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## Bolshevism against Fascism in Germany.

By Ernst Thälmann.

The Reichstag is dissolved. The governing bourgeoisie, the ruling finance-capital, has, through its agents, President Hindenburg and Chancellor Brüning, sent Parliament packing. The jackboot of General Hindenburg, the Reichspresident and leader of the Stahlhelm, has delivered a kick to the representatives of the people. By a rapid coup the parliamentary-democratic facade of bourgeois class-rule has been swept aside, and the brutal dictatorship of finance-capital reveals its fascist countenance.

That which the Communist Party had proclaimed to the masses right from the first days of the Brüning Government is now seen to be an irrefutable fact: This government is pursuing the fascist course of the German bourgeoisie; this government is violating its own laws and the Weimar Constitution. It is applying paragraph 48 against the majority decisions of Parliament, against the will of even this pitifully servile Reichstag, which has now been dissolved by a special decree: it is preparing the way for a legal fascist coup d'état.

At the present stage of development, in face of the powerful and growing crisis of capitalist economy, the ever fresh gaps in the state finances, along with a constant decline

of production, enormous growth of unemployment and short time work, the maturing economic crisis is developing more and more into a political crisis of the capitalist system.

There is an increasing ferment among the broad masses, and growing discontent and rebellion against the old methods of capitalist government. The will of the masses to find and to force some way out of the misery of capitalist anarchy is already finding vent. There is a crisis in all the old bourgeois parties.

The crisis of parliamentarism, the incapability of the bourgeois parties to hide or to bridge over any longer the process of differentiation in the camp of the bourgeoisie, is but a reflection of the class crisis of the capitalist system.

Under the blows of the economic crisis the whole rotten system of capitalist stabilisation is beginning to crumble. With the difficulties of American dollar-capitalism the imperialist antagonisms increase; the competitive struggle for the markets of the world becomes more acute than ever and the danger of war increases with tremendous rapidity. Capitalist Germany, still hampered by the chains of the Peace of Versailles, by the burden of reparations under the Young Plan, is making frantic efforts to make secure in spite of all difficulties, the threatened profits of the

exploiters, the captains of industry, the bankers and Stock-Exchange speculators, in order once again to find a **capitalist way out of the crisis**.

But what is this "way out", this "solution" according to the recipe of the ruling capitalists?

Millions of **unemployed** are starving. Every day there are fresh discharges of workers, who go to swell the ranks of the unemployed. The recipe of the capitalists condemns these unemployed to even greater starvation.

The poverty and misery of the **officials** and **employees** have long since assumed frightful forms. The recipe of the capitalists consists of the imposition of a special sacrifice ("Notopfer") on the famishing, from which only a small section of the population are exempted, i. e., those who are wallowing in luxury, the millionaires, the capitalists, the dividend-drawers!

The poverty of the working **peasants** (the real victims of the agrarian crisis), the misery of the **artisans** and **small shopkeepers**, of the **middle classes** who are being deprived of their living by the capitalists and plunged into the ranks of the proletariat, is indescribable. The recipe of the capitalists "helps" these sections of the population by means of **fresh taxes**, the poll tax, which was invented by the social democrat Hilferding, first introduced by Frick, the leader of the National Socialists, and is now being decreed under paragraph 48 by the bourgeois block government as one of the brilliant items of its financial programme.

Taxes, customs duties, burdens on the masses, cutting down of social policy, foul, criminal blows at the Sick Insurance, and at the same time wage-cuts by the employers, whom the capitalist state apparatus hastens to help with all the means of power at its disposal—that is the actual picture of the capitalist "way out" of the crisis!

This desperate programme of a robber-campaign against the German people, of an enslavement of the masses in the service of the Young Plan (as the bailiffs of which the "National" Minister in the Reich, the social-democratic Ministers in Prussia, and the fascist Frick in Thuringia flourish with united forces the whip of starvation)—this starvation programme, the bourgeoisie intend to carry out by means of **fascist methods**.

Financed by the big capitalists, the Hitler murder-bands are developing their terrorist activity in order to shatter the forces of the working class, to undermine proletarian resistance to the fascist blows of the bourgeoisie. It is already known that Hugenberg and Hitler have concluded agreements regarding financial support of the national-socialist election campaign by heavy industry. At the same time, the **Reichswehr generals** are rattling their sabres; at the same time the carbines and truncheons of the police under the command of the **social-fascist police presidents** are being held ready in order to crush the fighting proletariat. At the same time the reformist **trade union leaders**, with open blacklegging methods, attack the fighting workers in the rear.

All the reserves of the bourgeoisie, all the lackeys of capital are being called up in order to secure the success of the starvation-war of the exploiters against working class Germany. If the plan of the ruling class should succeed, then the shameful programme of Herr Brecht, Minister of Justice in the Brüning Government, according to which 20 million Germans should die of starvation in order that Germany should become the richest country, will be realised.

The social democracy, who since the last Reichstag elections up to March of this year sat in the same government with the bourgeois block parties, bear full responsibility for the robber policy and created the prerequisites for the fascist methods of the bourgeoisie. The social-democracy, which before the May elections in 1928 attempted to deceive the masses of electors by means of big promises and sham radical phrases, has since the Reichstag election not kept a single item of all its election promises, but on the contrary, has brutally thrown overboard and disregarded everything for which its own supporters cast their votes. Beginning from the building of armoured cruisers, the rejection of the feeding of school children, up to the wholesale robbery of the unemployment insurance, there is an unbroken chain of profound treachery.

And the same wholesale treachery and betrayal of the social-democracy, as in all spheres of economic, social and cultural questions of the working class, are to be seen in the role of the S.P.G. in the carrying out of the fascist methods of the bourgeoisie. Was is not the government party, the S.P.G., was it not **Severing** who, contrary to the demagogic election promises, prohibited the **Red Front Fighters' League**, the only anti-fascist

defensive organisation of the German proletariat? Was it not the social democratic **Prussian** government who, obeying a wink of Hindenburg, immediately withdrew the prohibition of the **Stahlhelm** in Rhineland? Was is not the ruling social-democracy who caused **33 victims to be killed** by their police cossacks in the bloody May days in Berlin in 1929?

And was it not the social-democracy who first led the way in employing paragraph 48? Did not Hindenburg's social-democratic predecessor, **Fritz Ebert**, employ paragraph 48 just as cynically and brutally at the time of a revolutionary crisis in order, with the bayonets of the Reichswehr, under the command of **General Seckt**, and with the simultaneous prohibition of the Communist Party, to stabilise the threatened capitalist class rule?

But the policy of the social-fascists in the last few days confirms this picture. Even when they were still under the fresh impression created by the impudent violation of the Constitution by the Brüning government, which employed paragraph 48 for the purpose of putting through its robber programme, the social-democratic Reichstag fraction together with the German Nationalist Hugenberg party, did not shrink from defeating the Communist vote of non-confidence brought against the Brüning government, and thereby helped the government of paragraph 48 to obtain an unhoped for and undeserved vote of confidence. Only now, when driven into a corner by the policy of the Communist Party and the growing indignation among the rank and file of the social-democracy, did the S.P.C. consider it expedient at the last meeting of the Reichstag to depart from the policy which it hitherto pursued of tacit coalition with the Brüning government, and to vote with the Communists for the withdrawal of the Brüning emergency order.

But the demagogic hope of the Party of traditional election-fraud that with this vote, which in fact has been forced upon it, it would be able to make the electors forget the rest of its policy, is vain. In the coming election campaign the masses will not only remind the party of Hermann Müller, Hilferding, Severing etc. of all the broken election promises of May 1928, but they will pass judgment upon the whole shameful practice of social-fascism during its two years' office and also in the last few months since the S.P.G. was kicked out of office by the bourgeoisie. The coming election campaign—a mobilisation of the masses against fascism—will also bring with it an emphatic proletarian judgment on the active ally of the fascist dictatorship, the social-democratic lackeys of finance capital.

The **Communist Party** enters this election fight as the only party which has shown the masses a real way of escape from the fetters of the Young Plan, from the strangling grip of hunger; a real solution of the economic crisis by means of overcoming the capitalist system, by the victory of Socialism, the breaking of the slave fetters, after the heroic example of the emancipated workers and peasants of the Soviet Union. The C.P. of Germany is submitting to the broad masses the **programme of the coming victorious proletarian revolution**.

The **victory of Bolshevism in Germany**—that means the expropriation of the banks, the factories, the mines, the landed estates, it means the end of stock-exchange speculation, the abolition of capitalist speeding up; the freeing of the German people from the Young-Plan slavery. The victory of Bolshevism that means the **uprise of the working masses** who are no longer in capitalist fetters, but, as masters in their own house, create wealth for their own consumption, for their own class. That means the realisation of the **seven-hour day**, which will provide the unemployed with work and bread.

The Communist Party, as the only Party of the working class of Germany, is organising along with the revolutionary trade union opposition the everyday struggle of the proletariat against the practical carrying out of the Young-Plan in the factories; against the new rationalisation drive and the wage-cutting campaign of the employers.

The Communist Party, as the only anti-fascist party, is rallying the masses against the fascist plans and the attacks of the bourgeoisie, against the terrorist bands of the national-socialists who are the auxiliary troops of the German employers and of international finance-capital.

We call to the masses of the toiling population of Germany: Take your place in the front of the workers' offensive against the hunger-campaign of the fascist bourgeoisie! Fight with us!

**Fascism or Bolshevism**—this question will not be decided by a Parliamentary vote, by a Reichstag election nor by the ballot box. But the million masses who now pass judgment in the election campaign, who decide for or against Brüning and

Hindenburg, for or against Hitler and Frick, for or against Müller and Severing, will at the same time proclaim their decision for the great extra-Parliamentary class war. And if the masses of the toiling population desire a way of escape from the decline in the capitalist anarchy, a proletarian solution, then their judgment will be:

Down with capitalism!  
Down with Fascism!  
For the victory of Bolshevism!  
For a Socialist Germany!

## AGAINST COLONIAL OPPRESSION

### The Anti-Imperialist Movement in Egypt.

By V. Chattopadhyaya.

During the eight weeks that have elapsed since Nahas Pasha and other Wafd leaders broke off negotiations with Henderson on May 8th, the situation in Egypt has developed with considerable rapidity, partly under the influence of the revolutionary mass movement in India, but mainly under the irresistible pressure exercised by the broad masses owing to the conditions created by the acute **economic crisis**. Once more the whole story is being repeated of negotiations with British imperialism, rupture of negotiations, dissolution of Parliament, suppression of the Constitution, dictatorship, police and military terror on the one side, and anti-imperialist strikes, mass demonstrations, street fights with the police, on the other. Once more it is being clearly demonstrated to the Egyptian people that it is **British imperialism** that owns and rules the country through the puppet king and his feudal clique; it is being made clear to them for the fourth time that the so-called "sovereignty and independence of Egypt" proclaimed on February 28th, 1922, was a hollow and hypocritical phrase, and that the "Parliament" created on April 19th, 1923, was a mere impotent institution that could be allowed to function only in so far as it carried out "legislation" in protection of the interests of British imperialism. No Government would be allowed to exist that did not accept this fundamental fact as the basis of its negotiations for a treaty.

The Egyptian bourgeoisie represented by the Wafd Party came very near to accepting the terms for legalising the imperialist exploitation of Egypt cunningly drawn up by the MacDonald Cabinet, but there were other factors at home with which they had to reckon in their own interests. They were met at home with falling cotton prices, increasing suffering of the fellaheen, growing rural indebtedness and agrarian discontent. It is the cotton crisis and the agrarian discontent that were the driving forces behind the resistance of the Wafdists to the acceptance of the British regarding the **Sudan**. For the absolute control of the Sudan by British imperialism would be a serious menace to the economic life of Egypt, and the sacrifice of the Sudan, which is economically inseparable from Egypt, would have swept away the Wafdists as traitors to the cause of the Egyptian people.

The Wafd leaders are, therefore, playing the same role in Egypt as the leaders of the National Congress are playing in India. They are heading the anti-imperialist movement of the masses with slogans of civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes. In spite of an overwhelming parliamentary majority (the Wafdists had 90 per cent of the seats in the Egyptian Parliament), Nahas Pasha's Cabinet resigned in June, ostensibly on a constitutional issue against the absolutism and dictatorship of the King, but in reality because it would have found it impossible to solve the growing economic difficulties of the country and did not wish to lose its popularity by the failure that was certain. The odium now falls on the King and his ministerial agents, behind whom stand in reality the guns and warships of British imperialism, while Nahas is now at the head of a popular movement for "freedom and democracy" which has the full support of the broad masses. On June 25th, 500 Wafd leaders signed an oath that, unless the King gave way in the constitutional struggle, they would launch a campaign of civil disobedience on July 21st. The King, that is,

British imperialism, has not given way, and the campaign has begun. But, as in India, the masses have begun to move in a way highly disagreeable to the leaders. Like Gandhi, Nahas Pasha has now declared that the Wafd have nothing to do with the outbursts of violence of the masses in Bilbeis, Mansurah, Cairo or Alexandria. He too is for "non-violence", that is, against the revolutionary initiative of the masses.

But the masses are showing their teeth. It is true that they are still under the leadership of the Pashas, landowners, and well-to-do bourgeois lawyers that direct the politics of the Wafd Party, but their actions are against the wishes of the latter. The bloody conflicts between the masses of demonstrators in the streets of Alexandria and Cairo, and the police and military under British commanders, are being daily reported in the Press, and need not be recounted here. As in India, the demonstrators resisted the provocations and brutal terror of the police by hurling cart loads of stones and thousands of sand-filled glass bottles at them. Hundreds have been killed and wounded, hundreds have already been arrested. The leading Nationalist papers have been forbidden, the right of speech and of assembly has been suppressed, the immunity of the Wafdist members of parliament withdrawn, and the country placed under the rule of the military.

In thus assuming the active leadership of the anti-imperialist revolt of the workers, peasants, students and city-poor, the Wafd Party under Nahas Pasha's leadership has the same aim in view as the Gandhi-Nehru leadership in India. They are leading the movement to prevent it from becoming really revolutionary, while at the same time the mass movement of revolt gives them higher popularity at home and enhanced prestige in eventual negotiations with British imperialism. The struggle of the Wafd Party against imperialism is taking the form of a constitutional struggle against the absolutism of the King. The belief, however, that the Wafd is fighting the Monarchy in order to abolish it and establish a republic is erroneous. Nahas Pasha himself made a statement to the Press on July 14th in Alexandria — on the eve of the barricade fighting and police shootings in that city — and contradicted any intention of breaking the oath of loyalty to the Constitution, Article I of which provided that Egypt was to be ruled by an hereditary sovereign. Considerable importance must also be attached to the interview given to the correspondent of the "**Manchester Guardian**" on July 13th by **Makram Ebeid**, a member of Nahas Pasha's Cabinet and described as the ablest member of the delegation that discussed the Anglo-Egyptian draft treaty with Henderson in London. Makram Ebeid made it clear that the Wafd was anxious to come to a peaceful and honourable settlement with Great Britain. In other words, the Wafd, representing the bourgeoisie and the landowners, must come to a working compromise with British imperialism, but they have to save their faces with the masses and have therefore to strengthen their own position as national heroes and find a suitable anti-British formula to cover the inevitable retreat when the masses threaten to go too far with the agrarian programme. In fact, the weapon of non-payment of taxes which Nahas Pasha threatens to use will prove far more dangerous to the bourgeoisie and landlords themselves than the similar movement in certain parts of India. And it may therefore be stated with certainty that the Wafdists have no intention of creating a situation that must ultimately lead to their own expropriation.

As far as the interests of British imperialists are concerned, the policy of the MacDonald Government has already met with the approval of the other two imperialist parties in Britain. But the British community in Egypt organised in the "British Union" demands stronger measures, just as the so-called European Association in India demand a strong hand **Beasley**, the President of the Union, has addressed two letters to MacDonald, in one of which he demands that the old offer of a treaty shall no longer hold and that "negotiations must begin with a clean slate". In his second letter, he repeats the old imperialist argument, so familiar in India and other colonies, that "the vast majority of Egyptians individually no not want British protection to be withdrawn from them, being unable to trust one another". . . . But the real motive of the letters is contained in his statement that "British trade with Egypt has been steadily declining during the last 10 years".

But neither the imperialist terror exercised through the

King and his immediate satellites, nor the tactics of the Wafd leaders will remove the growing discontent. The workers and revolutionary students in Cairo and Alexandria have already formed anti-imperialist committees with clear revolutionary slogans, including the overthrow of British imperialism and native feudalism, and the carrying out of the agrarian revolution. As in India, so in Egypt, the masses will overthrow imperialism only when they have established their own organs of struggle and liberated themselves from Nationalist leadership.

## POLITICS

### Iraq as Britain's Base against the Soviet Union.

#### The New Anglo-Iraq Treaty.

By V. C. h.

At a moment when the workers of the world are organising to demonstrate on August 1st. against imperialism and war and for the defence of the Soviet Union, the Labour Government publishes the fact that it has forged another strong link in the iron chain that is being drawn round the Workers' and Peasants' Republic. The so-called Treaty between Great Britain and Iraq which was signed at Baghdad on June 30th. has just been issued as a White Paper. The preamble to the Treaty states that it is concluded "upon terms of complete freedom, equality and independence", but the eleven articles of the Treaty with the Annexure merely constitute the undisguised proclamation of Iraq as a vassal State of Great Britain and as a **military, naval and air base for Britain's wars**. The Soviet Union is not mentioned, but every line of the Treaty makes it clear that it is the Soviet Union against which the whole of this "agreement between his Britannic Majesty and 'His Majesty' the King of Iraq is directed. This purpose is so evident that the document should be put into the hands of all workers in order to bring home to them the real danger and imminence of the war that the Labour Government is helping to prepare.

We shall here examine briefly the main points of the Treaty which is to come into force only in 1932, when Iraq will have the proud privilege of admission to the League of Nations, but which is nevertheless to be ratified as soon as possible.

The very first Article lays down that there shall be "full and frank consultation between the High Contracting Parties in all matters of foreign policy which may affect their common interests", and that each "undertakes not to adopt in foreign countries an attitude which is inconsistent with the alliance or might create difficulties for the other Party". This means that Iraq is bound hand and foot in her relations with other countries, and that, for instance, any sign of friendliness towards the Soviet Union, such as actually exists among large sections of the Iraq people, would be interpreted as being "inconsistent" with the alliance. And the domination of Great Britain is further emphasised by Article 2, which provides that the British diplomatic representative shall at all times and under all circumstances have precedence over the representatives of all other Powers.

If a dispute takes place between Iraq and a third State (by which is meant Turkey, Persia and the Arab States created by British Imperialism) the dispute is to be settled "by peaceful means" in accordance with the Covenant of the League of Nations! But in Article 4 the true character of Iraq as a war base for Great Britain is unambiguously defined. "In the event of an imminent menace of war, the High Contracting Parties will immediately concert together the necessary measures of defence (sic!). The aid of His Majesty the King of Iraq in the event of war or the imminent menace of war will consist in furnishing to his Britannic Majesty on Iraq territory all facilities and assistance in his power including the use of railways, rivers, ports, aerodromes and means of communication." The language is precise and leaves no doubt as to the part of the world where the "menace of war" is being organised by Great Britain.

Further, the new "independent" sovereign of Iraq recognises in Article 5 that "the permanent maintenance and protection in all circumstances of the essential communications of his Britan-

nic Majesty is in the common interest" of the Parties. And he therefore undertakes to grant to Great Britain "sites for air-bases to be selected by his Britannic Majesty at or in the vicinity of Basra and for an air-base to be selected by his Britannic Majesty to the west of the Euphrates". And he "authorises" his Britannic Majesty "to maintain forces upon Iraq territory at the above localities" — but, of course, "the presence of those forces shall not constitute in any manner an occupation and will in no way prejudice the sovereign rights of Iraq".

The Treaty is to remain in force for 25 years from the date of its coming into force (i. e. 1932). At any time after 20 years, however, a new treaty may be concluded, on condition that it "shall provide for the continued maintenance and protection in all circumstances of the essential communications of his Britannic Majesty". The recurrence of this refrain is characteristic of the "alliance".

To the Treaty is added an Annexure which contains some very important details regarding military matters. For instance, in addition to the forces to be permanently maintained at the above-mentioned air-bases, it is provided that Britain may maintain forces for a period of five years (i. e. until 1937) at **Hinaiidi** and at **Mosul**. The places chosen are significant. Mosul needs no explanation. Hinaiidi is already an important air base under the "Iraq Command" of the R.A.F. It has a depot and a hospital, and the bombing plane squadrons Nos. 30, 55 and 70 are stationed there. Iraq undertakes to "provide all possible facilities for the movement, training and maintenance" of these forces, and to accord to them every facility for the use of wireless telegraphy. Besides, Iraq undertakes to provide "special guards" at British expense for "the protection of such air-bases as may be occupied by the forces" of Great Britain.

That the **Iraqi army is to be an integral part of Britain's imperialist forces** (but paid by the Iraqis themselves), is made still more clear by the conditions that "the armament and essential equipment of the Iraq forces shall not differ in type from those of the forces of his Britannic Majesty" and that the foreign military instructors appointed "shall be chosen from among British subjects".

Finally, Iraq is to be a transit land for British troops at all times and the King of Iraq "agrees to afford, when requested, all possible facilities for the movement of the forces of his Britannic Majesty of all arms in transit across Iraq and for the transport and storage of all supplies and equipment that may be required by their forces during their passage across Iraq".

We have quoted the main provisions at some length in order to show not only that the status of Iraq under the Treaty is no higher than that of Britain's Indian vassals like the Nizam of Heidarabad, — in spite of the high-sounding phrases about freedom, equality and independence — but that **the Treaty breathes war against the Soviet Union in every line**. The corrupt feudal aristocracy of Baghdad may accept and ratify the treaty, but the masses of the people in Iraq and the other Arab States will not accept the intolerable burdens and permanent conditions of slavery that are sought to be imposed upon them by the "agreements" between foreign and native robbers. Such agreements are being attempted by British Imperialism, through its Labour Government, in Egypt and India also. They characterise the present stage of the colonial struggle in which the nationalist bourgeoisie is making its compromise with imperialism in all countries, and they mark the beginning of the new period in which the anti-imperialist struggle for national and social freedom will be carried on by the **working masses** under their own banner and their own leaders. Already the pressure of the masses in Iraq is being felt. The youth and the leftwing nationalists who are against the Treaty have convened an **Iraqi Congress** to take place in Nedjef in order to devise ways and means of preventing its ratification. Even more serious for the ruling class are the revolutionary out-breaks of the peasantry in the provinces of Diwaniye and Amara which have, according to official telegrams, just been brutally suppressed by the Government. But the economic crisis has had a serious effect upon the conditions of the peasantry, and a more organised revolutionary movement may be expected.

In the meantime it is necessary to follow closely the intrigues of the British Government among the Kurds who are being financed and armed to revolt against the Turks, the Persians and the Iraqis and to constitute a buffer state between these countries which shall be completely under British control and form a new military base for British imperialist wars.

## The Question of a Hapsburg Restoration in Hungary.

By Raina (Budapest).

In the last few weeks the question of a Hapsburg restoration has again become a topic of discussion in Hungary, in the central European press and also at the Conference of the Little Entente.

This time the question was raised by the oath of fidelity made by Arch-Duke Albrecht Hapsburg. Hitherto Albrecht was the only claimant to the throne as against the "legitimate" Otto, the son of Karl IV. In his declaration of fidelity Arch-Duke Albrecht renounces his claim to the throne and recognises Otto as the only "legitimate" heir to the throne. This declaration on the part of Albrecht, which is an expression of the fact that the various groups of the Hungarian bourgeoisie are unanimously in favour of Otto's ascension to the throne, is everywhere regarded as a preparatory step for an immediate restoration.

The question was pushed still further into the foreground by Carol's coup d'état in Rumania. The Hungarian press welcomed the Carol putch with surprising enthusiasm. It endeavoured by a clever propaganda to make use of the Rumanian coup d'état in the preparation for a Hapsburg restoration in Hungary. The Hungarian papers wrote that the misery and sufferings of the Rumanian people will come to an end now that Rumania has got a "splendid" king who "loves" his people. This unimous attitude of the Hungarian press to the Rumanian coup d'état means that the Hungarian bourgeoisie is endeavouring to obtain the support of the Rumanian fascists in the event of an Otto putch.

The purpose of Bethlen's visit to London and Rome was among other things, to win the upper circles of Italy and England and the MacDonald Labour Government for the plan for a Hapsburg restoration. The Rumanian Foreign Minister Mr. Mironescu, however, immediately after the Carol putsch, gave an interview to a correspondent of a French paper, to whom he declared that Rumanian aircraft squadrons would attack Hungary in the event of an Otto putch. The Conference of the Little Entente laid down its standpoint in regard to this question by declaring that the question of a Hapsburg restoration is not an internal affair of Hungary, but an international question. The treaty of Versailles contains a point according to which the restoration of the Hapsburg in middle Europe would mean a violation of the peace treaty. Benes declared that the Little Entente would by united action, bring to nought in three days any attempt at a Hapsburg restoration, just as it did already in the year 1921 on the occasion of the Karl IV. putsch.

As against the standpoint of the Little Entente, Count Apponyi, the leader of the Hungarian legitimists, outlined the Hungarian attitude. It is true, Apponyi does not belong officially to the fascist party of Bethlen, but on such occasions it is his invariable practice to speak on behalf of the government. The fact that the whole of the Hungarian press approves Count Apponyi's declaration is a proof that in this question Apponyi has expressed the standpoint of the whole of Hungarian fascism. The meaning of Apponyi's declaration is that, in spite of the attitude of the Little Entente, Otto Hapsburg will be placed on the Hungarian throne. The inner political situation, says Apponyi, has improved: there no longer exists a party standing for the free choice of king; Albrecht, who is also a Hapsburg, has retired. The only factor opposing a Hapsburg restoration to Hungary is the republican movement.

As a matter of fact there exists no republican movement in Hungary. This movement is legally prohibited, and those petty bourgeois and social-fascist circles who secretly play with the idea of "rather a Republic than a kingdom", do not venture to make propaganda for a Republic, to act "contrary to the law". In actual fact, all bourgeois parties, from the social fascists to the legitimists, are in favour of Otto Hapsburg's ascending the throne.

Apponyi also declared that, in regard to foreign politics, the situation has become favourable for a Hapsburg restoration. Nevertheless the situation is not yet "sufficiently ripe" for the restoration. By the improvement of the foreign political situation Apponyi meant that Mussolini supports the

Hapsburg restoration, while the English, and even the French Right circles, would likewise not oppose it. Mussolini supports the Hapsburg restoration in Hungary in order thereby to render still more close the connections between Italian and Hungarian fascism and to strengthen the central European position of Italian imperialism as against France. The plans of Italian fascism in this direction have already assumed such concrete form that the Italian Duchess Maria has been chosen as the bride of Otto.

The causes of the firm, almost provocative, attitude of Hungarian fascism to the States of the Little Entente lie in the critical inner situation of Hungary. The social basis of Hungarian fascism is becoming ever narrower; the antagonisms among the various sections of the Hungarian bourgeoisie are becoming continually more acute as a result of the crisis. The Hapsburg restoration is to serve as the means enabling Hungarian finance capital to concentrate all the bourgeois forces and win back broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie to fascism. At the same time Hungarian fascism hopes by means of the Hapsburg restoration to achieve its imperialist aim of winning back the territories taken from Hungary by the peace of Trianon. The name of Hapsburg is a symbol of Greater Hungary. The Hungarian bourgeoisie knows that the Hapsburg restoration would strengthen the irredenta. It reckons that in this case the national minorities in the countries of the Little Entente would strive for reunion with Hungary.

As Hungarian fascism connects the attainment of its imperialist aims with war on the Soviet Union, it is obvious that a Hapsburg restoration would mean a still more definite lining up of Hungarian fascism in the anti-Soviet front. The C. P. of Hungary is carrying on a fierce and concrete fight against the efforts aiming at the Hapsburg restoration. It is the only party in Hungary which is organising and leading this fight.

Count Apponyi has clearly summed up the attitude of Hungarian fascism: Preparations for the restoration must be made in the sphere of foreign politics, and when that has been done the restoration will be accomplished. Nevertheless, the Hungarian bourgeoisie will not carry this out immediately. The hostile attitude of the Little Entente creates for the time being an unfavourable situation for a restoration. On the other hand, however, the Hungarian bourgeoisie has drawn the lesson from the Carol putsch: that in such a question the best course is to confront the interested parties with the accomplished fact. If the Hungarian bourgeoisie succeeds in gaining the increased support of the big imperialist powers for the Hapsburg restoration, it will at the first opportunity "surprise" the world with the ascension to the throne of Otto Hapsburg.

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The Business Manager.



# 1st August: International Fighting Day Against War

## The German Proletariat and the 1st of August.

By J. Kraus.

At a time of extreme intensification of the capitalist attack on the German working class and of growing fascist danger, the revolutionary proletariat in Germany is making all preparations for mass demonstrations against imperialist war on 1st of August. In this campaign the Communist Party of Germany has made it its chief task to make clear to the working masses the indissoluble connection between the growing misery and impoverishment of the proletariat, in consequence of the economic crisis, the increased fascist pressure, and the war-preparations of the imperialists against the Soviet Union.

The capitalist way out of the crisis, which the capitalists and the social-fascist trade union bureaucrats are jointly trying to find, is the path of capitalist offensive under the slogan "Reduce prices, reduce wages!". This way leads not only to further impoverishment of the working masses, but also to the extreme aggravation of the competitive struggle of the imperialists on the world market. German imperialism, which is firmly bound to the other imperialist Powers by the Young Plan and is in a position of dependence upon them, can less than any other capitalist country hope to overcome the crisis at the cost of its capitalist rivals by winning a greater share of the world market. Thus the German bourgeoisie is compelled to seek the way out which the imperialists are pursuing jointly, i. e., to solve the economic difficulties of declining capitalism by opening up the enormous market of the Soviet Union, by overthrowing the Proletarian State.

The capitalist recipe for overcoming the economic crisis, which consists of reducing wages, cutting down unemployment benefit, reducing the miserable pensions of the war victims, increasing the burden of taxation resting on the workers, employees and officials etc., can only be carried out if the political suppression of the proletarian masses is intensified to the utmost.

In addition, there is the fact that the advancing economic crisis is embracing to an ever-increasing extent the masses of the small and middle peasantry. The further development of the economic crisis will deprive many thousands of petty bourgeois of their existence. The phenomenal growth of the national socialist movement not only reflects the increased interest but finance-capital has in developing fascist terrorist bands, but shows the desperate mood of wide circles of the petty bourgeoisie who have been ruined or who are threatened with ruin. This development forces the bourgeoisie on to the path of fascist dictatorship.

But wage cutting, lowering of prices, fascist dictatorship and forcing of exports on the world market are not monopolies of the German bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie of the other countries, especially of the most powerful imperialist states, England and America, are already pursuing the same course. Precisely therefore, this course, even from the standpoint of capitalism, does not lead to a solution, but inevitably leads the capitalist states in the direction of imperialist war. Were the German workers to follow the slogan of social fascism and conclude a fresh civil peace with the bourgeoisie for the purpose of overcoming the economic crisis at the costs of the toiling masses, it would mean nothing else but a new civil peace for the imperialist crusade against the Soviet Union.

As against this perspective of the capitalist solution of the economic crisis the example of the socialist construction in the Soviet Union shows that, on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is possible steadily to increase the real income of the working class, systematically shorten the working hours, overcome unemployment, rapidly increase production in industry and agriculture, and realise the widest development of democracy for the workers.

Proceeding from this standpoint the C. P. of Germany is connecting the preparation of Anti-War Day with the development of the counter-offensive of the proletariat against the capitalist attack and the growing fascist danger. The revolutionary trade union opposition is everywhere exerting all its forces to organise the fight for the seven-hour day and wage increase. These organs of the proletarian counter-offensive are

at the same time to take over the role of Anti-War Committees in factories and workshops.

Against the growing fascist movement a dam is being erected in the first place by increased political work for explaining the character of fascism to the misguided petty bourgeois, peasants and workers. In addition, red workers' defence groups are being formed, on a workshop basis, which, especially in economic fights, will repel the fascist blackleg-guards, as has been done in an exemplary manner at the strike in Mansfield.

In the factories and workshops the preparation for Anti-War Day is being connected with the preparations for the V. Congress of the R.I.L.U. While in Stockholm the social-imperialist trade union leaders organised their ranks in order to strengthen the forces of social fascism against the revolutionary Labour movement, so as the better to fulfil their task of preparing the way for the fascist dictatorship and supporting imperialist war, the V. Congress of the R.I.L.U. will discuss the question of organising the international proletarian counter-offensive against the international offensive of capital, of letting loose the international proletarian class struggle against imperialist war and for the defence of the Indian and Chinese revolution and for the defence of the Soviet Union. The election of delegates to the V. Congress of the R.I.L.U. at the district conferences of the Red Trade Union Opposition will, therefore, serve as occasion for raising the problem of the fight against imperialist war and exposing to the broadest possible mass of workers the shameful role of the social fascist trade union bureaucracy in the present period.

While it is true that this year there will be no general call for a political demonstration strike, the idea of the political mass strike against imperialist war is being propagated in a most effective manner, in that the C.P. of Germany and the Revolutionary Trade Union Opposition are exerting all their forces for organising strikes on the economic front and making clear to the working masses that the broadest mass mobilisation against the capitalist offensive is at the same time the most effective preparation for the mass fight against fascist dictatorship and imperialist war.

The International Children's Meet which is being held in Berlin in the next few days, will likewise serve as occasion for propagating proletarian solidarity and counter-acting the nationalistic incitement now being carried on in intensified form in the schools attended by working class children.

Thus all means of mass mobilisation are being systematically utilised in order to make August 1st the high-point of revolutionary mass struggle against the danger of imperialist war.

## Joint Appeal of the Communist Parties of Germany, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg.

Over the frontiers which the capitalists have established in order to separate us, we call upon you to attend a powerful demonstration against imperialist war at Stolberg (Aix-la-Chapelle).

The capitalists of all countries attempt hypocritically to lull the proletariat into the belief that there will be no new war. The social democrats of all countries, the "heroes" of the Second International, who support their own bourgeoisie, are their best auxiliary forces.

The French capitalists have withdrawn their occupation troops from the Rhineland and, in harmony with the German capitalists and the social democrats, they celebrated this evacuation as a proof of their will to peace.

We Communists say to you: Do not be misled! The capitalists are making ever increasing preparations for war; they increase their armaments and are continually constructing new warships and guns. Under the mask of love for peace, under the mask of creating the Pan-European Union, the capitalists are preparing for war.

The danger of war is more serious than ever. The capitalists

are threateningly directing their weapons against the Soviet Union, against the fatherland of the workers of all lands, against the fatherland of the workers and peasants who are, unswervingly and successfully building up Socialism.

The capitalists are conducting an open and brutal war against the colonial slaves. MacDonald a member of the Second International, and the English capitalists are endeavouring to throttle the emancipation struggle of the Indian proletariat and are shooting down the Indian workers. The French capitalists are answering the emancipation struggle of the people of Indochina with machine guns and bombs.

In addition to the preparations for war the capitalists are increasing the economic and political pressure upon the proletariat and upon all toilers.

In Germany the number of unemployed is uninterruptedly increasing. 3.2 million are already unemployed. The capitalists, supported by the social fascists, are endeavouring by all means to cast the burden of the Young Plan upon the workers. Great wage struggles are already in progress. The metal workers of the Ruhr are standing courageously in the struggle; the miners of Mansfeld are on strike; the miners of the Aix-la-Chapelles coal area are preparing for a struggle against wage cuts and against the Young Plan.

In France, Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg the situation of the proletariat is not better. Here as there: capitalist exploitation; here as there: robbery taxation and wage cuts.

The situation of the proletariat is the same in all the five countries. It calls for the same ruthless fight against the capitalist exploiters.

We Communists call upon you to come to Stolberg near Aix-la-Chapelle on August 3rd in order to demonstrate against imperialist war, against capitalist exploitation.

**Down with the Young Plan, the plan of enslavement and suppression of the German proletariat!**

**Down with imperialist war, down with the war plans of the capitalists against the Soviet Union!**

**Fight capitalism in all countries!**

**Long live the united international class struggle!**

**Up with the solidarity of the workers and peasants of all countries, for the emancipation of all who are oppressed by the yoke of capitalism.**

**Five countries, but a single flag: the red flag of ruthless class struggle of the suppressed, the red flag with hammer and sickle, the flag of the Communist International!**

**The Communist Parties of Germany, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg.**

## The "Friends of Soviet Russia" and August 1st.

By Albert Inkpin (London).

In all capitalist countries the workers, on August 1st., under the leadership of the Communist parties, will demonstrate and engage in mass action against the danger of imperialist war. In this campaign all the broad workers' organisations will co-operate and the Friends of Soviet Russia will play a leading and a foremost part.

The danger of war grows every day more real and imminent, and an attack upon the Soviet Union as the real objective of the war preparation of the imperialists is everywhere more clearly revealed. August 1st., therefore, has a tremendous significance for the Friends of Soviet Russia.

The London Conference has given a new impetus to the increase in armaments in all capitalist states. The British "Labour" Government has decided upon a new supplementary naval programme which will cost £ 9,000,000, to include three cruisers, nine destroyers, three submarines, four sloops and other auxiliary vessels. The Liberal-Labour Commander Kenworthy, M.P. for Hull, writes in the current (11. 7. 30) issue of the official I.L.P. organ, the "New Leader" that with the exception of one class of vessels — submarines — the Labour Government has embarked on a greater ship-building programme since the conclusion of the Naval Treaty than Viscount Bridgeman's (Conservative) programmes of 1926, 1927 and 1928. Our new programme is practically the same as that announced by the Tory Cabinet for 1929, before the naval agreement." In another article in the Glasgow "Forward" (12. 7. 30) the same writer points out that the present naval policy of the MacDonald Government will involve "an expenditure on new shipbuilding alone during the next six years of about £ 80,000,000". And the

"New Leader" asks plaintively, "Who will check the Admiralty?" Each imperialist power finds the excuse for its own programme of naval, military and air-force extension and development in the programmes of the other. All will combine to use them in common, as soon as circumstances are ripe, against the dreaded enemy of capitalism — the U.S.S.R.

The fascist coup in Finland, directed exclusively against Communism and the Soviet Union, the outlawing of the Communist deputies, and the Bill introduced into the Finnish Parliament for "the defence of the Republic" mark a definite stage in the consolidation of the anti-Soviet bloc. War preparations against the Soviet Union were on the "order of the day" at the recent conference of the Little Entente, at which Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia were represented, and which coincided with the presence of a leading French Marshal with a military mission in Czechoslovakia. The proposals now before the Dutch Parliament for the building of new vessels of war is a further sinister manifestation of the developing campaign against the Soviet Union. For what other purpose or use can this little State require to increase its naval armaments? Against England, France, America? The question answers itself.

It is not for nothing that an important technical journal in England like the "Aeroplane" can write openly and without challenge of British imperialism: "We, to whom war with Russia is a practical certainty!" The pitiful bleating of "peace, peace where there is no peace" on the part of our "left" pacifist-Socialists is drowned by the irrefragable logic of fact. "The peaceful transformation from capitalism to Socialism," forsooth, in face of the bloody manifestations of British "labour" imperialism in India, the conversion of the English trade union bureaucracy to protectionism, the fascisation of the social-democracy everywhere, and the plans for the creation of a special League of Nations air fleet that can be at the common disposal of all capitalist governments for use against their own revolutionary workers, as well as against the Soviet Union!

As the process of capitalist decline continues and accelerates, financial crisis follows financial crisis, bringing in their train a phenomenal increase in unemployment. The number of workless in capitalist countries now totals 20 million! A developing economic crisis, with a frantic drive towards rationalisation and increased exploitation and misery of the working class. This is the situation wherever capitalism holds sway. On the other hand, in Soviet Russia, where the workers rule prevails over one-sixth of the globe, gigantic strides are being made in the building of the Socialist State. On the one side, decaying capitalism. On the other side, the progressive transformation into Socialism through the rapid and successful development of the Five Year Plan.

The imperialists are seeking a way out of their difficulties by preparing for war and for an armed attack on the Soviet Union. The destruction of the workers' state and the colonisation of the vast and fruitful territory over which the triumphant workers and peasants now rule, is the only means of saving the dying order of capitalism.

The campaign for August 1st., therefore, imposes special responsibilities upon the Friends of Soviet Russia. The sections of the F.O.S.R. in all countries will be in the vanguard of the broad masses of workers on that day in the struggle against imperialist war, for the protection of the Soviet Union against imperialist attacks, and for the defence of the building up of Socialism in the first workers' State.

In their declarations the national sections of the F.O.S.R. will associate themselves with the international mass action of the workers on August 1st. Their special leaflets and literature will draw the sharp contrast between the rapidly improving economic and social condition of the free workers and peasants of the Soviet Union and the position of those in capitalist countries, menaced ever more threateningly by the spectre of unemployment and attacked on all sides by wage-cuts and reductions in their standards of life.

The campaign of the F.O.S.R. will not be isolated from but made an integral part of the general international campaign for August 1st. The F.O.S.R. will co-operate and participate in the central mass demonstrations that are held. At the same time, in countries where workers' delegations are on the point of leaving for the U.S.S.R., special demonstrations will be organised in connection with such delegations a few days before or after August 1st. Finally, the utmost advantage must be exacted from the August 1st. campaign for the recruitment and building up of the F.O.S.R. and the establishment of groups and committees in the factories and workshops.

The F.O.S.R., as the international workers' organisation, formed in all countries to protect and defend the proletarian state from capitalist attack, must and will be everywhere in the foreground on August 1st.

## Preparations for the 1st of August in Czechoslovakia.

Prague, July 20, 1930.

Last night a preparatory demonstration for the 1st August campaign took place in the Prague suburb of Ziskov. Comrade Gottwald addressed about 1,000 workers. The police dispersed the demonstration with great violence. Comrade Gottwald in particular was very roughly handled, being dragged along the pavement by several policemen.

Good work is being conducted in the factories for the 1st August campaign. A number of factories have declared in favour of the 1st August anti-war demonstration and for sending delegates to the workers conference, for instance, the Danek works in Prague-Karlín where the reformist chairman of the meeting refused to permit comrade Zapotocky to speak and left the meeting. All the workers remained and listened to the speech, after which a delegate was elected to represent the factory at the workers conference. The engineering works in Ostrau elected two delegates after listening to a speech by comrade Gottwald. The Skoda works in Pilsen and the aeroplane factory Walter each elected two delegates to the conference.

Prague, July 21, 1930.

Yesterday three big united front conferences were held in Prague, Wittkowitz and Friedek, which is a proof that also in Czechoslovakia the united front is advancing under the leadership of the Communist Party and the Red Trade Unions. Of the 141 delegates present at the Prague conference, 98 were communists, 31 politically unorganised and twelve members of the social democratic and national socialist parties. Among the remaining 30 delegates, of whom it was impossible to ascertain the political parties to which they belonged owing to the raid on the conference by the police, there were also social democratic and national socialist workers.

Among the 88 delegates who attended the metal workers' conference at Wittkowitz there were seven social democrats, six national socialists, two Christian socialists, and nine unorganised workers.

Of the 58 delegates at the textile workers' conference in Friedek six were social democrats and two Christian socialists; the overwhelming majority were unorganised.

All three conferences dealt with the monstrous attacks of the employers and the social fascists on the workers, and discussed measures for the 1st of August and elected delegates to visit the Soviet Union. At Wittkowitz and Friedek broad committees of Action were formed for the purpose of organising the fight of the metal workers and of the textile workers in these localities.

Both the Prague Conference and the Wittkowitz Conference were raided by the police, but were nevertheless concluded before the intervention of the police so that the intended wholesale arrests were frustrated.

The appeal of the Prague Conference was almost completely censored by the authorities when published in the columns of the "Rudé Právo". Even the decision to send delegates to the Soviet Union was struck out by the censor.

New Committees of Action of the unemployed have been elected in Falkenau and Aussig.

## Notice!

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## ECONOMICS

### Protective Tariffs as a Solution of the English Economic Crisis and Their Contradictions.

By W. Rust (London).

During recent weeks the Empire Crusade launched by Lord Beaverbrooke has received a tremendous impetus. All sections of the ruling class and the Labour and Trade Union bureaucracy are voicing their opinions about what the economic policy should be.

The "Beavermere" combination trumpets forth its Empire Free Trade propaganda through the million-sale journals every day. The Chairmen of the "Big Five" banks have declared for Protection and G.D.H. Cole has rushed in with a declaration of support. The General Council of the Trade Union Congress has issued a report in favour of treating the Empire as an "economic group" and the forthcoming Imperial Conference has made similar proposals although they remain silent about the disputed tariff question.

The reason for this terrific burst of discussion is the growing economic crisis of British Imperialism, vividly portrayed in the latest returns of the Board of Trade which show that for the first six months of 1930 exports are down by £ 53,891,034 and imports £ 62,978,383, compared with the corresponding period last year.

The bankers' manifesto makes it clear that decisive sections of finance capital have already decided to abandon the traditional Free Trade policy and to embark on protection with the object of finding a way out of the economic crisis by intensifying the plundering of the colonies and building a tariff wall around the Empire against other imperialist competitors.

The policy of "Empire Free Trade" sounds tempting enough as yelled by the Crusaders in the columns of the Yellow Press, but the realities of this policy are very different and that is why the bourgeoisie are hesitating and fighting amongst themselves before the plunge is taken into a fundamental change in fiscal policy.

British capitalism in decline has lost its monopoly position in the world's markets and consequently relies more and more on its Empire "preserves", at a time when the whole tendency of the Empire is one of growing economic disintegration.

According to the report of the Imperial Economic Committee the colonies and Dominions obtained 44.7 per cent of their imports from the United Kingdom in 1913, whilst in 1927 they obtained only 36.1 per cent. On the other hand the percentage of United Kingdom exports to the Empire rose in the same period from 37.2 per cent. to 46.1 per cent. Thus the tendency is for Britain to become more dependent on the Empire whilst the tendency of the latter is away from Britain. This is particularly the case as far as the Dominions are concerned, where America is securing the lion's share of the trade. The Dominions are even going so far as to set up tariffs against British goods. Even in India there is the same tendency. Japan and America are increasing their trade whilst Britain's share of India's import, which was 63 per cent., has now fallen to 45 per cent. Lancashire textiles are being systematically ousted from the Indian market by Japan.

How then is "unity" to be imposed on this disintegrating Empire? The Dominions, as MacDonald admits in a recent speech, are strong enough to resist attempts to subordinate their economic development to the interests of British capitalism.

The Empire Crusaders make it plain that "duties on foreign foodstuffs must be the basis of every practical scheme of inter-imperial trade" (Lord Beaverbrook in the "Daily Mail", June 19). The overseas Empire may be induced to take more British manufactures in return for a preferential tariff on foodstuffs imported into the United Kingdom, but this would not greatly assist the British capitalists. Agriculture would benefit, but the basic industries would suffer because the net result would be an increase in the cost of living. This



is proved by the following figures regarding the import of foodstuffs for 1928.

From the Empire (Million £)	From other countries. (Million £)
187	316.

Thus tariffs would have to be imposed on two-thirds of the imported foodstuffs. Taking raw materials, which the Bankers propose to draw under the tariff, we find that duties would have to be imposed on nearly three-quarters of the imported raw materials, the figures for 1928 are:—

From the Empire (Million £)	From other countries. (Million £)
71	197

The capitalists are divided and hesitant on this policy because conflicting interests are involved and manufacturers still require the import of food and raw materials at the cheapest possible rates.

How far the change-over from Free Trade to Protection will help them is something upon which the bourgeoisie itself is divided and the situation is made all the more difficult by the reprisals against British goods which would certainly be taken by foreign countries excluded by the tariff wall. More than one-half of exported British manufactures still go to markets outside the Empire.

The significance of the Empire Free Trade campaign, which is seen to have such glaring contradictions, does not depend so much upon its validity for the solution of the contradictions of Imperialism as on the fact that a section of the bourgeoisie is beginning to realise that none of the three capitalist parties can find any way out of the present difficulties. Neither can the united front of the three parties find a way out.

The search for new solutions, no matter what further contradictions these "solutions" may bring about, is in itself an indication of the growing political and economic crisis.

India is the keystone in this policy of treating the Empire as an "imperial economic unity". The Labour Government combines its plundering of India with ruthless and bloody attempts to suppress the Indian revolution and systematic preparations for war against the U.S.A., its most formidable competitor. At the same time the imperialist Labour Government intensifies its war preparations against the Soviet Union whose mighty successes are a tremendous inspiration to the struggling colonial masses who see before their eyes that self-determination and complete independence can be made a living reality.

The British Empire is in the grip of a crisis, is torn by its own contradictions. Rationalisation, far from solving, is intensifying the crisis. The increased exploitation of the colonial masses will add fuel to the fires of revolt which are blazing throughout the colonial world.

We must make August 1st a day of great demonstrations against the danger of imperialist war, a day of common struggle with the revolutionary millions in the colonies, against the common enemy — the Imperialist Labour Government.

## Broadening Effects of the Economic Crisis in U.S.A.

By J. Amter (New York).

The first result of the crisis in the U.S.A. was mass unemployment. The decline in industry, which began in April-May of last year, had its biggest dip to the then lowest point in January-February. As the crisis deepened, markets shrank; foreign trade continued to decline, even foreign investments diminished and the number of unemployed increased.

Up to March 6th, outside of calling his National Businessmen's Conference in Washington and obtaining "solemn pledges" from the employers not to reduce wages, and the still more solemn pledge from the fascist leader of the American Federation of Labor, William Green that the A.F. of L. would lead no movement for wage increases, the government did nothing—except "see prosperity return".

March 6th woke the capitalists up with anxiety in their hearts. One million and a quarter workers followed the leadership of the Communist Party in demonstrations against unemployment. These were unparalleled demonstrations of

workers in the United States — far larger and deeper than any demonstrations the Party had ever led.

Thereupon came discussion in Congress, State legislatures, city councils—unemployment became the question of the day.

What are the facts of unemployment? In the June issue of the American Federationist, William Green declares that in May 37 per cent of the building trades workers were out of work (the industry that was to relieve unemployment) 20 per cent of all members belonging to the A.F. of L. were jobless:

On June 26, Secretary of Commerce Lamont issued the preliminary figures on unemployment, collected and classified by the Census Bureau, which had just finished the decennial census. According to this report, there are 2,298,588 unemployed in the United States. These figures are fraudulent. First of all the census taking was deliberately carried on in a manner to underestimate the crisis and the amount of unemployment; secondly the figures do not indicate the cases where men may have obtained a day's or a week's casual work after being unemployed for months. Frances Perkins, New York State Industrial Commissioner who continually ridiculed the figures issued by Hoover and Secretary of Labor Davis, when they stated (before the census) that there were 1,800,000 unemployed, states that there are at least 5,000,000 unemployed.

If one takes estimates made by census supervisors, one might approach the estimate of the N.Y. Herald Tribune that there are 6,600,000 unemployed.

The agricultural crisis, linked up with the bankruptcy of small farmers and the mechanisation of big farms, has resulted in the disemployment of many hundreds of thousands of the farming population. An analysis of the census by Dr. C. J. Palfin, expert of the Bureau of Agriculture, shows a shift of at least 4,000,000 to the cities. In the corn belt of Iowa, reports from 759 villages and 1287 townships show a net loss of 25,000 in the present census. The present acute agricultural crisis has accentuated this situation. Green does not include unemployed farm workers in his estimate.

In addition is the army of office and store clerks—white collar slaves—who have joined the army of unemployed.

The University of Pennsylvania has made a survey of unemployment in Philadelphia and finds 14.4 per cent of the workers unemployed, this being an increase of 40% over the same period of 1929 (April). John J. Aeschback, for 50 years in welfare work in Buffalo, N.Y. stated at a conference that "never before in the history of the department have we had so many able-bodied, married men applying for public aid as in the past winter and spring."

In May in New York, 1000 men and 695 women applied for every 100 jobs for each sex respectively. Forty-eight thousand persons applied for 200 city jobs in New York, 25,000 workers applied for 41 jobs at the Victor Graphophone Works in Camden, N.J.

The figures issued by Lamont are so obviously falsified for propaganda purposes for the capitalists and especially the Republican Party, that the N.Y. Times gives no credence to them stating that

"the decline in business activity as measured by automobile production, steel, car loadings, railroad earnings and other established tests plainly suggests an amount of unemployment that does not square with the official estimate of 'not much above normal'." (Emphasis own, I. A.)

The cumulative effects of the crisis resulting in seven to eight million unemployed, have given the capitalists an opportunity to conduct a merciless wage cutting campaign against the workers. In the mining, steel, metal, textile, food, auto, shoe, clothing, industries—practically in every industry they have cut the wages. In the month of January, according to the Department of Labor, there were 9 wage cuts, 23 in February, 26 in March, 25 in April. This was done despite the pledge to Hoover not to cut wages and of course supported by the A. F. of L. leaders, who in promising to make no fight for wage increases, have cooperated with the employers in these wage cuts. This, however, is only a fragmentary report, which shows wage slashes in all industries.

What is the reaction of the workers to the attacks of the capitalists and the government? Miners, metal workers, long-shoremen and various other groups of workers have answered with strikes. These strikes have all been led by the Trade Union Unity League. Large numbers of workers as yet have not been involved.

The response, however, of the workers to the calls of the Communist Party and the Trade Union Unity League—on March 6th and May 1st—clearly show that the workers will fight. Communist work in the shops is not yet organised as it must be if the Party units are to lead the struggles. The Party is not yet rooted in the shops of big industry in large measure. Few active shop committees exist.

Wall Street pays little heed to the pronouncements coming from Washington. Wall Street is busy building up stock and trying to keep the exchange from another crash. But this crash is inevitable. Industry continues to sag, profits and earnings diminish, and this does not bode well for the future of "prosperity". Now the capitalists speak of "fall" or "next spring" as the date of the return of prosperity—but as the N. Y. Evening Post says, "based on hopes".

Overproduction has not been overcome. Although hand-to-mouth methods were supposed to rule in America, the truth is that in Agriculture and industry there are vast stocks of unconsumed commodities. The deepening crisis postpones the date of a resumption of operation—and in the meantime, the number of unemployed will increase. Many small establishments will be liquidated, mergers of big concerns are following one upon the other, plants are being modernised—new labour-saving, speed-up machinery and systems are being installed, which will displace more hundreds of thousands of workers.

The wage slashing campaign will be intensified, inspired by the German wage reduction agreement between the capitalists, government and social-fascist trade union leaders. This has led to open announcements to the workers that they must accept lower wages if industry is to start again.

In the meantime, the government is making a pretence of aiding the unemployed. Senator Wagner introduced three bills in the Senate calling for the establishment of federal employment bureaus, a new unemployment census and an appropriation of \$ 150,000,000 for public works; only the first bill was adopted—which will not start industry and will provide no jobs. The social-fascist socialist Party and Wm. Green supported Wagner.

Governor Franklin Roosevelt of New York called on the farmers to "create a job, even temporarily" for the unemployed! This he addressed to the farmers who face ruin!

Hoover's Conference on Unemployment proposes to plan work to meet a crisis. It declares in a report signed by open shop bankers, manufacturers and such labour "leaders" as Wm. Green that:

"As an unplanned form of emergency relief for employment, public construction has long been tried and found in great measure wanting" . . . Instead of reserving all public construction for crisis, the report recommends "the skilful timing in the use of a comparatively small margin of public construction".

Finally, a plan proposed by the open shop General Electric Co. is for unemployment insurance to be paid by the workers and the company, based upon the reduction of the working force to a minimum. This is called by "experts", "industrial statesmanship", a "pattern for the world", "adjusted unemployment".

Unable to remove the basic causes of unemployment and determined to shift the burden of the world economic crisis on to the shoulders of the workers, unemployed and employed and the farmers, the capitalists, with the aid of the fascists and socialfascists, come forward with such schemes.

Hoover's committee declares as its aim a programme to the end "that employment may be more stable and adequate income more assured," and this shall be accomplished "mainly by the business community itself, aided by public administrators and an informed and responsive public opinion". This is a declaration of developing fascism!

The U.S. Congress has just passed that Harnley-Smoot Tariff bill, which is a declaration of commercial war on the world. The London "disarmament" parley was a declaration of armed war between the imperialist powers and laid the basis for war on the Soviet Union. The growth of Socialism especially under the Five-Year Plan as opposed to the growing misery under capitalism has filled the capitalists with terror—and the new tariff bill is also directed against the Soviet Union.

The perspective is clear—a fall and winter of tremendous unemployment, wageslashing, rationalisation in an acute form. The government and the capitalists progressing more and more to fascism, will make more brutal assaults on the workers. The innumerable arrests, breaking up of meetings and conventions of revolutionary workers and organisations, the Whalen forgeries

against the Soviet Union, the investigation of the Communist Party, Trade Union Unity League, Daily Worker, etc., by the Fish Congressional Committee are indications of the steps the capitalists are taking in preparation for their drive.

On July 4—5 there took place the National Unemployment Convention in Chicago of unemployed and employed workers to launch the nation-wide movement for unemployment insurance, 7-hour day, 5-day week, against speed-up, against wage cuts and for wage increases, for equal rights for Negroes, against imperialist war and for defence of the Soviet Union.

This is the beginning of a broad movement to build up the Trade Union Unity League, to prepare the workers for the counter-offensive against the bosses, their government and fascist A. F. of L. and social-fascist socialist Party tools. The Communist election will be an integral part of the fight, which will proceed all along the line.

Coolidge may say that what the nation needs most is "religion", but the workers think differently. They do not intend to accept the burden of the economic crisis. They do not intend to accept unemployment and hunger as a "natural phenomenon". The Communist Party now leads masses of workers; it must penetrate further into masses and these masses will learn that only by overthrowing capitalism and by following the path of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union can real security and well-being be assured.

## IN THE INTERNATIONAL

### The Plenary Session of the C.C. of the C.P. of Germany.

We publish below an extract from the report of the „Rote Fahne“ on the last Plenary Session of the C. C. of the C. P. Germany. Editor.

On the 16th and 17th July there took place in Berlin the Plenary Session of the C. C. of the C. P. of Germany. After a comprehensive report by Comrade Ernst Thälmann on the development of the crisis of capitalism in Germany and the experiences and new methods of our revolutionary mass work, the Plenary session thoroughly discussed all the problems raised by the report and by the political resolution of the Politbureau submitted to the Plenary Session.

The Reichstag was dissolved on the day after the Plenary session. The election struggle confronting the Communist Party of Germany has a more decisive and deeper significance than an ordinary Parliamentary election in normal times. The fact of the dissolution of the Reichstag and of the new elections was not dealt with by the Plenary Session of our Central Committee. But all the tasks set by the report of the Party leader and by the discussion speeches of the members of the Central Committee and by the resolutions of the Party acquire increased importance by the dissolution of the Reichstag and the new elections. How correctly the Party leadership has raised the problems of the political development and the tasks of the revolutionary class struggle is seen from the fact that the new situation created by the dissolution of the Reichstag has not at all surprised the Party but only confirmed all its decisions.

The policy of the Party is clearly outlined in the decisions of the Central Committee. This policy consists in developing the revolutionary mass struggle for the proletarian solution of the crisis of the capitalist system, for the proletarian way out of the threatening catastrophe. The approaching election struggle of the Communist Party will be conducted by the Party by mobilising the broadest toiling masses for this struggle, which is directed against Young-Germany — this slave colony of international and German finance capital — against mass misery and fascism, with the aim of establishing a free socialist Germany.

Comrade Thälmann emphasised particularly that thesis of Lenin according to which there does not exist for capitalism a situation which is absolutely hopeless only on the basis of the general objective conditions and factors of crisis — no matter how strongly they may shatter the foundations of the capitalist system — but that only the subjective factor, the revolutionary mass struggle of the proletariat and of the toilers, under the leadership of the Communist Party, is

capable of finally defeating the bourgeoisie and deciding the victory for the proletariat. This enhances the historical responsibility of the Communist Party. Only by overcoming with all earnestness and open Bolshevik self-criticism all the weaknesses and shortcomings of its work and thereby enhancing and steeling its fighting capacity, will the Party be able to master its tremendous tasks.

There exist all objective conditions for the victorious advance. The crisis of bourgeois society is rousing in the masses the will to emerge from the threatening catastrophe. Parliamentarism and the whole policy of the old bourgeois Parties, including the social democracy, are encountering growing distrust among the broad masses. A great regrouping process has started.

The elections to the Saxon diet, which Comrade Thälmann subjected to a thorough analysis and critically examined our policy and work in this respect, prove that the unscrupulous nationalist and cunning social demagoguery of the Hitler party succeeded in catching broad toiling strata which have already broken with the open capitalist policy of the old bourgeois parties and the class treachery of the social democracy. The national socialists achieved these successes because they dangle before the masses the alleged "way out" of the capitalist crisis by phrases on the "third State".

The C. P. of Germany is the only anti-fascist force which is able to shatter this deception of the people on the part of the fascist employers' lackeys. For it is the only revolutionary Party which is able to show a real way out of the catastrophe, the proletarian solution of the overthrow of the capitalist system and the victory of socialism.

Comrade Thälmann firmly exposed the weaknesses in the work of the Party in Saxony which has led to the unsatisfactory election result, although the Party was, apart from the national fascists, the only one which increased its vote.

The question of the experiences of the economic struggles, the activity of the revolutionary trade union opposition and its problems were broadly dealt with by the Plenum of the C. P., both in the report and in the discussion. The lessons of the struggles in Mansfeld and North East Germany were drawn, which, just like the lessons of the factory council elections, constitute a great school for the Party. Comrade Thälmann emphasised the necessity of developing a political ideology in the revolutionary trade union opposition and in the masses for the revolutionary strike strategy; to elaborate the role of the unemployed in the struggles shoulder to shoulder with the factory workers as was done in Mansfeld; to enhance the struggle against the social-fascist trade union bureaucracy, its class collaboration and blacklegging policy, in particular also before the federation congresses.

The Plenary Session of the Central Committee was characterised by complete unanimity and the firm determination of the Party. The Plenum declared its unanimous approval of the decisions of the secretariat and of the Politbureau regarding the case of Comrade Merker. Comrade Merker himself approved this resolution and expressed his readiness to make a public declaration in which his capitulation to the correct policy and conceptions of the Party is laid down.

The unity and unanimity of the Party as expressed at this Plenum is in striking contrast to the crises by which all bourgeois parties, including the national socialists and the social democracy, are threatened. It is the expression of the consolidation of the revolutionary class forces of the proletariat; it is one pledge more of its uncheckable advance.

The Communist Party of Germany is the class party of the German proletariat. But it not only defends the interests of the industrial proletarians and of the unemployed, of the working women and of the proletarian youth; it is also the only leader of the struggle of all other toiling sections. It alone is capable of showing to the impoverished employees and civil servants, to the toiling peasants and the toiling middle strata who are threatened with annihilation by monopoly capitalism, a way out of their misery. The Plenary session of our Central Committee, which also dealt with the problems of these sections of the working population, will be the beginning of an enhanced development of all the forces of the toiling population for the emancipation struggle from the mass misery of the Young slavery.

The C. P. of Germany is ready for the fight. It will also in the coming election struggle fulfil its role as leader of the exploited and starving masses, as party of the proletarian revolution!

## THE NEGRO MOVEMENT

### The First International Conference of Negro Workers

By V. Chattopadhyaya.

The idea of an international conference of Negro workers was first mooted at the Second World Congress of the League Against Imperialism held in July 1929 at Frankfurt am Main, where among the 400 odd delegates that had come from all parts of the world, there were a number of Negro delegates from Africa and America, besides various non-Negro delegates directly interested in the organisation of the Negro masses for the struggle against imperialism. The reports submitted to that Congress on the conditions of life of the Negro masses under British, French, Belgian, Portuguese and American imperialist exploitation showed clearly (1) that there was a considerable similarity in those conditions in the various African colonies; (2) that the Negro workers in the various colonies were isolated from one another and from the workers of other countries; (3) that the vast Negro masses were completely unorganised; and (4) that they were being politically misled and deceived for the benefit of the capitalists and imperialists by Garveyism, pan-Africanism, national reformism and trade union reformism. It was felt that it was essential to undertake the organisation, particularly the trade union organisation, of the Negro workers, the coordination on an international scale, and the organisation of the anti-imperialist struggle of the Negroes on a class basis as against the racial nationalism that was being preached by black capitalists and agents of imperialism. In order to achieve these ends, a Provisional **International Committee of Negro Workers** was constituted under the chairmanship of **James W. Ford**, National Organiser of the Trade Union Unity League, U.S.A., and it was resolved to convene an international conference on July 1st, 1930, to take place in London, the metropolis of the largest Slave Empire of the world.

But at this critical moment the profits and privileges of the British slave-drivers are being carefully protected by the "Labour" Government and the organisers of the Conference were informed on May 21st that his Majesty's Government would not allow the Conference to be held in London. The facts have been published by Comrade **Glyn Evans** in answer to an editorial note in the I.L.P. organ, the "New Leader", which in all matters relating to the struggles of the colonial peoples has systematically supported the imperialist policy and actions of the MacDonald Government. The meaning of the Home Secretary's refusal "to give any sanction to the proposed Conference or to authorise facilities for the attendance of delegates" is perfectly clear. Not only were no facilities authorised, but steps were taken to prevent Negro workers' delegates from landing and to harass those that were in England. The "Daily Herald" declared in its issue of June 6th that "orders were issued yesterday that all port officials should keep a lookout for Negro delegates who may try to enter this country".

And the mandated delegates of Negro workers' organisations from the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, etc. who arrived in London with passports perfectly in order were followed and harassed by Scotland Yard detectives till their position became intolerable. These Negroes are all British subjects who in their own countries are eternally told how proud they should be to be members of the free and democratic British Commonwealth of Nations!

While the MacDonald Government thus prevented the Negro workers from meeting in London and from denouncing the crimes of British imperialism in Africa, the Colonial Governments did their part by refusing passports to Negro delegates to leave their country. The result was that the South African delegates, representing important militant unions, the delegates from the French and the Belgian Congo, from the Portuguese Angola, and other territories were unable to be present at the Conference.

In spite of these impediments, a more determined effort ought perhaps to have been made to hold the Conference in London and thus to challenge the "Labour" Government to use force in suppressing it. This would have even more clearly exposed its true imperialist character. But the organisers decided to hold the Conference in **Hamburg**, where, after unavoidable delays occasioned by the change in its venue, it was opened on

July 7th. There were delegates, including a woman, from seven important Negro unions in the U.S.A. (miners, railway workers, needle trades, etc.) and delegates from Jamaica, Nigeria, Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and from the former German colony of Cameroon, as well as a white delegate from the South African Negro workers' organisations. Owing to the absence of representation from the French colonies, from East Africa, from the Belgian and Portuguese territories, and from the Latin American countries, it was obvious that this first meeting of Negro workers was more a preparatory Conference, the political importance of which is none the less very considerable. The very fact that such a conference was held, and the clear line of policy and action laid down in the resolutions are bound to have a strong influence upon the development of the struggle.

The agenda of the Conference included all the important aspects of the problem. After messages of solidarity had been personally delivered by the fraternal delegates of the League Against Imperialism and the International Red Aid, and letters and telegrams had been read from the R.I.L.U., from the Red Sports International, from the Proletarian Congress of Labour, Manila, etc., a comprehensive report on the work of the International Committee during the eleven months of its existence was made by James W. Ford, showing the great difficulties met with in getting into touch with the Negro workers in most parts of Africa, as well as the successes achieved by the organisers in the short time at their disposal. The various delegates dealt with the conditions of the Negro workers in their respective countries, special interest attaching to the report made by Small on behalf of the Bathurst Trade Union which had conducted a valiant fight at the end of last year against the Margarine Combine. A very clear and instructive statement was made by George Padmore, of the Negro Trade Union Committee of the R.I.L.U., on the "Economic struggles and tasks of the Negro workers". He summed up the effects of imperialist exploitation on the condition of the Negro masses: pointed out that the mass struggles of the millions of super-exploited Negroes in Africa and America against the imperialist offensive (South Africa, Haiti, the West Indies and the U.S.A.) coincided with the revolt of other colonial peoples (India, Indochina, etc.) and with the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in the capitalist countries; warned the workers against the national repression of the Negro middle class and intelligentsia; drew attention to the increasingly favourable objective conditions for the development of working class leadership, and sketched the outlines of a programme for the revolutionary organisation of the millions of toiling peasants. These facts were incorporated in a resolution that was unanimously adopted.

Patterson, of the American Negro Labour Congress, made an appeal for a more "vigorous struggle against forced labour and poll tax". He warned the Negro workers against the legislative illusions deliberately created by the League of Nations and the International Labour Office and called upon them to resort to direct action to recover their lands, refuse to pay taxes or rent, repudiate indentures, to fight against the "pass" and the "compound" system, to fight against their tribal chiefs who are agents of imperialism etc. Very important at the present moment is the resolution on the "War Danger and its significance to the Negro Masses" presented by Macaulay of the National Democratic Party of Nigeria. After pointing out how black troops have been used for decades as cannon fodder by the imperialist powers and how they have even been employed to crush the revolutionary movement of the workers in the imperialist countries, the resolution shows the growing danger of war and of an imperialist attack on the Soviet Union. It points out that "in case of such an attack it is the task of all Negro toilers to struggle on the side of the Soviet Union against the imperialists".

Special resolutions were passed against lynching, against the white terror in Alabama (U.S.A.), protesting against the MacDonald Government for refusing permission to hold the Conference in London, and against the South African and other Governments for refusal to grant passports.

A new International Committee was elected consisting of James W. Ford (U.S.A.), I. Hawkins (U.S.A.), George Padmore (U.S.A.), G. Reid (West Indies), F. Macaulay (Nigeria), G. Small (Gambia), Albert Nzula (South Africa), Kouyaté (French West Africa). Representatives of Haiti, Liberia and East Africa are to be added.

During the proceedings, a delegation of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement (Trade Union Opposition) arrived in the hall and were warmly greeted by the Negro delegates, while on

the second day there was a crowded meeting of Hamburg workers who extended an enthusiastic welcome to the Negro delegates a few of whom spoke at the meeting.

The Conference which was marked throughout by enthusiasm lasted three days and ended fittingly with the singing of the "Internationale". An official invitation was extended to the delegates to proceed to Moscow to attend the Fifth World Congress of the R.I.L.U. as guests. Eleven delegates have already accepted the invitation. Those who were unable to do so have sent the fraternal greetings of their organisations to the Congress.

There is one observation that deserves to be recorded regarding the Negro Conference. There was a marked difference between the Negroes from the United States who are industrial workers with completely proletarian psychology and outlook, and the delegates from Africa who have more of the mentality of the small farmer. The conditions of the problem in Africa necessitate different methods and tactics from those in the U.S.A., and there may be a tendency for the Negro workers from the U.S.A. to look at the African Negro question too much from the American point of view. Nevertheless, it is a gain to the African worker to come into contact with the representatives of the far more advanced Negro proletariat of America. This contact has been achieved by the Conference.

## FASCISM

### Finnish Fascism and the Finnish Workers in the United States.

By K. E. H. (New York).

While the bourgeois press daily uses columns upon columns for calumniating and distorting the building of Socialism in the Soviet Union, it just cynically registers what takes place in White Finland without uttering a word against the distortion of the "sacred democratic principles" it pretends to defend. And true to its mission the social democratic press pretends to speak for democracy, while in reality expressing satisfaction as to what takes place, finding the moment opportune for launching violent attacks against the Soviet Union on behalf of the "persecuted Kulaks"!

Why is this so, may one ask? Simply because White Finland is owned and controlled by the great imperialist powers. They own the majority stock in all important industries of Finland. They are in the control of Finland's most important natural resources. The United States imperialists have already for years been financing the Finnish white regime, and its preparation for war against the Soviet Union, while the officers of the British military staff have taken care of training the white guards of Finland. And of course when the white bourgeoisie of Finland is beginning to mobilise its forces to carry out its mission as a vassal state of world imperialism by attacking her own working class to make her rear protected, it is but natural that the bourgeois press nods with satisfaction and that the social fascist press renders its support to her master the imperialist rulers of the world.

White Finland has aggressively played its role as lackey of world imperialism. In the alignment of forces against the Soviet Union she has played an active role in the conferences of the buffer States and in the efforts to build an anti-Soviet block of Baltic States under the leadership of the great imperialist powers. The fascisation of Finland accompanied by the present brutal attacks against the working class of Finland must be looked upon as a link in the chain of attacks against the proletarian world revolution and as a preliminary attack against the Soviet Union, and as such it is the duty of the revolutionary workers all over the world to rally to the support and defence of the revolutionary workers of Finland and to the defence of the Soviet Union.

Regardless of their political backwardness and many weaknesses the Finnish workers in America have always been very sensitive to the manoeuvres of the Finnish white bourgeoisie. After the bloody suppression of the 1918 Finnish revolution they responded by sending over one million marks for the establishment of a new left wing press to counteract the dirty betrayal of the social democrats and to fight the

white bourgeoisie. This was done in spite of a most vehement protest flood and campaign of calumination carried on by the petty bourgeoisie, the social democrats and the petty bourgeois anarcho-syndicalist remnants of the I. W. W.

Since these days every act of persecution carried out by the Finnish white butcher government against the revolutionary workers of Finland has raised a violent protest movement amongst the Finnish workers in America and Canada. Time and again they have rendered their moral and financial support to the defence of the persecuted revolutionary workers in Finland and to every militant struggle fought out by the working class of Finland.

The Finnish white government has felt this pressure and tried to overcome it. Time and again it has sent its priests, its artists and recently even its most prominent social fascists to America to counteract this force and to organise a movement in support of the building of its army, in strengthening its finances and in support of its persecution of the Communist movement. The consular offices in America have become an information bureau for the American imperialist rulers against the Finnish Communists in America, and the social fascists and the Finnish Trotskyites (Sulkanen & Co.) and the Loreites (Halonen & Co.) have done their very best with the support of the petty-bourgeois anarcho-syndicalist remnants of the I. W. W. to build a bridge organisation with the bourgeois elements to forward this scheme of the white government of Finland. So far, however, their efforts have brought rather meagre results to the white fascist regime of Finland.

No sooner did the American capitalist press report of the fresh attacks made by the fascist bourgeoisie of Finland against the Finnish Communist movement than a new protest movement was afoot amongst the Finnish revolutionary workers in America. Protest meetings are being held at every Finnish settlement extending from coast to coast. Resolutions of protest are being adopted and sent to the Finnish Consular General in New York and directly to the government of Finland in Helsingfors. Funds are being collected for the defence of the persecuted ones. And in addition to these methods, used before, slogans of boycott have been raised against all products of White Finland, against sending any money to White Finland and against making any visiting trips to White Finland. Simultaneously the struggle will be carried on in every Finnish workers organisation in the United States and Canada exposing the agents of the bourgeoisie regardless of what banners they are carrying. And at the same time the Communist Party of the United States is conducting this struggle in its press in every language section of the U.S. working class.

## THE WHITE TERROR

### The Wave of Protest against the Lemberg Death Sentences.

By P. Volyniak (Warsaw).

The wave of protest-action called forth by the sentences of death pronounced by the Lemberg Court on comrades Jugend, Hirszt and Proper is clear evidence of the profound hatred felt by the toiling masses of the whole world against the Fascist dictatorship in Poland.

The Polish proletariat has raised its voice in protest against the Lemberg sentences at numerous demonstrations in Warsaw, Sosnowitz, Upper Silesia, Lemberg, Stanislawow, Kalusz and other places. In Warsaw already on the 19th of June demonstrations were organised at different points in the town, among others before the building of the highest Court of appeal. Collisions with the police occurred. Some windows were broken in the building of the Court of Appeal. In Lemberg the members of Parliament Rosiak and Rozek took part in the protest meeting. Rosiak was seriously wounded by police spies. In Stanislawov a demonstration took place in front of the district court. The demonstrators offered resistance to the police and a policeman was injured by stones which were thrown. Ten workers were arrested. During the demonstration in Kalusz the windows of the district court building and of the residence of the president of the court were broken.

The manifestation in Sosnowitz ended with a bloody struggle with the police. The C. P. of Poland called a meeting for the 6th of July, which was attended by several thousand people in spite of its prohibition. Detectives and mounted police attacked the demonstrators, beat them and trampled them under foot with their horses. The crowd put up determined resistance and threw stones at the police. The latter thereupon opened fire on the workers, two of whom were killed: the young comrade Piotrowski and the non-Party worker Plaszczyc. Several workers were wounded, whilst several policemen were injured by stones. Mass arrests took place.

The first great demonstration abroad took place in Berlin on the 18th of June in front of the Polish Consulate. The windows of the Consulate were smashed and some of the interior fixtures and furniture demolished. A few days later a second demonstration took place before the Consulate.

In Hamburg a demonstration took place on the 22nd June in which 500 workers participated. The demonstrators marched to the Polish Consulate shouting: "Down with fascism!" "Freedom for the political prisoners!" A few days previously, during the night of 16th and 17th June, all the windows of the Consulate were broken.

Mass protest demonstrations followed in Frankfurt on Maine, Mannheim, Leipzig, Buehnen, Hindenburg and in many other places. In all 250 meetings were held in Germany against this new crime of Polish fascism.

On the 27th of June there took place in Paris a demonstration of protest in front of the Polish Embassy. The demonstrators marched past the Embassy shouting: "Murderer Pilsudski! Simultaneously a hail of stones was thrown at the Embassy. Nearly all the windows were broken. When after a few minutes police on bicycles and horseback arrived, the demonstrators disappeared.

Some days later a demonstration took place before the Polish Consulate in Lille. In spite of the police protection a crowd of Polish and French workers gathered on the evening of 5th of July before the consulate's building and bombarded it with stones and bolts wrapped in leaflets calling for protest against the Lemberg sentences. Eight windows were broken.

Also in Strassburg a similar demonstration took place.

In Belgium protest meetings took place in Brussels and Liege. At the great protest meeting in Brussels speeches were delivered in different languages. A protest resolution was unanimously adopted. After the meeting had dispersed the police cordoned off the streets in order to get hold of the foreign workers who had participated in the meeting. But the Belgian workers energetically defended their comrades. They formed a firm phalanx round the foreign workers and prevented the police from reaching them, or wrested the foreign workers from the hands of the police.

In Czechoslovakia protest meetings took place before the Polish Consulates in Prague, Moravian Ostrau, Uzhorod (Carpatho-Ukraine). Everywhere windows were broken.

In Austria a demonstration took place before the Polish Consulate in Vienna and in addition 20 protest meetings were held.

The demonstration in Budapest deserves special attention. In spite of the fiercest terror, the revolutionary Hungarian workers demonstrated before the Polish Consulate. The police dispersed the demonstrators and arrested several workers.

On the 11th of July a protest meeting organised by the C. P. of Greece took place before the Polish Consulate in Athens. Several windows were broken, four demonstrators were arrested.

Also in New York a demonstration was held before the Polish Consulate.

In the Soviet Union the toiling masses expressed at many meetings their solidarity with the revolutionary proletariat of Poland and their readiness for a common struggle against fascism, for the release of the Lemberg prisoners and of all political prisoners in fascist Poland.

The Polish press states that the Highest Court of Appeal has received from the defending Counsel of Comrades Hirszt, Jugend and Proper an application for appeal against the sentences. The case will be dealt with by the Highest Court in the middle of August. The protest action of the international proletariat must therefore be strengthened. The fist of the proletariat can compel Polish fascism to cancel the barbarous sentence.



## **XVI. Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.**

# **Organisational Report of the Central Committee**

**By L. M. Kaganovitsch.**

**Text of Speech Delivered at the XVI. Party Congress of the C.P.S.U.**

The organisational activities of the C.C. have been subordinated to the general line of our Party and the tasks of socialist reconstruction. Lenin invariably emphasised the subordination of the rôle of the organisational practice of the Party to politics. The opportunists have generally begun their efforts toward revising the Party line by opposing to the Party line their actual manner of carrying it out. During the period under report we encountered the old revisionist methods, when the Right deviators, attempting to revise the Party line, resorted once more to Trotskyist methods and tried to prove that the line of the C.C. is one thing, but actual practice quite another. These opportunist excrescences have, however, been easily unmasked in the Party, for the reason that every member of the Party, and every worker, has grasped the elementary Leninist truth that, without a capable combination of correct policy and correct organisational practice, we should never have attained those enormous successes regarding which Comrade Stalin has reported. Our organisational practice changes in accordance with the changes taking place in the political conditions at each concrete stage of the revolution. During the period covered by this report the whole of the practical work of the Party, as also all "transmissions" from the Party to the masses, have therefore been determined by the tasks of the reconstruction period of the building up of Socialism. The period just past is characterised chiefly by the developing socialist attack on the capitalist elements of the country, and by the extreme accentuation of the class struggle. The class struggle is developing along the line of the accomplishment of the four main political tasks facing our Party:

These tasks are as follows:

1. The securing of rapid tempo in the industrialisation of the country, finding concrete expression in the slogan of the "Five-Year Plan in Four Years".
2. The socialist transformation of agriculture and the liquidation of the kulaks as a class.
3. The reshaping and consolidation of the organs of the proletarian dictatorship, and the strengthening of the organising and organisational rôle of the Party.
4. And as most important prerequisite for the fulfilment of these tasks — the securing of the fighting ability of the Party, and of the ideological and organisational consolidation of its ranks.

These tasks of the building up of Socialism have proved much more complicated during the actual process of accomplishment and have been carried out amidst tremendous shiftings in class forces.

In accordance with these main tasks, the Party issued a number of practical task-slogans in the course of the period covered by this report, organising and mobilising the masses.

What are these task-slogans?

For the fulfilment of the first task — the securing of rapid tempo in the industrialisation of the country — the practical slogans of the Party have been: The mobilisation of mass activities, the organisation of the enthusiasm for work in the working class, and above all the successful development of the socialist competitions and of the shock troops;

the radical reorganisation of work in all proletarian organisations, all organs of the proletarian dictatorship (trade unions, Soviets, co-operatives, Young Communist Leagues, and Party) in accordance with the tasks of promoting and developing industry and the most advantageously satisfying the needs of the working class.

For the fulfilment of the second task — the task of the socialist reorganisation of agriculture — the practical slogans of the Party have been:

Increased aid lent by the proletarian city to the village in the organisation of collective and Soviet farms; strengthening of the organisations of the village poor and agricultural

workers, and the consolidation of the alliance with the middle peasantry on this basis, on the basis of the struggle against the kulaks; the adaptation of the standpoint of all village organisations to that of the collective agricultural undertaking (Soviets, co-operatives, Y.C.L., and Party), to the standpoint of the socialist transformation of agriculture.

For the fulfilment of the third task — the consolidation of the organs of the proletarian dictatorship, and of the organisations and the organisational rôle of the proletariat — the practical slogans of the Party have been:

The organisation of the political activities of the workers on the basis of a wide development of proletarian self-criticism;

Intensified struggle against bureaucratism in the state apparatus, purging of the state apparatus from hostile, foreign, and useless elements, greater participation of workers in the state apparatus, and the organisation of patronage by the workers of the state apparatus as counterweight to the influence of the hostile classes over the latter;

The enhancement of the culture of the working class; and finally the central slogan —

the creation of independent proletarian cadres for the socialist economy and for all the organs of the proletarian dictatorship.

For the fulfilment of the fourth task — the securing of the fighting ability of the Party and of its ideological and organisational consolidation — the practical slogans of the Party have been:

The improvement of the practical leadership in the localities; the further improvement of the composition of the Party, the increase of the number of Party members from the works and factories;

The raising of the ideological and theoretical level of the Party members; the development of inner Party democracy and of self-criticism, without which the realisation of socialist reconstruction is out of the question;

The struggle for the general line of the Party in the course of daily work, the struggle for Leninism, the determined fight on two fronts against "Left" and Right opportunism, against the quagmire of the conciliatory attitude towards these deviations. Comrade Stalin, in his speech delivered at the April Plenum (1929) of the C.C., referring to the Right deviation in the C.P.S.U., pointed out the connection between the slogans issued by the Party and the latest class shiftings in our country. Comrade Stalin stated that these slogans form "a necessary link in the united and unbreakable chain which we name the attack of Socialism on the elements of capitalism. In order to accomplish the reconstruction (of industry and agriculture), we must first of all strengthen the cadres of socialist reconstruction, both those active in economic life, the Soviets, and trade unions, and those of the Party and co-operatives; all our organisations must be polished up and cleansed of all impurities; the activities of the million masses of the working class and the peasantry must be increased". In accordance with these fundamental theses of the April Plenum (1929), the C.C. pointed out that "the fulfilment of the extremely complicated tasks of the reconstruction period, the overcoming of the difficulties thereby involved, and the aggravation of the class struggle in the country, demand a reorganisation of the ranks and of the working methods of all the organs of the proletarian dictatorship and of all the organisations of the working class, in the direction of the broadest possible mobilisation of the activity of the proletarian and semi-proletarian masses, a reinforcement of the proletarian leadership by the peasantry, the welding together and mobilisation of the whole of the poor and middle peasantry against the kulak system, and finally, the securing of a consistent repulsion of the pressure exercised by the petty bourgeois elements. The further development of proletarian mass self-criticism, which

encounters the resistance of the bureaucratic elements of our apparatus, forms the basis for this reorganisation".

It is upon these tasks that the organisational work of the Party has been based during the period covered by our report.

## I. The Securing of a Rapid Rate of Industrial Development of the Country.

### 1. The Strengthening of the Organisation of the Working Class.

It is first of all necessary to deal with some of the data showing the increasing extent to which the working class is organised — this being an all-important prerequisite for the successful accomplishment of the tasks set the Party. Comrade Stalin, in his report, has already pointed out that we can place on record, on the basis of the growth of our socialist economy, a process of growth in the ranks of the proletariat, a consolidation and advancement of the political class-consciousness of the proletariat.

What do the facts and figures recording the increasing organisation of the proletariat show us?

Th figures showing the extent to which the proletariat has been organised in the trade unions are as follows: On 1st October 1927, that is, at the time of the XV. Party Congress, the trade unions had 10,441,400 members; on 1st October 1929 11,583,300 members. The increase is thus 1,143,900 members or 10.9 per cent, whilst in comparison with 1922 the increase is 121 per cent. The greatest increase is to be recorded for the building and agricultural workers unions. This shows that fresh strata are entering the ranks of the proletariat via the agricultural and building workers' unions. The serious fact must, however, be mentioned that in spite of the absolute growth of the number of organised workers, their comprehension in the trade unions does not keep pace with the tremendously rapid growth of the national economy and with the inclusion of fresh workers in the process of production. In 1924 90 out of every 100 workers were members of the trade unions, but by 1st October the proportion was only 80, in some trade unions even less. In 1924, for instance, 89 per cent of all miners were trade union members, in 1929 only 75 per cent; among the metal workers 91 per cent in 1924 and in 1929 89 per cent. In other words, about one quarter of the proletarians in the mining trades, and about 20 per cent of all proletarians, are not members of trade unions.

Let us turn to the other forms of the organisation of the proletariat and all workers.

The women workers' delegates' meetings comprehend 107,000 working women. These are functionaries playing an important rôle in organising the activities of the women. In the census industry women comprise 28 per cent, in the trade unions 41.1 per cent.

Osoaviachim — the organisation forming the criterion for the growth of the political consciousness of the working class and the toiling masses, and intended to aid in consolidating the work for the defence of the country — had 2,950,000 members in 1927, to-day 5,100,000, or an increase of nearly 100 per cent; 35 per cent of the members are workers.

#### International Red Aid.

The number of members has increased from 3,631,000 to 4,015,096.

Atheist League — this organisation, whose growth shows the increasing measure of freedom being won by the proletariat and the workers from religious dope, and the growth of class consciousness, has increased the number of its members from 138,402 in 1928 to 2,500,000 in 1930.

The Young Communist League has 2,466,000 members, its ranks having increased by 529,150 members since the XV. Party Congress. The members of the Y.C.L. are workers to the extent of 34.8 per cent or 858,798 members; 329,602 or 13.4 per cent are agricultural workers. In spite of this growth, the whole of our working youth is still by no means comprehended in the Y.C.L., and the rate of the growth of the Y.C.L. lags behind that of the growth of the Party.

The Red Army becomes year by year a more powerful organising force. With every year the stratum of workers, and of Party and Y.C.L. members, grows in the Red Army. In 1927 19.9 per cent of the Red Army soldiers were workers, 4.2 per cent communists, and 13.6 per cent members of the Y.C.L., by 1st January 1930 the number of workers was 23.4 per cent,

of the communists 4.4 per cent, and of the Y.C.L. members 18.1 per cent. The Red Army soldiers, after leaving the army, become organising forces among the broad masses, both in town and country.

At the time of the XV. Party Congress we had 115,000 worker correspondents; this number increased to 532,000 by the XVI. Party Congress.

The organisation of the workers' children — the pioneer movement — is worth special attention. On 1st January, 1928, there were 1,653,701 pioneers, to-day there are 3,301,458 — an increase of 100 per cent.

All these figures bear witness to the fact that we are able to record a stupendous advance toward the organisation of the working class — quantitatively and qualitatively. It need not be said that we shall not allow ourselves to be carried away, and do not close our eyes to the fact that with the growth of our industry fresh cadres stream into the ranks of the working class, including petty bourgeois elements from town and country, and that these strata bring with them an ideology far from proletarian. But in so far as the actual working class is concerned, its main mass, the class itself, we can state that a gigantic growth of the activity and extent of organisation of the working class may be recorded. At the XVI. Party Congress we may proudly maintain that during the period of this report, in the period of reconstruction with all its difficulties, our proletariat has shown itself quite up to its tasks and its position. (Applause.)

### 2. The Mobilisation of the Activities of the Masses and the Organisation of the Enthusiasm for Work in the Working Class.

#### The Socialist Competition and Shock Brigade Movement.

The socialist competitions, and the shock brigade movement, are the most eloquent signs that the organisation of the working class has raised this to a higher level, and has impelled it forward and not backward. The socialist competitions and the shock brigades form the most striking expression of those new relations of production which are forming in our country on the basis of the advancement and development of our socialised industry.

Of late the socialist competitions have assumed vast dimensions. The inquiry instituted in May 1930 by the State Planning Commission, covering 20 of the very largest undertakings, showed that 87 per cent of the workers in these undertakings took part in the socialist competition. 48 per cent of the workers took part in the shock brigade movement. The Lenin recruitment of the shock brigades developed into an extensive movement. This movement yielded over one million members for the shock brigades, as may be seen from the official data. As result of the Lenin Recruitment, 33 per cent of the metal workers' union members were induced to participate, thus bringing their total participation up to 60 per cent; 30.74 of the textile workers (total participation 48.8 per cent); 25.5 per cent of the chemical workers (total 47.1 per cent). The great industrial districts take the leading place.

Particularly satisfactory is the fact that broad strata of women workers are being drawn into the socialist competitions and the shock brigade movement. In a number of undertakings in which women are mainly employed the delegates and the delegate meetings are becoming centres for organising shock brigades and socialist competitions.

What does the shock brigade movement bring? To us the socialist competition and the shock brigades are not aims in themselves. The shock brigade movement is good when it helps to advance our socialist economy. The shock brigade movement and the socialist competitions are new forms of the socialist attitude towards labour.

It is extremely difficult to calculate accurately the economic effectiveness of the shock brigade movement, but we cite a few facts: The workman Duxbrovin, Sverdlovsk district, Nevyansk works, states: "We have put an end to all slovenly methods and introduced working discipline with a fixed standard of work. Before the brigades were formed, six men melted six tons of cast iron, whilst to-day the same six men manage eight tons: the Plans calculate on 20 per cent waste, but we have reduced this to 5 per cent." In the motor-car factory AMO a gang of old and highly skilled workers manufactured 50 driving gears in a certain time, while to-day a shock brigade of young comrades, of the same

number and in the same time, finish 150 such gears. These are real results of the shock brigade movement.

The members of the shock brigades must overcome the resistance of the backward groups of workers to the tempo of the shock brigade work, and combat that handful of workers who try to get as much as they can and do as little work as they can, as Lenin said.

A characteristic illustration of this is the following anonymous letter, received by two women workers, members of a shock brigade of the Yakolev works: Michayeva and Sisova! You are disturbing our work and making a great fuss about socialist competition. We beg you to conclude no agreement for the shock brigade. You are undermining the work in doing so. We beg you not to do this, and honestly to give up the shock brigade. But if you do not obey this we shall try ourselves to stop you, to break up your troop in some way, and to prevent it from working. At first you made a great fuss about the greater utilisation of the working time... If you do not let it alone it will go badly with you, or your claws will be cut, or you will be sent to the devil, but in any case we will not let you do this work. We shall not work ourselves, and we shall not let you work, remember that."

Facts may be recorded from many shops and factories, showing efforts to counteract the shock brigades. These are instigated by the kulak elements, who try to influence the groups of backward workers. All this makes it incumbent on us to follow attentively the development of the shock brigade movement, and to devote special attention to the quality of the work.

Closely bound up with the shock brigade movement there is a new form of movement — the organisation of work-communes and work collectives. There are approximately three types: 1. Work communes and collectives including workers of the same qualification and dividing the total remuneration equally; 2. Collectives including workers of different qualifications and dividing only the special payments equally; 3. Collectives of workers working for a common fund, but distributing the wages in accordance with the tariff rates and the payment for special work.

The growth of the shock brigade movement has brought with it a change in the work of the production consultations. The centre of gravity of the production consultations has been transferred to the workshops. This is the most important peculiarity of their activities during the period of this report. Up to the last period, the production consultations were chiefly occupied with the formal discussion of general reports, but now they have penetrated more deeply, into the workshops, into the departments, into the groups, and they discuss the concrete problems of production, improve production, and introduce a number of rationalised methods. It is not without interest to note that the attempt to transfer the centre of gravity of the work of the production consultations into the workshops, and into the departments, met with resistance from the old leaders of the trade unions.

When Comrade Kusmenko, at the 13th Congress of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union, demanded the transference of the centre of gravity of the work of the factory committees to the factories and workshops, the shifts, the groups, the works departments, Comrade Tomsy accused him in his concluding words of wanting to be "original", and informed him that "in organisational questions hastiness is harmful"... that "it is superfluous circumstantiality..." a perverted democracy, of no use for anything, and a senseless precipitation". (M. Tomsy.) "Always with the masses, at the head of the masses". (pp. 190/191.) "Don't be precipitate" — this is the motto of all those comrades who have shared and preached the ideology of the Right deviation. We must not be too hasty in the reorganisation of the trade unions, and we must not bring the production consultations into closer contact with the workshops, the factory departments, the groups, for this is "superfluous circumstantiality". What has really taken place? In reality the production consultations have been transferred, since the 13th Trade Union Congress, and even during the time of the Congress, to the workshops, the departments, and groups.

In the production consultations the central figure is the member of the shock brigade. The shock brigade reorganises both the production consultation and the works committees and trade unions.

A point of extraordinary interest is the result of the carrying out of the decisions of the C.C. with regard to the appointment of the chairmen of the production consultations to the positions of deputy directors of the works and factories. The C.C. resolved that the chairmen of the production consultations be appointed deputy directors, in order that the decisions of the production consultations might be realised. This was done for purposes of trial, and the trial proved absolutely successful.

Our deputy directors for the production consultations are gradually becoming the leaders of the rationalisation measures worked out by the workers.

### 3. The Fundamental Reorganisation of all Proletarian Organisations.

You know, comrades, that in the period covered by the report the Party has laid special emphasis on the question of the fundamental reorganisation of the trade unions, and of determined struggle against narrow craft trade unionism in their ranks. This is closely bound up with the growth of the working class, with its revolutionary progress. There has been a danger in our trade unions, arising out of the disparity between the elementary rise of the working class and the lagging behind and conservatism of the greatest mass organisations — the trade unions.

The clearest sign of this lagging behind is the fact that the socialist competitions, and the shock brigade movement, these mighty historical movements, have sprung into being without the trade unions. And the socialist competitions and the shock brigades are a perfect example of the correct grasp of elementary movements and their organisation. That these movements arose without the trade unions is due to the fact that the trade union leaders, cultivating narrow craft tendencies, have seen in the trade unions an organisation taking a special place in the whole system of the proletarian dictatorship. It suffices to read Tomsy's pamphlet "The trade unions on new paths", to recognise how far opportunist ideology had penetrated the Soviet trade union movement. He writes here:

"The fact itself that it is necessary to concentrate the whole attention of the trade union associations upon the defence of the economic interests of the workers, flatly contradicts the participation of the trade unions in the administration of industry, for it is impossible to manage the undertakings on the basis of commercial calculations, and at the same time to represent and defend the economic interests of the wage workers." (M. Tomsy. "The trade unions on new paths", published 1923 by the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union.)

This is the opportunist interpretation put by Comrade Tomsy on the great historical document written by Lenin at the XI. Party Congress, a document which not only contains no reference to any "flat contradiction", but which, on the contrary, expressly emphasises that there is no antagonism existing between the proletarian state and the proletariat, and that the working class must make the enhancement of labour productivity its care. The ideology expressed by Tomsy was bound to have an effect on the work of the Central Council of the Trade Unions, and on the work done by the trade unions for the socialist reconstruction of industry, and it was bound to take effect in such a manner that Comrade Tomsy attempted to mobilise the trade unions against the tempo of industrialisation. And this was seen in the trade union work from top to bottom.

The Central Committee passed a very strict Bolshevik judgment on the work of the trade unions, although these were headed by old Bolsheviks. When the matter in question is an organisation numbering ten millions, then there can be no consideration of persons, but of the fighting equipment of the trade unions, as required by the tasks of the promotion of industry and the tasks of socialist industry. Therefore the judgment formed by the C.C. was not merely political, but was accompanied by a definite organisational decision. We should be no Bolsheviks were we not to confirm our political estimates by organisational decisions. We confirmed our political judgment in this case, as far as organisation was concerned, by the voluntary withdrawal of one part of the trade union leaders, and the involuntary withdrawal of another part. (Laughter.) In this manner the majority of the leaders

of the Central Council of the trade Unions and of the Central Committee of the Unions were changed. It may be said that this was a violation of proletarian democracy. But, comrades, the fact has long been known that for us Bolsheviks democracy is no fetish. For us, proletarian democracy is a means for equipping the working class, for the better execution of our socialist tasks, and therefore we equip the trade unions with the whole of our organisational experience, in order that they may be the real organs of the proletariat, that they may be the lever, the basis, the transmission of the Party, for the accomplishment of the great tasks confronting it. (Applause.)

A characteristic feature of the period just passed is the earnest and decisive change in the trade unions, their turn towards production.

The trade unions taking an active part in socialist reconstruction are improving their work for the satisfaction of the requirements of the workers, without opposing the defensive functions of the trade unions to their production functions. These are two aspects of the same process, two sides of the same medal.

The Trade unions are now vigorously tackling the question of food supplies, the questions of work in the co-operatives and in the housing question, and are reorganising their work accordingly.

The former leaders of the Central Council of the Trade Unions of the Soviet Union took an opportunist view of the defence of the workers' interests. In Tomsky's book: "The Cultural and Educational Work of the Trade Unions" we read:

"In this respect we have taken over something from the Belgian and other trade unions of the West. In Belgium the trade unions and co-operatives are so merged in the life of the workers that when a child is born, for instance, in a worker's family, they send aid in the form of food, medicine, presents, etc. The worker finds himself surrounded, so to speak, from his first hour, by the care of the trade union of which he will later become a member."

In itself there is nothing to be said against supplying a newborn child with medicine and presents. But this whole idyll of the "care" with which Comrade Tomsky believes the Belgian opportunist trade unions surround the worker from his cradle onwards, to receive him later into their fold, bears the stamp of the narrow trade unionism which makes the welfare of the worker its sole care. But is this the task of the trade unions in the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat? In the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat the representation of the interests of the working class must move in the direction of the severest criticism and correction of the activities of the workers' co-operatives, the improvement of the work of the economic organs, the solution of the problem of livestock breeding, and therewith to ensuring a steady increase in wages. This work must be combined with the struggle against bureaucratic excrescences in the state and economic apparatus. This is real care for the wants of the workers.

How has work in the Young Communist Leagues been reorganised for the accomplishment of these fundamental tasks? The Young Communists have a most important achievement to record: The energetic work for the development of the socialist competitions and the shock brigades. In numerous cases the Youth comrades have been the originators and pioneers of the socialist workers' organisations. We have a number of examples of this in the large-scale undertakings, for instance in Leningrad in the "Krassniy Putlovetz", in the Ivanovo-Vosnessensk district, in Moscow, in Ural, in the Ukraine, in Nishni-Novgorod, etc. where the Young Communists set an excellent example in the works and factories, in discipline and in the organisation of shock brigades. It is true that their shortcomings are many. Some of their organisations, for instance, are backward in inducing the participation of Young Communists in the shock brigade movement.

We observe lack of sufficient attention to the pioneer movement not only among the Young Communists, but in the Party. The pioneers do good service in drawing the parents into the socialist competitions. They arouse and spur on the passive workers.

The organisations of both the Y.C.L. and of the pioneers have been extremely successful in adapting themselves to

the problem of "turning the face towards production". Of late the Communist Youth have raised this work to a high level, both with respect to the shock brigade movement and to the rationalisation measures.

Considerably more attention must be devoted to the training of the pioneers and their organisations.

**How have the Party nuclei adapted themselves to "the face towards production"?** In the period under review we have been able to observe great changes in the leading Party organs, from the district committees to the Central Committee, in the direction of a turn towards questions of economics and production.

Whilst at the XV. Party Congress the works nuclei had not turned sufficiently in the direction of production, at the XVI. Party Congress we are able to state that the lower network of Party organisations and the communists in the works and factories have shown themselves to be in their majority the real vanguard of the proletariat.

The Party collective in the "Treugolik" works (Leningrad) has discussed the following questions within six months: Piece work, cheapening of the administrative apparatus, reduction of the costs of production, rationalisation of production. Broad masses of Party members and non-party workers took part in these debates. The Party organisation in the Electric Works at Moscow, where this year's plan of production was exceeded and where the pace of development is very high, has turned "its face towards production". In the whole Party we have already many such organisations. A factor of paramount importance for the regulation of the work of the Party organisations in the works and factories was the directives of the Central Committee on the regulation of the administrative question and on the introduction of the principle of the sole responsibility of one person for the management of an undertaking, and finally the decree of the Central Committee of 25th January with respect to the carrying out of the plan of production and finance. As result of the Party measures we have "turned the face towards production", and have attained the fulfilment and surpassing of the control figures for 1928/29.

To-day it is our task to push forward the control figures for 1929/30. The subordinate Party nuclei are exerting all their energies in order to realise these control figures. If we are to solve successfully the tasks set us we must remedy the existing faults.

## II. Socialist Reorganisation of Agriculture

### 1. Increased Aid on the part of the Proletarian City for the Village. In the Organisation of Collective and Soviet Farms.

The most important place has been taken in our Party work by the organisation of the building up of a new socialist Soviet village. This work has become exceedingly comprehensive, especially during the period covered by this report, in connection with the extreme aggravation of the class struggle in the village, and with the violent resistance of the kulaks to the measures taken by the Soviet state for the socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

During these years the Party has carefully studied the conditions in the rural districts. The effect of this has been seen, in particular, in the carrying out of the grain-collecting and seed campaigns.

These two campaigns entailed enormous difficulties, demanding the utmost strain on the capacities of the Party and of the proletariat, and of the lower network of the Party organisations in the village.

In spite of all the deficiencies of the lower Party organisations, and in spite of all the deficiencies among the district organisations and the communists in the villages, our cadres accomplished truly heroic work in these campaigns. Anyone in the rural district in 1928, during the grain-collecting campaign, when the kulaks offered violent resistance and the poor peasantry were still weakly organised, could observe the unwearying labours of the communists in the village, enabling the first stage of the determined fight against the kulaks to be won. These campaigns played a most positive part in the struggle against the kulaks, for the firmer establishment of our organisations in the village, for the strengthening of the organisations of the village poor, and in bringing the Party into immediate contact with work in the rural districts.

The grain-collecting and seed campaigns, played in a number of historical events connected with the industrialisation of our country, a mighty part in the preparation of that collective economic mass movement which developed later. The organising rôle of the proletariat, and its rôle as organiser of the peasantry, have grown and become more defined. A few figures suffice to show this. According to our incomplete data, and to our approximate estimate, one hundred thousand workers, in round figures, were organised in brigades and sent out into the grain-producing districts during the seed campaign. 25,000 men stood prepared for permanent work in the collective undertakings. The Party, Soviet, co-operative, and economic organisations supported these campaigns by sending more than 100,000 men; the functionaries of the Y. C. L. sent over ten thousand. Without exaggeration, a total of at least a quarter of million workers were sent to the rural districts on different occasions during this period. This is the numerical expression of the organisational influence exercised on the village, of the help given by the town to the country.

This help has been preponderantly cyclical in character, in accordance with the cyclical nature of agricultural production, with the peculiarity that within a brief space of time the production tasks of a whole year must be fulfilled. During this space of time, during the period of sowing, of grain collecting, the mass work of the Party is peculiarly distinct in character. At the present time our work in the village has attained the character of a socialist reconstruction from the bottom upwards, doing away with all old relations in the village. During the first period, following the XV. Party Congress, a stupendous amount of work was done in preparation for this radical rupture. I refer to such Party campaigns as the introduction of the minimum of agronomic measures, the sowing plan, the organisation of cadres of agronomic functionaries, the organisation of production consultations, the campaign for the liquidation of agronomic ignorance, the conference and consultations of the poor peasantry. In some districts this work assumed the broadest form of an actual mass movement, especially in North Caucasasia, and then spread to other regions, to the Middle and Lower Volga, Siberia. The campaigns here enumerated and the collections of grain were the preparatory work of the Party before going over to the work for complete collectivisation.

The aid given by the town to the country assumed the form of organisation known as the "patronage associations". At the present time we have similar associations on a much larger scale than before the 15th Party Congress. It is not merely the question of placing the patronage of this or the other village in the hands of the workers, but we have now advanced to a point at which one industrial or agricultural district undertakes the patronage of another. Hence Moscow, Leningrad, and Ivanovo-Vosnessensk undertake the patronage of the Middle Volga, the Central Black Earth district, the Choperska district, Tadshikistan, and the cotton growing part of Uzbekistan. Moscow exercises patronage over Central Asia, for the reason that there are textile factories in Moscow, and Turkestan supplies cotton and flax. Hence the patronage acquires a productive character.

In the aid lent the village by the proletarian city a prominent part is played and must be played, by the "brigade of the 25,000". The manner in which this brigade was gathered together shows clearly the enormous political significance of this campaign, the expressly proletarian class character imparted to a measure in itself purely organisational. It suffices to mention that when this brigade was founded, 60,000 men volunteered. A real movement arose among the workers: Out into the village to help forward the social reconstruction of agriculture.

This "rally of the 25,000" encountered mistrust in many rural districts. At first even the members of the brigade were sceptical about their work. Some of them, workers from Leningrad, Moscow, Ivanovo-Vosnessensk, declared that they found the task difficult; agriculture was a sphere unknown to them, and they found it hard to orientate themselves. But at the same moment, in the peasants' meetings, they proved that they orientated themselves brilliantly, and, led by their proletarian instinct, dealt with the questions from the organisational standpoint. What opinion did the peasants express with regard to these workers?

In Siberia I met a Leningrad worker, a young comrade, obviously an excellent organiser, straight from the bench. He was still but little informed with respect to agriculture. The peasants told him about mixed crop farming, about sowing, of which he understood but little. The peasants were of the opinion that although he did not know much about agriculture, and had a great deal to learn from them (the peasants), still he understood excellently how to gather the peasants together and to give explanations.

Letters received by the Central Committee from the villages, from members of the brigade and from peasants, show that this experiment has brought good results. The Red partisans from the Central Black Earth district write:

"We greet the Central Committee of the Party, and thank them for sending Comrade Nesschtachstny to us to establish the alliance between town and country. He has already been working for three months; he has proved his devotion to the cause of socialism, and has won over the active small peasants and all collective farmers for the Red partisans. We beg the Central Committee to send more such workers from the works and factories to our village."

It is this which characterises the manner of help given the village by the proletarian city. The broad development of the collective movement lends a new aspect to the question of this help. The standard of our organisational work, extending to the village, is changing. Our standard must no longer be one hundred, or one thousand, but millions. The collective farming movement sets the city entirely new organisational tasks. The sending of the "brigade of the 25,000" is only a beginning. Further steps must be taken for the mobilisation of organisational work in the village. It is of first importance that an active cadre be organised in the village itself. The future of the village, with respect to the leading cadres, lies with those who themselves come from the midst of the peasants, of the village poor, of the members of the collective farms. The movement of millions gives rise to new organisational activity. The ranks of the collective farms and of the agricultural workers will yield us not merely thousands and tens of thousands, but hundreds of thousands, of such organisational talents. It is the task of the city to ensure that these capable organisers are not pushed into the background, but that they are trained and their talents developed.

Many excellent workers, much talent, may be found among the collective farmers. It is a great misfortune that their ignorance prevents their development. The organisational and educational work accomplished by the city in the village must consist of helping these upward-striving human beings, of schooling them. They will form the new cadre of leaders who will lead the village forward to its new future, who will rebuild the village. The "brigade of the 25,000" is of importance for the millions of our peasant population, but it is only an impetus. Therefore the organisation of the village poor and the agricultural workers, and the reorganisation of the work in our rural Party organisations, acquires decisive importance. Without them we shall not be able to cope with the spreading movement of the million masses. Politically the peasants are mature, and economically we reach them through the collective farms; but if we fail to keep pace with the organisational demands now put upon us, then we may and certainly shall lag behind in the tempo of the socialist reorganisation of agriculture.

## 2. Increased Organisation of the Agricultural Workers and the Village Poor, and the Consolidation of the Alliance with the Middle Peasantry.

The period just passed has been characterised by a new factor: by the rapid increase of the cadre of skilled workers in the village. In the state grain farms alone we now have 70,000 qualified workers as compared with 15,000 in 1928. The number of agricultural and forestry workers has increased. Their union has 1,627,500 members. This union can point to a number of achievements, both in the organisation of the agricultural and forestry workers, and in their political activation. It is however still a backward union. It must be helped materially and by the sending of competent forces. The advanced unions, such as those of the metal workers or chemical workers, must not hold aloof.



During the past year the political activity of the poor peasantry and manual workers has increased considerably. As you are probably aware, during the period under review the Party encouraged the independent organisation of the village poor in the village Soviets and co-operatives. In the 14 districts and divisions of the Union in which this has been done, there exist 24,098 groups of village poor, with a total membership of 284,564. 15 per cent of these are agricultural workers, 69.8 per cent are small holders exempt from agricultural tax, and 25 per cent are peasants paying a small agricultural tax.

11,000 groups of poor peasantry exist in the total of 70,000 village Soviets. We see that in the organisation of such groups we lag considerably behind, even numerically, not to mention qualitatively.

Here we must bring about a change. The broad development of the collective farms entails the necessity of organising the village poor on new lines. The organisation of the village poor within and without the collectives is assuming various forms. There are different kinds of collective farms. Groups of the village poor must certainly be formed in the collective farms. This necessity does not exist in the communes.

In the agricultural artels we must continue to work among the village poor. With respect to the organisation of corresponding groups in the artels, there is scarcely any practical necessity for this. In any case the question of the organisation of the groups of the poor peasantry in the artels must be decided in accordance with the local conditions (composition of the collective farm, etc.).

Outside of the collective farms, energetic work must be done among the small and middle peasantry. When 60 to 80 per cent of the population were temporarily combined in the collective farms in some districts, many comrades were too enthusiastic to trouble about the "remainder". When the time came that this "remainder" were in the majority, these comrades lost their heads altogether. Therefore we must attach particular importance to the task of intensified work among the village poor outside of the collective farms, taking as a starting point the Leninist formula of work among the small holders, of the alliance with the middle peasant, and the struggle against the kulak. This is the preparatory work bringing the village poor into the collective farms as the vanguard of the village and the middle peasantry.

The work among the peasant women is worthy of special attention. We know that in connection with the exaggerations which have occurred in the collective farming movement the women have in many cases played a "leading" part in the village in the trends against the collective farms. In the cities we can record many achievements, but in the village the difficulties are extremely great — not only in regard to gaining an organisational hold upon the women, but in general. Work among the peasant women has been chiefly social in nature. Class training has been insufficient, and no clear distinction has been made between the women of the small, middle, and big peasant classes. The result has been that in many cases the kulak has been able to exploit the backward women against the collective farms. The delegates meetings of the women played their part in the village during the grain collecting campaign, but when the collective farm reached a higher stage, the kulak exploited a considerable section of the women in his own interests.

Therefore, we must redouble our efforts among the women. In particular, we cannot dispense with the women organisers in the village. But the whole of the work among the peasant women must not be left to them, they must receive assistance from other organisations. (Applause.)

### 3. All the Village Organisations Turn their Faces to the Socialist Reconstruction of the Village, to the Collective Farm.

With respect to the village Soviets, these have developed greatly during the last few years. The Central Executive Committee of the Union, the C.C., and the whole Party, have carried on a great campaign for the activation of the village Soviet, the improvement of its organisational activities, and the participation of the peasantry. They have achieved definite success, both in the election campaign and in the whole of the work of the Soviets.

But when the raising of the village Soviets to a higher stage, the reconstruction of agriculture, were placed on the

agenda, the village Soviets proved to be not up to these tasks; they did not accomplish the turn at the right time, and fell behind the other organisations.

Therefore the C.C. sounded the alarm, and joined the Central Executive Committee in calling a special conference, at which the slogan was issued: "Soviets — turn your faces to the collective farms!"

You will remember that the theory was put forward of the necessity of liquidating the village Soviets: the theory of the dying out of the village Soviets. This arose from the theory that the State is dying out, and is a theory resulting from the dying out of Bolshevik ideology among these "theoreticians". We have energetically combated this ideology, this theory. We declared decisively:

"All attempts to liquidate the village Soviets, or to weaken or minimise their leading rôle in connection with mass collectivisation, whether openly or in a masked form, by transferring their authorities to the managements of the collective farms — all these attempts are essentially anti-Soviet in nature, and reflect the standpoint of our class enemies, who are striving to undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat and to weaken its organs. Such liquidatory endeavours must be most decisively and relentlessly repulsed." (Decision of the Central Executive Committee of the Union, 21st May 1930.)

At the present time we can observe a certain turn in the line of the village Soviets; but this turn is extremely insignificant. We must devote greater attention to the village Soviets.

Now to the Party organisations in the village. Whilst in the cities we possess a close network of nuclei, stretching out its antennae in all directions, in the village these antennae are but rare, and very weak in quality. But even here some achievements may be recorded. The Central Committee issued, at the same time as the slogan of the organisation of the village poor, the slogan of the consolidation of the Party organisations in the village, the improvement of their social composition, the strengthening of the position of the agricultural workers in the organisations. In 1928 we had only an inconsiderable stratum of proletarian elements (5.3 per cent) in the Party organisations in the village, and an infinitely small cadre of collective farmers; in many cases the organisations were to a great extent filled up with well-to-do peasantry, and even with elements connected with the kulaks. The first grain-collecting campaign was the purgatorial fire purifying the Party organisations from kulak and similar elements.

At the present time we can record a considerable improvement in the qualitative composition of the village organisations. The number of peasants and collective farmers contained in them, as also the numerical strength of our village organisations, is however still very insignificant. With a peasant population of many millions, we have 377,000 Party members and candidates. Nuclei are extremely rare. The comrades from the provinces know how matters stand with the network of nuclei. The village Soviet comprehends 10 villages. In the village Soviet there is a nucleus of perhaps 7 to 8 comrades, — in most cases 5 to 6 comrades — and these are scattered over various villages. In the whole Union there is an average of 40 nuclei to 100 village Soviets. The nucleus plays to-day only a vanishing rôle as leading, organising, and productive force. This question must be resolutely faced, for if we do not tackle the question of strengthening the village organisation, of forming Bolshevik cadres, then we shall not be able to carry the Party line through in the village. Let us take for instance the question of the collectivisation exaggerations. Were the functionaries incompetent in the districts where the errors were committed? As a matter of fact excellent instructions given by the district leaders were carried out on the spot by persons for the most part ready and willing to fulfil conscientiously the line and the directives of the Party, but we did not understand, did not know, how to tackle the work, or how to explain it. But if we are unable to explain a matter, then we act by means of orders, by decrees. And therefore this question must be taken up energetically.

The Red Army plays, and must play, an important part in the preparation of the cadre for the village. Thousands of the soldiers of the Red Army attend courses of instruction

useful for the cadres of the village functionaries. In 1927 31,000 soldiers attended the Red Army courses, in 1928 67,000, and in 1929 180,000. We can and must make greater use of the Red Army in order that when the Red Army soldiers return to the villages, they may form those cadres which will organise and weld together our Party organisations.

**The most important tasks** are: Increased aid on the part of the proletarian city for the village, especially in the organisation of the village poor, in the economic advising of the collective farms, and the consolidation of the Party organisations in the village.

The rôle played by the village Soviets must be increased, their cadres reinforced. The training work among the broad masses must be improved, the cultural level of the village and the ideological level of the Party members must be raised. The activities of the poor peasantry must be led by organisation onto the path of definite productive tasks; we must ensure that the poor peasant refutes the kulak theory that he, the poor peasant, is a loafer, and incapable of organising his farm. The poor peasant can and must become a progressive collective farmer. And the most progressive among the progressive must be the communist in the village, whom we must train and educate.

### III. Consolidation of the Organs of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Strengthening of the Organisational Role of the Working Class.

#### 1. The Intensification of the Class Struggle and the Organisation of the Political Activities of the Masses.

The class struggle has increased in acuteness in the period under review. Outside of the Party a number of attempts have been made to impart a political and organisational form to kulak ideology, the ideology of the classes hostile to us. The Right opportunists have striven to demonstrate that the aggravation of the class struggle is the result of the faults in our work, of the wrong policy and activities of our Party. Actual life has refuted these views completely, and has shown the Party to have been right in its analysis of the comparative forces in our country and in its estimate of the causes aggravating the class struggle. The Party, by means of its political and organisational activities, has shamed the Right ideology. The working class, with the whole might of its dictatorial power, has, under the leadership of the Communist Party, destroyed the counter-revolutionary organisations which have attempted to deal their blows at the Soviet Union. (Applause.)

In view of the acuter struggle, we have not confined our efforts to repulsing the enemy. We have increased the degree of organisation and the organising function of the proletariat in every sphere of socialist reconstruction. Inasmuch as the counter-revolutionists have mainly attempted to act through the State apparatus, in which much bureaucracy still exists, the reply of the Party has been inexorable fight against bureaucratism, and for the ruthless elimination from the state apparatus of every remnant of kulakism and capitalism. The purging of the state apparatus laid bare all weak spots, and formed at the same time an important stage for the removal of all foreign and useless elements, and for the inclusion of the broad masses of the workers in the Soviet structure. The proletariat and the working masses following it have replied to the acuter class struggle in the country by intensified political activity and organisation. The political activity of the proletariat was most conspicuously shown in the campaign for the Soviet elections. The election campaign of last year was conducted at a time of the greatest activity since the revolution. Whilst in 1927 71% of the workers took part in the elections, in 1928 81.5% participated, the group of the industrial unions showing the greatest increase, i. e., 84.9%. The activity of the peasant voters also increased considerably. Whilst in 1927 the participation of the rural voters varied between 40 and 57% in the different federal republics, by 1929 the proportion had increased to 58.8—70.9%.

Here it is not only a matter of the numerical increase of the votes cast, but of the increase of the conscious political activity of the electors. Here the fact is of decisive importance that the slogan of the Party on the development of proletarian self-criticism has been realised. In these election

campaigns we have been able to recognise clearly the opportuneness of the slogan of self-criticism in the struggle against bureaucracy. By means of self-criticism a number of faults were revealed in the central apparatus, and in a number of organisations and central bodies, and we were able to replace the demoralised elements by workers, by the "Vydvishenzy". This political activity on the part of the working masses has been organised and ideologically guided by the Party.

In the accomplishment of our great historical tasks, **the agitation and mass work** of our Party have become the organising factor. In the period covered by this report, the agitational activities of the Party, the activities for the organisation of the masses, have reached not only thousands and hundreds of thousands, but millions and dozens of millions. We only need recollect the demonstrations on the occasion of the Chinese Eastern Railway conflict, or the demonstrations on May Day and on the October Anniversary last year. We see that in these demonstrations, in spite of the difficulties encountered in the building up of Socialism, the class-consciousness of the proletariat and its firm determination to fight for Socialism and the victory of socialism find utterance. (Applause.)

The greatest factor towards, and at the same a symptom of the **cultural and political advancement of the masses**, is the rapid development of the press. On 1st October, 1925, the total circulation of the newspapers appearing in the Soviet Union amounted to 7,062,000 copies, on 1st August, 1927, the number was 7,684,000 copies, and on 1st July, 1929, 12,635,000. These figures have swelled greatly since June 1929. By 1st October, 1929, the total circulation had mounted to 15 to 16 million copies for the Whole Union. By March of this year the total daily circulation was 21 to 22 millions. The increase would have been even greater had there not been a paper shortage. Before the war the daily newspapers had a circulation of 2,728,000 copies, so that we have achieved an increase of 7.5 to 8 times the pre-war figure.

To this must be added the newspapers printed by the works and factories, and the collective and Soviet farms. The number of these may be estimated at 1000. The total circulation of the whole of the newspapers in the Soviet Union may be estimated at 23 to 24 million copies, equivalent to a 100% increase since June 1929. Had there been no paper shortage, the present figure would be still 30 to 40% higher.

This tremendous development of the press, exceeding anything of the kind ever experienced, characterises the cultural advancement and political activity of the working class. (Applause.)

The national press has developed at an even more rapid rate, and has grown both numerically and qualitatively since the 15th Party Congress. The numerical growth of the national press may be gathered from the following figures: At the time of the 15th Party Congress 130 periodicals and 201 newspapers were being issued in 49 languages; at the 16th Congress these figures are 357 periodicals and 349 newspapers in 58 languages. The circulation of the national labour papers has increased more than sevenfold, from 67,000 to 492,000; that of the peasant newspapers by two and a half times, from 439,000 to 1,106,000. The growth of the newspapers in Ukraine is particularly striking. The circulation of the "Communist" has increased from 28,000 to 122,000 (Petrovsky: It is now 150,000).

The army of the worker and peasant correspondents has greatly multiplied. In Dagestan the number is 1000, in the Tartar Republic, in round numbers, 3000.

In old Russia the total circulation of the press amounted to 2,700,000. To-day Soviet Ukraine alone boasts a circulation of 4,500,000, 90% in the Ukrainian language.

The growth of the national press is a clear proof of the correctness of our national policy.

In 1928 Comrade Lenin, in his report to the 8th Party Congress, when speaking of the general results of the propaganda work, stated that the "Communist" publishers were issuing 62 publications, and the "Pravda" had reached a circulation of 25 million copies for the whole of 1918. Now the "Pravda" disposes of 25 million copies in 20 days, and during the Party Congress in 16 days. (Applause.) I cite figures showing the the circulations of the leading publications:

	1928	1929	1930	June 1930
"Pravda" .....	619 000	661 000	846 000	1 500 000
"Isvestiya" .....	426 000	441 000	710 000	800 000
"Sa Industrialisaziyu" .. (For industrialisation)	21 000	63 000	125 000	150 000
"Socialist agriculture" ..	—	21 000	69 000	—
"Trud" .....	82 000	105 000	167 000	—
"Rabotschaya Gazeta" ..	316 000	350 000	317 000	417 000
"Krssnaya Svesda" ....	40 000	70 000	105 000	—
"Komsomolskaya Pravda" ..	167 000	240 000	320 000	345 000

The "Krestnyanskaya Gazeta" (Peasants-Newspaper") has a circulation of 1.7 million.

## 2. The Cultural Advancement of the Masses and their Participation in the Work of the State Apparatus.

We know that Lenin had nothing but bitter scorn for formal bourgeois democracy. Bourgeois democracy provides no places of meeting, but says to the workers: "Meet together!" It leaves the people in ignorance, and says to them: "Take part in political life!" Our proletarian democracy does not consist in simply letting the worker take part in political life, but in raising his cultural level. And at the present time, under the conditions of the reconstruction period, cultural enhancement becomes an urgent question.

In order that the working class may extend the degree to which it is organised, it must grow culturally. Also the broad masses of the workers led by the proletariat must grow culturally. It is precisely for this reason that the Party accompanies such slogans as those of industrialisation and collectivisation by the slogan of the cultural revolution, of the cultural uplift of the millions, without which the advance of Socialism is impossible. How do matters stand in this respect in our country?

**The liquidation of illiteracy.** The Council of the People's Commissaries of the RSFSR, which calculates on the liquidation of illiteracy within three years, has approved a plan of operation for 1929/30 calculated to embrace four million human beings. The local organisations have extended this plan to 10 millions, basing their plan of operation on the broad application of the methods of socialist competition and of the cultural campaign. Whilst in 1927/28 we instructed 800,000 persons in reading and writing, and in 1928/29 two million, in 1929/30 the figure will reach 10.5 millions.

**General compulsory schooling** of the first stage alone (four years instruction) is to reach approximately 14.5 million children in the whole Union in 1930/31 (a figure double that of the pre-war number). As compared with 1929/30 the increase is almost 3 Million, or 24%, whilst in 1928/29 the increase was 4%, and in 1929/30 16%.

**Self-education,** according to the statements of the department of the C.C. for cultural propaganda, is being carried on by 3 million persons. The desire for technical knowledge has in particular greatly increased among the workers. All this shows the great thirst for knowledge among the workers.

The result of the rising cultural level of the masses, and of their political activity, is the improvement of the Soviet apparatus.

We have now a new form of control, the patronage by the works and factories over the Soviet institutions. I think I am not mistaken when I say that the patronage is the direct result of the purging of the state apparatus by the Central Control Commission. A beginning was made by calling upon the workers to cleanse the state apparatus. Out of this there developed this new and welcome form of inducing the participation of the workers in the state apparatus. In other words, the basis was broadened for the fulfilment of Lenin's slogan: The combination of the administration of the country with the work in the shops and factories. Some works have appointed workers with full powers for periods of 6 to 12 months. These remain in the works and factories, visit the authorities, work there in contact with their factory, and then return; after this we shall send others. It will be seen that new forms are springing up for the renewal of the state apparatus. We have here to do with a new force, which must remodel the apparatus and exterminate bureaucracy.

**The national question** has been accorded very special attention by the Central Committee. It suffices to point out such comprehensive measures as the preparation and carrying out of the land and water reforms, the confiscation of the

property of the great livestock breeders in those national republics and regions of the East where pre-revolutionary land and water conditions had been retained, the industrialisation of the backward national republics and the training of cadres of the native proletariat, the appointment to the state and co-operative apparatus of native workers, and its rapprochement to the masses. The determined struggle against Great Russian chauvinism and against local nationalism, the international education of the masses — these are our tasks in this sphere.

When ensuring the participation of the masses in the state apparatus. Self-criticism strikes at bureaucracy and thereby improves the state apparatus. One of the scholars of the Right group, Slepov, in his theses on self-criticism, completely ignored its rôle in the struggle against bureaucracy. This is extremely characteristic of the ideology of Right opportunism. It is our task to combine the question of the improvement of the state apparatus, the consolidation of the organs of the proletarian dictatorship, with the comprehensive application of the growing proletarian self-criticism of the masses in the work of the apparatus, and in the preparation of the cadres.

## 3. The Problem of the Cadres.

The problem of the cadres is closely bound up with the intensification of the class struggle in our country, with the appearance of elements of bureaucratic degeneration and sabotage. I shall not enter in details regarding the spread of the sabotage elements. It is clear that this is a class struggle phenomenon. It suffices to remember the composition of the counter-revolutionary sabotage organisations. Sabotage has been participated in by 161 members of the former possessing classes, 8 former merchants, and 121 former members of the nobility.

As reply to the fresh outburst of hatred against Socialism on the part of the bourgeois section of the intelligenzia, as reply to the element of sabotage, we have the increasing participation of the workers in the state apparatus. The reply of the Party is to open up, to its fullest extent and intensity, the problem of the cadres, which secures the successful building up of Socialism.

The Right elements have not grasped the essence of the problem of the cadres. Comrade Rykow stated, at the April Plenum in 1928, that the question of the cadres could "be solved in this way or that, without touching the classes. It is not a question of adopting a standpoint towards the village and towards class differentiation". This was said at a moment when the Party was facing the most serious aspects of the cadre question, rendered particularly acute by the sabotage element. The whole Party clearly recognised the class nature of the cadre problem; but the Right failed to grasp this, as they have failed to grasp many other tasks incumbent on the Party. Let us take the theses drawn up by Comrade Bukharin regarding the proposed subordination of the Technical Colleges to the Supreme People's Commissariat. Here we find no recognition of the class character of the problem of the cadre. And yet not only Lenin, supported by the experience gained in the realisation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, treated this problem as an acute one, but Engels too, in his letter to Bebel on 24th October, 1891, long before the realisation of the proletarian dictatorship, declared that under certain circumstances the technicians would become our fundamental enemies, would deceive and betray us in every way; we shall have to remove them, and yet we shall be deceived.

The way of escape open to us is the training of fresh helpers, the schooling of cadres of our own, the education of the best elements among the skilled workers, the winning of these for us, the elimination of the incapable and harmful elements, the execution or banishment to the Solovky Islands of those who organise acts of sabotage and injure our socialist reconstruction; the solution of the problem for us is to replace these injurious elements by our own proletarian cadres. (Applause.)

The deeper we probe into this question, the more convinced do we become that with respect to high school education, to the preparation of qualified cadres, we shall have to force a fundamental revolutionary breach, and to undertake a stupendous piece of creative work. The question is not merely one of numbers, but concerns chiefly and especially

the quality of our industrial leaders, from both the technical and the social-political standpoint. The new epoch demands commanders of a new type, on the economic front and in the whole state structure.

What has the C.C. accomplished on this front? I shall not here enumerate all the facts and figures contained in the material which has been compiled and placed at the disposal of the Party delegates. I need only point out the most important achievements and tasks. The Central Committee has been successful, above all, in inducing the Party to devote attention to the solution of the problem of the cadres. The Central Committee has succeeded in getting study and production combined, in having the discipline and organisation in the educational institutions improved. We have sent the best proletarians to these institutions, and have attained great successes in peopling our high schools with communists and workers. The State Planning Commission, on the instructions of the November Plenum of the C.C., is drawing up a Five-Year Plan of the cadres, to be approved by the Council of the People's Commissaries.

In this year the contingent to be admitted to the colleges and technical schools, and the network of these educational institutions, have been enlarged. The proportion of workers admitted to the higher schools is increasing year by year. In 1928/29 the number of workers admitted to the high schools was 58.9%, by 1929/30 70.9%. During the last year 42% were members of the C.P.S.U., 25.4% members of the Y.C.L. In the technical colleges subordinate to the Supreme National Economic Council 52% are workers and 4.2% the children of workers.

Tens of thousands of proletarians and communists, studying in the higher educational institutions, will take over leading technical positions to-morrow, and successfully carry out the tasks set them. Thanks to the resolute measures taken by the Central Committees for filling the technical colleges with workers, the proportion of workers and communists among our experts will increase during the next few years, altering the character of the technical cadres.

In the whole of our work for preparing the cadres we must combat the hostile class ideology which hampers our cause. Some of the professors help us. These we must induce to take part in the work wherever possible. Some have even applied for membership of the Party. We welcome this. But others of the professors are hopelessly reactionary. We must replace these professors by our own scientists. This matter is however accorded entirely inadequate attention with us.

In order to show how difficult the preparation of the technical and economic cadres is. I may mention that at the present time we have 309,000 engineers and technicians in our whole national economy, whilst by the end of the Five Years we must have 1,220,000 specialists, that is, the present number must be quadrupled (cf. the data of the Five-Year Plan for the cadres, drawn up by the State Planning Commission). These figures give clear expression to the extent of the cadre problem. The numerical importance of the specialists will grow from 2 to 5%. We shall then have reached Germany's level with respect to the saturation of our economy with technical experts and engineers.

The question of filling agriculture with fresh cadres is especially acute. The socialist reconstruction of agriculture demands a new type of expert. Another question no less urgent is that of the training of economists for the commercial, co-operative, and financial organs, etc.

Whilst the July and November Plenums of the C.C. placed on our agenda the question of the cadres for our economy, we must now raise the question of the cadres for the whole system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must raise the question of the cadres for the Soviet institutions, for the co-operatives, the trade unions, etc. I give the most important data on the cadres.

#### 4. The Commanding Staff of our Industry.

At the XII. Party Congress Comrade Stalin reported the results of an inquiry extending to 1300 factory directors. It was shown that of these only 29% were Party members. By 1st January, 1924, this proportion had risen to 48, by 1st September, 1929, 93% out of 1213 directors were Party members. Consequently, in the last few years the chief

commanding cadre has been composed of a preponderant majority of communists.

The greater the number of workers employed in an undertaking, the greater the percentage of communist directors. In the undertakings employing less than 5000 workers the proportion of communist directors is 91, in the undertakings employing 5000 and upwards the percentage of communist directors is 100.

Nor are conditions at all bad with regard to the length of membership of the Party. Among the members of the trust-managements we have 28% communists who were Party members before the revolution; among the factory directors the percentage is 11.4%.

An inquiry into the Party membership of the separate departments of the industrial cadres shows that in every branch of industry the same standards prevail: The percentage of Party members drops, beginning with the managers down to the specialists, with the exception of persons employed in administrative work (of the works managers 84.3% are Party members, of the deputy managers 36%, of the heads of departments 28.6%, of the members of the middle cadres 24.6%, of the specialists, apart from those employed in administrative duties, 11.8%); the percentage of Party members then rises steadily among the foremen, deputy foremen, leaders of gangs of ten, and persons occupied in similar minor posts in works and factories (33.4%). The next task of the Party is to fill up the middle cadres with Party members as well as the specialist cadres apart from those occupied in administrative work.

Another peculiarity is the fact, that the lower the position in the administrative apparatus, the fewer the Party members.

The **working stratum**. In the industrial cadres the stratum of workers is greater in the works and factories than in the administrative apparatus. On 1st September, 1929, there were 56% of workers among the heads of the trusts subjected to the inquiry, 45% among the managements, 28% among the heads of departments, 37.8% in the whole of the trusts, whilst among the directors 71%, among the deputy directors 69.4%, among the technicians 4.4%, and in the whole of the undertakings 61.4% are workers.

In the course of these years many competent economists have arisen amongst us. It would be unjust were we to fail to observe, when detailing our shortcomings, that excellent economists, a great army of directors, have sprung up amongst us, and have attained a much higher level qualitatively than those of four or five years ago. But it would be equally wrong to be so carried away that we did not observe the shortcomings. The activities of the saboteurs show us that many communists have facilitated acts of sabotage against their own will, have transferred their rights to the saboteurs, have failed to understand the technique of the work, have not penetrated to the essence of production, and have thus permitted freedom of action to a handful of saboteurs. There have been cases in which the saboteurs have submitted papers, and the communists have signed these mechanically.

This is to be attributed to two causes. One is blind confidence. People have thought as follows: We must agree with the specialists, work amicably together with the specialists, and if we are to work amicably with them, then we must accept everything as true, and must maintain friendship in such a manner that we criticise nothing, trust them, and transfer our rights to them. The second cause is the insufficient technical knowledge of our comrades. There have been cases in which many of the directors of our enterprises and trusts have learnt the work, have become technicians and engineers. This problem of preparation and relearning among the industrial cadres, the leading cadres — this problem is exceedingly acute.

It is precisely for this reason that the question of the re-schooling of the cadres is so urgent. It is precisely from this starting point that the November Plenum of the C.C. devoted special attention to this question. Since April 1st four industrial academies have been running (in Moscow, Leningrad, the Ukraine, and Baku), with a total of 697 pupils, and a transport academy with 98 pupils. The five academies are therefore educating 800 persons. The Moscow industrial academy, bearing Stalin's name, was organised at the XV. Party Congress, and recently sent out the first of its students, 110 in number.

In this year a public industrial academy will be inaugurated in Sverdlovsk, another in Ivanovo-Vosnessensk, and besides

this course of instruction are being organised for the higher cadres in Rostow, Novosibirsk, and Taschkent. In this year preparations are being made to admit 900 students for the whole system of the industrial academies.

In 1929 the Moscow industrial academy organised an industrial academy for instruction by correspondence, comprising 2580 students by 1st April 1930. Of these 42.6% were heavy industrial workers, 33.3% chairmen and members of works managements, 28.4% directors and deputy directors, 12.9% foremen and workers, 80% Party members.

But actual life puts even greater demands upon us, and even this enlarged programme no longer suffices. We must further extend this work for the re-schooling of the cadres, and, what is the main point, we must study more exactly those cadres which we have, and which we often utilise very little. Cases still occur in which capable persons from the working class are passed over, and we fail to notice them. How can this happen? It happens in the first place from the fact in our institutions there are sometimes alien elements which hang together, and deliberately push these workers aside. The purging of the State apparatus did much towards remedying this. Thus on 1st April 1928 there were, in the People's Commissariat for Finance, 251 collaborators belonging to the former nobility, the commercial class, the clergy and the former officials of the finance ministry. In other words, 41% of the responsible workers in the People's Commissariat for Finance were persons alien to our class.

Another reason why the workers from the masses are ousted and not sufficiently promoted lies in our lack of knowledge of human beings. In order to clear our institutions of the alien elements, and of bureaucracy, we must promote many out of the masses, and make many to organisers. The decisive question is the choice of persons.

I believe, comrades, that this whole work of our Party, accomplished by us in the period under review along this line, the line of the struggle against bureaucracy in the State apparatus, the line of the consolidation of the organs of the proletarian dictatorship, the line of the solution of the cadre problem — that this work has been a preparation for the formation of new cadres numbering hundreds and thousands.

It is our task to induce the collaboration of every individual worker in the administration of the state. We must develop more broadly the work among the masses for the main tasks of socialist reconstruction, accelerate the tempo of the practical extension of the cultural revolution, of the general uplift of the culture of the country; we must combine the struggle against bureaucracy with the maximum drawing of the masses into the administration of the State; we must work unceasingly for the elimination of the capitalist kulak elements still existing in our State apparatus, and replace these by our own people out of the working class, out of the ranks of the sons of the workers, of the poor peasantry, of the collective farmers, by educating these people and preparing the cadres for the whole State apparatus, for the whole system of the proletarian dictatorship. (Applause.)

## VI. The Leading Role of the Party, the Securing of its Fighting Capacity, its Ideological and Organisational Consolidation.

### 1. The Development of Inner Party Democracy and of Self-Criticism.

The most important prerequisite for the securing of the fighting capacity of the Party is the development of inner Party democracy and of self-criticism. You are aware that this question has always been the subject of special attacks on the part of the oppositional elements in our Party. It has long been an established fact that when people want to revise the general line of the Party, they begin by criticising the leaders. They begin by demanding greater democracy, "freedom of criticism", in order that they may "freely" revise this well trodden path. Remember how many speeches were held by Zinoviev and Kamenev against Trotskyism, and on the question of inner Party democracy. With what pathos, and how often, have Bukharin, Rykov, and Tomsy spoken on this question, only to tread the same old Menshevik-Trotskyist path as soon as they combated the correct Leninist policy in the questions of the structure of the Party. Comrade Bukharin has repeated, as you know, literally the statements

of the Trotskyists — that we are not combating bureaucracy, that we are rearing a bureaucracy, that our Party is being converted from a living organism into an ossified one. "The questions are not faced" said Comrade Bukharin "but hidden under a bushel. The struggle against bureaucracy must begin precisely here, but we are rearing this bureaucracy". For the Right opportunists this estimate was required to give them a pretext, a substantiation for their attack on the correct line of the Party. For us inner Party democracy and self-criticism are means for securing the fighting capacity of the Party.

### a) The Regulation of the Growth of the Party.

The growth of the Party, both numerically and qualitatively, the raising of its ideological level, are the clearest signs of the stamina of the Party, its close contact with the masses, and the confidence of the masses in their Party.

During the period under review, the C.C. of the Party has devoted special attention to the questions of the growth of the Party. You know that this question was the subject of special discussions at the November Plenum of the C.C. in 1928. The C.C., in the midst of its current labours, has systematically observed the new applications for membership of the Party, and has given exhaustive instructions. The local Party organisations have also devoted great attention, in the period under review, to the growth of the Party, and especially to the admission to the Party of the best and most advanced proletarians. The C.C., in the whole of its work, has proceeded from the "necessity of endeavouring that by the end of 1930 at latest at least one half of the Party members are workers from the bench. For this purpose we must ensure that in the course of the next few years at least 80% of the new members admitted to the Party are workers, especially workers who have been employed in the process of production for a long time. To this end suitable organisational and practical ideologically educative work must be done among the working masses . . . . We must endeavour to ensure decided and speedy progress in the admission into the Party of agricultural workers and labourers, and of the best and most active elements among the poor peasantry and the members of the collective farms." (Decision of the November Plenum of the C.C. 1928.)

What is the position at the present moment?

In the period between the XIV. and the XV. Party Congresses the Party increased by 20.8%. In the period between the XV. and the XVI. Party Congress the increase (cf. data of 1st April, 1930) was 42.2%.

In absolute figures, the membership of the Party (members and candidates) has increased as follows: 1st January 1928 1,302,854, 1st April 1930 1,852,090 (of which 1,210,527 are Party members).

The most important factor in this whole process of growth is the fact of the great and decisive rise in the proportion of workers in the Party. During the period under report a total of 602,670 workers joined the Party. Before the XIV. Party Congress (1st January 1926) the proportion of workers in the Party was 58.4%, before the XV. Party Congress (1st January 1928) 57.8%, and before the XVI. Party Congress (1st April 1930) 68.2% (these figures do not include the Party organisations of the Red Army).

The workers from the shops and factories formed 35.7% of the members before the XIV. Party Congress, 40.8% before the XV. Party Congress, and before the XVI. Party Congress, according to the preliminary calculations, 48.6%. In reality the proportion is higher. Therefore the decision of the C.C. Plenum may be regarded as being executed in the main.

The fact of the vast influx of workers into the Party is a great political event of the period under review. The clearest sign of this influx is the movement of the joint application for admission of whole workshops. It need not be said that we do not admit whole undertakings without question; we make inquiries as to every individual applicant. But this movement is a great and important fact. It is a clear sign of the growing confidence felt by the working class in our Party.

This growth is keeping pace with the political slogans of our Party. What were the slogans under which the workers formerly joined the Party, and what are the slogans under which they join it to-day? In 1924 the workers joined the Party under the slogan: "We consolidate the Party. We



replace the loss of Lenin". In 1927, at the time of the Tenth Anniversary of the October revolution, the workers joined the Party under the slogan of the struggle against Trotskyism, for Leninism, for the Leninist C.C. In 1929 these same slogans were still valid, but were supplemented by: "I approve the decisions of the Party in the question of the Right deviators; I declare that I shall fight resolutely against the Right deviation, and ask to be admitted as member of the Party, in order that I may help to build up socialism in our country." (From the declaration of a worker from the "Ilyitsch" factory.) In 1930 these slogans were again supplemented by: "We declare ourselves to be a shock troop for the carrying out of Ilyitsch's legacy, of the industrial and financial plan, and of the Five-Year Plan in four years. We ask to be collectively admitted to the Party." (The collective of the factory: "Dawn of Socialism"). We see that the nature of the declarations changes in accordance with the political slogans issued by the Party.

What reserves have we for the further growth of the Party as the vanguard of the working class? Our first reserve is the Communist Youth. The Young Communist League has swelled enormously during the last two years, by half a million. At the present time about one half of all juvenile workers are members of the Y.C.L.; 29% of the members of the Y.C.L. are young people working in the shops and factories. The tempo of growth of the Young Communist League is however inadequate.

It is the task of the Y.C.L. to recruit more energetically among young workers. The Y.C.L. forms a mighty reserve for the growth of the Party. But this reserve has not been properly utilised by us up to now. The whole work of the Y.C.L. must be directed to making it a school for the education of Bolsheviks. In this respect the political instruction given, the theoretical education of the Young Communists, can be of great importance. The Y.C.L. is passing through the great school of practical participation in the work of socialist reconstruction. But its ideological educative work stands greatly in need of improvement. In 1928/29 only 37% of the Young Communists took part in the political instruction. The level of education of Young Communists in the rural districts is very low. Therefore this aspect of the work must be accorded special attention.

In consequence of the growth of the class consciousness and activity of the working women, a new reserve is being formed for the Party — the delegates' meetings of the women workers, which comprise 107,600 women, and represent a direct and immediate training for a subsequent membership of the Bolshevik Party. And we see that 33% of all women admitted to the Party come from the delegates' meetings. I must here emphasise that the reorganisation of the Party apparatus, the liquidation of the women's departments, had the effect of producing a liquidatory tendency towards women's work. I am of the opinion that the reorganisation of the Party apparatus does not signify any diminution of the work among the women. On the contrary, work among the women must be increased. Whilst hitherto work among the women has been the special affair of the women's departments, to which this work has been "allotted", so to speak, the reorganisation of the Party apparatus means that the whole Party apparatus, the whole Party organisation, is bound to concern itself about the work among the women, and to devote itself to this work, and to the work of recruiting women members for the Party. The active cadre is growing in the ranks of the women. We must induce the women to participate to an even greater extent. The active women must show even greater activity than hitherto both in recruiting women for the Party, and in promoting them to leading Party work.

The growth of the shock brigade movement and the reorganisation of the work of the trade unions on the basis of this shock brigade movement have created a strong foundation for the further growth of our Party. The members of the shock brigades are those advanced workers who form the best reserves of our Bolshevik Party.

If we add that the rapid growth of collectivisation supplies us with an entirely new reserve in the farmers of the collectives, who form a really firm support of the working class in the village, then it becomes clear that we are in possession of every possibility ensuring that our Party continues to grow at a speed no less than that of the last few years.

Does this mean that we are to admit anybody to the Party, without discrimination? By no means. Our Party remains the Party of the vanguard. Such views as those expressed by a comrade in the "discussion supplement" of the "Pravda", that "our Party should be by now a united mass party of the workers", and that therefore it is necessary to facilitate the conditions of admission for non-proletarian elements, — such views are a repetition of the Axelrod tendency, whose elements were in the opposition at the XIV. Party Congress, and were resolutely opposed. We are the Party of the working class, but not of all toilers. We have always been, and continue to be, the Party of the proletariat.

The growth of the Party has been accompanied by its simultaneous purging. In the purging process 116,000, or 10.4%, were expelled from the Party. It is our task to continue the organic work of cleansing the Party from all rotten elements, from bureaucracy, and opportunism, whilst at the same time never relaxing our efforts for the recruiting of workers and leading collective farmers.

#### b) The Raising of the Ideological and Theoretical Level of the Party Members.

The C.C., in its work for the regulation of the growth of the Party, has invariably taken as its starting point the factor that the numerical growth of the Party must be accompanied by serious effort for the raising of the ideological and theoretical level of the Party members.

In the period under review, a great change has taken place in the attitude of the Party organisations towards the questions of Party schooling. That the questions of Party theory in our Party are not the affair of a small group of leaders, that there can be no revolutionary party which ignores revolutionary theory, that practice is blind if it does not light its path by Marxism and Leninism — this conception has penetrated into the consciousness of broad masses of the Party.

Besides the network of the elementary Party schools, we possess a number of forms of secondary and higher political education, such as for instance circles for present day politics, Party evening schools, Soviet schools, and communist high schools; for the active Party cadres there are evening and correspondence courses, Soviet Party schools and communist colleges, correspondence courses in Marxism, correspondence courses of the I.C.P., and summer continuation schools.

The large editions sold of the Party propaganda literature bear witness to the prodigious growth of the importance of the theory of our Party, and to the fact that Marxist Leninist instruction is reaching ever broader circles of the Party and the working class.

Our enemies frequently seek to slander and calumniate our Party by disparaging the progress of our ideological and theoretical standard, the result of our educational work. The well known Menshevik Ivanovitch, for instance, writes in his book: "The C.P. of the Soviet Union. Ten years of communist monopoly":

"It must require an enormous degree of historical ignorance to assume that the type of the revolutionist which came into existence under pre-revolutionary illegality can be created for a second time, within the frame of a NEP state, at the expense of the state, by state governors, by state compulsion." (Page 199.)

This "historically educated" counter-revolutionist cannot comprehend that our schooling, our revolutionary training in Marxism Leninism, is bound up with the united whole of those methods, of that revolutionary class struggle which our Party is now carrying on for socialism, for the realisation of the Five-Year Plan in four years, for the socialist transformation of the village, for the cultural revolution.

#### c) The Activity and Initiative of the Party Members and the Growth of the Cadres.

The clearest sign of the raising of the ideological and political level of the Party is the growth of the activity of the Party masses. This growing activity of the Party masses found clear expression in the new elections to the Party organs. During the period under review, four campaigns have been carried out for new elections to Party organs. The activity of the Party masses has always been on a high level, and is increasing unceasingly, both with respect to the

number of those attending the election meetings and to the active participation of the Party members in the meetings. In spite of the fact that the transition to the uninterrupted working week means, for instance, that 20% of the members are absent, the number of persons attending the Party meeting has retained the level of 70 to 75% during the whole period of this report.

This means that almost all Party members have attended the meetings. In Leningrad the number attending the meetings reached the figure of 80 to 90% in a number of districts, as compared with 60 to 65% in 1928. In Moscow the figure reached 85% as compared with 75% in 1928, whilst the number of those attending the works meetings rose to 90%. In the Stalingrad organisation (Ukraine) the number rose to 90%.

A still clearer proof of activity is the increase in the number of speakers in the discussion on the reports in the meetings for the re-election of the nucleus leaders.

At the re-elections to the Party organs, three or four times as many candidates are proposed as are required; the candidatures themselves are carefully discussed, and the Party organs themselves generally abstain from the previous putting up of candidates.

Of course this growth of activity does not by any means signify that there is none of what is known as Party ballast, no passivity, among us. It is not by accident that at the time of the Party purging 32,000 persons were expelled from the Party for passivity. One quarter of the Party members in the shops and factories have not yet been drawn into the socialist competitions. And it is our task to raise the activity of the Party members to a still higher level. It is precisely on this basis of the growth of the Party — on the basis of the growth of inner Party democracy — that we can record a growth of our cadres, the participation of fresh thousands and tens of thousands of workers in leading work. We are experiencing a systematic, we might almost say tempestuous renewal of our cadres, refuting the slanders designating the apparatus as an ossified "hierarchy of secretaries".

I quote a few figures referring to the cadres: In 1927 the proportion of workers in the district committees of the Leningrad district was 64.7%, in 1928 65%; of workers still employed in the works and factories 17.5 and 24.2%. In Ural the corresponding figures are: 61.4% and 68%. In the Moscow, Ivanovo, and West districts, in the districts of Nishegorodsk and the North, the proportion of workers in the District committees was 72 to 73% in 1929.

There has been a considerable growth to the advantage of the nationalities in the central committees of the national republics and rayons. In the C.C. of the Communist Party of White Russia, for instance, the White Russian group has increased from 38% in 1928/29 to 52.2% in 1930. In the C.C. of the C.P. of Aserbeijan the group of the Turks has increased from 37% in 1927 to 50% in 1930.

The secretariats have been renewed to a great extent. Out of the 220 comrades who were secretaries of the regional and district committees before the 15th Party Congress, only one third (33.6%) were retained. About one half of the secretaries of the regional committees and about two thirds of the secretaries of the district committees have been working in these capacities for periods up to one year, and only one fifth of the secretaries of the rayon committees and district committees, and 6% of the secretaries of the district committees have been working as such for longer than 2 years.

Since the 15th Party Congress there has been a considerable improvement in the Party cadres in the works and factories.

In 1927 there were 83.7% workers in the works nuclei committee, in 1929 85.7%; in 1927 80.5% of the secretaries were workers, in 1929 85.2%.

The nuclei leaders have been renewed: in 1927 to 49.9%, in 1929 to 57.7%. When we are accused of permitting our Party apparatus to become petrified and bureaucratised, these figures prove that there is no petrification among us, but on the contrary an activation, a renewal, and a growth of fresh cadres. It is true, that this renewal frequently assumes the form of extreme fluctuation, so that we might rather be accused, not so much of a petrifying apparatus as of an excessive fluctuation in our cadres.

In the period between the 15th and 16th Party Congresses the Party has been able to record not only a great increase of its cadres, but a qualitative improvement of these, the enlargement of their proletarian core, their systematic renewal, and the participation of the Youth of the Party in the work of leadership. The difficult tasks which the Party has had to perform in the periods of this report, under the conditions imposed by the accentuated class struggle, have led to a natural selection, combing out the few inconsistent elements, and steeling as Bolsheviks the fundamental cadres in their struggle on two fronts for the Party line.

(Conclusion follows.)

## Report of the Activities of the Delegation of the C. P. S. U. in the E. C. C. I.

By V. Molotov.

Text of Speech delivered at the XVI. Party Congress of the C. P. S. U.

(Conclusion.)

### III. The Aggravation of Internal Antagonisms and the Role Played by Social Democracy.

#### 1. The Bourgeois Methods of Rule.

The aggravation of the antagonisms within the capitalist countries is the inevitable result of the growing general crisis of capitalism. The present economic crisis tends in particular to sharpen the antagonisms between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. All this stamps its mark on the nature of the bourgeois state power in the period of the growing general crisis of capitalism.

The class character of the bourgeois power is becoming increasingly evident. Today ministers resign their posts in order to become leaders of capitalist monopolies, and vice versa, the leaders of capitalist monopolies are taking positions with increasing frequency as ministers and leading statesmen. There are ample examples of this in every imperialist country. Men belonging to the bourgeois governments of the United States, such as President Hoover, Mellon the minister of finance, Hughes the former minister for foreign affairs, Harley the war minister, Lamont the trade minister, etc., were either yesterday at the head of great monopolist concerns or banks,

or are now, after exchanging their ministerial seats for private activities, at the head of powerful organisations of financial capital. L. Denny, the journalist already quoted, states in his book that one half of the members of the Coolidge Cabinet represented great commercial undertakings, and that in the Hoover Cabinet two thirds of the members are such representatives. We see the same thing in England. Yesterday's leaders of the Conservative government, Baldwin, Birkenhead, Chamberlain, etc. are to-day's leaders of the metallurgic, chemical, and similar capitalist trusts. In Germany, in France, and in other capitalist countries, we find the same thing repeated.

On the other hand, the bourgeoisie entrusts the carrying out of its rule to the leaders of social democracy, to the end that the class character of this rule may be camouflaged. The bourgeoisie is especially inclined to resort to this method in countries where the working class forms the majority of the population — in England and Germany for instance. It is worthy of note that in these cases the socialist parties have been given the reins of government, although in both these parliaments the majority is actually in the hands of the avowedly bourgeois parties. In spite of the fact that in the

English Parliament the Labour Party has not the majority, its government receives the support of the bourgeois votes. And in spite of the fact that in the German Reichstag the social democrats have only about one third of the votes, the bourgeoisie has left the leadership of the government to them for almost two years.

The bourgeoisie has employed, and continues to employ, two fundamental methods for the maintenance of its rule. I quote what Lenin said regarding these two methods of bourgeois rule:

"Were the tactics of the bourgeoisie always the same, or at least similar, the working class would quickly learn to counter them by the same or similar tactics. But in actual fact the bourgeoisie inevitably works out two systems in every country, two methods of struggle for its interests and for the maintenance of its rule, these two methods being sometimes used alternately and sometimes interwoven in multifarious combinations. The first method is that of force, the method of refusing any concession to the labour movement, the method of bolstering up old and obsolete institutions, the method of the irreconcilable rejection of reforms. This is the essence of Conservative policy, now becoming less and less the policy of the landowning class in Western Europe, and more and more a sideline of general bourgeois policy. The second method is the method of "Liberalism", of steps in the direction of the development of political rights, in the direction of reforms, concessions, etc. The bourgeoisie goes over from one of these methods to another, not on account of the malevolence of individual persons, and not by accident, but on account of the fundamental contradiction of its own position." (Complete works, Vol. XI, p. 136. Russian.)

Lenin said this in 1910. But it applies equally to the present moment. The situation in the capitalist countries has changed much during these two decades. But these two fundamental methods of bourgeois rule continue in force. The bourgeoisie is still employing on the one hand the method of violence, and on the other the method of "Liberalism". The method of force has now assumed the form of Fascism, that of "Liberalism" the form of coalition with social democracy. These two methods of bourgeois rule must not be forgotten. And at the same time the fact must not be overlooked that the rule of the bourgeoisie shows the tendency toward the increasingly preponderant application of the method of force, a tendency finding expression in the growth of Fascism, and in the growing Fascisation of the bourgeois state. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie cannot even now quite do without the method of "Liberalism", the method of coalition with the social democracy. But social democracy itself is hastening at a quickened pace along the road to Fascisation, along the road towards the merging of the social democratic and reformist trade union apparatus with the bourgeois state in process of Fascisation.

The bourgeoisie, under the conditions imposed by the ever acuter antagonisms of capitalism, resorts to an increasing extent to the methods of force, of open dictatorship, for the maintenance of its rule. In view of the growing capitalist crisis and the ever more imminent threat of proletarian revolution, the bourgeoisie turns more and more to the methods of Fascism for the suppression of the revolutionary movement. If we glance back at only the last two years, we already find examples of the open Fascisation of state power in the bourgeois countries, as for instance Yugoslavia, Austria, Rumania, and Finland. Here the Fascist elements are in open possession of power. Other countries too are developing in the direction of Fascism. The advancing revolutionary upsurge in Germany, France, etc. gives fresh impetus to the strivings of the bourgeoisie towards Fascism, towards the Fascisation of the state apparatus. The growth of Fascism at the expense of the bourgeois parties has become especially conspicuous of late in Germany.

Social democracy, as the main pillar of the imperialist bourgeoisie in the working class, is also degenerating into Fascism. It has already worked out the corresponding ideology. The essence of this ideology consists of the unreserved subordination of the interests of the working class to the interests serving the maintenance of the bourgeois state. The leaders of social democracy already speak of this without

reticence. K. Renner, the leader of the Austrian social democrats, for instance, declares:

"The class struggle is no longer an absolutely unlimited means. **It has its limits.** The bourgeoisie and the proletariat are carrying on their class war, but in actual practice they can do this **only within the confines of the maintenance of a higher whole!**" ("Die Gesellschaft", No. 2, 1930.)

Hence for Mr. Renner the main thing is "the maintenance of a higher whole", that is, the maintenance of the bourgeois state. The social democrats of other countries preach a like "philosophy". The French socialist Paul Boncour is "proud" above all things that he places the interests of "national defence", that is, the interests of French imperialism, in the forefront. In this question he leaves no room for doubt, and declares that he would "not hesitate in choosing between the interests of his country and those of his party". It only remains to add that for the leaders of the French socialists national defence is indissolubly bound up with the struggle against Bolshevism, that is, against the revolutionary proletariat. The extent to which the social democrats bind their fate with the maintenance of the bourgeois state may be seen from the declaration made by Wels at the Magdeburg Party Conference of the S.P. of Germany in 1929, to the effect that social democracy, should proletarian revolution threaten, would not shrink, "in spite of its democratic principles", from "setting up the dictatorship". We see that social democracy is prepared to go to any length in its struggle for the "maintenance of the higher whole", of capitalism, the rule of the bourgeoisie.

It is therefore not surprising that the English Labour Party has reorganised its chief paper, the "Daily Herald", with the aid of a Conservative publishing firm. In order to increase the circulation of the paper, the Labour Party created a special financial organisation, actually delivering their central organ into the hands of the Conservative bourgeoisie. Today a capitalist Trust of Conservative publishing firms is at the head of the administration of the central organ of the Labour Party and of the English trade unions. This capitalist firm owns 51% of the capital invested in the "Daily Herald", and has further 5 seats out of 9 on the board of control. These are the methods used by the Labour Party and the General Council to increase the circulation of their leading newspaper.

The Labour Party has taken over state power, and has at the same time entrusted its central organ to a capitalist Trust whose speciality is the publication of the literature of the Conservatives, of the imperialists! The practice of social democracy coincides with its ideological degeneration. This practice, with its slogans of "industrial peace", "economic democracy", and the like, with its support of capitalist rationalisation, with its savage attacks on the part of the bourgeoisie on the working class, finds full expression in the activities of the "socialist" governments of England and Germany.

There is no need to go into details here on the activities of the MacDonald and Müller governments. I merely draw attention to the total results of these activities.

In England, the bourgeoisie undertook an increased offensive against the workers on the day after MacDonald took over the government. The Labour Party's coming into power was signalled by a reduction of wages affecting half a million textile workers. The MacDonald government has become one of the most important aids in the carrying out of capitalist rationalisation, for the greater oppression of the working class, and for wage cuts all along the line. What the English bourgeoisie cannot accomplish against the workers by itself, it accomplishes with the aid of the Labour government.

The Labour government plays an especially indispensable rôle for the bourgeoisie in the Indian question. The Cabinet of the Labour Party does not shrink from even the most bloody methods of repression. It declares through the mouth of Clynes: "The situation in India requires both firmness and justice, and it will find these. It may be hoped that the Indian leaders will soon quieten down!" The threat of firmness, that is, of every available means of repression, a pill coated with the sugar of a reference to "justice", means in reality the abandonment on the part of the Labour Party of their own programme of converting India into a dominion, and is further stressed by the threatening prophecy that the Indian

leaders "will soon quieten down!" It is easily comprehensible that the bourgeoisie, Conservative and Liberal, is delighted with the MacDonald government. The "Times" wrote lately:

"If the present year brings us, as it should, national unity on the main aims and methods of British policy in some great questions, then the election of 1929 has brought the country more than the country expected." ("Times", 8th May 1930.)

The Liberal "Daily Chronicle", referring on 9th May, 1930, to the minister Henderson, declared that Henderson was fighting for the interests of British imperialism "just as determinedly as any imperialist". And finally Lloyd George declared in so many words:

"It may undoubtedly be regarded as an advantage that a socialist government is in power. This facilitates in a high degree the unification of the public opinion of England in support of the Viceroy in the struggle for the suppression of anarchy in India". ("Neue Freie Presse", 7th June 1930.) (English quotations retranslated.)

In Germany, the coalition government under the social democrat Müller also proved itself a government unreservedly supporting the rule of the bourgeoisie. With the aid of the Müller cabinet the Young plan was put into practice, thrusting upon the proletariat and all workers burdens far beyond their capacity. With the aid of this government a savage attack has been made on the working class. With the aid of compulsory arbitration and rationalisation, the reduction of wages and social insurance have been pushed through. With the aid of the Müller government the law for the protection of the republic was passed, directed against the revolutionary workers. The acute economic crisis and the frightful increase of unemployment round off, so to speak, the activities of the Müller government. The German bourgeoisie, having made use of the Müller government as tool against the workers, has now cast it aside in order to take up methods on an even larger scale for the suppression of the working class, but still continues to set a high value on the services of the social democrats. It is not for nothing that in Germany there are 22 social democratic heads of police.

## 2. The Right and the "Left" in the Question of the Struggle against Social Fascism.

The question of the struggle against social Fascism, in connection with the growing tendencies of the Fascist methods of maintaining the rule of the bourgeoisie, has become a burning question for the Communist Parties of late. The Comintern has had two varieties of deviations to combat.

The Right elements in the Comintern have denied the degeneration of social democracy into social Fascism. Their line has been one of defence of the policy of a bloc with the social democrats. In actual practice the attitude of the Right would have signified the transformation of the Communist Parties into an appendage of social democracy. The conciliators, too, fell into line with the Right standpoint. We read in the declaration made by the conciliators under Comrade Ewert's leadership, at the XII. Party Congress of the C.P.G. (June 1929):

"It is not Marxist to designate every suppressive measure taken by the bourgeois state against the proletariat as — Fascism, and every participation by the social democrats in such suppressive measures as social Fascism." The declarations of the Right and of the conciliatory group, under the given circumstances, tended in one direction only; they led to the veiling of the danger of the growth of Fascism, and to the denial of the process of Fascist degeneration taking place in the social democracy.

On the other hand, a Left sectarian tendency became apparent in the ranks of the communists in the estimate of Fascism and social Fascism. This "Left" attitude found its clearest expression in the standpoint taken by Comrade Merker and others in the C.P.G. In the question of the struggle against Fascism, Comrade Merker wrote only recently: As long as many communists regard the workers organised in the Social democratic Party solely as misled fellow workers, failing to observe that they form precisely the foundation of labour aristocracy in the works and factories and of social Fascism generally, and that we must not fraternise

with them, but must only struggle resolutely against them, before the masses, until their complete political annihilation — as long as this is the case communism cannot advance at the necessary tempo, and there will be no actual disruption of the organisation of social Fascism. ("Die Internationale", 1st Mal 1930.) In another place Comrade Merker expounds this standpoint as follows: Our differences of opinion with social Fascism, precisely as with the bourgeoisie whose faithful lackey it is, cannot be solved by any kind of negotiations, but solely on the field of battle in decisive struggles, and before the revolutionary tribunal of the German republic. (From the article: "We and the social democratic workers.")

This ideology of "radicalism" has found utterance for instance in such slogans as: "Hunt the little Zörgiebls out of the works and factories", "Purge the proletarian ranks in the factories and trade unions and in the other mass organisations inexorably of all decayed elements. He who still clings to social democracy is rotten, and must be thrown out, however radical his actions may appear. The Youth Fascists out of the works and factories, the labour exchanges, the vocational schools", "Strike the little Zörgiebls wherever you find them". These allegedly "Left" slogans signify in reality the abandonment of the struggle for the masses of the workers. They express despair in the struggle against social democracy, and lack of faith in the working class.

It is the chief fault of the "Left" that they have not grasped the difference between the social democratic workers and the social Fascist bureaucrats. Instead of developing the struggle for winning away the broad masses from the social democracy by means of the united front tactics from below, the "Left", such as Comrade Merker for instance, have fallen into an opportunist renunciation of overcoming the difficulties in the struggle against social democracy, and for winning over the masses for Communism. The "Left" phrases to the effect that the differences of opinion with social Fascism can be decided only in decisive struggles on the field of battle, and before the revolutionary tribunal of the German Soviet republic, merely serve to conceal the defeatist moods of disbelief in the working class and in its ability to break with social democracy and turn to Communism. To this "Left" opportunism the German Party has resolutely opposed the Bolshevik line of the struggle for the masses, of the separation of the workers from social democracy, by means of relentless fight against the social Fascist leaders and the trade unions bureaucrats. The Comintern has given full support to the line of the C.P.G. in its struggle against "Left" opportunist trends.

The overcoming of the Left sectarian trends in the struggle is the necessary prerequisite for the final overcoming of Right opportunist vacillations in the question of the struggle against social democracy. It is necessary completely to unmask social democracy as the "labour" party of financial capital, to separate the decisive masses of the social democratic workers from it, and to win these for Communism.

The struggle against social Fascism is indissolubly bound up with the struggle against Fascism. The development of this struggle is dictated by the growing Fascist movement. The aggravation of antagonisms in the capitalist countries causes Fascism to arise as the fighting organisation of the bourgeoisie, and to advance, backed up by social democracy, to the attack upon the revolutionary proletariat. The ever acuter class struggle, the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, reveals ever more clearly to the workers the counter-revolutionary rôle actually being played by social democracy, and creates thereby increasingly broader bases for the desertion of the workers from social democracy. This desertion by the workers from social democracy is now increasing, and shows a tendency to further acceleration under the influence of the struggle being carried on by the Communist Parties against social democracy.

The recent elections in Saxony emphasised in a striking manner the growth of Fascism, and set before the C.P.G. very clearly the question of the struggle against Fascism. At these elections the National Socialists greatly increased their vote, Fascism strengthening its position at the expense of both the bourgeois parties and of social democracy. The Communist Party was the only one able not only to retain its

position, but to increase the number of its vote by 10,000; the number of votes cast for the social democrats and for the Brandler group, taken together, diminished by 59,000, the number cast for all bourgeois parties except the National Socialists diminished by even more. The fact of this mighty access of votes polled by the Fascist Party in Saxony merely stresses the fact that the bourgeoisie, in view of the new great offensive against the working class in its revolutionary struggle, will shrink from no method of dictatorship. The Communist Parties, and the Comintern as a whole, must therefore the more resolutely place on their agenda the tasks of the struggle against Fascism and social Fascism in the eyes of the workers, and the tasks of organising the working masses on the basis of a Bolshevik realisation of the united front tactics from below, to repel the assaults of Fascism and social Fascism. Social Fascism with its "Left" wing, is the last reserve of the bourgeoisie within the working class. Hence, the exposure of its real nature, and especially the exposure of the nature of the "Left" social Fascist wing with its subtle methods of deceiving the workers, and the determined all-round struggle for the working masses still following the social democratic and other bourgeois-reactionary organisations, are the fundamental prerequisites for securing the victory of the proletarian revolution.

#### IV. The Growing Revolutionary Upsurge and the Struggle for the Majority of the Working Class.

##### 1. The Growth of the Elements of Revolutionary Upsurge.

The international labour movement in the period just passed was characterised by the commencement of a fresh revolutionary upsurge. This growth of the revolutionary upsurge develops irregularly; in the various countries it has taken different forms and its tempo of development is not equal. The fact that a fresh revolutionary upsurge had set in could however be recorded by the Comintern as early as a year ago, at the 10th Plenum.

Later events confirmed the estimate of the Comintern. The great change taking place in the labour movement was shown in the events taking place in the autumn of 1928 in a number of countries. I refer to the gigantic strikes in Germany, Poland, and France. One of the greatest of these movements was that of the metal workers in the Ruhr district, involving the locking out of 200,000 workers. Another was the general strike in Lodz at the end of 1928. The wide extent of the strike movement among the textile workers of Northern France, and the counter-offensive character of this movement, were again significant of the new period. The elements of counter-offensive in the international labour movement increased obviously in strength, and found expression not only in France, but in Germany (Ruhr, dock-workers strike in Hamburg, etc.), and in Poland (Lodz). Whilst in the previous period even such gigantic working class actions as the general strike in England or the workers' rising in Vienna developed no further, the labour movement at the end of 1928 showed in a number of European countries varying features characteristic of an obvious upsurge.

I now pass on to the development of the strike movement. Here two countries are especially characteristic in Europe: France and England. The following figures bear witness to the growth of the strike movement in these countries. In France the number of strikers reached 222,000 in 1928, 470,000 in 1929; in England the corresponding figures were 124,000 and 532,000; in 1930 the strike movement has shown a further tendency to spread, especially in France. I have already referred to the data on the development of the strike movement in India and China. All this indicates the tendency towards a certain growth of the strike movement in the leading countries, although this tendency is not yet general.

Besides these facts, we must also note a falling off of the strike movement in a number of countries. In Germany, for instance, social democracy with its governmental power, and the reformist trade unions, have done their utmost to throttle the proletarian struggle against the aggression of capital. Social democracy has worked efficiently in the service of the German bourgeoisie. Backed up by the state apparatus and by their party and trade union organisations, they have taken every possible measure to hold the working class in check and to smother any attempt at struggle against

capital. The widespread practice of compulsory arbitration, carried out with the aid of the social Fascist ministers, the brutal persecution of the revolutionary workers with the aid of the social democratic police — have rendered excellent service to the German bourgeoisie. Social democracy has been successful in temporarily postponing the outbreak of the strike struggle in Germany, but in doing so it has contributed not a little to unmasking its anti-proletarian policy before the eyes of the working masses.

Even in the countries of capitalist Europe where there has been no visible strengthening of the strike movement of late years, it is a characteristic fact that the strikes are becoming of increasing political importance. The fact that the striking workers nowadays find themselves opposed by the united front of the employers, the bourgeois state, and social democracy in combination with the reformist trade unions, imparts an increasingly political character to the economic struggles of the workers. It is due to this fact, again, that as a rule the strike leaders are exclusively communists, and their followers revolutionary workers. This makes the Communist Parties the sole representatives of the interests of the workers, the sole leaders of the proletarian struggle against capital. Even such small strikes (as regards the number of participants) as that of the plumbers in Berlin, have been of great revolutionary importance. The strike movement in Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia, has merged in many cases into sharp revolutionary struggles, into armed conflicts with the police and safety troops. The strike movement has led the workers not only into immediate struggle for their economic demands, but into the struggle against the bourgeois state and with the social democracy, which is becoming ever more part and parcel of the former. This is one of the most important peculiarities of the strike movement of recent years in the capitalist countries of Europe.

Finally, mention must be made of the strikes with more or less openly political aims. In France, for instance, 14 per cent of the strikes in 1929 were solidarity strikes. A number of these strikes were conducted under the slogan of: defend the arrested communists. In Austria not a few of the strikes last year were against the Fascists, for the removal of the Fascists from the works and factories. The present general strike in Spain involves thousands of workers in a number of industrial centres, and is decidedly political in character. It began in Sevilla as a protest movement against the murder of a woman worker by the police during the agricultural workers' strike. It is led by the Communist Party, and bears witness to the growing strength of the revolutionary trend among the working masses of Spain. Numerous further examples might be given of political strikes in the colonies and dependent countries: in India — the great textile workers' strike in Bombay and the various railway strikes; in Cuba — the recent strike involving 200,000 workers etc.

Besides the strike movement among the workers, there are other forms of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat which must be stressed. Thus the unemployed movement has assumed vast dimensions of late in a number of countries. The demonstrations of the unemployed, their demands for "bread and work" from the bourgeois authorities and communities, have been repeated in many towns of Europe and the United States. In the establishment of a firm contact between the movement of the unemployed and the struggle of the whole working class — one of the most important tasks of the Communist Party — these movements can yet play an important part in the development of the revolutionary class struggle.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the political demonstrations held by the working men and women, and frequently by the working youth, have acquired great importance. In these demonstrations broad strata of non-Party workers, and even of social democratic workers, not infrequently follow the communists.

These demonstrations are often attacked by the police, the Fascists, and their social fascist collaborators: frequently they end in conflicts with the police, in which the workers lose dozens and hundreds out of their ranks. The incomplete data at our disposal show that in Germany alone, and only in the first five months of the year, approximately 60 workers were killed and 1163 injured in conflicts with the police. The number of arrested exceeded 2500. This is only one item



characterising the conditions under which proletarian demonstrations are now held.

It is not necessary to deal at great length with such general facts as the May demonstrations of last year, the international demonstrations against war on 1st August, and against unemployment on 6th March. This applies to Germany, Czechoslovakia, England, France, Poland, and the United States, that is to all the leading capitalist countries. Even in Fascist Italy May Day 1930 was marked by a certain change in the proletarian movement. Many of the workers in the large undertakings of the most important industrial centre of Italy, Milan, abstained from work on 1st May, although over 3000 arrests had been made the night before. In France there were not only demonstrations on May Day, but a great number of strikes. In Paris alone 300,000 workers went on strike, including 90 per cent of the Paris metal workers. The international demonstration on 1st August was accompanied in many countries by great demonstrations and in some cases by strikes, not only in Europe, but in America and China. The international fighting day against unemployment on 6th March drew 1,250,000 workers into the movement in America alone. Great demonstrations took place on this day in numerous European countries.

It must further be observed that in some countries the poor peasantry are being drawn into the movement. This applies to Poland, Rumania, Greece, and in part to France. In some places a breach has even been made in the army. Cases have occurred, for instance in France, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, where some of the troops have sided with the strikers.

Finally, it is a point of great importance that the simultaneous revolutionary upsurge is taking place not only in a number of capitalist countries, but in the colonial and dependent countries as well. All this bears witness to the importance of those facts characterising the growth of the elements of a revolutionary upsurge in the present period. Another sign of the growing upsurge is the "Left" manoeuvring of social democracy. Social democracy, which has become in actual fact the main support in the working class of imperialism, still comes forward from time to time, especially through the medium of its "Left" wing, and expounds to the workers its slogans of struggle "against capitalism", its threats of strikes, etc. But in actual fact the leaders of social democracy are moving steadily to the Right, particularly as the revolutionary upsurge grows. By this the division between the leaders of social democracy and the reformist trade unions on the one hand, and the masses moving towards the Left on the other, widens constantly.

## 2. The Offensive of Capital and the Leadership of the Class Struggles of the Proletariat by the Communist Parties.

The developing economic crisis has necessarily given it impetus to the growing elements of revolutionary upsurge. The chief cause of this is the increased offensive on the part of capital against the working class resultant on the economic crisis. The pressure put upon the workers, the reduction of wages, the lengthening of the working day, the worsening of social insurance, etc., are all increasing at a violent speed. In Germany the organisations of the capitalists and the government openly discuss their programme of offensive against the working class. The Reich Minister of Labour, Stegerwald, for instance, recently declared in the Reichstag: "A reduction of wages is necessary. In order to revive the building trade, we cannot do without a 5 per cent wage cut. In other branches of industry the employers regard a reduction of wages of 20 per cent and more as necessary. The piece-work rates have already been considerably reduced in many parts of Germany. At least 700 million marks are required to put unemployment insurance on a sound basis. The possibility is not excluded that in autumn and winter more Draconic measures will have to be taken than hitherto. Unemployment will only be able to be gradually reduced. We hope that after the unemployment question has been placed on a sound financial basis, we shall be able to contribute 750 million marks for the revival of industry. In Germany we must accustom ourselves to a more modest standard of living".

We see that the German Minister of Labour openly declares that a wage cut of 20 per cent and more is necessary; that unemployment benefit must be reduced by 700 million marks; and that "in autumn and winter more Draconic measures will have to be taken". When we add

to this that within the next few months the tariff agreements of 5 million workers are due for renewal, then we can grasp the import of this programme of German capital and the German government. Bourgeois Germany is going over to the fiercest offensive against the workers along the whole front. At the present time a partial revision of tariff agreements, affecting 525,000 workers, mainly in the Ruhr district, Berlin, and Saxony, is taking place. The workers of Germany — and not only of Germany — are confronted with the task of repelling this attack. The whole course of the working class struggle against the bourgeois shows clearly that in this period social democracy will range itself on the side of the bourgeois offensive against the workers. The main rôle allotted to them, and to the reformist trade unions, will be that of stifling the activity of the working masses struggling against the offensive of capital. Hence the greater the responsibility borne by the Communist Parties.

The American bourgeois press expresses the same standpoint as the German bourgeoisie. In spite of the fact that the president of the United States, Hoover, announced only a few months ago the principle that wages were to be maintained at the level attained, an open wage slashing campaign is now being carried on. With increasing frequency we find in the press notices to the effect that: "Within the last few years wages have risen much too high in our country... work must be reorganised, and this reorganisation may take either the form of increased productivity or the form of a reduction in wages". Meanwhile the crisis has already led to a fresh offensive of capital against the workers all along the line. The Communist Parties are now especially called upon to prove their capability of leadership in the struggle of the working class against the attacks of capital.

It cannot but be admitted that grave faults and weaknesses are particularly apparent in the work of our brother Parties in the leadership of this struggle. But at the same time it is evident that it is solely in this struggle of the workers against the offensive of capital that the Communist Parties can really establish their positions in the working masses, gain the rôle of leadership of the working class, and secure decisive success in winning over the majority of the working class for Communism. Hence it is more imperatively necessary than ever to centre attention on the work among the workers in the shops and factories.

During the period just passed many faults and weaknesses were already observable in our mass work and especially in our trade union work. It has not infrequently occurred that the activity of the working masses has been ahead of that of the leaders of the Party organisations, and has set our organisations tasks for which they were not prepared. In many countries the Red trade unions have existed for some time. In France and Czechoslovakia they have played, and continue to play, an important part. But even here trade union work has been inadequate in many respects up to now. Even our best trade union organisations, the Unitary Trade Unions in France, have not infrequently merely followed in the wake of the strike movement. Comrade Monmousseau for instance has admitted that in a number of cases lately the Labour movement has shot ahead of the trade union organisations. This has generally happened for the reason that among our trade union functionaries we have had a considerable number of obviously opportunist elements, who have not yet rid themselves of social democratic habits and conceptions. As is known, in Czechoslovakia this led to the expulsion of a group of the leaders of the trade movement, headed by Hais, from the Red trade unions and from the Party.

Whilst in the countries possessing an independent Red trade union movement our tasks have long been clear, in such countries as Germany, England, Poland, etc., where we have hitherto had no trade unions at all, it is only during the last few years that fresh and stupendous tasks have arisen. The great significance of the Ruhr conflict, for instance, lies in the fact that in the course of these events the C.P.G. began with the practical transition to the new methods of organising the working masses in the struggle against capital. It was confronted with the immediate task of the independent leadership of the economic struggle of the workers, not only against the employers, but against the social democracy and the reformist trade unions. The tasks so urgently imposed upon the Party were not compatible with subordination to reformist trade union legalism. This

required new forms of organisation for the workers and the devotion of special attention to the organisation of the unorganised masses.

The question of the independent leadership of the economic struggle of the workers has assumed a certain importance of late, not only for the C.P.G., but in numerous other countries. It is solely on the basis of comprehensive work on the part of the Communist Parties for independent leadership of the economic struggles, and of the struggle against the treacherous social democrats and reformists, that the Bolshevik tactics of the proletarian united front from below can be realised. Such questions as the organisation of strike and fighting committees against the will of the reformist trade unions, the strengthening of the revolutionary opposition in the reformist unions and the consolidation of its contact with the unorganised workers, the combining of the forces of the workers and the unemployed, etc. — these are the questions now occupying the main attention of the progressive communist organisations. But there are still serious defects and deficiencies in this work. The remnants of social democratic tradition are still at work in the Communist Parties, and hinder the development of a real struggle on the part of the Communist Parties against social democracy and the reformist trade unions. In the practical work of our trade union organisations, even when this is essentially in agreement with the Party line, we not infrequently observe the leaders tending to an opportunist interpretation of the carrying out of the Party decisions. In this connection the combat in the Party against opportunism has become especially necessary.

The last factory council elections in Germany clearly emphasised both the achievements and the shortcomings of our work among the workers. Certainly we can record definite success at this election. Whilst last year we were only able to set up independent Red factory council lists in 101 undertakings, this year candidates ran on our independent lists in 1200 undertakings. Whilst last year 4000 comrades on our lists were elected to the works councils, this year their number was greatly increased, reaching 7000 factory council members and 4000 deputy members. In various great industrial districts, especially in the Ruhr basin, in Upper Silesia, Saxony, and the Lower Rhine, we received more votes than the social democrats in the undertakings where we had independent lists.

But there have been negative aspects too. In the Berlin-Brandenburg district the lists of the trade union opposition suffered obvious defeat in some of the large undertakings. A number of facts show clearly that our defeat was due to the palpably opportunist practices of some Red factory councillors. Also this year communists in various undertakings refused to be candidates on the Red lists of the trade union opposition, for the reason that they did not want to break with the tradition of the bloc with the social democrats. Out of the 12,000 factory council candidates put up by our Party 300 proved renegades. These were expelled from the Party. And finally, it must be said that in many thousands of undertakings we again set up no lists of our own this year. This brief summary makes it sufficiently clear that our achievements are accompanied by a number of grave defects and obvious weaknesses in our work in the works and factories. All this demands, first of all, an intensified struggle against every form of opportunism in practice, and the Bolshevik consolidation of the proletarian united front from below against and in spite of the leaders of social democracy.

For the fulfilment of our fundamental task: The winning of the majority of the working class for communism, the all-round intensification of practical work in the sphere of the independent leadership of the economic struggles is of decisive importance. Hence the struggle against the subordination of our policy to reformist trade union legalism, the struggle against any bloc with social democracy, the struggle for the Bolshevik application of the tactics of the united front from below, is the most important work of the Communist Parties. We must link up this struggle with the all-round intensification of our opposition in the reformist trade unions, with the conversion of this opposition into an actual centre for the organisation of the working masses against social democracy and against reformist trade union bureaucracy. In Germany we have already made con-

siderable strides in this direction; our organisations must continue on this course with even greater determination.

At the same time an intensified struggle is necessary against the opportunism concealed behind high-sounding phrases. In our ranks we must oppose resolute resistance to such facts as the replacement of the revolutionary struggle against social democracy by apparently "Left" but really pusillanimous opportunist phrasemongering on the "demoralised masses" of social democratic workers, on the "hopelessness" of work in the reformist trade unions, etc. We must be active in the reformist trade unions and in all reactionary organisations in which there are still broad strata of the workers. We must work with redoubled and tenfold energy among both the organised and the unorganised masses, in order to achieve actual success in winning over the masses for the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie.

The economic struggles of the workers, especially under the conditions imposed by the acute crisis in capitalism, are acquiring an increasingly distinct political character. The economic struggle is combined more and more with the general struggle of the working class against the bourgeois state and its social democratic buttresses. Political strikes arise side by side with economic strikes. All this makes the slogan of the political mass strike the most important slogan of the present period, the period of the growing revolutionary upsurge. The slogan of the political mass strike prepares the working class for the decisive revolutionary events in the struggle between capital and Labour.

At the present time we are working under the conditions given by the growing revolutionary upsurge. But let us remember Lenin's words: "The revolution differs from the ordinary struggle in that ten times, one hundred times, more people take part in it." This demands from us the exertion of our utmost efforts in every department of work in winning over the majority of the workers for Communism.

## V. The Communist Parties and the New Tasks.

The Comintern took into account in good time the regrouping of class forces in combination with the increasingly shaken condition of capitalist stabilisation and the growing radicalisation of the proletarian masses; it laid down as the slogan determining the tactics of the Communist Parties the slogan of "class against class". These tactics of "class against class" have signified the going over of the Communist Parties to the actual realisation of the independent leadership of the class struggles in irreconcilable fight against social democracy along the whole front. These tactics have been in accordance with the new conditions of work of the Communist Parties. The Communist Parties have passed from the period of agitation and propaganda to the organisation and leadership of the class struggles of the working class. This transition from the methods of agitation and propaganda preponderating in the practical work of the Communist Parties, to the methods of independent leadership of the struggles of the proletariat, was accomplished in the period just past. This transition to new methods inevitably brought to light the grave faults in the work of the Communist Parties.

Although a bloc has been formed against the communist movement by the bourgeoisie and social democracy, the influence of the Communist Parties has increased in most countries. I detail here a few of the signs of this growth of influence of the Communist Parties.

Firstly, the parliamentary elections. If we compare the parliamentary elections of 1928 and 1924 in Germany, France, and Poland, the growing influence of the Communist Parties in these countries is easily seen. In Germany the number of votes polled by the C.P. increased in these four years from 2,679,000 to 3,233,000. In France from 876,000 to 1,069,000; in Poland the number of votes cast for the C.P. increased from 20,000 in 1922 to 850,000 in 1928. On the other hand, we cannot but place on record the weakness of our position in England and the United States for instance, where the candidates of our Party (1928/29) have scarcely totalled a few tens of thousands of votes among them.

The influence of the Communist Parties on the working masses is further shown by such facts as the rôle played by the Parties in strikes, mass demonstrations, and the carrying out of various international campaigns last year and this. I have already referred to this. I here quote just one

passage from the central organ of the Czech agrarians, referring to the Czech Communist Party:

"The latest actions show that the communists possess the preponderance over the socialist parties among the industrial workers and the proletariat... The hopes of a complete collapse of the Communist Parties will have to be regarded for a long time as lacking any foundation. On the contrary, the communists are winning over the young generation of workers."

Nor can such facts as the collections in aid of the communist newspaper "L'Humanité" in France be ignored. Here the workers raised 2,200,000 francs within a few months, and created hundreds of committees in the works and factories in support of the "Humanité". The activity of the workers in aid of the central organ of the C.P.F. enabled the Party to parry the provocative blow dealt by the French bourgeoisie at the "Humanité". Only quite recently reports were received on the ready reply of the Swedish workers to the appeal for financial help for the central organ of the Communist Party. Whilst the Party leaders appealed to the masses to collect 50,000 crowns in two weeks, the workers raised 77,000 crowns in this time. The C.P. of Sweden has now set itself the goal of 100,000 crowns in aid of its central organ; and it is certain that this appeal from the Party will evoke an equally ready response from the workers of Sweden. It must be admitted that we hardly ever witnessed such facts in the past. Another sign of the growing influence of the Communist Parties is the visible increased circulation during the last few months of the literature of the oppositional trade union press in Germany. On the other hand, one cannot ignore the fact that in a number of countries the circulation of the Communist press has declined.

With respect to the influence of the Communist Parties on such broad strata of the workers as the women workers, the youth, the poor peasantry, our successes here are still entirely insufficient. Whilst women and young workers are participating to an ever increasing extent in the process of production we must not tolerate the lack of due attention on the part of the Communist Parties to this work, and especially the weakening of the Young Communist organisations in some countries. The most favourable features of the work being done among juvenile and women workers and in the mass organisations (for instance the workers' sport associations) are to be seen in Germany.

And finally, another sign of the growing influence of the Communist Parties on the working masses is, that various groups of the workers are leaving the social democratic parties and coming over to us. This process is going on in a number of countries, and bears witness to the weakening of the influence of social Fascism on the working class.

In many cases, however, the growth of the influence of the Communist Parties on the working masses is not followed up to a sufficient extent by work in the Communist Parties towards securing the consolidation of this influence in an organisational form.

In the Communist International there are 53 Communist Parties, besides three sympathising national revolutionary parties. Among the Sections of the Comintern there are still some young and weak organisations. On the other hand we have such Sections as the German, one of the best in the Comintern after the C.P.S.U. The French and Czechoslovakian Parties too are not only big Sections of the Comintern, but have become real mass parties, and already dangerous competitors of social democracy in the working class.

Mention must also be made of the C.P. of Poland, which is working under the most difficult of illegal conditions, but nonetheless certainly possesses a firm mass basis. This Party can serve as a model to the other Sections obliged to work illegally.

One important Party of the Comintern, the Italian, has suffered greatly of late under the attacks of Fascism, and is only now beginning to recover. Its by no means inconsiderable influence on the working class is not yet secured by practical organisational work. The Party must turn its efforts in this direction.

In two of the leading countries, England and the United States, we have still no real communist mass parties. In the United States the C.P. has grown of late, but still numbers only 11,000 to 12,000 members, and its influence on the decisive cadres of the American workers is still insignificant.

In England the C.P. is passing through a difficult period. In consequence of the many opportunist errors committed by the English Party in the past, it is finding the right path to the workers but slowly. The most important instrument influencing the masses is the daily newspaper founded by the C.P.G.B., the "Daily Worker"; but this does not yet stand firmly on its feet, and work for its securer establishment is therefore the first duty of the Party. The English C.P., in spite of its present weakness, must take up the work of winning over the millions of the working class, and will not fail to do so.

During the last few years the C. P. of China has increased in strength, and is developing into a really Bolshevik Party, in spite of a number of opportunist errors. The peasant elements still preponderate in its ranks. The Party is steadily reinforcing its ranks by the accession of class conscious workers.

In India a communist organisation is in course of formation; this will undergo many trials and tests in the impending revolutionary struggle before it can take its place as the Bolshevik vanguard of the Indian proletariat.

Among the Sections of the Comintern, again, there are some which are still extremely weak and loosely formed. In some of these, in South America, for instance, the influence of the petty bourgeois elements predominates. Virgin soil still lies before us in the forming of Communist Parties in the colonies and dependent countries. It is characteristic that in the ranks of the II. International there is no party, nor ever has been, which has contact with the Labour movement of the colonial countries, whilst in every region of the colonial world we see ever fresh streams of revolutionary fighters joining the ranks of the Comintern.

The creation of leading cadres is of paramount importance for the growth of the Communist Parties and the consolidation of their influence on the masses. The period just past has shown great shortcomings in this respect. It suffices to state that in some Sections of the Comintern even the leading centre of the Communist Parties has been composed to a considerable extent of openly opportunist Right elements. Therefore the period covered by the report has witnessed not only a fundamental renewal of the leadership of a number of the Sections of the Comintern, but the actual expulsion of whole groups of leaders from the ranks of some of the Communist Parties, as for instance in the Communist Parties of the U.S.A., of Czechoslovakia, and Sweden. There are seven persons who were even members and candidates of the E.C.C.I. after the VI. Congress, but are now outside the ranks of Communism, deserters into the camp of the renegades. The existence of unsound opportunist elements in the cadres of the Communist Parties is further shown by such facts as the expulsion of 26 members of the parliamentary fraction from the ranks of the Czech C.P., because they failed to submit to Party discipline in fighting against the Right renegades and the social democrats, and the expulsion of six Paris municipal councillors from the Party for having collaborated with the social fascists.

The relentless struggle carried on by the Comintern against the Right opportunist elements, and the purging of the C.P. from unsound social democratic remnants, have caused an outcry among the Right opportunists over the "disruption" of the Comintern. In reality this struggle has promoted the consolidation of the ranks of the Communist Parties, and has enhanced the fighting capacity of the Parties in the class struggle against the bourgeoisie and social democracy, increasing at the same time the authority of the Communist Parties among the working masses. Without this consistent struggle against the elements alien to communism, our Sections would not have been able to develop into really Bolshevik organisations, capable of mobilising the working masses under the banner of the revolutionary struggle against Fascism and social Fascism. It has been precisely in the struggle against Right and "Left" opportunists that the best cadres of the Comintern have grown and developed. The leading organs of the Communist Parties have been thoroughly renewed in a number of cases, and their ranks refilled with the really best revolutionary elements of the proletariat.

During the period just past, the struggle against Right and "Left" opportunism has occupied the centre of the ideological and political life of the Comintern. After Trotskyism had been shattered, a process practically completed at the time of the VI. World Congress, the struggle against the

Right deviation and against the conciliatory attitude towards it occupied first place. This struggle permeated the whole work of the Comintern, and has been of the utmost political significance for the whole international Labour movement. After what has already been said on the struggle against the Right in the Comintern during the period just passed, on the struggle against the Right estimate of the developing crisis in capitalism and against the Right opportunistic conciliatory attitude with regard to social Fascism, and on the struggle against the Right opportunist capitulatory standpoint in the question of the independent rôle of the Communist Parties in the leadership of the workers' class struggles, etc., all that is now necessary is to add a few supplementary remarks on this question.

The struggle against the Right and the conciliators in the ranks of the C.P.S.U. has been closely bound up with the struggle against the Right in the other Sections. This has been especially conspicuous in the struggle against the Right and the conciliators in the C.P. of Germany. In the United States and Sweden the Right leaders of the Communist Parties even succeeded in gaining a following in the Parties. But here too the Parties, having expelled the Right renegades, are advancing successfully on the way to ideological and political growth, and to intensified practical work. In Czechoslovakia the Right opportunists offered great resistance to the line of the Comintern among the parliamentary and communal functionaries, and among the trade unionists. The leader of the Right renegades in the Czech trade unions, Hais, succeeded in splitting some tens of thousands of workers from the Red trade union movement. In the Polish Communist Party the struggle against the Right was accompanied by a consolidation of the most important Party cadres, and the Party has practically been able to put an end to the fractional struggle which was corroding it. In the Communist Parties of France and Italy the struggle against the Right opportunist elements went on until quite recently, and has been accompanied by continuous difficulties hampering the work of the leading organs.

The VI. World Congress of the C.I. stressed the necessity of the struggle against not only the openly advancing Right, but against the cowardly opportunism evinced by the conciliators toward the Right deviation. This line of the VI. Congress of the C.P. has been fully justified. The Sections of the Comintern, have on this basis attained great successes towards Bolshevisation. At the same time the Comintern has carried on a determined struggle against the opportunism concealed behind "Left" phrases. Much has already been said on the actual forms assumed by the "Left" sectarian trends and their opportunist character. I add only a few words to what has already been said. During the period of the struggle for the majority of the working class these "Left" sectarian trends are a serious obstacle to the work of the Parties. Unless this "Left" phrasemongering, veiling as it does the lack of faith felt by some opportunist elements in the accomplishment of the task of winning the majority of the working class, is overcome, the Communist Parties will not be able to mobilise the masses of the workers under their banner.

The extremely detrimental effect of this "Left" phrasemongering may be illustrated by examples from the work of some of the Y.C.L. organisations. The Y.C.L. organisations, whilst playing an important and really revolutionary rôle in the struggle against the Right opportunist elements, have shown great weakness in many cases in mass work, in the struggle for the winning over of the broad masses of working youth for Communism. It is therefore necessary that the irreconcilable struggle against the Right deviation in the Young Communist Organisations should be accompanied by the intensified struggle against "Left" phrasemongering and passivity in the daily struggle for the masses of the working youth.

The struggle on two fronts, and especially against the most dangerous deviation, the Right deviation, continues to-day to engage the chief attention of the Communist International. This struggle has already attained great results in regard to the Bolshevik education of the Communist Parties.

There exists no doubt as to the growing influence of the Communist Parties among the working masses. The more clearly, therefore, does the lack of organisational consolidation of this influence become apparent. Never before have the weaknesses of the organisational work of the Communist Parties been so strongly felt as to-day, now that the Sections

of the C.I. find themselves faced by the task of the independent organisation and leadership of the developing class struggles of the proletariat. The leading practical shortcomings of the Communist Parties lie in the deficiencies of the work in the **shops and factories**, in the weaknesses of the subordinate Party organisations, in the inconsistent carrying out of the reorganisation of the Party on the works nucleus basis, in the unsatisfactory work of the communist fractions in the mass organisations, especially in the trade unions, etc. At every step we see the incapacity to combine practical work with revolutionary policy, and the lack of ability to consolidate in organisations the influence possessed by the Communist Parties. But without such a consolidation actual further success for the Communist Parties cannot be ensured. Under present-day conditions, the main task of the Communist Parties lies in redoubled fight against social democracy, in an intensified struggle for the winning over of the working masses from social democracy, and in overcoming the influence still exercised by social democracy over considerable strata of the proletariat. This task can be fulfilled only if the unmasking of the true nature of social democratic policy, the unmasking of this policy, is carried out not only by means of agitation and propaganda, but by opposing the revolutionary methods of the Communist Parties to the methods of social democracy in actual practice. It is only by means of resolute and unwearying exposure to the workers of every base action on the part of social democracy, by means of the simultaneous unceasing utilisation of every available possibility of drawing the masses together on the basis of the determined defence of the interests of the workers against capital, and against social fascism, by means of persistent work for the firmer establishment of all the organisational positions held by the Communist Parties in the works and factories, trade unions, works councils, in every mass organisation, among the women, among the youth, etc., and in each of these organisations in particular, — it is only by means of such work as this on the part of the Communists that we shall really secure the influence of the Communist Parties over the broad masses. The struggle against each and every expression of opportunism in actual practice, which is the main hindrance to the winning of the working masses for communism, and at the same time the struggle against the "Left" phrasemongering which conceals the opportunist passivity in the carrying out of daily work for the winning over of separate groups and strata of the workers for Communism, — these are the leading tasks of Communism. In these tasks the communist combines the whole of his detail work, his daily tasks, with the great perspectives of the uprising revolutionary emancipation struggle of the working class.

The great perspectives of the Communist International found their best expression in the Comintern programme passed by the VI. World Congress. This programme represents a programme of struggle for the world dictatorship of the proletariat; it is the programme of the overthrow of imperialism and the emancipation of the workers of the whole world from imperialist oppression. This programme is already being realised in the victorious building up of Socialism in the Soviet Union. The C.P.S.U. will revise its present programme on the basis of the programme accepted by the VI. World Congress and of the successes of socialist reconstruction in our country. This Party Congress must discuss this question.

The programme of the Comintern is being published at the present time in 33 languages. It comes to the knowledge of the workers of all capitalist countries and colonies. It will form a fresh appeal for revolutionary struggle against capital, against Fascism, against the social democracy degenerating into Fascism. It will promote the further and accelerated rallying of the broad masses of the workers in town and country around the revolutionary proletariat.

The economic crisis now growing daily acuter aggravates the general crisis of capitalism and hastens the approach of the collapse of the capitalist system. We must, however, remember Lenin's words, that only the revolutionary struggle of the working class finally decides the fate of capitalism. Lenin said:

"There are no absolutely hopeless situations. The bourgeoisie behaves like a robber who has grown impudent, and has lost his head; it commits one foolish

act after another, and accelerates its decline. This is so, but it cannot be "proved" that absolutely no possibility exists for the bourgeoisie to lull to sleep some minority of the exploited by means of some concession or another, or to crush some movement or some insurrection on the part of some section of the oppressed and exploited. It would be empty pedantry, or a play with words and conceptions, to attempt to "prove" beforehand the "absolute" hopelessness. Actual practice alone can furnish a real "proof" in these and similar questions. Now we must prove by the practice of the revolutionary parties that they possess sufficient conviction, organisation and capability, with the exploited masses, determination and capability, to enable them to utilise this crisis for the successful, the victorious revolution." (Lenin, Russ. ed. vol. XVII. pp. 263/64.)

Here Lenin lays special emphasis on the fact that only **revolutionary practice**, only the **revolutionary struggle** of the **working class** and the oppressed peoples, can decide the fate of capitalism. The ever growing crisis of world capitalism creates the prerequisites for the victory of the proletariat. The question will be decided by the practical capabilities of the working class in resolute and self-sacrificing struggle, by the state of its organisation, and by com-

munist conviction. Hence the enormous responsibility resting on the Communist Parties, and on the Communist International as a whole, at the present time.

Comrades, during the period just elapsed the Sections of the Comintern have attained great successes towards Bolshevisation, and towards the consolidation of their contacts with the broad masses of the workers and the village poor. In the period just past the successes of socialist reconstruction, too, have developed greatly, whereby the power of the Soviet Union as factor in the international proletarian revolution has been essentially enhanced. In the present period the upsurge of the revolutionary movement in the capitalist countries, and in a number of colonies, will be accompanied by not only the rapidly increasing crisis of capitalism, but by the advance of socialist reconstruction in the Soviet Union. This creates the prerequisites for the further development of the forces of international proletarian revolution. Under these circumstances the utmost exertion is demanded from the communists in every branch of practical daily work among the masses, and above all in the work of securing by organisation the growing influence of the Communist Parties, and making ready for revolutionary struggles on the very largest scale. For this the Communist Parties must prepare the working class. It is the duty of the coming struggle against capitalism from a revolutionary upsurge into a proletarian revolution. (Enthusiastic and prolonged applause.)

## Concluding Speech of Comrade Molotov.

(Full Text.)

Comrades, the discussions have shown that the delegation of the C.P.S.U. in the Comintern is completely supported by our Party. The speeches of the Comrades of the foreign Communist Parties emphasised the unanimity of the Sections of the C.I. in the carrying out of the Leninist line. These speeches simultaneously expressed the full confidence of the brother parties in the C.P.S.U. and its leadership, which is particularly important in view of the great role played by the C.P.S.U. in the Comintern.

I can now confine myself to some concluding remarks on the total result of the past stage and the tasks confronting the Communist Parties.

The fundamental tasks of the Communist International result from the economic and political situation, which arises from the growing crisis of world capitalism. The growing economic crisis deepens all the contradictions of the capitalist system. The contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are increasing. The capitalists are proceeding to the offensive against the workers along the whole front. The growing capitalist crisis restricts more and more the possibility of petty-bourgeois manoeuvres. Social democracy is more and more obviously fulfilling the role of agent of imperialism by merging its apparatus and the bureaucracy of the reformist trade unions with the whole apparatus of the bourgeois State.

Insofar as in the capitalist countries the working class is only organised to a small extent, and this chiefly in the reformist trade unions, the proletariat will be disarmed in face of the capitalist offensive if the Communist Parties do not fulfil the role of organisers of the counter-attack of the working class upon the bourgeoisie. And this role can be fulfilled by the Communist Parties only under the condition that they strengthen and consolidate their connection with the working class, conduct the fight along the whole front against the social democratic agents of imperialism within the working class, against social fascism.

The period under review in the development of the Communist Parties is characterised by the struggle against social democracy along the whole line. This is the meaning of the fundamental slogans of the Comintern in this period.

In connection with the accentuation of the class contradictions and increased activity of the proletarian masses, the Communist International raises the slogan of "**class against class**" and is consistently carrying it through. The nature of this tactic consists in renouncing any kind of agreement with social democracy and in strengthening the struggle for separating the

working masses from social fascism and for the establishment of the proletarian united front from below. Only three years ago the Communist Parties sometimes concluded temporary agreements with social democracy, for instance at elections to Parliament and municipalities. The acceptance of the tactics "class against class" meant not only the complete renunciation of any kind of block with social democracy, but also the transition to an intensified struggle against social fascisms along the whole line.

The transition to the tactics "class against class" not only meant the liquidation of election agreements with social democracy. In Germany, for instance, such agreements were not even formerly concluded; in the sphere of economic struggle, however, the C.P. of Germany, as well as the Communist Parties of other countries, worked without red trade unions, almost exclusively within the frame of the reformist trade unions. This year, however, such conditions have arisen that it was no longer possible to confine the activity of the Communist Parties to the old limits. The intensification of the class struggle and the conclusion of the triple alliance of employers, bourgeois State and social democracy against the workers, confronted the Communist Parties with new tasks, which was especially clearly revealed in the efforts of the working masses to proceed to the counter-attack on capital.

The Communist Parties were quite seriously confronted with the question of the **independent leadership** of class struggles. Hence there results inevitably the struggle against the subordination of the policy of the Communist Parties to the reformist trade union legalism; and in this connection there arose such fighting tasks as the organisation of the unorganised, the creation of organs of the mass struggle against and in spite of the social democratic leaders and trade union bureaucrats, the setting up of red factory council lists etc. The transition to the practice of the independent leadership of the economic struggle of the proletariat was inseparably bound up with the carrying out of the tactic of "class against class". This meant the struggle against social fascism in every factory, in every workers' group, and simultaneously for the working class in its totality. The realisation of this tactical line meant the fiercest struggle against social democracy along the whole front.

Finally, the Parties launched within the Comintern the fiercest struggle against the remnants of social democracy. The struggle **against the Right deviation** as the main danger is the most striking expression of this phenomenon. A



Bolshevist carrying out of the tactic of "class against class" and the enhanced struggle against social democracy are impossible without an unrelenting struggle against the anti-Leninist deviation of Right and "Left" variety, in particular of the Right deviation and of opportunism in practice as the most dangerous symptoms of social democratic remnants within the Communist Parties. Hence, the Communist Parties concentrated the strongest fire upon the Right deviation and the conciliatory attitude towards it. There exists a very close connection between the struggle along the whole front against social democracy and the struggle against the Right deviation.

The struggle against social democracy was in the centre of attention of the Communist Parties during the past period. It determined the tactics of the Communist Parties and its Sections. Irreconcilable struggle against the social democracy along the whole front, and, in connection therewith, struggle for the winning of the majority of the working class for Communism, that is the **decisive line** of the Communist International.

The serious achievements in the carrying out of this fundamental line mean that in the past period the Communist Parties have gone through the decisive stage of Bolshevisation.

The growing influence of the Communist Parties upon the working masses is an indisputable fact. The fighting capacity of the Communist Parties and their role in the leadership of class struggles are growing. In spite of the numerical decline of some Sections, the authority of the Communist Parties among the workers is growing in the most important capitalist countries. The Communist Parties are becoming more and more the only recognised leader of all mass actions of the working class.

Simultaneously the tasks confronting the Communist Parties reveal with particular sharpness the weak sides and shortcomings of their work. The capitalist offensive against the working class is assuming enormous dimensions in a number of countries. The faithful allies of the capitalists, the social democrats and the reformist trade unions, are doing everything in their power to stifle the growing activity of the workers against this offensive. Only the Communist Parties can become the organisers of the repulse of the capitalist offensive and the leaders of the counter-offensive of the proletariat. Hence there follows a greater responsibility for the Communist Parties and increased difficulties of their work.

The facts show that in a number of countries our Parties have not done badly in organising political mass actions and demonstrations of the workers. Such appeals of the Communist Parties are meeting with ever greater response among the working masses. In the leadership of the class struggles, beginning with the economic strikes, the achievements of the Communist Parties are still insignificant. Here there are revealed the weak sides of the Section of the Comintern.

The organisation of class struggles under the leadership of the Communist Parties, however, is in the present period the fundamental task. Whilst formerly the work of the Communist Parties consisted mainly in **agitation and propaganda**, the main weight has shifted to the **organisation of class struggles** under Communist leadership. Only on the basis of the Bolshevist organisation of the strike struggles and the other forms of class struggles against the offensive of capital can and must the Communist Parties win a real authority and the confidence of the workers in the Communist leadership of the whole revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. From the standpoint of these tasks, the tasks in connection with the organising of class struggles, the achievements of the Sections of the Comintern are quite insignificant; and precisely in this sphere of activity of the Communist Parties a determined turn must be made.

Such a turn means that the level of the whole of the Communist Parties is being raised. The task consists in that the Communist Parties learn to organise political mass campaigns, demonstrations etc., as well as those class struggles of the proletariat, before all economic and political strikes, which are of growing importance under the conditions of growing revolutionary upsurge. Improvement in the work of the leadership of the economic struggle of the workers, particularly in view of the fact that the economic struggles are more and more growing into political ones, is now the fundamental task of the Communist Parties. To realise this task successfully

means to raise the work of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries to a higher level.

The new and difficult tasks confronting the Communist Parties in the organisation of the proletarian struggle, cannot be solved without all-round criticism of the shortcomings of their work. Hence the slogan of **self-criticism** has become the most important slogan. The development of self-criticism is particularly necessary in order to carry out consistently the political line of the Comintern. Without self-criticism we shall not be able to overcome opportunism in practice, which is still widely spread and consists in the acknowledgment of the political line with simultaneous practical compromise with social democracy and in neglecting "daily work" among the workers, concealing this behind "left" phrases.

In many cases we do not know how to **consolidate organisationally** the growing influence of the Communist Parties upon the working masses. It is here mainly the question of shortcomings in the factory work of the Communist Parties. The work in the factory, and before all the organisational consolidation and political education of the factory nucleus, the permanent control and the assistance of the lower trade union organs, the factory councils, the fighting committees etc. is of first class, enormous importance. Without increased attention to this work on the part of all leading organs of the Party from top to bottom it is impossible to become a real organiser of the class struggles, to shake the influence of social democracy upon the workers. In order really to secure the confidence of the working class, the Sections of the Comintern must consolidate organisationally their influence in all mass organisations of the working class.

The work of the Communists in the capitalist factories is now extremely difficult. The bourgeoisie does not shrink from any persecution of the revolutionary workers. The social fascists are active lackeys of the bourgeoisie in its fierce reprisals against the Communists. This is proved by the last factory elections in Germany. Thus in Germany the red factory council lists had to be set up afresh three and four times owing to the dismissal of revolutionary workers. Adherence to the Communist Party presupposes self-sacrifice and even heroism on the part of the workers in view of the savage terror of the bourgeoisie and of the social fascists. This heroism among the workers is proof of the growing unshakeable conviction of the advance-guard of the working class regarding the correctness of the Communist policy, it is further a symptom of the growing confidence of broad masses of workers in the Communist Parties. The victorious building up of Socialism in the Soviet Union encourages the working class abroad and is an appeal to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and to fight for the victory of the working class.

The past stage is an important period in the testing of the political line of the Sections of the Comintern. This testing period has in many respects strengthened the authority of the Comintern as political leader of the working class and as the only representative of the interests of the working class. The influence of the Communist Parties has grown, but is not yet sufficiently rooted by practical work. The struggle against opportunism in all its varieties and the development of self-criticism within the Communist Parties are the most important prerequisites for a new and higher stage in the whole revolutionary practice of our Parties.

The organisational consolidation of every single position of the Communist Parties among the workers and the masses of the toilers, the raising of the level and the stressing of the revolutionary importance of "minor work" among the masses by the Party organisations, the untiring work in the creation of steadfast, conscious Communist cadres who are wholly devoted to the revolution, means Bolshevist struggle against opportunism, means to overcome the influence of social democracy among the workers. Only by such work can the Communist Parties win the overwhelming majority of the working class for Communism and place themselves at the head of the victorious struggles of the proletariat against the rule of the bourgeoisie.

In the present period the Communist Parties are confronted with the most difficult tasks, the solution of which is possible only if the Bolshevist line is linked up with Bolshevist practical work among the masses. The correct political line and the organisational consolidation of the influence of the Communist

Parties upon the masses accompanied by increased work in the sphere of revolutionary training of the workers are the fundamental conditions of the victorious struggle of the working class against the offensive of capital and at the same time against fascism and social fascism.

The Communist International calls upon the workers to strengthen their preparedness for the approaching class

struggles. This is today the main task of the Communist Parties.

Under Lenin's banner of the Comintern the million masses of the workers and toilers are rallying in closed ranks to the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie, for the victory of the proletarian revolution. (Prolongued and enthusiastic applause.)

## Resolution on the Report of the Delegation of the C.P.S.U. in the E.C.C.I.

Moscow, 8th July 1930.

Following Comrade Molotov's report on the activity of the delegation of the C.P.S.U. in the Executive Committee of the Comintern, the Congress unanimously adopted the following resolution:

The XVI. Party Congress completely approves the political line and the activity of the delegation of the C.P.S.U. in the Executive of the Comintern. The general crisis of capitalism, which extremely accentuates all the contradictions of the capitalist system and means the beginning of the end of relative capitalist stabilisation, has completely confirmed the correctness of the analysis made by the XV. Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. and the VI. World Congress of the Comintern regarding the process of collapse of capitalist stabilisation. It has completely shattered the views of the Right opportunists, who repeat the social-democratic theory of "organised capitalism" (Bukharin), of the mitigation of the inner contradictions of capitalism in the epoch of monopolies and trusts, of the exceptional position of America etc., and come forward side by side with the social democrats as open apologists of capitalist stabilisation. The development of the present crisis has palpably shown that out of stabilisation the deepest and most acute crisis of world capitalism is growing, which is pregnant with new wars and threatens the existence of every stabilisation.

In addition to the grandiose achievements of socialist industrialisation of the country and the collectivisation of agriculture in the Soviet Union, it is the economic crisis which reveals to the broadest masses of the world the whole magnitude of the main difference between the country of socialist construction and the capitalist system, which is being more and more shattered by the crisis. The crisis in the capitalist countries and the powerful upsurge of socialist construction in the Soviet Union enhance the military aggressiveness of the imperialist cliques against the Soviet Union, but accelerate at the same time the organisation of the proletarian forces which are protecting the country of the proletarian dictatorship.

In view of the struggle for markets, which is becoming intensified under the influence of the crisis, finance capital is engaging in a fierce tariff war, which extremely accelerates the outbreak of open armed collisions for the purpose of a fresh distribution of the world and of robbery in the colonies. On the other hand, we perceive an enhanced offensive against the standard of living of the proletariat in new and more bitter forms (tremendous unemployment, big wage cuts, lengthening of the working day, cutting down of social insurance, increase of taxation etc.). The developing fascisation of the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie, with which the social democracy and the reformist trade union bureaucracy are merging, is closely connected with the growing intensification of the class struggle. The proletariat is answering the capitalist offensive by strike movements, demonstrations of unemployed, political demonstrations, in which the conversion of economic struggles into political struggles can be noticed.

Whilst the crisis is developing in face of the already commencing revolutionary upsurge of the world movement of the workers and toiling masses in the colonies, it raises the counter-offensive of the proletariat to a higher level, in some countries leads to the conversion of the economic crisis into a political one, and accelerates the outbreak of civil war in the colonies.

The Party Congress records the correctness of the analysis made by the XV. Party Congress and by the VI. World Congress of the further development and the deepening of the revolution in China upon a new basis, as the revolution of the workers and peasants and of the city poor

under the banner of the Soviets and of the hegemony of the working class. This analysis, which foresaw the inevitable upsurge of the new wave of the national revolutionary movement in India, was completely confirmed by the development of the revolutionary upsurge in China and India.

The facts of the revolutionary struggle of the toiling masses in the colonies (Indo-China, Congo, Haiti, Philippines, Palestine etc.) point to the development of the national revolutionary movement, by which the rule of imperialism is being more and more undermined.

The Party Congress records that the Comintern, with the active assistance of the delegation of the C.P.S.U., recognised in time the developing regrouping of forces which is linked up with the intensification of the class contradictions and the enhanced activity of the proletarian masses, and that it has laid down and consistently carried out the tactic of "class against class", the tactic of the independent leadership of the class struggles and of the irreconcilable struggle against social democracy, which is becoming more and more fascist, and against its agency within the ranks of the Communist movement, the opportunist Right deviation.

The Party Congress records with satisfaction that the Comintern has achieved considerable successes in regard to the extension of the influence of the Sections of the Comintern upon broad working masses and upon toiling masses in the colonies during the period under review, which is characterised by the transition from the agitational-propagandist working methods which has hitherto prevailed in the practice of the Sections of the Comintern, to the methods of the organisation and leadership of the class struggles of the proletariat. This fact found its expression in the inclusion of fresh strata of the working class in the active struggle, in the creation of new Sections in a number of countries, in the strengthening of the international proletarian solidarity of the Comintern Sections, in the determined carrying out of international actions against war and unemployment. By means of this Leninist policy the Comintern Sections have achieved new successes by mobilising the masses which are becoming radicalised, by carrying out a number of economic and political strikes, as well as by organising the movement of enormous masses of the unemployed. By this means it was possible to animate the work of some Sections of the R.I.L.U. in regard to the organised rallying of the elements of the revolutionary trade union opposition within the reformist trade unions. By this means the Sections, were enabled to get rid of social democratic remnants in their work, to carry out a purging of their ranks from the opportunist elements, to increase their fighting capacity and to proceed further on the path of Bolshevism.

The Sections of the Comintern have in a ruthless struggle against the deviations from the political general line of the Comintern crushed counter-revolutionary Trotskyism and the Right opportunist deviations in their ranks and achieved the capitulation of a portion of the conciliatory elements and the exposure of another portion which openly joined the camp of the Right renegades. The Party Congress completely approves the organisational measures adopted against the Right and "Left" opportunists, in particular the measures adopted for purging the Communist Parties from the open opportunist elements, as measures which enhance the fighting capacity of the Sections of the Comintern. In the fight on two fronts, both against the open Right opportunism, which represents the main danger, as also against the "Left" distortions, which strengthen this opportunism, the Sections of the Comintern, which are training and steeling their cadres on the basis of the correct Leninist line, have achieved the consolidation of unity and the Bolshevist strengthening of

their ranks and in a number of countries established a Party leadership of the best revolutionary proletarians who have been tested in the process of the mass struggles.

The Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. records with satisfaction all these achievements and instructs the delegation of the C.P.S.U. in the Executive of the Comintern to concentrate attention on strengthening the struggle of the Comintern Sections against social fascism, in particular against its "Left" wing, as well as against the influence of national socialism upon some strata of the working class.

The Party Congress in particular emphasises the necessity of overcoming the organisational lagging of the Comintern Sections behind their growing ideological-political influence by concentrating Party work on the factories, by strengthening the work and the leadership of the Party fractions in the mass organisations, in particular in the trade unions by the systematic and independent organisation and leadership of the strike movement, whereby chvostish tendencies in the Party organisations and among the trade union functionaries must be fought as the outcome of the most harmful opportunism in practice and for the winning of the non-Party and social democratic workers on the basis of the Bolshevik united front tactic from below. The Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. considers it necessary to continue the most ruthless struggle against opportunism in practice, which mostly finds expression

in the omission to carry out the revolutionary tactic of "class against class", further in compromises with the social democracy and in subordination of its policy to trade union legalism, as well as in the rejection of persistent daily work and the daily struggle for the masses, whereby this rejection is masked by "Left" phrases.

Only by securing the real carrying out of these measures will the Sections of the Comintern achieve an organisational consolidation of their influence upon the masses, which in view of the upsurge of the revolutionary labour movement is growing. Only the ideological and organisational consolidation of the Sections of the Comintern and an enhancement of the incontestable authority of the Leninist leadership of the C.P.S.U. will guarantee the welding of the individual Comintern Sections into a united Communist world Party on the basis of the uniform programme of the Communist International, which is a powerful weapon in the struggle for the proletarian world revolution.

The Party Congress instructs the C.C. of the C.P.S.U. to revise the Party Programme on the basis of the Programme of the Communist International adopted by the VI. World Congress and on the basis of the achievements of socialist construction in the Soviet Union.

Long live the Communist International! Long live the Proletarian world revolution!

## Closing Speech of Comrade Kalinin.

Moscow, 13th July 1930.

Comrades, our Congress has now concluded its work. We have drawn up a balance of our achievements during the last two and a half years. The international situation is at present determined by the intensification of the struggle between the proletariat and capitalism, and by the world capitalist economic crisis. The idea is spreading that capitalism is incapable of further progress, and this idea is underlined by the tremendous achievements of the socialist constructive work in the Soviet Union.

This international situation caused the eyes of the whole world to be directed towards our congress. Our enemies have not yet lost hope, and they sought for signs of discontent with the proletarian dictatorship, for signs of weakness on our part. Our friends, and they are legion amongst the masses of the toilers in all countries, looked to us with hope and welcomed eagerly each report of a successful achievement for socialism. Our Party to-day is more closely allied to the masses of the toilers than ever before. The tasks of the Party are understood by the broad masses, as was proved by the tremendous meetings all over the country on the day of the opening of the congress.

The construction of socialism is proceeding rapidly. The tremendous rate of progress has become something normal, it no longer causes surprise. The victories of socialism are received by the masses as natural and inevitable. Comrade Kalinin then enumerated the greatest victories of socialism, Turksib, Dnyeprostroi, the Stalingrad tractor works, the Rostow agricultural machinery works etc. This attitude on the part of the workers was the expression of their unshakeable belief in the possibility of the building up of socialism.

Belief, however, is not enough. The productivity of labour is the basic thing. "The productivity of labour is in the last resort the most important factor for the victory of the new social order", said Lenin. "Capitalism produced a productivity of labour unprecedented under feudalism and serfdom. Socialism must produce a productivity of labour unprecedented under capitalism. A beginning has been made, and that is the most important thing." This was Lenin's attitude. If the workers in the factories and the peasants on the collective farms make this attitude their own, then victory is certain.

Comrades, we are approaching socialism. Lenin declared that communism begins when the workers begin to concentrate all their activities on the raising of the productivity of labour, and their cares on every pod of grain, on every commodity which is not for them or their nearest, but for those far away, i. e. the society as a whole. In the past we have seen much of this self-sacrificing spirit on the part of the workers, and I am convinced that in the future we shall see more of it.

Comrades, the enemies of the Soviet Union both within and without the Soviet Union expected a weakening of the party if not the disruption of the party from this congress. Their hopes have once again been destroyed. The congress delegates rallied unanimously to the Leninist Central Committee under the leadership of comrade Stalin (cheers). Not one single member of the opposition dared to attack the general policy of the party. On the contrary, they capitulated and recognised the correctness of the policy of the Central Committee. The left-wing deviation was not represented at the congress at all. The congress crushed the right and left-wing deviations. This however, does not mean that the two-front fight must stop. The right-wing danger remains the chief danger, irrespective of the attitude of the former right-wing leaders. We are also not quite finished with the left-wing deviation and in particular with the conciliatory attitude towards it.

Comrades, the Party and the working class is faced with a perspective of further socialist offensive along the whole line. I am convinced that we shall transform the Russia of the NEP into the Russia of socialism. (Cheers). For the Five-Year plan in four years! For the compact collectivisation of the whole of the Soviet Union! For the full victory of socialism! (protracted applause).

## Close of the XVI. Party Congress.

Moscow, 13th July 1930.

The closing session of the XVI. congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was held to-day. A new Central Committee was elected consisting of 71 members and 67 deputy members. Amongst those elected into the Central Committee are comrades Stalin, Kaganovitch, Molotov, Kalinin, Voroshilov, Rudzutak, Kuibishev, Mikoyan, Kossior, Yakovlev and Kirov. Comrades Rykov, Tomsky and Bukharin have also been elected into the Central Committee.

A Central Control Commission of 187 members was elected including comrades Orjonnikidse, Yaroslavsky and Rosengold.

After the adoption of the theses on the report of comrade Orjonnikidse on behalf of the Central Control Commission, the congress adopted the amendments to the theses of comrade Kuibishev and Yakovlev.

The closing speech was held by comrade Kalinin.

The congress was closed amidst singing of the "Internationale" and enthusiastic shouts, "Long live the iron unity of the party! Long live the Leninist Central Committee and its leader comrade Stalin!" etc.