants to the fascist danger and showed fascism to be the political means by which the ruling class brutally crush the rebellious masses.

Social fascism occupies a worthy place at the side of national fascism, a fact of which the Congress was given a striking example. Herr Zörglebel, the social fascist police president of Berlin, had the Congress raided and 26 delegates arrested.

The Congress recorded that the increasing contradictions of capitalism, the steadily growing economic and social crisis of the capitalist system, the sharpening imperialist antagonisms on the one side and the increasing danger for the existence of the capitalist system represented by the tremendous socialist construction in the Soviet Union on the other side, render the outbreak of an imperialist war against the Soviet Union a very serious danger.

From all this the Congress drew the lesson that an energetic fight must be conducted against the impoverishment and proletarianisation of the working peasants, for the abolition of the capitalist system and for the workers' and peasants' government. Corresponding demands were drawn up and the Congress appealed to the working peasants of Europe to rally to the fight for the realisation of these demands.

The delegates were aware, and they emphasised in all their speeches and decisions, that the peasantry cannot realise these aims by itself, and that they are only to be reached in alliance with their brothers, the workers, who are likewise suffering under the capitalist system. An enthusiastic welcome therefore was given the delegation of the Berlin unemployed and factory workers, who promised in the name of the revolutionary working class to proceed at the head of the common fight for emancipation and for the joint demands and aims of the workers and peasants.

The Congress likewise emphasised the importance of the national and social emancipation struggles of the working masses in the colonial countries and the close connection of these struggles with those of the toilers of Europe.

Although the Congress did not consider it opportune to affiliate the movement represented by it to the International Peasant Council, the delegates were agreed that the International Peasant Council represents the only International of the working peasants, and that arrangements should be made to co-operate with it. In this sense the representative of the International Peasants Council received the brotherly greetings of the Congress.

For the purpose of more closely connecting the movements in the various countries the Congress elected a European Peasants' Committee which should see to the carrying out of the adopted decisions.

We Communists must not, however, overlook the fact that the clearness attained at the Congress regarding the tasks and fighting methods as laid down in the platform and in the various resolutions does not by a long way exist to the same degree among the masses represented by the Congress. Nevertheless the development of the peasants into active fighters in the ranks of the revolution has begun. The European Peasants Congress represents a step forward in this direction.

The delegates have returned to their various countries, to their villages in order to popularise the platform, decided on by the Congress, in order to carry on the work already begun and to convert the adopted resolutions into deeds. In spite of all the howls and outcries of the enemies of the toiling masses, the peasant stands fighting at the side of the working class, true to the call of the Congress: Long live the alliance of the workers and peasants! Long live the workers' and peasants' government!

HANDS OFF THE SOVIET-UNION

"League for the Enslavement of the Ukraine."

The Trial of Ukrainian Counter-Revolutionaries in Kharkov.
By D. Saslavsky.

Kharkov, End of March 1930.

When the news went through the whole press that a big counter-revolutionary organisation had been discovered among the Ukrainian intelligentsia in Kiev, a great outcry was raised in the camp of the imperialists, especially in the Polish camp. The Polish authorities tried, but without success, to hide the fact that the plans for intervention and attack on the Soviet Union have suffered a severe blow as a result of the arrests.

It was known that the counter-revolutionary organisation described itself as the "League for the Emancipation of the Ukraine". It was further known that Yefremov, a prominent Ukrainian intellectual, was its leader.

The trial is being held in the Opera House. In two rows sit the accused, the participants in the counter-revolutionary conspiracy in which a political drama is mixed with a political farce. Their speeches and statements are broadcasted over the whole of the Soviet Union. The deadly enemies of the Soviet Union are given full liberty of speech.

In the huge overcrowded Opera House only one box is empty — the box which has been placed at the disposal of correspondents of foreign bourgeois newspapers. They maintain silence regarding the trial, and for quite understandable reasons. The enemies of the Soviet Union, the counter-revolutionaries are making use of the official platform offered them in order to show before the whole people their remorse, in order to expose the imperialists, in order to lay bare all their dirty machinations, in order to admit their political impotence and futility in the fight against the Soviet Power. The political fighters of the bourgeoisie are not fighters but intriguers. That is why they so easily repudiate their party and their programme, so quickly betray their friends and divulge the names of their patrons. The accused in the present trial show themselves to be exceedingly loquacious, and in their statements they refer very often to the Polish Consulate which served them as a connecting link with the counter-revolutionary organisations abroad. When this occurs the Polish Consul shifts about nervously on his seat. But it is already clear that the case of the 45 Ukrainian intellectuals is in fact a case of organisation of fresh intervention and armed attack on the Soviet Union.

Yefremov is the central figure at the trial. He is an old Ukrainian writer. Under Tsarism he was a modest publicist who always held aloof from the revolution and socialism. His social ideal was a "bourgeois" Ukraine, in which the powerful Ukrainian kulaks would be the ruling class. The industrialisation of the Ukraine, the socialist transformation of the village, was something quite alien to him. A few months of the rule of the nationalists led by the adventurer Petljura, went to his head. He came forward as a regular leader and politician. His petty bourgeois nature had nothing in common with Socialism, so that he could not bring himself to believe in the possibility of the working class maintaining power. He always believed in the power of the imperialist bayonets. As a Ukrainian nationalist he was prepared to hand over the rule of the Ukraine to any imperialist conqueror — German, Polish or Russian — in order to free it from the proletarian revolution.

It is precisely the representatives of the old bourgeois Ukrainian intelligentsia who are now seated in the dock. There is not a peasant nor a worker among them; nearly all of them are people of over 50 years of age. Over a third of the accused are the offspring of priests themselves, many of them have well-known names. But all of them, after having recognised their futility, repent and request pardon of the Soviet Power.

IN THE INTERNATIONAL

On the Session of the Presidium of the E. C. C. I. and the Tasks of the C. P. of Germany.

Resolution of the Central Committee of the G. P. G. adopted at the Session of 20th and 21st March 1930.

After hearing the reports on the Session of the Enlarged Presidium of the E. C. C. I. the Plenum of the Central Committee of the C. P. G. declares its agreement with all the decisions of the Presidium.

I.

The session of the Presidium analysed the new phenomena of the present world situation and stated that the economic crisis in the United States, in connection with symptoms of crisis in a number of capitalist countries and colonies, accelerates the pace of the increasing fundamental contradictions of world capitalism to the highest degree. The crisis which has arisen in the United States on the basis of the general crisis of the capitalist system, is beginning to grow into a world economic crisis. At the same time the inequality of the development of the capitalist system is bound up with the variety of the forms, degree and character of the crises-phenomena in the various countries. The economic crisis deepens the general crisis of the capitalist system, shatters capitalist stabilisation and accelerates the pace of revolutionary upsurge, which finds expression in a growing wave of economic struggles, unemployed movements, hunger marches, political-revolutionary mass demonstrations and in political mass strikes, forcing its way against all resistance and counter-tendencies.

The Presidium noted that simultaneously with the approaching world economic crisis of the capitalist countries, there is proceeding a mighty advance of Socialism in the Soviet Union. The successful carrying out of the Five-Year Plan, the determined overcoming of the difficulties of socialist construction, the industrialisation of the country, the growth of the creative initiative of the toiling masses, the turn of the million masses of the peasants to Socialism, as expressed in the transference of the individual small peasant undertakings en masse to the collective big undertakings, and finally the carrying out of the policy of liquidation of the kulak as a class — these are great achievements of the proletarian world revolution. The Presidium correctly noted a shifting in the relation of forces between the two world economic systems in favour of international Socialism. The Soviet Union will thereby become still more a factor deepening the crisis of capitalism, a factor of the revolutionising of the proletariat and of all the exploited masses of the world.

The development of the economic crisis intensifies the struggle between the monopoly capitalist groupings and States for a redistribution of the world and leads the capitalist world into an era of new imperialist wars.

The session of the Presidium devoted special attention to the organisation of the international struggle of all revolutionary workers against the Young Plan. The Young Plan is characterised as a plan to subject and enslave the German proletariat, a plan of a new offensive of the capitalists against the working class in the victor States for the purpose of lowering their living standard, a plan for the financial blockade and the preparation of the military intervention against the Soviet Union, a symptom of the intensification of the struggle in the imperialist camp itself for the distribution of the spoils. The Communist International calls upon all its sections actively to support the struggle of the working class of all countries, and in particular of the German proletariat against the Young Plan, against the rule of the imperialist bourgeoisie and for the victory of the revolutionary dictatorship of the working class.

(To be continued.)